PEOPLES & CULTURES OF NIGERIA

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Edited by:
A. S. Jegede, O. A. Olutayo, O. O. Omololu & B. E. Owumi

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To the memory of

Professor ULF Himmelstrand, the founding father of Sociology in Nigeria

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Preface

One of the major challenges facing our educational system is scarcity of local scholarly textbooks for teaching and learning. Teaching is a product of wealth of experience; hence, the saying that "experience is the best teacher" is valid. One way of generating experiences is availability of well-researched books. Students also rely on this resource for enhancement of their own capacity and are free of ignorance about issues concerning their immediate environment. Due to lack of this pertinent resource, there is misconception about and misinterpretation of the people and culture of Nigeria.

Culture is an important point of reference in the history of man. It is within culture that people, their relationships, existence, behaviours and productive capacity are meaningful. Culture suggests course and patterns of actions and interpretations of behaviours. Generally, interpretations of actions and behaviours arise from knowledge of the cultures that induce them. Sometimes, this may be misleading, and it could eventually lead to ethnocentrism, prejudices and stereotypes.

Socialization is a major way of inculcating values in the minds of people and means of reminding them of who they are. It helps to adapt and integrate people to society. This is predicated on the fact that the right information is imparted to people at the right time. School is an important agent of socialization. Unfortunately, in Nigeria today, schools are not fulfilling this expectation as the agent of socialization due to the poor state of their libraries and lack of adequate local textbooks.

Actually, most of the books available for teaching and learning in Nigeria today are foreign authored. This situation makes Nigerian students rely heavily on foreign examples, leaving them in the dark about their own environment. As a result, youths develop more interest in leaving the country for greener pastures that may never be there. Unfortunately, this has depleted the human capital of our society because most of our youths are psychologically disconnected from their mother land, apart from the incessant inter-tribal wars that arise due to ethnic rivalry.

To address the foregoing anomaly, this book was conceived to equip students of Sociology and Anthropology in Nigeria on the one hand as well as members of the public, especially visitors and tourists, with details about the people and cultures of Nigeria. The book is designed in a way that will appeal to students and lay persons. It is written in simple language with clear examples and illustrations. The layout is thematically arranged, and the issues discussed answer the frequently-asked questions about Nigeria.

The book consists of well-researched practical and theoretical papers as an attempt to bridge the knowledge gap between local and foreign reading materials for both students and the general public. There is no doubt that the issues raised and discussed in this book will reshape perception of some age-long notions about the people and cultures of Nigeria. Hence, it is recommended to students across disciplines; they should avail themselves of the opportunity the book will offer, most especially opening the society's gate through adequate knowledge of its people and the cultures.

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SECTION ONE
INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Ayodele Samuel Jegede

In a lay man's language, culture is simply defined as a way of life of a people. The British Anthropologist, Edward B. Tylor, first used the word culture in his book titled, *Primitive Culture,* published as far back as 1871 (Oke, 1984). According to Tylor, culture is ***"that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."*** Having popularised the use of the word, culture, it has since become the main focus of analysis in anthropology (Oke, 1984; Onwuejegwu, 1992)). Since culture is a way of life of a people it is a useful lens for examining the similarities and differences among groups of people. Therefore, this book is using culture to understand the different peoples that occupy the territory called Nigeria.

In Sociology and Social Anthropology, culture includes the beliefs, behaviour, language and entire ways of life of a particular group of people at a particular point in time (Otite and Oginonwo, 2007; Onwuejegwu, 1992). It also includes customs, ceremonies, and works of arts, inventions, technology and traditions. Examining culture this way, it distinguishes human beings from other animals. This is because humans are able to construct patterns of behaviour for themselves, and they are able to transmit them from person to person and through generations. Generally, sociologists and social anthropologists are interested in the evolution of and changes in culture. As a result, they examine the way norms and values operate as guides to behaviour. The properties of culture are that it is shared, learned, symbolic, transmitted from generation to generation, adaptive and integrative in nature.

While culture is an important tool for human survival, it is a fragile phenomenon. Culture is dynamic because it is constantly changing and can easily be lost. This is because culture only exists in the minds of people. Human beings are able to develop written languages, political institutions, kinship systems, social institutions and other ways of life through interactive process as members of society (Radcliffe, 2006). Cultures evolve continuously from human interaction. Hence, cultural patterns such as language and kinship systems do not make sense except when it involves people interacting with one another (Weber, 1951).

Nigeria is the most populated (140 million according to the 2006 national Census) country in the African continent. It has land area of 923,768 km2. It is socially and culturally diverse. Nigeria is saddled with cultural diversity. This diversity depends to a large extent on the ethnic cultural values and habits, as well as religious habits and obligations. There are also major differences between rural and urban cultural life, and rural and urban habits and norms. In fact, the cultural life in Nigeria is rooted in tradition. Figure 1 below shows the spatial distribution of the people of Nigeria.

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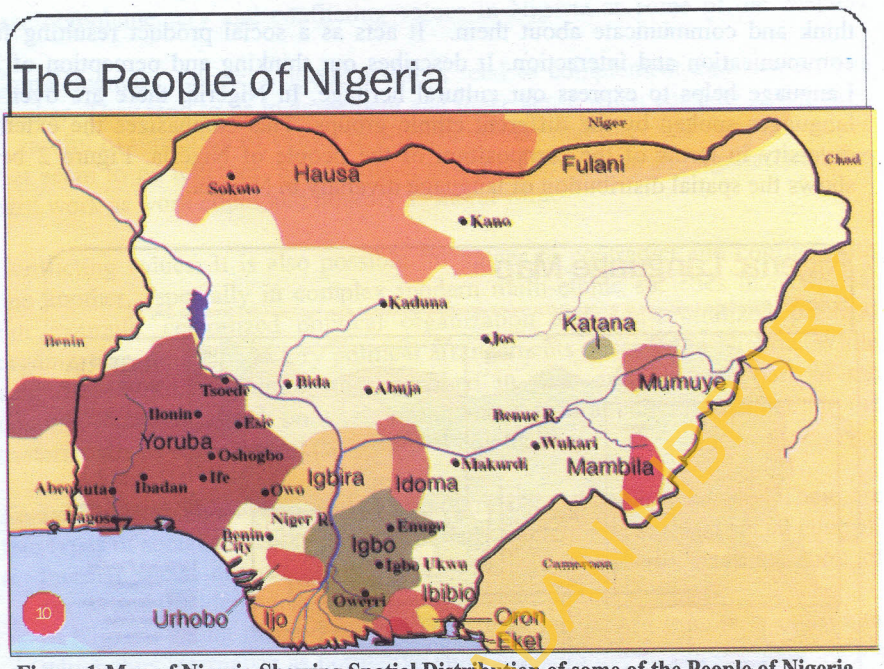

Figure 1:Map of Nigeria Showing Spatial Distribution of some of the People of Nigeria

This book focuses on the two types of culture namely;

1. ***Material culture*** which refers to the physical objects, resources, and spaces that people use to define their culture. These include homes, cities, churches, synagogues, temples, mosques, shrines, offices, factories and plants, tools, goods and products, stores, and the like. All of these physical aspects of a culture help to define its members' behaviours and perceptions. For example, modern technologies are fast becoming an important aspect of material culture in Nigeria. Today, we have computer which is a basic technology to accomplish many things.

2. ***Non-material culture*** which refers to the non-physical ideas that people have about their culture, including beliefs, values, rules, norms, morals, language, organizations, and institutions. For instance, the non-material cultural concept of religion consists of a set of ideas and beliefs about God, worship, morals, and ethics. These beliefs, then, determine how the culture responds to its religious topics, issues, and events. When considering non-material culture, sociologists refer to several processes that a culture uses to shape its members' thoughts, feelings, and behaviours. Four of the most important of these are symbols, language, values, and norms.

This book discusses the people of Nigeria from the point of view of the following elements of culture:

1. ***Language***: Language is a set of symbols used to assign and communicate meanings. It enables us to name or label the things in our environment so we can

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think and communicate about them. It acts as a social product resulting from communication and interaction. It describes our thinking and perception of life. Language helps to express our cultural heritage. In Nigeria, there are over 450 languages spoken by the different ethnic groups. This emphasizes the extent of diversity in terms of the composition of the people of Nigeria. Figure 2 below shows the spatial distribution of language diversity in Nigeria.

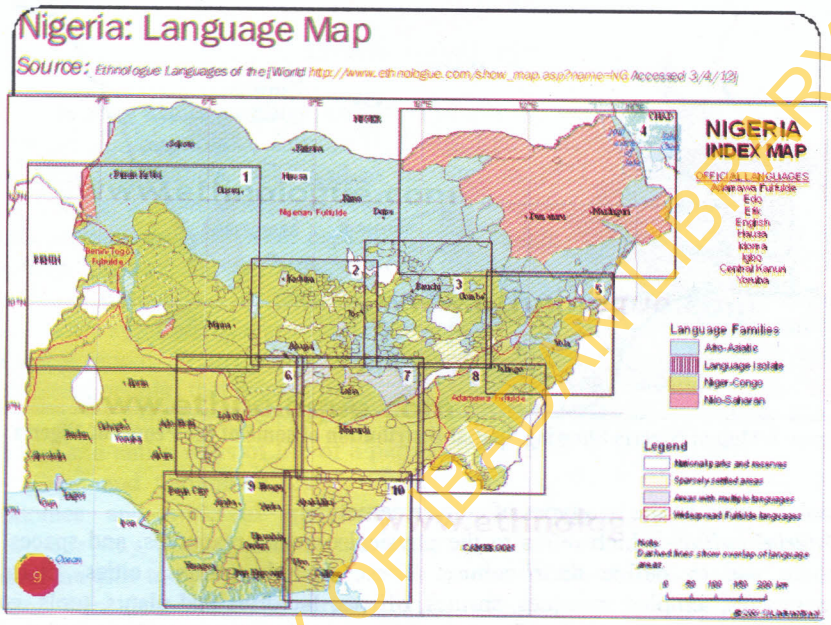

Figure 2: Map of Nigeria Showing Spatial Distribution of Languages

2. ***Norm***: This is humanly created rule for behaviour. The production of norms is necessary for orderly, stable and predictable interactions. The role of power in the production of norms involves reification of norms, renegotiating and changing norms. Types of norms are: Folkways, Mores, Taboos and Rituals. Each ethnic group in Nigeria has a unique norm that distinguishes its behaviour from one to another. This is highly valued and protected in Nigeria.

3. ***Value***: This is anything members of a culture aspire to or hold in high esteem. Values are things to be achieved, things considered of great worth or value.
   i. Values are human creations. They are social products.
   ii. Values can and do become reified.
   iii. Values can be renegotiated and changed.

Though Nigerian people and groups may disagree about what things are most important in life, they generally will value hard work, self-discipline, success, wealth, prosperity, equity, fairness, and justice, equality of opportunity, love, compassion, humanitarianism, charity, service, respect for others, tolerance, forgiveness, and acceptance. Also, they value faith, religion, family, conformity, tradition, health, happiness, and life and knowledge, among many others.

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There are complementary and conflicting values in Nigeria as some of the chapters reveal.

a. Complementary values: A group's values tend to complement and support one another. They tend to be in agreement and make sense when considered together. A careful examination of values in Nigeria reveals that there are "sets" of values that seem to go together. For instance, every culture group in Nigeria cherishes hard work as work ethics and honesty as moral value.

b. Conflicting values: It is also possible for values to contradict and conflict with one another, especially in complex modern multi-ethnic societies like Nigeria. For example, centralized political organization and non-centralized political organization are contradictory political arrangements observed in Nigeria. While centralized political culture was cherished in west and northern part of the country, non-centralized political arrangement was a cultural practice in the eastern parts of Nigeria until the period of colonialism.

1. ***Social Control***: This is a means of maintaining social order in society. There are two types of social control in Nigeria, namely internal and external social control.
   a. Internal social control involves (i) socialization and the internalization of norms and (ii) ideologies, beliefs, and values.
   In Nigeria, young members of the society are socialized to orderly behaviour which they internalize as normative values. The family is where young people are exposed to their first preferences and prejudices. In the family, the lessons in honour and shame are learned, just as are the first lessons in dissembling to avoid the truth that may injure the well-being of the community. Every ethnic group has its own cultural beliefs that are rooted in the world of unseen spirits driving what they can do and not do. Figure 3 below shows elderly women assisting a young mother to nurse a baby.



Figure 3:An Elderly Woman Assisting a Young Woman to Care for her baby – An Example of Socialization

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b. External social control: There are two types of external social control namely; (i) informal sanction and (ii) formal sanction.
The informal sanctions include the following physical and verbal reactions, embarrassment and stigma, avoidance and ostracisation and the importance of informal sanctions in small groups and organizations. For instance, a man was ostracised from a community in Ikorodu area of Lagos State in 2010 for impregnating his daughter. According to the report, such an act is a taboo in the community.

Formal sanctions take place in large organizations, and it may involve court hearings, trials and punishments. Each cultural group in Nigeria has a formal way of dealing with crime and conflict. While the traditional rulers remain the political leaders, they also serve as judges in matters of public interests and they have the final say in justice administration. Hence, in Yoruba culture, the king is reverenced as "*Kabiyesi*" [literally meaning "*unquestionable authority*"]. This means the authority of the king is unquestionable. This experience is similar in other parts of the country, though the situation is changing with modern system of government.

2. ***Beliefs and ideologies***: Beliefs are the things members of a culture hold to be true. They are the "facts" accepted by all or most members. Beliefs are not limited to religious statements, but include all the things a people know and accept as true, including common sense everyday knowledge. Like all other cultural elements, beliefs are created and produced by human beings. They are collective social agreements produced in the course of interaction and reified over time. What is "true" or "factual" for a particular people is what they collectively agree to be true at that point in time. Beliefs can and do change, especially in modern industrial societies. Today, some of the things our grandparents used to believe are no more fashionable. There are chances that our grandchildren will see many of our beliefs as obsolete and archaic in future. This suggests that culture is dynamic.

On the other hand, ideologies are integrated and connected systems of beliefs. It is a set of beliefs and assumptions connected by a common theme or focus. They are often associated with specific social institutions or systems and serve to legitimize those systems. Nigerian ideology is mixed economy; that is, it is both capitalist and welfare in nature. Ideologies are, themselves, often related and connected to each other in complex ideological systems, such that one ideology "makes sense" when considered with another. For instance, the different ideologies of the Nigeria people often legitimize one another in that the value of one ideology is better appreciated when compared to another. Religious ideologies often encompass or subsume many of a culture's ideologies, giving them added legitimacy. However, it is also possible for a culture to hold ideologies that are conflicting and contradictory.

There is need to integrate cultural activities and values in all spheres of life in the post-independence development of Nigeria. Cultural values have been used as a springboard of development in Nigeria. However, it is difficult to avoid the clash between modernization (westernization) on one hand, and the traditional cultural values on the other. Generally, the traditional cultures are losing popularity.

Development of education, establishment and growth of cultural institutions and culture reflect the constant processes of change in Nigerian cultures. It is not possible to quantify these processes, but it is evident that the cultural growth is

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reflected in the new type of Nigerian culture and identity. It is not based on the merging of different cultural traditions, but it implies a selection of values that may define modern cultural identity of Nigeria.

This book is divided into eleven sections. Each section contains chapters relating to the theme of the section. The first section is the introduction which explains the concept of culture and discusses it within the context of the culture of the people of Nigeria. It also contains theoretical analysis of the concepts of people and culture as well as the historical overview of Nigeria as a nation. This section is an eye-opener to the basic concepts used in the text and draws specific examples from the various ethnic groups in Nigeria.

Section Two discusses the people of Nigeria. The Chapters in this section extensively examine the culture of the people within the context of their geographical and social milieu starting with the people of the mangroves. These are the people living in the riverine areas of the country whose life style is shaped by their riverine environment. These people are mostly fisher men and women. This is followed by the people of the forest region where agriculture is the major economic activity. Although some of the areas in the rain forest are riverine, the authors in this book make clear distinctions between cultures. They also explain the overlap of cultural traits. The people of the savannah are examined in two ways. First, there is focus on Hausa and Hausanization of the Northern Nigeria. Second, there is focus on the Fulani/Ful'be also of the Northern Nigeria. Although these are not the only people living in the northern region of Nigeria, the authors clearly identify and describe the other ethnic groups in the region. One important issue in this section is that authors are able to demonstrate that, regardless of the diversity of the ethnic groups in Nigeria and their cultures, there are areas of commonality.

Section Three describes the kinship, marriage and family systems in Nigeria. This section provides adequate information about the context and content of kinship relations and the importance of this in socialization of young members of the society. Kinship, being the organizing principle of societies, the chapter makes exposition on how Nigeria societies are organized. The chapter on marriage explains the marriage rules in the different cultures of Nigeria bringing out the similarities and differences. The author emphasizes the importance of marriage in society as well as its functions. The chapter on family system is explicit on the role of the family as a social institution in Nigeria. The author emphasizes that family upholds societal values and transmits the values from one generation to another. It also promotes adherence to the values.

Section Four deals with population issues in Nigeria. In fact, population is a major issue that has drawn the attention of both government and the citizenry in Nigeria. Apart from the fact that population is the basis of revenue sharing in Nigeria, it has both social and cultural values to the people. As a result, its influence politically and economically has continued to wax stronger. The authors in this section critically examine the contemporary issues in this area and the changes that have taken place in recent times.

Section Five discusses issues of identity and development in Nigeria. Identity is about social categorization and self-definition in relation to others. Identity inherently connotes a principle of "us" and "them" in social interaction. The authors argue that the social relations of identity and the dynamics of its construction are direct outcomes of subsisting social structure and vice versa. Social structure entails the

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totality of social relations, patterns of behaviour, rules, institutions, norms, values and roles across major societal institutions. For them, issues of solidarity, inclusion and exclusion have been prominent in Nigeria's social scene from the time of its creation till date. The mobilization of various forms of identity to the exclusion of others has resulted in violent and non-violent conflicts, and as such different social groups especially ethnic groups live in mutual suspicion and fear of one another.

Section Six discusses economic issues in Nigeria. One of the authors in this section argues that in traditional society, economic life centres on hunting, food gathering, shepherding or animal herding and farming. The economy was based on affective actions. There is no laid- down rules. The most important economic unit is the household. There is no demarcation between home and work-place. The father is regarded as the head of the family, and as a result most economic activities are determined by him. Such societies depend on very simple tools, and specialization is only limited in that households always produce what is needed in the homes. On work ethics in traditional Nigerian society, the other author argues that hard-work is generally considered a virtue. Members of the society are socialised to imbibe the values of diligence and responsibility from childhood, beginning as soon as a child is able to run little errands around the household. Laziness is not condoned at all, and slackers are thoroughly checked through direct and indirect means, checks that are sometimes packaged as songs, idioms, adages, or other forms of code. Except those that are ready to endure a life-time of endless ridicule, which is very rare, no one can choose indolence over diligence.

Section Seven deals with health issues. The authors argue that among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria, different health-care professionals have evolved aside the western health practitioners. The Yoruba refer to them as "babalawo"; the Hausa call them "boka", while the Igbo call them "dibia." Among these groups, different experts in various aspects of healing have emerged. They include herbalists, traditional birth attendants (TBAs), bonesetters, traditional psychiatrists and a host of others. Over time, these traditional health practitioners have created lasting impressions in the minds of their indigenes. Those who practise their art are recognized in their community as competent health-care providers (Maclean, 1971; Erinosho and Ayorinde, 1985 and Owumi, 1989). They rely on vegetable, animal parts, mineral substance and certain other methods (divinations, prayers, incantations, among others) based on values of the community regarding the physical, mental, and social wellbeing and the causes of disease and disability. It is concluded that recognizing the high numerical strength, accessibility, affordability and patronage of traditional medicine, there is need to identify the numbers of traditional health-care practitioners in Nigeria.

Section Eight deals with the mass media. Authors argue that traditional Communication Systems include all organised processes of production and exchange of information managed by rural communities. According the authors, their tools, like traditional theatre, masks and puppets performances, tales, proverbs, riddles and songs, should be seen as cultural and endogenous responses to different community needs for information, education, social protest and entertainment. These systems are often used to solve the contradiction between the need for change (development) of a rural community and the need to preserve its cultural values. It is concluded that traditional communication systems change with the passage of time with the changing environment and needs of the society. The traditional symbols deriving out of the environment may also change with the changing environment.

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Section Nine deals with religion and acts of worship among the Nigerian people and their implications for development and national unity. It is argued that the three dominant religions in Nigeria are Christianity, Islam, and traditional religion. However, before the advent of Christianity and Islam, the traditional society had always been characterized by traditional religious beliefs and acts of worship. Every ethnic group in Nigeria at some point practised traditional religion handed down to them by their forefathers. The belief in spirits, witchcraft and extra-terrestrial beings are a common phenomenon among the Nigerian peoples which perhaps influenced the belief in the invisible and supernatural world in the affairs of men, to the extent that whatsoever may befall a man, be it good or evil, had always been attributed to the doings and makings of the spirit world. The various ethnic groups in Nigeria have their peculiar religions and modes of worship, and, unlike Christianity and Islam which have some forms of documented written materials (Bible and Quran), traditional religions have no written or documented material. However, they are rich in oral traditions which are usually passed on from one generation to another through the process of socialization. It is concluded that religion has a role to play in development, a process that must be assimilated into people's ideas about their relation to the past and the future of their societies. Ellis and Haar (2007) report that in sub-Saharan Africa, religion arguably now forms the most important connection with the rest of the world. Not only does religion remain a key element in the thinking of most Africans, it is increasingly evident in the public realm, including politics with some governments explicitly proclaiming themselves Islamist, and some heads of states publicly claiming to be born-again Christians.

Section Ten discusses the Nigerian customary laws and the challenges of human rights laws. The authors examine the customary law in Nigeria in the light of the Nigerian constitutional provisions as well as other international and regional human rights instruments to which Nigeria is a signatory. The chapter also discusses the meanings of customary law and human rights. It interpolates the two concepts by bringing out how they impact on each other. The authors point out that the term "customary law" is capable of different meanings depending on who uses it, whether an anthropologist, a sociologist or a legal theorist. Another author distinguishes between the terms "customary law", "custom" or "culture"; because they are interwoven, and there is tendency to regard the two terms as the perfect synonyms. It is concluded that with the introduction of the English law into Nigeria, the indigenous or customary laws have been relegated to the background, coming after the received foreign law, statutes of general application and other ordinances. As such, the validity of the customary law is often assessed based on the English principles and ideas of justice.

Finally, Section Eleven deals with the issue of social change in Nigeria. The authors argue that many Nigerian cultures have been affected by the adoption of a Western life-style. One cannot deny that this way of life has enabled Nigerian society, not only in terms of standard of living and general level of material welfare, but the socialization of Nigerian children. The advent of advanced technology, its adoption and effects is in fact a reflection of the interpersonal and intra-personal stress arising from the conflicts between people who value the Nigerian traditional socialization process and the group eventually linked with modern and western-based socialization values.

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Generally, the book makes an exposition of cultural practices in Nigeria and examines critically the similarities and differences across cultures. It is important to note that there is no society with absolute cultural practices. Many cultures share many traits in common. The basic fact about life is that human societies are interdependent because of the basic needs of life which an individual society cannot provide. On this basis, it is imperative for people to interact one way or the other. Hence, in the process of interaction, people tend to imbibe one cultural trait or the other from their neighbours. This book alludes to this in the case of Nigerian culture.

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CHAPTER TWO

THEORIZING PEOPLES AND CULTURE

Olutayo, A.O. and Akanle, Olayinka

Introduction

Culture is the most critical point of reference in human existence. It is practically impossible to refer to a group of people validly except within the framework of culture because culture is the people, and the people are culture. It is only within culture that people, their relationships, productive capacities, existence, actions and development potentialities become meaningful. Without culture and understanding of cultural trajectories, people are referred to in dangerous vacuums. References and considerations thus become liable to errors. This is so because there are no actions of a group of people or even an individual that do not resonate cultural elements. Cultures and their dictates suggest course of actions, patterns of actions and interpretations of behaviors. Interpretations of actions and behaviors without recourse to cultural background that propels them are bound to be dangerously misleading and laced with ethnocentrism, prejudices and stereotypes because it is culture, within the subsisting environmental milieu; that explains actions and behaviours. This is why culture determines bounds of deviations and appropriate actions whether reinforcement and sanctions.

Cultures are, however, space and time specific. That is, what is culturally acceptable are determinable within space and time of culture. Culture is organic and dynamic relative to place and time in point. This is why what was not acceptable the previous year could be tolerated and acceptable today, and what is culturally unacceptable in one society is celebrated in another. Culture can be referred to as a collective and/or as isolated unbundled construct. This is in fact one of the most common pathways to conceptual abuse of culture. It is within this that it is possible to refer to a Nigerian Culture and/or Cultures of Nigeria. This however presents description challenges. Culture can be described as a whole lot of things that a people represent; it is also the collective mode of life of a people in terms of materiality and non-materiality. According to Smith (2003:278), culture can be described as a collective mode of life, or a repertoire of beliefs, styles, values and symbols that presupposes different modes and repertoires in a universe of modes of repertoires. This definition has plurality and singularity of culture embeddedness.

References to culture could therefore be in terms of collapsed and isolated trajectories. That is, it is in terms of reference to 'All Nigerian Culture' as a single group of people or all the almost 500 cultures of Nigeria as autonomous singular ones. This is 'cultures' of Nigeria in singularities as the people[1], relative to pre-colonial ethnic formations, define their existences uniquely in relations to their environments and exploitation for survival for self determinism. Or, as Nigeria collapsed cultures and form as a single national culture and evolution of a national Mega Culture that distinguishes the nation from all other nations in Africa and Europe or America for instance[2]. This is very important and even extremely crucial in the age of globalization where reference is now being made, controversially though, to a *Global Culture*. This

1 This refers to different cultures of Nigeria ethic groups as autonomous cultures

2 This refers to the possibility of amalgamation of all the different cultures in Nigeria to a single distinct culture of the nation. This does not, however, mean merger of cultures but appropriation of unique elements of those cultures for unique national identity formation and development

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is to point to the fluidity, mutability and the etherealness of culture as existential realities as cultures aggressively interact and attract forms originally alien against the backdrops of politico-economic dynamics that now informs cultures.

Nigeria is one of the most culturally diverse nations in the world. It is, thus, a multi-cultural nation with very diverse socio-cultural system deeply rooted in ethnic segmentation. The cultural variability in the country is represented through ethnic categorization which collectively forms ethnic plurality, culture multiplicity and ethno-linguistic groupings. As multiple as these ethnic and ethno-linguistic groups are, however, cultures and ethnic groups in Nigeria are often classified into ethnic groupings. The three dominant ethnic groups in the country are; the Hausas, the Yorubas and the Igbos[3] respectively in order of population strength[4]. The Hausas[5] are in the Northern part of the country and speak Hausa; the Yorubas are in the Southwestern part and speak Yoruba, while the Igbos are in the Southeastern part and speak Igbo. The dominance of these three ethnic groups however does not diminish the significance of the other ethnic groups. In fact, most people in Nigeria prefer to identify with less dominant classifications depending on the reason for ethnic appropriation (ethnic instrumentalities). It is common to see individuals describe themselves as Ekiti man/woman instead of Yoruba, while an Igbo may describe him/herself as Mbaise rather than Igbo. Language, through words mobilization, is the avenue through which cultures move, meanings made and communication appreciated. In Nigeria, like in other related domains, language is very key. This is why culture is sometime categorized along language groups.



Culture as Survival Instrument: Theoretical Considerations

3 Sometimes referred to as Ibos in the literature

4 The Ethnic Map of Nigeria below further demonstrates this subject

5 Sometimes referred to as Hausa/Fulani

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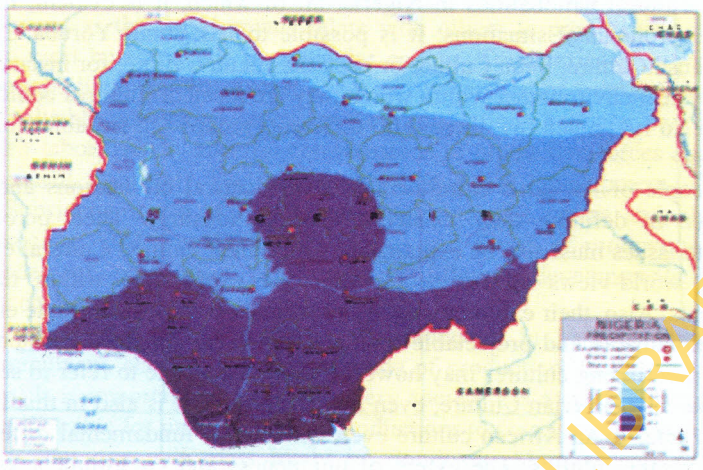

Precipitation Map of Nigeria[6]

The ecology of Nigeria differs from one region to the other. This represents tropical forest in the south and dry savanna in the up North, This explains the plant and animal population and existence in these regions. Animal and plant populations in the regions of the country are diverse and mix relative to the physical characteristics predominance in the regions. Primarily, the climate of Nigeria is tropical in nature. This however varies, and the variations largely reflect rainfall patterns. Rainfall is heavy in the South and light in the North. Average temperature in the country ranges between 25-28 degrees suggesting high temperatures all year round, and the temperature is normally higher in North than the South. The physical environment has strong implication for the culture of the people and how they summarily exploit that environment. It affects the overall survival strategies in terms of food, clothing, housing, marriage and even patterns of warfare in terms of nature, defense and forms of attack. Historical accounts have demonstrated the nature of variations that existed in ways groups fought wars in pre-colonial era particularly due to the imports of their physical environments.

The environment affects the means of exploiting the environments and kind of foods cultivated just as it determines the implement adopted; for example, areas with little rainfall as it is the case in the Northern Nigeria thus relies on irrigation, relevant implements and cultivate crops like carrot and groundnut, while people of the South with heavy rainfall cultivate yam and evolve relevant clothing like *aso-oke*. This section of the chapter gives a concise theoretical framework for analysis of culture. Whether reference is made to culture in singularity or plurality, it cannot be discernible without the need to adapt to its environment. It is important, therefore, to wonder if it is possible to refer to 'A Nigerian Culture'. This becomes important as there are many

[6] The map shows distribution of rainfall as important character that determines performance of the physical environment. Map available at http://www.bestcountryreports.com/Precipitation_Map_Nigeria.html. Accessed 28/04/11

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ethnic and cultural nationalities in Nigeria, all of which, it is evident, reside within different environmental situations. It is possible to talk about Yoruba Culture, Igbo Culture, Hausa Culture, Ijebu Culture or even the Jukun Culture, for instance, based on the geo-physical environment within which they are located. Cultures could be isolated in Nigeria to as much as there are different groups classifiable into different nationalities.

People of the same culture must have identical orientations and a point of convergence in defining their existence and relationships. Their perceptions and responses to issues must also be explainable within their culture. Cultural elements that define the world-views of the people must be explainable within their cultural environments. Also, their exploitations of immediate and post-immediate environments must be explainable and projectable within the cultural domains. Existence of some commonalities among cultures may however make it possible to refer to some national cultures like The Nigerian Culture, even though loosely. It is also in this line that it is possible to refer to an African culture even when some fundamental differences exist among dominant cultures. The extent of uniqueness and environment as well as of group capacities to exploit their environments for development and existence gives culture(s) defining characters. The character of a culture is not determined solely by racial, ethnic and generalized primordial considerations but by the degree of crystallization of development capacities appropriation.

The crystallization of development capacities appropriation finds expressions in the forces of production, which combine raw materials, means of production, ideas, technology, energy, knowledge, politics, power and labor that are deployed in producing goods and services necessary for satisfaction of human wants and needs. This has implications for whether a culture will support development or repel it. It also has implications for whether a culture will be considered useful or otherwise just as it will determine the place of that culture in the political economy of a nation or the world at large. This is why some cultures set the pace for others to follow, while others follow helplessly and are rooted in cultural insignificance and condemned to the bottom of culture for development pyramid.

According to Olutayo (2002), beginning from 18th century, fundamental changes occurred in ways and manners studies and researches into humans' exploitation of environments were done. This was against acclaimed realization that humans' abilities to exploit environments for existence were quite limitless. Human capacity to deal and appropriate environments for growth was original, dynamic and innovative, thus making capacities for development beyond limit. This however must be married with local and external implications. It thus means that 'man's' ability to deal with the environment is also influenced by local physical and socio-cultural environments as well as climatic realities. The local realities thus co-mingle with the external ones to determine the character of that society's culture. Human and societal development has analytically been in stages traceable to the nature of subsisting production. That is, whether the productive forces or forces of production was sophisticated or rudimentary. At the rudimentary level of the forces of production, humans' relations within themselves, and other people external to them, in order to produce, was limited. This period is often noted as hunting and gathering as humans hunt for meat and forage for plants in order to survive at the level of food as the fundamental need.

As the process of development continues, forces of production also developed. This necessitated humans' involvement with others to institute productive activities. At

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this level, relations of production developed. Relation of production could be simply and succinctly put as the way humans relate with others as productive activities are undertaken to meet human needs in particular epochs. Trajectories of production and relation of production are, but not limited to, ownership of property, power and authority to valuable productive assets as well as relations between people and the objects of their labor. Hence, specific combinations of productive forces and relations of production will ultimately lead to the emergence and development of mode of production. Subsisting mode of production determines the nature and character of culture and society. Different forms of relations and forces of production comprise different modes of production and produce different developments, including revolutionary conjunctures.

Marx identified different modes of production in history. These include primitive communism, slavery, the Asiatic mode of production, feudalism, capitalism and socialism. It is important to note that every society has a mode of production at least. It is also possible for many modes of productions to co-exist at the same time in a single society, but one will most likely be dominant. Main aspects of mode of production are economic basis and the superstructure. The economic base involves productive activities that are undertaken for economic and transactionary purposes. The superstructure involves the social institutions, the dominant legal regimes, ideas and orientation in that society. Culture is a major aspect of the superstructure. This is more so as it is in culture that all modes of productions subsist. Modes of production give culture significance and culture determine the nature and course of modes of productions. This is in the order of cultural determinism.

In line with the above, the Marxian 'economic determinism' also acquires relevance. That is the belief that the economic basis of society is the main determinant of the superstructure. This becomes easily observable in Nigeria where the very rich, sometimes, have the capacity, holy or unholy, to influence what happens at other domains. They amass economic muscles and determine course of events even culture. This has been observed to be the case most especially in capitalism as the quest for profit and rationality reign supreme. The dominant modes of production as the core economic base of society with strong implications for culture thus have far-reaching consequences especially against the backdrop of capitalism and globalization.

Globalization and the Cultural Environments: Furthering the Theoretical Expose

Let us begin this section with a discourse on globalization. Not many concepts and practices are as popular and keenly discussed as globalization in recent time. Academics and policy makers as well as activists across spectrums have had one reason or the other to engage globalization. This is due to the impact of globalization on the lives and activities of people. While these impacts are sometimes positive, they are also sometimes negative. Regardless of the issues at stake, globalization always has consequences. Globalization is at best a double-edged sword and the edge one receives depend on the side of the sword one is and the position within the world political economy. Globalization can be succinctly described as the increasing interaction of people, things and nations across time and space. It is the increase in rate of interaction within the framework of extreme reduction in time and space distanciation. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, people, nations, things and culture relate across the

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world in contemporary terms and time, and share in the consequences of such interactions.

The 'third world economies and cultures interact with those of 'first' and 'second worlds' and vice versa with far-reaching consequences. Exchanged and unequally yoked together in fast and easy interactions in manners that suggested winners-take-all. Cultural, economic, political, religious, psychological and technological capitals are exchanged across time and space. Globalization is propelled and made possible by technologies which sometimes take control of global interactions away from nations and people especially the weak ones in terms of political economy and technology. Today, decision to participate in globalization is taken on behalf of nations by the global super powers who decide the nature and consequences of globalization. Nations and their people are thus compelled to be mere actors in globalization as the 'developed nations' select the *dramatis personae* and allocate roles for the ultimate gains of the 'developed nations'. Although it is commonly stated that the process of globalization is for interconnectedness of sovereign nations through trade, capital, technological and cultural flows for common good, this also depends on the capacity to appropriate advantages, and these capacities are often dictated from the 'West' and mostly lacking in the 'developing nations' of Africa, Asia, Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean.

The 'West' thus manufacture globalization and its trajectories/ancillaries for their good, while the 'developing nations' only consume the consequences helplessly. In relation to culture, globalization could have and mostly have two contradictory, opposing and dialectical consequences. Globalization could have either centrifugal or centripetal consequences on the culture of a people depending on the nature and dynamics of relationship between local and global forces that moderate cultural globalization. The nature and strength of these forces will determine the situation and future of the cultural and the specific cultural ethos in question. Thus, it is possible for globalization to converge cultures and lead to sameness and a global culture. At the same time, it could lead to and reinforce cultural divergence and reinforce differences. The implications of the background issues found deep and practical expressions in the indigenous cultural patterns and the social institutions.

As the influence of globalization continues to be interrogated, the two major theoretical schools espoused above rage. For cultural differentialism, it is opined that it is impossible for cultures to be harmonized and homogenized. This is predicated on the assumption that peoples' cultures are enduring, represent identities that are unique, needed for subjective self-identification, important intergenerational significance; it is total and tied strongly to race and religion. These elements give civilization and culture core impetus that are not amenable to homogenization even though they do change. Within this tradition, memories of being, identity and relevance are located within cultures just as the ethno-history and the future linked to the present and lived in the past are codified in the culture of a people. Language and dialects demonstrate these as people deploy their mother and local tongue issues central to their survival are at stake. In societies like those of Africa where ancestral worships and libations are still held dear, cultures are vehicles through which the living relates with the important dead to give meanings to activities and action. It thus becomes unlikely that cultures could be homogenized. At best, cultures will have and begin to compete and become more and increasingly cosmopolitan.

On the other hand, an opposting theoretical tradition subsists. This is the Cultural Convergence orientation. According to this tradition, globalization leads and

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has the unending capacity to increase cultural sameness throughout a nation and the world at large. Cultures, against this backdrop, are liable to change, whether gradually or drastically, as a result of continue exposure to cultures at the 'other side'. Once these exposures are made possible, it is inevitable that, as sponge attracts water or soap, cultures will attract elements of one another and change in form and significant to the semblance of dominant ones exposed to in many ways. This has been constantly referred to as 'cultural assimilation' as already experienced in the French Colonies during colonialism. Globalization thus set the stage and pace for second and modern as well as post-modern cultural colonization through cultural imperialism. At the global and continental levels, implication of this theoretical orientation is observable in the ascendancy of fast food consumption, McDonaldization, family values at a flux (See: Olutayo and Akanle, 2007; Olutayo and Akanle, 2009), neo-liberal democracy and capitalism in Nigeria Africa and Latin America as propelled forcefully from the Western World of America and Europe.

Many things are deniable today, but not that globalization is having profound effect on Nigeria and its cultures whether in centrifugal terms and centripetal terms. These effects have both positive and negative forces and one could be more than the other depending on which side of the divide you are. Globalization is propelled and driving with utmost specificities by the mass media. The Mass Media today turn out targeted information with profound intended and unintended outcomes. The unmitigated exposure to foreign cultures through the mass media has come to be known as the CNN Effect resonating the huge influence of the popular Cable Network News with base in the United States of America as the original epicenter of globalization in the contemporary terms. The mass media people today are exposed to cultural ideals and values alien to their societies and are *encouraged* or *forced* or *lured* to internalize such values even when in conflict with dominant cultures. International stations are many today, and they enter peoples' homes and mentalities as well as cultures through satellite technologies as physical barriers to information are broken. It does not take much to watch stations like CNN, BBC, Sky News, Channel O, MTV Base, Super Sport, Sky Sport, Hollywood and Bollywood with profound homogenizing impacts on cultures.

Cultural boundaries today are very blurred within this framework and thresholds of cultures increasingly become fragile. Even media products like Nollywood and Africa Magic that are supposed to propagate local cultures are laced with foreign contents in manners that made adoption of foreign cultures easy and normal. Since cultural ethoses are not static and dynamic, even though globalization can breed cultural divergence, the potentialities of convergence are rife. There is hardly any nation today that could be described as autarchic as nations' boundaries are now only virtual and penetrable through technologies. Effect of these cultural penetrations as enabled by technologies could be observed in the 21st Century wave of the Arab Revolutions that swept through the North Africa and Middle East. Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Yemen and Iran, for example, were not spared, and many rulers who have had firm grip of their nations for decades were consumed. Cultural and religious elements sustained these rulers for that long, but these cultural and religious elements were challenged and crumbled, largely, by foreign cultural incursions enabled by Information Communications Technologies (ICTs), especially

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internet and mobile phones (emails, social networks platforms like face book and twitter, Short Messages [SMS] and phone calls).

Culture of Underdevelopment and Underdevelopment of Culture: Concluding Remarks

Across Nigerian Social Institutions, it is possible to observe some implications of globalization. The education institution today is laced with youths who want things done and live their lives the way it is done at other cultural domains. Their dressings are essentially foreign, and any attempt to demonstrate local ways of dressing, for instance, is seen as *old school* and needless. Students, male and female, 'sag' their trousers even when such dressing is synonymous with prisoners where it came from. People generally, and Nigerians, in particular, do not demonstrate enough capacities to interrogate cultural elements prior to adoption. They see in part and adopt in full to the detriment of themselves and the indigenous cultural systems. Course contents and modules are being forced to retool to be 'relevant'. 'Relevant' to the extent that it meets contemporary needs even when facilities to meet such needs are still lacking. Teaching methods are also being forced to change to fit global templates and outlines even when there are no infrastructures to support such changes. The school must be global compliant to show relevance. Interestingly, courses that teach indigenous values, thoughts, cultures and critical local bottom-up pathways/approaches to development are never popular among students except they are made compulsory. They are often seen as irrelevant, abstract, boring and unnecessarily difficult and will not be useful for employment in banks and telecommunication outfits, for instance, upon graduation.

Every culture in Nigeria has unique diets, mode of dressing, mode of production, language, greetings, marriage, mode of socialization, political systems and the like. In fact, everything is unique from one culture to the other. Modes of production and exploitation of the environment for the common good are certainly unique. As an example, this is why there was centralized emirate system in the North (The Hausa/Fulani), acephalous in the East (The Igbos) and constitutional monarchy in the West (the Yorubas), in the pre-colonial era. Historical and archival evidences reveal that these systems were effective and galvanized sustainable development. These political systems were developed in tandem with prevailing socio-cultural environments and not mindlessly taken from without. This sustained the groups and cultures and put them of the path to sustained growth and development. The physical and cultural environments of these groups specified how intelligently they were to exploit their environment and meet their needs and so they did objective. It is possible to say these people developed and their developments were sustainable. They lived within and related on the point of strength with their external neighbors. In contradistinction, families (nuclear ascendancy), mass media (foreign technology and contents dominance), economy (capitalism and bureaucracy), religion (Christianity and Islam), political system (Neo-Liberal democracy) are all laced with globalization imposed trajectories. Although it is possible to argue that local elements subsist, the subsistence is at the margins mostly. Cultures in Nigeria take the forms of foreign ones easily with impunity, while they hardly give any. Cultural elements at 'home' are commonly portrayed as evil, atavistic and archaic, while foreign ones are presented and accepted as the 'normal, good and desirable'.

Even values including love, honesty, bravery, care, extended brotherliness and filiations are now negatively rationalized as individualism and profit concerns take the

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center stage as imported through globalization. How many of today's Nigerian now go local to relate with original cultures? Only during special events. How many youths have traditional names and know their meanings and significance? How many of the youths speak their mother tongue and the dialect fluently? How many Nigerian proverbs do you particularly know? Do you know their meanings? How often do you use and pass them on to the future generations in form of oral and documented traditions? How many of your local wears do you have? Do you wear them often? Daily? What are your local values, and do you know and internalize them? Do they shape your characters and behaviors? Which one do you live most: your local/traditional culture or foreign culture? What effect has globalization had on you, and what effects is it having? Project the effect of globalization on you in terms of your cultural adoption! Your honest responses to these questions will enable you see and judge yourself within cultural spectrum and picture you and globalization!

This chapter has been tied to cultural domains and environments of people particularly those of Nigerians. It was with theoretical orientations but located within everyday living to demonstrate the place of culture and the fate of culture as people relate across time, space and place. Mode of production and globalization were adopted to theoretically situate the issues raised in the chapter. Overall discourse of the chapter was ultimately placed within development specificities and prisms as culture is not to be seen in isolation but as engines of growth and development as well as engine of retrogression and underdevelopment, depending on modalities for preservation, exposure and deployment. Culture becomes very relevant as it specifies development orientations and pathways. Once a people miss the point at the level of culture, development becomes indefinitely elusive. 'Developing nations' that have picked their mantle of leadership and development in contemporary terms did so with huge leveraging on cultural capitals.

Cases in Point are the Asian Tigers (as seen in South Korea) and the BRIC Nations of Brazil, India and China. Cultural deficits are automatically and certainly development deficit and even growth failure. Questions to ask are; can you live with what you have? How did Nigerian pre-globalization survive with what they had that enable us refer to Igbo, Youruba, Hausa, Itsekiri, Jukun, Nupe, and the like, cultural specificities? Once taste and definition of growth and development are imposed and given from abroad, modal culture becomes given and roots as well as pathways to development become precarious. People will get lose in the jungle of taste, consumerism and missed development opportunities. The situation becomes desperate because it is at a point where people want to live by what they do not have that dependency occurs. It is thus important for people, as a nation and individuals, to live on, depend on, and sustainable appropriate, their local environments, especially cultural ones, sufficiently, as they attempt development and appropriate global space and elements.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE NIGERIAN STATE

Akanle, Olayinka

Introduction and Background

Nigeria is a very interesting country. Although it is very common to find discourses on Nigeria very disheartening, the objective reality is that its history, existence and development have been largely chequered and sometimes paradoxical. Nigeria occupies an area of 923, 768 square km (356,667 square miles); from the Gulf of Guinea, it extends north to the border with Niger Republic. It has a veritable landscape from the swampy coastal areas and tropical forest belts of the interior, to the mountains and savannah of the north. The climate is hot and humid, and rainfall is usually heavy at the coast and gradually decreases inland (*Pocket Encyclopedia of the World,* 1997). The climatic conditions suggest arability and supposed viability of agricultural practices. The population of Nigeria is 140, 0003542 million (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2007). It is, consequently, the most populous country in Africa, close to 20 percent of Sub-Saharan Africa, and it is the sub-continent's second largest economy (World Bank, 2004; Federal Government of Nigeria, 2007).

Nigeria is one of the largest exporters of crude oil in the world. In fact, up to 99.0% of Nigeria's export revenue comes from oil; also, 78.0% of government revenues and 38.8% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) come from crude oil, (National Demographic and Health Survey, 2008). This is contrary to what obtained prior to the discovery of oil. Agriculture was hitherto the mainstay of the nation's economy. The nation depended on agriculture for food, industrial and export products. The sector employed at least 75.0% of the labour force, but this is no longer the case since the discovery of oil in the 1950s. The nation today cannot feed itself let alone feeding other nations as it was the case then. It also cannot employ its population. It is then not surprising that while Nigeria is supposed to be one of the richest countries in the world due to its huge human and natural resources base, it is one of the poorest countries.

Poverty in Nigeria is about 70% (Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, 2007)[1]; Unemployment rate is 11.9% (National Bureau of Statistics, 2006); Gross National Income (GNI) per capita at $560 as against UK's $37,6000; one in five children (20%) die before age five while there is 800-1000 maternal mortality, just to explore a few indicators. Largely driven by global demand for food and general agricultural system, national inflation rate is in the region of 15 percent. Hence, Nigeria's position on the Human Development Index has always been disappointing. On the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, the country is best regarded as *off track.* According to The State of the World's Children, 2007 and Yumkella, 2008, Nigeria will definitely not meet the targets on education net enrolment, child mortality, water and sanitation, health and curbing poverty. At Least 10 million Nigerian children are out of school, and at least 15 million engage in child labour due to poverty (United Nations Children Emergency Fund, 2005.

This introduction and background thus give a panoramic view of the contexts of the Nigerian state in order to have valid discussions of the issues at stake in this

[1] Although the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) Director General, and the organization, is always quick to counter this critical figure claiming 55.0 percent even though this does not reflect the true national poverty profile whether in relative or absolute terms

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chapter and also prevent vacuous conclusions and avoid recommendations with perverse consequences. This chapter is divided into four broad sections. These are Introduction and Background, History of the Nigerian State, Emergence of the State and Emerging Issues in the Nigerian State as conclusions. Within all these broad sections, vital issues will be discussed, embedded in paragraphs or as sub-sections. This analytical template is to have a concise and discursive chapter. Let us now turn our attention to the next section; History of the Nigerian State.

History of the Nigerian State

The subject of this section is a very critical and complex one; critical because it is only in the issues discussed here that the contemporary existence of the country become more comprehensible since the past helps explains the present and projects the future in manners that aid sustainable development. History is useful and will continue to be useful as any human being or group of people that forget(s) or trivialize(s) history will certainly go the way of history and be lost in the jungle of confusion and missed opportunity for sustainable development. Exploring the history of Nigeria must of necessity span different periods and events meaning it can make a whole book and collections of literature. Thus, this section, though comprehensively, will only strategically and systematically attempt an overview of significant historical conjectures that had definitive impact on the nation as an entity.

The Pre-colonial Epoch

A fundamental point that must be made is that prior to colonialism, there was no nation known as Nigeria, and there were no people known as Nigerians. Nigeria was inhabited by different independent and autonomous ethnic groups with unique linguistic and cultural differences. The groups existed as independent cultures, traditions, values, norms, political systems and identities until 1900. It is against the backdrop of these trajectories that they related, with friendliness and hostilities, to meet their basic needs. Their relations were structured and moderated by their unique identities and orientations. Reference to Nigeria must thus be appreciated within this background.

The first point, therefore, is to examine the origin of the people now known as Nigerians and the nation now referred to as Nigeria. It is common to trace the history of Nigeria to migrations. That is the movement of people from one location to the other within a definite period and across defined boundaries to the extent that they struggle to exploit their immediate and post- immediate environments to meet existential needs. These migrations were channeled through trades, diplomacy, wars and conquests, espionage and pilgrimages. Historical account traces the settling in any part of Nigeria pre-colonial to about 9000 B.C. at the South Western part of the country as settlers practised extensive agriculture about 4th B.C. The practice of agriculture by the early settlers was however not as mono-economy as they also practised trading and indigenous manufacturing in the form of ceramic production. The pre-colonial economy also received vibrancy and definitions with the discovery of bronze in Igbo-Ukwu.

It is impossible to consider Nigerian culture and processes prior to colonialism without recourse to the Nok culture predominance and ascendancy along Africa, especially Jos Plateau in the North about 500 BC-200 AD. The Nok people are Neolithic tribes, and their cultural significance is traceable to their early usage of and advancement in iron technology. The Nok culture thus had significant impact on the cultural evolution of ancient Nigeria, and some of the left-overs are still existent in contemporary forms but with deep historical elements without which the current forms

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become meaningless as the future of culture becomes uncertain without sustainable ancient elements appropriation.

As already mentioned above that autonomous indigenous groups occupied the country prior to colonialism, the groups and kingdoms that occupied the physical and cultural spaces then were the Nri kingdoms as early as the 10th century, Benin Kingdom, The Oyo Empire, The Igbo kingdom of Nri, The Edo Kingdom, The Kanuri, Hausa (Kano, Katsina, Zazzau, Gobir, Kano, Katsina, Birori, Daura) and some other groups (Gwari, Kebbi, Nupe and Yelwa particularly[2]), The Kanem Empire and Fulani people and Songhai Empire. The Bornu was established as an Islamic state in the 10th century, while nearly the whole Hausa kingdoms of the north became nominally established as Muslim states in the 15th century. By early 19th century, the Sokoto Caliphate was established through the Usman Dan Fodio Islamic holy war *Jihad*[3].The Yoruba have cultural predominance at this period, and their socio-political and cultural superiority extended far even to the banks of the River Niger and Dahomy by the 18th Century.

Historical evidences traced the predominance of the Yoruba to the economic, political and spiritual sophistication of the group around 15th Century. This is more relative to the ascendancy of the Old Oyo Empire and Ife. Many groups traced their origins to the Yoruba and pay tributes and homage to them. Between AD 1804-1903, the hurricane of Islam swept across the Hausa historical space in the northern region. This began with the Fulani through their leader, Sheik Usman dan Fodio, who declared *jihad* in the region due to his strong believe in Islam. This was around early 19th Century and was very successful as unrepentant rulers were deposed and new Islamic rulers installed. The northern area thus came under massive Islamic cultural influence in all ways, and this is still evident even in contemporary Nigeria. British interests also crystallized in the place about this period with the activities of the British Explorers, anti-slavery activists, missionaries and traders around AD 1806-1830.

The Colonial Era

It is possible to begin the history of the colonial period Nigeria with navigators' explorers' contacts with the Nigerian coasts. This began with the Portuguese and British in 1472. The colonial forms in this era, however, particularly emerged in the 1950s when the British established their presence around Lagos. Colonial occupation of Nigeria crystallized with the identification and creation of the Northern and Southern Protectorate as well as the Lagos Colony by the British Government in 1900. Another important historical event at this period was the amalgamation of the Colony of Lagos and the Southern Protectorate in 1906. It is noteworthy that the Northern Protectorate however still remained a separate administrative entity, perhaps due to its cultural, political and religious dissimilarities with the Lagos Colony and the Southern Protectorate. The unification of the Southern Protectorate and the Lagos Colony was possible and less cumbersome due to the cultural and physical contiguity existent between the two places. The Northern Protectorate and the Sothern Protectorate/Lagos Colony had different administrative relationships with the Colonial Office.

On January 1st 1914, the Northern and Southern/Lagos Colonies were amalgamated by the colonial government through the first colonial governor, Sir Lord

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[2] The Hausas ruled by walled cities as war strategies and cultural protections

[3] This war has come to be known in Nigerian historiography as the *Sokoto Jihad*

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Lugard. The amalgamation was, however, for ease of administration especially in terms of cost of governance. Also, this amalgamation was to further establish colonial rule in Nigeria and protect the territory from incursion by other colonial interests. Lagos, however, became and remained the headquarters of the colonial government. Colonial government adopted the indirect rule system in their administration of the territories due to language barriers, huge cost of administration, cultural incompatibilities and the intention to divert development to Europe and minimize level of developmental contributions to the colony.

The historical development of Nigeria progressed constitutionally. These constitutional progressions are significant in one way: It created a legal framework for the subsequent development of Nigeria. This had strong bearings with the 1914 amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates and the Lagos Colony. The constitutional evolution after 1914 began with the 1922 Hugh Clifford constitution which made provision for elected members at the legislative council. This elective provision was unprecedented in the history of the country. It was however only in letters as it did not give the legislative council the power to legislate for the Northern Protectorate. Some colonial activities and policies, however, met resistance in the country. A case in point is the *Aba Women Riot* of 1929 due to introduction of tax to women of the Eastern part by the colonial administration (Olutayo and Akanle, 2007).

The colony of Lagos, the Northern, Eastern and Western provinces were created in 1940. This creation of distinct units was followed by the Sir Arthur Richardson's constitution of 1946 which established and strengthened regionalism in Nigeria. In relation to the consequences of the Second World War, this constitution created the impetus for nationalist activities and self determination of the country. In fact, the process of decolonization of Nigeria began in 1946-1960 as the momentum gathered around nationalist movement. This affected the process, nature and dynamics of constitutional and political activities that followed in the nation. By 1950, the conference of northern and southern delegates was held in Ibadan, Southwestern Nigeria, with the intention of discussing paths to decolonization, although among other things. This was followed by the London conference in 1953, but not before the Sir Macpherson constitution.

Nigeria's constitutional development progressed steadily with the Sir Macpherson's constitution of 1951. This led to more autonomy for the regions and strengthened their legislatures. Another definitive event in the history of Nigeria s the crisis created by the process of self determination. This was specifically in 1953 when the central colonial government could not agree on the way forward for the country post-Kano riot. The Oliver Lyttleton constitution of 1954 was to chart a way forward for the country in the midst of the confusion emergent in the land around the period of Macpherson constitution. Sequel to the 1954 constitution, the political trajectories of Nigeria matured quickly through constitutional conferences in 1957, 1958 and 1959. This ultimately led to the Nigerian independence in 1st October, 1960.

The Immediate Post-Independence and Contemporary Times

Even after independence in 1960, the Queen of England remained the highest political figure for the country, while the Privy Council remained the highest judicial entity. In 1963, Nigeria became a republic, and the queen ceased to be the highest political figure and the Supreme Court replaced the Privy Council. Nigeria's history post-independence is very turbulent; it is a mixture of progress and retrogression, a period of peace and chaos- all towards nation building. These experiences have strong implications for

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contemporary situations in the country and can present formidable pathways for present and future leaders of the country. A panoramic view of Nigeria's post-independence historical issues is in order at this juncture. In 1962 and 1963, Censuses were conducted, but with extraordinary disputes. The one conducted in 1962 was disputed and rejected by people from the eastern region. This necessitated a repeat in 1963; it was adopted, though, with huge reservations across the country. The acrimonies created by the census crises were not totally resolved leading to mutual hatred and dangerous ethnic suspicions. The nation was thus sitting on kegs of gun powder, and this was very evident when it exploded on 16th January, 1966. This brought Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi to power as the Head of State. On 29th July, 1966, a counter-coup toppled the Aguiyi Ironsi's regime, and he was killed in the process. The counter-coup was planned and executed by mostly northern army officers. This was due to the historical fact that northerners were of the view that the January 16th, 1966 coup was executed by eastern soldiers against northern political class. The 29th July 1966 counter-coup was thus a retaliatory coup, and a lot of eastern political elites were executed in the process. The July coup brought Yakubu Gowon to power in place of Aguiyi Ironsi.

In the midst of these crises, Nigeria moved towards confederation of regions on 5th January, 1967. This was orchestrated and led to signing of a path by the regions at the Aburi conference in Ghana. The Aburi Conference however did not quench ethnic acrimonies totally as easterners accused the central government of marginalization and failure to guarantee the safety of the Igbos. Thus, on 30th May, 1967, Odumegwu Ojukwu who was the then regional military governor of the eastern region declared the Republic of Biafra as a secessionist agenda. This led to civil war in the country. Thousands of people and a lot of properties were destroyed. On January 12th, 1970, the war ended through a ceasefire announced by Phillip Effiong, the officer in charge of the Biafran government. The war was declared ended with the popular *no winner, no vanquished* slogan. The Igbo people were subsequently re-integrated into Nigeria after the war. Relative stability and peace returned to the country after the war and re-integration of the easterners.

As already implied above, the peace and stability were only superficial. Thus, on 25th July, 1975, Yakubu Gowon was overthrown through a *coup de tat* spearheaded by Murtala Ramat Mohammed, while away at a summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Uganda. General Murtala Mohammed was killed in another failed *coup de tat* on 13th February, 1976 and his deputy General Olusegun Obasanjo, took over and began the process of returning the country to democratic reign. The democratization process began with a preparation of a presidential style constitution on 21st September, 1978. In 1979, Shehu Shagari was elected as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The general election was however not peaceful in the south western states of the country which were predominantly dominated by members of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo. President Shehu Shagari, of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) ruled for four years from 1979-1983. The reign was peaceful but laced with allegations of corruption and marginalization of ethnic groups. Another significant historical event that occurred during this time was the Expulsion Order issued on foreigners in the country in January 1983. Over one million none Nigerians were expelled from Nigeria. According to the government, these people were living in the country illegally. Most of these foreigners were Ghanaians, and this is why

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the exodus of foreigners from Nigeria and the consequences that followed is commonly referred to in Nigerian history as *Ghana Must Go*.

In 1983, President Shehu Shagari was re-elected as president. The election was however labeled unfair and laced with accusations of electoral malpractices. Amidst political and economic unease in the country and politicization of the army, the military overthrew the government of Shehu Shagari on 31st December, 1983. This brought Muhammad Buhari to power as Commander in Chief and Head of State. On August 27, 1985, Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida toppled the regime of Buhari. These two *coups de tat* were however bloodless unlike the *coup de tats* of 1966. Attempts were made at redemocratization on 12th June, 1993 in an election acclaimed the most transparent in the history of Nigeria. The election was popularly believed to be won by the Social Democratic Party's (SDP) flag bearer, Chief Moshood Kashimawo Olawale Abiola, but the military government of Babangida annulled the election. This led to protracted political unrest in the country with Lagos state as the epicenter of the political protest (See Akanle, 2009a).

On November 17th, 1993, Sani Abacha overthrew the Interim National Government put in place by the Babangida administration when he was forced to 'step aside' by pro-democracy forces. Under the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Chief Olusegun Obasanjo won the general elections of 1999 organized by the Abdusalami Abubakar military government. Obasanjo was sworn in as the president of Nigeria on May 29th 1999. This is why May 29th of every year is declared democracy day and a public holiday in Nigeria. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was re-elected president in 2003. In 2007, still under the PDP, Alhaji Umaru Yar'Adua was elected and sworn in as the president of Nigeria. President Yar'Adua's health however remained the bane of his regime, as rumours and dangerous speculations trailed his health condition.

President Umaru Yar'Adua's extended absence from 23rd November, 2009 created serious constitutional crises in the country. On 10th February, 2010, the National Assembly of Nigeria conferred executive power on Yar'Adua's Vice President, Goodluck Jonathan pending the president's return. The president however never returned as he died on May 6th, 2010, creating a huge political turbulence in the country. Goodluck Jonathan was subsequently sworn in as the substantive president. Another general election was organized in 2011 by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) under the leadership of Professor Atahiru Jega, a Professor of Political Science at the Bayero University, Kano. The Election was adjudged free and fair, both locally and internationally. Goodluck Jonathan won the election.

Factors that Led to the Emergence of Nigeria

It could be observed from the section above that Nigeria passed through different definitive historical pathways to arrive at the current position. It is, however, important to isolate some important factors that led to the emergence of the country. It is important to note at this juncture that these factors are only isolated for analytical clarity which is important for a book like this and may have interrelated with other salient factors to exert their observable influence on the country's emergence. Also, although it is possible isolate these factors, they also co-mingle within themselves as historical categories in their influences. They are thus no monolithic elements. The four interrelated crucial factors actually have determining character for the emergence of Nigeria as a country. They are; abolition of Trans-Saharan slave trade, export trade, the Yoruba civil wars and colonialism.

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Discourse on slave trade is always very sensitive and provocative. This is often due to the associated massive human loss, diplomatic backlash and mental torture often brought to the fore by such discourse. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was perpetrated between 16th and 19th centuries with both internal and external activities. Slave trade proceeds were used to finance both internal and external activities of kingdoms and nations, just as slave trade had both local inducement/perpetration and external ones. Slave trade led to both growth and collapse of major African states like Old Oyo, Ashanti, Dahomy, Old Calabar and the Kalabari (Uya, 1987), while it was used to develop Europe. The slave trade dominated both economic activities and political relations between the indigenous kingdoms and empires on the one hand and Europe and America on the other hand.

Most of these autonomous empires and kingdoms served as both slave merchants and slave routes, and this is especially the case with Old Oyo Empire which grew in huge significance about this time. In fact, it is to be noted that the political predominance of Old Oyo could be traced to quest for slaves to be sold as merchandize to Europeans. It is thus possible to establish a historical link between internal slavery and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Traditional rulers in the empires and kingdoms initially participated actively in the selling of persons as commodities to enrich themselves and their empires, and this was a major reason for the construction of "outsiders" and "strangers", and justification of generalized expansionist agendas. Significant numbers of the empires and kingdoms like the Old Oyo that initially benefited from slave raiding,[4] however inevitably became victims of European insatiable desire for slaves as their social controls were broken towards the end of eighteenth century (Uya, 1984). This led to the fall of the Old Oyo Empire, the hitherto very powerful empower holding the territories together.

Although the collapse of the Old Oyo Empire was also externally induced as already hinted above, the 100 years of civil wars in the Yorubaland further destroyed Oyo prominence and laid a background for emergence of Nigeria through British intervention to establish the peace pact. After 1817, by the middle of the 1830s and for the whole of the century generally, the totality of Yorubaland was engulfed in civil wars. Some prominent civil wars in the Yorubaland at this time were; *Kiriji war*, *Egba-Dahomy war*, *Ekitiparapo war*, *Mugba Mugba war*, *Jalumi war*, *Modakeke war* and *Ijaye war*. As against Old Oyo, the new powerful states and powerbrokers during the wars were the Ibadan, Abeokuta, Owo, and Ijesha who contested and attempted to monopolize trade routes and capture new slaves for local use and clandestine international supplies; clandestine because the British had withdrawn from the slave trade and was monitoring coastal lines and seaways. The Yoruba civil wars further predisposed the warring factions to external/international relations and trades as they struggled for possession of superior fire arms to pursue their wars as nature of weapons became major elements in the war calculations.

Notable war heroes of the 19th century Yoruba civil wars were Ogunmola, Oluyole, Ibikunle (all Bashoruns of Ibadan), Fabunmi of Oke-Imesi, Onafowokan of Ijebu, Sodeke of Egba, Kunrunmi, Afonja and many. However, more than all the warlords mentioned therefore, many other warriors participated in these century long wars. An important point to note from the foregoing is that while confusions reigned in

[4] Oyo was about the greatest exporters of, and traders in, slaves in 18th Century.

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the Yorubaland during these wars, it further encouraged Europeans' incursion and emergence of Nigeria as a state through foreign presence and territorial configurations/reconfigurations. The decade-long Yoruba civil wars had important implications for British presence. The wars further enabled the British to establish their presence through arms deal and legitimation by attempting to settle the wars.

The British attempts at settling the wars, however, had different degrees of success culminating in the Anglo-Yoruba Treaties of 1886-1893, which climaxed and chronicled an end to the war with the 1893 Peace Treaty (See Akanle, 2009b). It must be noted (and this is obvious) from the foregoing that the Peace Treaties did not have automatic peaceful effects on the Yoruba relative to the wars as many of those Peace Treaties were violated at different times by the warlords. It is therefore the combined effects of the treaties and the war fatigues as well as boredom experienced by the warlords and their people that put an end to the war. Regarding war fatigue and boredom, by the end of the century, most of the warlords were already getting tired of the wars (Akinjogbin, 2002) and were more positively predisposed to peace. This situation clearly resonates and demonstrates the relevance and applicability of the age long Yoruba proverb that *bi o ba re'ja enikan kila* (if war and the warlords are not tired, it is impossible to make peace. It is only at the point of war fatigue that peace is achievable).

Although historical accounts and archaeological discoveries have shown that Africans (Negroid people) had presence in Southern Europe, Asia and the Middle East before the slave trade, the massive dispersal of Africans and the largest involuntary migrations of people the world has ever known occurred during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade (Uya, 1984). Regardless of the heavy loss during the "Middle Passage", Africans constituted the great majority of people moving from the Old World of Western Europe and Africa to the New World before the nineteenth century, and the forced migration of Africans across the Atlantic was part of an important historical development that resulted in the consolidation of a single "world" and African Diaspora around the Atlantic, including Western Europe, Western Africa, the Caribbean Islands, and Mainland North and South America (Lovejoy, 2000; Mohan and Zack-Williams, 2002).

Although the "Number Game" is only an attempt to achieve objectivity in the reconstructions of an epochal occurrence, it is fraught with controversies and sentiments that usually bedevil colonial and slavery discourses; scholars have however dared such indulgencies. Between 1500 and 1860, an estimated 11.8 million people are known to have left the shore of Africa through slavery to either Americas or Europe and the most widely accepted number is put at 12 million (Lovejoy, 2000; University of Calgary Applied History, n.d). Literature search on the subject suggests the range of enslaved Africans through the trade could not be less than six million and could be as high as 30 million. The number controversy, notwithstanding, the fact that Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was a major event in the history of African people and that a major effect was the forced migration of several Africans to the New World can never be disputed.

The huge human loss associated with slave trade, religious considerations and development of alternative economic base (industrial productions) however led to popular clamor for the abolition of the trade. The abolitionist agenda was spearheaded by the British. The British anti-slavery policy in the region involved development of trade in palm oil usually from Niger Delta and other legitimate products as alternatives to income from the slave trade. This was also the period when food crops from Brazil and other parts of South America were introduced to be grown in West Africa (Alagoa,

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1980)[5]. However, this also became somewhat counterproductive when it further led to slave trade dependence in the hinterland especially at Oyo in order to facilitate legitimate trades and the familiar ones in slaves. It however opened the isle for more legitimate international economic relations especially as British warships make slave ships passage very difficult and disinteresting as they intercepted slave ships, liberated slaves and settled them in Freetown, Sierra Leone, as free people.

This opened the eyes of international traders to Nigeria and increased their interests in the country as veritable source of raw materials for European industries. It was during this time, in 1879, that the British trading enterprises on the Niger merged into one United African Company (UAC) and later chartered as the Royal Niger Company to legitimately carry out trading and industrial activities. The Royal Niger Company's chartered status was however revoked in 1900, and Britain took over direct responsibilities for the administration of the region. The British direct responsibility received colonial legitimacy in 1884/1885 during the Berlin Conference as the climax of the scramble for and partition of Africa which was arranged to settle and prevent further conflicts among colonial administrations on the continent over ownership of territories.

This signaled the beginning of 'formal' colonialism in the region. A lot of people voluntarily and involuntarily migrated during colonialism as their modes of survival were disrupted and artificial boundaries created that destroyed original settlements of the people. This colonial arbitrariness without recourse to original social organizations further led to wars and conflicts as people attempted to react and interact with/within the new colonial realities. Although these people migrated in persons and groups before colonialism, such migrations were not mostly externally induced, not fundamental and not based on imposed arbitrariness. Colonialism dangerously tampered with indigenous modes of behaviors, led to outright dissimulations and altered modes of production and political systems through the indirect rule and assimilation system particularly. Interestingly, justifications and seeming advantages of colonialism were both without and within.

While the justifications from the outsiders abroad were due to immediate revenue gains and egoistic aggrandizement that usually follow conquest of foreign land, some Africans within themselves saw colonialism as a positive civilization incursion. For many, especially the literate ones, who inhabited the mercantilist enclaves scattered along the west coast of the continent, according to Mason (1993), the penetration of merchant capitals was seen as progress in itself, marching forward irresistibly, banishing superstitions and slavery and instilling enlightenment and healthy attitudes in its wake. Also, according to Adetugbo (2001), colonialism and implantation of Christianity were often justified because African was seen as a really a dark continent of cannibals and snakes and powerful juju. Colonialism, and Christianity as its weapon, was thus seen as needed instruments to liberate Africa from paganism, cannibalism and polygamy (Adetugbo, 2001). This colonial irresistible march became institutionalized in, for instance, St. Louis, Freetown, Monrovia, Cape coast, Lagos and Calabar (Mason, 1993) as the epicenters of the new found civilizations due to their rich economies and strategic geography.

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[5] Such crops included maize and Cassava and were primarily to feed the slaves en route the Atlantic.

Colonialism altered the pattern, course and courses of groups (traditional empires and kingdoms) existences in a unique ways through alterations of indigenous political economy, values, norms, ethos and generalized culture. Agricultural activities, for example, were shifted from being for basic survival to cash-based economy, redefinition of needs, while social relations and formations became reconfigured by colonial organizations through imported policies (Akanle and Olutayo, 2009). The reconfiguration of socioeconomic base separated people from the means of survival, thereby creating pools of unemployed and paid workers ready to migrate to the emerging plantations and mines (Swindell, 1984; Labo, 2000) especially as the medium of exchange changed new classes created and taxes levied (Rodney, 1972; Jumare, 1998). Hence, the colonial administration built development centers around mineral deposits and shifted the centre of gravity of economic activities from the hinterlands to the coastal regions, where new capitals were created to serve the economic interests of colonialism (Labo, 2000).

Having successfully subjugated the communities, Colonial administrators assumed superior status and associated respect attached to their complexion, their origin and being. *Oyinbo* became synonymous with class, superiority and near deitification. As such, indigenous populations with direct contact with colonial officials on the mines, plantations, offices and households achieved enviable statuses. Interpreters, tax collectors, cooks, servants, court clerks, 'informants' and 'spies' who were able to learn rudimentary English and colonialists culture assumed greater importance. Consequently, bearing foreign names and possessing foreign goods became synonymous with 'connections', class and prestige regardless of the essence and antecedents of such names and goods. In response to emerging colonial institutions like changes in the medium of exchange, taxation and valued jobs, migration abroad over time became more than a marginal increase or additional income, but a rational response to specific circumstances (Freund, 1981; Swindell, 1984).

Colonialism thus re-invigorated and accentuated opportunities for long-distance migrations/trading and specialized skills like Aro, Umunneoha, Nkerre and Awka, as well as the Ogbomoso and the Ejigbo migrants. Hence, by the 1920s the Igbos, for example, have broken national boundaries to appropriate colonial creations (Uduku, 2002) to fluidly migrate and establish trade blocs across domains and territories in manners that have come to shape their descendants' economic and entrepreneurial worldviews in definitive terms till date[6]. Like the Kru people of Liberia and Sierra Leone (Frost, 2002), Nigerians and other colonial West Africans that accompanied colonial vessels across the Atlantic, those that replaced free slaves on the plantations, those that migrated within West African nations and the few that 'enjoyed' scholarships to study in Europe and became educated elites to fill colonial vacancies acquired important social standings in the communities. The enthronement of capitalism ('legitimate trade') after the abolition of slave trade demanded free but cheap and mobile labour, and West Africans, in common with Indians and Chinese labour, were used as indentured labourers around the middle of the nineteenth century (Frost, 2002; Mohan and Zack-Williams, 2002; Zack-Williams and Mohan, 2002). It would then be correct to maintain that African development suffered the setback it did largely on

[6] For an interesting account of the Igbos migrations and entrepreneurial development and historiography in relation to other ethnic groups in Nigeria, please see Olutayo, O.A. 1999. The Igbo Entrepreneur in the Political Economy of Nigeria. *African study monographs.* 20.3. Pp. 147-174.

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account of the many adverse effects of the twin evils of slavery and colonialism (Babawale, 2008), although they both directly and indirectly facilitated the emergence of Nigeria as a nation-state.

Emerging Issues in the Nigeria State: Concluding Reflections

Nigeria as a state has come a long way. While the journey has been long and bumpy, the country is still surviving. However, there are some critical issues that still confront the country today. There is the challenge of national unity. This is understandable against the myriad and multiplicity of different ethnic groups collapsed together to form Nigeria. In fact, this is why it is possible to describe Nigeria as an association of Strange Bed Fellows. People sometimes see themselves within ethnic prism before they see themselves within national frameworks. This is a major challenge that often explains the issues of ethno-religious crises. This even also explains massive corruption regrettably as people see national resources as *national cake* which ethnic nationalities must do all to corner even if in unwholesome manners. This is mostly why corruption is still prevalent in Nigeria even with the establishment of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC). These corruption fighting commissions have been summarily emasculated and disabled by primordial considerations and political cleavages that have made some corrupt people *sacred cows* and *untouchables*.

Nigeria is only united and is identified through national totems and images. These totems included English language as *lingua franca,* National Passport, National Identity Cards, Naira currency, Coat of Arm, National Flag, The name Nigeria/Nigerians, marriage commonality and family formations. Ethnic and tribal sentiments that are more deep-seated, however, fragment the country in practical terms. Even in democratic machineries, people still vote based on primordial considerations like in ethnicity. Merit is often slaughtered on the slab of ethnicity as instituted in Federal Character. Nepotism also challenges merit even in sensitive selection and recruitment. Until recently, political instability plagued the country, and this was the case in the first republic. This accounted for the massive coups and counter-coups and the wanton loss of lives and properties that greeted such political disruptions. Ethnic groups killed another as symbolized in the Biafra republic declared in the Eastern Nigeria and *Operation Wetie* in the Western Nigeria in 1966. The political instabilities continued and climaxed in 1999 when Nigeria returned to democracy with the election of Olusegun Obasanjo as already shown above. Is Nigeria now permanently politically stable? Only time will tell, but the trajectories for prognosis and projection for the future are here!

Hence, the social institutions that are supposed to be used to drive the unity and development of Nigeria are themselves already affected by modernity and globalization. Right from the family, education, mass media, economy, political system and even religious institutions today, things are already falling apart. Values in these institutions are in constant state of flux (see Olutayo and Akanle, 2007) to the extent that the lines between what is moral and desirable and those that are otherwise have become blurred and nearly non-existent. The institutions have, therefore, become corroded and corrupted. Foreign values that are dangerous have entered and affected the institutions instead of the other way round to have effective socialization for

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national unity and development. This is why the youths are failing and are confused as the institutions that are supposed to sharpen them are themselves confused and threatened. A dangerous vacuum is thus created and is being created. Regrettably, the vacuum is being legitimized with certainly dangerous consequences. The Nigerian social structure is thus in danger, and the future of the country could be precarious if concrete efforts and targeted actions are not taken by all of us.

Nigeria cries for attention of all Nigerians for real statehood to emerge in the country. Development and statehood start from you, from me, and it affects all of us because we are all involved. If you are a Nigerian, the development, unity and statehood of Nigeria rest with you fundamentally. Although the political leaders should show leadership, even if they fail in this respect, everyone must not despair, and we should all contribute at our micro level as nation- builders. Everyone is a leader at his or her own level and sphere of influence, and it is the combined effects of these micro actions and leaderships that co-relate to determine statehood. Both old and young, students and teachers, youths and adults, followers and rulers thus have roles to play in nation-building and all must play their parts sustainably, as the future is now, and it starts with you.

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SECTION TWO
PEOPLES OF NIGERIA

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CHAPTER FOUR

PEOPLES OF THE MANGROVES

Eghafona, K.A. and Dokpesi, A.O.

Introduction

Although in Nigeria, mangrove resources are mainly scattered around the coastal areas of the southern region, they are abundantly concentrated in the delta region. Over 50 percent of the core Niger Delta region is made up of wetlands, and it contains the largest mangrove forest in the world of about 5,400–6,000 square kilometers (Afolabi 1998); with the most extensive fresh water swamps aided by a tremendous reservoir of biodiversity' (Premo, 2005: 17). It is specifically 'the third largest wetlands in the world after Mississippi and the Pant anal, covering an area of about 70,000 square kilometers' (Usen, 2003: 17). Within this zone, 'the aerial roots of the aquatic plants form a web, hosting a multitude of animal species such as finfish, mollusks (oysters, cockles, periwinkles, etc) crustaceans (shrimps, crabs)' (Okodudu and Irikana, 2010: 62).

Other aquatic animals identified by Preboye (2005), within this area, include: Manatee, a monster–like aquatic weed eating mammal, with paddle–like forelimbs which assist it as it swims and moves around in the water; and the Dugong – a sea cow which feeds on vascular plants and swims with the aid of tail fluke and the forelimbs. More so, Hippopotamus, Crocodiles of different species, Turtle, Tortoise, Alligators, Iguana, as well as Dragon lizard (called Komoda in ijo) abound in this area. This area is equally a natural habitat to different species of snakes such as fast swimming sea snakes, a flying snake (called Okoroko in Ijo) which emits fire, Boa, Python, Anaconda, and the like.

Environment

The climatic conditions to which these peoples are exposed are the two main seasons. Between April and October, they are exposed to wet condition, brought about by the rainy season. They usually experienced excessive rains in this region. From November to March, dry season sets in. However, within this zone 'it is usual to have downpour during the dry period' (Okaba, 2005: 3).

Its vegetation has a combination of "sandy coastal ridge barriers, brackish or saline mangroves, permanent and seasonal swamp forests as well as low land rain forest with the entire area criss-crossed by a large number of rivers, rivulets, streams canals and creeks" (NDDC, 2003: 17). In the fresh water swamps, there is abundance of different varieties of raffia palm (Raphia pedunculata). It provides a very rich source of roofing materials, baskets, fish traps, brooms, hats, palm wine and local gin (Ogogoro) for the inhabitants of this belt. Other plants within the belt, which have economic importance, are Jute plant (Genus Co chorus), Pulpwood (Spruce), and Mangrove plant (Rhizophora-mangle). While the inhabitants of this area use the Jute plant as resource material for the making of ropes and jute bags of different sizes, the roots of the mangrove plant are the main resources for the making of local salt among the people. In spite of all these benefits to the natives, the rich plant resources of this belt are grossly underutilized and degraded by the people due to ignorance and poverty. Preyboye (2005: 58-59) observes that:

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> *(The Mangrove plant) is a very special plant; yet, people of the Delta do not make the maximum use of it. It is a common plant in the wetlands of the Delta. In the belt close to the Atlantic Ocean, you will come across the giant variety that grows in only few parts of the world. This plant is a foreign exchange earner. The mangrove is the source of Tannin, a group of astringent vegetable compounds having tanning properties, used commercially in the manufacturing of leather, inks, dyes, potash for fertilizer industry, edible native salt and tannic acid.....Also growing side by side with the mangrove in the riverine parts of the very wetlands is the Pulpwood (Spruce). This is an evergreen coniferous soft tree that is used widely for the manufacture of paper and paperboards).*

Because the indigenous peoples of this belt depend on the mangrove resources for food and shelter, there is indiscriminate exploitation of its valuable resources. Apart from fishing, timbers and fronds are equally cut down for firewood, charcoal, scaffolding and the like (Okodudu and Irikana, 2010). This attitude toward the environment is due to massive poverty in the region coupled with the ignorance of the inhabitants with respect to the proper utilization of the valuable resources in this area.

The combination of rich soil, fauna and flora favoured the region to be one of the best agrarian zones in the West African sub-region (Premo, 2005). This explains why forestry, which is also influenced by the environment, along with farming and fishing occupations still account for 44% of employment in the entire Niger Delta region.

However, in spite of these great natural potentials of this area, its topography and hydrology generate environmental challenges. Some of these challenges identified by the UNDP (2006) are flooding, which is caused by the reduced hydraulic ability of the water channels and excessive rains, and this affects the 'patterns of human life and economic activities' (Olawole, et al., 2003). More so, silt carried down the Niger River system is often deposited in these coastal areas because of the slow or sluggish water velocity. This reduces the water channels, narrows the creeks as well as water depths. Besides, these problems are the challenges the river bank and coastal erosions generate for the inhabitants of this belt. Coastal erosion creates serious threats to the socio-economic activities of the coastal communities.

Linguistic and Cultural groupings

Generally the Niger Delta region, as a whole, is a region of multifarious minority ethnic nationalities. It is occupied by 1,600 indigenous communities (Okaba 2003) with ethno- cultural heterogeneity. The UNDP (2006) identified five main groups along linguistic and cultural lines: the Ijoid group consists of all ijo speaking communities which cut across Bayelsa, Edo, Delta, Ondo, Rivers and Akwa-Ibom States. While most of its clans are said to have distinctiveness in terms of linguistic and cultural issues, some villages of the same clan are said to be linguistically different. The Edoid group comprises mainly the Edo, the Isoko and the Urhobo speaking peoples; while the Delta-Cross group comprises the Ibibio, Oron and Ibeno peoples of Akwa-Ibom state; as well as the Obolo/Andoni, Odual, Ogba and Ogoni peoples from Rivers state. More so, while the Igboid group consists of the Ukwuani people of Delta state as well as the Egbema, Ekpeye, Ikwere, Ndoni and Ogba peoples

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of Rivers state, the Yoruboid group comprises the Itsekiri, Ilaje, and the Ikale peoples of both Delta and Ondo states. Within these groups and between them are ethno-cultural and linguistic diversities.

However, among these groups, the Ijoid and the Yoruboid are predominantly within the mangrove coastal areas of Southern Nigeria. Among the Edo speaking people of the Edoid group, for instance, only in Ovia North Local Government, out of the over seven Local Government areas do we have few communities with mangrove trees. The implication is that its presence in the geographical area that falls within the purview of the Benin ethnic group is so minimal that it cannot influence the culture of the group. Even within the Urhobo ethnic group comprising twenty-two communities, a few mangrove resources are found around Aladja and the adjoining environments, and the creeks of Uvweh and the extreme west of Okpe. This applies in case of the Delta-Cross and Igboid groups.

In spite of the linguistic and cultural differences between the Ijo and the Itsekiri peoples, there exist among them similarities in environmental conditions. They are predominantly more of fishermen than they are farmers. They have equally developed aquatic culture by virtue of their historical experiences. Preboye (2005: 1), an ijo man for instance, painted a picture of his growing up experiences thus:

> *Growing up in the Core Delta in the axis of Forcados and Burutu was such a wonderful experience for my peers and me. We were introduced to the art of swimming and the techniques to survive in water at a very early age. This gave us the strength, the courage and the character to conquer the tough Delta terrain and indeed the world around us. We were trained to battle the Delta strong currents and the high tidal waves.*

This environmental exposure was equally brought to bear on their choices of occupations, articles of trade in their economic relations, as well as the social organization of communities. By virtue of their proximity to the water bodies, the Itsekiri and Ijaw, for instance, were mainly preoccupied with fishing, and this enabled them to supply fish and crayfish to their neighbours in the hinter land. Perhaps just like any other social group in traditional African setting, most families among these ethnic groups were held together in pre-petroleum era, by ancestral worship and shrines dedicated to water deities and land deities (see UNDP, 2006). Again, environmental consideration played a vital part in the choice of objects of worship. What this implies is that the water bodies, to these groups inhabiting this region, are not just sources of occupational practices but also avenues through which they could have intercourse with transcendental forces which they hold sacred.

Furthermore, the ethnic groups in the Niger Delta generally have a long history of extensive interaction. Before now, the Ijo and Itsekiri had peaceful relationships, in trade and marriage, with each other as well as with their neighbours, although there were few cases of disagreements and crisis. In the Western Niger Delta, for instance, there were trade and inter-marriage relations between the inland Isokos and their Igbo neighbours, especially the Aboh, Asaba and Kwale peoples. The riverine Isoko had trade relations with their Ijo neighbours which were not often cordial. The Isoko group of Eru migrated to the inland settlement of Igbidi from their

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riverine settlement because of frequent harassment by their Ijo neighbors (Dioka, 1996).

IJO ETHNIC GROUP

The Ijo ethnic group is said to have the longest settlement history in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, and it predominantly inhabits the coastal areas of the region. It has the largest population among the ethnic nationalities of the core Niger Delta region of Nigeria.

This ethnic group is clustered into three main sub-groupings by virtue of its spread, and its linguistic and cultural proximities. These are: Ijo in the Eastern Niger Delta – including the Kolabari, Ibani, Andoni, Abua/Odual, Degema, Okrika and Ogu in Rivers State; as well as the Ijo in the Obole area of Akwa Ibom State; Ijo in the central Niger Delta – made up of ijo in Bayelsa State consisting of southern Ijo, Ogbia and Nembe, which represent over 40 percent population of Ijo nation; and Ijo Western Niger Delta – found in Bomadi, Burutu, Warri South, Warri-South-West and Warri North in Delta State, Ebe odo in Ondo State and Inikorogha in Ovia North Local Government Area of Edo State (see Ikporukpo & Akpoghomeh, 2009).

The interactions between this group and its natural environment have defined its culture, as the reconciliation of human necessities with environmental availability generate cultural platforms for social relations among the people. As Anderson (1999: 127), for instance, noted:

> *Residents of Bayelsa State spin fascinating tales about underwater towns and celebrate their watery environment by staging regattas, fishing festivals and masquerades that bring fantastic aquatic beings to life. Their art and rituals reflect the Niger Delta's fascinating history as well as its unique riverine landscape.*

Traditional Economic Life of the Ijo Ethnic Group

In terms of traditional occupations, for instance, the people are predominantly fishermen/women because of the abundance of water bodies. With the aid of different fishing gears such as nets, hooks and lines, hand-line traps, baskets, spears, and the like, the local people have always practised subsistence fishing as excess fish caught are either immediately sold fresh in the local markets, or smoked with fire and later sold to willing buyers (Kainga, 2004).

Although fishing is the main traditional occupation of the Ijo people, in some communities, this is done alongside other means of livelihood which are equally determined by environmental conditions. In Amassoma Kingdom, in central Niger Delta zone for instance, farming, animal hunting, weaving, canoe carving, palm-wine tapping and gin distillation are economic activities that equally define the local economy of the people. Food crops commonly grown include plantain, cassava, water yam, cocoyam, pepper, sugar cane, okro, maize and rice. 'Farming commences at the middle of November as the flood recedes. November and December are the peak period of farming activities for most crops except for plantain, which is February to May' (Kainga, 2004: 23).

Right from pre-colonial times, the Ijo communities located in the salt water mangrove swamp zone specialized not only in fishing but also in salt manufacture (Alagoa, 2009). This is purely an occupation for the women. Besides deriving traditional salt from the salt water, the roots of the mangrove trees serve as reliable raw materials for the production of local salt. These roots are cut in large quantity, as

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the dry season sets in, dried and burnt into ashes in line with specifications. As soon as it is allowed to cool for two days, the process continues until the solution solidifies and becomes a rock salt (Preboye, 2005).

More so, owing principally to their physical environmental conditions and topography, the Ijo ethnic group rely more on water transportation system. It is the easiest means of conveying goods and individuals efficiently from one community to another through the swamps, waterways and creeks that separate communities.

In the pre-petroleum era, the Ijo participated in the domestic trade relations with its neighbours, within what is today known as the Nigeria nation. The Ijo exported fish and salt to the peoples of the upland in exchange for foodstuffs and tools, particularly those made of iron (Crowder, 1966). These differences in skills and specialization resulted in the evolution of internal trade interactions among the ethnic nationalities in the region. Consequently, the Ijo communities in the Eastern Niger Delta like Nembe, Bonny, Elem, Okrika and Kalabari, emerged as trading states by virtue of their trade prosperity. These states had already created networks of commerce, across the region and beyond, before the advent of the Afro-European contacts in the 15th century (Alagoa, 2009). The emergence of Afro-European trade provided the opportunities for these states to expand their frontiers and for new cities to emerge.

In the legitimate trade era, for instance, the production of palm oil, palm kernel and timber made this region strategic to both domestic and international trades. By reason of their proximity to the coasts, which were the centres of trading activities, the Ijo developed into indigenous middle men in the Afro-European trade relations. However, in this same era, also, Ayomike (1990: 12-14) observes that:

> *The power of the Ijaw on the creeks and rivers was dreaded... Consul Campbell was quoted to have written about his expedition to Warri in 1857 in the 'Bloodhound' to drive out the Ijoh pirates which were interrupting trade, and... carried out extensive operations against the Ijoh pirates and drove them out of the River. Also it has been recorded that "in 1856 and again in 1857 the British Consul had to take out warships against the Ijo because they had 'ventured in great force to within sight of the English factories and committed great depredations, capturing several canoes with cargoes of palm oil, making captives of their crews."*

This pirate attitude of some members of this ethnic group in the legitimate trade era still find expression in the host community – oil firms relations in modern-day Nigeria in forms of 'vandalism, seizure of oil installations, hostage-taking, kidnapping and the like' (Dokpesi and Aikpokpo, 2005: 47). This, perhaps, implies that the analysis of the political economy of restiveness in the Delta region of Nigeria goes beyond the context of the petroleum industry in Nigeria. This is, however, not suggestive of lack of impact of the petroleum industry on the socio-economic life of the Ijo communities in the region. Dokpesi and Olomu (2010) assert that the modern oil industry has created occupational discouragement for practitioners because of environmental degradation and disorientation for the youths because of its wealth potentials. Even with these discouragement and disorientation, these traditional occupations still

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account for more than 50% activities of the local economy of the Ijo people because of their inability of most of the local people to fit properly into the oil industry.

Political Relations

The Ijo ethnic group has never had a unified or a single and centralized political institution on the contrary it has diverse autonomous political structures as there are some degree of linguistic and cultural differences among them. The political organization is based on village, group or clan system. Consequently, there are over 40 political groupings with independent political institutions and autonomy (Okpokunu, 2002).

In Iduwini clan of the Western Niger Delta, for instance, each village has a council system, as a political structure, comprising 12 to 15 members who are selected across the quarters which made up the village. Every quarter is supposed to elect a representative for the village council. These elected personnel, along with the Ama-Okosuowei (the most eldest man in the village), constitute the town council (Preboye, 2005). The essence of this council, among others, is to adjudicate in all dispute cases. This shows that 'the most common political ethos here is the democratic republican spirit' (Okpokunu, 2002: 105). This is equally justified by the fact that any individual that is not satisfied with the verdict of this council could appeal against the judgment in a different town. Even though in colonial times, the British government established the Forcados Native Grade B Court in 1905, the patronage of the traditional Court System did not stop. Rather, it provided an alternative.

Among the Ijo of Amassoma Kingdom, in central Niger Delta zone, the Amananaowei (the king) along with his council of chiefs administer the kingdom. This council of chiefs is made up of representatives of the confederating autonomous communities who are heads of the families/ communities within the kingdom. The kingship is not by primogeniture system or hereditary. Succession to the throne is based on selection method, as enforced by the council of king makers. Because the Amananaowei is the custodian of traditions and customs of the kingdom, selection of a prospective king is based partly on the understanding of the clan's customs and traditions (Kainga, 2004). These days, succession is through election.

Among the Ijo of the Eastern Delta zone, hitherto existed villages like Okrika, Ibani and Kalabari transformed into city-states (Dike, 1956) / trading –states (Jones, 1963), territorially based on a central city headed by a king (Amanyanabo) with authority radiating to hinterland trading stations (Derefaka & Orugbani, 2009: 499). This transformation was made possible by their pre-colonial trade involvement which resulted in the concentration of wealth and power within these communities.

In spite of the emergence of these city-states, the Ijo of the Eastern Delta State sustained the common practice of village organization among the Ijo of the Central and Western Delta zones. Consequently, the city-state consists of some numbers of descent groups (Wari). A combination of Warri makes up a larger segment (Polo). Although each of the Polo had the power to deliberate on issues concerning the group, the political authority of the metropolitan city-assembly was supreme unlike the gerontocratic political leadership arrangement of the Western Delta Ijo in which the Amaokosuowei (the eldest) presided over council meetings. The Ijo of the Eastern Delta evolved a political system that would allow the Amanyanabo (king) to be appointed not on the basis of age but that of descent. More so, the city-assembly comprises both the young and old members of the socio-cultural group.

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Religious Life of the Ijo

Generally, the Ijo traditional religion recognizes the existence of a Supreme Being. Several names are used in describing the supremacy of God. God is called Temearou (She who creates), Ziba-arau/ Ziboarau (She who gives birth); Igina-arau/Ogbona-arau/Suo-arau (creatress who dwells in the firmament) (Okaba & Appah, 1999). For the Nembe and Akassa communities in Central Delta zone, God is called Wa-Diara (our mother). This feminine perception of God indicates that God is not just a creator but also a procreator. This is understood in the Ogbia community's perception of God as Aziba (procreator who has special power to create man and also terminate his life). This feminine perception of God cuts across the Ijo nation.

The Ijo of the Western Delta, according to Main (quoted in Okaba, 1997), for instance, believe that Temearu, who lives in the sky, is a woman because it is only women who bear and produce human life.

The religious beliefs of the various people that constitute the Ijo ethnic group are, in part, a reflection of their environmental exposure. Among the Ijo, especially those in the Central Delta zone, there are three types of divinities which influence the affairs of man. These, according to Okaba & Appah (1999a), are: the Beni-otu (water deities), which reside in water bodies such as canals, rivers, lakes, streams, and the seas. The water bodies are considered to be different communities or towns inhabited by different spirits which in terms of hierarchy equally differ from one another. At the top of the hierarchy is the Beni-kurukuru (king of the water) among the Mein people of Western Delta Ijo (Okaba & Appah, 1999a). The second category of divinities is the Bou-otu (forest deities), with Azizu as the Bou-suowei (king of the forest). Those who go into the forest in search of solution, like the herbalists and diviners, credit the Bou-otu with medical powers. The third divinity is the Egbesu; which has different relevance and applications among the Ijo ethnic group. Among the Tarakiri, Egbesu manifests in terms of thunder and lightning thus expressing the wrath of God. Its animal representation is the lion and leopard to which the Tarakiri people attached much sacredness. No indigene of Tarakiri would dare kill or see them dead. However, any indigene that kills any of them in a defensive manner is expected to report at the Ogbu Cult for purification process. On the other hand, the Tuomo, Oporoma and Mein peoples of Western Niger Delta resort to the Egbesu deity at times of wars. It is believed that the deity has very efficacious preventive medicine. Consequently the deity is believed to have both the peaceful and warlike attributes.

System of Belief

The natural and social experiences of individuals, as a people, create for them a common perception, idea and belief relating to phenomena in their physical, imagined and/or transcendental forms. A system of belief deals with a set of ideas, about phenomena, located within the inner self of like-mind individuals and to which such individuals hold tenaciously and which provides a guide for understanding their common attitudes and behavior. When these ideas are strong and persuasive, they manifest in members' actions and the interpretation of the world around them.

The preceding generations of Ijo ethnic group, have often passed on to their succeeding ones certain beliefs which tend to define how the people of Ijo origin see the world around them. The Ijo, for instance, believe that water spirits are playful and benevolent. Those who assume human form among them are believed to be beautiful

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with fair skin and long flowing hair. Consequently, they are approached to assist believers with children and money. On the contrary, the bush spirits are believed to be malicious, volatile; ugly looking with dark skin and messy hair. Because of its rough and rugged appearance, the bush spirit is believed to have the power of protection, especially in warfare and wrestling competition (Anderson, 1999). Among the Mein people of Western Delta Ijo, for instance, Ama-ogbo is a deity believed by the people to have the power to grant fertility and general prosperity to those who worship it. Consequently, the required sacrifices are offered to it before planting season and before harvest times (Okaba & Appah, 1999a). The belief is that if this is not done, there will be poor harvest.

In the Central Delta zone, the Ijo of the Amassoma kingdom worship Adigbe, a foremost god in the community. Worshippers do not consume any fish caught from the Adigbe Lake because of the belief that they are children of Adigbe. The lake, it is believed, only harms the unclean members of the community, such as mothers of twins, women and ones with evil thought. More so is the belief about the sheep as a messenger of death. It is believed that when sheep move in group towards either the lower or upper end of the community, it indicates death in the area they have moved to. The belief about the birth of twins is also very fundamental within the Amassoma kingdom. In the olden days, it was strongly believed that human beings were capable of conceiving only one baby at a time. Based on this belief, twins were seen as unfortunate creatures that breed misfortune. The norms then prescribed that such unfortunate creatures either be thrown away or starve to death. Twins' mothers were not exempted as they were prevented from reaching certain forests and lakes to which the people attached sacredness. Although belief about twin birth still exists, the general victimization of twins no longer holds (Kainga, 2004). For the Iduwini people of Western Niger Delta, dragon lizard (called komodo in the local language) is hardly sighted. It is believed, by the natives, that any time it appears in the villages, it either comes with good or bad news (Preboye, 2005).

Festivals and Arts in Ijo Culture

The festivals and arts of the Ijo are limited by their environmental experiences. Anderson (2009: 147), for instance, notes that 'the extreme wateriness of the Niger Delta begs questions about the relationship between environment and culture'. Most of the festivals in Ijo underscore their riverine experiences.

Amassoma annual fishing and feasting festival, traditionally known as Amassoma Seigbein, is a typical example of this. It is organized yearly in the months of May to June by the natives to commemorate the life and times of Oboro, the founder of Amassoma community, and to purify the community of evil. As Kainga (2004) observed, the festival is organized in a lake called Ogugubulu. This lake is left unexploited for a while and protected by the community restrictive laws which prohibit people from harvesting the lake in preparation for the fishing competition in May to June. After traditional rituals, a date is fixed for the commencement of the festival. On that very day, both ends of the lake are blocked with bamboo and raffia materials. The competitors get set with their fishing gears in their canoes, and as soon as they hear the first canon shot, they proceed in a very colourful competitive race to the lake. As soon as the second canon is shot, the fishing competition proper begins. This competition goes along with traditional dances, canoe race, diving competition, canoe regatta, love boat cruises and swimming competition.

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In terms of arts, there is a relationship between the dance and the masquerades in Ijo culture and the physical environmental experiences of the people. In Ijo land, there are different claims of the relationship between water spirits and the different masquerades of the natives. In the Nembe community, for instance, women often introduce dance societies and masquerades claiming to have received instruction from the marine spirits. The legendary Kalabari woman called Ekineba was said to have taught her people how to perform some masquerades on the basis of this claim. In some other instances, some claimed that their forefathers, through observation, learnt the act of masquerade dancing from the water spirits as they performed on sand banks (Anderson, 1999).

Furthermore, the head pieces and the costumes of masquerades as well as their names equally reflect their environmental exposure. In the Kalabari and Nembe communities, 'the head pieces of masquerades often represent fish, reptiles and composite water monsters' (Anderson 1999: 135). The Nembe community normally name dance societies after fish and other animals, and masks are equally made to represent such animals (Alagoa, 1967)

Marriage System

There seem to be uniformity in the marriage patterns among the Ijo speaking people of the Niger Delta region. 'The only significant difference is in the amount paid on the bride prices' (Kainga, 2004: 43).

In the Ijo customary marriage generally, there are two categories of marriages, according to Okaba (1999), in terms of payment of bride price and the rights which the wife-to-be and her prospective children stand to enjoy. These are: Ekiye, in which normal bridal payments are made and the Opu-Ekiye/Ere-fe, in which high bridal payments are made. The former does not require much exchange of money and gifts. A woman, who marries through this method in the Mein community, would be only partially absorbed into her husband's lineage group, while her children would be more disposed to their matrilineage than they would be to the patrilineage. Among the Kumbo people, the offsprings of such marriage are divided between the patrikin and the matrikin. While all male products belong to the patrikin, the female products of such marriage belong to the matrikin (Owonaro, 1949).

The Opu-Ekiye is a high bridal marriage which is often contracted among members of the ethnic/cultural group. The bride wealth is quite expensive compared to what is obtainable under the Ekiye. Consequently, the wife and her children are fully integrated and enjoy full rights among the man's lineage group. On the other hand, the Ere-fe is although a high bridal price marriage, it involves a marriage between a native man and a non-native woman. This non-Ijo native woman, referred to as Fe-ere, has the status of a slave. The children of this marriage belong to the man. No matter how some of the rituals or elements attending these types of marriages had warned overtime, their existence still remains with the Ijo in addition to the Western mode of marriage. However, the Ere-dei (wife exchange) marriage has faded off. In this form of marriage, a man gives his sister or a female relative to another man in marriage, and in turn, he gets married to a girl in the in-law's family (Okaba, 1999).

Within the various Ijo groups, there were marital taboos. Among the Iduwini people of Western Niger Delta, for instance, adultery was a serious offence with varied penalties ranging from the payment of some fines to being sold into slavery. 'Sexual

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intercourse, between the husband and his wife, was strictly forbidden in the daytime' (Preboye, 2005: 138).

In terms of traditional food of the Ijo speaking peoples of the Niger Delta region, most of their meals go with fish, along with crayfish and shrimps. Pepper soup (wowo-igina) is always eaten with boiled yam, cocoyam, sweet potatoes, plantain with palm oil and / or tapioca or gari, with palm oil (Preboye, 2005).

THE ITSEKIRI ETHNIC GROUP

The Itsekiri ethnic group occupies the North-Western Coastal area of the Niger Delta region. It is bounded by the Benin in the North Benin; Escravos and Forcados rivers are links by a network of creeks within the area (Ikime, 1995). Unlike their Ijo counterparts, the Itsekiri has cultural and linguistic homogeneity; its peoples are located only within Delta State specifically Warri-North, Warri-South and Warri-South-West local governments councils of Delta State. They are however exposed to similar environmental availabilities and challenges. These find expression, also, in their cultural elements.

Economic Life of the People

Like the Ijo, the Itsekiri traditional economy centre mainly on fishing by reason of their nearness to the water bodies. In pre-colonial era, there was occupational specialization along sex line. While the men were predominantly fishermen, the women engaged in other economic activities for which the Itsekiri were equally noted. These were salt-making and pottery.

The traditional salt-making industry thrived in this area because of its proximity to raw materials. Environmental availability made this possible for members of this ethnic group. There are two sources of raw materials and two processes of making this local salt among the Itsekiri people. Similarly, the pottery-making industry was booming, especially in pre-colonial era in this area because of the abundance of clay 'found at the river banks, lakes, and ponds and even in swamps' (Nyah, 2006: 125).

Furthermore, the Itsekiri were equally great traders. Their proximity to the sea gave them an edge over other ethnic groups, as it afforded them the opportunity of coming in contact with the Portuguese, French, Dutch, and the British from the 16th century up to about 1830 through trade in pepper, elephant tusks, slaves obtained from the Hinterland and exchanged for cloth, beads, rum, knife, glass-wares, tobacco and salt from the Europeans (Ayomike, 1990). It must be noted that 'the Itsekiri have never been farmers to any great extent, their land being little suited to agriculture' (Ikime, 1995: 2). This was earlier observed by a European, Captain Pender, at the threshold of Afro-European contact. According to him, 'the Itsekiri are not an agricultural people, and so no crops are growing by them' (quoted in Ayomike, 1990). Ironically, they claimed to have introduced cassava to Nigeria through their contact with the Portuguese in 1516. This, notwithstanding, the articles of trade relations at the domestic level were determined by environmental exposure and availability. Consequently, while the Itsekiri people sold to the Urhobo and Isoko people: fish, crayfish, shrimps, salt and local pots, they got in return starch, cocoyam, maize, pepper, meat and other food stuffs.

The legitimate traders' era expanded the local economic activities of this ethnic group as forestry, with its sawmill and rubber plantation activities were introduced. More so, the emergence of the oil palm made this area strategic to

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international trade. Ryder (1958) notes that the location of the Itsekiri people by the sea coast transformed them into middlemen traders having taken the advantage of the strategic locations of Rivers Forcados and Benin to the international trade in palm oil and kernel. Their early contact with the European traders which dates back to the 15th century gave them an edge in this new economic status. Prominent among the Itsekiri nobles who engaged in this trade at this capacity include:

> *Dibofun of Jakpa, alias Yesuo-kalaba is said to have had several trade canoes that swept through the waters between Itsekiri land and Calabar. Princess Iya, Olomu, Esanjumi Mayomi, Yonwuren, Ogiri, Oritsemone, Diare and Oyan of Ugbege were some other prominent merchants whose extensive fleets hauled produce from the hinterland to the coast. In the generation that followed successful merchants included Dudu, Kebuwa, Ogbe, Tuoyo, Fregene, Awala, Lekki, Oporokun and Nana, amongst others (Ayomike, 1990: 12).*

It must be emphasized that though opened, the status of a middlemen was not for everybody as it involved a lot of capital to begin. Consequently, only the wealthy members of the Itsekiri society participated in the middleman trade business, while others were still carrying out their business of fishing, salt making and pottery making. This shows some level of occupational stratification. As the middlemen accumulated wealth, they were able to influence political power acquisition. In the modern day Itsekiri society, economic activities, such as fishing, salt making and forestry, are still part of the local economy. Local salt, for instance, is still being preferred to imported salt, especially for the preparation of some traditional dishes.

Traditional Political Relations

Within the region, the Itsekiri ethnic group has only one centralized political structure. It provides an example of a kingdom that does not have to grapple with the political problems arising from internal fragmentation, multiple dialects and so on' (Okpokunu, 2002: 105); unlike the linguistics, cultural and political fragmentation associated with the Ijo ethnic nationalities.

The Itsekiri has a unified monarchical political structure, under the headship of Olu of Warri which dates back to over 500 years. Ayomike (1999: 4) stated thus:

> *From 1480 to now, there have reigned in the19 Olus: Five Olus of the pre-Christian era; 1480 – 1597: eight Roman Catholic Olus from 1597–1735 and six Olus of the post Roman Catholic Christian era (Ayomike, 1999b: 4).*

The Political affairs in each Itsekiri community are handled by a system based on gerontocratic principles. At the head of each community is the Olaraja, the oldest male member of the community. Each community is divided into larger families or lineage groups. Each head of a lineage group, along with the Olaraja, constitutes the Olaraja-in-council. This body assists the Olu of Warri in dealing with issues at the grassroots level of the community. At the central level is the Olu of Warri ably assisted by the Ologbotsere, who is the second-in-command. The various Chiefs, representing the various Itsekiri communities, along with the Olu and the Ologbotsere, constitute the

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Olu-in-council. This is the highest decision-making organ of the traditional political institutions in Itsekiri land.

Some of these communities emerged in the 19th century as some of the wealthy merchants, who acted as middlemen in the palm-oil business, set up their villages in order to be able to organize trade (Lloyd, 1963). Consequently, this led to the migration of their relatives to this new-found community. As Ikime (1995: 3) noted:

> *Authority within the village was vested in the founder and the elders who acted as a consultative council. It was unusual for the founder or head of the village to take decisions entirely on his own.*

This implies that even though he founded the village, he was liberal-minded as he listened to the advice of the elders and hence avoided unilateral decisions and actions. Although the founder might not have been the eldest in his own village, he did not take decisions without due consultation with the elders. However, after the demise of legitimate trade, those communities fell back on gerontocratic administration.

Religion

Just like the Ijo ethnic group, the environmental experiences of the Itsekiri people had equally impacted sufficiently on their religious life. Just like the Ijo, the Itsekiri people believe in the existence of an Almighty God called Oritsenebuwe.

In Itsekiri communities, religious worships were centered mainly around the worship of Umale-Okun (Sea-god) who is believed to provide guidance and protection to worshippers and Ebura (ancestral worship) celebrated yearly by each family household or a group of families with common ancestry in the family shrine (Ayomike, 1988).

Among the Itsekiri, ancestral worship (Ebura) focuses on dead parents who are highly respected by their children and to which the status of the saint has been bestowed. This is anchored on 'the Itsekiri belief in the transformation of the people at death into spirits which are revered by the living' (Sagay, 1982: 14).

The worship of Umalokun (Sea-god) is as old as the creation of Itsekiri nation. It is believed by the Itsekiri people that Iginua, the crowned prince of Benin kingdom and the acclaimed founder of the Itsekiri kingdom, brought to Itsekiri land the worship of Omalokun from Benin Kingdom. According to Ayomike (1993), the Itsekiri tradition tells a story of how Prince Iginua, the son of Oba Olua of Benin Kingdom, having arranged with his father, decided to sail through the river in search of a place for a separate kingdom for himself about 1473. He went with some entourage including children of some Chiefs and slaves. Before his party left Oghara-egi, he poured libation to the sea-god for protection. On getting to Warri River, he again poured libation to the sea-god. It is believed that this libation actually protected him and his team from the hands of Ekpen and others warriors from Benin kingdom who went in search of them. The annual Umalokun ceremony is headed by the Olu of Warri as the head of the kingdom and supported by other palace Chiefs.

The belief the Itsekiri people have about the protective power of the sea-god and their influence in human affairs is supported by some events in their recorded history. Tradition has it that a renowned Chief of Itsekiri kingdom, Uwangue, had a misunderstanding with the then Olu, who was his good friend. Afraid of what the Olu would do to him and his family, Uwangue fled from Warri along with his household to Eghoronagbon close to Ekenwan in Benin Kingdom. However, the Olu instigated the

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Oba of Benin Kingdom regarding Uwangue. In order to run for safety Uwangue decided to relocate to Ugbo community, still within the Benin Kingdom. In order to run as quickly as possible from his pursuers, Uwangue invoked a sea-god to flood a creek that was already dried up, so that he could escape with his household. The sea-god responded by flooding the creek with great flood that floated them away to safety. To commemorate this great deliverance, Uwangue instituted the worship of Osonikhian, the sea-god of protection. This sea-god up till this day is being worshipped by this Jakpa community in Itsekiri land (Ayomike, 1993).

Generally, the Itsekiri, like the Ijo, believe that the water bodies are entirely different cities populated by water spirits and deities. However, while the Ijo believe that the water deities are better for the provision of children and wealth; the Itsekiri do not only see them as benevolent but also as a means of protection.

In spite of the fact that the Itsekiri people were, perhaps, the first to receive the early missionaries, in which case some of the kings became converted, the practice of traditional religion still continues unabated. What is obtainable in the present-day Itsekiri land is the peaceful co-existence of the traditional religion and its Western counterpart, Christianity.

Marriage

Just like the normal traditional marriage in most Nigerian communities, the Itsekiri marriage process begins with the preliminary introduction between the two families concerned. This is what the Itsekiri people called TSIBOWUN. This visitation centres on presenting the marriage desire of the guests, by the father of the husband-to-be, to the hosts. Then a date is picked by the wife-to-be's father.

On the day set aside, for the occasion, after the initial acceptance and rejoicing, the ceremony of libation pouring, called Temo-tsi, commences immediately. A patrilineal Priest (Okparan) is appointed to pour libation. He sits at the centre of the hall, and before him is placed a large white plate along with two (2) kola nuts (each with four (4) leaves), white chalk, one (1) bottle of gin, palm-wine, cold water, and a glass of water. The husband and wife to be are expected to kneel before him. He begins by drawing lines on the plate, using the white chalk and then placing the kola nut in their appropriate places. The Okparan then prays for the intending couple to be blessed with marital life full of joy, fruitfulness, prosperity and longevity. Among the items presented, the Okparan begins with the kola nuts. He prays with the kola nut, breaks it into bits and then hands a piece over to the husband-to-be. The latter takes a bite; places the kola nut in his left hand, raised his right hand up and then calls the Okparan by appellation. The process is passed on by the husband-to-be to the wife-to-be who, after taking a bite, calls the appellation of her husband-to-be or his father. The same process is repeated with gin, palm wine and water. When all these are done with, then the head of the girl's family hands her over to the man. While the hands are still being held, an arithmetic counting of one to eight in Itsekiri language is done. Eight in Itsekiri means 'shall be okay'. Therefore, the pronouncement of 'shall be okay' at the last count pronounced the hitherto intending husband and wife married couple. The next stage is called the Oloke ceremony. At this stage, young female members of the bride's family will come up and stage a 'kidnap' exercise in which the groom is taken away by them. The family of the groom goes to redeem their son with the payment of some cash, drinks and/or gifts. At the end of the celebration, a day is set aside in which

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the husband's family will come with a well-decorated canoe for the purpose of taken her to her new home. With modern-day modification, some members of the abiton (Newly married wife's) family may lead her to the husband's house in a vehicle. The bride (abiton) is carried on the back into the house by a woman of the family who has living children (see Ereku, 1982).

On a general note, the Itsekiri ethnic group, apart from the domestic influence from the Benin kingdom, expanded the spectrum of its cultural life through its links with European societies. In this respect, Ayomike (1990b) believes that their early contact with medieval Europe, especially Portugal, helped to foster a conservative Christian education and civilization in Itsekiri land. Itsekiri words such as oro, sangi, garafa, and kidibe are derived from Portuguese as are torosi, tapita, woske and the like from English.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed two main socio-cultural groups, that is, the Ijo and the Itsekiri, which predominantly fall within the mangrove forest zone of the Delta region of Nigeria. The focus has been on the relatedness of culture to its environment. Although the Ijo and Itsekiri are different culturally, they share similarities with reference to sharing common environmental experiences. The differences in them, despite these common experiences, however, attest to how complex the human nature is. Individuals may be exposed to the same experiences but differ in terms of how they perceive and define realities.

Human experiences are products of both natural and non-natural phenomena in human life. The environment to some extent determines what a society will be. According to Okolocha, et al (1999: 100):

> *The distribution of land, water and natural resources seriously affects the prospects of human society. For example, island nations and those endowed with rivers and bodies of oceans and seas may be expected to develop aquatic or marine cultures while those that are landlocked will be organized differently on the basis of their endowment of land*

Although the advent of modernity, brought about by the forces of colonialism and intensified by the oil economy, has relatively impacted on the cultural designs of these ethnic groups, the core traditions and values are still being upheld by the peoples. More so, the emergence of the oil industry has again become a phenomenon for which these peoples share common experiences.

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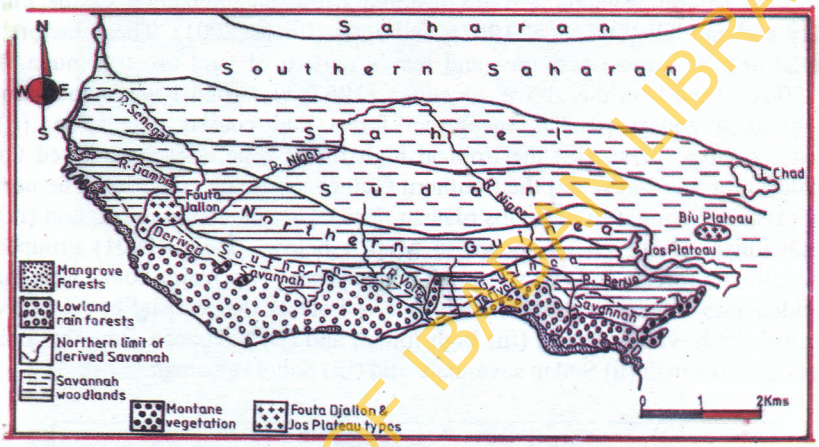
CHAPTER FIVE

THE PEOPLES OF THE FOREST REGION IN NIGERIA

Ajala, Aderemi Suleiman and Aremu, David, A.

Introduction

Climate and vegetations are important factors that shaped cultural groupings in West Africa. Besides shaping differences in societies, these factors determine the level of technology, economy and politics in different societies (Gordon and Gordon, 1996). Generally, West Africa featured about seven vegetation belts, and five of these are prominent in Nigeria as shown in Map 1 below.



Map1: West African Vegetation

Thus, as vegetation varies, so much the economy and politics in West Africa vary. This chapter focuses on the forest regions of Nigeria, examining its peoples and cultures. Forests are found throughout the world, not only in tropical African regions, but also in temperate regions like Canada, the United States, and the former Soviet Union. These forests, like tropical African forests, receive abundant, year-round rainfall, and are characterized by an enclosed canopy and high species of bio-diversity, but lack the year-round warmth and sunlight associated with tropical forests of Africa. In recent time, due to human exploitation of environment that has caused climate change, with high impact on bio-diversity, Nigerian forests merge into other three types of forest depending on the altitude, latitude, and various soil, water level and climate conditions (Aregheore, 2005). These forest types form a mosaic of vegetation types which contribute to the overwhelming diversity of cultures in Nigerian forest region (Vansina, 1990).

Nigerian Vegetation

A number of classifications of Nigerian vegetation have been provided since the nineteen-fifties. The development of these categories reflects changing perceptions of the significance and value of such classifications. Combined effects of temperature, humidity and rainfall, and particularly, the variations that occur in the rainfall that govern the natural vegetation zones exert a major influence on the types of indigenous

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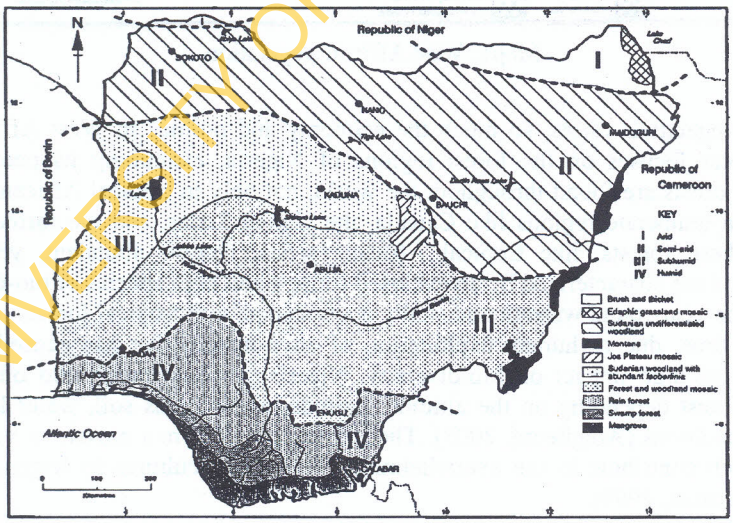
plants that grow or the exotic types of plant that can be introduced successfully into the country. Oyenuga (1967) reported that the humid, tropical forest zone of the south that has longer rains is capable of supporting a number of plantation crops, such as cocoa, oil palm, rubber, coffee, cotton and staple crops, like, yam, cassava, cocoyam, sweet potatoes, melon, groundnut, rice, maize and cowpeas (Oyenuga, 1967). However, in some parts of the east and many areas near the coast, the high rainfall has led to badly leached soils and severe erosion in some places.

The North with its lower rainfall and shorter rainy season consists of savannah land, and this represents 80 % of the vegetation zones of Nigeria (Kowal and Kassam, 1978). The savannah land forms an excellent natural habitat for a large number of grazing livestock, such as cattle, goats, sheep, horses, camels, and donkeys.

The natural vegetation zones resulted from the interaction of the climate, humidity and rainfall (Oyenuga, 1967), and soils (Iloeje, 2001). These factors have been modified by human activities and man's pattern of land use (Oyenuga, 1967; Iloeje, 2001). Based on the above, Oyenuga (1967) classified Nigeria into nine (9) agro-ecological zones: (i) The mangrove forest and coastal vegetation, (ii) the freshwater swamp forest, (iii) the tropical high forest zone, (iv) the derived Guinea savannah with relict forest, (v) the Southern Guinea savannah zone, (vi) The northern Guinea savannah zone, (vii) The Jos plateau, (viii) The Sudan savannah, and (ix) The Sahel savannah. However, as shown in Map 3 below, Iloeje, (2001) grouped the country into (A) forests and (B) savannah zones. These two major zones were further sub-divided into three zones each, such as (A) Forests that consist of (i) salt-water swamp, (ii) fresh-water swamp, (iii) high forest; and (B) Savannah zone that consists of (i) guinea savannah (ii) Sudan savannah, and (iii) Sahel savannah.



Map 2: Nigerian Vegetation According to Iloeje, 2001

The mangrove forest and coastal vegetation: This occupies the coastal areas and consists of tidal swamps, interspersed with numerous creeks and lagoons. The mangrove swamp forest is noted for the mangrove species of trees (*Rhizophora*) that dominate the swamp and to a much less extent by *Conocarpus erectus* and *Laguncularia racemosa* (white mangrove). Among the *Rhizophora* spp. *Rhizophora*

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racemosa dominates, occupying an estimated 99% of the entire mangrove area (Gordon and Gordon, 1996). The coastal swamp area is not widely cultivated except for swamp rice in places where they are stabilized and non-saline.



Map 3: The Mangrove region of the Brass in Bayelsa, Nigeria



Map 4:The mangrove region lying between Siloko in Edo and Marhin coastline of Ondo state, Nigeria

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The freshwater swamp forest communities: This area which originally occupied 18,130 km^2 (Iloeje, 2001) lies immediately inland of the mangrove swamp but on a slightly higher ground. The lagoons or the rivers that overflow their banks in the wet season supply it with fresh water because the area is low lying; therefore, it is flooded with rain water and lies under rain for sometimes eight or nine months of the year. The periodical flooding experienced gradual deposits of new layers of alluvial soils on the surface of the land. The deposit leads to the formation of more solid ground behind the swamp, and forms the beginning of the rain forest. This zone consists of a mixture of

trees. Important among the vegetation of this zone are the various palm and fibre plants such as *Raphia* spp., *Raphia vinifera*, the wine palm and *Raphia hookeri*, the roof-mat palm. They are used for thatching mats and for providing rafter, poles and stiff piassava fibre for the production of brooms. Leaves of the pandanus palm (*Pandanus candelabrum*) are used for preparing sleeping mats and baskets. Fishing and fibre-making are the important products of the fresh-water swamp community.

The tropical high forest zone: This zone is the major source of timber for all large constructional and cabinet making timber. Of all the zones, it contains the most valuable species of vegetation. However, due to human activities, this one-time forested area has been drastically reduced. Bush fallows, villages and farms are found scattered throughout the zone. Presently, the drier end of its inland side is becoming reduced to derived guinea savanna because of felling and clearings. In the humid rain forest are found economic cash crops such as oil palm, (*Elaeis guineensis*), cocoa (*Theobroma cacao*), Rubber (*Hevea brasiliensis*) banana/plantain (*Musa* spp.) and cola nut (*Cola nitida*). Also found are some principal staple food crops such as yam, cocoyams, sweet potato, maize, rice, groundnut, cowpeas and beans, as well as a number of fruits. This zone is also good for sylviculture. A number of timber trees such as the African mahogany (*Khaya ivorensis* and *K. grandifoliola*), the scented sapele wood (*Entandrophragma cylindricum*) and iroko (*Chlorophora excelsa*), to mention but three, are found in this zone. This zone therefore is very important in terms of food production and timber for construction and cabinet making (Oyenuga, 1967).

The derived Guinea savanna with relict forest: This was originally the drier part of the high forest. Due to bush burning and overgrazing, cultivation and hunting activities over a long period in the zone, the high forest trees were destroyed and the forest that used to exist is now replaced with a mixture of grasses and scattered trees. However, along the streams and in wet low-lying areas where surface water accumulates there are still some traces of forests. The Guinea savanna is characterized by grasses such as *Pennisetum*, *Andropogon*, *Panicum*, *Chloris*, *Hyparrhenia*, *Paspalum* and *Melinis*. These tall grasses are characteristic of the Guinea savanna proper.

The Guinea Savannah: This zone consists of the larger part of the savannah zone and is sometimes divided into the southern and northern Guinea savannah. It is the broadest vegetation zone in the country, and it occupies almost half of its area. It is located in the middle of the country, extends southwards to southern Nigeria and pushes northward beyond Zaria. It covers an area that has 100–150 cm of annual rainfall and where the wet season lasts for 6-8 months. The false balsam Copaiba (*Daniellia oliveri*), used for carving mortars and pestles for pounding yam, *Terminalia, Lophira, Afzeila, Daniellia* and *Vitex, Khaya senegalensis* (the poor mahogany), are the species found in the southern Guinea savanna. In the northern guinea savanna, species such as *Isoberlinia doka* and *I. tomentosa* form the bulk of the scattered woodland. Also found are locust bean trees (*Parkia filicoidea*), shea butter tree (*Butyrospermum parkii*) and mangoes (*Mangifera indica*). Comparatively, there are fewer trees in the northern Guinea savannah than in the southern Guinea savannah, and the trees are not as tall as those found in the southern Guinea savannah. Most of the tall grasses found in the derived Guinea savannah, are also found in the Guinea savanna; however, they are less luxuriant. The appearance of this zone differs from season to season. During the rainy season, the whole zone is green and covered with tall grasses that grow and reach maturity rapidly and thus become fibrous and tough. In the dry season, they tend to die and disappear, and one can see for kilometres. This

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clearing is due to several periodical bush-burning that occurs during the dry season between November and April, carried out to either assist in farm clearance or hunting.
The Sudan savanna: This zone is chiefly associated with groundnuts, sorghum and millet cultivation. Grasses found in this zone are not generally as tall, coarse or thick on the ground as those found in the Guinea savanna zone. Here, there is continuous grass cover of the short and feathery grasses on a large scale. The grass vegetation is interspersed with farms and thick bush trees such as shea butter tree (*Butyrospermum parkii*) and *Acacia albida*. The genus Acacia and *Combretum*, especially *Combretum micranthum,* are well represented and prolific in the Sudan savanna zone. Also found in the zone are locust bean tree (*Parkia filicoidea*), tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indica*) and mango (*Mangifera indica*). A large portion of this zone falls within the tsetse fly free belt of West Africa, and it is excellent for the rearing and breeding of ruminant livestock (cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys, horses and camels). The nomadic Fulani roam about this zone in search of fodder and water for their livestock.
The Sahel savanna: This occupies about 18 130 km^2 of the extreme northeast corner of Nigeria, and it is the last vegetation zone of the savanna type between the Sahara and the northern frontier of the Sudan savanna. The annual rainfall is low, and the rainy season lasts between three to four months. Here, the vegetation is not only sparse, but the grasses are very short. This zone is characterized by plants such as *Cenchrus biflorus*, and *Acacia raddiana.* The shrubs that are predominantly scattered in the zone are African myrrh (*Commiphora africana*) and *Leptadenia spartum*. As a rule, this zone is not cultivated without irrigation. The people found in this zone are the nomadic herdsmen, and they are careful not to burn the grass found because sparse as it is it provides the only pasture available for their grazing livestock.
Montane vegetation: There is no true montane type vegetation in Nigeria, but slight variations in the prevailing plant cover introduced by relief. For instance, the Jos plateau, the Bauchi Highland and the Adamawa Plateau lie in the guinea savanna zone; however, the grasses found on these highlands are shorter, and the trees are fewer than at lower level. The Fulani who live in great numbers in the area turn the available fields into good pasture for their grazing animals.

The main constraints on feed resources in all the zones are the destruction of perennial tree cover for firewood, bush fires caused by hunters; livestock rearers and overgrazing. These man-made constraints often lead to serious degradation of the pastoral resources and in some cases to an irreversible process of desertification, especially in the Sahel zone. The sub-humid zone (SHZ) has a high potential for ruminant production because of high rainfall and vast land area for forage production. However, the SHZ contains only 19.59 per cent of the total national livestock (Aregheore, 2005). This low percentage of total livestock unit in the Nigerian SHZ is attributed partly to tsetse infestation and high humidity.

However, for the interest of our present discussion, we are grouping Nigerian vegetations into two broad categories. These are Savannah stretching from the lower fringes of River Niger and Benue upward northern Nigeria, and the forest that stretch from the lower fringe of River Niger and Benue downward the southern part of Nigeria to the coastal territory of the Bight of Benin. This classification allows us to identify and draw a border line in the cultures of the forest and savannah peoples in Nigeria. Therefore, as shown in figure 5 below, all the portions indicated as rainforest,

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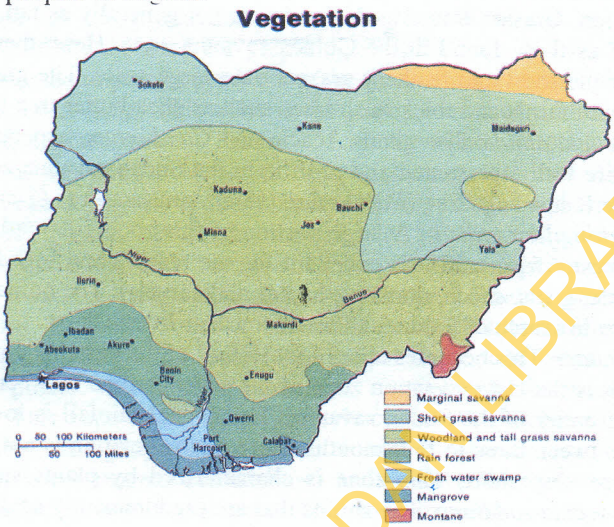
freshwater swamp, montane and mangrove are treated as the forest region in Nigeria. Being the subject of the present discussion, all the peoples located in these portions are treated as forest peoples of Nigeria.



Map 5: Nigerian Vegetation

Based on the classification into forest and savannah, there are three major types of forest in Nigeria: evergreen (primary) forests, secondary forests and mangrove forests. Evergreen forests, typical of equatorial regions in Africa, is often considered as the "real forest," and in Nigeria are characterized by more than 50 inches (2,000 mm) of rain annually and evenly spread throughout the year. These forests have the highest biological diversity and have a well-developed canopy "tier" form of vegetation. Initially, at about 5,000 years ago roughly two-thirds of the Nigerian tropical wet forests can be considered the ever-green type (Sowunmi, 1987). These forests are near the equator, where there is very little seasonal variation and the solar (day) is almost in a constant length with night all year round. The greatest expanses of evergreen rainforest are found in lowland upper central and southern parts of western Nigeria dominated mainly by different Yoruba sub-groups, former mid-western and the south-eastern Nigeria. Due to logging, introduction of cash crops such as cocoa, rubber, palm trees and coffee, human settlements, road construction, and many other factors, real forests are vastly depleting (Oyelaran, 2011). Pockets of real forests can presently be found in Osogbo (Osun groves) in south-western Nigeria, Okija shrine in eastern Nigeria, Obudu range in Calabar and some small portions of village shrines in eastern Nigeria.

During the dry season, many trees in the real forest shed some or even all their leaves, creating a seasonal reduction of canopy cover and allowing more sunlight to reach the forest floor. The increased sunlight reaching the forest floor allows the growth of vigorous understory vegetation. The term primary forest is also used for real forest, suggesting that the forests are untouched pristine forest that exists in its original forms. In the past, this forest was relatively unaffected by human activities. The forests are further characterized by a full ceiling canopy and usually several layers of understory. The ground floor is generally clear of heavy vegetation because the full canopy allows very little light, necessary for plant growth to penetrate. Occasionally,

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when a canopy tree falls, a temporary "light gap" is opened in the canopy, allowing growth of floor and understory species. Real forest is the most biologically diverse type of forest. Climate change, intensive farming activities, human habitation, and other human economic activities have impacted on real forests to the extent that the real forests in Nigeria have given way for the generation of secondary forests.

Secondary forest is rainforest that has been disturbed in some way, naturally or culturally. Secondary forest can be created in a number of ways, from degraded forest recovering from selective logging, to areas cleared by slash-and-burn agriculture that have been reclaimed by forest. Generally, secondary forest is characterized (depending on its level of degradation) by a less developed canopy structure, smaller trees, and less diversity. Due to lack of a full canopy, more light will reach the floor, supporting vigorous ground vegetation. "Jungle" is the term often applied to secondary forest with dense ground growth, but it is also applied to some tropical moist forests where seasonal variations permit thick ground growth.

The third type of forests in Nigeria is mangrove forest found in silt-rich, saline (brackish water) habitats located at the Nigerian coastal terrains that are generally along large river deltas, estuaries, and coastal areas. It is characterized by low tree diversity, almost exclusively mangroves, with a low broken canopy. Mangroves are evergreen trees and shrubs that are well adapted to their salty and swampy habitat by having breathing roots (pneumatophores) that emerge from the oxygen-deficient mud to absorb oxygen. Stretching from its Badagry origin in south-western Nigeria to Ilaje and down to Siloko, Ethiope and the Niger-delta of Nigeria, mangroves are the belts of crude oil in Nigeria and have been deeply affected by oil exploration and oil spillage, which in turn remarkably changed its peoples and cultures since 1956 when crude oil was discovered in commercial quantity in Nigeria.

What follows in this chapter include the description of the forest peoples in Nigeria, focussing on origin, settlement, political organization as well as the people's economy and technology. The chapter will also discuss how forest peoples have been adapted to their environment within the context of changes and adjustment.

The People

Mostly the Nigerian forest peoples are of Bantu origin, with the earliest occupation of their present location dated to around 9th century AD (Shaw, 1967). While each of the peoples has autochthonous histories of origin, enshrined in myths and local repertoires, Greenberg (1963) maintains that the people might have their origin from the present-day central Africa (Congo region) where the Bantus are believed to have originated. The peoples mainly constitute the most diverse Bantu language group of Niger-Congo family (Niger-Kordofanian group) (Greenberg, 1963), with the most widely spoken Niger–Congo languages in Nigeria, by number of native speakers, being the Yoruba of south-western, Igbo of eastern, Igala and Tivs of the Benue troughs (Ehret and Posnansky, 1982). Specifically, the Nigerian forest peoples mostly belong to both micro and macro Kwa sub-division of Niger-Kordofanian (Andah, 1988). The peoples are mostly Negroes branded as Sudanese Negroes. They have dark pigmentation of the hair, eyes and skin. They have wooly hair, broad and flat noses with inverted lips and some prognathism (Ottenberg, 1960). Though the peoples are of an average height of five feet, they are considerably varied in height and in many other physical characteristics.

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Based on the varieties of the forest regions in Nigeria, forest peoples are distributed in Delta, eastern, western and the lower fringes of river Niger and Benue. The dominant societies in terms of population are the Ijaws, Uhorobo, Itsekiri, Ekoi, Anang, Ibibio, Anan, Efik and Kalabari in the Delta region; Igbo in eastern region; Yoruba and Edo in western region; Idoma and Igala of Benue and Niger confluence area.

Economy and Technology

Traditionally, the forest people in Nigeria predominantly practise subsistence farming and aqua economy. The swampy and mangrove people such as Itsekiri in Delta state, Oron and Ibibio in Akwa Ibom state, Okirika in River state, Ijaw in Bayelsa state, Ekoi and Kalabari in Cross River State, and Ilaje of Ondo state engage in aqua economy which involves large-scale fishing and collection of shrimps, aqua snails and other aquatic animals. The fishing region of the forest people in Nigeria is Niger Delta territory covering about 30,000km2 of coastline and wetland of more than 70,000 km2 primarily characterised by sediments disposition (Tawari, 2006). As shown in map 5 below, it is located between latitudes 4°2" and 6°2" North of the equator and longitude 5°2" East of the Greenwich meridian.



Map 6: Some fishing societies of the forest region in Nigeria

They do not rare these aquatic animals, but depend on their natural reproduction. However, they are selective in their fishing operation so as not to arbitrarily run down the animals in the water. They travel long distance of an average of 100 kilometres from their fishing village along the coast line and do not concentrate fishing activities only on one spot. As intensive fishing is engaged in a particular spot, they migrate to virgin spot which can offer opportunity for more yields and allow the exhausted spots to regenerate with more aquatic animals. Through their regular movements, they often establish fishing villages, where they temporarily settle during fishing expedition to stock and preserve their yields. Fishing villages are also market spots to sell their yields. Fishing trip may take the fishermen months before returning to their permanent settlement.

Fish is a good rich source of some amino-acids, vitamins, minerals and poly-unsaturated fatty acids not found in other sources of fat from aquatic environment

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(Davies, Davies et al, 2009). Its harvesting, handling, processing, storage and distribution provide livelihood for millions of people in the Niger Delta of Nigeria, as well as providing valuable foreign exchange earnings for Nigeria.

Fishing technology involves the use of fishing traps, nets, hooks and canoes. While traps and hooks have limited capacity, nets and canoes yield more catch. Nets are sometimes cast into the water to trap fish. On other occasions, nets are tied to the canoes which are paddled or driven by diesel machines. As the canoes pull the nets, fish are trapped and drag to the offshore for collection. Among the fishing people of forest region in Nigeria, fishing involves division of labour based on age and gender. Men between ages 15 and 50 years engage in long distance fishing, while women of the same ages engage in preservation and marketing.

To handle the huge harvest, since fish starts to deteriorate immediately, it is lifeless, Akinneye *et al.* (2007) reported different types of fish preservation methods, drying, smoking, freezing, chilling and brining. But the most prominent fish preservation in Niger Delta is smoke-drying (Davies *et al*, 2009). This could be adduced to the fact that most of the fish communities have no access to electricity to freeze their products (Agbon et al, 2002).

Apart from fishing, farming is also a traditional occupation of the Nigerian forest people. As the people are blessed with expansive fertile land and relatively good climatic condition favourable to the production of plants and animals, they engage in intensive agriculture. The practice involves the cultivation of both cash and food crops of various types. Many of the cash crops cultivated in the forest region, such as rubber, cocoa, coffee, palm oil tree and coconut, are introduced to the region by European explorers in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. While cocoa and coffee are mainly cultivated among the Yoruba of south-western and Edo in mid-western Nigeria, rubber and palm oil trees are predominantly cultivated among the Igbo of eastern Nigeria. Similarly, the Ibibio whose region is favourable for fishing and farming are also noted for palm tree cultivation.



1: Cocoa Tree in Ile-Oluji, Ondo State, Nigeria



Fig 2: Cocoa pods showing cocoa beans

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Fig 3: Palm oil forest along Okiti-pupa/Ore road in Ondo State, Nigeria

Food crop production includes yams, cassava, cocoyam, maize, plantain, melons and pumpkin. Among the Yoruba of south-western, Edo of mid-western and Igbo of eastern Nigeria, yam is regarded as the chief crop to the extent that a special day is allocated for yam festival in many of these communities. Yam, therefore, occupies an important place in the social and economic life of the forest people.

Among the forest people, farming cycle begins in January and February each year with the clearing of the bush by men, and the collection of sticks for staking yams. While men cut the bush, women among the Yoruba and Edo are engaged in its packing for burning. Except recently, due to climate change, the months of March and April are set for the actual planting, when the first rain appears. Men are involved in preparing yam mounds among the Tivs, Igbo, Yoruba, Ibiobio farmers and Idoma. They also plant the yam and train the yam vines; while women lay yam seeds on the mounds, women also collect the harvested yam and market them for men. Cultivation of vegetables, such as pumpkin among the Ibibio and Igbo, melon, Okra and cocoyam among the Yoruba, Edo and Tivs are mainly women affairs. Notwithstanding, the popularity of melon among the Yoruba and pumpkin among the Edo and Igbo has degenderized its production. Maize can be cultivated by both men and women.

Since many of the forest people are patrilineal in nature, major economic resources and factors of production such as land and capital are predominantly own by men. Hence, dominate the farming activities. Forest region is the most densely populated region in Nigeria, and thus, it posed a stiff competition on land which is the main resource for farming. In view of this, there are incessant communal clashes on land among the Tivs, Igbo and Yoruba peoples.

The traditional farming implements are the short bladed hoes among the Yoruba and Igbo and big-bladed hoes among the Idoma and Tivs, cutlasses and diggers. Most farming communities of the forest region in Nigeria practise shifting cultivation. The Yoruba of south-western Nigeria and the Idoma and Tivs commonly engage in migratory farming whereby they travel out of their local domains to acquire fertile land mainly for farming. They often stay in the farm and occasionally return to their local domains depending on the distance.

Besides farming and fishing, the forest people of Nigeria practise craft work as secondary economic activities. The fishing communities convert the tall mangrove grasses to mat making, and the agricultural communities engage in basket and cloth weaving, iron smiting, bead making, leather work and sculpture (Llyod, 1953). The

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crafts are done after farming seasons and when there is little work left on the farm. Craft works also serve as supplementary incomes for the people.

Political organization

Forest people organize themselves into segmentary and centralized political systems. While mostly the fishing people of the forest region operate segmentary system due to lack of pressure on land, limitation of external aggression and their limited population, the farming communities in the forest region are exposed to land pressure mostly caused by population density and land requirement for framing. The farming communities therefore cannot be based on segmentary political system that is loose and adopts village that is lineage-based as the unit of political organization. To control both internal and external tensions usually created on land and being able to control land request for farming, centralized political system that creates divinely but superior authority resting in the hand of individual trusted by the community is the most favoured political system among the forested farmers of Nigeria. The centralized political system encourages large army and defensive boundaries, which demarcate clearly the territory of each of the co-terminal farming communities. However, not all the farming communities in the forest region of Nigeria practise centralized political system. As noted by Llyod (1952), Igbo which is also an agricultural community practises segmentary political system. According to Llyod (1952), the Igbo ethno-genesis and traditionally low tension on land favours Igbo segmentary political system.

In segmentary political system, all adult males meet in the village assembly which is called ***amagula*** among the Ijaw of the eastern Niger-delta, to decide on common political issues (Leis, 1982). The oldest in the village became the president of the assembly. The village elder- ***amaokowei*** - is the spokesman on political and social matters, while on ritual matters, it is the village priest or ***orukarowei***. However, the Ijaw appellations and terms are not universal to all segmentary communities in forest region, variation of terms exists. The village is structured on age grade organizations, which form the basis for assigning roles and responsibilities in the village. In segmentary political system, each village is autonomous of one another, and there exists little unity among them except in cases where common dialects, historical beliefs, and common ancestries exist.

On the other hand, centralized political system is based on aggregation of lineages or villages and towns of which one must have been the first to settle in the region. The leader of the founding lineage usually assumed the political and spiritual headship of the region. Leadership is hereditary and supreme. The head is supported by a number of chiefs which are also hereditary and assigned constitutional roles and functions. To check power abuse, the head must commune regularly with his council of advisers that is made up of senior hereditary chiefs.

Among the Edo, Yoruba, Igalla and Tivs, governance is not an exclusive concern of the head or the chiefs, commoners mainly, the adult males and females are also involved. Each town or village depending on its size is divided into wards, compounds and households. Each of the units has a head and holds regular meetings where information and policies from the supreme head are passed down to the people.

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Adaptation and adjustment to changes

The events of European exploration of Africa, slavery, Christian missionary, colonialism, and global capital movement that began since the late 16th century have caused a series of change in the culture of the forest people in Nigeria. These events introduced the people to cosmopolitan culture, capital based economy, European politics and governance, and western styled education and social life. Being the first set of people to have contact with Europeans, the forest people now have most of their culture influenced by European civilization. The combined effects of slavery, Christian missionary and colonialism on the forest people were the introduction of western education and diasporic culture (Shillington, 2005). Western education created a new social class of people who depend on white collar occupation and cosmopolitan culture. Christian missionary brought about Christianity that changed the beliefs of the forest people, while colonialism created nation, caused nationalism and introduced democracy in Nigeria.

Specifically, colonialism increased international interests in forest region of Nigeria. Starting from early 19th century, international commercial activities were first in slave trading. Later legitimate trade was introduced following the abolition of slave trade. The introduction of legitimate trade brought the cultivation of cocoa, coffee, rubber and palm oil trees to the forest region. The proceeds were shipped abroad only to come back in finished products such as cocoa and coffee drinks; rubber products and detergents that were mainly processed in European cities (Ake, 1981). In this trading process, forest people only acted as middle men who facilitated the commercial transactions in the forest region during the colonial periods. Colonialism also introduced the forest people to indirect rule system which in turn led to the establishment of local chiefs among the Igbo where they were not in existence and raising their status among the Yoruba and Edo where they were in existence. Thus, colonialism created a new class of political patrons who collaborated with the colonial government in the forest region.

As colonialism excluded the educated elites of the forest region from colonial government, there began stiff agitation against the colonial government in the region. The educated elites in the forest region thus created an imagination as a nation and struggled through nationalism for the actualization of their imagination. The process involved series of constitutional changes, establishment of party politics and electioneering. Of course, the first political party in Nigeria- People's Union was founded in 1908 in Lagos and Calabar, where the first election was also held (Azikwe, 1961; Adeloye, 1976). These cities are portions of the forest region in Nigeria.

The late 1950s was an historical watershed in the forest region of Nigeria when crude oil was discovered in commercial quantity at Oloibiri among the Brass and Okirika of River state. The crude oil exposed the forest people, especially the mangrove and swampy regions to massive oil exploration which in turn opened the region to wider international commerce, environmental pollutions and conflicts resulting from various agitations to ameliorate the environmental pollution due to oil spillage. The introduction of oil commerce led to the decline in the traditional occupation of these forest people from intensive fishing to oil business and local politics. Oil business has also attracted huge global capital movement to the region and, thus, upon Nigerian independence in 1960, the forest region became the treasure of the Nigerian nation, due to the international values attracted by the abundant deposit of fossil fuel in the region.

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Conclusion

In the foregoing discussion, we have examined the detail of both the physical and cultural features of the peoples of the forest region of Nigeria. In the process, it was established that environment plays a prominent role in shaping people's culture, suggesting that culture depends on environment. Environment determines the technology and economy as well as the politics plays in a particular society. Among the forest region, available resources within the environment determine the nature and culture of the people. The people of the forest region are typically farmers and fisher men since their environment provide them with abundant water where fish can be trapped and land to farm.

Our current discussion suggests that improved human well-being is a crucial objective of sustainable development and is closely linked to environmental resources. Human well-being is multidimensional and requires access to resources to live a good life in good health, such as income, food, clean water, and energy; personal security through the absence of conflict, the ability to mitigate environmental disasters, and good governance; good social relations which include all people and promote fairness and equity; and the opportunity to make choices. This implies a condition in which people are not just physically well, but have choices and live in dignity within the context of their ecology. The extent of well-being, as reflected in income and inequity, is an indication of how successfully or unsuccessfully adapted to the environment. In turn, the well-being of people affects their ability to effectively and sustainably manage environmental resources. How these social factors impact on the environment is a product of a complex cultural milieu, and as such the forest region of Nigeria works to fulfil the well-being.

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CHAPTER SIX

THE PEOPLE OF THE SAVANNAH: HAUSAS AND HAUSANIZATION OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

Amzat, Jimoh and Muhammad-Baba, Tukur A.

Introduction

For political classification in Nigeria, the term Hausa-Fulani is often used for the Hausas and Fulani in Northern Nigeria. The name merged the two ethnic categories. This is not to deny the similarities between the two groups, but it is also important to note the disparities between both of them as they constitute two distinct ethnic groups. Historically, the Fulani political hegemony is widely accepted in the north, but the Hausa identity has never been submerged. One can argue that Hausa has socio-linguistic hegemony; that is why Hausa is the predominant language in northern Nigeria. The Hausa kingdoms, such as Kano, Rano, Gobir, Kebbi, Auyo and Katsina have been well established since 7th century, long before the immigration of Fulani's in the now northern Nigeria (Adamu, 1976; Adamu, 2010). For the purpose of clarity and sociological distinction, it is important to note that Hausa-Fulani is a political classification; it is thus problematic to merge the two in a cultural and sociological classification.

In the contemporary Nigeria, the Hausa and Fulani are predominantly found in Northern Nigeria. The socio-economic organization of the Fulani has been discussed in another chapter of this book. Figure 1 shows northern Nigeria which is a combination of three geopolitical zones: northwest, northeast and north central zones. These three zones together constitute the 19 northern states. There are other hundreds of ethnic minorities in northern Nigeria which include the kanuri, Nupe, Tiv, , Ebira, Tiv, Igala, Gwari and the like. Because of the linguistic hegemony most of the ethnic groups in northern Nigeria speak the Hausa language as a second language and fundamentally influenced by Hausa culture. For instance, the Hausa speak Hausa language while the Fulani speak Fulfulde. There is also a close cultural relationship between the Hausa and Fulani. This is why at times it could be convenient to merge or call them Hausa-Fulani. As this chapter progresses, there will be an attempt to describe the cultures of the Hausa. Because of the socio-linguistic hegemony of the Hausa, many Fulani are losing their mother tongue Fulfulde) for the Hausa language. It is not uncommon to find many Fulani who cannot speak Fulfulde at all.

One major important issue is that the two groups and other minorities are co–existing and easily assume a single political status of Hausa-Fulani In contemporary Nigeria, and, historically, the political ascendancy of the Fulani has been prevailing without much opposition. Islamic religion as a unifying factor is crucial in explaining the non resistance of the groups to the socio political and traditional arrangement in northern Nigeria. Having made this clarification, the focus of this chapter will be on the Hausa of northern Nigeria describing their social and political organization and how they assume socio-cultural dominance in northern Nigeria.

Historical Background of the Hausa

For most cultural groups in Nigeria, there are various myths and legends about their origins. Most of those myths are inconsistent, and no scientific proof other than mere tales and fables in traditional mythology. This is why this chapter will not document such mythologies but the facts. The Hausa language is one of the most widely spoken

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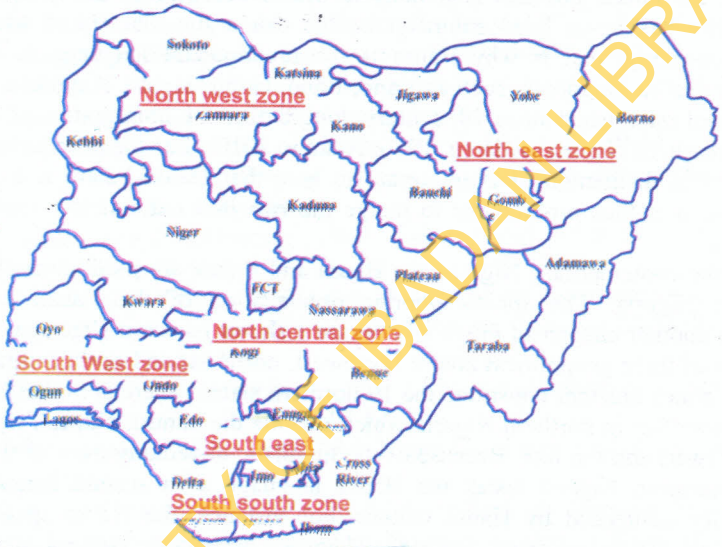
languages in Africa. The Hausas and also found in Niger, Benin, Cameroon, Togo, Ghana and Sudan, the Hausa are the largest ethnic group Nigeria and West Africa. The Hausa are the major inhabitants of the northwest Nigeria which specifically include Kano, Zamfara, Sokoto Kebbi, Katsina, Zazzau (Zaria), Daura and Gobir and the like. The major ancestor of the Hausa people is called Bayajida. The northwest is still the stronghold of the Hausa in the Nigeria state. All other states are connected to Kano which was and still the major center of commerce. Adamu (1976) submitted that the Hausa state emerged during the first four centuries of the first millennium (AD).

Figure 1: The Map of Nigeria Showing the Six Geo-Political Zones



There is a primary problem in determining who is an Hausa. Adamu (976) defined an Hausa person as one who calls himself/herself or is so called by other people and behaves like one, speaks the Hausa language and historically traces his/her origin to Hausa parents or Hausaland. However, due to the current trends of globalization, all these factors may not be met, but the factors strive as means of personal identity.

Socio-Political Transformations in Hausaland

The Sokoto jihad was a revolutionary movement within a Muslim society –a revolutionary with ideological, organizational and intellectual appeal (Aba, 1979). It is a revolution within Muslims because many of the Hausa were already Muslims before the jihad. The jihad was led by the Fulani Islamic scholar called Shehu Usman Danfodiyo (1754-1817) to reform Islam in Hausaland. Al-hajj (1979) observed that many pre-jihad Islamic clerics in Hausaland justified corruption and immorality on the basis of local customs (*ada*) and tradition. These problems are displeasing to Shehu who had established himself as an intellectual scholar across Hausaland. The Jihad warriors observed that common people were ignorant of the basic tenets of Islamic faith. In the beginning of Shehu's activities, he avoided confrontation with the rulers and did not think of a political revolution (Al-hajj, 1979). It is good to note that the common masses, such as the Fulani *gida* (town Fulani), Bararoji (Fulani pastoralists)

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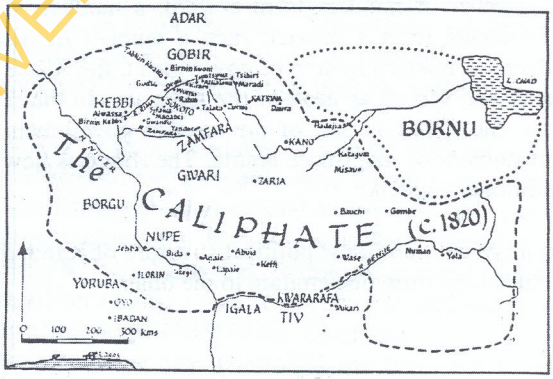
Hausa peasantry and the slaves were disgruntled about the political order, especially because of political discrimination and exploitation (Al-hajj, 1979). These disgruntled groups served as reserved supporters (army) for Shehu.

The consciousness of the oppressors and injustice from the leaders coupled with unacceptable practices within Islam built the tension in the community. More so, with the reign of new political leader, Yunfa dan Nafata, who succeeded Yakuba, and banned some Islamic conventional practices, such as veil for women, turban for men and open preaching by Shehu further triggered the armed struggle. The holy war was actually from 1804-1810, and resulted in the overthrow of the various governments in Hausaland and the establishment of Sokoto Caliphate. The resulting political system was based on Islamic models. This led to the emergence of Islam as a state religion in Hausaland with the introduction of Shariah legal system. The new caliphal administration system was a "federal system" based on sub-units - emirates (Abba, 1979). All the emirates are sub-units under the sultanate council. There was also expansion of the emirates to the localities beyond Hausaland (such as Bida, Keffi, Yola, Bauchi (Abba, 1979), and Ilorin. Usman (1979) observed that the caliphate was the largest political community in West Africa extending up to 150,000 square miles - with thirty emirates and numerous sub-emirates (see Figure 2 for the map of the Sokoto Caliphate). The Fulani merged with the Hausa to extend political domination of other minority groups. For instance, Smith (1969) observed that the Zazzau emirate includes other thirty-three tribes which were submerged under the emirate. However, the singular homogenizing factor among the *Fulani-Hausa* and other minorities was Islam. This implies that the minorities were gradually Islamized and hausanized.

Since 1810, the northern Nigeria has been operating the Emirate system which is a centralized system of political organization with the higher authority residing in the Emir. The Emir is also a religious leader. Before colonial contact, he performed legislative, executive, judicial and religious functions with the support of his council members. This does not really imply that there are no checks and balances. The Hausa political institutions managed to craft an enormous complex system of internal checks and balances (Griffeth, 1981). The hereditary route provides access to kinship.

Figure 2: Map of the Sultanate of Sokoto



Source: Boyd, J. and Mack, B.B. 1999: XVI

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Another major landmark is the contact with British colonialists. After a lot of resistance, the northern protectorate was formed in 1900 after the Treaty of Berlin in 1885 which scrambled the entire places now called Nigeria to Britain. Because of the centralized traditional system and limited resources (both human and materials), the colonialist adapted indirect rule in northern protectorate under the leadership of Frederick Lugard. In 1914, the northern and southern protectorates were merged. The unification led to the formation of Nigeria as one state. Despite the long process of modernization and westernization, the traditional political structures are still intact but with limited powers. The modern political system is more relevant today in administration of the state, while the traditional authorities which only play advisory roles to the government. Anyway, all the emirates today are still led by the Sultan of Sokoto (the *Amirul Mumini* - the leader of all Muslims in the region).

Figure 3 shows the contemporary traditional political structure of the Hausa society. It is important to note that most of the emirates (especially those in the northwest) are ruled by the Fulani minority group. The Sultan also comes from the descendants of Shehu Usman Danfodio (A Fulani). Generally, the then Sokoto Caliphate extends throughout northern Nigeria except Borno kingdom. Then all the Emirs were under the Sultan of Sokoto. He could appoint or sack any of them. In the modern traditional political arrangement, the emirs are now autonomous; though still pay homage to the Sultan. The Emirs are appointed by the Governor of each state, so also the Sultan. To demonstrate the traditional political hierarchies, Kano Emirate will be a typical example.

The Emir of Kano is the leader of the emirate. He has council members who include *Galadima, Sardauna, Wairi, Magajin-Gari and Madawaki* who play advisory role to him. The council members appoint the district heads subject to confirmation of the Emir. There are also the *Sarki* who exercise delegated authority for the Emir in various fields. For instance, there are *Sarkin Pawa* (head of the butchers); *Tukari* (in charge of collection of taxes); *Sarkin-ruwa* (in charge of water resources); *Sarkin Yara* (in charge of public structures), *Sarkin Bai* (in charge of palace and the city guards) and the like.

The district heads are called *Hakimi*. TheHakimi also have their own Sarki. Next are the village heads called *Uban Kasa,* with their *Sarki*. Lastly there are *mai anguwa* (the ward heads). Of course, each family is headed by a *maigida* (male household Heads). A number of families form a ward; a number of wards form a village; a number of villages form a district; then a number of district form one emirate. Before the advent of modern system of government, the *Alkali* was a member of the traditional council and served as head of the judiciary. In the modern political arrangement in Nigeria, the *Alkali* is part of the modern government and serves to deliver justice at the customary or magistrate courts. The *Alkali* is now answerable to the state, not to the traditional council.

Figure 3 only presents a typical traditional political structure of Kano, the appellations of the different hierarchies vary from one emirate to the other.

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Figure 3: Traditional Political Hierarchy in Northern Nigeria

Emir
The Traditional Leader
Council members
Magajin-Gari, Galadima, Sardauna, Waziri, Madawaki
District Heads
Hakimi
Village Heads
Uban Kasa
Ward Heads
Mai Anguwa

The Social Organization of the Hausa

Prior to the jihad movement, the savanna areas were divided into politically distinct territories and kingdoms. According to Watts (1983), up to thirty different territorial units, covering some 150,000 square miles, were forged into a Caliphate by the jihad. The most distinct of the pre-jihad political units were the various culturally-related Hausa kingdoms. To the east of Hausaland was the Kanuri-led Borno Empire, while to the south east (or Fombina area) and the southern parts of the savanna, in general, were found a multitude of diverse ethnic groups differing in language, cultural practices, and the like.

In Hausaland, the individual family household or *gida* [pl. = *gidaje*] was the basic unit of social organization. As a production and consuming unit, *gida* was (and still largely is) headed by a male household head, is corporate in nature, and may be simple or compound, depending on the productive resources at its command. The collectivity of *gidaje* form a settlement or *gari* [pl = garuruwa]. *Garuruwa* could be described as 'communities with a mixed rural and urban character' (Shenton and Freund, 1978: 10). Thoroughly rural settlements, or *kayyuka* [sing. = *kauye*], also exist in large numbers.

The city, or *birni* [pl. = *birane*], in Hausaland was the center of political authority. At the apex of society's hierarchy stood the king, or *Emir* who was assisted in the administration of the territory by a retinue of titular officials (who appoint and were appointed by the Emir). The Emir and the titular officials together constituted the political ruling class, or *masu sarauta*. Subordinate satellite towns, provinces, and villages were headed by *masu gari* and *dagatai* [sing. = *mai gari* and *dagachi* respectively], appointed by the *sarki*, ether from the settlement itself, or deployed from the *birni*.

Commoners or *talakawa* [sing. = *talaka*] paid various forms of taxes to the *masu sarauta*. However, the *talakawa* were by no means a homogenous group, as considerable social differentiation existed within this rank. As well, Hausaland was not entirely crop cultivating because significant amount of craft production, commodity trading by merchants and, of course, pastoral production when it became integrated, were all very much a feature of economy and society (Freund, 1978: 10-12; Saleh Abubakar, 1982: Jega, 1985: 64-65; Shenton).

The *masu sarauta* also controlled the *talakawa* through other means; for example, in the control that they (the *masu sarauta*) exercised over land and its distribution. According to Jega (1985: 63), it was in the 'control and dispensation of

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land' that the *masu sarauta's* 'political authority eroded the autonomy', and independence (in making production decisions) of the household units. Although the *masu sarauta* owned large farm estates, or the *gandayen sarakuna* [sing. = *gandun sarki*], which were worked by slave and hired labor, they also intervened 'directly in the production system' (Shenton and Freund, 1978:10). State intervention came in the form of the protection that *masu sarauta* provided for cultivators, pastoralists, itinerant merchants, and the like; in the organization of defense and other social labor projects, and in the extraction of taxes (Shenton and Freund, 1978: 10-11).

The establishment of the Caliphate signaled the emergence of a centralized structure of government over Hausaland, with wide-ranging ramifications. According to Jega (1985: 66), the new political structure 'reinforced the hierarchy of rural-urban *talakawa-sarauta* relations of exploitation which existed under Hausa kingdoms.' The war of conquests and defeats which the *jihad* struggles entailed allowed the new set of *masu sarauta* to acquire large numbers of slaves and also enlarge their land holdings and estates - with the slaves being put to work on the estates. New land tenure laws emerged which tended to concentrate landholdings in the hands of the few *masu sarauta* and other wealthy individuals; social differentiation became sharper and more distinct; client-patron relationships intensified; and flourished; trading activities within the Caliphate, as well as with other states, also expanded and flourished (Jega, 1985: 65-73; Watts, 1983: 46-87). These developments reinforced, and were reinforced by, the consolidation and centralization of state power. As Watts (1938: 52) observed, the Caliphate's ruling ideology (Islamic Laws) allowed for the expansion of commodity production as well as the burgeoning of a merchant class, neither of which was 'autonomous from the political and ideological muscle of centralized, Muslim state.'

Many minorities groups in northern Nigeria now use Hausa as a second language, and, consequently, the adoption of the language is exacting great cultural influence on all the minority groups. This is why Ochonu (2008) observed that Hausa is not just a language; it is a category that has become synonymous, and now correlates with a way of life - with cultural, economic, political and religious (Islamic) connotations. The language is widely used in trade and a measure of social contact in West Africa. Ochonu (2008) further observed that the presence, throughout most parts of West Africa, of people who speak Hausa as a second language, and the role of the Hausa language as a lingua franca in much of northern Nigeria, speaks to the utilitarian importance of a language in (international) trade and Islamic religious practices. In fact, most of the words used in the Hausa language have Arabian and Islamic origins. This linguistic hegemony is so entrenched that all religious groups (including Christians) popularly use the word 'Allah' to refer to God, a word truly meaning God, but is Arabic/Islamic.

Ochonu (2008) stressed that the terms "Hausa," "Hausawa," and "Kasar Hausa," denoting the language, people, and land of the Hausa respectively are actually fairly recent coinages; their modern usage probably originated from the writings of Usman dan Fodio, who, before and during the jihad, homogenized the Hausa-speaking but autonomous peoples of the different Hausa states "Katsinawa," for those from Katsina; "Kanawa" for those from Kano; "Gobirawa" for those from Gobir. The Fulani usually use these terms to describe the Hausa from different localities.

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Marriage in Hausaland

Another important aspect of the social organization of the Hausa is the marriage institution. 'Marriage' is a socio-cultural and religious obligation in Hausa society. There are basically two kinds of marriage patterns: *Auren Budurwa* (virgin/girl marriage) and *Auren Bazawara* (any marriage after the first marriage). In Hausa society, the father has the right to choose a partner for his daughter most often without her consent (she may later agree in order to obey the father). The most important criteria in Hausa marriage are acceptance by the bride's parents and bride-price. Akinfeleye, et al. (1997) observed that marriage process usually starts with courtship which is usually competitive as many men may be proposing to one lady. The courtship process is guided by strict cultural prescriptions (most of which have Islamic origin). The proposed bride and suitor usually have limited contact, and the courtship is usually as short as possible. Like in many African cultures, sexual contact and free-mingling with proposed suitor before marriage are strictly prohibited. Exchange of visit (to either family) is however allowed.

Early or girl marriage is still encouraged in Hausa society. Age at first marriage in the North is still around 15 for girls (NPC and ICRO, 2009). Many girls (especially in the rural areas) still marry before the 18th birthday. The major reason for this early marriage is to control promiscuity or fornication and to encourage virgin marriage. The age at first marriage for men is 24 in the north (*NPC and ICRO, 2009*). Men who are mature and have the means are encouraged to marry.

Baiko (betrothal) is still found in traditional Hausa societies, although not so common. Such decisions for marital union might be taken at birth or at a later life. The process of formalizing union usually involved a number of steps. After initiation of interest and visit by the suitor's parents to the bride's parents, all gifts (especially material gifts) given to the girl by other 'competitors' must be returned. The suitor's parents' send a delegation that normally ask a lady's hand in marriage. The delegation may have to come with *kayan baiko (betrothal items)* (which may include a small amount of money (for instance it may range from N1000-10,000) with kolanuts and drinks). At this point, the marriage decision can still be changed. If the decision is changed, the *kayan baiko* will have to be returned. If the decision remains, prior to the wedding, additional gifts (*kayan aure*) will be taken to the bride's parents. The *kayan aure* (wedding property) usually include clothing materials, Jewelries, cosmetics, bags and shoes. All these items are packed in (a) bigger bag(s) as *kayan Lefe* or *kayan aure* (wedding property) (Wall, 1987).

In the modern Hausa society, wedding is often glamorous. The wedding fatiha (Solemnization) or *daure aure* is usually performed in the morning or afternoon and lasts only a few minutes. This solemnization must be accompanied by *sadaaki* (a monetary gift to the bride) which is usually publicly announced and is a compulsory requirement. There are a number traditional bride's ornaments and cleansing. The bride will undergo *wanka amarya* (special bath with traditional perfumes), and decoration with traditional tattoos (*lalle*). After the solemnization, the bride (called a*marya*) is taken to the suitor (called *ango*) (usually in the night) to start and continue marital affairs.

In Hausa culture, divorce is permitted, and polygyny is also common. A man may marry up to four wives. The major task is to be available to the wives. He has to

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allocate/share days and nights of the week equally among the wives. Intra-marital sex by the husband rotating among the wives is the practice. The use of '*kayan mata*' (special traditional materials to enhance beauty and sexual performance for women) is becoming cultural and common, especially in the northwest. This is because of competition among the co-wives. The husband also has to be energetic to fulfill the sexual needs of all the (two to four) wives. It is significant to note that the household pattern is either virilocal, that is, wife moving to husband's house) or partrilocal (wife moving into husband's father compound).

The Household structure in Hausa society is segementary. The traditional rural compounds are arranged in small agricultural communities known as *unguwoyi* (Hamlets or *kauyuka* (villages) (Saulawa, 2001). These small communities are usually at a distance to one another. The family system is patrilineal (with descent traced through the father). The authority of the household is vested in *maigida* (male family head). In most house communities, *kulle* (purdah or seclusion of women) is still in practice. In the *kulle* system, the women's quarters are separate within the household, and there is strict restriction for a male adult (including relative or off-springs) from entering the women quarters. It is usual to see for '*ba siga'* ('do not enter') inscribed in the *azure* (compound entrance). The seclusion is to ensure sexual modesty and privacy for the womenfolk. This is also why most male visitors are usually entertained at the *azure*.

The notion of *kunya* (shyness or modesty) is cultural for an Hausa women, especially in public sphere. This is why it is often uncommon for Hausa woman to dance in public or discuss sensitive issues in the public domain. For instance, it is culturally frowned at for an Hausa woman to discuss sexual issues even with her partner. This promotes culture of silence, and it might be inimical for the promotion of sexual health and rights. Due to *kunya*, an average Hausa women is very quiet in public domain especially where there are male counterparts.

Islam is the dominant religion among the Hausas. Islamic prescriptions and proscriptions greatly influence most of the cultural practices. The traditional *bori* cult or religion is gradually fading out. The Hausa society is religiously conservative and fatalistic results in attributing both natural and artificial occurrences (social problems at large) to God. The statement '*Allah yakau'* (All things come from God) is very pervasive. This may serve as conservative stance to social change or even development. It is also important to note the blend of cultural practices with Islamic precepts. Hence, the line between religion and culture is very thin and unclear.

Gender Structure in Hausa society

There is a distinct gender division of labour between the sexes in Hausa society. This distinction goes along private and public[1] domains. Women are often confined to the private domain especially for domestic duties, while men are mostly in the public domain. Private domain means within domestic realm most often in secluded quarters with limited opportunities to venture into the public realm. There is high rate of non-working women (especially married) in Hausa society. Hence, there are many female degree holders who are confined to the private sphere, thereby not allowed to be employed in the public and industrial sectors.

While there are market women in the southern part of Nigeria, there are mostly market men among the Hausa. The prevalence of market men is predominantly

[1] The idea of 'public' as used in this section means outside the home (not government).

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because all forms of trading (whether small or large scale) in the public domain are mostly undertaken by men among the Hausas. Even with the emergence of *matan zamani* (modern women) in Hausa, the trend is still the same. The man (husband) is responsible for all his wife (or wives) needs, including clothing, food, firewood, house rent or shelter, up to cosmetics and other personal needs. The wife, in turn, carries out complementary domestic duties, including raising of children (Schroeder, 1987; Coles, 1991). Schroeder (1987: 3) further observed that:

> *By virtue of the spatial restrictions placed upon her, the Hausa woman does no farm work. Instead, she carries on remarkable extensive craft, food processing, petty trading activities [within the private sphere] made possible by her use of child labour [the street kids or Islamic pupils called almajirai] to circulate and sell her wares or snacks throughout the neighborhood. The proceeds of these occupations are inalienably hers to controls and spend as she sees.*

The submission of Schroeder (1987) has not changed and therefore still represents a good description of gender structure in Hausa society. Many of the economic activities within the home also include preparation of food for sales, such as bean cake (*kosai*), fried groundnut cake (*kuli-kuli*), noodles (*taliya*) and tomatoes and spices (*kayan miya*), petty trading (*ciniki*) with product such as clothing, jewelry, soap, sewing, weaving of mat (*tabarma*), plaiting of hair (*kitso*) and molding of pot. It is important to note that those women selling directly at the houses are usually patronized by women or non-adult males only. The implication is that the level of economic activities of women in Hausa society is structured by domestic arrangement and nature of seclusion. The preference for home-work activities is also because of allows for greater flexibility, case of childcare (Frishman, 1991) and to ensure sexual modesty. Some practise partial seclusion within the residential arrangement with some opportunities to go out (especially to see relatives and female friends), while some practise complete seclusion (*Kulle* system). The less restriction on the movement of women is lifted only at old age (*tsofuwa*), especially when she enters menopause. As noted there is limited financial cooperation between women and their partner (especially in polygamous union). This is also because divorce is permitted; therefore, it is common for some women to marry a number of times in their life-time.

In fact, seclusion of women from the general public domain is necessitated in order to control their sexuality. Schildkrout (1983) observed that, in Hausa society, women of reproductive age are seen as "sexually provocative", and this is antithetical to a state of ritual purity for men. Hence spatial restriction is culturally imposed on women.

Although, generally, literacy rate is less than 40% in northwest and northeast, women are more disadvantaged in the educational sector. Girl-child's educational aspiration is hampered by child-marriage and seclusion (after marriage) which prevent a majority of them from continuing their education. Very limited opportunities for vocational training exist for married women. Those who eventually have secondary or postsecondary education may not be permitted to work or only allowed to venture into less public-oriented employment. There are still very few female Hausa bankers, doctors, nurses and even civil servants (especially compared to female employment in the southern part of Nigeria). While women's educational aspiration is hampered,

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there is emphasis on gender concordance (in treatment) in the hospital. In order to avoid male consultation for female, many women do not attend the hospital or are not allowed to do so to protect the privacy of the female body. Thus has a lot of adverse implications for maternal health.

A typical Hausa woman is largely dependent on her husband for decision-making and material support. Amzat (2011) observed that major decisions regarding reproductive, sexual and child health are made by the husband. This level of dependence also shows that her autonomy is largely compromised because of patriarchy. The control of her body, movement and activities are largely done by her husband. Although a Hausa woman also has some rights over her husband, practically such rights are restrictive. The cultural milieu (often different from religious context) is more relevant in the regulation of family affairs and particularly gender framework.

Due to high rate of non-working women and low literacy level, there is high rate of dependency among the Hausa of northern Nigeria. This also accounts for high rate of poverty in the north (see Soludo, 2007; Adegbola, 2008). Those that work contribute little to the national economy (in form of petty home trading). The Hausa women have little contributions to the national economy because their predominant activities are hidden, coupled with low participation in the work force.

The foregoing descriptions of Hausa women apply to substantial majority, while there are few who constitute exceptions to the normative rule.

Hausanization of the Fulani and Northern Nigeria

The process of Hausanizing the Fulani and other ethnic groups was a major pain of the jihad from the Fulani perspective. It was a major latent consequence of the jihad for the Fulani. The conquest of the northern Nigeria in 1804 by Usman Danfodio was remarkable in the history of the Hausa. The conquest was purely religious, and it was championed by the Fulani minority. The jihad led to the Fulani political ascendancy and consequently, sacrificing some of their cultural heritage. The jihadists only entrenched Islamic education, while people still retain the Hausa language. Since the Hausa are the majority, the Fulani, still holding on to political power, were subsumed under the culture of the Hausa. The jihad homogenized the different nations into one ummah (Islamic community) by extending the symbol of political authority to the far northeast and north-central of the country thereby all coming under the Sokoto Caliphate headed by the Sultan

> *Ochonu (2008: 98) observed that The Fulani Islamic reform jihad ... superimposed a central political and religious authority on the fragmented Hausa states of present-day Northwestern Nigeria and, through conquest and discourse, disciplined them into one politico-linguistic unit. More importantly, the Jihad inscribed Islamic piety as one of the most important markers of Hausa identity....What the Jihad did was to initiate the process of homogenization and the construction of a politically useful narrative of Hausa identity, a narrative which was underwritten by religious and cultural associations.*

It was the conquest that fused the Hausa community into the fold of Islam and provides the basis for the Hausanization of other minority ethnic groups within the region. The monarchical system gives rulership rights to the Fulani in all the conquered lands as Emirs were appointed by Usman Danfodio.

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> *Ochonu (2008: 98) observed: The religious content of the Hausa[n]ization process was coterminous with the new fortune of Islam as the defining ideal of citizenship within the Sokoto Caliphate, whose core was Hausaland. The new Fulani rulers and their minions adopted the language and culture of their Hausa subjects as well as the administrative infrastructure of the conquered Hausa (Habe) kings. By this process, most of the urbanized Fulani became Hausa in linguistic and cultural terms...*

Not only had the conquerors submitted to the culture of the Hausas, all other minorities followed similar pattern.

Ochonu (2008: 99) further reiterated that:

> *By expanding the frontiers of a cosmopolitan Islamic tradition, the Sokoto caliphate enhanced the cosmopolitan and incorporative character of Hausa, enabling non-Hausa members of the Caliphal Islamic community to become Hausa in geographical contexts that lacked Hausa ethnic heritage. Indeed, because of the socio-political importance that the jihad invested Hausa with, it became, at least within the Sokoto Caliphate, a political identity denoting belonging, acceptance, privilege, and access. Being Hausa in the Caliphal context cost little. Islamic piety, an acceptance of the religious orthodoxy of the Caliphate founders, and an ability to speak Hausa even as a second language granted one entry into Hausahood. It thus became an appealing identity from a purely pragmatic perspective. Geographic proximity (but not necessarily contiguity) to the Hausa heartland in today's Northwestern Nigeria as well as Islamic piety facilitated social and political access to an increasingly coveted Hausa identity... It is this constellation of cultural, religious, economic, and political indices and significations that I call a Hausa-Caliphate imaginary...*

This is why the ethnic groups in the southern Nigeria look at the north as Hausa-Fulani without considering the numerous minority groups in the northern part of the country. In terms of cultural identity, an Hausa man is not a Fulani and vice-versa. A typical northerner is an Hausa and a Muslim. It is also because of the assimilation and Hausanization that the Christians in the north have come to accept Muslim names for their off-springs. It is often difficult to differentiate a Muslim and Christian from the north by name. it is this Hausanization that Ochonu (2008) described as internal colonialism of the minority groups in northern Nigeria.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

PASTORALISM, NOMADISM AND TRANSHUMANCE: AN EXPLANATION OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF FULANI/FUL'BE OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

Muhammad-Baba, Tukur A. and Amzat, Jimoh

Introduction

Any explanation of the Fulbe[1] or Fulani of northern Nigeria must be connected to pastoralism, nomadism and transhumance. The way of life of the Fulbe is based on these concepts. Pastoralism simply implies the raising of livestock on "natural" pasture unimproved by human intervention (Salzman, 2004). It involves the raising of domesticated animals on the open range for grazing. Pastoralism involves the domestication of animals (such as sheep, cattle, camels, horses and goats) that graze, eating mainly grasses, thereby raising them on uncultivated natural pasture. Salzman (2004) used 'natural pasture' to mean pastureland utilized by livestock breeders that are not cultivated or tended by people. Pastureland may intentionally be reserved for grazing. This signifies that the availability of pastureland may be shaped by availability or human activities (such as deforestation and grazing reserves). Like other pastoralists around the world, the Fulani of northern Nigeria domesticate camel, sheep and goats with cattle as the bedrock of their household economy.

The livestock are mobile, while the pasture is static. A particular area can be over-grazed, or adequate pasture or water may be non-available like during the dry season in the semi-desert the of northern savanna belt of northern Nigeria. The movement of flocks and herds in response to pasture needs and other factors such as water, temperature, disease and predators is called nomadism. Therefore, nomadism is a strategy of residential mobility designed to obtain resources such as pasture for domestic herds, and access to market for the herds and their products. Transhumance, on the other hand, is the seasonal movement of nomadic pastoralists. Such movement is subject to seasonal changes (Smith, 1992). Pastoralism is connected with nomadism, transhumance and sedentarism.

This chapter focuses on the socio-economic organization of the pastoral Ful'be/Fulani and is organized around a number of themes. The first part reviews the socio-economic history of the Ful'be, detailing the process of their integration into Nigeria. The review is intended to address the conventional assumptions common among policy makers and researchers alike, regarding the integration of the pastoral Ful'be in the structures and processes of modern Nigerian political economy.

The second part of the paper discusses major social organization of pastoral Ful'be. In particular, this part of the paper discusses the differentiation of the Ful'be into pastoral and nonpastoral groups, contemporary pastoral groupings, as well as major aspects of Ful'be cattle husbandry practices. Taken as a whole, this paper thus sets the stage for deep understanding of socio-economic organization of the Fulani or Ful'be of northern Nigeria.

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[1] We will stick more to Ful'be – the name the 'Fulani' call themselves. However, the 2 appellations are the same (especially for the Fulani in Nigeria) and will be used interchangeably throughout this chapter.

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Pastoral Ful'be Integration in Nigeria

The Ful'be are found scattered in a belt that stretches over 2000 miles long, incorporating the Sahel and Savanna regions of West Africa. Known by a variety of names (Fula, Fulan, Fellata, Fulani, Peul (in french), and the like.) the people refer to themselves as Ful'be [plural; singular = pullo], and speak versions of their language, *Fulfulde*. The pastoral and non-pastoral Fulbe together constitute the most extensively spread socio-ethnic group predominantly in West Africa, but are found also in Central Africa and Sudanese North Africa. Specifically, they can be found in Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea, The Gambia, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea Bissau, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Niger, Chad, Togo, the Central African Republic, Liberia, and as far as Sudan in the east (See Stenning, 1959: 1-2). They are very nomadic; this is where they are found as minority in most countries, except in Guinea where they constitute up to 40% of the total population. The Hausa people normally refer to the Fula as the Fulan (Pullo as the singular). The British have adopted the Hausa name for them because they first came into contact with them in Hausaland (northern Nigeria); hence, they are referred to as the Fulani. The Fulani, according to tradition, are heirs of the Egyptian pharaohs. The Fulani speak Fufulde (also known as fulbe or pulaar). In Nigeria, the Fulani are predominantly in northern Nigeria where they have established political ascendancy. Some of them can also be found across the country. Over the years, social intercourse with other groups, as well as the dynamics of economy and society in West Africa, as elsewhere in Africa, has combined to produce internal diversification within Ful'be social organization. Hopen (1958: 2) correctly observed that the term "Ful'be should be seen to broadly include 'a series of distinct sub-cultures. The way in which the members of any sub-cultures… see themselves in relation to any other sub-culture is, of course, dependent upon the social or political context.'

Predominantly cattle-rearing, the Ful'be are probably the most well-known pastoral group in West Africa, a region otherwise dominated by sedentary crop cultivators. Uncertainty and conjecture surround the precise origins of the Ful'be. Suret-Canale (1971: 416) remarked that:

> *A great deal has been written…much of it fanciful rather than factual; a substantial part of the literature has sought to give the Fulbe and a white ancestry, this being more in keeping with their role as empire builders, according to the colonial point of view. Islam-inspired traditions suggest an Arab origin, possibly Yemenite if not from the family of the Prophet [Muhammad] himself, and Delafosse thought they might possibly be what he called 'Judeo-Arabs'.*

Other authorities have conjectured Ethiopian, North African Berber and even Hindu ancestry for the Ful'be (Morel, 1911: 119; Stenning, 1959:18-20; Sa'ad Abubakar, 1977: 27). Suffice it to say, in support of Stenning (1959: 20), that the Ful'be 'are a product of the long and sustained impact of pastoral tribes, themselves of Mediterranean affiliation', upon the people living in the northern parts of the West African region.

Historians generally agreed that by about the 10th century, the Ful'be were concentrated in the northern and eastern parts of Senegal 'where they led a predominantly pastoral life herding cattle' (Azarya, 1973: 33). A mass migration of

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the Ful'be out of the Senegambia area probably began sometime in the 13th and 14th centuries, with a second wave of migration noticeable in the 17th century (Suret-Canale, 1971: 417). The main impetus for Ful'be migration was provided by the pastoral elements. The eastward migratory movements were initially slow and cautious, then in large numbers, as familiarity with unknown territories and regions was established (Azarya, 1973: 41). The present distribution of the Ful'be by and large corresponds with the major directions of the waves of the migration out of the Senegambia area.

In the process of their eastward migration, a significant number of the pastoral Ful'be adopted the Islamic religion, and became sedentary. The more sedentary and Islamized Ful'be assimilated into the already sedentary communities of farmers, traders, and artisians, in the cities and villages dotting the savanna. Most influential among the sedentary Ful'be were an intellectual elite, the Modibbo'en[2] who are knowledgeable about the teachings of Islam and, being literate (Arabic scripts), occupied, socio-politically important positions as religious teachers, clerics, community leaders, or as employees in the bureaucracy of certain states. The Modibbo'en remained best known for their proselytizing activities and were later to play leading roles in Jihad (Islamic Holy War) social movements and from which some of them (that is, the Modibbo'en) emerged as a ruling aristocracy.

Ful'be penetration into specific places was often preceded by negotiations with the sedentary populations, and especially so for the pastoral Ful'be, whose major interests always lay in gaining unimpeded access to pasture and water resources. Thus, it was essential that cordial relations existed between the pastoral units and sedentary people; however, often enough, the negotiations for access involved warfare. In characterizing Ful'be people in the period leading up to the 19th century, Stenning (1959: 13) wrote that throughout the West African savanna,

> *Roamed the pastoralists, elusive and unpredictable, now innocent herdsmen of camel or cattle, now well-disciplined bands of bowmen or cavalry, with an unrivaled knowledge of the bush.*

Therefore, the Ful'be, whose socio-political organization has otherwise been categorized as being "stateless" "acephalous", or "non-centralized", have participated in the overthrow, establishment, and/or administration, of many states in West Africa. The best known of such states were the various Islamic-based theocracies in which the Islamic concept of Jihad was the basic guiding principle on which the struggle to establish the state was justified. However, the Ful'be also participated in the establishment of non-Muslim states (Stenning, 1959: 13). Detailed consideration of those movements in all of West Africa is beyond the scope of this chapter but it will only examine the issue in relation to the Sokoto Caliphate for three reasons. First, the best known of the Islamic Jihad movements was the one led by Usman Danfodiyo, and from which the caliphate emerged. Second, the Sokoto Caliphate incorporated much of the savanna area of present-day (northern) Nigeria, except for the northeastern corner (the Kanuri-led Borno Empire). The Caliphate, whose territorial extent included areas in present-day Republics of Benin, Cameroun, Niger and Nigeria, was in all

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[2] Fulfulde word (plural) meaning very learned and knowledgeable individuals who are often teachers and community/opinion leaders (sing. = Modiboo. Not to be confused with the term for teachers, Mallun'en (pl.) and Mallunjo (sing.); which position is comparatively less social prestigious.

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probability the biggest, most populous, and economically strongest, pre-colonial state in sub-Saharan Africa (Watts, 1983: 48-49).

However, neither the Dan Fodio-led jihad nor the Sokoto Caliphate, which it nurtured, was a wholly Ful'be phenomenon, as both Johnston (1967) and Baba (1980) suggested. At issue here was the extent to which the movement was waged to foster Ful'be political domination of other people in the areas it was fought (Adeleye, 1971a: 19). Historical and circumstantial evidence does not support such a contention.

First, the Ful'be were a peripheral group (the pastoral nomadic more than the sedentary Ful'be) in the period preceding the jihad movement. However, the political oppression the Ful'be suffered was also experienced by other groups. It is significant that the prohibitions and other measures of political repression meted out by the rulers of Gobir were directed not at the Ful'be per se, but against all Muslims. Second, significant numbers of Islamized Hausawa and other peoples also participated in the movement and were very critical to its success. As Adeleye (1971a: 20) averred:

> *[S]ince the Fulani were not superior in arms of political organization to their opponents their numerical inferiority alone would have ensured the failure of the jihad if they had not enjoyed the active support of non-Fulani allies and associates.*

It is also instructive that the Borno Empire's leadership had rejected claims of Jihad as the justification for some Ful'be's attempts to wage war against it on the grounds that Borno was already a Muslim state (Stenning, 1959: 30-35). Third, there is little evidence to indicate that the bulk of the Ful'be, and especially the more nomadic pastoral ones, actively supported and participated in the movement. Students of the history of the Sokoto Caliphate have been generally vague about the specific role of the pastoral Ful'be in the movement which established the state. However, general impressions and circumstantial evidence suggest pastoral Ful'be participation in the movement, albeit on a fairly limited, or even sporadic, scale. Whether the pastoral Ful'be went on to take active part in the ensuing struggles for the establishment of a Muslim state or, for that matter, the administration of the Caliphate, has been seriously doubted. Hopen (1958: 13) observed that:

> *...Whereas some (but not all) pastoralists saw the possibility of advantage in joining (and did join) the Muslim forces, the fact remains that to a very large extent the pastoralists did not become more than peripherally attached to the actual administration of the Empire.*

A similar doubt has been expressed by de St. Croix (1945:6):

> *[A]part from giving local, but yeoman, help in the initial fight for Fulani survival against the Gobirawa, it would appear that, in the subsequent movement to assume power and oust native rulers, the Nomadic Fulani took no further part.*

In Borno, as in Fombina (the eastern and south-eastern part of the Sokoto Caliphate), we learn that participants and leaders of various Jihad campaigns had come from among the pastoral Ful'be (Stenning, 1959: 30-35; Sa'ad Abubakar, 1977: 2-3). Exactly how "pastoral" they were has not been fully accounted for, and is therefore doubtful.

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Finally, the bulk of the pastoral Ful'be were not, strictly speaking, Muslims, even if they were culturally Islamized. It is doubtful whether they readily joined the movement with its unmistakable zeal for reforms in accordance with Islamic principles. The movement basically started out as an Islamic reform movement, a Jihad, aimed at establishing a Muslim state. Adeleye (171a: 21) suggested that the underlying ideology of the movement was sustained, and that the large-scale political transformation which followed was unforeseen by the leadership.

It is understandable, therefore, that contemporary scholars would vehemently reject claims about the racial or ethnic overtones attributed to the Sokoto jihad in the past. Abba (1979), Al-Hajj (1979), and Usman (1979), all dismissed the view that the jihad movement in question was a revolt by oppressed Ful'be commoners against Hausa rulers. In any case, it was (more so today) difficult to distinguish between the Ful'be and the Hausawa, sharing the same environment, as well as cultural norms and values. Besides, those who fought for and against the jihad included both Ful'be and Hausawa alike. That some Ful'be formed a bulk of the leadership of the jihad could have been entirely fortuitous, since the sedentary Ful'be were then the most fully Islamized group in the region. That the Modibbo'en, who came to power in the wake of the jihad, were later to constitute themselves into a ruling aristocratic oligarch may be said to have been circumstantial too. The political transformation that followed the jihad (in the form of the consolidation of the Caliphate, and the centralization of political power and authority over the vast territory) affected Ful'be and non-Ful'be alike. It must also be stressed that the Caliphate was never wholly united and its forces fully integrated, and certain parts of the savanna remained unsubdued, and therefore unincorporated.[3]

Nevertheless, the jihad movement did affect the pastoral Ful'be as it did other inhabitants. According to Adeleye (1971a: 22):

> *The more lasting consequences of the movement was a profound political, social, cultural, religious, economic, demographic and intellectual revolution totally unprecedented in its scope and intensity in the history of the West-Central Sudan.*

For the pastoral Ful'be in particular, the movement affected their general social status (this will be discussed later). It was into the pre-and post-Jihad social structure as described above, that Ful'be in general, and pastoral Ful'be in particular, migrated. By the time the Sokoto Caliphate emerged, pastoral production had, by and large, become an integral part of the regional macro-economy as a sub-sector of the agrarian economy.

It is not known, with precision, just when the Ful'be reached Nigeria. De St. Croix (1945: 5) asserted that since about the 13th century, Ful'be (Islamic) preachers, that is, the Modiboo'en as well as various nomadic/pastoral groups of the Ful'be had been part of the economy and society of Hausaland and Borno (see also Fika, 1978). However, Stenning (1959: 20) conjectured that going by Arab and European records, the Ful'be 'have been essentially a Western Sudanic phenomenon, part of its geography, history and sociology.' If indeed Stenning's position is correct and valid, it means that the Ful'be had been a feature of the West African savanna region much earlier than commonly assumed. However, Stenning's accounts of Ful'be migration

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[3] See Abba (1979; Sa'ad Abubakar (1977); Al-Hajj (1979); Adeleye (1971a); Hopen (1958); Makar (1979); and Usman (1979) for elaborations.

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into Borno suggested that the Ful'be only became visible in the area toward the close of the 18th century. Finally, Ful'be migration into areas east of Hausaland and south of Borno took place first, modestly, in the 18th century, and in earnest in the 19th century.[4] The initial and subsequent penetration of the Ful'be into these areas was slow and gradual. By the 19th century, the number of pastoral and non-pastoral Ful'be was considerable, although they still remained a minority in relation to other social groups.

As they moved into Northern Nigeria, the sedentary Ful'be easily integrated into those states and settled among the mostly crop cultivating sedentary Hausa and Kanuri peoples. Where the sedentary Ful'be owned cattle in herds of considerable sizes, these were left in the bush under the care of sons, other family members or, by mutual agreement, with the nomadic Ful'be. The pastoral/nomadic Ful'be on the other hand, confined themselves to pasturelands, (most times) outside of sedentary communities.

Given the social organization of the Hausawa that was already in place, the sedentary Ful'be formed the link between the pastoral nomadic ones and the other sedentary groups in the host society. Describing what we may call the Ful'be aspect of the economy and society of Zazzau, Smith (1992) reported that the Ful'be who settled in Hausa communities tended to live in separate wards, but were assimilated into Hausa culture. On the other hand, the nomadic Ful'be pursued their way of life "unmolested", and using sedentary Ful'be as liaison with the leaders of surrounding communities.

Smith's assertion is not entirely correct. The pastoralists were neither unmolested, nor sought "free" access to grazing resources, as we shall see. Nor was it always the case that the sedentary Ful'be acted as liaison with local authorities. Pastoral Ful'be leaders or Ardo'en [sing. = ardo] negotiated, on behalf of their following, with leaders of the sedentary communities with whom they came into contact (Fabusoro and Sodiya, 2010).

In advance of moving into new (grazing) areas, the pastoral Ful'be would try to ascertain the suitability of the area, not only in terms of the availability of grazing resources, but also in the potential for cordial co-existence with other (sedentary) groups already in the area. It was through such negotiations that access to grazing rights and protection against attacks and other harassment were obtained and secured. In recognition of the authority of local rulers and for the rights and privileges obtained, the pastoral Ful'be paid dues, taxes, tributes and/or gifts to local communities and especially to their rulers. For example, that as they migrated from Hausaland and Borno in the 19th century and

> *On entering Fombina, they [i.e. the Ful'be] accepted the social, economic, and political conditions which prevailed in the region. In short, they were subject to non-Fulbe authorities to whom they paid*

[4] Abubakar (1977: 5) referred to this area as "Fombina" (Fulfulde for "south"), an area of diversed physical and human characteristics markeing the south-easterly border of the Sokoto Caliphate. See also Azarya (1973: 38). Note that Azarya discussed Fombina as "Adamawa", which is equally acceptable, although Abubakar's "Fombina" encompassed areas outside of present-day "Adamawa").

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tribute and grazing dues to ensure rights and liberties (Sa'ad Abubakar, 1977: 1-2).

Negotiations did not always guarantee access to all places. Indeed, certain areas remained inaccessible to the Ful'be, due to the hostility of local inhabitants, or for other reasons, until after the establishment the Sokoto Caliphate. Notable here was Ful'be migration into Fombina which became fully achievable only when the jihad movement established political hegemony over the area (Sa'ad Abubakar, 1977; Azarya, 1973). Other areas, which otherwise had good pasture resources (and would have therefore attracted some pastoral Ful'be), had been inaccessible until the establishment of British colonial rule in Nigeria in the early 20th century. The Jos and Mambila highland areas were a case in point (Awogbade, 1983a; Frantz, 1980).

In general, therefore, it is plausible to conclude that the full integration of the pastoralists did not take place until after the establishment of colonial rule. The Ful'be have had to deal with appreciable and widespread insecurity throughout the process of their integration into the Nigerian savanna. As we have seen, what evidence we have of their participation in the Jihad, which established the Sokoto caliphate, could have resulted more from the experience of insecurity than from anything else.

Overall, therefore, pastoral Ful'be migration and interaction into Nigeria can be characterized as a slow and gradual phenomenon which took many decades to complete, and occurred at different intensity, in different regions. The first wave of pastoral Ful'be migration brought them to the northwestern parts, and eventually into the central and other parts of Hausaland, into such states as Zaria, Katsina, Kano, Bauchi, and other areas. A second wave saw the movement of pastoral Ful'be clans into the Kanuri-dominated Borno empire in the northeastern corner of the savanna. Yet a third wave took the Ful'be into Fombina, including such areas as Gombe, Adamawa, Sardauna, and, beyond, into parts of present-day Cameroun. In terms of the present-day distribution of the pastoral Ful'be in Nigeria, a fourth wave of migration can be identified. This took the Ful'be into those areas (such as the Jos Plateau and other areas) which until the advent of colonial rule, successfully resisted Ful'be penetration.

Major Aspects of Pastoral Fulibe Social Organization

The Household Unit

The basic unit of social organization among the Ful'be, as among other social groups in the savanna areas of northern Nigeria, is the simple or compound family unit. In its most basic form, the household unit is both patrilineal, and patrilocal and 'whose reproductive nucleus', as Awogbade (1985: 15-16) observed "is integrated with the wider pastoral environment, and with the structure of the society at large." The household unit is headed by a male household head, and basically incorporates the household head's wife/wives and their children. The household unit may also include other kinds and non-kin, depending on the productive resources that the unit commands. Such resources may include the unit's livestock herd or the productive resources (such as non-livestock material wealth/goods, land for farming, where the family unit is sedentary or semi-sedentary and the availability of family labor with which herding or other activities are undertaken) from which the family's subsistence is derived.

Decisions of social, economic or political nature affecting individual household units rests with the household head (Awogbade, 1985: 16). In theory, the household head has ultimate authority over the family's productive resources,

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especially livestock. It is for this reason that household heads are most influential with regard to broader issues of production and how the family unit is organized in the production process (Awogbade, 1985). Thus, for instance, ultimate responsibility for taking decisions on herd deployment, and negotiating for grazing rights in specific locations, rests with the household head although other members of the household may be consulted on such matters.

In practice, ownership of livestock or any other productive resource(s) is widely distributed among the household unit's membership. For example, where the unit is a large compound family, each wife and her offsprings and/or other children in her custody (together comprising a sub-unit of the household) are allocated a number of animals. It is over such allocations that the sub-unit exercises milking rights. Proceeds from the disposal of milk and other milk products from the sub-unit's allocation are exclusively used for its own (the sub-unit's) needs.

Awogbade (1985:18) correctly observed that for most fathers, it is likely that by the time all their sons mature, marry, and begin to raise children of their own, ownership of all cattle in their (fathers') herds may have been transferred to the children. Indeed, most individuals begin to build their individual family herds through allocations from fathers, and/or gifts from other relations (Hopen, 1958; Stenning, 1959; and Dupire, 1963). However, until they die, fathers do retain considerable control, especially on matters of disposal, over the domestic unit's herds.

Lineage Groups: Beyond household units, and in accordance with the patricentral nature of Ful'be social organization, the agnatic lineage, derived from relationships of (male) family groupings and common ancestral roots, may be found. Such groupings may be co-residential. Members of the lineage groups are held together by common ties of mutual obligations, marriage, and other reciprocal duties. Often corporate in nature, the agnatic lineage group practices endogamy through a series of cross-cousin-marriages.

In recent times, the cohesiveness as well as the practice of common residences by lineage groups has considerably declined. Where they are still found, such units are smaller, or likely to be much more fragmented, than they were in the past. More and more, the individual family household, simple or compound, now exercises considerable influence over its affairs.

Labor Organization in Household Units: Age and sex are the general bases of division of labor among the pastoral Ful'be. Boys and young adult males are responsible for day-to-day herding activities. Male elders see to the general welfare of the herds, directing the young males, taking decisions on short-and long-term herd deployments, securing veterinary services, and generally passing on livestock management skills to the younger members of the household.

Women are responsible for milking the animals, but among the sedentary and the semi-sedentary groups, men undertake milking tasks (Joekes and Pointing, 1991; Ayodapo, 2010). However, among all pastoral Ful'be, milk processing (into products such as fresh or sour milk, butter, ghee, and yogurt) is undertaken by women. Among all groups, dairy products are disposed of in local markets by women, and the proceeds used to meet household expenses. Domestic chores of cooking and child care are also performed by women, and especially the elderly with the assistance of young unmarried girls. This sexual division of labour is a fundamental feature of the Fulani (Salzman, 2004).

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Thus, as with most pastoral groups in Africa, pastoral Ful'be family units have been characterized by the mutual interdependence of family and herd. As Stenning (1959: 147) observed, this mutual interdependence has often been expressed in the

> *Simultaneous formation of a homestead, a household, and a herd...[T]he development of the family, the divorces which may occur in it, are closely bound up with the reproductive capacity, not only of the family but of its herds.*

Generally speaking, and for the more nomadic of the pastoral Ful'be in particular, the household unit is both an economic and a political unit. Decisions regarding production, consumption, and/or other matters touching on the welfare of the family and its herds are made in relation to the family as a whole, and not in accordance with individual demands. As well, the family confronts the wider society as a unit: it pays taxes, tributes and negotiates for use of particular rangelands, together. The family unit, as we have seen, is also characterized by a well-defined division of labor along sexual and age lines (Stenning, 1959: 103; Dupire, 1963: 75-77). Stenning's (1959: 103) description of typical Wodaabe (or Bororo) family units (in northeastern Nigeria) as 'herd-owing and milk-selling enterprise [s]' would apply to most pastoral Fulbe in other parts of Nigeria. It is the case that for most family units,

> *[M]en have to do with cattle, their seasonal movements, daily pasturing and watering, and veterinary care. Women have to do with milk and its marketing, in addition to their domestic tasks of food preparation and the care of the homestead both at rest and on the move. Adult men are herd-owners and managers, male children and adolescents are herdsmen. Adult women are dairywomen and purveyors of milk, female children and adolescents are dairymaids (Stenning, 1959: 103).*

The division of labor is not always rigid though. It is indeed not uncommon to find young girls helping out with herding activities, either taking out the family's small ruminant herd (goats and/or sheep) to pasture or helping out in herding the cattle herd to pasture and water sources just as the young boys do. Often, such practices are not unconnected with labor shortages in the household unit, and may thus be found to be prevalent among smaller units.

Livestock production is not necessarily the sole source of the household unit's subsistence. Awogbade (1985: 17) reports that both males and females engage in limited craft production, although such activities attract only a limited amount of the family unit's productive energy. Indeed, in places like Bauchi and Gongola states, craft products such as intricately decorated calabashes, mats, cloth, and the like, are made and marketed in considerable quantities by Ful'be women from within household units.

The foregoing discussion, as well as the characterization of pastoral Ful'be groups, should not be construed to be applicable to all Ful'be all over Nigeria. Rather, the characterization should be seen as general, because differences may, and do, exist between different groups in different areas. Indeed, today, there exists a wide variety of pastoral groups, even among the Ful'be in Nigeria. For a long time, there has been

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an on-going differentiation among pastoral Ful'be groups, a process worth further elaboration, as is attempted elsewhere below.

Pastoral Differentiation and Pastoral Grouping

The pastoral Ful'be are highly differentiated in terms of resources endowment between different family units or other individuals. However, unlike sedentary crop producers and other ruralites, to date, there have been no known attempts to classify pastoral Ful'be production units according to resource endowment (that is, in terms of social differentiation). Outside of a well-organized research, it would be difficult to make claims about the nature and degree of social differentiation among disparate pastoral units, even if such differentiation does exist. Therefore, the focus will be on the traditional classification usually made between different pastoral Ful'be groups.

A variety of different but related factors have been employed by different scholars to differentiate between categories of pastoral Ful'be groups. Perhaps the most recurring classification is the distinction of pastoral groups on the basis of the degree or extent of their sedentarization characteristic of specific groups. De St. Croix (1945: 14-15), for example, simply distinguished between the nomadic and the sedentary Ful'be on the basis of the peculiarities of their cultural practices. In recognition of the 'marked differences' in the 'mode of life, social organization, and degree of political autonomy' among the pastoral Ful'be of northeastern Nigeria, Stenning (1959: 4) made a more elaborate classification than de St. Croix's. Stenning (1959: 4-9) distinguished between the nomadic, semi-sedentary, and sedentary pastoralists. A basically similar classification as Stenning's was made by Hopen (1958: 29-39) in classifying pastoral Ful'be families in north-western Nigeria, with emphasis on patterns of transhumance practised by different family units.

A more useful classification, and one which takes cognizance of the effects of development in the wider political economy since the advent of the 20th century, has been made by van Raay (1975). Specifically, van Raay's classification 'attempts an integration of earlier methods 'by relating values, language and socio-economic organization forms of animal husbandry of groups of groups of stock-owners. On that basis, distinctions have been made between nomadic, semi-nomadic, sedentary, and semi-sedentary pastoralists. It is more useful for analyses to go further back to distinguish not only among different pastoral groups, but also between the pastoral and non-pastoral Ful'be (see next section). This should shed more light on the continuing process of differentiation among pastoral Ful'be groups.

Pastoral and Non-Pastoral Differentiation: In the process of migration, some Ful'be lost their identity (including cattle rearing) as they assimilated into the surrounding sedentary cultures in which they found themselves. Abubakar (1977: 18) suggested, and it is plausible, that in the course of their migration, groups of Ful'be were left behind at various points. The individuals and groups who were left behind were composed, principally, of persons and family units who had experienced significant declines in their livestock possessions through diseases or some other misfortunes. Such individuals would eventually take up sedentary economic activities (for example, farming) as means of livelihood. Although some may have later reverted to pastoralism after recouping losses, most opted for, or were forced to adopt, sedentarism, or semi-sedentarism. Apart from livestock losses, prolonged contact and

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close social intercourse with sedentary populations also facilitated the sedentarization of the nomadic pastoral elements of Ful'be society.

The process of sedentarization resulted in the emergence, by the 19th century, of two major categories of Ful'be. The first consisted of the *Ful'be Na'i* (or Cattle-owning Ful'be), sometimes called *Ful'be Ladde.* This categorization follows from their distinct mode of living as predominantly cattle-rearing peoples (for *Ful'be Na'i*) and/or the principal method employed in livestock production, that is, varied forms of transhumance (for the *Ful'be Ladde*). Often enough, the two (*Ful'be Na'i* and *Ful'be Ladde*) are seen as identical, but not all *Ful'be Na'i* were (or are) *Ful'be Ladde*, especially in the contemporary usage of the terms. Abubakar (1977:28) claimed that the *Ful'be Na'i* occupy transitional positions between nomadic pastoralism and sedentarism for they 'represented those Ful'be who were partly changed through cattle decline and adoption of other occupations for subsistence' (1977: 28). Prominent among the Ful'be Ladde are the Mbororo'en[5], who are almost invariably nomadic. An alternative way of looking at the distinction between the *Ful'be Ladde and the Ful'be Na'i* is to see the latter *Ful'be Na'i*) as describing a general pastoral category. The former, *Ful'be Ladde,* would then include the nomadic-pastoral Ful'be, and especially the Mbororo'en. The second category of Ful'be comprise the *Ful'be Shi'e*[6], or the fully sedentary Ful'be, regardless of whether or not they own livestock. Today, the *Ful'be Ladde/Na'i* remain most pastoral.

The differentiation of the Ful'be into the two broad categories (as *Ful'be Ladde/Na'i* on the one hand and, *Ful'be Shi'e*, on the other), is by and large rudimentary. We shall see in the discussion which follows that further differentiation exists, especially in the light of developments affecting Ful'be social organization since the 19th Century, as discussed below.

Contemporary Pastoral Groupings

Today, the ownership and management of cattle is affected by an array of factors, thus, 'there is an almost infinite number of permutations' of pastoral groups in Nigeria (FGN, 1981b: 38). Increasingly, the exclusive association of the Ful'be with cattle ownership and management has been eroded by developments in the wider political economy. In general, four categories of pastoralists can be identified, today, as discussed below.

Nomadic Ful'be Pastoralists: The nomadic Ful'be are distinguished from others by their practice of extensive transhumance, moving family and herd together in search of water, and pasture (Barfield, 1993). Today, this category comprises only a minority of the pastoral Ful'be and are found scattered all over the savanna with concentrations in the Sudan savanna areas. In general, the transhumance circle of the nomadic pastoralists is dictated by the needs of the herd, notably pasture and water resources, absence of diseases, location of markets where surplus milk can be disposed of, other

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[5] Mbororo'en = pl; sing. = Mbororo or Mbororojo. The Mbororo'en are most widely known by the Hausa term "Bororo" (sing.) or Borori (pl.). The Mbororo'en are perhaps the most widely dispersed of all Ful'be groups in West Africa. In the Senegambia are they are known as "Fulbe Burure" and in Cha as "bore" (Stenning, 1959: 4).

[6] Ful'be Shi'e = Fulfulde for "House Ful'be (pl.). In Nigeria this group is more widely known by the Hausa term "Fulanin Gida" or"Fulanin Zaure" [Gide", sing., = Hausa for homestead or house(hold); "Zaure", sing., = Hausa for the entrance hut or hallway leading into most houses in traditional Hausa architecture. As applied here, terms connote the adoption of sedentary lifestyles

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household needs purchased, and information on grazing conditions and other matters gathered. As well, kinship ties or any other social obligations also influence the transhumance circle. Notwithstanding their extensive transhumance, the nomadic Ful'be maintain contact with sedentary populations with whom they engage in exchange of milk and milk products for grains and other things not produced in the pastoral household.

The general direction of the movements of the nomadic Fulbe is north-south and south-north in the dry and rainy seasons, respectively. Horizontal shifts in locations within the same season are also undertaken as needs arise. Members of this group do not practice crop husbandry. They have large herds which, on the average, range from 80-100 cattle with some 20-40 small stock per family unit (FGN, 1981b: 38).

Household units are characteristically small. The unit maintains a relative degree of independence of movement and in taking decisions affecting its herd. Where it becomes necessary or expedient, larger groups (such as, but not necessarily always, lineage groups) may be formed. Such groups are formed for the purpose of sharing the tasks of pastoral production where labor and/or resource shortages are being experienced. However, the associations remain temporary, and individual family units reserve the right to withdraw (from them) at any all times.

Semi-Nomadic Pastoralists: Pastoral units in this category maintain a permanent abode/place of residence at a location and at which some members of the family (such as the aged and young children) stay with part of the stock. In the dry season, part of the stock is herded south or elsewhere to traditional dry season grazing grounds. Some crop production is undertaken, either by returning family members or by hired hands, in the rainy season.

Generally, members of this category retain a lot of the characteristics of the nomadic Ful'be, but have a greater tendency to sedentarize. The average family herd is about 50 -100 cattle, and the group is widely distributed in the guinea and Sudan savanna area and, to a little extent, on the highland areas of Mambila and Jos Plateau. It is not uncommon to find some level of assimilation into the cultural practices of surrounding populations, at least as far as language is concerned. It has often been said of the semi-nomadic pastoral Ful'be that they occupy transitional positions between sedentarism and nomadism.

In general, the semi-nomadic Ful'be have fewer cattle than the fully nomadic ones. Family labor is allocated to the pursuit of pastoral and nonpastoral economic activities. Thus, labor constraints, as well as the limitations of feed resources within their relatively small transhumance cycle, generally preclude the management of large herds, among this category of the pastoral Ful'be.

Semi-sedentary Ful'be Pastoralist: Unlike the nomadic pastoralists, members of this group maintain permanent home bases, at which older members of the family remain year-round (Awogade, 1985: 13-14; de St. Croix, 1945:10; Salzman, 2004). Around the home-base, crop cultivation is practised both through family and/or hired labor. The semi-sedentary Ful'be own and manage considerably fewer cattle than either the nomadic or the semi-nomadic groups. The semi-sedentary Ful'be grow crops as well as keep cattle, and engage only in very limited transhumance. When and where transhumance becomes necessary (say, to satisfy herd forage requirement), movements are made only towards the end of the dry season (when feeds and water resources are

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most scarce). Only a part of the family's herd and a few of its members are involved in such movement. Other sedentary occupations, such as craft production, are often pursued, but the pastoral component still remains fairly strong.

Average cattle holdings per family unit ranges between 30 and 50. An **ILCA** survey revealed averaged farm sizes to be in the range of 0.87 hectares per family, while other surveys indicated the average farm holding to be in the range of 0.23-2.19 hectares per family unit (Awogbade, 1985: 14).

Sedentary Pastoralists: This category consists of the fully sedentary rural and urban stock-owners who raise livestock as well pursue other occupations in nearly all sectors of the economy. Also included in the category are the fully sedentary pastoral Ful'be on the Mambila and Jos highland areas where availability of adequate and year-round forage resources allows full-time cattle rearing on a sedentary basis. Sodiya et al. (2009) observed that The Fulani pastoralists who were traditionally known for moving from one place to another with their herds of cattle are beginning to settle down permanently, particularly outside their original place of abode in the semi-arid (northern) part of Nigeria. Although the stock kept by this category of pastoralists is considerable, livestock raising is often a secondary economic activity. In rural areas, this category of pastoralists is often referred to as "mixed farmers". Another category are the urbanite Ful'be[7] who own cattle and leave them under the care of nomadic and/or semi-nomadic Ful'be pastoralists, or other hired hands in return for some mutually agreed upon compensation in cash or in kind. Indeed, this category of the Ful'be can be seen as the livestock sector's equivalent of "absentee landlords", to imply legal owners and controllers of productive resources who do not engage in direct production and/or the care of stock.[12] The phenomenon of "absentee" ownership of cattle could now be so prevalent as to affect the whole pattern of ownership overall. In other words, today, it will not be uncommon to find large herds being managed by specific particular Ful'be units, but the ownership of which (cattle herds) cuts across the traditional ethnic lines. Multiple ownership in herds is indeed not uncommon. A category of fully Sedentarized Ful'be now resides in the south-western part of Nigeria with their cattle where pastureland is readily available.

This group of pastoralists enjoys considerable patronage from the government. Indeed, the group often incorporates serving or retired government personnel, or members of the so-called "traditional" ruling oligarchy in northern parts of Nigeria. Usually, the group, largely comprised persons who seek to invest savings and other earnings in animal production. Average holdings vary from a few animals to hundreds per individual owner or household.

In recent times, the term "agropastoralists" is often used to describe production units in which both crop and animal husbandry are equally significant Taylor-Powell, 1984). While its usage is not widespread, the term "agropastoralism" is apt, more useful than the term "mixed farming", and may indeed point to one of the possible future of animal production in Nigeria. While the concepts (agropastoraism and agropastoralists) have not been extensively employed in this study, the semi-nomadic, semi-sedentary, and sedentary pastoral categories, could all (more or less) fit the description.

Finally, it needs to be reiterated that the organization of pastoral production in Nigeria has, and will continue to change. In recent times, the pattern has been toward

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[7]This category is usually called town Fulani. A majority of them do not own any cattle but now westernized or engaged in white-collar jobs in the city.

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greater degrees and levels of sedentarization, as well as increases in the incidence of "absentee" ownership. It has indeed been suggested that the ownership and management of cattle in Nigeria may now be distributed as 40% - 50% owned by the fully sedentary pastoralists; 20% -30% owned by the semi-sedentary pastoralists; and 20% - 40% owned by the transhumant pastoralists (FGN,1981b: 38). Public ownership in a number of places on state, parastatal, and institutional farms and ranches, using intensive and semi-intensive management techniques for milk and beef production, or for research purposes, also exists, but has remained limited (FGN, 1981: 39).

Nevertheless, the management of Nigeria's cattle is still very much in the hands of the pastoral Ful'be - a fact obvious from the discussion so far. One major point to note is that pastoralism can be associated with permanent, stable as well as nomadic communities. The next section will discuss major aspects of the Ful'be's cattle husbandry practices.

Ful'be's Cattle Husbandry Practices

As in most African countries, cattle production in Nigeria has been greatly dependent on the extensive utilization of natural fodder as well as the intensive use of crop residues. Extensive natural rangeland use has indeed continued to provide the bulk of the feed intake of pastoral Ful'be stock. Crop residues are used only as supplementary feeds in the dry season and when farms have been harvested of crops. Thus, seasonal fluctuations in the availability of fodder and the limitations of post-harvest crop residues together demand that stock are constantly or, at the very least, regularly, moved from one location to another. For this reason, the pastoral Ful'be engage in transhumance which, as Awogbade (1985: 19) puts it, 'involves rotation in the use of grazing.'

In general, Ful'be transhumance is closely patterned after the yearly cycle of climatic and weather conditions, which, in turn, determine the availability of fodder. In this regard, Ful'be pastoralism is highly specialized insofar as it is based on sound knowledge of climatic characteristics. The pastoralists have, over the years and with experience, developed what may be called a "pastoral calendar". In an environment where a dual characterization divides the year insofar as climate is concerned (rainy and dry season), the pastoral calendar could have as many as five different and variable eco-climatic periods. Each period relates to prevailing climatic conditions and fodder availability and not only vary from year to year, but also from one location to another. Almost invariably, everyday activities, including the transhumance cycle itself, are patterned to coincide with the eco-climatic periods (Awogbade, 1983a; Hopen, 1958: 33-39).

Pastoral Ful'be transhumance is not as random or aimless as is often believed. Studies have revealed that the pastoral Ful'be transhumance has more or less regular patterns. Each set of movements (everyday, seasonal, or long-term) is informed by a variety of considerations, and well thought-out decision processes, such as information gathered from fellow pastoralists, familiarity with territory or area, ties of kinship, general and specific socio-political congeniality and the like (Awogbade, 1979; Fricke, 1979: 242). Indeed, studies have shown that transhumant movements, within specific locations, can be mapped with appreciable precision (Agboola, 1979: 156-175; Mortimore, 1978). It has been observed that Ful'be transhumance is basically a

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'technique, a form of management or a system of land use' which has been developed 'to 'balance out' the greatly varying natural conditions of their agricultural-geographical environment' (Fricke, 1979; 138). In the absence of other adequate and reliable alternatives, therefore, and given "allowance made for a total dependence on the proceeds of livestock husbandry and the constraints of perpetual mobility, the husbandry system holds good for both nomadic and settled' pastoral Ful'be alike" (FGN, 1981b: 38).

Ful'be transhumance is also generally conservative and of limited range. A majority of the nomadic Ful'be 'have a more or less circumscribed circuit of grazing', except when longer orbits become necessary, for example, due to feed shortages, or other adverse conditions, as de St. Croix (1945: 10) observed. Even when longer transhumance becomes necessary, the resulting migrations involve stop-gap, gradual movement over a fairly prolonged period of time.

Seasonal southward transhumance movements (as opposed to long-range migrations that result in shifts of the "home base" area) begin at the outset of the dry season. Herds in the northernmost parts of the savanna and Sahel regions begin the southward movements, first into the valleys of rivers and streams and later into fields harvested of crops. As the dry season progresses, as available fodder is exhausted, and as water points begin to dry, the southward shift continues and eventually involves nearly all pastoralists with the exception of those on the highland areas of Jos and Mambila plateau. Excellent pasture and water resources on the highland areas make the need for extensive transhumance unnecessary. Indeed, the highland areas often serve as dry season grazing grounds for pastoralists in surrounding areas. For example, Awogbade (1983a: 51-56) reported that the Jos highland area is a dry season grazing ground for pastoralists from the surrounding areas in Bauchi State and the Zaria regions of Kaduna State.

Family units may, in the dry season, split into smaller sub-units so as to take maximum advantage of the scattered fodder resources that the environment has to offer. Alternatively, arrangements are made for joint herding activities, with a limited number of family units forming themselves into what Awogbade (1985) called "grazing associates". However, such groupings remain temporary and transitory. "Observations have shown that grazing associates change from year to year and they may change several times within one dry season' (Awogbade, 1985: 20).

South-North movements usually begin when the rains begin to fall in the southern and northern Guinea zone, that is, a reverse of the dry season northern-south movement. Those pastoralists furthest south begin heading northward. By the middle of the rainy season, most of the pastoralists would have become established in their wet rainy season grazing grounds - with heavy concentrations in the Sudan savanna areas.

Conscious of the constant threat of diseases to their cattle, the pastoral Ful'be take measures to minimize the risks of infection. The practice of transhumance in various forms is one of such measures, although, paradoxically, transhumance may also facilitate the spread of diseases. Thus, de St. Croix (1945: 12) noted that while the imposition of British colonial rule in northern Nigeria offered the pastoral Ful'be greater choice of movement, the resulting movements also facilitated the spread of livestock diseases.

Therefore, in general, the pastoral Ful'be's cattle husbandry practices have been based primarily on the extensive utilization of natural fodder and, secondarily, on the intensive utilization of crop residues. Other practices (such as cow culling,

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selective breeding, selective grazing, selective purchase of cattle and gifts and/or loans of cattle to distressed relatives.) were variously reported as having been incorporated into the Ful'be's cattle husbandry practices by, among others (De St. Croix, 1945; Stenning, 1959; Hopen, 1958; van Raay, 1975; Sule et al., 1976 and Awogbade, 1979; 1983a).

It is also pertinent to mention that the pastoral Ful'be are basically mare oriented towards milk, than beef production. Milk and milk products (butter, ghee, yogurt, sour milk and the like) not only provide a substantial proportion of the food intake of pastoral Ful'be family units, but also the major source of income from which other needs are paid for (Awodapo, 2010). This, therefore, implies that the management practices employed by each production unit must 'ensure all-year-round supply of milk from the herd, (FGN, 1981b: 38). As Awogbade (1985: 20) observed, it may thus be said that, overall, cattle husbandry among the Ful'be:

> *...Represents continuous short term adjustments to the vagaries of changing climatic and social conditions. The result is the production dependence on free range grazing on low and high quality pasture and crop residues. The only choice for the ... herdsmen is to embark on extensive grazing system...*

Finally, a word needs to be said about the importance of markets to the pastoral Ful'be. The various local markets of different sizes dotting the savanna land have over the years become an integral part of Ful'be pastoral economy and of the savanna economy and society in general. It would thus be misleading to attribute any special significance, over and above other social structures and processes to them (markets), insofar as the pastoral Ful'be have been concerned. Unfortunately, the role of markets among Ful'be pastoralists has not been fully appreciated, especially by policy makers, a characteristic well shared by some researchers. Contrary to impression in the general literature, the pastoral Ful'be do not exactly operate outside the realms of exchange system, or not partake of the affairs of sedentary communities with whom the savanna is shared. First, markets provide pastoralists with an avenue for the disposal of milk and milk product and the purchase of the household's needs which are not produced in the household economy. Second, markets provide an important source of information on grazing and water availability, including weather/climatic as well as grazing, conditions. On market days, pastoralists not engaged in herding activities attend markets, gatherings, to avail themselves of the vast store of knowledge that is shared. Awogbade (1985: 17) observed that:

> *The management of the family's herd demands constant attendance at markets and other gathering places where information is obtained on such vital issues as pasture conditions, rainfall and the incidence of diseases.*

Conclusion

In this chapter, the main features of Ful'be animal husbandry practices, showing how it relates to factors in the wider environment, have been discussed. From the discussion in this chapter, therefore, we can appreciate that views which often suggest that Ful'be cattle management practices operate outside of the social organization of sedentary, and/or non-Ful'be communities, are misleading. Equally misleading are

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related viewpoints which see Ful'be cattle management practices to be constituting a "system, in and of themselves (Okaiyeto, 1982; 1983). In other words, complex as it had always been, the dynamics of pastoral Ful'be cattle husbandry was, and still is, meaningful only in the context of the wider social and ecological environment which has made it possible.

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SECTION THREE
KINSHIP, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY ISSUES

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CHAPTER EIGHT

KINSHIP SYSTEMS IN NIGERIA

Jegede A.S., Ajala A.S. and Owoeye, O.

Introduction

The study of kinship has captured the interest of anthropologists, having discovered that it plays an essential part in social relations and society orderliness. The fact that kinship system also varies across human cultures and societies stimulated ethnographies of kinship. However, anthropological discourse on kinship tends to examine kinship as a generated social behaviour (Oke, 2006; Onwuejeogwu, 1992). Oke (2006) particularly stated that kinsmen and kinship system in traditional and non-commercial societies are sources of assistance and cooperation. This assistance is not limited to finance only; it includes political alliances, access to productive resources and social life. In essence, kinship is the most basic principle of organizing individuals into social groups, roles, and categories. However, some form of social grouping/organization based on parentage and marriage is present in every human society. In modern industrial communities, family structures have been weakened by the dominance of the market economy and the provision of state organized social services undertaking by certain formal social institutions (Amadiume, 1987). However, the nuclear family household is still the fundamental institution responsible for rearing children and organizing consumption. In non-industrial contexts, kinship units normally have a much wider array of functions (Bohannon and Middleton, 1968). They often serve as basic units of production, political representation and even as religious bodies for the worship of ancestral beings, who are themselves considered members of the kin group. Recently, despite all the structural and functional changes in Nigerian societies, the kinship system remains a factor in social order and support system. Nonetheless, cultural relativity associated with Nigerian peoples and cultures produces certain degrees of kinship variability, suggesting that kinship system in Nigeria, generates complex situations in the social, economic, political and moral lives of the people. In this chapter, our interest is therefore to examine the specific features of kinship system in Nigeria. In the process, we are going to examine the concept of kinship. Similarly, nature, formation, forms, kinship terminology and functions of kinship system are to be examined. We draw our ethnographic examples from various Nigerian societies as we read from the existing literature both published and not yet published.

Kinship: Conceptual Clarifications.

Kinship is an aspect of social relations, which defines people that are linked together by birth (blood) or/ and by marriage (affinal). There are other forms of social relations, which include voluntary associations, peer groupings, religious and professional groupings. While other forms of social relations tend to be voluntary and impermanent, kinship is otherwise, especially if it is by blood (consanguinal). Membership of kinship by blood is not predetermined, but affinnal members can be by choice or planned. Since kinship is a formation of marriage that in turn forms family, family and kinship are often used interchangeably. However, anthropologically, family defines social relations in a restrictive manner; while kinship defines social relations in a more holistic sense the than family. Kinship, on the other hand, defines the relationship by exclusive selection of membership in a father's or mother's group and

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assigns social statuses, rights, and duties to its individual members (Bell, 1997; Bernard, 1950). This however depends on a number of social variables relating to social organization in a given society. Such include the rules of descent, and the rules of residence in marriage among others. In descriptive term, Beals, Hoijer and Beals (1977) stated that relatives, or kin, are people who are related to one another through some combinations of the principles of descent and marriage. Even though the principles reflect biological facts, they possess primarily social and legal principles. This is due to the fact of the uncertainty which may be attached to one's biological ancestors, but the sociological ancestors are easily traceable and identified as the people who socially and legally belong to the same paternity or descent (Feinberg and Ottenheimer, 2001). This common distinction among human societies therefore reveals sets of terms called kinship terminology. In simple terms, kin refers to a network of relatives who may or may not live together, sharing biological aspects which may be a convenient starting point and socio-cultural aspects of life, which is the sole determinant in any kinship system. At this junction, it is important to define the term called kinship. Kinship has been defined as the relationship between members of the same family to whom their ties of kinship mean a lot. The members recognized that the strongest factor in their relationship is the possession of the same blood. Hence, Onwuejeogu (1992) defined kinship as a socially accepted fact based on biological assumptions which may be real or unreal.

Kinship system is like a vast network stretching horizontally in every direction to embrace everybody in a local group. And in many non-industrialised societies, it also extends vertically to include the departed and those yet to be born (Firth, 1930). All those who can trace their origin back to a common ancestor belong to the same kinship group, the members of which have a special relationship. Kinship system is both structural and functional. Thus, according to Bohannan (1955) in his study of Tiv Society in Central Nigeria, the Tiv associate kinship with the community structure as kinship determines who is linked with others. The functionality of kinship explains how kinship is constructed and interpreted to serve functions in society. Thus, among the Yoruba of South-western Nigeria, kinship is employed in inheritance, and social support (Fadipe, 1970; Jegede 1999). Many other Nigerian societies see kinship as a web of relationship defining self from others. Kinship similarly specifies the role expectation and limit individual relationship with others.

Marriage, family and kinship are intertwined in many Nigerian societies (Meek, 1970). Generally, marriage is a union between two partners who agree to engage in one or more of the following social activities: sexual gratification, cohabitation and socio-economic support. In Nigeria, marriage establishes relationship between two families, that is the family of the husband and that of the wife. As mentioned above, family is a restrictive social bond when compared with kinship. In relation to kinship system, the institution of marriage leads to kinship, and it is partly economic. Marriage and family therefore establish a link with the living dead- as always in the case of Yoruba people of South-western Nigeria, the names, which children bear, link them with their grandparents. Marriage is also social, because marriage and the procreation of children go together. A marriage is only complete when the first child is born. Marriage is economic because of the distribution and payment of bride wealth (Kuper, 1982). The payments of bride wealth has several meanings: a surety payment for good behaviour on both sides, compensation to the wife's family for the loss of her labour and payment for the cost of bringing her up, establishment of the husband's legal title to his wife's children (Bell, 1997), and above

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all, a seal of the marriage contract between the two families and a reminder to the girl's parents that although she has left their home, she is not dead since the bride wealth are living symbols of their daughter's continuing existence (Anderson, 1986). Getting married to two or more wives was a custom found in most traditional societies of Southern Nigeria, though in contemporary situation it is less common. The custom fits well the social structure of traditional life; for instance, a large number of children increase the immortality of the family (Fadipe, 1970). The above social factors in marriage are linked with the nature of kinship. Apart from the fact that marriage legitimizes relationship in these societies, it equally determines who is to be married against who cannot be married, a factor that is also enshrined in the principle of kinship system.

The family has much wider meanings as it includes children and parents that relate together under specified legal obligations that they have covenanted marital responsibilities (Levi-Strauss, 1969). The covenanted responsibilities legitimize the wife as the mother of her children that are produced through her marriage to the other parent known to her as husband. The husband on the other hand claims the fathership of the children.

Kinship extends beyond the immediate members of the family, but rather to other members who either share affinnal or and consanguinal relation with either of the spouses in marriage (Levi-Strauss, 1969). Thus, the father of one's mother or one's mother's brother is one's kin and not only one's family members. However, as noticed in many Nigerian societies, the terminology used to indicate the different relatives is strongly influenced by the differences in generation, sex and proximity in age. Among the Yoruba, the father's brothers are called fathers, in as much as they are not younger than the ego (Fadipe, 1970). The mother's sisters are called mothers, and her brothers are also called fathers. The children of the father's brothers are called brothers and sisters, while the children of his sisters are equally called brothers or sisters. The relations are not just in terms; they are expressed in the daily behaviour towards each other. It follows that kinship terminologies can either be descriptive or classificatory.

Kinship Formation

Kinship formation is in two ways. These are: by marriage –affinnal, and by blood-consanguinal. As marriage is the basis of kinship, it denotes who are the one's kinsmen (Gies and Joseph, 1987). A successful marriage imposes certain obligations and rights that end in social relation. It is interesting to note that a marriage that is not in conformity with the society's marriage rules cannot establish a valid kinship relations (Kuper, 1982). In the first instance, if a marriage is invalid among the Yoruba, the "spouses", the spouses' parents cannot be treated as in-laws and they cannot assume kinship roles related to in-laws. Similarly, a child that is begotten through an invalid marriage among the Itsan of South-south Nigeria is not regarded as "true children of their parents". Such children may lose right to inheritance which its kinship confers on him or her. For a marriage to be valid and capable of forming kinship, the rule of consent in marriage must be observed. The two spouses' parents must agree to be involved in giving out their children in marriage. Besides, the two spouses must also agree to the marriage (Green, 1964). The consent rule is more common in many Nigerian societies. Apart from the expression of consent, the two spouses must not be barred by taboos and age (Stone, 1997). However, in

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contemporary Nigerian societies, a good number of marital taboos are being waived, yet not affecting the formation of kinship. Such include the rule of consent, in case either of the spouses' parents refuses to consent to the marriage, the contemporary Igalla of central Nigeria holds that if the marriage has produced children, kinship can subsist. But among the Sayawa of North-eastern Nigeria, like in many other societies in Nigeria, a marriage between brothers and sisters is regarded as incest and remains invalid, and incapable of forming kinship. Another rule that confirms marital legitimacy and validity is the payment of dowry or bride wealth as the case may be. Since bride wealth or dowry legitimizes marriage and sets forth the validity of kinship relation, without fulfilling the bride wealth obligation, kinship remains invalid (Kuper, 1982). Thus, among the Igbo of South-eastern Nigeria, bride payment establishes a social bond between the two families that are engaged in marriage, thus expanding social grouping beyond a family and household (Green, 1964). Kinship is also formed through blood link, which is otherwise called consanguinal. Children born together by the same parental stocks are kins. They are both siblings and kindred and thus establishing a social relation that transcends family and household (Freeman, 1961). They jointly form a kinship network, which in many Nigerian societies are too large and extensive to describe. Among the Yoruba, *Agbo-ile* (compound) may contain a number of segmentary families (Jegede, 2009) that shares the same parental stock. They all constitute a kinship system.

Descent rule determines the different types of kinship that exist in different societies. Since all societies do not have the same myths and history of origin, descent rules are also remarkably different. In some societies, like Ashanti of Ghana, where ancestress is the progenitor, the practice of matrilineal is emphasised (Schwimmer, 1976), compared to the Tivs, Ijaw and Urhobo of Nigeria who claim ancestry through ancestor. In the latter case, the practice of patrilineal is favoured. However, since kinship is meant to guarantee social orderliness and acts as a factor of inheritance in many societies in Nigeria, individual is obliged to trace a kinship relation in terms of inheritance of property from either of the two lines of descent. Certain cases of the Yakur of Eastern Nigeria and the Yoruba of South-western Nigeria provide a difference whereby individuals can trace kinship relationship (property inheritance) from both sides depending, among the Yoruba, the side that is most beneficial (Radcliffe- Brown and Daryll, 1950).

Kinship Classification

Kinship is reckoned in a number of different ways, resulting in a variety of types of kin groups and invariably the descent patterns. Descent determines the types and classification of kinship. Many Nigerian societies severely limit the range of people through whom descent is traced by using a **unilineal descent** principle. This traces descent only through a single line of ancestors, which can be male or female. In these societies, both males and females are members of a unilineal family, but descent links are only recognized through relatives of one gender. The two basic forms of unilineal descent are referred to as patrilineal and matrilineal.

With **patrilineal descent**, both males and females belong to their father's kin group but not their mother's. However, only males pass on their family identity to their children. A woman's children are members of her husband's patrilineal line.

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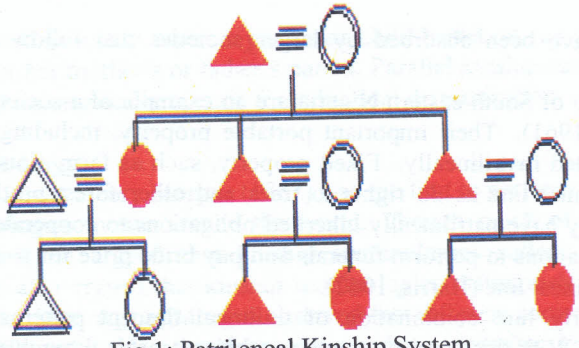

Fig 1: Patrileneal Kinship System

The form of unilineal descent that follows a female line is known as **matrilineal**. When using this pattern, individual traces kinship relationships if they can trace descent through females to the same female ancestor. While both male and female children are members of their mother's matrilineal descent group, only daughters can pass on the family line to their offspring.

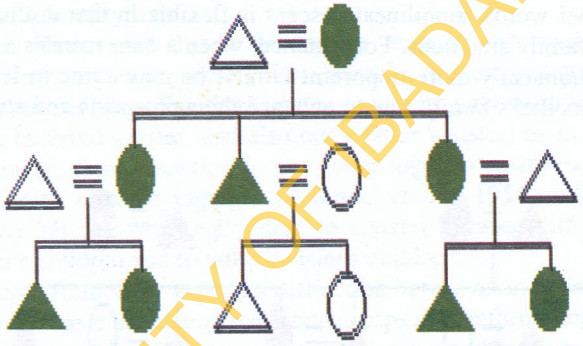

Fig 2: Matrilineal Kinship System

In societies using matrilineal descent, the social relationship between children and their biological father tends to be different than most people would expect due to the fact that he is not a member of their matrilineal family. In matrilineal system, the man who would have the formal responsibilities of a father would be one's mother's brother (MoBr), since he is the closest elder male kinsmen. One's father would have the same kind of responsibilities for his sister's children. A clear case of matrilineal descent is not yet ethnographically confirmed in Nigeria; a common example is the Ashanti Kingdom of Central Ghana where a king traditionally passes his title and status on to his sister's son. A king's own biological son does not inherit the kingship because he is not a member of the ruling matrilineal family group. Women usually inherit status and property directly from their mothers in matrilineal societies. Unilineal descent has been found most commonly, but not exclusively, among materially rich foragers, small-scale farmers, and nomadic pastoralists. The common factors for these types of societies are small populations that usually have more than adequate food supplies. Until the early 20th century, approximately 60% of all societies traced descent unilineally. Since then, many of these societies have

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disappeared or have been absorbed by larger societies that follow other rules of descent.

The Yäko of South-eastern Nigeria are an example of a society with bilineal descent (Goody, 1961). Their important portable property, including livestock and money, are inherited matrilineally. Fixed property, such as farm plots, passed down through the patrilinal line as do rights to trees and other forest products. It is not surprising that they have patrilineally inherited obligations to cooperate in cultivating their fields. Obligations to perform funerals and pay bride price for sons are inherited through the matrilineal line (Harris, 1962).

A similarly rare combination of unilineal descent patterns is known as **parallel descent**. With this system, men trace their ancestry through male lines, and women trace theirs through female lines. Unlike bilineal descent, each individual is a member of only one descent group. **Ambilineal descent** is still another unusual descent system that, in a sense, combines unilineal patterns. Descent from either males or females is recognized, but individuals may select only one line to trace descent. Since each generation can choose which parent to trace descent through, a family line may be patrilineal in one generation and matrilineal in the next. The reason for choosing one side over the other often has to do with the relative importance of each family. In other words, ambilineal descent is flexible in that it allows people to adjust to changing family situations. For instance, when a man marries a woman from a politically or economically more important family, he may agree to let his children identify with their mother's family line to enhance their prospects and standing within the society.

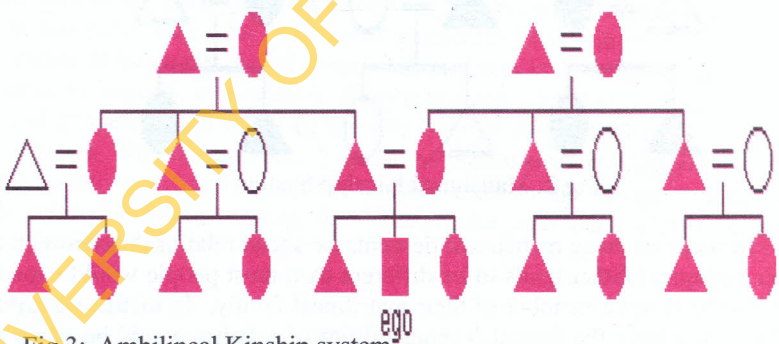

Fig 3: Ambilineal Kinship system

Some other societies trace descent through both the mother's and the father's ancestors to some degree. Among the Yoruba of South-western Nigeria, the principle of kinship favours this mode, calls cognatic kinship, where individual is free to choose from either his father's or mother's relatives. The result is usually more varied, and complex family systems are evolved. Cognatic kinship is known to occur in four variations: bilineal, ambilineal, parallel and bilateral. When both patrilineal and matrilineal descent principles are combined, the result is bilineal or double descent kinship. This is very rare. Ambilineal occurs when one is having the right to choose which one favours him or her between matrilineage or patrilineage, It should be noted the choice is by individual interest, and upon the choice of a line, the ego cannot choose the other. Among the Yoruba, such kinship relation tends to be formed through

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child fostering and in a case where a particular child based on sex is required to live with either his or her mother's or father's parent. Parallel kinship can be formed when the two lines are automatically opened for individual determination.

Kinship Terminology

Anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (1887) was the first to perform the first survey of kinship terminologies in use around the world. Though much of his work is now considered dated, he argued that kinship terminologies reflect different sets of distinctions. He also argued that kinship terminologies distinguish between relatives by blood and marriage. Again, Morgan observed that different societies organize these distinctions differently. He, therefore, proposed to describe kinship terms and terminologies as either descriptive or classificatory. When a descriptive term is used, it can only represent one type of relationship between two people, while a classificatory term represents one of many different types of relationships. For example, the word *brother* in English-speaking societies indicates a son of the same parent; thus, English-speaking societies use the word *brother* as a descriptive term. But a person's male first cousin could be the mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, and so on. English-speaking societies therefore use the word *cousin* as a classificatory term.

Morgan discovered that a descriptive term in one society can become a classificatory term in another society. For example, in some societies, one would refer to many different people as "mother" (the woman who gave birth to oneself, as well as her sister and husband's sister, and also one's father's sister) as in the case of Yoruba society. Moreover, some societies do not group together relatives which the English-speaking societies classify together (Wilmot, *et al.*, 1954). For example, some languages have no one-word equivalent to *cousin*, because different terms refer to mother's sister's children and to father's sister's children.

Kinship terminology implies a distinction between kin types and kin terms. Kin types refer to the basic uncategorized relationships that anthropologists use to describe the actual contents of kinship categories. They are supposedly culture free and have etic components. Kin terms are the labels for categories of kin that include one or more kin types. They are emic structures and vary across cultures. A **kin type** is a designation that is assigned to each individual relationship, such as a mother, father, mother's brother, mother's sister. Each relationship is described by a sequence of primary components, which are strung together to indicate actual biological relationships. For instance below, is a typology of a kinship types:

Primary components and letter symbols

- Mother **[M]**
- Father **[F]**
- Sister **[Z]**
- Brother **[B]**
- Daughter **[D]**
- Son **[S]**
- Husband **[H]**

Compound Strings

* Mother's sister (MZ)
* Mother's sister's daughter (MZD)
* Sister's son (ZS)

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Kin types are culturally neutral. Anthropologists (Gough, 1959; Stack, 1974)) use these types to begin a description and analysis of any kinship system prior to a consideration of principles of classification within that system. On the other hand, **kin terms refer to** the set of names that people actually use to designate and address their relatives; kin terms are specific to each culture. The terms uncle, cousin, grandfather, peculiar to English terminology (Goody, 1983), are not kin types, but categories which include more than one relationship and therefore more than one kin type. In many Nigerian societies, if not all, since kinship types are broad and more than one, kin terms are also specific and generic. For instance, among the Ikale of South- western Nigeria, *Baba Agba* may mean one's grandfather or one's mother's father. The term is generically used to mean an aged man from where one shares parental stock. It is also specific in context of usage, with reference to the type of relationship one has with *Baba Agba* and the attributed roles that he performs.

Unlike the English Kin terms, which are narrow and case specific, in many Nigerian cultures, kinship terms are too broad and non-case specific. Figure 4 below provides English kin terms as designated by kin types. This will serve as a model of explanation of kinship terms in some Nigerian societies.

Kin Term	Kin Type
Father	F
Uncle	FB. MB
Brother	B
Cousin	FBS, FBD, FZS, FZD MBS, MBD, MZS, MZD FFBSS. Etc.
Son	S
Nephew	BS. ZS

Fig 4: **English Kin Terms Designated by Kin Type**

Systematic Kinship Terminologies

Since kin terms are fundamentally arbitrary categories (Jegede 1996), different cultures can potentially group their relatives into a widely varying, indefinite number of classifications. Curiously, anthropologists have observed that almost every culture has constructed a system of terms that conforms to one of six widely occurring basic patterns. These are customarily designated as follows: Sudanese; Hawaiian; Eskimo; Iroquois; Omaha; and Crow (Kuper, 1982; Levi Strauss, 1969).

Sudanese Kin Terms

The Sudanese system is completely descriptive and assigns a different kin term to each distinct relative. Ego distinguishes between his father (A), his father's brother (E), and his mother's brother (H). There are potentially eight different cousin terms. Sudanese terminologies are difficult to relate to specific social institutions, since they include no

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categories per se. They are generally correlated with societies that have substantial class divisions. Examples of the Sudanese kinship terms are the Latin kin terms, Turkish kin term and Old English kin terms.

Hawaiian Kin Terms

The Hawaiian system is the least descriptive and merges many different relatives into a small number of categories. Ego distinguishes between relatives only on the basis of sex and generation. Thus, there is no uncle term (mother's and father's brothers are included in the same category as father). All cousins are classified in the same group as brothers and sisters. Lewis Henry Morgan, a 19th century pioneer in kinship studies, surmised that the Hawaiian system resulted from a situation of unrestricted sexual access or "primitive promiscuity" in which children called all members of their parental generation father and mother because paternity was impossible to ascertain. Anthropologists now know that there is no history of such practices in any of the cultures using this terminology and that people in these societies make behavioural, if not linguistic, distinctions between their actual parents and other individuals they may call "father" or "mother". Morgan's theses were based on an ethnocentric assumption that the term for relatives in ego's parents' generation had the same meanings that father and mother have in English. Hawaiian kinship semantics are now thought to be related to the presence and influence of ambilineal descent systems.

Eskimo Kin Terms

The Eskimo system is marked by a bilateral emphasis - no distinction is made between patrilineal and matrilineal relatives - and by recognition of differences in kinship distance - close relatives are distinguished from more distant ones. Another feature of Eskimo terminology is that nuclear family members are assigned unique labels that are not extended to any other relatives, whereas more distant relatives are grouped together on the basis of collateral degree. (This process is called collateral merging). Because of predominant marking of immediate family members, Eskimo terms usually occur in societies which place a strong emphasis on the nuclear family rather than on extended kin or larger kinship groups.

Iroquois Kin Terms

The Iroquois system is based on a principle of **bifurcate merging**. Ego distinguishes between relatives on his mother's side of the family and those on his father's side (bifurcation) and merges father with father's brother (A) and mother with mother's sister (B). Accordingly, father's brother's children and mother sister's children (parallel cousins) are merged with brother and sister (C and D). This terminology occurs in societies that are organized on the basis of unilineal descent, where distinctions between father's kin and mother's kin are critical.

Omaha Kin Terms

The Omaha system is similar to the Iroquois and is, in fact, a bifurcate merging system. Ego uses the same categorizations for father, father's brother and mother's brother that he would in an Iroquois terminology. However, there is a significant difference in cousin terminology. Parallel cousins are merged with siblings; however cross-cousin terms are quite peculiar and cut across generational divisions. Ego uses

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the same terms for his mother's brother's son as he does for his mother's brother (F) and the same term for mother's brother's daughter as for his mother (B). This lumping of generations is referred to as **skewing**. This pattern has the effect of stressing common membership of relatives in patrilineal lines; Ego's "mother" is defined as a female member of his mother's partilineage, and Ego's "mother's brother" as a male member of his mother's patrilineage. As such, Omaha terminologies are associated with societies that have a strong patrilineal emphasis in their social organization.

Igbo Kin Terms

The analysis of Igbo kin terms presents several complications, as they do not easily conform to a standard pattern (Green, 1964). They partially exemplify an Omaha system in so far as they involve the application of a skewing rule that identifies members of a person's mother's partilineage as a special category. However, two other principles are at work: a strong emphasis on generational and seniority distinctions that reflects a Hawaiian system and a distinction between basic descent lines that is peculiar to the Igbo terminology. In spite of its complexity, the Igbo system provides an interesting basis for an understanding of how kin terms reflect and reveal basic principles of social organization.

The basic feature of the Igbo system, that is the most readily apparent, is the Hawaiian generational pattern in which all of Ego's relatives of the same generation are placed into a single category (Ardener, 1954). Referring to his parent's generation, Ego uses essentially the same term ***nna*** for his father, father's brother, and mother's brother, and similarly classifies his mother, mother's sister and father's sister as ***nne***. (The terms ***nna/nne ukwu*** are basically variants on the ***nna/nne*** theme and can be glossed as "big father/mother", thus implying seniority). The seniority principle is also applied to younger siblings of Ego's parents who are actually given brother/sister terms that tend to emphasize similarities and differences in chronological age. This reflects a basic emphasis in Igbo social organization that is incorporated into a formal system of age sets and age grades that we will investigate in a later module. The generational principle is also apparent in Ego's own generation where alternative forms of the basic sibling terms, ***nwa nna/nwa nne*** (father's child/mother's child) are applied to a wide range of relatives. Broad generational identification is further apparent in Ego's children's generation in the application of the ***nwa*** (child) term. Seniority is marked in the special terms for Ego's oldest son (***okpara***) and daughter (***ada***). These designations mark special age- based statuses. The ***okpara*** is Ego's main heir, and both he and the ***ada*** perform leadership functions within the immediate family and the wider descent group.

A second look at the terms applied in Ego's own generation indicates the significance of two other factors (polygamy and complementary filiation), which in combination create a delineation and contrast of three major descent groups:

1. the children born of a single mother, the ***umunne***, literally mother's children;
2. Ego's patrilineage, his ***umunna*** (father's children); and
3. Ego's mother's patrilineage, his ***umune*** (this term cannot be reduced to components).

The ***umunne***, includes Ego and his full brothers and sisters (individually references as ***nwa nne***), who, as children of a single mother, form a special domestic and social sub-unit within the larger patrilineal family. They also comprised the core of an actual or potential patrilineal segment that will assume increasing importance

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over time as membership grows on the basis of patrilineal descent (Note that inclusion in this unit is extended only to the children of its male members).

The ***umunna*** includes Ego's half brothers and sisters (individually referenced as***nwa nna***) who are born to Ego's father's wives other than his mother. He is less close to them than to his full siblings and interacts with them in terms of inclusion with a broader patrilineal group that also incorporates a large group of relatives descended from an ancestor several generations removed.

The ***umune*** comprises the relatives of Ego's mother's patrilineage, with whom, as we have noted in the previous unit, he has an extremely special relationship involving joking, indulgence, and even protection from punishment within his own patrilineage. This pattern is partially marked in the terminology by the extension of the more intimate ***nwa nne*** sibling term to cousins in this group. However, the group is also distinguished from Ego's more immediate maternal group, the ***umunne***, in two ways. Firstly, in spite of the fact that Ego uses several terms to mark different relatives within his mother's patrilineage, they use only a single term for him, ***okele***. (You can observe this usage in the application of this term to all of the children of the women in Ego's own patrilineage, that is, his sisters' and daughters' children for whom he is an umune member.) Secondly, the head of his mother's patrilineal receives a special term, ***nna oce***, which originally marks his mother's father, but which eventually passes on down the lineage to Ego's mother's brother, and then mother's brother's son, after their deaths in much the same way as the ***agya*** (father) term is inherited the Crow based matrilineal Akan system.

Both the succession of the ***nna oce*** status and the corresponding use of the ***okele*** term reflect the application of the Omaha skewing rule to accomplish its main purpose, to identify the members of a person's mother's patrilineal group. A third relevant term, ***nne oce***, has a somewhat more complex dynamic. It is originally applied to Ego's mother's mother. It follows a succession rule from the original relative to the wives of subsequent ***nna oce,*** that is, from mother-in-law to daughter -in-law, and not through patrilineally related women, the more usual pattern in Omaha system. This peculiarity makes some sense in terms of the Igbo territorial system. Since the rule of village exogamy specifies that all the ***umune's*** women must move to other villages upon marriage, the many block of women resident in the groups territory, and who are actually or potentially ***nna oce***, have married in and are related within it as affines. Insofar as it is basicallly an Omaha system, the Igbo terms indicate similarities to Dani kin terms. Note especially the similarities between the ***nna oce*** term, as it descends over time, and the Dani equivalent, ***ami***, and the strict equivalence between ***okele*** in Igbo and ***ejak*** in Dani. Of course, the Dani use of a single term, ***akoja***, for women in mother's lineage is not followed in the Igbo system.

Functions of Kinship System

Kinship as a system of allocating rights: Kinship offers opportunity for allocation of rights, duties and obligations among members of a community who share common ancestry. Such rights include right of residence, right of membership and citizenship. It also acts as a means of power transmission especially in many African traditional political systems where successions of offices are inheritable. Kinship is also a medium of property inheritance, which is transmissible from one generation to another. Kinship enjoys certain social obligations such as moral support and material

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dependence or assistance when needed. This also presents a high degree of trust among kinsmen. Such support transcend economic, but extends to health care, political, emotional and psychological supports. Thus among the Yoruba of South-western Nigeria, the era of HIV/AIDS saw the use of kinship system to provide social support needed to cope with the challenges of that disease and its care needs (Ajala and Adejumo, 2005).

Kinship acts as a system of sex regulation. Certain members of one's kin are prohibited from having sexual relation. Since they are bounded by the same social filiations defined by blood and/or by marriage, sexual relation is forbidden among them. Through this, incest taboos are imposed to forestall incestuous practices that may cause competition and social conflicts among the kin members.

Kinship terms such as father and mother, are predictions of social behaviours in society. Through these expressions, certain obligations, social cautions and norms are imposed on individuals, which encourage social orderliness in society. For instance, somebody calls father needs to exhibit fathership role.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed the social construction of kinship system with a focus on some Nigerian variations of kinship. Specifically, our discussions border on the conceptual understanding of kinship system as well as kinship terminology and its functions in social orderliness in society. On the whole, no matter how small, kinship system is one of human universal cultures. However, the increasing industrialism and capital economy have influence on kinship system as many functions which kinship system performs in non-industrialized societies are fast diminishing.

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CHAPTER NINE

MARRIAGE SYSTEM IN NIGERIA

Aluko-Arowolo, Sunday Olusola and Jegede, Ayodele Samuel

Introduction

Marriage is a formal agreement between two consented adults to maintain a permanent and heterogeneous union and, with specific rights and duties towards each other and the children. Marriage has been argued to be a union between a man and a woman in most societies, such that children born by the woman are recognized as the legitimate offspring of both parents. However, a pocket of few societies approve of homogeneous marriage between the same sex and bestial marriage between man/woman and animal. Marriage is, therefore, an outcome of practices, customs and traditions which are moderated by historical epochs and geographical settings. Marriage creates new social relationships and reciprocal rights between the spouses, between each and the kin of the other and it establishes what should be the rights and status of the children when they are born. Every society has recognized procedures and processes for creating such relationships and rights. At same time, there are inherent rules and measures embedded in every society for marital stability, separation or divorce as the case may be. But no society encourages divorce in all ramifications. Usually, marriage involves living together on permanent basis and taking joint care of the children as a result of the union. This is because of the steps involved before marriage is consummated.

Steps to Marriage in Nigeria

In all of Nigerian societies, there are specific steps to be taken before any marriage is consummated. For any marital union to be recognized and accepted, these steps are followed: Search period, the period of courtship, introduction of the families of intending couple, payment of dowry and religious activity which preludes marriage.

Search Period: This is the time an emissary, who may be a family member is appointed to search for a suitable spouse for an eligible man or woman, as the case may be, for marriage. The person who is described as going-between (middle person) is often a respected elderly woman/man who does the necessary initial wooing of the prospective spouse-to-be. Thereafter, he/she would bring and introduce the man or lady to the consented lady or man. The work of this emissary ends when the two are introduced to each other. However, because of change due to expansive period of academic training, urbanization and modernization, this trend is more often than not negated nowadays. This is not to say that the process is without merits. The search period provides opportunity to know the family of would-be-spouse better as the time would have been spent to evaluate each family critically. The search period is also the time to consult with a traditional priest, cleric or clairvoyant to 'peep' into the future of would be couple. Sometimes expected relationship would be terminated at this point due to uncomplimentary past or health problem which may create problem for the union in future. But if there is no backlash, the process leads to courtship.

Courtship: This is a period of intense relationship when a woman and man have deep-seated interaction before marriage. While received western (developed nations) pattern of courtship period, is often a time for romantic relationship, this is not the case in Nigeria as the period is essentially for platonic love, to know each other better, arrange to introduce their families, plan for the marriage and consolidate the gain of search period. In the time past, across all societies in Nigeria, sexual intercourse was

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not encouraged during courtship, as premarital sex is frowned at, and it has social consequences, among which is the repudiation of bridal introduction and engagement.

Introduction, Engagement and Marriage: These activities prelude the marriage proper. During the time of introduction, the immediate members of the two families come together where gifts are presented to the fiancée's parents. The date of wedding is equally fixed. Such gifts, like kola nut, bitter kola, gin/wine, and the like, are usually presented. Engagement is usually more elaborate than introduction in that it involves the extended families, significant others, friends and associates of both families. Indeed, engagement is more or less a mini-marriage. During this period, all the necessary gift items and a token amount of money would be presented to the wife as dowry. These are all inclusive of dos and don'ts for the bride, which would be spelt out for the bridegroom. Finally the religious activity follows either in the church or mosque.

Types of Marriage in Nigeria

There are three types of marriage in Nigeria today: religious marriage, civil marriage, and tradition marriage. A Nigerian couple may decide to take part in one or all of these marriages. Religious marriages, usually Christianity or Islam, are conducted according to the norms of the respective religious teachings and take place in a church or a mosque. Christian males are allowed only one wife, while Muslim men can take up to four wives, if they can satisfy all of them. Civil official weddings take place in a government registry office. Men are allowed only one wife under a civil wedding, regardless of religion. Traditional marriages are usually held at the wife's house and are performed according to the customs of the ethnic groups involved. Most ethnic groups traditionally allow more than one wife.

In some societies, the rules of marriage require people not to marry more than one partner as the case is with the Iban of Borneo of the American, or may allow people to marry more than one partner at a time (polygamy) as the case is with the Yoruba of south- western Nigeria. This is very common in societies with simple technology because women and children are major sources of labour, and they are considered as a source of replenishing the stock of the lineage. The most common form of polygamy is the marriage of one man to a number of women, and this is called polygyny. While marriage between a woman and a number of men is known as polyandry. Example of this can be found among the Eskimo among the pockets of tribe that practise this across the globe. (We intend to explicate more on the forms of marriage subsequently)

Marriage is important; however, in that the rights that are created by a marriage are reciprocal; that is, both sides gain something. It is important to give critical assessment of the rights acquired by the husband. Generally, women are considered as weaker sex and as a result are not independent. Therefore, a woman is considered to always remain under the guardianship of a man, and when she marries, her supposedly original guardian, her father, hands over some or all his responsibilities on her to the husband. We may, therefore, say that women are disposed of when marriage is contracted; though women may be allowed some freedom of choice especially these days that modernization is sweeping away the tradition of mate selection. The woman's guardian gives to some men the rights over her to which the husband is entitled, whatever these may be in a given society; for these, the husband makes some returns which should be thought of as part of a chain of mutual reciprocity or favour and not as a purchase price.

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The rights required, therefore, by a husband differ from society to society, between patrilineal and matrilineal societies. In the former, the woman kins give her the means of continuing her line and keeping her name alive, means of building a numerous households around her, and means of being remembered as an ancestress, when she dies. In some African societies, such as the case in parts of Northern Nigeria, the husband and his kins are expected to give, in return, a number of cattle, and this is known as the BRIDE WEALTH. It is always fixed or determined by convention, while in some, the husband is expected to show respect towards the people who give him such a priceless gift (the woman). On the other hand, in patrilineal societies, a woman bears children for her husband's lineage, but in matrilineal societies, the children of a woman, whether married or not, belong to the woman's lineage. In this type of society, the husband only has right over her sexual fidelity and her domestic services. Two types of right can be acquired by a man over his wife. These are right in uxorem and rights in genetricem. Rights in uxorem are right over a woman considered as a sexual and domestic partner, while rights in genetricem are rights over a woman considered as a mother. Marriage systems in the traditional Igbo and nomadic Fulani would suffice to explain some exceptions to the foregoing, as the Yoruba pattern typifies the above in its ramification.

Marriage among the Nomadic Fulani

The nomadic Fulani practises endogamous marriage. This type of marriage can be explained as marriage between first cousins. It is encouraged because it enhances group integration. Husband and wife often see themselves as having the same family blood. Hence, often marriages are indissoluble (Oyeneye, 1993; Kottach, 2002). Marriage among the Fulani which is supervised and solemnized with admonition from a Muslim cleric called *Modibbo* is rather inexpensive. Usually, the bride price involves a young cow given as *sadaaki.* This young cow belongs to the woman and is generally regarded as part of her property, and symbolizes the legality of the union.

Another interesting aspect of the Fulani marriage system is the *sharo* (public flogging). In the past, the *sharo* formed part of the marriage ceremonies, and no young man could marry without participating in it. *Sharo* is a test of manhood, and a bride is expected to congratulate her bridegroom on successfully enduring the flogging entailed. A young man participating in *sharo* should as matter of fact shows no sign of fear or pain, even if he is wounded. The purpose of this is to tell the public that in any challenge the marriage would face in future, the man is capable to weather the storms. But nowadays, it is observed only symbolically to civilization. Oyeneye (1993) identified four forms of marriage among the Fulani. They are Koggal-Pibol, Koggal-Yilde, Koggal-Siiri, and Ngari-koggal.

Koggal-Pibol: This is best explained as child marriage or child betrothal. An under-age girl is given out in marriage to an equally young boy, or to a much older man. In the case of marriage between two adolescents, the boy's father maintains jural authority over the girl-child until she is of age and old enough for proper marriage. This custodian duty continues for many years until the girl attains the age of marriage, which, among the Fulani, is about 13 years. In return, the boy's father gives his in-law a bull referred to as **ngari-koggal**. But in the case of betrothal to a much older person, the man/husband gives out the ngari-koggal by himself in a well celebrated wedding. **Ngari-koggal** is symbolic in the Fulani marriage system. A bull is slaughtered for

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what can be called introduction and engagement by the relative of the girl. Thereafter, the boy's father present gifts to the girl's parents at least twice in a year, during important Muslim festivals such as Id-el-Fitri and Id-el-Kabir. The gifts could be in cash or kind. Apart from what the father – in – law gives out, the spouse in question also presents his wife gifts every market day until the proper marriage is consummated relatively when the girl is thirteen years of age.

Koggal-Yilde: This is the ideal marriage of two consented adults. It was a free choice between the two partners. However, the two of them must involve their families for necessary gifts presentation and ceremony.

Koggal-Siiri: This is more or less when a prospective husband (often not acceptable to the lady's families) kidnaps his would-be-partner. This is done with the lady's consent. Elopement or secret marriage is resulted to or contracted when a girl disapproves of a partner selected for her by her parents.

Escape Marriage: This is the fourth type of marriage found among the Fulani (Onwuejeogwu, 1975). If a woman in escape marriage gets tired of her new husband, she may decide to return to her former husband or she may take a third husband in a way similar to the way she took her second husband. This is very similar to *soraral polygyny* where marital engagement is very nebulous (Kottack, 2002). This type of marriage occurs when a woman leaves her husband to marry another man, without any formal divorce or payment of compensation to the former husband. The new husband takes the woman to his house and slaughters a cow which symbolizes the validity of the marriage. In escape marriage, there is no limit to the number of husbands a woman may take. But the woman in question is always mindful of what her significant others, like her children, would say.

Traditional Marriage among Igbo

The traditional Igbo marriage, like those of the Yoruba and Fulani, is a union between two families and not a union between the two individuals who are the two spouses directly involved in the marriage. Also, like the Yoruba marriage system, Igbo marriage is elaborate, with pomp and pageantry. The process consists of four interrelated parts, namely; a request for the girl's consent to marriage, the appointment of a middleman, testing of the bride's character and the engagement, payment of bride price and marriage ceremony. To the Igbo, married life is the normal condition for both men and women. Traditionally, the Igbo are polygynous in nature. Polygyny is a status symbol of high standing in the society. However, the great majority of Igbo modern-day marriages are monogamous, reflecting, on one hand, the force of economic circumstances, the church and cash nexus economy which sometimes require traveling or be geographically mobile to migrate elsewhere to work (Uchendu, 1965; Oyeneye, 1993; Shoremi, 2002). Four types of marriage can be found among the Igbo. These are woman marriage, church marriage, marriage by ordinance, and marriage by photograph. Copious reference has been made to church and ordinance types of marriage above.

Woman Marriage: This is a situation where a woman marries another woman by paying the required dowry. This gives the woman to exercise pater authority over the woman she marries. But the supposedly 'husband' marries the woman for her husband; therefore, the new wife is a co-wife to her suitor. Furthermore, in some cases, the women involved in woman marriage allow their husbands to exercise their rights. There is merit in this arrangement, in that this type of marriage has helped the Igbo women to neutralize the effects of the harsh Igbo inheritance system which

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prevents women who have no male children from inheriting part of their deceased husband's property.

Marriage by Photograph: Marriage by photograph involves a young man overseas requesting his parents or relatives to facilitate a spouse for him. The parents then look for a lady of their choice; get the approval of the parents or guardians, after which the lady's photograph is sent to the young man abroad for his final consent (Oyeneye, 1993). At home, the two families would then begin to interact as in-laws, until the husband would come home to take full possession of the lady

Conventions, Norms and Forms of Marriage

Sex Relation: It is characteristic of patrilineal societies that women are expected to be virgins at marriage, though this is not the case these days, and as such, this is not always taken seriously that a man would repudiate his bridal vows because the wife was found to have lost her virginity unlike in those days. Many African societies regard sex relations before marriage as legitimate but expected them to stop short of complete intercourse; the reason is that what people in these societies really feel strongly about is the procreation of children without social authorization that is given by marriage. Sexual relations must have social authorization, and this is conferred by a ceremony of initiation which marks the entry upon adult life. Some societies hold such ceremonies for both sexes. In patrilineal societies, they are sometimes held only for boys. In matrilineal societies, they are usually held only for girls, and the initiation and marriage ceremonies are often combined. These ceremonies mark the rites of passage from childhood to adulthood and also invoke the blessing of spiritual beings on the sex activities of the persons concerned. This is a common practice among the Kalabari people of eastern Nigeria as well as kipsigi people of Kenya.

Incest: Every culture regulates sexual activity in the interest of maintaining kinship and property rights. The incest taboo is a norm forbidding sexual relations or marriage between certain relatives. There are rules in Nigeria and elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa countries which prohibit certain persons as marriage and sexual partners. These are the rules of incest, and exogamy marriage is generally prescribed. However, the incest taboo exists everywhere in the world exactly where to draw the line in defining incest varies from society to society (Macionis, 2005; Murdock, 1965). For example, the Fulani permit marriage between cross cousins. Incest refers to sexual intercourse between two people who are related by blood. The relationship within which sexual congress or incestuous relationship is considered to have happened is those of parent to child and brother to sister. For instance, Oedipus was so appalled when he realized that he had unknowingly in one night married his mother, and, consequently, he remorselessly put out his eyes, perhaps to serve as deterrent to others who may be in similar situation. Byron too had to leave England when it was said that he was the lover of his half-sister.

Incest can be argued from two perspectives. One, there is no known biological reason(s) for incest other than the fact that such practice can encourage transmission of diseases from one generation to the other since the sexual partners share common genes. Two, socially, incest can lead to disruption of relationship within a group. It is regarded as exogamy to marriage; a relationship which cannot be created merely by sexual congress, and this includes a number of reciprocal rights and duties. Relations within many families have been disrupted. Malinowski (in Fadipe,

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1970) argues that the family is the institution within which the cultural tradition of a society is handed on to the new generation, by the process of socialization, and this indispensable function could not be fulfilled unless the relations of parents and children were relations reciprocally of authority and respect. Such relations could not be maintained if sexual passions were given free play within the family circle. Murdock (1965) avers that if there were other human populations which allow incest, they must have been in such a condition of disorder that they could not survive in competition with better organized groups.

Prescribed and Preferential Marriage: Preferred or preferential marriage is that which is considered desirable that a man should find his wife in a particular category of person. If it is the rule, no matter whether it is sometimes broken, that a man ought to marry a person in a particular category, this is called a prescribed marriage. Prescribed marriage is usually common among the matrilineal cross-cousins. The significance of this is that every lineage must establish a permanent relationship with two others, receiving wives from one and giving wives to the other. The rule is that a man must take his wife from his mother's lineage. These are mostly common rules than exception in matrilineal societies. Another type of preferential marriage is homogamy.

Monogamous Marriage: This form is slightly different from prescribed and preferential form. This is a marriage between people with the same social characteristics. It means on the other hand marriage among people of the same background. Latently, it is surreptitious of one class claiming superiority over other. The parents of a young woman/man from a wealthy family would always attempt to increase or extend the horizon of their businesses by encouraging their children to marry from their class. This is often the case among the royalty, educated elites, economic gurus, politicians and religious people. People with similar Social Economic Status – SES- tend to have similar aspirations and have the same attitude towards social and cultural issues (Kornblum and Smith, 2000; Kottack, 2002; Macionis, 2005). Examples abound across Nigerian societies with no exception. But this does not involve blood relations, unlike endogamy relationship.

Endogamous Marriage: This is a situation where a man marries from his own group. Endogamous marriage restricts one to his kinship, social or religious class. While there may not be any biological proof that this form of marriage is bad, it portends danger if there is genetic or health problem running in such family which makes the offspring partakers of such (Oyeneye, 1993; Erinosho, 2006).

Exogamy Marriage: This is a marriage rule which stipulates that a man should marry outside his kin group. The rule of exogamy pushes social organization outward, establishing and preserving alliances among groups (Kottack, 2002). This is a common practice among majority of Nigerian societies where prohibitions on marriage have the effect that a young man looking for a wife is obliged to find her in some other place than his own. The advantage of this is not that he brings in 'new blood' but that every marriage creates a new link between groups and camaraderie, acting as bulwark against hostility between such groups. Often, marriage forms the bond of peace between groups that could have otherwise taken hostility for granted.

Exogamous relationship could, after all, be matriarchal or patriarchal inclined. It can also be differentiated by the number(s) of men or women involved. In case of a man and a woman, it is described as monogamy, and if two or more women married to a man, or vice versa, that is, two or more men married to a woman, this is called **Polygamy**. This is a marriage form common to African and Asian societies.

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This type of marriage is noted among other things to be contracted more, for economic reasons than social. This is because more hands are needed to work in the farms and engage in marketing of the farm produces, as traditional people were typically agrarians. More hands, more work, as people say, translate to more wealth and prestige for the man, especially in non industrial societies that straddle across Nigerian societies. Euphemistically, people are in the habit of describing this marriage form as polygamy when a man marries to more than one wife; this is not strictly correct. Polygamy is better appreciated when one looks at it from both matrilineal and patrilineal descent systems, to this extent; therefore, polygamy is divided into polyandry and polygyny.

Polygyny: This a system of marriage in which one man marries more one than one wife. A polygynous marriage is the indigenous system of marriage common in all Nigerian societies (Obasan, 2002). In Igbo, eastern Nigeria, it is the wife/wives who arrange this for her/their husband, for the sole purpose of having enough hand to work the farms.

Polyandry: is the direct opposite of polygyny, where more than one man marries a woman, at present. It is rarely practised in Nigeria. Most of the world polyandrous societies are in South Asian settlements of Tibet, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Southern India among the Hindus adherents (Kottack, 2002), but there is also a very negligible people/tribe in Ghana who also practise this (Oyeneye, 1993). Polyandry could be *fraternal and non-fraternal.* Under the fraternal polyandry, a woman marries a group of brothers. In non-fraternal polyandry, a woman marries several husbands who are not related. In this case, the woman visits the settlements or villages where her different husbands live and stay with each of them in turn for a certain period. With a group that practises non-fraternal polyandry, the biological paternity of a child does not raise many problems or stigma; the men regard and give necessary supports to all the children born by their common wife.

Levirate: This type is rare in Nigeria, but it is found among the Nuer of Sudan and the Bedouin in Arabia and North Africa. This occurs when a man marries the widow of his dead elder brother. This implies that the relationships created through the original marriage remain. The children of the deceased remain part of the family. No new marriage is contracted since the old one is not dissolved. This younger brother becomes a surrogate husband in the marriage. The widow is not known as the younger brother's wife but as the wife of the dead man. The younger brother is a foster-father, and the children born through the new relationship belong to the dead brother. This is similar to widow inheritance, which was very common in Nigeria and elsewhere in sub-Saharan African societies.

Widow Inheritance: Under this practice, a male kinsman such as the deceased's son or close relative marries his dead brother's or father's widow and becomes her legal husband; their children belong to him (that is, the male kinsman). The husband in this respect takes the role of father to the deceased children. In reality however, he is just a step-father to them. But it presupposes agnatic relationship and, therefore, all the children of the two men are the son or brother's responsibility ones he inherited the father or brother's widow. Living pattern(s) after marriage is/are equally a reflection of forms of marriage.

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Patterns of Residence in Marriage

Every society has its own residence pattern in terms of marriage. While in some societies a wife moves to her husband's lineage, in others, the man moves to his wife's lineage. In modern societies, the couple establishes a new home independent of their kin groups. Based on these four forms of residence have been described by anthropologists. These are described below.

1. **Virilocal residence:** This is a situation where a married couple establish their residence with the husband father's group. This is mostly common in patrilineal societies.
2. **Natolocal residence:** Residence is established with wife's father group.
3. **Uxorilocal Residence:** The domestic unit or the household is established with the wife's mother's group.
4. **Neolocal Residence:** A newly married couple moves away from their respective families and establish an independent residence. This is the common practice today.

Two factors determining the choice of residential pattern are (1) the type of descent system operating in the society, and (2) how property is transferred and inherited in the society. Marriage creates relationships of affinity between people who might have been strangers or even enemies before. There may be certain constraints between the spouses and their new affine, and there are often prescribed rules of behaviour which in one way or another limit the possibilities of awkward situations. One form of prescribed behaviour is avoidance or respect. This is required at the outset from each spouse in relation to the other's parents. In South Africa, axhosa bride is expected to show respect to all her husband's elder kinsmen by keeping away from the parts of the homestead associated with men. Among the Yoruba of south-western Nigeria, a bride is required to show respect to every member of her husband's lineage, irrespective of age or sex. This is why most brides resent to nick-naming their husband's kinsmen, such as *Akowe, Ibadi-Aran, Logunleko* and the like). But in matrilineal society, it is the husband who is the stranger in the homestead and so must behave as such.

The relationship which requires people to be on friendly terms, although circumstances may give rise to tension between them is called JOKING RELATIONSHIP. Parties to such a relationship are allowed and expected to behave towards one another in ways that would be considered outrageous in every other context. Insult and obscenity are permitted, and the victim is obliged to take it all in good faith. This is not a legitimate behaviour between people of different generations since respect for elders is one of the fundamental rules in all simple societies. Radcliff-Brown, in Shoremi (2001) has called this an attitude of mutual disrespect. Almost all these aspects of marriage in Nigeria and elsewhere in sub – Saharan societies are in the throes of change; this because of contacts with foreign culture.

Environment, Marriage System and Social Change in Nigeria

Nigeria is the largest nation in sub-Saharan Africa. It composes of many societies with different cultures, languages and dialects. It is believed that the country is having more than 521 language groups (Andah, 1988; Kornblum and Smith, 2000). These groups (Hausa-Fulani, Kanuri, and the like) are spread out over large expanse of land in the Sudan savanna. The Tiv, Chamba, Jukun, Nupe, and the like, live in the North-central zone of guinea savanna forest. The Yoruba, Edo, Urhobo, Itsekiri, Isoko, etc, occupy

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tropical savannah forest with longer period of rain. The Igbo, Ibibio, Ijaw, and all the reverine people who live in the tropical rain forest with all-month wet season.

There is a great interface between the people and their physical environment. It is important to note that the vegetation of an area is a reflection of the type of climatic condition prevalent there. This is also a strong determinant of the types of work and vocation that would be seen there. Human beings are influenced by the environments. The patterns of living and marriage systems are outcomes of relationship of people and the environment. The biotic relationship of humankind and environment was perceptively captured by Aluko:

> *How man lives, resides, organizes, reacts, adapts and exploits the environment in order to sustain and enhance the qualitybof life has been a point of major concern to sociologists. As a matter of fact, man's interaction with the environment is a multidimensional phenomenon and touches virtually every area of life (2000: 2990)*

For example, pastoral society with primary means of subsistence is herding animal and moving with them over a wide expanse of grazing land is found in the Sahel and Sudan region in the North. They practise endogamy's marriage of cross-cousins type and often in a smaller unit – nuclear family. The marriage form was as a result of the inability to trace descent due to constant movement. The horticultural society whose primary means of subsistence is planting crops is based around tropical rain forest. The set of people are sedentary with compound of houses built together to fence off intruders. Here, large numbers of people are required on the land; hence, they are polygynous in nature. Similarly those in the Swampy/ tropical rain forest are into fish farming, among others which require practitioners to have equally large hands to support them. Hence, they too practise polygyny marriage. However, with change from subsistence farming to industrialization and belief system being eroded with Christianity and Islam due to contacts with outside world, culturally, there is huge difference between now and then. Macionis (2005) identifies culture and change as two important phenomena affecting humanity profoundly.

Furthermore, the two are standing on tripod of invention, discovery and diffusion. Invention produces new objects, ideas, and social patterns. Discovery, on the other hand, occurs when people take critical note of existing elements of the world for the progress of human kind, such as medical advances and diffusion create change in products, people and information. Social change, therefore, is noted to be a transformation of culture, social structure and institutions over time (Marshall, 1996; Nwabueze, 2003). Just as culture dictates and regulates mate selection, there is also invidious interface between culture and change, where a newly married couple reside. In pre-industrial societies, most newly wedded live with one set of parents who offer them protection, support, and assistance. This residence pattern could be patrilocality or matrilocality. The common one, then, was patrilocality in south-western, eastern and central Yoruba, Igbo, Kalabari, Tiv, Biron, Hausa, etc, of Nigeria. This was not impossible because of internecine wars rippling through these societies then. There was the need for men to stay together and prosecute war collectively. But with societies becoming educated, industrialized, and urbanized and all sorts of war very common then, newlyweds tend towards nuclear family, where emphasis is now on

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neolocality- where newlyweds stay apart from their parents, uncle, etc. The pastoral Fulani have proclivity to neolocality because of the nature of their vocation.

Also of importance for marriage system in Nigeria is the increasing discussions on same sex marriage – homogenous and lesbianism – where a man marries a man and a woman marries woman respectively – which before now was illegal in almost all the countries of the world. The discussion is taking an interesting dimension when the United State of America and Britain legislated to support it and equally persuaded other nations, especially, African societies, to follow suit. This was, however, repudiated in Nigeria by the National Assembly, and in all African nations. For the State to debate the issue at all, it became a sociological matter. Kottack (2002) gives these posers: if same-sex marriages were legal, in the construction of kinship, the two partners are parents, who then is the father of the child/ren? Who among both of them did father the child/ren.? There is an obvious problem of classification kinship wise, and it poses other sundry social matters especially on the societal reaction to this union and what it stands for.

Concluding Remarks

Social structure in Nigeria at the moment, as in all moments, is receiving cultural inputs from several cultures across the globe, especially Anglo-Saxon countries. Sometimes, these foreign cultures are not always integrated seamlessly; the system witnesses cultural ambiguity, animosity, antagonism and lag. On the other hand, the foreign cultures may be of tremendous utility to the social structure entirely. In this vein, marriage system in Nigeria has not been static, but benefiting from these changes with either positive or negative impacts. For instance, gradual movement towards city life and urban way of life with emphasis on industrialization, specialization (as a result of long or expansive time to acquire the skill) and small or nuclear family is having effect on polygynous practice. Industrialization and urbanization free individuals from depending on subsistence farming, family land/properties and inheritance, but places emphasis on achievements as a strong determinant of one position and emolument.

Similarly, the practice of widow inheritance is ebbing to inconsequential phenomenon, as nobody wants to be saddled with additional responsibility. Instead, the widow or widower may seek fresh marriage. In all, the marriage system in Nigeria keeps changing from time to time. But the import largely remains the same; that is, for companionship, children, and not unlikely to sustain patriarchal culture in its entire ramification.

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CHAPTER TEN

THE FAMILY

Olutayo, Olanrewaju O. and Yusuff, Olabisi S.

Introduction and Background: Defining the Family

Family remains the most fundamental social institution today. From simple to complex societies, some elements of the family are bound to subsist even though their nature, pattern and processes may differ. Also, meanings of the family vary among groups of people and change over time. Moreover, definitions have important consequences for policy decisions. For example, as noted by Benokraitis, (2002) in developed societies of the world, non-traditional family members, such as siblings and grandchildren, cannot claim benefits no matter how financially dependent they may be on worker's income. The same applies in cases of adoption; the child is not legally a member of the adopting family until both social service agencies and the courts have approved the adoption. Thus, the definition of family affects people's lives by limiting their options – However, the formation of family differs from society to society and from culture to culture. It is therefore imperative to examine some definitions of family for proper understanding of the concept.

Traditionally, United State Census Bureau (1980) defines the family simply as two or more people living together who are related by birth, marriage, or adoption. Schaefer (2005) defines the family as a unit made up of two or more people who are related by blood, marriage, or adoption and who live together, form an economic unit, bear, and raise children. The above definitions best describe the nuclear family and ignore other structures of family especially in developing countries, like extended family. Otite (2006) defines family as a biosocial group. Family according to Otite has two aspects, the biological and social aspects. In this definition, what actually constitute the two aspects is not properly delineated and discussed.

Murdock, (1949) gives an encompassing definition of family as a social organization characterized by economic cooperation, common residence and production. It involves adults of both sexes, at least two of who maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of sexually cohabiting adults. This definition, though encompassing, excludes a multitude of diverse groups who also consider themselves families. Traditional definitions of family have been challenged over the years by social scientists, who have asked: Are childless couples families? What about co-habiting families? .Elderly sisters living together? Communal households in which child rearing is assumed other than the child's parents? .Yet, social scientists have been unable to answer these questions. Cowen et al (1993) argue that contemporary family arrangements are very complex.

As an improvement on several conceptualizations of family, Nwabueze, (2001) gives the definition of family as a simple social group, the members of which are constituted by blood, marriage or other social arrangements. It is also characterized by socially prescribed purposes, in which the interpersonal and intergroup relations are structured or ordered by a rapidly changing dense networks of social norms, legal rules, cultural values, beliefs, customs and traditions. In this definition, family is noted to be characterized by the following: a legion of purposes, infinite diversity in structure and organization, rapidly changing functions, close association with its cultural environment, levels of definitional reality, fluidity of the boundaries of

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members of different family conceptions and a dynamic character. The defect of this definition is that family is defined in a very complex way.

However, some scholars believe that definitions of family should emphasize affection and cooperation among people who are living together, particularly in Africa with fictive kin or non-relatives who are accepted as part of the family, or group of people who find themselves outside their familiar environment. A peculiar example of this is "intentional families", made up primarily of white professional people who are separated by distance or estrangement from their own relatives, but who hope to achieve familiar closeness. Intentional families live apart but meet regularly for meals, holidays and milestones. They also plan outings together, help each other during crises, and sometimes find stand-in grandparents (Graham, 1996).

However, family in this case, based on the above conceptions, is defined as an intimate environment in which two or more people live together in a committed relationship. The members see their identity as importantly attached to the groups, and the group share close emotional ties and functions.

Structure of the Family

The structure of the family varies from society to society. The smallest family unit is known as nuclear family, which is defined as that consists of husband, wife, and their children. This kind of family is practised and prevalent in western world. They isolate themselves from other relatives, and concentration is always on household members. Nuclear family is also referred to as family of orientation or family of procreation. Social scientists often differentiate between the two. While family of orientation is the family in which one is born, family of procreation is the family a person forms later by marrying and having or adopting children. Each type of family is part of a larger kinship system or network of people who are related by blood, marriage or adoption.

Extended Family

An extended family consists of two or more nuclear families. In much of the pre-industrial world, which contains most of the world's population, the most common family form is the extended family, in which two or more generations (such as the family of orientation and family of procreation) live together or in adjacent dwellings. They own common economic resources of land or livestock. They work together and exchange goods and services daily .They eat together, bring up their children together and spend their free time socializing. Furthermore, the extended family networks provide physical care, emotional support, advice, and protection, almost completely for members.

Blended Family

This kind of family is formed as a result of divorce and remarriage. It is a family where two people come together after divorce from a previous union, remarry, and bring children from the previous unions into the new union to start a family.

Functions of Family

The structure of family may differ, but most contemporary families are expected to fulfill similar functions. They are four major functions that today's family are expected to perform. These include: legitimizing sexual activity, bearing and raising children,

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providing emotional support to family members and establishing member's places in society.

Legitimizing Sexual Activity

One of the functions of family is legitimizing sexual activities among members. Every society has norms regarding who may engage in sexual relations with whom and under what circumstances. Incest taboo forbids sexual intercourse between close relatives, such as between brother and sister, father and daughter, or mother and son. Family will be in chaos if members are allowed to have sexual intercourse (Malinowski, 1931) .Incest taboo, which is the oldest rules probably, arose to maintain the family in several ways: First, they minimize jealousies and destructive sexual competition that might interfere with the functioning of the family circle. Second, incest jeopardizes the group's survival if members lose interest in each other, for example, they may avoid mating. Third, incest taboos ensure that mating will take place outside the family, thus widening the circle of people who will band together in cooperative efforts or in the face of danger. Fourth, incest bans may reflect ritualistic and religious dominated practices.

Janeway (1981) argues that incest taboo controlled the mother's sexuality so that no questions could be raised about the legitimacy of her offspring and about the property rights or titles within or between families. The incest taboo also guaranteed that daughters who were delivered to their husbands as virgins would prevent conflict or doubts about the future legitimacy of the daughter's heirs. Thus, Janeway argues that by forcing people to have sexual relationships outside their immediate family, incest taboos forged political and economic ties with other families.

Most social scientists maintain that the existence of some sort of incest taboo is universal. Nevertheless, there have been exceptions. For example, according to Parker (1996), it is believed that the rulers of the Incan empire, the native Hawaii royalty, the ancient Persian rulers and the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt practiced incest, while it was forbidden to commoners. Some anthropologists speculate that wealthy Egyptian families practiced sibling marriage to prevent losing or fragmenting their agricultural land. It is argued that if a sister married a brother, the property would remain in the family in case of divorce or death. More recently, a nomadic tribe of ten families in Malaysia has reportedly been repopulating itself through incestuous relationships, even though outside partners were readily available.

Procreation and Socialization of Children

Procreation is an essential function of the family. Most families plan to raise families, and some go into great lengths to have the children they want. In traditional society, children are regarded as assets especially in old age. In our society, where social security is non-existence, care of elderly and retirement benefits are not properly institutionalized, children constitute a source of security in old age (Nnorom, 2006). Once a couple becomes parents, the family embarks on another critical function, that of socialization. Through socialization, children acquire the language, accumulated knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and values of their culture and learn the social and interpersonal skills needed to function affectively in the society.

Talcott Parson (1955:110) regards this function as "*basic and irreducible functions*" which are common to the family in all societies. To him, this function is

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divided into two: Primary socialization of children and stabilization of the adult personalities of the population of the society.

a. Primary socialization refers to socialization during the early years of the childhood, which takes place mainly within the family.
b. Secondary socialization occurs during the later years when the family is less involved, and other agencies (such as the peer group and the school) exert increasing influence.

Much of the socialization children received is both conscious and deliberate. Children are socialized through roles, the obligations and expectations attached to a particular situation or position. Families are important role-teaching agents because they define relationships between mothers and fathers, siblings, parents and children, and among relatives and non-family members. Some argue that the family is less powerful today in socializing its young than it was in the past because of emergence of other agents of socialization such as Child-care centers, pre-school programmes, and television, among others. All these are playing an increasing role in socialization of children.

Emotional Support

Ideally, the family provides members with warm and intimate relationships, helping them to feel satisfied and secure. Charles Cooley (1864-1929) explored the concept of primary groups and secondary groups in providing emotional support to members. Primary group is characterized by close, long-lasting, intimate, and face-to-face interaction. Family is a critical primary group because it provides the nurturance, love and emotional sustenance that people need to be happy, healthy, and secure. Primary groups such as family and close friends, will usually listen attentively to complaints. Secondary groups, on the other hand are characterized by relatively impersonal and short-term relationships and where people work together on common tasks or activities. In contrast, secondary groups have few emotional ties, and its members typically leave the group after attaining a specific goal.

Social Class Placement

To a great extent, our position in society is acquired through our family. We are born into a certain social class, ethnic or religious affiliation. The family presents the newborn child with an ascribed status that helps to determine his/ her place within the society social stratification. Although we can later change some of these memberships, our family shapes our initial definition of who we are (and are not) and our place in the society. Social class affects many aspects of the family life.

The Nigerian Family

Against this background, it is important to consider Nigeria families in some particularistic manner. Nigeria is a very multi-cultural and extremely multi-ethno-linguistic group. There are at least 400 ethnic groups and 500 ethno-linguistic groups in Nigeria- all with their unique histories, mores, norms, values and cultures. These could be seen in their fundamental social institutions like the family, education, religion, economy and politics. Of all these institutions, however, the family remains the most fundamental and directly or indirectly, the family determines the existence and worldview of these institutions. This is why the Yoruba for example, say *ile lati n*

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ko eso rode (charity begins at home). All other social institutions are by and large manifestations of the family. In Nigeria particularly, from pre-colonial era, the family socialized the individuals into the group norms and values that will come to bear in all other social institutions. Skills and bahaviours that will be used in other institutions are inculcated from *home.*

This is because the mode of education in the society used to be essentially informal, reflecting the nature and level of societal complexities. This is understandable as the prevailing needs of the society relative to the available resources will determine the mode of production, and this will inform the mode of institutionalization and generalized social systems. Institutions within the societies are positioned to meet the needs of the people in the society in specific ways and the intentionality to meet needs will also affect the structuring and processes of the social institutions. In other words, the nature of economic needs of the society as well as the political needs will affect the structures, functions and organization of the family, and this will in turn affect the present and future of the family in this instance. It is noteworthy that no institution can exist in isolation of the other, and social institutions exist and remain relevant to the extent that they are needed for the performance of some critical roles. It is against these backdrops that Nigerian families subsist and develop their forms.

Of all the ethnic groups and the ethno-linguistic groups in Nigeria, there are three major ones based on their population and cultural-historical dominance. These are the Yoruba, Hausa and the Igbo. Elements of these groups' families are largely present in other less dominant groups. As much as families of the Hausa, Yoruba and the Igbo are unique, they are also identical. These uniqueness and similarities are based on both history and sustained inter-group relations over the years. The sustained inter-group relations have engendered both diffusion and acculturation of important cultural elements that were hitherto unique to individual ethnic group. Cultural elements were shared across time and space, and these could be seen even in the family of the Nigeria ethnic groups.

The Yoruba People and the Family

The Yoruba occupy the Southwestern part of the country. They speak the Yoruba language although there are different dialects of the language. The most dominant and recognized Yoruba language is the Oyo Yoruba from which others took their dialects. Family among the Yoruba is very fundamental. It is in fact the primary form of social organization. This is commonly known as the *ebi.* Most of the existences of the Yoruba are codified within the family system. The Yoruba are traditionally patrilineal descent group with compound residency to be headed by the *olori-ebi* (family head) usually the oldest. This is not however to say that the Yoruba do not respect matrilineal dimension in their lineage system. It is only that the most dominant and the officially most recognized is the patrilineage. To demonstrate the appreciation of the matrilineage, there is an adage among the Yoruba that says *akii nile baba ka ma ni tiya.* That is, even if you have patrilineage, you must also recognize your malrilineage. In fact, in terms of inheritance, although the Yoruba, inherit through their patrineage, they also inherit through their matrilineage, especially if the malitrilineage is more prosperous than the patrilineage.

Membership of the *ebi* (family) among the Yoruba is usually by marriage and birth. Families are usually formed through marriage. In fact, traditionally, children

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born out of wedlock are usually considered illegitimate (*omo ale)* among the Yoruba. *Omo ale* is however a dynamic concept and anthropologically sensitive. Often times, the notion of *omo ale* is to protect the sanctity of the family institution and the marriage systems. Largely, once the paternity of a child is known, that child could be regarded as *omo oko* (legitimate child of the husband) rather than *omo ale* (child of the concubine). These nomenclatures are very consequential as they will determine the status of the child and his/her rights in society. The nomenclatures attached to a child in terms of source of familial membership are thus very important, and the Yoruba are particular about this. The Yoruba practise polygyny and extended family systems traditionally. Bigamy is not a problem among the traditional Yoruba. In fact, there is no limit to the number of wives a Yoruba man could have although there are limits to the number of husbands a woman could have.

Historically, polygyny was practised due to the nature of the economic systems subsisting in the society originally. Women were used to tend the farms and care for the family, while the husbands worked laboriously on the farm. The traditional agricultural system that was the dominant economic systems of the traditional Yoruba thus necessitated and gave impetus to polygyny among the Yoruba. As the women work with the husbands on the farms, they also socialized their children into the process of working on the farm or any other family crafts, whether blacksmithing, pottery or even hunting. This is seen as socialization and not child labour as is often erroneously conceived through the Western lenses. Largely, it is the socio-economic necessities of the environment that affect the nature of the family just as the family affects other institutions in the system. The family supplies the manpower and the skills needed in other traditional institutions. The family forms the power-block and brain box of the society; this is why it was necessary and possible to have many wives and many children, with large families.

The Hausa People and the Family

The Hausa could be found in the Northern part of the country. They are known generally as the Hausa people, and their language is Hausa. They are sedentary and at the same time nomadic through their cattle rearing. They are also traditionally hunters. Marriage and family among the Hausa is polygynous, compound-based and extended. It is important to note that Islam has had very primary and definitive impact on the Hausa family system. The culture of the Hausa generally is Islamic since the capture of the northern Nigeria by Usmanu Dan Fodio through his popular Sokoto Jihad through which the northern part of the country was Islamized. Thus, the average family size by husband and wives in the north is five. That is one husband and four wives relative to the popular four wives limit for an average Muslim. The most prominent familial organization of the Hausa is the nuclear system. This is the head of the household *mai gida* and his wives and children in the compound. This is very crucial and often codified in the Hausa *ba siga de isini (*do not enter except by instruction or permission) practice that forbids unauthorized visitors from entering the nucleated compound. Adult and matured male children are particularly forbidden from entering such compounds. Even, other members of the extended families are prohibited especially if they are males.

An average Hausa family is large, based on high fertility and traditionally pro-natalist culture. While the process of marriage and family formation could be

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normal through Islamic *nikai* among the Hausas, there is also the commonality of the *gift marriage* system. In this system, parents of a girl may betroth her to even an elderly man to either seal friendship, good-will and political clout formation and sustenance. Male children are usually introduced and socialized to the family trade and economic systems early, while the females are protected from public life and trained for womanhood. Generally, the family systems and domestic as well as commercial economy are male dominated. The concept and practice of male *bread winnerism* is rife as women are prohibited from unregulated public life. Even in the market, men are responsible for economic activities. Although descent among the Hausa is patrilineal, it is also double descent and bilateral in practice, just as is the case among the Yoruba, descent and inheritance could be both ways- through the mother and the father depending on which is the most beneficial. Familial benefits are mostly in favour of men, and the concept of patriarchy is very dominant among the Hausa. The Hausa leverage on their family systems and domestic welfare economy to cater for family and trans-family needs just as is the case among many African indigenous groups.

The Igbo People and the Family

The Igbo people occupy the South-eastern part of Nigeria. Their language is Igbo (or Ibo). This group is very traditional and shares important cultural elements with the Yoruba and other Sub-Saharan Africans relative to marriage. The Igbo are traditionally farmers and cultivate both cash and catch crops. The Igbo are mostly polygynous depending on the capacity and size of the economic systems to cater for the wives. Sometimes, traditionally, the size of the farm/economic systems determines the number of wives and the level of honour a man has. Wives are synonymous with the economic capacity and prestige of a man. Largely, the family is the epicenter of production and consumption, and the larger the family the larger the productive capacity of the household. There is usually role allocation based on sex and gender of all in the family just as is the case among the Yoruba. Although there is division of labour, every member of the family works in tandem and towards a common objective of positive family economic sustenance.

Just as it is among the Hausa, the Igbo break the residency of family into compounds. Every wife/woman has a compound within the big compound and resides within with her children only to attend to the husband on rotational and instructional basis, based on the number of wives available to an individual husband, sex, feeding and other privileges as rotated among the wives. The husband allocates roles and responsibilities to the wives and apportions farmlands with which they are to cultivate staple food mainly to support their household. Among the Igbo, however, the extended family system is equally very important and strong. Extended family's rights and priviledges are commonly protected by a conglomeration of nucleated families who believe the extended family's rights must not be compromised. In fact, it is within the extended family that individual Igbo and their families gain and retain relevance and existence. The Igbo are both unilineal and double-descent system. Like the Yoruba and the Hausa, they trace their lineage to and inherit from both ways. Partrilineal is however the most dominant, and succession and inheritance are usually through the male line. This is not to suggest that valued resources cannot be benefitted from the matrlineage.

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Changes in Trends and Patterns of Family Structure

The historical and anthropological facts presented in the section on the Nigerian major ethnic groups and their families above although uniquely important are not immutable and rigid. They are amenable to changes and have indeed experienced some changes based on modernization,. globalization and internal processes of complication and multiplication. Every society and institution amend its institutions to cope with contemporary challenges and realities and to reposition for the future, and the family is neither immuned nor exempted. These families have however maintained some degree of stability and originality. Our ideas of the family are shaped as our primary socialization that it is fundamental to the continuance of society, and that family institutions are highly consistent in the face of change. Nevertheless, they do undergo gradual change because of social, economic, and political changes in the society. Furthermore, changes in the demographic mix, migration, especially international migration and economic transformations, have all played a role in these changes. New family institutions are emerging. The next section will briefly examine new forms of family institution.

Co-habitation is a living arrangement in which two people who are not related and not married live together and usually have a sexual relationship. There are several types of cohabitation. Benokratis (2002) explained different types of cohabitation. The most common ones are part-time/limited cohabitation, pre-marital cohabitation and cohabitation that is a substitute for a legal marriage.

In a part-time/limited cohabitation, the couple spends a great deal of time together. They may eventually decide to move in together. The decision to move in may be based on a combination of reasons, such as convenience, sharing expenses and sexual accessibility. There is no long-term commitment, and most often, marriage is not the couple's goal. In pre-marital cohabitation, the couple is testing the relationship before making the final commitment. In this sense, cohabitation may be a trial marriage. If the trial marriage does not lead to formal marriage, the couple will usually end the relationship. Finally, a substitute marriage is a long-term commitment between two people without a legal marriage. Motives for substitute marriage vary widely.

Several reasons have been adduced to why cohabitation has become so common. In western world, family values and experiences may serve as important decisions to cohabit. In Nigeria, cohabitation is frowned at, and it is not approved in society. Nevertheless, it is becoming an acceptable form of marriage, especially with the economic situation in Nigeria where it is becoming impossible for men to get job. Vulnerable women usually move in with men of their choice, start having children with the hope that the union will be consummated in later years when their economic situation improves.

Surprisingly, there are advantages and disadvantages of cohabitation. The advantages include:

a) it can provide the couples with emotional security of an intimate relationship, but at the same time allows them to maintain their independence in many areas.
b) cohabitation may prevent unhappy marriages that end in divorce. It gives the partners more realistic view of each other and forces them to recognize and deal with opposing values, opinions and ideas (Bumpass, et al. 2000).
c) cohabitation often encourages people to establish a meaningful relationship instead of playing superficial dating games.

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Disadvantages of cohabitation include:

a) Fear of HIV infection or AIDS: If people are not honest about their histories, partners can contract sexually transmitted diseases.
b) Exploitation of women: Several studies suggest that cohabiting arrangements exploit women economically. Khoo, (1989) succinctly pointed out that when both partners are working; some cohabiting men insist that women pay half of all the expenses, though women earn much less than men do.
c) Domestic Violence; Though children in cohabiting arrangement are not targets of violence, Bumpus et al, (2000) argue that they are more likely than their counterparts in married homes to experience greater family instability. In serial cohabitation, divorces and remarriages may lead to numerous family disruptions that do not augur well for children's upbringing.

Single–Parent family: it is a man or a woman living with children without a spouse. Omoluabi (1990) stated that single-parent family is a very complex concept as many variables are involved in adequately describing it. Single parent family could be in form of Single-Parent Mother, Separatees, Divorce, Widow, and Retirees Omoluabi, (1990) dealt extensively on and discussed each category of single parent family.

A, Single –Parent Mother: according to the Omoluabi, this represent, a teenage girl who becomes pregnant while still schooling. Schooling may be interrupted especially in rural areas for her to nurture the baby. Sometimes, owing to uncertainty about the paternity of the baby, the teenage mother remains single while nursing the baby.

B, Separatees: This is the category of a woman who is separated from her husband as a result of misunderstanding or quarrel; .in most cases, the woman packs out of her matrimonial home to live with her parents or relatives. In another case, the husband deserts the matrimonial home and severs all contacts and communication with both wife and the children.

C, Divorcee: Most cases of desertion or separation often result in divorce, which is the legal process of terminating a marriage. The woman may remain single for a long time living only with the children.

D, Widow: This is the woman becoming single because her husband is dead. Most young widows may remarry; however, some may prefer to remain single while living with the children.

E, Retirees: This is a married woman who has retired from the marriage institution .She is generally elderly, and her children have grown up and left home. She withdraws from her matrimonial home to live as a single parent.

Female-Headed Households: This is the family structure where a woman heads a household as opposed a male heading the household. Worldwide, there is growing incident of female households. United Nations raised the awareness to this new family structure in 1999.With particular reference to Nigeria, Nigeria Population census shows that 15.2 percent of heads of households are females. Female –heads of households or families emerge for various reasons, including migration, spousal death, separation, divorce, women's economic and educational attainment, adolescent pregnancy, incidence and changes in patterns of marriage, weakening of extended family system and sex-differential mortality rate (UNFPA, 1999).

Female-headed families possess some characteristics that are significantly different from male-headed households. One of such characteristics is the tendency for the households to be represented among the poor. Where a substantial segment of

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female –households has no adult member contributing to adult male members contributing to the household income, female headship may imply a heavy economic burden on women who assume headship role.

Theoretical Framework for Understanding Families

A theory is a set of statement that explains why a phenomenon occurs. Theories guide our research, help us to analyze our findings, and, ideally, offer solutions for social problems. In this section, we will look briefly at eight (8) of the most influential theories in the study of family: four macro-level theories (ecological, structural-functionalism, conflict and feminist perspectives) and four micro-level theories (symbolic interaction, social exchange, developmental and family systems perspectives). Although researchers typically use more than one theory in examining any marriage or family topic, the theories usually overlap. For the sake of clarity, we will look at each prospective separately.

Ecological Perspective

The word ecology was coined in 1873 by a German biologist (Hackel, cited by Acu, *et al,* 1973). Ecology means "*place of residence*." It was first applied to the study of plants, then to the study of animals, and still later to the study of human communities. In sociology, ecology is the study of the relationships and adaptation of human groups, such as families, to their physical environment. Ecological perspective seeks to explain how the family is embedded in larger kinship networks Bronfenbrenner (1979) developed ecological models. According to him, human development is shaped by both "immediate and remote environment.(pp 30)'' The immediate environment, which is also, referred to as 'micro system' is made upon the interconnected behaviours, roles, and relations that influence the person's daily life (such as the linkages between home and school). The ecosystem (remote environment) consists of events that people do not experience directly, but that affect their development (such as parents' employment). The micro system reflects complex ideological systems (such as beliefs and values) within a culture or subculture that also affect the individual. For example, the author stated that a parents' self-evaluation of being a good (or bad) parent (Microsystems) is related to such external factors as job flexibility and adequacy of child-care arrangement (the ecosystem), as well as the availability of supportive cultural settings that provide quality health services for a child or family (the macro system). Ecological theory proposes that individuals' roles and environment settings are highly interrelated.

This theory has been criticized on the ground that it is unclear how the interactions between Microsystems, ecosystems, and macro systems affect non-traditional family groups as female-headed households and intergenerational families living under one roof.

Structural-Functional Perspective

Structural-functional theory examines the relationship between family and larger society. Sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) was the leading proponent of the structural-functional perspective in 1950s and 1960s. When social scientists study family structure, they examine how the parts work together in fulfilling the functions or tasks necessary for the family's survival.

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According to Parsons and his colleagues, adult family tasks are best accomplished when spouse carryout distinct and specialized roles. The specialized roles are instrumental role carried out by the "*breadwinner*" – the father/or husband. Instrumental roles mean providing food and shelter for the family, while the expressive role is carried out by the wife/or mother who is the homemaker. Playing expressive role means providing the emotional support and nurturing qualities that sustain the family unit. These and other roles that family members may play are functional. That is, they preserve order, stability, and equilibrium for the functioning of the family. Anything that interferes with these family tasks is seen as dysfunctional because it jeopardizes the smooth functioning of the group.

Structural-functionalism has come under attack for being so conservative in its emphasis on order and stability that it ignores social change. Structural-functionalism has also been criticized for seeing the family narrowly, through white, male, middle-class lenses (Anderson, 2000). Moreover, structural-functionalist terms like equilibrium, order and stability, are unclear and difficult to measure. Despite criticisms, structural-functional perspectives continue to frame many sociological analyses.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory has a long history. It became popular during the late 1960s.Conflict theory examines the ways in which groups disagree, struggle over power, and compete for scarce resources (such as wealth and prestige). In contrast to structural functionalists, conflict theorists see conflict and resulting changes in traditional roles as natural, inevitable, and often desirable. Conflict theories see society not as cooperative and stable but as a system of widespread inequality. There is a continuous tension between the "*haves*" and the "*have-nots*"; the latter are mainly children, women and the poor.

Conflict theories have been criticized for overemphasizing conflict and coercion at the expense of order and stability. Conflict theory presents a negative view of human nature and neglects the importance of love and self-sacrifice which are essential to family relationships.

Feminist Perspective

Feminist theories include a wide range of perspectives and research procedures. The theories examine, for example, the ways in which socially constructed categories of sex (our biological characteristics) and gender roles (expectations about how men and women should behave) shape relations between women and men in such institutions as politics, the economy, religion, education, and the family.

Despite some widespread misconceptions, feminists are not always women or lesbians. Any person, male or female, straight or gay, who believes that men and women should have equal political, economic, and social rights and who endorses liberating changes for both sexes is a feminist. Another misconception is that feminists hate men. Many feminists are angry about the injustices perpetrated against women in the workplace and family and have proposed such *"radical changes as equal work and men's greater participation in raising children"*

There is much feminism such as "Liberal Feminism" which emphasizes social and legal reform to create equal opportunities for women. "Radical Feminism" considers patriarchy to be the major cause of women's inequality.

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The Symbolic Interaction Perspective

Symbolic interaction theory is a micro-level theory that looks at everyday behaviours of individuals. It can be defined as a theory of human interaction as governed by symbolic communication of knowledge, ideas, beliefs and attitudes and how people interprete situations. The theory looks at the subjective, interpersonal meanings and the ways in which we interact with and influence each other by communicating through symbols –words, gestures, or pictures that stand for something. If we are to interact effectively, our symbols must have shared meanings, or agreed–upon definitions. We learn our definitions of situation through significant others from people in our groups, such as parents, friends, relatives and teachers who play an important role in our socialization

One of the criticisms of symbolic interaction theory is that because it emphasizes micro- relationships, it ignores the impact of family relationships of macro-factors such as economic forces and social movements. Symbolic interaction theory has limited utility because it has ignored the irrational and unconscious aspect of human behaviour.

The Social Exchange Perspective

The fundamental premise of social exchange theory is that any social interaction between two people is based on the efforts of each person to maximize rewards and minimize costs. As a result, individuals will continue in a relationship only as long as it is perceived as more rewarding than costly to do so. People bring tangible and non-tangible things to relationships such as money, energy, materials, goods, talents, fame, or affection. These resources can be traded for better or different resources that another person possesses. As long as costs are equal to or lower than benefits, the exchanges will be seen as fair or balanced.

Social exchange theory has been criticized for putting more weight on rational behaviour of people. People do not always calculate logically and carefully the potential cost and rewards of every decision.

The Developmental Perspective

Developmental theory examines many ways in which families change over time. The family life-cycle refers to the transition that a family makes as it moves from through series of stages and events from early days of marriage to the death of one or both partners. As family members progress through the various stages and events, they accomplish development tasks, that is, they learn to fulfill role expectations and responsibilities such as showing affection and support for family members and socializing with the people outside the family.

Some authors feel that the stages are artificial because the processes of life are not so neatly and cleanly segmented (Soyombo, 2006; Winton, 1995).

The Family Systems Perspective

Family systems theory views the family as a system, a functioning unit that solves problems, makes decisions and achieves collective goals (Day, 1995). Family systems analysts are interested in the implicit or explicit rules that hold families together .How, for example, do family members influence each other during stressful times, such as

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illness, unemployment, and death of a loved one? This is because such environments as schools and communities affect families. Researchers are also interested in the rules that maintain a boundary between family and outside world.

Some critics have argued that general systems theory has generated a lot of terminology but little insight into how family functions. Family system theory is very abstractive and too general to explain specific family processes.

Conclusion

Family has been regarded as the cornerstone of society. The traditional structures of family have experienced change over time, with different forms of family structure emerging. However, whatever form of the structure takes, families of all kinds desire relations that are caring, supportive, comfortable, and enduring. Family structures do not appear themselves; people create families that meet their needs for love, affection and security. In order to understand the dynamics of family system, eight different theories are briefly discussed. Researchers often combine one or more theories to explain family process. Several methods of data collection are also discussed, including ethical issues in family research.

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SECTION FOUR
POPULATION ISSUES

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

POPULATION ISSUES IN NIGERIA

Kunnuji, Michael O.N.

Introduction

Nigeria lies between latitudes 4° and 14° north of the equator and longitudes 3° and 15° East of the Prime meridian. The country covers a land area of 923,768 square kilometer (PRB, 2010), which is inhabited by hundreds of peoples (that is, nations or ethnic groups), each with a distinct language. The 2006 census puts the population of all human beings resident in Nigeria at 140,431,790 (NPC, 2009) counting males and females, young and old. Five years later, the population has been estimated to have risen to about 158 million individuals (PRB, 2010). This population places the country among the world's ten largest. Specifically, Nigeria ranks eighth in population size, behind China, India, United States, Indonesia, Brazil, Pakistan and Bangladesh (PRB, 2010). Records reveal that 50 years ago, Nigeria was not ranked among the first ten nations of the world, and projections suggest that in another 50 years, the nation will rank among the first five most populous countries in the world (US Census Bureau, 2007). It may be interesting to trace the trajectory of the population of Nigeria from the period before population records were kept to the present age.

Archaeological findings suggest that parts of present-day Nigeria were occupied as far back as 800 to 500 BC (BBC, 2011). The Nok figurines which have been unearthed around the plateaus of present-day Jos show that there was a population of human beings with a significant level of civilization. While there appears to be very little disagreement on the existence of this community of people, very little is known about their size in terms of population. On a more general note, it may be difficult to give a reliable estimate of the population of people who lived within the geographical area called Nigeria today before the nation began to record vital statistics and take censuses. Nonetheless, demographers suggest that the period was characterized by high death rates because knowledge in the area of medicine and immunology was still at a very low level. In other words, the people who occupied the area must have been susceptible to a high death rate as a result of diseases since little was known of the ways to manage such diseases. In addition, many deaths could have resulted from attacks by venomous animals. It is also common knowledge that wars made it difficult for populations to grow significantly.

Whether the Nok population metamorphosed into one or more of the ethnic populations found in present-day Nigeria or faced outright extinction remains unknown. Although there is a semblance between Nok art works and more recent works of art in some parts of southern Nigeria, there are still several missing links in the argument that seek to conclude that the Nok people are the forebears of any of the peoples of present-day Nigeria. Also, very little is known of their demographic transition, if their descendants are around anywhere in present-day Nigeria. It is, known, however, that prior to the Atlantic slave trade and the era of colonialism, empires emerged north of the River Niger and in the western and eastern parts of the river. Notable among the peoples are the Hausa nation in the north, the Kanuri nation in the north east, the Yoruba and Bini nations in the west, the Igbo nation in the east and the Izon and Efik/Ibibio nations in the Niger delta region. There are also several other nations within the area, and this chapter cannot effectively create a comprehensive list of the peoples of Nigeria. In population, the nations probably

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ranged from a few thousands to some hundreds of thousands in the era before colonial rule.

While it might be difficult to estimate the population of the peoples of Nigeria at different times in history, a guided attempt may not be harmful, nonetheless. Population statistics from organizations such as the Population Reference Bureau, UN and other authorities in the field of population studies reveal that Nigeria's population has continued to account for about 15 to 20 percent of the population of sub-Saharan Africa (See PRB, 2010; UN, 2010; Weeks, 2002; U.S Census Bureau International Data Base). If the estimate of a population of about 90 million people in 1850 holds true for sub-Saharan Africa, then an estimate of about 18 million can be made for Nigeria. Perhaps, Nigeria had a lower share of the sub-Saharan total at that time. If the people of Nigeria had as little as a tenth of the population of the region in 1850, the population would just have been about 9 million. An average of about 13.5 million can be adopted, however. A careful look at the population of the nation a century later shows that the growth rate was under check such that after a century, the population had barely doubled. This slow rate of growth is attributable to the coming of the British which took its toll on the population of the people of Nigeria (just as it did on the populations of other African nations) as a result of violence and slavery (See Weeks, 2002: 32).

Table 1 gives a summary of the demographic transition of the population of Nigeria from 1950 to 2050. In summary, it is very probable that the people of Nigeria rose in population from a few thousands around 800 – 500 BC to well over 100 million today. This chapter discusses issues related to population size in Nigeria and its implications for the wellbeing of the people. It further addresses the question of ethnic pluralism and the contest for numerical supremacy, and the socio-cultural implications of the age and spatial distributions of the population of the people of Nigeria.

Table 1: Selected demographic indicators (1950–2050)

Demographic Indicators	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Mid year population (in thousands)	31,797	41,547	55,586	74,821	96,604	123,179	152,217	182,344	211,776	239,311	264,262
Growth rate (percent)	(NA)	2.9	2.9	3.1	2.6	2.3	2.0	1.6	1.4	1.1	0.9
Total fertility rate (births per woman)	(NA)	7.2	7.2	7.0	6.4	5.7	4.8	3.9	3.2	2.7	2.4
Crude birth rate (per 1,000 population)	(NA)	49	49	48	44	42	36	31	26	22	19
Life expectancy at birth (years)	(NA)	43	44	45	45	45	47	51	54	58	62
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 births)	(NA)	138	129	121	113	107	93	79	65	52	40
Under 5	(NA)	240	232	225	219	210	177	143	113	86	63

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Demographic Indicators	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
mortality rate (per 1,000 births)	(NA)	240	232	225	219	210	177	143	113	86	63
Crude death rate (per 1,000 population)	(NA)	21	20	20	19	19	16	14	12	11	10
Deaths (in thousands)	(NA)	872	1,128	1,461	1,793	2,287	2,483	2,567	2,615	2,644	2,680
Net migration rate (per 1,000 population)	(NA)	1	1	3	-0	-0	-0	-0	-0	-0	-0

NA: Not Available
Source:U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. Retrieved June 17, 2011 from http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idb/country.php

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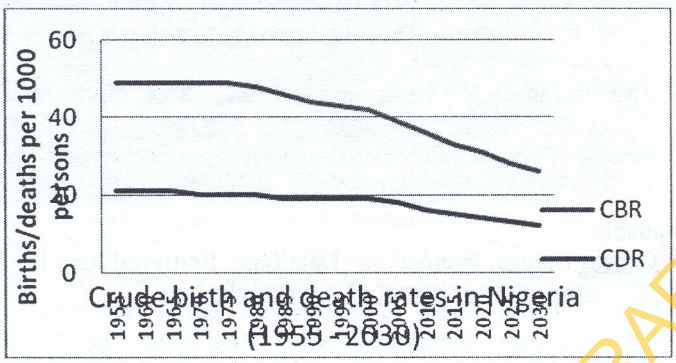
The Nigerian population – the demographic transition

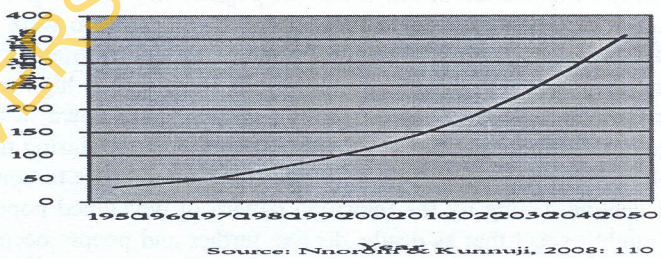
Population experts agree that births, deaths and migration are key determinants of population size. Deaths reduce population size, while births increase it. Emigration (that is, the process of leaving one country to take up permanent or semipermanent residence in another [Haupt and Kane, 1998: 57]) reduces population, while immigration increases it. Only births and deaths are responsible, however, for natural change in population, and these factors tend to have greater influence on population size than migration. In its traditional state, every population is characterized by high deaths resulting from diseases, malnutrition and wars. In response, people give birth to many children to ensure that some of them survive. This explains the high birth and death rates which characterize traditional societies. Before the peoples of Nigeria had contact with Europeans, the people had many births to ensure replacement. The rate of growth was quite low because the births were cancelled by the deaths. With the advent of the Europeans came improved medical science and greater possibility to stem epidemics. Consequently, deaths began to decline.

A simple implication of this is that the population began to grow at a fast rate as more people were being added through births than those who were dying. By the middle of the twentieth century, crude death rate had reduced to about 21 deaths per 1000 persons in a year. On the other hand, births remained as high as 49 per 1000 persons at the time. The gap between births and deaths as shown in the figure that follows accounts for the high rate of growth in the population during the period. The population is in transition, and as the gap closes up in the years to come, the rate of growth will decline. Going by the transition pattern of developed populations of the world, one might expect that as deaths decline further and people become convinced that a very high proportion of their children will live to adulthood, and old age security becomes a responsibility of state institutions, fertility will decline.



Crude birth and death rates in Nigeria (1955 -2030)

At present, the population is growing at a rate of about 2.5 percent per annum (PRB, 2010). The implication of this growth rate is that the population will double in size in the next 35 years (See the growth pattern in the figure below). At some points, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, the population grew at a rate higher than three percent. Thus, the rate of growth can be said to be on the downward path. At present, there are more than a million persons who require food (and safe water), shelter, clothing, medicare and other essentials of life. In addition to these basic needs of man, the people need to use transportation facilities; they need to have good sanitation, access to education, information and other modern-day needs, the provision of which require resources. As one would easily notice, the government of Nigeria appears to be overwhelmed by these needs, and their inability to meet these needs explain the low quality of life of the vast majority of Nigerians.



Source: Nnoruka & Kunnuji, 2008: 110

Another important dimension to the population of Nigeria is the level of urbanization. Urbanization refers to the proportion of a given population living in urban centres in contrast with those living in rural areas (Haupt and Kane, 1998: 41; Weeks, 2002: 424). The definition of what is urban varies from place to place, yet, an area with "spatial concentration of people whose lives are organized around non-agricultural activities" (Weeks, 2002: 425) can be described as urban. In addition to the key factors of population size, density and the preponderance of economic activities which are not dependent on the physical environment (land, forest and sea), urban centres are also

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characterized by cultural heterogeneity and a wide range of economic activities. Although traditional cities existed in the pre-colonial era, they cannot be described as urban *stricto sensu*. From a situation where all the people could have been said to be living in rural areas sometime around 1850, about 47 percent of the people lived in urban centres in the year 2010.

From a broad perspective, it can be argued that the incorporation of Africa into the global capitalist economy led to the break-down in communal living which characterized traditional societies. The capitalist system thrived on dispossession (Amin, 2011) which resulted in the creation of a property-less class since land, the major possession of the majority of the people, was acquired by the capitalists. An offshoot of this is the creation of a money economy, which is another related reason for the rural-urban migration that accounts largely for the high level of urbanization in Nigeria. With money becoming the major form of wealth, people aspire to get white collar jobs and earn sufficient income to meet their needs. Other people in the population with very little or no skills also move to urban centres in search of jobs, either in the informal sector or in the lower rungs of the hierarchy of the formal sector. Therefore, subsistence and communal living have given way to this modern way of living.

A major implication of this spatial distribution of the population is that the rural population has been depleted. In other words, food production might be threatened unless large-scale farming is promoted. In the urban centres, problems of congestion, inadequate housing facilities, crime and delinquency, poor sanitation, traffic congestion, unemployment, scarcity of safe potable water, and poor waste management also arise. The consequence is that the quality of life of the people becomes lowered.

The age distribution of any population is equally important. To understand the implications population has for human development in a country, one may need to know the age distribution of the people. While children may have great potentials in them, they remain incapable of creating wealth and contributing to the development of the country for as long as they remain children. Usually, persons below the age of 15 years are considered incapable of producing wealth and referred to as economically dependent. On the other hand, persons above the age of 65 years are often retired, and they contribute very little to the economy. If in a hypothetical population, the vast majority of the people are babies and elderly people, it is certain that the burden on the few in their economically productive years will be huge, and the level of poverty in the population will be high. On the contrary, if the economically productive population accounts for a very large proportion of the population, there is bound to be a high level of affluence in the population.

In Nigeria, about 43 percent of the population are below 15 years, while just 3 percent are 65 years or older (PRB, 2010). These data are useful for demographers as they help show the age-dependency ratio of a population and suggest the economic burden the productive proportion of the population must carry (Haupt and Kane, 1998). There are more than 85 persons in the dependent ages for every 100 persons in the working ages. Particularly, the population pyramid of Nigeria shows how heavy the population is at the bottom.

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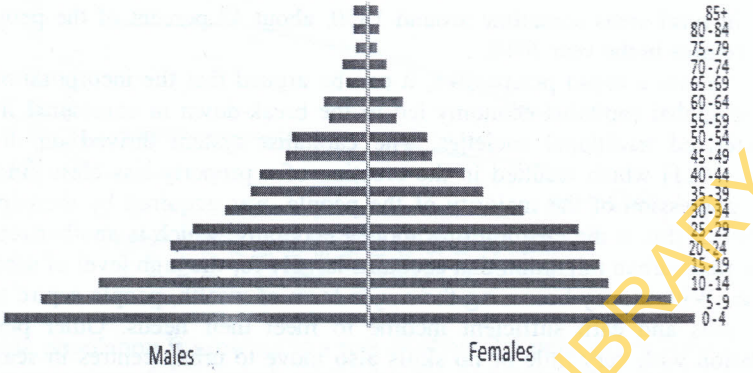

A major reason for the bottom-heavy pyramid is the high fertility rate. At present, the Total Fertility Rate (TFR – number of children born to a woman in her lifetime) is 5.7 in Nigeria (PRB, 2010). One may want to ask why fertility is yet to decline in this part of the world. Reasons for high fertility are diverse and complex. Some of the factors that come to play in the Nigerian case shall be discussed briefly. As stated in the introductory section of this chapter, high fertility is a natural response to high mortality which characterizes the traditional phase of every society. With advancement in medical sciences and the cessation of wars, mortality declines and the need to have many children stops to exist since a child's chances of surviving to adulthood become higher. Values tend, however, to outlive their essence and so it is with the value of pronatalism – beliefs and practices that encourage people to have many children. It has become woven into the fabric of the pivotal institutions of the society as shown by the socio-cultural correlates of fertility in the country. In the paragraphs that follow, these factors shall be discussed in connection with the value of pronatalism and unchecked population growth.

The patriarchal family structure in many parts of Nigeria places premium on the male child and encourages the continuation of child-bearing until at least one male child is born (Ebigbola, 2000). The family structure also goes hand in hand with kinship based patron-clientism which shifts the burden of raising children on the extended family (Smith, 2004). This takes away the disincentive in high fertility. In addition, religion encourages high fertility for many Nigerians since it articulates behavioral norms on fertility behaviour; holds the means for communicating values and promoting compliance, and forms the central component of the social identity of people (McQuillan, 2004). Further to its role in encouraging "going into the world to multiply", it supports patriarchy which in turn gives life to the value of pronatalism (Kunnuji, 2006). Studies have also shown various ways through which poverty leads to high fertility. For many, having many children is a source of old-age support (Oyekanmi, 2000; Isiugo-Abanihe, 2003); and poverty is a correlate of poor formal education which reduces people's access to knowledge about how to control fertility.

The political configuration of the Nigerian state, its plural nature and policies also encourage high fertility (Kunnuji, 2006). In the country, there is a crisis of numerical supremacy among the ethnic groups/states because each group sees its proportion of the national total as a meal ticket (Nnorom and Kunnuji, 2006). The low

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level of education/literacy has also contributed to the high fertility rate which persists in the country.

In summary, patriarchy, the polity, poverty, and piety continue to strengthen pronatalism. The value of pronatalism which gives life to high fertility is thus connected with the major institutions of society which are the family, the political institution, the economic institution, religion and education. This provides an explanation for the bottom-heavy population in Nigeria. In addition to this very unpleasant scenario of a high age-dependency ratio, a very large proportion of the people in the "economically productive ages" have been rendered unproductive as a result of unemployment. If fertility rates begin to decline, however, there may come a time when people in the productive years will account for the greater part of the population and the economy will begin to benefit from demographic dividends.

The situation at hand at present is that there is a high age-dependency ratio and a high level of poverty in the population. Apart from the concentration of the population in the dependant age brackets, the failure of the economy to build industrial capacity and create jobs also lowers the productivity of the people in the productive years since a large proportion of these people are unemployed or underemployed.

The polity and population size

While there are hundreds of ethnolinguistic groups within Nigeria, three groups – Hausa/(Fulani), Ibo and Yoruba – appear to dominate the affairs of the state. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the proportion of the total population accounted for by these ethnic groups due to the reason that shall be explained briefly in this paragraph. The domination of state affairs by people of the three dominant ethnic groups encourages people of other groups to align with them and accept to be assimilated into them in order to avoid being excluded from having access to the resources of the state. Therefore, "many minority groups cluster… round the big three" (Mustapha, 2005: 5). In addition, the use of pejorative appellations for people of the minority groups by those of the dominant ethnic groups has discouraged the use of many minority languages and acceptance in public that one belongs to a group other than the dominant groups. Thus, people of the dominant groups appear to be in the majority since others would readily accept to be seen as belonging to those groups. Nonetheless, the population of Nigerians of other ethnic groups is also huge. The 1952 census figures give an insight into the ethnic composition of the population of Nigeria (See Table 2).

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Table 2: Ethnic composition of the Nigerian population (1952)

Ethnic group	Population	Percentage share of total
Edo	468,501	1.50
Fulani	**3,040,736**	**9.76**
Hausa	**5,548,542**	**17.81**
Ibibio	766,764	2.46
Igbo	**5,483,660**	**17.60**
Kanuri	1,301,924	4.18
Nupe	359,260	1.15
Tiv	790,450	2.54
Yoruba	**5,046,799**	**16.20**
	22806636	73.20
Other minority groups	8349391	26.80
All Nigeria 31,156,027 100	31156027	100

Source: Compiled by Mustapha, 2005: 4

When the dominant ethnic groups, that is the Hausa-Fulani, the Igbo, and Yoruba are added together, they constitute about 61 percent of the population. Therefore, the population of Nigerians of ethnic origins outside the dominant ethnic groups is close to 40 percent. The 1963 results show a similar ethnic composition of the population. The population of the country was put at about 55.66 million persons (Bamgbose, 2009) with the Hausa people accounting for 11.7 million persons (20.9 percent); the Yoruba, 11.3 million persons (20.3 percent and the Igbo accounting for 9.2 million persons (16.6 percent) [Jibril, 1991, cited in Mustapha, 2005]. All the minority groups including large ones such as the Izon, Kanuri, Edo, Ibibio, Nupe, Tiv, and hundreds of smaller ethnic groups accounted for about 42 percent of the population.

The political configuration of the Nigerian state makes population size and composition very sensitive. The state runs a federal system of government which has three tiers – the federal, state and local governments. Political representation is determined by the share of the total population accounted for by a given section of the state. In addition, allocation of federal revenue puts into consideration population size, among other factors. The implication of this is that the different sub-populations of the country begin to perceive their share of the total population as their meal tickets since political representation also translates into access to the resources of the country more than any other thing in Nigeria. To ensure that they have a good share, the "national cake", the political elites in the various sub-units of the state strive to ensure that the populations of their sub-units are kept as high as possible (See Nnorom & Kunnuji, 2006). This explains why population policies aimed at controlling the population of the country have not been successful.

The provisions of the constitution reveal why the different ethnic groups are in constant contest for numerical supremacy. First on political representation, Section 49 of the constitution states that:

> *Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the House of Representatives shall consist of three hundred and sixty members*

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> ***representing constituencies of nearly equal population*** *as far as possible, provided that no constituency shall fall within more than one State.*

The constitution also provides that the delimitation of constituencies can be adjusted if there is a significant alteration in the composition of the population. Section 73 of the constitution makes this clear in stating that:

> *(1) The Independent National Electoral Commission shall review the division of States and of the Federation into Senatorial districts and Federal constituencies at intervals of not less than ten years, and may alter the districts or constituencies in accordance with the provisions of this section to such extent as it may consider desirable in the light of the review.*
>
> *(2) Notwithstanding subsection (1) of this section, the Independent National Electoral Commission may at any time carry out such a review and alter the districts or constituencies in accordance with the provisions of this section to such extent as it considers necessary, in consequence of any amendment to section 3 of this Constitution or any provision replacing that section,* ***or by reason of the holding of a census of the population****, or pursuant to an Act of the National Assembly.*

Apart from political representation, the population sizes of the component parts of the state play a major role in revenue allocation as stated in section 162, subsection 2, of the constitution:

> *The president, upon the receipt of advice from the Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission, shall table before the National Assembly proposals for revenue allocation from the Federation Account, and in determining the formula, the National Assembly shall take into account, the allocation principles especially* ***those of population****, equality of States, the internal revenue generation, land mass, terrain as well as* ***population density****..."*

Table 3 shows the division of Nigeria into zones and states and the number of representatives coming from each state and zone of the federation. A careful look at the table shows that the northern part of the country has more states and representatives than the southern part. There has, for the greater part of the existence of the nation, been contests for available resources in the country.

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Table 3: States, zones and political representation in Nigeria

S/N	State	No. of federal constituencies	Zone total
	North Central		
1	BENUE	11	
2	FCT ABUJA	2	
3	KOGI	9	
4	KWARA	6	
5	NASARAWA	5	
6	NIGER	10	
7	PLATEAU	8	**51**
	North East		
8	ADAMAWA	8	
9	BAUCHI	12	
10	BORNO	10	
11	GOMBE	6	
12	TARABA	6	
13	YOBE	6	**48**
	North West		
14	JIGAWA	11	
15	KADUNA	16	
16	KANO	24	
17	KATSINA	15	
18	KEBBI	8	
19	SOKOTO	11	
20	ZAMFARA	7	**92**
	South East		
21	ABIA	8	
22	ANAMBRA	10	
23	EBONYI	6	
24	ENUGU	8	
25	IMO	10	**42**
	South South		
26	AKWA-IBOM	11	
27	BAYELSA	5	
28	CROSS RIVER	8	
29	DELTA	10	
30	EDO	9	
31	RIVERS	13	**56**

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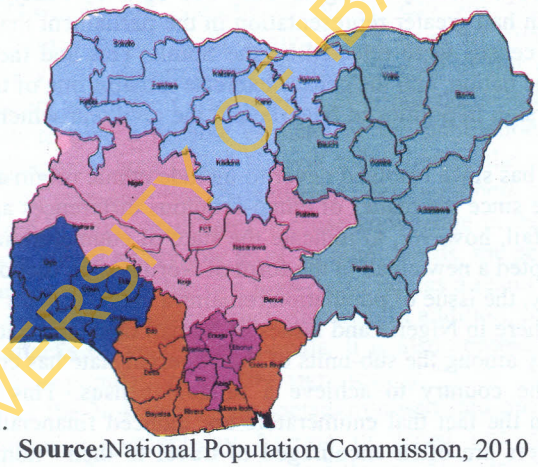
S/N	State	No. of federal constituencies	Zone total
	South West		
32	EKITI	6	
33	LAGOS	24	
34	OGUN	9	
35	ONDO	9	
36	OSUN	9	
37	OYO	14	**71**

Source: Compiled from Independent National Electoral Commission. Retrieved June 22, 2011 from http://www.inecnigeria.org/name-of-senatorial-districts-nationwide

The contest takes different dimensions. It can manifest as inter-ethnic, inter-state, inter-zone or North-south contest. At present, the northern states have in the House of Representatives 191 representatives (representing 53 percent of all members of the lower house), while the South has 169 representatives (representing 47 percent of all members of the lower house). It is common knowledge that southern political elites are dissatisfied with this arrangement, just as the northern elite strive hard to maintain the status quo. The map below shows the states and zones of the federation.



Source:National Population Commission, 2010

Revenue allocation also reflects the composition of the population of the country when derivation is left out of the picture. The gross statutory revenue allocation for the month of January, 2010 reveals that Kano state has the largest share of N 2.9 billion; followed by Lagos – 2.624 billion; Kaduna – 2.317 billion; Katsina – 2.209 billion; Borno – 2.19 billion; Bauchi – 2.153 billion; Niger – 2.149 billion; Oyo – 2.144 billion; Jigawa – 2.033 billion; and Rivers – 2.015 billion. As a result of its small population, Bayelsa has the smallest share (1.474 billion) of the gross statutory allocation (Source: Federal Ministry of Finance (Retrieved June 22, 2011 from http://www.fmf.gov.ng/downloads/FAAC/sa_January_2010.pdf). It can be conjectured

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against the backdrop of the argument put forward so far that when a constituent unit has a given proportion of the revenue at a given Time A as a function of its share of the total population, it strives at a later Time B to ensure that it does not account for a proportion less than the initial share of the total population in order to ensure that its share of the revenue does not decline.

In summary, population size plays a major role in the determination of political representation and revenue allocation, and by implication, it encourages the manipulation of census figures. Where sub-units (states, Local Government Areas and wards) perceive that they have smaller populations than they would like the rest of the country to believe they have, in view of the resources they aim to capture from the coffers of the federation, they resort to manipulation of census figures. Sub-units with large populations also engage in the practice for fear of being out-manipulated by other sub-units. This explains why the history of census taking in Nigeria has been the history of mutual mistrust and contest for the smartest manipulator of numbers among the various component units of the state. In 1962, shortly after the nation's independence, a census exercise was embarked upon. The exercise was presided over by a neutral umpire – a European. The results of the exercise failed to satisfy the northern political elite, however. Consequently, the government of Tafawa Balewa rejected the result and organized a recount in 1963, producing a result claiming that the initial exercise had undercounted the North significantly, while the results for other regions of the federation barely changed. This was seen by many as an attempt to ensure that the North had greater representation in the parliament than the South. The results of the 1963 census were rejected by the South. This and the elections led to utter cataclysm in the nation, and the census exercise remains one of the remote causes of the military incursion in politics in Nigeria and the civil war which claimed several lives.

The nation has since resolved never to include ethnic origin and religion in its census questionnaire since the matter of ethno-religious differences appears rather too sensitive. It cannot fail, however, to indicate the state of enumeration, and the contest appears to have adopted a new cloak in the form of North-South dichotomy.

In summary, the issue of population remains a central one in the discussion of the political atmosphere in Nigeria and issues of human development. The contest for numerical supremacy among the sub-units of the Nigerian state has continued to make it impossible for the country to achieve a reliable census. This makes planning difficult. Apart from the fact that enumerators are induced financially to jerk up the counts, urban dwellers are often encouraged to travel to their "home towns" in the rural areas for enumeration. This suggests that the people do not see the urban centres as theirs. Therefore, they would rather be counted in places they can call theirs in order to attract development to their home towns. Unfortunately, these people return to the urban centres after the exercise to further strain the facilities which would have been designed for a fewer number of people as a result of the low urban counts reported from the census exercise. Beyond showing the negative effects of pluralism on the census exercise, the argument above also shows that the different peoples of Nigeria are yet to evolve a true Nigerian feeling, and they tend to see themselves more as members of their ethnic groups than citizens of Nigeria. Put differently, a large percentage of the population of Nigeria are Nigerians only in the secondary sense.

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Cultural issues and population dynamics in Nigeria

Certain cultural variables affect the size and distribution of population in Nigeria in diverse ways. Notable among the cultural features are patriarchy, polygyny and child-fostering practices. Nigerian cultures are largely patriarchal, that is, dominated by men. The skewness of authority in the family gives the men great powers over the reproductive behaviour of their wives (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994), and their demands for sex which has the potential to lead to conception can hardly be refused by the wives. Closely tied to this is the tradition of polygyny, marriage of one man to more than one woman at the same time. The implication of this practice is that conception that would have been delayed as a result of post-partum abstinence affects female fertility only. The husband switches to another of the wives and another birth may occur in less than one year from the previous birth. In traditional times, many births were needed since the family doubled as an economic institution where agrarian activities took place. Children were needed to boost food production, and for this reason, polygyny did suit that age. The 2008 Demographic Health Survey shows that about 20 percent of married men and a third (33 percent) of married women are still in polygynous marriages (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009: 92). This has implications for fertility.

Another major cultural factor that has implications for population size and spatial distribution is child-fostering. The traditional kinship system among many peoples of Nigeria allows for the sharing of the burden of raising children not only by the biological parents, but by other members of the kinship group (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985; Makinwa-Adebusoye, 2001). Some children begin to live with members of their kinship groups very early in life such that the biological parents bear very little of the burden of raising them. This practice takes away from the biological parents, the burden of raising children which may serve as a disincentive for having many children and a large population. Child-fostering may also affect population re-distribution. Kinship ties often serve as the basis for chain migration. Members of the kinship group of an individual who has migrated to an urban area may be encouraged to migrate to the city to meet their kinsmen who have lived in the cities for some time. Migrating in this manner reduces the challenges of being absorbed into the urban centre that migrants who have no relations to receive them face. Therefore, child-fostering also contributes to the spatial population re-distribution.

Conclusion

The population of Nigeria is composed of several nations, many of whom have lived within the territory known as Nigeria for centuries, while the traditional phase of the demographic transition of these populations experienced high deaths and births which gave room for very little population growth. The introduction of modern democracies and orthodox medicine has significantly reduced deaths which would have occurred as a result of wars and diseases. In the period during which this decline in deaths began to be significant, births which ensure the replacement of members of the population lost to deaths remained high as the value of pronatalism had taken a life of its own. The simple consequence of the gap between births and deaths is rapid growth in population. Rapid population growth often translates into increase in the number of mouths to be fed, persons to be given medical care and users of the facilities available in the society. When the government fails to adequately meet the needs of the population, the quality of life becomes affected negatively.

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The spatial distribution of the population is equally important as shown in this chapter. When there is a concentration of people in urban centres, facilities in such areas become strained, and myriads of social problems arise. The ethnic composition of the population of Nigeria also has great implications for the people's ways of living. The evolution of a true Nigerian nation has been confronted with ethnic loyalty and the contest for numerical supremacy among. This and other factors discussed in this chapter have made it difficult for fertility to decline in response to the decline in death rates. Planning also remains difficult as a result of the difficulty in conducting reliable censuses. It is believed that if and when the peoples of Nigeria evolve a true Nigerian identity which is as strong as their ethnic identities, more reliable results will begin to come from census exercises, and better plans can be made on how to develop the country.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN NIGERIA'S FERTILITY REGIME

Isiugo-Abanihe, Uche C.

Introduction

The 2006 Population and Housing Census of Nigeria reported a total population of 140.4 million Nigerians, up from 88.9 million in 1991 (FRN, 2007; NPC, 1989). This makes the country by far the most populous African country, and one of the ten most populous countries in the world. By the growth rate derived from the census, Nigerian population rose to more than 150 million in 2010. Indeed the Population Reference Bureau has estimated a total population of 152.6 million for 2009, which is projected to increase to 207 million in 2025 and 285 million in 2050; a whooping 91 percentage increase between 2008 and 2050 (PRB, 2008). In 2008, Nigeria was the eighth most populous country in the world, and by 2050 it would be the sixth. At present, Nigeria constitutes more than 2 percent of the world population, about 15.3 percent of Africa's population, 18.3 percent of sub-Saharan Africa, and 51 percent of all the people in West Africa. The 2009 population of Nigeria is more than the combined populations of the United Kingdom, Italy, Sweden, Belgium and Portugal.

Nigeria is a country of high fertility, even by the standards of many developing countries. Crude birth rate is 38 per 1000 population, and total fertility rate (TFR) remains high at 5.7. On average, a Nigerian woman will have 5.7 children by the time she completes her reproductive years. However, fertility is lower in the urban areas than rural areas (TFR of 4.6 and 6.4, respectively) and also in the southern parts of the country relative to the north (NPC & ICP Macro, 2009). Contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR) is low in Nigeria, averaging only 15 percent in 2008, with urban women about three times as likely as their rural counterparts to use a contraceptive method (NPC & ICP Macro, 2009). Also, childbearing begins early; the median age at first marriage is 18.3 years, much lower in the north than in the south. Age at first birth is about 20 years, among women 25-49 years, again lower in the north (North East and North West, 18 years) than the south (South East, 24 years). The foregoing suggests that fertility will remain high in Nigeria in the foreseeable future.

Crude death rate in Nigeria is about 14 deaths per 1000 population. Life expectancy at birth is low, having increased from 36 year in 1963 to 53 years in 1991 (NPC, 2002). The increase in life expectancy may have slowed down as a result of the less than impressive declines in infant and child mortality in the past decade or so and prevailing HIV/AIDS pandemic that has continued to claim many lives. Hence, the recent estimate of life expectancy at birth of 47 years (PRB, 2008) is hardly surprising. Adult mortality is high and rises sharply with age from age 30 among women and from age 40 among men. Maternal mortality ratio is 545 (NPC &ICP Macro, 2009), which is high by world standard. A woman's lifetime risk of dying from maternal causes is 1:18 in Nigeria, very high compared with 1:45 in Ghana, 1:8,200 in the United Kingdom and 1:11,600 in Japan (PRB, 2008). Infant and child mortality are also high (75 and 88 per 1,000 live births respectively), but have been declining in the past two decades, albeit slowly. Malnutrition accounts for 52 percent of all deaths among children below age 5. Despite the bleak survival chance in Nigeria painted by these figures, on balance, mortality continues to decline in Nigeria, although at a slower rate than anticipated.

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The rate of natural increase of Nigeria's population is high, a product of past trends in fertility and mortality. Persistent high fertility and generally declining even if slow mortality has resulted in a high population growth rate, estimated at 3.2 percent per year (NPC & ICP Macro, 2009). With a growth rate of this magnitude, Nigeria's population is expected to double in 22 years if the current rate prevails. About 45 percent of the population comprise children age less than 15 years; only 3 percent are age 65 and above. Nigeria's high population growth rate, the youthfulness of the population with its in-built momentum for further growth, and the high dependency burden will undoubtedly have adverse effects on all aspects of life and will constitute a drag to sustainable development which has been the goal of successive governments. As infant and child mortality continues to decline with improving public health measures, population growth rate will certainly accelerate and hinder government development efforts the more. Because death rates are more responsive to modernization and social development, if fertility decline does not take place synchronously with mortality decline, Nigeria's population will explode. Therefore, factors that have precipitated changes in fertility in some parts of the country and among social groups can become functional in breaking the continuity in other parts.

The population of Nigeria is unevenly distributed. The country is predominantly rural although the urban population has been increasing rapidly in the last three decades. According to the 1991 census, 36.3 percent of the Nigerian population live in urban areas. There is evidence that this proportion has increased since 1991, and the most important megacity in Africa is found in Nigeria. The population density for Nigeria is 150 persons per square kilometre, up from 96 persons per square kilometre in 1991. However, the spatial distribution of the population within the country is uneven, with Lagos, Anambra, Imo, Abia, Enugu, Akwa Ibom and Kano as the most densely populated states, and Taraba, Yobe, Niger and Borno as the least. The country experiences enormous migration from rural to urban areas, with non-disabled, youthful population dominating the migration stream from the countryside to urban areas. The resulting rapid growth of cities has created serious problems of housing, sanitation, and many social vices. Since the mid-1980s, there has been a considerable level of emigration of Nigerian youth and professionals to Europe, North America and the Mid-East for greener pastures in the face of dwindling standards of living and the economic downturn occasioned by Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).

Population growth in Nigeria has not yet produced so many human bodies that the country cannot contain, but the unavoidable effect has been a slow deterioration and a declining quality of life instead of improvements as expected of any progressing country. Both the natural bases of human life – food, water, air and other resources – and the complex fabric of modern institutions are already showing signs of strain and erosion. The strains and breakdowns most often take social, economic, environmental or political form, such as poverty, child trafficking, high levels of unemployment, overcrowded cities, deforestation, desertification, overgrazing and over-cropping, and violent outbreaks of long-standing ethnic and religious divisions. These strains and conflicts have their roots in the rapid growth and dispersal of populations, as has been witnessed in parts of Nigeria. It was in response to a rapid population growth rate and its adverse effects on national development that the Federal Government in 1988 approved the *National Policy on Population for*

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Development, Unity, Progress and Self-reliance which was reviewed and renamed the *National Policy on Population for Sustainable Development* in 2004. The Nigerian population policy rightly recognizes that population factors, social and economic development and environmental issues are irrevocably interconnected and are critical to the achievement of sustainable development in Nigeria. As usual, the population policy is impeccable on paper; its implementation is another issue.

Nigeria's Fertility Level and Trends

Of the three components of population change, fertility has received most attention in Nigeria. A number of reasons explain this. First, the level of fertility in Nigeria, as in many other less developed countries, has been higher than the historically recorded levels in the West before their demographic transition began. Hence, was drawn to it early for research interrogation. Secondly, between mortality and fertility, the latter is more difficult to change due to pervasive socio-cultural underpinnings or social inertia; a way of life formed over many years is obviously difficult to break. Whereas a decline in mortality is universally welcome as good and desirable, and always accompanies effective public health measures and better nutrition and environment, it is not so for fertility, which responds very slowly to changes in the society. Thirdly, migration is a very fluid event and presents the most notorious measurement difficulties; also it has received less research interest because of the realization that it is not very critical in accounting for population size at the national level. Fourthly, fertility blazed the trail in grant funding in the seventies, when many international agencies started promoting fertility decline through the use of family planning in less developed countries, in part, as a result of the influence of powerful pressure groups on the reproductive health industry. It is to understand why changes in fertility behaviour characteristically lag behind mortality, and to explain why segments of the population respond differently to high fertility or family size goals, that more research is devoted to fertility. To be sure, fertility is a very complex issue given its micro- and macro-dimensions.

Nigeria's fertility has been high since national data started being available. Estimates of Total Fertility Rate (TFR) derived from various sources for 1965, 1971-73, 1975, 1983-86 and 1986-90 are 6.6, 7.3, 7.0, 7.4 and 6.3 respectively. With possible errors in earlier data, these figures are indicative of high and stable fertility in Nigeria and perhaps an incipient decline beginning after the mid-1980s. This decline is borne out by trends apparent from the 1990 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS), the 1991 Census Post Enumeration Survey, and the 2003 and 2008 NDHS which produced TFR of 6.0, 5.9, 5.7 and 5.7 respectively (see Fig 1). In other words, the available data reveal that fertility has been on a downward trend since the 1980s, down from TFR of 7.3 estimated by the UN for 1972 (UN, 2009). Nevertheless, current TFR ensures that a Nigerian woman would still have 5.7 children by the time she completes her childbearing, usually at age 49. This is high even by less developed world and African standards (TFR for LDCs in 2008 is 2.8 and Africa 4.9 [PRB, 2008]). The TFR data also indicate that there may have been some stagnation in the decline during the five years between 2003 and 2008, which is long enough for a noticeable change to be evident. In fact, the Population Reference Bureau estimates TFR of 5.9 for 2008. Clearly, more data are needed to ascertain the consistency and tempo of fertility decline in Nigeria.

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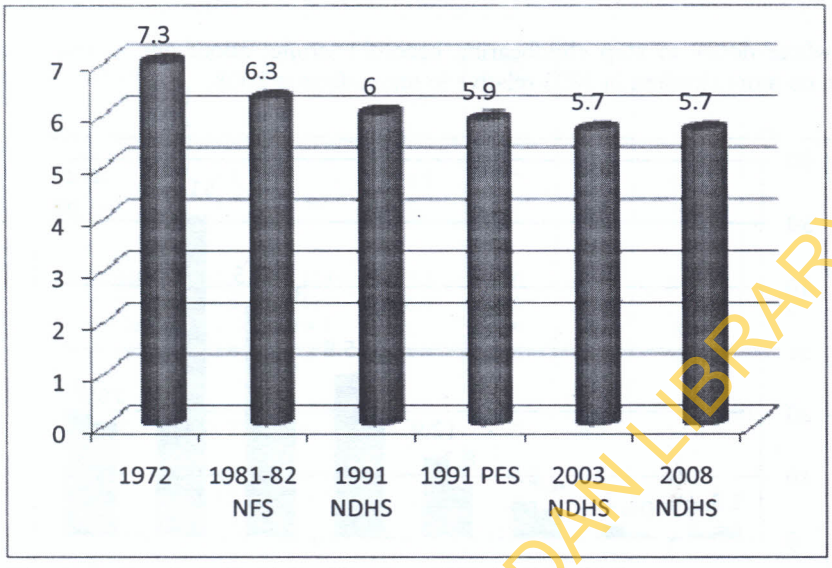

Figure 1: Trends in Total Fertility Rate (TFR), 1972-2008

It should be observed that the outset of fertility decline in Nigeria seems to have coincided with the economic downturn of the mid-1980s and the 1990s occasioned by SAP and the misgovernance of military rule, when Nigeria also suffered severe brain drain. Economic hardship forced many people to postpone or terminate childbearing, even as it forced others to defer marriage and the arrival of the first child. Makinwa-Adebusoye and Feyisetan (1994), who studied this trend in some detail, have noted that in response to the economic crisis, there was the postponement of the next birth, particularly by younger women, and also a reduction in the proportion of women making the transition from one parity to the next. Hence, fertility declined more rapidly among young women below age 20 and women 35 years and above. But crisis-induced fertility decline often reverses when the crisis situation abates. That this has not happened in Nigeria about ten years into the 21st century, with the apparent individual prosperity and freedoms of democratic governance, is perhaps an indication that the Nigerian fertility decline is not a fluke after all.

Other evidence that fertility decline is well under way in Nigeria could be adduced from the completed family size (mean number of children ever born to women age 45-49 who are assumed to have stopped childbearing) and ideal family size derived from women in the 2003 and 2008 NDHS. Completed family size was 7.03 in 2003 and 6.86 in 2008; this means that women who complete their family size now have fewer children than those who completed their five years ago. Furthermore, the mean ideal number of children for currently married women was 7.3 in 2003 and 6.7 in 2008, an indication that Nigerians have started to revise their family size preferences downward. Moreover, the 2003 NDHS shows that 18.1 percent of women age 15-49 want no more children; the corresponding figure for 2008 is 19.3 percent. This pattern is consistent with parity; generally higher proportions of women in 2008 desired no more children at all parities than in 2003 (see Fig 2). For instance, at parity

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four where desire to stop childbearing becomes strong, about one in five women wanted no more children in 2003 relative to one in four in 2008.

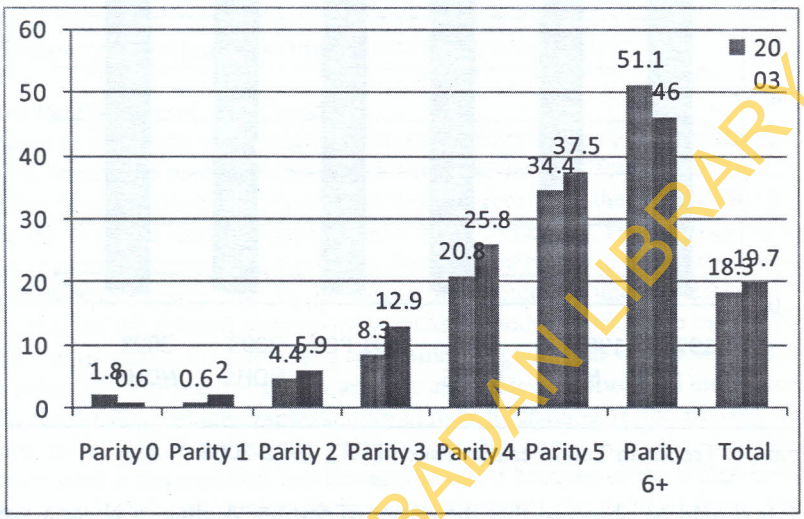

Fig 2: Percentage of currently married women who wanted no more children by parity

Welcome as the declining trends are, they do not tell the entire story. Certainly, they mask considerable variations in fertility across different segments of the population; in other words, they give the erroneous impression that fertility decline is universal in Nigeria. Our examination of the data proves otherwise. We briefly present the evidence in respect of four key variables: place of residence, education, wealth index and zone of residence (Table 1).

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Table 1: Fertility Indices by Selected Background Characteristics, 2003 and 2008

Background variables	2008				2003			
	TFR	% pregnant	Mean CEB at 40-49	Ideal family size	TFR	% pregnant	Mean CEB at 40-49	Ideal family size
Place of Residence:								
Rural	6.3	11.3	6.9	6.7	6.1	12.4	7.1	7.0
Urban	4.7	9.0	5.7	5.2	4.9	9.4	6.2	6.0
Educational Level:								
No school	7.3	12.6	7.3	8.0	6.7	14.8	7.1	8.3
Primary	6.5	11.6	6.6	6.3	6.3	11.0	7.1	6.6
Secondary	4.7	8.3	5.1	4.9	4.7	8.1	5.5	5.2
Tertiary	2.6	8.2	4.1	2.6	2.8	6.2	4.3	4.9
Wealth Quintile:								
Lowest	7.1	13.3	7.3	7.8	6.5	12.8	7.2	7.6
Second	7.0	11.5	7.3	7.3	6.3	13.8	7.2	7.4
Middle	5.9	10.5	6.7	6.4	5.7	13.2	6.7	7.1
Fourth	5.0	8.7	6.3	5.4	5.9	10.2	7.0	6.5
Highest	4.0	8.8	4.8	4.5	4.2	7.8	5.5	5.1
Geo-political Zone:								
North-Central	5.4	10.4	6.4	5.7	5.7	9.4	7.4	6.2
North-East	7.2	12.6	7.5	8.1	7.0	14.2	7.4	7.8
North-West	7.3	13.5	7.7	8.0	6.7	16.2	6.7	8.6
South-East	4.8	8.8	5.8	5.5	4.1	6.8	6.6	5.3
South-South	4.7	8.5	6.2	5.2	4.6	9.0	6.9	5.5
South-West	4.5	8.2	5.0	4.6	4.1	6.0	5.5	4.8
Total	5.7	10.5	6.5	6.1	5.7	11.4	6.8	6.7

Source: NPC & ICP Macro, 2009; NPC & ORC Macro, 2004

Fertility is much higher among rural than urban residents; this is expected and is almost a universal phenomenon; also, there is little evidence that rural fertility has begun to decline. All the fertility indicators in the Table - TFR, mean CEB and ideal family size - show that the fertility of rural women in 2008 was higher than that of urban women by 1.4, 1.2 and 1.5 children respectively. Also, 11.3 percent of rural women were currently pregnant at the time of the survey in 2008 compared to 9 percent of urban women. These findings are consistent with the findings of earlier research by Isiugo-Abanihe (1996; 1997; Isiugo-Abanihe *et al.*, 1993 and others). Cities are often crowded, leaving less room for a large family; childrearing in an urban setting is more intensive of the woman's time in the absence of relatives who could lend a helping hand; city dwellers are exposed to new ideas through the mass media, and young children cannot be put to productive work among urban parents who value children's education more than their rural counterparts (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994c; 1999).

Maternal level of education is inversely related to fertility, with women in the secondary and tertiary categories having 2.6 and 4.7 fewer children than those with no formal schooling. The total fertility rate and completed fertility of women with no education and those with some primary education are virtually unchanged between 2003 and 2008; in fact, TFR seems to be rising. The measures clearly indicate that low fertility is now well established among women with secondary and tertiary education

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in Nigeria, while their sisters with lower levels of education continue to have high fertility. The reasons for this are psychological, social, biological and financial. Educated women are the first to learn about new opportunities and technologies; they communicate better with their husbands who are also more likely to listen to them. They have many interests outside the home; they plan their careers better, and they learn to balance resources and obligations. Furthermore, they stay in school longer often to their mid-twenties or later, thus reducing opportunities for early marriage and childbearing. Because they also tend to spend more money on the education of their children as well as on family leisure, many of them, therefore, cannot afford large families (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994b; 1994c; 1996; 1999).

Wealth index, measured in quintiles, shows that in Nigeria the poor are having more children than the rich. The poor have higher family size ideal, higher proportion of women pregnant in the year, higher completed family size, and higher current fertility. The evidence is so irresistible that one is tempted to say that the poor are indeed having children as if that will bring them out of poverty. Wealth index is related to residence and educational level; therefore, the reasons above for low fertility with respect to urbanization and education are applicable. In particular, richer women prefer high quality children and face high opportunity cost for having a large family size; they also have high status and do not have to have a large family size to gain respect (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994d, 1996b; Isiugo-Abanihe & Nwokocha, 2008).

Zone of residence is a very interesting variable with respect to fertility, and to be sure, for other demographic indicators. Evidently, the three northern zones behave alike and greatly differ from the three southern zones. In particular, North-East and North-West have total fertility in excess of seven children, and any change between 2003 and 2008 is a rising tendency; the same pattern is evident for family size preference and completed family size. On the contrary, women in South- East, South-South and South-West have total fertility below five children in 2003 and 2008, with the 2003 rates strangely lower than those of 2008, probably a product of data quality. While fertility in the northern zones is a continuity of the rates prevalent in the country three or more decades ago, a definite change has taken place in the southern zones, with total fertility declining to the levels for countries such as Ghana and Kenya that are at relatively advanced stages of fertility transition.

The picture that emerges from these results is that Nigerian women who reside in urban areas, with better education, higher incomes, and live in the southern part of the country have significantly fewer children than less educated, poorer women, and those who reside in rural areas, and the northern part of the country. However, this generalization does not end the matter. What stimuli do people in a high fertility society respond to in opting for a smaller family size? What are the more specific factors that persuade people to have fewer children or make others continue to have as many as God provides? Which factors should be given priority by governments that want to slow down population growth? Answers to these questions and more would help us to provide some explanations for the changes and continuities in Nigeria's fertility regime.

Continuity and Change in Nigeria's Fertility

In his classic analysis of the historic fertility declines in Japan and the West, Kingsley Davis propounded the theory of multiphasic response (Davis, 1963). According to him, declining mortality leads to sustained natural increase of the population, which in

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a context of economic development threatens couples and individuals with relative economic deprivation, and hampers their taking advantage of opportunities for personal economic advancement. This, in turn, leads to the resort to one or more of a wide variety of responses for dealing with natural increase – out-migration from areas of population pressure, delayed marriage and avoidance of marriage, and use of available means of fertility control within marriage, including abortion, sterilization, and contraception. The basic driving forces in the process are seen as demographic (lower mortality and sustained population increase) and economic (increasing productivity and opportunities coupled with a more or less universal bent toward economic rationality at the individual level). Social structure and institutions are important, but more as influencing which of the various possible responses are chosen than as determining whether some response will be forthcoming (Burch, 1975). Given the stimuli, the theory asserts that the response will take place, or at least historically always has taken place.

Means of fertility control play an important role in the process, but they are treated as relatively unproblematic for two reasons. First, control for marital fertility is only one line of population control response, along with migration and delay or avoidance of marriage. Secondly, some form of fertility control is assumed always known and available, for example, abortion and abstinence. Given the proper demographic and economic conditions, motivation to limit growth and fertility will arise, and will find effective expression. Specific cultural traditions or values are accorded relatively minor roles as independent causal factors. They are viewed as epiphenomenal, as reflective of material conditions and social structure, and as exercising little influence on human behaviour, which proceeds fundamentally along lines of economic rationality (Burch, 1975).

In his restatement of the demographic transition theory, Ansley Coale (1973) stressed the empirical variety of actual patterns of fertility decline, and presented generalizations in a few very broad statements of process. Briefly, Coale posited three preconditions for substantial fertility decline as follows:

1. Acceptance of calculated choice as a valid element in natural fertility, that is, fertility must be within the calculus of conscious choice. Potential parents must consider it an acceptable mode of thought and form of behaviour to balance advantages and disadvantages before deciding to have another child – unlike in a traditional society or some religious sects who would consider such calculations immoral and consequently do not control marital fertility.
2. The existence of and perception of advantages from reduced fertility, in other words, reduced fertility must be advantageous. Perceived social and economic circumstances must make reduced fertility seem an advantage to individual couples.
3. Knowledge and mastery of effective techniques of control, that is, procedures that will, in fact, prevent births must be known, and there must be sufficient communication between spouses and sufficient sustained will, in both, to employ them successfully.

These three preconditions are seen as inevitable concomitants of high degree of modernization, but one or more may occur prior to such modernization. While the ultimate dependent variable in Coale's model is decline in overall societal fertility,

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equal stress is accorded marriage patterns and marital fertility as demographic factors underlying such decline.

For the causal factors, reference is made to socioeconomic modernization, lowered mortality, the availability of contraceptive techniques, and a variety of subjective factors, including accurate knowledge of changed conditions, a rational attitude toward family size and fertility control. Notable by way of contrast with many earlier statements of transition theory is Coale's strong emphasis on the causal relevance of what can most simply be termed culture - linguistic, regional, or religious traditions, 'unmeasured traditions and habits of mind.' These are seen as necessary to explain differences in the process that 'cannot be explained by recorded socioeconomic characteristics'. Culture advances or impedes attainment of the three preconditions, and presumably influences the choice of specific means for the reduction of societal fertility. Another important variable in Coale's model is that of diffusion, both social and spatial, of modern patterns of nuptiality and marital fertility. It is assumed that the advent of fertility decline can be hastened through processes of imitation and informal communication, to some degree independently of other causal factors. Culture, in particular regional culture, is in turn seen as hindering or facilitating diffusion.

The intergenerational wealth flow theory proposed by the Australian population scientist, John Caldwell (1976), also tries to restate the demographic transition with respect to the situation in developing countries of Asia and Africa. As a matter of fact, the theory is based mainly on Caldwell's many study expeditions to Africa, especially among the Yoruba, and his studies in Nigeria were mostly anchored from the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, where he was a Research Fellow in the 1960s and 1970s. Caldwell states that the fundamental issue in demographic transition, or more specifically fertility decline is the direction and magnitude of intergenerational wealth flows or the net balance of the two flows – one from parents to children and the other from children to parents – over the period from when people become parents until they die. Wealth is defined as the sum total of the contributions of children to parents as well as those from parents to children. In one society, the net flow of wealth is towards parents hence high fertility is rational, and in the other, the net flow is toward children and hence low fertility is rational.

In a pre-modern society much of the wealth flow is from children to parents, whereas it is from parents to children in modern societies. In general, the theory holds that in societies of every type and stage of development, fertility behaviour is rational, and fertility is high or low as a result of economic benefits to individuals, couples or families. Whether high or low fertility is economically rational is determined by social conditions: primarily by the direction of intergenerational wealth flow. According to Caldwell, this flow has been from younger to older generations in all traditional societies; and it is apparently impossible for a reversal of flow to occur before the family is largely nucleated both emotionally and economically. A fair amount of emotional nucleation is needed for economic nucleation to occur; and considerable amounts of both are required before parents are free to indulge in ever greater expenditures on their children.

The foregoing theoretical perspectives provide the platform for analyzing continuity and change in Nigeria's fertility regime. Nigeria is heterogeneous and ethnically diverse, with more than 389 ethnic groups (Otite, 2000). It is a country of great diversity, artificially put together for administrative convenience by the British

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Colonial masters in 1914, in what has been termed Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates. The very nature of the amalgamation gave rise to rivalries not only between the two former protectorates but also among the regions and states subsequently created, as well as among ethnic and sub-ethnic groups, and these have not always been healthy.

For the purpose of population, the fact that political representation and revenue allocation are often tied to population size entails sufficient or elevated interest in numbers, which explains why census figures tend to be overstated to give localities some advantages. Therefore, among the many minority ethnic groups, advocating for family planning runs the risk of being interpreted as a deliberate attempt by the major ethnic groups to maintain their numerical advantage and perpetually keep the minorities down. Yet under such a social political setting, one may ask, whose interest does fertility (and hence population) reduction serve? Is it that of the individual, ethnic groups or the country? The theories reviewed above suggest that the interests of individuals supersede those of the society or State because it is individual couples who bear the immediate cost as well as the benefits of family size. But the society or culture affects or influences individual action; hence, pronatalist or antinatalist tendencies are socio-culturally determined. This is demonstrated by the large variation in fertility indices by rural/urban residence, educational attainment, level of poverty or affluence, and geo-political zone of residence (Tables 1 and 2).

In societies like Nigeria, where most childbearing takes place within marriage, the number of women who marry, and the age at which they do so, are very powerful determinants of fertility. Historically, in Europe, as well as in North Africa, changes in proportions of women who marry and increase in age at marriage were associated with a decline in fertility. The results of the 2008 NDHA on the median age at first marriage and childbearing among Nigerian women, as well as those desiring to limit their childbearing, use of contraception, and have begun childbearing at the teenage age, are presented in Table 2. The median age at first marriage in Nigeria is low at 18.3 years and correspondingly the median age at first birth (20.4 years). On average, women in urban areas marry about four years later than those in rural areas, and have their first babies about three years later. Also, whereas only 12 percent of urban women age 15-19 have begun childbearing, about 29 percent of their rural counterparts have so begun. One urban woman in five desires to limit childbearing, and about 17 percent of women age 15-49 are using modern contraceptives. The corresponding figures for rural areas are 17.3 percent and 6.5 percent. These figures, together with those presented in Table 1, are clearly indicative of change in urban fertility, and continuity of high fertility in rural areas.

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Table 2: Marriage and Childbearing Characteristics of Nigerian women, 2008

Background Variables	Median age at first marriage, women age 25-49	Median age at first birth, women age 25-49	Percent of women age 15-49 who desire to limit childbearing	Percentage of currently married women age 15-49 using modern contraception	Percentage of women age 15-19 who have begun childbearing
Residence:					
Urban	21.1	22.3	24.9	16.7	12.0
Rural	16.9	19.5	17.3	6.5	28.7
Educational Level:					
No education	15.5	18.3	14.8	2.6	55.3
Primary	18.3	19.7	25.8	12.0	26.5
Secondary	22.0	22.8	22.0	17.4	8.9
Tertiary	25.5	26.7	26.2	23.5	2.7
Wealth Quintile:					
Lowest	15.4	18.5	12.4	2.5	45.8
Second	15.9	18.8	15.9	3.8	32.5
Middle	17.9	19.7	20.7	7.8	20.7
Fourth	19.9	21.1	23.4	14.1	15.8
Highest	23.1	24.1	28.2	22.3	4.9
Geo-political zone:					
North-Central	18.3	20.0	19.5	10.5	22.2
North-East	15.6	18.2	13.4	3.5	39.3
North-West	15.2	18.3	10.1	2.5	44.6
South-East	22.8	23.6	28.2	11.8	8.1
South-South	20.9	21.4	27.1	15.5	11.9
South-West	21.8	22.7	31.6	21.0	8.8
Total	18.3	20.4	19.7	9.7	22.9

Source: NPC & ICP Macro, 2009

Educational level and wealth index show the same pattern, and suggest that urban, better educated and upwardly mobile and empowered women or women of high status have broken from the pronatalist tradition. They have different lifestyles and face high opportunity costs in childbearing; they are the first to perceive declining childhood mortality because they are better able to afford quality health care for their children. They do not need so many confinements to realize their family size goal, which is already low. Furthermore, they are more likely to have egalitarian relationships with their spouses, who are expectedly more likely to be receptive of their views (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1997; 1999). One way this is glaringly manifested is in spousal communication about family matters, including whether or not to have the next child and the use of family planning (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1998; Oyediran & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2002; Wusu & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2003). In other words, these women seem to have met Coale's pre-conditions for sustained fertility decline and have also experienced a downward reversal in wealth flow from parents to children with a strong preference for quality rather than quantity of children.

There are clear and distinct north-south differences in all fertility indicators as typified by the dichotomy in the data between South-West and North-West and between South-East and North-East (see Tables 1 and 2). Mean age at first marriage is highest in the South-East followed by the South-West and lowest in North-West and

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North-East. Women in South-East marry 7.2 years later than those in North-East, and women in South-West marry 6.6 years later than those in North-West; these translate into many years of forgone childbearing. Applying the Bongaarts model, we found the fertility inhibiting effect of marriage for the entire country to be 26 percent; it is more than 40 percent in the south but only 9 percent in the North. Age at first childbearing shows the characteristic north-south dichotomy. The proportion of 15-19 year-olds that has begun childbearing is only 8 percent in the SE, about 9 percent in the SW, but 39.3 percent in the NE and 44.6 percent in the NW. The low age at marriage and childbearing in Northern Nigeria has strong cultural and religious underpinnings (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994c; 2000); there is no sign in the horizon to suggest that this pattern will change soon. Coupled with this is the high level of polygyny and the concomitant large spousal age difference, two phenomena that encourage fertility and serve to subject women to the control of men, who are not only older and more experienced but also more affluent.

Data on the use of modern contraception indicate that women in the south have begun to break with the tradition of natural fertility and are transiting to a controlled fertility regime. The proportions of currently married women age 15-49 that were presently using modern contraceptives in 2008 in the SE, SS and SW were 11.8, 15.5 and 21.0 percent respectively; the corresponding figures for NC, NE, and NW were 10.5, 3.5 and 2.3 percent respectively. The potential for further contraceptive use is high throughout the country, but this will be more rapid in the south on account of higher maternal levels of education, more upward mobility of women and more male cooperation in the use of contraceptives (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1998; 2003). Related to this is the high percent of women in the south who desired to terminate childbearing (about 30 percent) compared with the low proportion in the north (about 13 percent). All these factors are responsible for higher fertility in the North as borne out by TFR of 7.2 in NE and 7.3 in NW, and ideal family size of eight children; TFR and ideal family size in the south are about 4.6 and 5 children. This implies that a woman in the north has about 2.6 more children than her counterpart in the south, and desires a family size of three more children.

Generally, women in the north, especially North-Western and North-Eastern zones, have persisted in the high fertility characteristic of traditional societies where intergenerational wealth flows are from children to parents. It should also be said that the prerequisites for fertility decline are absent in most of the north, and deeply entrenched customs oppose their introduction. Most potential parents in the north are yet to consider it an acceptable mode of thought and form of behaviour to balance advantages and disadvantages before deciding to have another child. In fact, our studies reveal that under the prevailing high level of fatalism, such calculations are largely regarded as immoral because 'we do not know more than Allah who gives children' (Isiugo-Abanihe, 2003). Besides, in the customary social reality of Northern Nigeria, reduced fertility has not been viewed as advantageous, neither is there sufficient spousal communication nor a sustained will, on their part, to adopt family planning, a term that is not used in most parts of the north in order not to attract the wrath of 'gatekeepers' and even government officials, which will lead to outright rejection of its introduction.

While nucleation of the family and progressive obliteration of the extended family have weakened the influence it exerted on reproductive behaviour in the south,

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the Hausa-Fulani extended family structure has undergone little change. Related to this, emotional bonding in the south is growing stronger and has engendered greater spousal independence in reproductive decision-making. Further, while more couples in the south are exhibiting independence in mate selection, aided by high educational attainment, most marriages in the north are early and arranged and, consequently, women are inevitably exposed to many years of childbearing. To break these deeply entrenched customs requires active involvement and enlightenment of men, who, although hold sway in all spheres of life, are currently ironically not given their rightful position in fertility studies. We now turn to the male role in fertility in Nigeria on which subject I was at the vanguard.

Male Role in Fertility

Until recently, the study of fertility in Nigeria has focused almost exclusively on women's reproductive attitudes and behavior. This research emphasis largely ignored the reproductive motivation of men, and thereby tended to belittle or downplay the impact of compelling sociological and institutional factors that favour Nigerian men in marital and family life issues. Nigerian men are dominant in the family as household heads, as custodians of lineage interests and protectors and providers of the family. Furthermore, the social and economic dependence of wives on their husbands gives men enormous influence in the household, a position that is strengthened and maintained by a patrilineally organized family structure. In Nigeria, men constitute the dominant decision-makers not only in family circles but also in the society as well. Given that men dominate in family life, and that men gain socially and economically from having many children (and wives), and that their reproductive preferences and motivation usually influence their wives' reproductive outcomes, it is of uttermost importance that we understand the reproductive motivation of men, and their role and responsibility in family life decisions and how these help to sustain high fertility.

It goes without saying that the persistence of high fertility in Nigeria, despite many years of programme intervention, may be related, at least in part, to the characteristic fixation by researchers with the views and practice of women as childbearers, and the failure to recognize and study men as effective decision-makers on reproductive issues and as important agents of change in the society. More than ever before, gaining a clearer insight into male responsibility in these matters is beneficial, particularly for programme formulation and implementation with regard to the goals and strategies of the Nigerian population policy. A national study was therefore designed, employing the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) approach, aimed at providing the needed understanding of the role of men in family life decisions, with the view of elucidating the power and authority structure among different ethnic groups in Nigeria.

The result of our study demonstrated that by virtue of tradition and associated social and cultural factors, Nigerian men have a profound influence on their wives, and on decisions about family life. Male attitudes and values strongly influence family relations and the location of power in the home. Several interrelated factors foster an authoritarian, male-dominated social structure.

First, patriarchy and patrilineal traditions place men at a dominant position in the society and the family. Thus, generally, men are above women in the social hierarchy, and women owe them deference in several ways irrespective of the man's age, position or accomplishment. Patriarchy promotes high fertility by providing special incentives among women for a large family size, and by maintaining a system of familial

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structure that relegates women to a subordinate position in family life decisions. Second, the prevailing marriage factors: male initiation and selection of their partners, type of marriage, arranged marriage, payment of bridewealth and the virilocal norm, give men a great deal of influence over their wives. Women are, therefore, expected to fulfil a traditional sex-role as good wives and mothers. Third, the values and practices that subjugate women are also deeply rooted in religion. The three main religious groups in Nigeria (Christianity, Islam and the indigenous Nigerian religions) share a rare agreement with respect to the position of the woman in the home. These religions prescribe that women should obey their husbands, be submissive to them and feed the family members. Women, therefore, view these roles and functions as primary and moral responsibilities. Fourth, economic realities confer on men the status of providers and breadwinners of the family, and women generally depend on men for their sustenance and well-being. Some men, as a result, disapprove of their wives working outside the home, or acquiring personal property, in a bid to ensure their dependence on their husbands, and thereby maintain their compliance to the whims and caprices of men.

These traditional values continue to shape conjugal relations, notwithstanding the forces of modernization. Yet strong male chauvinistic and traditional views prevailed in all the five towns where the research was conducted, suggesting that pronatalist attitudes would not come crashing down in a hurry. We found that, in the main, the motivation to limit family size or use of family planning is driven by the prevailing adverse economic situation in the country rather than dissatisfaction with large family size per se. This, perhaps, partly explains the widespread rejection and disapproval of permanent methods of contraception, with the allegory that "no one knows tomorrow". Furthermore, the study found some ambiguity on women's responses to the issue of their autonomy and economic independence, on the one hand, and the gender roles, on the other. While they suggested that women should be provided with more opportunities to improve themselves, they would not want their gender roles changed on account of their successes.

We found that Nigerian men desire more children than women, and there are many reasons for this (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994b; 2003). For instance, in justifying a large family size in Zaria, repeated reference was made in the FGDs to one's chances of producing a 'Head of State' or the 'President' or otherwise a popular person, an obvious linkage between reproductive behaviour and the political culture. Furthermore, there were spirited discussions of economic gains derivable from prolific childbearing in a land tenure system where men with a larger family size get more plots. Because they have higher family size desires, men also use traditional sanctions at their disposal to 'encourage', threaten or intimidate their wives into compliance. Traditional values are difficult to change; however, educating men on the simple dynamics of population change, the health risks of early and late motherhood, the new realities of contemporary society, and the like will enable them to appreciate the need to reduce their family size desires. To minimize family conflicts involving the use or non-use of family planning methods, men should be involved and encouraged to communicate and dialogue with their spouses on family size, the timing of births and contraceptive use.

We identified the skewed provider-research emphasis on women's reproductive attitudes and behaviour as an important reason for the minimal impact of family planning on family life decision in Nigeria. Men consider themselves marginalized, and this neglect on the part of service providers contributes to the characteristic lack of male

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cooperation as regards family planning for their spouses. It is, therefore, imperative to make men an integral part of family planning programmes to facilitate programme receptivity. Furthermore, women rarely make important family decisions; there is little support for female decision to adopt family planning. In fact, in some parts of northern Nigeria a woman would not on her own even take her sick child to hospital unless her husband so decides or approves. A woman may not even decide to go to hospital, even in an emergency such as child delivery, without her husband's approval. Clearly, the situation in the family calls for information, education and communication programmes directed at men, and programmes to enhance the status and autonomy of women through specific education and training. With respect to contraceptive use, a strong indication is provided by our study on the need for a family planning programme to adopt a holistic approach as much as possible. While family planning methods are to be made available to married women, secret use of contraceptives could jeopardize their marriages and thus expose them to unanticipated hazards of a normally cynical world.

For family planning to succeed, it is important that men should lend it their utmost support. There is thus the need to organize family planning and family life education with men. The ultimate end is to make it possible for family planning enlightenment to be home-based. Possibly, it is better epistemologically and morally for family planning to be delivered to members of the population on a couple-by-couple basis, in the home setting. This approach is not affected by the 'clinical' atmosphere of the maternity centres or clinics but provides a more conducive environment in which the knowledge gained will be applied.

Greater social visibility of women and their active involvement in public life will immensely help to reduce preference for male children, which is a major cause of high fertility. Of course, the role of the family in this regard is of profound importance because the issue touches on the more fundamental process of socialization, for which the family is central (Isiugo-Abanihe & Obono, 1999). Sexual discrimination indeed starts in the home with differential treatment, functions, norms and expectations for boys and girls, most of which inherently confer the position of superiority on boys over girls. Among the goals that will enhance the status of women are female education and work participation, property rights for women, and inheritance rights for females both as daughters and as wives.

Conclusion

Patterns and trends in fertility in Nigeria are discussed in this chapter with the aim of providing explanations for the changes and continuities observed in marital fertility in the country. The discourse underscores the distinct north-south dichotomy in fertility indices, a function of differential social, cultural and economic development between the north and the south. While fertility transition generally has been well under way in the south, it is still negligible in the North. The two fertility regimes emanating from this pattern are those of high and persistent high fertility in the north, and moderately high but declining fertility in the south.

For declines in fertility to begin and be sustained in the north, there must be changes in fertility norms toward smaller family size, which also implies substantial social development. Consistent with the Davis and Caldwell's theories, the preconditions for sustained fertility decline are yet to be widespread in the north, where intergenerational wealth flow among the majority of the people is from children to parents. A surplus of more than two children separates a woman in the south from

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one in the north, which is explained by higher age at marriage and higher contraceptive prevalence in the south among women whose lifestyles and worldview have undergone substantial change as a result of higher education, urban residence, higher status of women, and upward mobility, all of which are in conflict with prolific childbearing.

It is hardly surprising that rural residence, illiteracy and poverty predispose women to high fertility; children come by chance among people whose pastime is no more than to retire behind closed doors after the day's toil. Poverty breeds children, and more children perpetuate poverty, hence the rising proportion of Nigerians who are categorized as poor. Indeed, children are wealth to the poor, being the hands and legs of their parents, and contributing substantially to family income in cash and in kind. One needs to go on Nigerian roads to see the number of children who eke out a living on the roads. If they are not selling sachet water or chewing sticks, they are carrying load in the market, begging or filling pot-holes, or pretending to do so, as a means of soliciting for money from motorists. The children of the poor are more likely to endanger their lives through this type of exploitative child labour. The almajiri phenomenon in northern Nigeria, though essentially a socio-religious tradition, has ensured that a large number of boy-children from poor parental background are always on the road begging and eating out of garbage heaps in motor parks. Even if perchance one of them grows up to become a president or governor, what is the fate of a thousand others who may be condemned to the menial job of 'maiguard' or water-boys or hawking all sorts of wares to make ends meet.

Essential for fertility reduction in Nigeria are poverty alleviation and mass education which will definitely enhance the lot of women and predispose them toward a modern way of life, which fertility reduction essentially is. Reduced childhood mortality will also assure couples that their children have a good chance of survival to adulthood, and that they need not have 10 children to achieve their desired family size of four or five children. We underscore the need to design programmes to foster more responsible behaviour among men in family life decision-making. The primary goal of such an effort will be to reduce male preference for a large family size, with the inculcation of high aspiration for children, and to decrease male opposition to the use of family planning methods by their wives and also by they themselves. The specific objectives should include increasing male awareness of the micro and macro advantages of lower fertility, the benefits of family planning, and knowledge about types and availability of methods, and also to increase the use of contraceptives among couples, and to dispel rumours or misconceptions about specific contraceptive methods. An important programme strategy implicit from our work is that any such programme must be culture-sensitive, taking into cognizance the cultural norms and values of different ethnic groups in Nigeria.

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SECTION FIVE
IDENTITY AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

IDENTITY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Omobowale, Ayokunle Olumuyiwa, Ugbem, Comfort Erima
Olutayo, Akinpelu Olanrewaju

Introduction

In recent decades, increasing attention is being paid to the subject of identity as a subjective aspect of human action. Identity was previously regarded as innate, objective and remained constant, irrespective of social situation. Groups were seen as homogenous possessing invariant characteristics that remained more or less permanent irrespective of social situation. This view began to lose its relevance with the works of Luckmann and Berger, George Herbert Mead and Charles Horton Cooley (Ashley and Orenstein, 2007; Cerulo, 1997; Abraham, 1982). Their works portrayed identity as being a social construction which is subject to further reconstructions as individuals continue to interact with one another. Aside their works, the rise of feminist, racial, ethnic and religious movements over the years further point to the fact that identity is a product of the exchange of subjectivities among individuals and groups in the society as well the fact that identity can be mobilized as a tool for mass action leading violent and non violent conflict (Luckmann and Berger, 1966). Alubo 2009 defines identity as

> *a combination of socio-cultural characteristics which individuals share or are presumed to share with others on the basis of which one group may be distinguished from one another. Identity is a group concept in the sense that it is based on traits which make individuals members of a group; such traits also provide response to the questions who am I?" identity has a combination of ethnic, religious, class and other layers which refer to the same person in self definition or defined by others. Identity as defined persists irrespective of whether the people so labelled accept the definition(s). Thus people who might see themselves as different may be seen by others as one of them (Page 122).*

Thus, identity is about social categorization and self definition in relation to others. Identity inherently connotes a principle of "us" and "them" in social interaction. This means that identity is used to categorize, emphasise and, in some cases, contest differences. In essence, identity, beyond defining individuals, places them within social settings, thus making identity a critical aspect of the social structure and social interactions in the society. The construction of identity is as a result of both cohesive and dialectic interactions between individuals, groups and the larger society. These processes involve internal and external opinions and processes as well as group, self and outsiders view about the group. In this vein, social interactions modify, reshape and maintain identity. Identity defines our in- groups and out-groups latently defining how people view others and interact with them. The multi-layered nature of identity further enhances its role in the structuring of interactions among individuals in the society. Identity is multilayered in the sense that it could encompass ethnicity, religion, age, occupation, race, sexuality in reference to one person. One layer of identity may be emphasised in one social situation but deemphasised in another. For instance, in Nigeria, ethnic identity is more overtly emphasised in the Western and Eastern parts of the country, while in the North, religious identity is more overtly emphasised along with ethnic identity. Identity is a very salient issue in Nigeria. This

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is because it inherently connotes citizenship and is a major factor in the distribution of resources. Citizenship in Nigeria is dependent on ethnic identity, and it is this ethnic identity that gives admission in schools, access to employment, scholarship, land and other resources, officially on the basis of federal character, and unofficially on the basis of group protection and/or nepotism. Identity determines your placement and opportunities in the society as it has material benefits all linked with ones place of origin.

Identity and Social Structure

Identity gives strong notions of belongingness and inclusiveness among actors who share the same identity, while at the same time excluding others. Identity serves as social relations of construction of the elements that make a people. It indicates who "a people" are, what the symbol of their representation in material and immaterial culture is, and the categories of people that may be accepted as part of unified and/or common identity on the basis of popularly acceptable but often taken for granted elements and procedures of everyday life (Bond, 2006; Brewer, 2001; Rankin, 2001). As cultural trait, identity socially unifies a people and indicates the society under which the people are unified.

The social relations of identity and the dynamics of its construction are direct outcomes of subsisting social structure and vice versa. Social structure entails the totality of social relations, patterns of behaviour, rules, institutions, norms, values and roles across major societal institutions. Though socially constructed and re-constructed by actors through social interactions, the social structure holds the ace in defining acceptable conduct and social expectations (Ridgeway, 2006; Harré, 2002; Eisenstadt, 1986). Through the socialization process, the social structure configures who we are. It creates identity within which a people are recognised. It generates the "self concept" over life time (Therkelsen and Gram, 2008), constructing a social being out of the biological being. Gradual transformation from pure biological being to the social being ensures a place for the individual in the society. It is the social being that is able to generate and modify his or her "self-concept" (Freeman, 2001; Burkitt, 1994) within socially acceptable ends in orderly system of social relations and societal development. On the other hand, actors are also capable of redefining and reconstructing their social structures on the basis of prevalent social relations. As much as the social structure guides human behaviour and social interactions, it does not exact absolute control on actors. Actors make up the social structure. Ultimately their actions and social relations would define the normative elements of the social structure, which would in turn be pivotal to the social construction of the "self" and finally social identity.

The "self" that has been socially defined and identified exists within a social structure that is encompassed by particular social identity. Social identity transforms the "self" from individuality to a social being, an actor existing within a group or society. As a social being, an actor is impacted by the social structure, and the actor also consciously or unconsciously participates in the process of sustenance and modification of the social structure. An actor, as a social being, becomes conscious of the "inclusion" and "embeddedness" of other actors within his or her immediate social structure and the exclusion those outside it. In this wise, the totality of group or societal material and immaterial culture, including norms, values, expectations, religious practices, roles, fashion, food and other indices, physically identifies group members and exclude non-members and concretizes and/or reifies "social identity" as

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social reality. The inclusion-exclusion context plays major roles in group solidarity and cohesion and concomitant intergroup contests and conflicts. This is especially reflected in the Nigeria case. This is further discussed below.

The Nigerian Experience

Issues of solidarity, inclusion and exclusion have been prominent in Nigeria's social scene from the time of its creation till date. The mobilization of various forms of identity to the exclusion of others has resulted in violent and non-violent conflicts and as such different social groups especially ethnic groups live in mutual suspicion and fear of one another. Nigeria was created by the British in 1914 through the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates. This amalgamation process and structure inherently had contradictions which later played out as exclusion/ inclusion issues and overtly created a theatre for continuous creation, redefinition, emphasis and the contest for /of identities. As such, Nigeria presents itself as a state where issues of identities are contested keenly among structure based social actors, many times to the exclusion of "others" outside their social structure and identity. Historically, the various human groupings that were brought together forcefully to form Nigeria existed as independent nations or human groups having their own culture, language, political and social structures. There human groups were selectively colonised and brought under the Southern and Northern protectorates thereby creating a northern and southern identity for these groups.

Inherent in these protectorates was a situation where population and perceived cultural superiority was used to create a social structural arrangement were particular ethnic groups were subsumed under the larger ones. This latently created a structure of interactions whereby some groups were regarded as inferior, backward, in comparison with a dominant ethnic group. The Southern protectorate had ethnic groups like Igbo and Yoruba dominating, while the Northern protectorate had ethnic groups like the Hausa Fulani dominating. To create room for effective exploitation a tripod structure was created using the Southern and Northern protectorates. The Northern protectorate comprised the Hausa Fulani and some other ethnic groups which were regarded as minorities and subsumed under the Hausa Fulani. The Southern region was then divided into the Western and Eastern region having Yoruba and Igbo having a dominance of Yoruba and Igbo identity respectively. This arrangement resulted in the creation of a centre which access to have to be on the platform of a (dominant) ethnic group. As a result, the political elite contested for access to the centre on the platform of the three dominant ethnic groups. Political parties and other political activities were organised on the platform of ethnic groups. As such, one's placement in the Nigerian society became more dependent on ethnicity than any other form of identity. This arrangement covertly excluded the ethnic minorities in the three regions from the Nigeria political process and structure.

The Northern region was the largest by geography and ethnic composition. The Emirate and the Caliphate system of the Hausa-Fulani was imposed on the other ethnic groups. The Hausa Fulani system of rule was regarded more effective than the classless and stateless societies which the other ethnic operated. As a result, they created a structure where the Hausa-Fulani controlled power and resources. Hausa was used as the language of instruction and communication. These minority groups were tagged as pagans who had to be civilized by the Hausa and the colonialists. As a result,

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a Hausa-Fulani identity was imposed on these ethnic groups. While other ethnic groups in the other regions regarded these ethnic groups as Hausa, the Hausa-Fulani regarded these groups as Banza Bakwai meaning the seven illegitimate Hausa. The actions of the Hausa Fulani as well as the colonialists overtly resulted in the ethnic groups being viewed as inferior and excluded them from the political process and structure of the Northern region.

The Eastern and Western region also had groups subsumed under the Igbo and the Yoruba identity respectively. In the east, ethnic groups like Efik, Ibibio, Yala, Ogoni, Ijaw and other numerous ethnic groups were subsumed under the Igbo, while the Edo, Ishan, Isoko, and others well subsumed under the Yoruba. This regional arrangement gave rise to the reconstruction of identities and violent contestations for inclusion in the Nigeria political process and structure. Thus, under colonialism, Nigeria lost the variable of relative autonomy, which was characteristic of their interactions with their neighbours during the pre-colonial era (Saka and arArazeem, 2007; Rustard, 2009). Interactions among the nations and groups were redefined and structured along lines of identity. History, language and cultural symbols which are an integral part of identity were reconfigured and subsumed under more dominant ones, thus reconfiguring interactions among these ethnic groups to be that of mutual suspicion, hatred and rivalry. Therefore, at an abstract level, these groups identify with the geographical entity called Nigeria, while at a more practical level, they do not have collective allegiance to Nigeria but to their ethnic groups.

Identity reconstruction and contests for inclusion became more prominent at the wake of independence. Since access to the centre was on the basis of one's identity, especially at the level of ethnic groups, there was fierce competition for control of the centre by the political elite of the three dominant ethnicities. Parties were formed with an ethnic/ identity undertone. The Western region had Action Group as the dominant party, while the North had the Northern Peoples Congress, and the Eastern region dominated by the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. While all these were going on, identity reconstruction was going on at the regions, where minority groups were reconstructing identities and forming alliances that would create a platform for their inclusion in the Nigeria political process and structure. Throughout the 1950s till independence was a period of episodic deliberations over Nigeria's constitutional future. In the Northern region, the minority ethnic groups or pagan tribes created a "middle belt identity" along with a political party, to create a platform for inclusion, while the minorities in the eastern region created COR-Calabar, Ogoja and Rivers identity (Nwajiaku- Dahoo, 2009; Jega, 2000; Mustapha, 2000).

Alongside the construction and reconstruction, there were riots by minority ethnic groups in the regions. In the northern region, this was manifested the Tin mine riots in Jos in 1945 where the natives of Jos contested the control of the Hausa-Fulani in the Jos tin mine and the Tiv riots in 1959, 1960 and 1964 which also resulted from the repression of the Tiv by the Hausa-Fulani and the government in the defunct Northern region (Obi, 2004; Ojie and Ewhrudjakpor, 2009). Hence, at independence in 1960 Nigeria was still an artificial union of multiple identity groups with a centre which was keenly contested to the exclusion of others on the platform of ethnicity. It is important to note that the creation of Nigeria also took away the control of resources from the various human groupings that made up Nigeria and concentrated it in a centre under the colonialists. This centre was then transferred to the political elite that inherited power from the colonialists. This centre till date happens to be the sure way

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to quick wealth, so it is keenly contested for by political elites of the various ethnic groups to the exclusion of others. This in a way made the identity of ethnic groups more salient and created a structure of interactions between the individual and the state where the only platform of access has to be on one's ethnicity. As such, the average Nigerian introduces himself by his state of origin cum ethnic group. In the Northern region, there is a little departure from this as religious identity along with ethnic identity creates a platform for access to resources. While the colonialist introduced education and created a conducive atmosphere for the Christian missionaries in the South region, the North was divided politically and culturally into Muslims and the pagans. Education was minimally introduced, and the work of missionaries did not receive the support of the colonial government. This created an atmosphere where the Hausa Fulani/Muslims regarded as having a superior system of social organization, were imposed on the pagan tribes as chiefs, tax collectors and court judges. The pagan tribes were regarded as infidels and outcasts. This still subsists today, but more importantly it has created a platform of fierce contest for control with the Hausa Fulani who have dominated all the while, while erstwhile pagan tribes have been struggling to "belong". Social interactions in this region are structured more on the platform of religion mixed with ethnicity unlike the other regions where ethnicity is more predominant.

The independence which was highly celebrated in the regions and the centre brought along with it the reconstruction of identities among ethnic groups and the creation of a theatre for violent contests for inclusion. While contests for control of the centre remained among the dominant ethnicities, the minority ethnic groups began to contests their non-inclusion at the regions and at the centre. The hatreds that were buried with colonialism started to experience revival as new ethnic groups started to emerge, and also contest for inclusion in the Nigerian process and structure. At independence, the three dominant ethnic groups along with the ethnic based political parties won elections in the regions. In the eastern and northern region, the minorities continued to agitate for inclusion and contest their exclusion. The immediate manifestation of these agitations was a secession attempt by Isaac Boro of the Eastern region and the Tiv who threatened secession on the floor of the Northern House of Assembly. All these agitations were met with stiff resistance, but then a mid western region was created for the minority ethnic groups in the Western region.

A lot of identity contests ensued between the political elite in their bid for access and control of the centre. This led to *coup de tats* and the threatened secession by the Igbo which led to a civil war. Issues perceived and real marginalization cum exclusion led to the staging of a coup by Major Nzeogu of the Igbo extraction. The coup led to the killing of prominent leaders of the then Nigerian government though no Igbo were killed. The coup plotters were arrested and killed while Aguyi Ironisi dissolved the government and announced the creation of a unity government. This decision was greeted with suspicion by the Northern elite. Six month later some army generals of the northern extraction led by a *coup de tat*. Six months later, military officers of Northern ethnic extraction staged a counter-coup where Ironsi along with Colonel Fajuyi, the Military Governor of Western region were killed. In other parts of the country, several Igbo (and few Yoruba) military officers were killed (Achebe, 2010). Later in September 1966, there was an attack on the Igbo population of Kano leading to more than 30,000 casualties (O'Connel, 1967; Noah, 1970;

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Osaghae and Suberu, 2005). Killing of the Igbo resulted in their attempt to secede from Nigeria which was met with stiff resistance from the Nigerian government. After the civil war, 12 states were created from the regions. This was done to ensure that no single ethnic group constituted the majority in the central government. The state creation in itself became another theatre where ethnic identities were reconstructed and mobilized for violent exclusion of others.

Just like the colonial creation did not give credence to the histories, cultures and interactions of the various groups, the creation of states became a tool of access to state power by ethnic groups. New exclusion issues emerged as people were tagged settlers, non indigenes, strangers, and the like. As a result, a social construction of a double home emerged- a home where one resides and a home where one is from. More allegiance was paid to the second home as one's access to resources, employment and education depended on one's second home. Social interaction among the people was viewed in the light of this arrangement. Some were "sons of the soil", while others were merely strangers who had come to overstretch the social facilities meant for the sons of the soil. Invariably identity became synonymous with citizenship, that is, identity gives one the benefits of the Nigeria citizenship. This means citizenship exists in the abstract and practical sense. The Nigerian citizenship at the abstract level is spelt out in the constitution, but what guarantees one's access to resources is the ethnic or religious citizenship. In essence, relationship both to the state and individuals is defined on the basis of identity.

More states were created in the Nigerian state to allay the fears of the ethnic groups that had become minorities by the state arrangement. As more states were created, identities were reconstructed, new majorities and minorities emerged with an agenda to control resources to the exclusion of others. The reconstruction of identities gives rise to new exclusion issues and further reconfigured the interaction of the people to be one characterized by competition, rivalry and fear. As more states are created, new exclusion issues arise; new majority-minority relationships are created; as well, all new forms of identity contest to ensure control to the exclusion of others.

Conclusion

Identity construction and reconstruction forms a central pivot in the social construction of the social structure and vice versa. Identity indicates inclusion of in-group members and exclusion of out-group members. It tells the stories of who we are, and, along with the social structure, create the "social self" or "social being". Within a social structure, identity ensures integration and could also engender both intra and inter group cohesion or conflict as the case may be. It could generate intra-group conflict if and when group members disagree on contentious issues, while the need to protect group interests may lead to conflict with out-group members. By and large, however, identity formation is a social construction, consciously or unconsciously carried out by actors sharing a social structure on the basis of group convictions and diffused social influences from out-group members. In turn, the identity formed creates reified social recognition on a group and its social structure. Finally, the duo of identity and social structure impacts on actors actions and social relations on the one hand, while on the other hand, actors are able to modify their identities and social structure still as they dynamically sustain taken for granted everyday interactions.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE ROLE OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN SUSTAINABLE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

Ajani, O.A. and Adeniran, A.I.

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Introduction

Across the globe, there is yet a clear-cut description, positive or negative, of the relationship between 'diversity' as a concept and 'development' as a process. What has been pertinent is that it is the use to which varying societies put their extant diversities into that will determine whether it would be beneficial or detrimental to their peculiar developmental agenda. Indeed, it has been universally agreed that power relations do impact intercultural relationship, and the problems that precursors of conflict are not in the culture itself, but the use to which we make of culture. While a 'culture' is described here as a set of distinguishing material and non-material features of a society or of a social group, the phrase 'cultural diversity' depicts an array of different ethnicities, societies or peoples with different backgrounds, religions and traditions, living and interacting together within a common social space. Culture, in addition, entails art and literature, lifestyles, ways of co-existing, values systems, traditions and beliefs and cultural diversity, of course, goes beyond a natural fact that we need to simply recognize and respect in our day-to-day existence. It is about plurality of knowledge, wisdom and resources, which all inter-relate to enhance and move our existence forward.

Over time and space, an argument for suppressing divergent cultural groups existing within the same nation, and encouraging assimilation rather is that cultural diversity hampers the process of development. While much of this argument today reflects the prevalent scenario emanating from sub-Saharan African, especially, such could not be readily affirmed for other parts of the world where diversity has been serving as the bedrock of their developmental drive. For instance, Nigeria – a country rich in diversity, but struggling with sustainable economic growth and social development since inception nearly a century ago (1914)! Nigeria is home to over 250 ethnic groups, with more than half of its 150 million inhabitants belonging to three main ethnic groups: Hausa-Fulani, Muslims in the North; the Yoruba, followers of both Christian and Islamic faiths in the South-West and the Igbo, most of whom are Christians in the South-East. Smaller groups have, therefore, tended to cluster around these three groups over the years, creating unstable and ethnically divisive polity.

Ordinarily, diverse societies should reap from benefits accruing through dynamism and creativity ingrained in interactions and interpositions of different cultural groups. The United States is a leading reference of country founded on diversity and tolerance, which enormous social and economic success has followed; so also Malaysia, with 62% of its people Malays and other indigenous groups, 30% Chinese and Indians, 8%, was the global 10th fastest growing economy during 1970-1990 years when it successfully implemented its affirmative action plan under the *Bumiputera* re-distributional policy (Adeniran, 2007). In Nigeria, however, diversity has not been allowed to serve the path of our national development due to its nefarious utilization, especially among the political elites.

What is Diversity?

Contextually, cultural diversity reflects the variety of human societies within a defined geographical entity or at the larger global level. Meanwhile, in recent social science discourse, cultural diversity has been equated with 'multiculturalism' – that is, a state of convergence of multiple cultures within a social entity, for instance in organizations, neighborhoods, cities or countries. In this regard, 'multiculturalism' enables and affirms regard for diversity. Basically, diversity entails a commitment to recognizing and appreciating the variety of features that make individuals different in an environment. Instances of such features include age, gender category, reasoning capability, economic background, education, ethnicity, geographical background, languages, physical appearance, political affiliation, natural resources, race, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, et *cetera*. Cultural diversity is a phrase generally used in describing a society with people of different ethnic roots which manifest in their languages, mode of dressing, arts, as well as other traditional practices which are either similar or distinctively different from each group. It takes different forms in different settings; in some, such as South Africa and the U.S., it may be associated with racial differences; in others, such as Nigeria, with religious or ethnic differences.

Although there has been a notable agreement among anthropologists that human race has its conceptual origin in Africa in about 2 million years ago, since then individuals have spread throughout the world; successfully adapting to essentially varying climatic conditions. Subsequently, various distinct societies that emerged across the globe have been different remarkably from each other, and many of these differences have persisted till today. Aside from the more pertinent cultural differences that exist among the people, for instance, language, dressing, foods and traditions, there have equally been potent differences in the way societies organize themselves, in their peculiar conception of morality and in the ways they interact with their environment.

By analogy with biodiversity, which is thought to be essential to the long-term survival of life on earth, it has been argued that cultural diversity may be vital for the long-term survival of humanity, and that the conservation of indigenous cultures may be as important to humankind as the conservation of species and ecosystems is to life as a whole. The General Conference of the *United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (UNESCO) in 2001, affirmed in Article 1 of the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* that *"...cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature"* (UNESCO, 2001).

Meanwhile, some have argued against this position by affirming that it is rather unethical to wittingly conserve "less developed" societies, because this will deny people, in particularly underdeveloped nations from transmuting from the subsisting state of poverty to development. To some other individuals, particularly those with strong religious beliefs, it is in the best interests of individuals, and of humanity in general that all people adhere to a specific model for society or specific aspects of such a model. As a concept, however, cultural diversity is, indeed, confusing to quantify, but a good measure is thought to be a count of the number of languages spoken in a specific society, country, region or in the world at large.

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Cultural Diversity and Development

Cultural Diversity presupposes respect of fundamental freedoms, namely freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of opinion and expression, and freedom to participate in the cultural life of one's choice. In this light, culture, in its enhanced diversity possesses intrinsic value for the developmental enterprise, as well as, social cohesion and progress since the notion of 'freedom' has remained central to socio-economic growth across ages.

Individuals, within a cultural grouping, attain their sense of identity, self-esteem and existential values from the community in which they grow up and live. These aspects of an individual's character and knowledge are acquired through the expression of their community's culture, including language, music, visual arts, artisanal and traditional practices, theatre, poetry and song. Culture is, thus, integral to individual and community stability, their sense of worth and their capacity to make sense of the world (INCD, 2002). At another realm, culture and cultural products are routinely situated within the intent of hegemonic inclination of provisioning of leadership with respect to ideas, values, beliefs and traditions at local, regional and global levels.

Within the global "knowledge economy", culture has emerged as a significant end for local, regional and global struggle for leadership. The mass media, the arts and related cultural industries are powerful political phenomena because of their capacity to influence, reinforce or challenge the control of those who lead our organisations, communities and the world as a whole. Like "culture", there is no one definition of "development". Generally, however, "development" is deemed a complex process that seeks to overcome the adverse social, economic and human conditions prevalent in any given society. "Development" primarily aims at providing such countries or communities with the requisite skills, technology, access to information, cash and other resources, to enable them to be relatively self-sustaining.

Depending on their peculiar conditions, "developing" countries will define development and their developmental needs or priorities differently. But while we could grasp the process, it does not always serve the same interests across varying institutions and societies. For example, for multinational corporations, development may simply imply capabilities for minimal skills and resources which post-colonial communities require in order for them to continue to provide relatively skilled, but cheap labour, to produce the goods that generate profits elsewhere. It might also imply the "development" of real and potential markets (with sufficient literacy, numeracy and earning power) to whom to export or sell their goods, in order to provide better returns for foreign shareholders. At another realm, development may have the rhetoric of serving "the people", but the forms that such development takes (including the political and economic forms and strategies), or the priorities undertaken, may simply reflect the short-term economic and social self-interests of such elites rather than the interests of the majority of citizens. At this point, real "development" is seen as an adequate utilization of intrinsic resources such as obtainable in prevalent diversities among a people in the process of national advancement. Such utilization would be largely home grown putting into cognizance extant institutional specificities within the social configuration.

Generally, the legacies that development seeks to deal with are quite enduring – lack of housing, poor education, inadequate health care, unemployment, and the like. However, the development strategies initially employed to address these derived

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foundations from European/Western economic and social models. But after their first two International Decades for Development, UNESCO facilitated the establishment of a World Decade for Cultural Development from 1987. The context of this "cultural development" model emphasizes that:

> *.....Despite the progress achieved, the first two International Development Decades (in the sixties and seventies) revealed the limitations of a development concept based primarily on quantitative and material growth.*
>
> *.....From 1970 onwards, critical reflection gave rise to the Intergovernmental Conferences on Cultural Policies...in all parts of the world, and finally led to the Mexico City Conference of 1982 to put forward with great conviction the idea that "culture constitutes a fundamental part of the life of each individual and of each community...and development...whose ultimate aims should be focused on humankind...must therefore have a cultural dimension."*
>
> *.....The two principal objectives of the World Decade for Cultural Development – greater emphasis on the cultural dimension in the development process and the stimulation of creative skills and cultural life in general – reflect an awareness of the need to respond to the major challenges which shape the horizon of the twenty-first century.*
>
> *.....Development impacts directly and indirectly on the way of life of a community. Education, technology, new skills, increased earning power and access to information – all of these affect the individuals and the communities who are the beneficiaries of "development".*

As such, development may be perceived as a cultural procedure that may be hindered or facilitated by culture. Development impacts upon the culture of those intended to be "developed", and in turn their culture impacts on the development process. Development is seen to engender new ideas, and enhances access to information, and contact with other societies. The promise of a better quality of life, new aspirations, and invariably, a local or indigenous culture is influenced and evolves organically within the paradigm of the development ends and strategies.

Initial models and strategies of development were not as effective as they might have been because they were at odds with the cultural paradigms of those whose lives were to be improved. As well, these development models were themselves constructs and carriers of particular cultural values and beliefs (and could thus be viewed in some instances simply as neo-colonial strategies, that is, more sophisticated attempts at harnessing the cheap labour and raw materials of developing countries). Consequently, the progressive view emerged that development must be sensitive to, and must, as far as possible, be integrated into the cultures of the intending beneficiaries.

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Some Salient Issues Emerging from Nigeria's Cultural Diversity

Throughout the nation's history, the issues of marginalization, identity politics and national integration have continued to reverberate both in popular and intellectual discourses on Nigeria's cultural diversity. Marginalization and neglect have remained the reasons for incessant agitations by ethnic groups and regions in Nigeria. These cries, usually from the ethnic minorities have graduated from mere rivalry to palpable hatred, and then to conflagrations of destructive proportions (Adejoh, 2005). The Nigerian three-year civil war that ended in 1970 was a fall-out of alleged ethnic cleansing and marginalization by one of the country's ethnic nationalities. The current civilian dispensation has witnessed numerous ethno-religious cum communal based contestations and strives, and sometimes culminating in agitations for self-determination and even secession. From the Igbo in the South East to the oil-bearing minorities of Niger Delta, to the minorities of the middle-belt, and across Nigeria, allegations of marginalization, discrimination and injustice have remained the principal refrain (Digifa, 2003; Oronto and Doifie, 2003). Coupled with these agitations by the minority ethnic nationalities is the general expression by many that the Nigerian state has been captured by a selected few who dominate and oppress the mass of the people by converting the state resources into private property. This feeling of marginalization has resulted in bitterness, frustration, corruption and disloyalty. Hence, there has been a general discontent among the populace, which has necessitated extant search for an all-inclusive platform for the re-invigoration of the social system.

Closely linked with the marginalization question is identity politics, which is the process of categorizing and de-categorizing people by means of ethnic, religious and / or gender cleavages into groups on the bases of shared and presumed similarities and stereotypes rather than actual traits, attributes or characteristics, even when differences between people being pigeonholed into one group are striking. Such categorization and de-categorization have become the basis for a range of problems relating to issues of rights, opportunities, privileges and entitlements of Nigerian citizens (Alubo, 2003), and, hence, there are contestations and struggles to maintain the *status quo* by those favoured and for change by those left out in the cold. Despite the fact that the Nigerian constitution is quite explicit on the rights and privileges of all its citizens, a number of problems have arisen in the translation of its provisions to reality. Part of this complication is the categorization of Nigerian citizens into indigenes and settlers.

The Federal Character Commission has defined indigeneity in the local council and states as the basis for allocating public goods. It accepts people whose parents and/or grandparents were indigenes and/or people accepted as indigenes by the council. When one is an indigene of a local council in a state s/he is automatically an indigene of that State (Federal Character Commission, ND: 16). Thus, Nigerians, who have their ethnic genealogy elsewhere, even if they were born in a particular state or lived all their lives there, are regarded as "settlers" (Alubo, 2006; Ibrahim, 2006). A settler is regarded as a stranger, a sojourner, who may have been born in a location but is regarded as a bird of passage who would ultimately go "home". Indigenes insist that sojourners have a home where they periodically visit for celebration and where prominent members of the former are conveyed for burial. Herein lies an illustration of the nature of identity as both self-defined and other imposed. Most of the people defined and treated as settlers do not regard themselves as such. In the Nigerian

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experience, being an indigene or a settler is a permanent identity, as there is no provision for the latter to convert to the former. Some of these forms of discrimination have been formalized through certificates of indigenship (Alubo, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2006; Ibrahim, 2006). These certificates have become pre-requisite for admission to tertiary schools and employment, including into the federal civil service. The experiences point to a two-tier citizenship structure, the first for indigenes and the second for settlers.

In daily encounters, identity and its politics are the bases of contestations for inclusions in opportunities and rights as are available to others. Many of these contestations result in violence. In such conflicts, holders of particular identities, as defined by the attackers, are singled out for liquidation, forced to relocate and their properties torched. The collective nature of the violence is perhaps serving to strengthen geo-political solidarity. The intractable crises in Jos, Bauchi and other locations in Nigeria in recent times are pointers to the negative side of identity politics.

Conflicts arising from identity have led to much bloodletting, destruction of property, displacements and disruption of peoples' livelihoods across Nigeria. In the 12+ years of elected civilian government, it is estimated that over 20, 000 people have lost their lives and hundreds of thousands displaced in over 200 outbreaks of violence traceable to identity-related disputes. This means that an average of 1,667 people are killed every year, which makes identity conflicts one of the most important sources of intentional homicide in Nigeria though not recorded by the police. In many parts of Nigeria today, residents are worried more about identity-based violence than other priority crimes and organize their daily lives – businesses, choice of residential neighborhoods, schools for their children, hospitals and even relaxation places they patronize – in response to fear of identity-based violence (Cleen Foundation, 2009).

National integration has also remained a mirage in Nigeria. In many communities in Nigeria, citizens rely on ethnic and religious development associations for the provision of safety nets. This is because of the declining performance of state institutions in welfare delivery. Hence, citizens' loyalty is first and foremost to local institutions and processes. The emergence of ethnic nationalist movements has been identified as a major hindrance to the actualization of national integration. Examples of these groups include: Yoruba Council of Elders (YCE), Oodua People's Congress (OPC), Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF), Arewa Peoples' Congress, *Afenifere,*, the *Ohaneze Ndigbo*, Egbesu Boys, Bakassi Boys, Middle Belt Forum (MBF), Movement for the Survival of ogoni People (MOSOP), South South Peoples Conference, Union of Niger Delta (UND), among others. This means that in terms of social relationships and national identification, one could not speak of Nigeria in the same sense as one speak of such of its components as Kano emirate, Benin or Oyo kingdom. Allegiance, loyalty and patriotism are most of the times first to the ethnic group. Hence, to some observers, Nigeria consists of many 'nationalities'; it is not itself not a nation. Each of these 'nationalities' is unique in terms of size, composition, structures and processes. This is only a side of a complex story as the traditional practices are highly valued and held with great admiration among the people of an ethnic group.

Cultural diversity has been cited by many observers as a major factor inhibiting Nigeria's political advancement. The major actors in the public sphere have played up differences in ethnicity and religion to fan the embers of discord over the

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years in the nation's history. This is done in order to either perpetuate themselves in power and/ or protect their economic interests.

Ethnicity remains a major factor in Nigeria's political development with power almost exclusively in the hands of a dominant few (Blench & Dendo 2003). Party formation and allegiance have been along ethnic lines in Nigeria. This was the trend in the first republic when the three predominant parties Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), Action Group (AG) and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon's (NCNC) stood for the three dominant ethnic nationalities – Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Ibo respectively. The trend was not different in the 2nd republic when the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) and Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) again stood for the three major ethnic nationalities; Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Ibo. The third republic was different then because the military on the recommendation of the Political Bureau did not register more than two political parties: Social Democratic Party (SDP) & National Republican Convention (NRC) (Aluko and Ajani, 2009).

Between 1999 and 2003, the ruling party at the centre – Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) - a party of the Hausa/Fulani, won elections in many states in Ibo land. The All Peoples Party (APP) is more or less a party of the Northern people as it did not win election in any state in both Ibo and Yoruba land. The Alliance for Democracy (AD) ruled exclusively and predominantly in the Southwest, and, it is claimed to be a party of the Yoruba. However, there was a radical change in 2007 when five out of the six south western states went to PDP for obvious reason that the then president was of Yoruba extraction. From all indications, parties in the ongoing democratic dispensation are still ethnically based, thus allowing the pursuit of sectional agenda. The success of Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) in the South West in the recently concluded election underscores this fact.

Cultural diversity and National Integration

Nigeria is the third most ethnically and linguistically diverse country in the world, after New Guinea and Indonesia (http://www.ethnologue.com/family_index_asp). National integration in Nigerian context has been an attempt to forge "unity in diversity" seeking to wish away socio-cultural differences and imposing uniformity in spite of complex cultural diversity. This has created more conflict and posed obstacles to unity, peaceful co-existence, progress and stable development. This act of wishing away the reality has manifested in the country's policy directives. Hence, the country's adoption of a single educational policy, economic and political systems, for instance, has not translated into progress in the nations' quest for advancement in these areas.

To actualize the attainment of national integration, successive governments in Nigeria have taken steps to weld the peoples of Nigeria into a united state with a common destiny in spite of their sharp religious, ethnic, linguistic and or cultural differences (Adejoh, 2005). These include the establishment of the National Youth Service Commission (NYSC) in 1972, Federal Character Commission, Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), Unity schools, adoption of the English language as the official language, the constitutional provision on citizens' rights and the like. Despite all these efforts, the country cannot boast of impressive achievement on national integration.

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How do we Annex Cultural Diversity for National Development?

Cultural diversity is an important and valuable resource. The dictum, "variety is a spice of life", provides a basis for this assertion. Cultural difference from the mainstream is not always a rejection of the mainstream way, and in fact, cultural difference can be a tool for success rather than failure in Nigeria. Cultures are not homogenous; they are heterogeneous, and there is cultural diversity within culture.

However, for cultural diversity to be an opportunity and not a constraint, it must be strategically managed. This involves its being acknowledged and incorporated in national planning. For example social policies that favour cultural diversity and multiculturalism may sustain the creation of a positive collective identity among members of low-status groups. For example, many pundits have argued that in order for immigrant minorities to do well, they must adopt the culture and language of the new societies in which they find themselves. But researchers have shown that retaining cultural distinctiveness can provide important advantages (Lamont & Small, 2007). Portes and Schauffler (1994) discovered that children of immigrants who were bilingual performed better in mathematics tests and other measures of academic success than those who had learned English but not retained their language of migrant origin. Others have found that children in school respond positively to culturally relevant materials, and to approaches from multiple, as opposed to one, cultural perspective. Late Babatunde Fafunwa, a foremost educationist in Nigeria, argued in support of the use of mother tongue for instruction in the first six years of primary school education. He opined that children who are trained in such a manner have the propensity to do better than those trained with a second foreign language.

Nigeria's cultural diversity can also be harnessed in the area of cultural tourism. Tourism, as the world's largest industry, is considered to be dynamic, evolving and a consumer-driven entity. The scope of tourism is the concern of travel, lodging, foodservice and recreation. By implication, therefore, tourism is the art, business and science of passenger transportation, accommodation and catering. Cultural tourism or culture tourism is very significant for people and their environment particularly when it is celebrated in such a way and manner that would ensure the preservation and promotion of the uniqueness of its heritage. This is because this development gives, especially the host communities, the opportunity to improve upon their arts and cultural facilities that can attract tourists, both local and international who are always willing to spend much money on such facilities to the advantage of the local communities as this boosts the latter's economy.

Recent findings by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have confirmed that cultural tourism has become very popular in the world today to the extent that cultural tourists are spending quite a substantial amount of money than the normal standard tourists. Such huge spending has resulted in economic development. Excellent examples of this are Kenya, Tanzania, Cote d'Ivoire in Africa and the state of Florida, United States of America. It is however important for ministries and/or agencies responsible for arts, culture and tourism to promote such a venture through strategic planning, training and retraining, as well as providing funding to individuals and groups that would undertake research work on the economic and social impact of cultural tourism.

Beside the many natural features of Nigeria, the cultural assets of the nation are of universal recognition. The richness and diversity of the Nigerian culture is a

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manifestation of the socio-cultural differences of the over 250 ethnic groups that inhabit the land. These, coupled with the hospitality of the people, make Nigeria one of the richly endowed potential destinations in the world. The local economy stands to be boosted as many cultural artifacts would be on sale, and many employment opportunities would be created for the people. Wase Rock, Kura falls, ancient Jos museum in Plateau state, Argungu fishing festival in Kebbi state, Obudu cattle ranch, Tinapa shopping complex, the ancient city of Benin in Edo state, Osun festival in Osogbo, Igbo yam festival, Yankari game reserve in Bauchi state, and Eyo festival in Lagos are some of tourist attractions in Nigeria.

Cultural diversity can also serve as a source of exchange, innovation and creativity. A different way to think of diversity is to think of its impact on innovation and creativity. The level of self determination of minority groups can be increased if their distinctive cultural heritage is acknowledged or celebrated. Also, success of various intervention programmes can also be ensured if minority groups are given greater roles in the public sphere, while asserting their importance as members of the cultural and political polity.

In development circles, scholars have argued for the placing of a greater value on local knowledge, including the understandings and practices of indigenous and other marginalized groups (Scott, 1999). Forms of government that require the contributions of a wide range of citizens are often granted greater legitimacy, and are more effective and better able to mobilize populations in the pursuit of collective goal. In her study of efforts to reduce HIV infection in Uganda and Botswana, Swidler (2007) discovered that governments and NGOs were effective only when they mobilize the systems of meanings and the social solidarities of the local community. In Uganda, prominent clan structures, even if less democratic than local governments in Botswana, provided more effective vehicles for reaching local communities than organizations operated by national or transnational voluntary organizations.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that Nigeria's cultural diversity has been played up as the major factor for its myriads of trouble to the extent that many have canvassed for its bifurcation at different periods of its existence. These advocates of break-up have referred to Nigeria as a colonial creation and "a mere geographical expression", meaning that in terms of social relationships and national identification, one cannot speak of Nigeria as one speaks of its components. However, we must remember that "nations are made, not born", and that there is hardly any contemporary nation that did not begin as a geographical expression, in one form or another from its already existing heterogeneous socio-cultural system.

Although Nigeria formally became one entity in 1914, its artificiality is not clear. There is a sub-stratum of Negro culture, particularly in the southern part of Nigeria, which is indicative of some apparent degree of socio-cultural homogeneity among a large section of the Nigerian society. Also, owing to a long and complicated migratory and settlement history, as well as admixture and overlapping in social relationships, Nigeria can hardly be successfully divided into neat somatic and cultural areas. Be that as it may, we will like to submit that despite the seemingly cultural differences, there are also common areas of similarity in most of the cultures which explains that the people of Nigeria have a common origin and hence, they are capable of understanding each other. However, two things are paramount in a multi-cultural or

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highly diversified society: similarities and differences. While the similarities in the cultural practices of the groups bring harmony in society and encourage peace among people, the existing differences among these tribes/ethnic groups sometimes must be acknowledged and utilized for the benefit of all. Nigerians as well as people in any culturally diversified or ethnically mixed society must be able to maximize the opportunities by fostering "unity in diversity", instead of manipulating the diversity against the unity of their various societies for selfish purposes.

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SECTION SIX
ECONOMY ISSUES

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY

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Introduction

In every human society, it is necessary to find ways of converting available resources for the satisfaction of the needs of the people. As a result, the economic institution is the institution responsible for ensuring this. Central to the economy of any human society is the issue of production and distribution of goods and services to meet the desires of members of the society. Production in this context refers the process of changing raw materials to finished and consumable goods. In doing this, factors of production, such as land, capital, labour and organization, are very important. Also, when production takes place, the goods and services produced must be distributed to get the people it is meant for. Against this background, this paper will examine the traditional economy and modern Nigerian economy. It will also highlight some of the problems of the Nigerian economy.

The Traditional Economy

In traditional society, economic life centres around hunting, food gathering, shepherding or animal herding and farming. The economy is based on affective actions. There is no laid down rules. The most important economic unit is the household. There is no demarcation between home and work place. The father is regarded as the head of the family, and as a result most economic activities are determined by him. Such societies depend on very simple tools, and specialization is only limited in that household always produce what is needed in the homes. The procedure of carrying out economic activities is passed down from one generation to another, while young men and women are made to emulate their parents. The same production methods are used year in year out, and the mode of production is very simple (Falola, 2001; Ijani, 2006; Otite & Ogionwo, 2006)).

Land occupies a special place in the traditional economy, and this land is collectively owned and therefore cannot be sold. It is the responsibility of the old male members of family to allocate land either for farming or building purpose to the eligible members, especially the males. In traditional economy, the most important means of production is land usually owned by the family and society at large, but not by an individual; land is believed to belong to the ancestors as well as the present and future generation. Hence, it cannot be sold, or it is very rarely sold. Since everybody has equal access to land, everybody can be said to be fully-employed. Economic transaction in the traditional societies is basically through unpaid family labour, that is, people are not paid money for most of the services rendered. Distribution is related to kinship status, age, sex, and lineage within the extended family unit. People are also sometimes rewarded through the act of award of chieftaincy titles to distinguished members of the society (Alutu, 1986; Falola, 2006).

Hence, the main stay of traditional economy is agriculture which is seasonal. Almost everybody is a farmer, and as such the economy is mono-cultural. However, during the dry season, family members may engage in other economic activities on part- time basis, such as wine tapping, bone setting, hunting, and the like. Among the Igbo, the cultivation of certain crops follows along gender line. For instance yam is grown and owned by males, while cocoyam is grown and owned by women. A man

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who distinguishes himself in growing yam may be given a special title called Ezeji (king of yam).

Market in traditional economy is only a place for buying and selling; they were also used as judicial and communication centres. That is why most of the Kings' palaces were located in or near the market place (Oja-Oba). Markets serve as areas of several political organisations of late. Markets also serve as a place of training for young apprentices of different occupations. Most of these traditional markets are based on "affective actions", and often occupations are also hereditary (Onwuejeogwu, 1992; Olurode & Olusanya, 1996).

Traditional Economy of Three Ethnic Groups in Nigeria

At this point, it will be worthwhile to examine closely the traditional economy of three dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria, namely, the Igbo, the Hausa and the Yoruba.

Traditional Economy of the Igbo

Among the traditional Igbo people, subsistence farming characterizes agriculture. The main agricultural products include yams, cassava and taro. Other important subsidiary crops include cocoyams, plantains, maize, melons, okra, pumpkins, peppers, gourds, and beans. Palm products are the main cash crops. The principal exports include palm oil and, to a lesser extent, palm kernels. Trading, local crafts, and wage labor are also important in the Igbo economy. High literacy rates among the Igbo have helped them obtain jobs as civil servants and business entrepreneurs since Nigeria gained independence in 1960. Also, the Igbo blacksmiths of Awka are renowned for their ironsmithing. Men's wood carving and women's pottery and patterned woven cloth are of very high quality, and Igbo carpenters can be found all over Nigeria. The stylized character of Igbo masks consists of figures with beak noses, slit eyes, and thin lips (Uchendu, 1965; Isichei, 1977; Nwagbara, 1977).

The Igbo people of Ikwo and Ezza in the Abakaliki in Ebonyi state produce a substantial surplus of yams for trade. Women dominate rural retail-market trade. Trading is a major social and economic function of women in traditional Igbo society. Women engage in all sorts of economic activities to make money to purchase the essentials they need. They make mats and pottery, and weave cloth. Women do most of the petty trades. The manufacture and trade of pottery are almost exclusively the domain of women. Igbo also process palm oil and palm kernels, which they market with the surplus crops from their farm stock, and generally monopolize the sale of cooked foods. They mine and sell salt (Uchendu, 1965; Imoagene, 1993c).

Moreover, among the Igbo people, there is a sexual division of labor in the traditional setting. Men are mainly responsible for yam cultivation, and women for other crops. Usually, the men clear and prepare the land, plant their own yams, cut stakes and train the yam vines, build the yam barns, and tie the harvest. The women plant their own varieties of yam and "women's crops," which include cassava, cocoyams, pumpkins, and peppers. They also weed and harvest the yams from the farm. As regards palm products, the men usually cut the palm fruit and tap and then sell the palm wine. They also sell palm oil, which the women prepare. In general, women reserve and sell the kernels. In Igbo land, most farmland is controlled by kinship groups. The groups cooperatively cultivate farmland and make subsequent allocations according to seniority. To this end, rights over the use of land for food

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cultivation or for building a house depend primarily on agnatic descent, and secondarily on local residence. It is Igbo custom that a wife must be allocated a piece of land to cultivate for feeding her household (Alutu, 1986; Rosenberg & Kalman, 2001).

Traditional Economy of the Hausa

In Hausa traditional society, agriculture is the main economic activity. Grain is the staple diet, including Guinea corn, millet, maize, and rice. The Hausa also grow and eat root crops and a variety of vegetables. Cotton and peanuts are processed and used locally, but part of the harvest is exported. The Hausa practise intercropping and double-cropping; their main implement is the hoe. The Cattle Fulani provide the Hausa with meat, yogurt and butter (Smith, 1952; Falola, 2001).

Most men also practise a second occupation, ascriptive and ranked. These include aristocratic officeholder, scholar, Islamic cleric (imam), artisan, trader, musician, and butcher. As good Muslims, the urban women are in seclusion (rural women much less so), and therefore dependent upon their husbands for their maintenance. They are economically active from behind the compound walls, however, primarily in order to finance their daughters' dowries. Their work, which includes sewing and selling prepared food and jewelry, is an offshoot of their domestic persona. There are full-time specialists only where there is an assured market for craft products. Men's crafts include tanning, leatherworking, saddling, weaving, dying, woodworking, and smithing. Iron has been mined, smelted, and worked as far back as there are Hausa traditions. Blacksmiths have a guildlike organization, and many are hereditary. Trade is complicated and varied. Some traders deal in a particular market, as distinguished from those who trade in many markets over a long distance. This dual trade strategy, augmented by the contributions of the Cattle Fulani, enabled the Hausa to meet all of their requirements, even during the nineteenth century. The markets are traditional to Hausa society and carry social as well as economic significance; male friends and relatives meet there, and well-dressed marriageable young women pass through, to see and be seen. The Hausa differentiate rural from urban settlements in terms of the size and frequency of the markets (Smith, 1952; Imoagene, 1993a).

There is also customary exchange that takes place outside of the market. Gift exchanges are practised at life-cycle celebrations such as childbirth, naming, marriage, and death; other exchanges are framed by religion (alms, tithes, fixed festivals) and politics (expressing relations of patronage/clientage). Hausa society traditionally observes several divisions of labour. In public administration, it is primarily men who may be appointed, although some women hold appointed positions in the palace. Class determines what sort of work one might do, and gender determines work roles. When women engage in income-producing activities, they may keep what they earn. Because of purdah, many women who trade are dependent upon children to act as their runners. The rural householder farms with his sons' help; from the old farm, he allocates to them small plots, which he enlarges as they mature. New family fields are cleared from the bush (Rosenberg & Kalman, 2001).

Traditional Economy of the Yoruba

Historically, the Yoruba were primarily farmers, growing cocoa and yams as cash crops. These are planted in a three-year rotational system, alternating with cassava and a year of diverse crops including maize, peanuts, cotton, and beans. At the end of this

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three-year cycle, the land is left fallow, sometimes for seven years. It is estimated that at one time nearly, 70% of people participated in agriculture and 10% each working as crafts people and traders within the towns. In other words, the Yoruba traditional economy was primarily based on agriculture and trade, although fishing, hunting, and crafts were significant. As recently as 1950, two-thirds of the men were farmers. Depending on the ecological zone, the main food crops included beans, yams, and, later, cassava and maize. The main cash crops have been kola and cocoa in the forest belt and cotton and, more recently, tobacco elsewhere. Intercropping and swidden methods have been practised, with fallow periods ranging from 3 to 10 years following a typical three-year cultivation period. Until around the mid-twentieth century, mechanization and draught animals were lacking; the main tools are still the hoe, ax, and machete. Yoruba women seldom farm, although they may assist with harvesting or transporting produce. Farmers have suffered in the late twentieth century from fluctuating world prices for cash crops, civil war, and an oil boom, all of which have driven many into urban employment in commercial, governmental, and service sectors (Falola, 2006; Jegede, 2007).

Among the Yoruba, men traditionally practised metalworking, wood carving, and weaving. Since the mid-nineteenth century, they have also taken up carpentary, tailoring, and shoemaking. Artisans often belonged to guilds. Women's crafts included pottery making, spinning, dyeing, weaving, and basketry; dressmaking was added in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, an extensive system of marketing and long-distance trade is a hallmark of Yoruba history. Precontact overland commerce emphasized kola, woven cloth, and salt; coastal trade with Europeans involved slaves, cloth, ivory, and, by the nineteenth century, palm products. Both men and women conducted long-distance commerce. Women organized local trade networks and markets and, as a consequence, were given official roles in public affairs. Markets still meet daily, at night, and in periodic cycles of four or eight days. Their revenues still help to support local government (Imoagene, 1993b; Rosenberg & Kalman, 2001).

In Yoruba traditional economy, there is a division of labor according to sex and a clear division of finances. Husbands and wives keep their work and accounts separately, each taking responsibility for some household and child-care expenses. Labor also is divided according to age: heavy work is reserved for the young; the load lightens with age. The goal is to gain sufficient wealth to control the labor of others and thereby free oneself from physical work and from being accountable to a superior.

Most land is held corporately by descent groups and allocated to members according to need. Rights to use farmland and housing are primarily patrilateral in the north (although rights can be acquired through female agnates) and cognatic in the south. Tenant farming, sharecropping, and leasing were introduced by the British. The land-tenure system was changed in 1978 when the Nigerian government took control of all unoccupied or unused land and rights to allocate it. Among the Yoruba, land and market are very central in the economic organization. The majority of people predominantly engage in agriculture. Each man has the help of the dependent male members of his family in tilling the field, planting crops, as well as reaping. In the pre-colonial times, although there was no actual prohibition of women from hoeing and planting in kitchen gardens inside the towns, the Yoruba as whole did not make use of the labour of women on their farms in these capacities. And, a polygynist, whose wives may be following trades of their own, is by custom entitled to ask them to

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accompany him to the farm during harvest time in order to assist him. The more important part of women's work on the farm, however, consists of changing the form of various crops harvested so as to bring them a stage or two nearer the point of ultimate consumption. The sexually division o labour between husband and wife is carried over the disposal of the farm produce. The wife is responsible for selling, either in an elaborately processed form or practically as harvested, some of the products of the farm that are in excess of the normal requirement of the farmer and his family. For these services, she may receive a commission. The only regular source of commercial labour which could be obtained in pre-colonial days was that of slaves and pawns. Otherwise, it was not the practice to sell labour. The labour of free-born men was freely given when required, but on the basis of mutual reciprocity (Fadipe, 1970; Oke, 2004).

Also, among the Yoruba, there are two kinds of markets. There are local markets and central markets. Local markets are for day-to-day buying and selling by townspeople, while central markets are meeting-grounds for people of different towns and villages, and may be situated in a town or outside towns on a conveniently situated highway which links several centres. Local markets, in some towns, are held during the hours of daylight, while others, even though not completely deserted during the daytime, have their peak pried after sunset. How long after nightfall the market lasts depends on the habits of the people and comparative freedom of town and wards of town from burglar. Generally, the night market is held by lamplight. Central markets are held at intervals of four or eight days and last for greater part of the day. In some cases, the market does not begin to get really full until about four o'clock. Whether markets are local or central, the traders are usually compartmentalized on the basis of the line of goods they sell. Thus, the beer sellers are to be found together, so are palm-oil sellers, yam-flour sellers, the sellers of firewood, dried-fish sellers, dealers in fresh meat, sellers of calabashes (both worked and unworked) dealers in shea butter, palm-oil, cooked food of various kinds, cloth and garment, herbs and blacksmith, and so on (Fadipe, 1970).

The Features of the Traditional Economy

Based on above discourse, the features of the traditional economy are;

- Land is the major means of production
- Primacy of family in the allocation of role in productive activities
- Subsistence agriculture as the mainstay of the economy
- Little or limited division of labour and specialization
- Use of simple or crude implements and tools for production.

The Modern Economy

The modern Nigerian economy can be classified into three major sectors. These are Primary sector, the secondary sector and the tertiary/services sectors. By implication, the modern Nigerian economy is characterized by structural dualism (Ake, 1985).

The Primary Sector

The primary sector consists of extractive activities. This comprises agriculture and extraction of natural resources. The agricultural sector is an admixture of subsistence and modern farming. Agriculture is still very common in Nigerian modern economy despite the fact that oil has displaced it as the major foreign revenue earner.

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Agriculture accounts for over 26.8% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and two-thirds of employment. Unlike in 1960s, Nigeria is no longer a major exporter of cocoa, groundnuts (peanuts), rubber, and palm oil. For example, cocoa production, mostly from obsolete varieties and overage trees, is stagnant at around 180,000 tons annually; 40 years ago it was 300,000 tons. An even more dramatic decline in groundnut and palm oil production also has taken place. Once the biggest poultry producer in Africa, corporate poultry output has been slashed from 40 million birds annually to about 18 million. The common agricultural products in Nigeria include cassava (tapioca), corn, cocoa, millet, palm oil, peanuts, rice, rubber, sorghum, and yams

Despite the fact that agriculture has contributed much to modern Nigeria economy, the sector suffers from extremely low productivity, reflecting reliance on antiquated methods. Although overall agricultural production rose by 28 percent during the 1990s, per capita output rose by only 8.5 percent during the same decade. Agriculture has failed to keep pace with Nigeria's rapid population growth, so that the country, which once exported food, now relies on imports to sustain itself. Other problems of the sector include dominance of peasant farmers and their reliance on rudimentary farm equipment and low technology. Another feature of the sector is under-capitalization which results in low yield and declining output, among others (Obadina, 1999; Sanusi, 2010).

The components of the mining sub sector in Nigeria are crude petroleum, gas and solid minerals. Prior to the advent of petroleum, minerals such as coal and tin were the main mineral exports. However, with the emergence of crude oil, the relative importance of solid minerals diminished. Indeed, since the 1970s, the largest mining activity has been crude oil production, which became dominant in terms of government revenue and export earnings. Lately, the production of gas has gained increased attention, as the export potential of gas has reduced the dominance of crude oil.

Thus crude oil production has remained the mainstay of the modern Nigerian economy. Oil was struck between 1953 and 1956 in a relatively unknown town called Oloibiri. With this, Oloibiri has brought Nigeria to world reckoning. Nigeria's proven oil reserves were estimated at 36.2 billion barrels. With the continuing discovery of new oil wells, the nation's proven oil reserves had increased over 40 billion barrels. Nigeria is the largest oil producer in African and the seventh largest in the world. Its total oil production in 2006 including condensates, natural gas liquids and crude oil averaged 2.45 million barrels per day, bpd, with oil accounting for 2.28 million bpd. Although it is difficult to put a definite figure to how much has accrued to the country in safe to estimate it at several hundreds of billions of dollars (Aham, 2008).

Since it was first exported in 1958, oil has, ostensibly, catapulted the country from a struggling independent nation to an economically dependent and buoyant country. With oil wealth, Lagos, the nation's first capital city, was built to a befitting status comparable to many other nations' capitals. And when the capital moved from Lagos to Abuja, oil money was, equally, used to set up a capital city of an enviable standard. It was also with this oil windfall that Yakubu Gowon's regime in 1977 organized the Festival for Arts and Culture, FESTAC, the first of its kind in the nation's history. More importantly, with the oil wealth, government in the 1970s was able to set up the second-generation universities across the country. Petrodollars was also used in constructing several stadia across the country as football increasingly

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became a popular national pastime. Beyond this, in the 1960s and 1970s, major infrastructural developments took place particularly in the transport sector. Huge road constructions, including the Lagos – Ibadan, Sagamu-Ore-Benin, Kaduna, Kano expressways, among others, were constructed (Ajanaku, 2008).

However, the availability of huge oil revenues and weak political and administrative structures gave rise to high incidence of corruption, more emphasis on oil taxes and less on direct personal taxes which created the problems of lack of accountability and weak linkages between government and the citizens, which in turn led to weakness in democratic institutions and culture (Agbo, 2008).

Also, environmental degradation has remained the major challenge in the Niger Delta area as result of oil exploration and exploitation. For instance, rather than being proud and privileged to be the goose that lays the golden eggs of the nation's oil wealth, the Niger Delta area has remained underdeveloped. While the federal government and multinational oil companies are counting their blessings in trillions of naira from oil revenue, the hapless people of Niger Delta are bemoaning the loss of their means of livelihood (Ikporukpo, 2007; Agbo, 2008).

The Secondary Sector

The secondary sector is made up of industrial and manufacturing sector. Prior to independence in 1960, the Nigerian economy was mainly agrarian. On attainment of independence, the Nigerian government embarked on the programme of transforming the country into an industrial economy. The Nigerian manufacturing sub-sector is made up of large, medium and small enterprises, as well as cottage and hand-craft units. In spite of spirited efforts made to boost manufacturing output and various policy regimes, manufacturing has not made any significant contribution to the growth of the economy. Industry as a whole contributed only 11.3% of the GDP in 1960-70, growing significantly in the next two decades to a high of 41.0% in 1981-1990, owing largely to the crude petroleum and gas production during the decades. The contribution contracted to 38.6% in the 1990s and further to 29.4% during 2001-2009. These numbers, in fact, belie the poor contribution of the manufacturing sub-sector to aggregate output in Nigeria compared with its peers in Asia and Latin America. Indeed, the contribution of the manufacturing component has on average been below 5.0% in the last two decades. Even the relatively high contribution of oil sector to the industrial sector contribution is being driven largely by crude production and not by the associated 'core industrial' components like refining and petrochemicals. The contribution of wholesale and retail trade and services has more or less remained stable, while that of building and contribution rose sharply from 5.3% in the 1960s to 8.3% in the 1970s, but fell consistently, thereafter, to 1.8% during 2001-2009. During and some years after Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the main manufactured exports were textiles, beer and stout, cocoa butter, plastic products, processed timber, tyres, bottled water, soap and detergents, as well as iron rods. However, some of these products have disappeared from the export list owing to poor enabling environment (Obadina, 1999; Sanusi, 2010).

The Tertiary Sector

The Tertiary sector consists mainly of services, including banking, shipping, aviation and telecommunication. With specific reference to services Nigeria ranks 63rd worldwide and 5th in Africa in services' output. Banking sector has remained very

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prominent in the service sector in Nigeria. The banking sector has witnessed significant growth over the last few years as new banks enter the financial market. However, the sector has a number of problems.

There was a near consensus that certain prevailing factors abound in the Nigerian banking industry as at May 29, 1999 to justify the call for an overhaul of the sector in readiness for full-blown reforms in the finance sector. The banking sector was one of the most vulnerable to a harvest of ruinous policies of successive military administrations. As at end-June 2004, there were 89 deposit money banks operating in Nigeria, comprising institutions of various sizes and degree of soundness. In terms of structure, the sector was highly concentrated, as the 10 largest banks accounted for about 50% of the industry's total assets/liabilities. It was a period when most banks in the country had capitalization of less than $10 million. Even the largest bank in Nigeria had a capital base of about $240m compared with $526m for the smallest bank in Malaysia during the period under review. The small size of most of the banks, each with expensive headquarters, separate investments in software and hardware, heavy fixed costs and operating expenses, and with bunching of branches in few commercial centres led to high average costs for the industry. This, in turn, had implications for the cost of intermediation and the spread between deposit and lending rates. It also put undue pressure on banks to engage in sharp practices as a means of survival. In essence some of the banks were not engaging in strict banking business in terms of financial intermediation. They were merely traders - trading in foreign exchange, in government treasury bills and, sometimes, in direct importation of goods through 'shell companies' (Okafor, 2009a).

Specifically, as at the end – March, 2004, the Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) rating of all the banks, classified 62 as sound/satisfactory, 14 as marginal, and 11 as unsound. Two of the banks did not render any returns during the period. The CBN said the weakness of some of the ailing banks manifests in their overdrawn position with the CBN, high incidence of non-performing loans, capital deficiencies, weak management and poor corporate governance. A further analysis of the returns of the marginal and unsound banks as at 2005 revealed that they accounted for 19.2% of total assets of the banking system and 17.2% of total deposit liabilities. The industry's non-performing assets accounted for 19.5% (Okafor, 2009a).

The problem of the banks, particularly those classified as unsound, include; persistent illiquidity, poor assets quality and unprofitable operations, weak corporate governance evidenced by high turnover in the board and management staff, inaccurate reporting and non-compliance with regulatory requirements, falling ethics and de-marketing of other banks in the industry and late or non-publication of annual accounts. Others are gross insider related credits; insolvency as evidenced by negative capital adequacy ratios and shareholders' funds that had been completely eroded by operating losses; weak capital base; over-dependency on public sector deposits, and neglect of small and medium class savers. To meet up with the 25bn minimum capital requirement of the CBN, some windows of opportunity were open to the then 89 banks. These included mergers, acquisition and the opportunity to raise funds from the capital market. Most of the banks opted for Merger and Acquisition (M&A) (Okafor, 2009a). Since then, there have been other reforms in the sector.

Another service sector that stands out in the modern Nigerian economy is telecommunication sector. With the deregulation of the sector which started in 2001,

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the number of active telephone lines in the country increased from about 400,000 in 2001 to over 87 million currently. This sector is considered the fastest growing sector especially in the area of employment of labour in Nigeria presently, particularly the wireless telephone sector which provides services to individual customers using the Global System for Mobile Communication, GSM. The presence of new operators has resulted in a phenomenal growth of a sector previously dominated by a single national telephone service provider – the Nigerian Telecommunications Limited, NITEL. The new operators have injected the much-needed competition and provided new employment opportunities into a previously lackluster and under-performing sector. Millions of new jobs have been directly created out of the telecom sector. Also, indirect spin-offs in new business – dealerships, retail outlets for GSM handsets and accessories, and one-man phone boot operators – have admittedly been very healthy for the employment market. Moreover, internet penetration has also significantly improved with more and more broadband operators deploying faster high-speed services, fuelling a higher level of Internet awareness and its associate benefits (Okafor, 2007a; Atojoko, Mordi and Odutola, 2011).

Privatization and Deregulation of the Economy

It will be difficult to discuss modern Nigerian economy without making reference to privatization and deregulation. Privatization is the incidence or process of transferring ownership of business from the public sector (government) to the private sector (business). In a broader sense, privatization refers to transfer of any government function to the private sector including governmental functions like revenue collection and law enforcement. The term "Privatization" also has been used to describe two unrelated transactions. The first is a buyout, by the majority owner, of all shares of a public corporation or holding company's stock, privatizing a publicly traded stock. The second is a demutualization of a mutual organization or cooperative to form a joint stock company (Okafor, 2009b).

Deregulation on the other hand refers to a process by which governments remove, reduce, or simplify restrictions on business and individuals, often ostensibly with the intent of encouraging the efficient operation of private markets, but also with the intent of opening up new areas of trade for speculators. Deregulation is different from liberalization because a liberalized market, while often having less and simpler regulations, can also have regulations in order to increase efficiency and protect consumer's rights, one example being anti-trust legislation. However, the terms are often used interchangeably within deregulated/liberalized industries (Obadina, 1999).

The above two neo-liberal policies of government are components of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) introduced in June 1986 to deal distortions in the Nigerian economy. Hence, one of the main objectives of SAP was, therefore, to pursue deregulation and privatization leading to removal of subsidies, reduction in wage expenses, and retrenchment in the public sector ostensibly to trim the state down to size

Historically, before the introduction of SAP, the combined effect of economic depression of 1980s as well as the issue of mismanagement and under-utilization which led to huge wastage of resources and manpower potentials gave the government of the day no other option but to pursue quickly the privatization programme. There were about 600 public enterprises in Nigeria run by or controlled by the Federal Government. Many more were controlled by State Governments. These companies

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took a sizeable portion of the Federal Budget and accounted for over 5,000 appointments into their management and Board – a powerful source of political patronage. Transfers to these enterprises ran into billions of naira. These transfers were in form of subsidized foreign exchange, import duty waivers, tax exemptions and/or write-off of arrears, unremitted revenues, loans and guarantees and grants/subventions. These companies were also infested with many problems which became an avoidable drag on the economy such as - abuse of monopoly power, defective capital structure, heavy dependence on treasury funding, rigid bureaucratic structures and bottlenecks, mismanagement, corruption and nepotism. With all these problems, the government had no other option but to take a positive step. In March 1988, the then Nigerian Head of State, Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, promulgated a decree establishing the Technical Committee on Privatization and Commercialization (TCPC). The committee was formally inaugurated in July 1988 to undertake the task of reform of public enterprises, as an integral and critical component of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), which was started in 1986. The reform as conceived has two interrelated components – Privatization and Commercialization (Jerome, 2008; Okafor, 2009b).

During the first phase of the exercise which spanned from July 1988 and June 1993, the following programmes were executed: 36 enterprises were privatized through public offer of their shares; four enterprises were privatized on Deferred Public Offer method; eight enterprises were privatized via Private Placement method; 8 enterprises were privatized via Sale of Assets method; one enterprise was privatized through Management Buy Out method (MBO) and sale of non-water assets of about 18 River Basin Development Authorities. However, between December, 1999 and May, 2007 over 30 enterprises have been privatized, adding over 5 billion shares to the capital market while the Federal government realized a revenue of N35.6 billion from the sales. Privatization and deregulation are geared to transform the Nigerian economy. Given the size of the population (over 150 million) and the potential market which includes the West African sub-region, the scope for foreign investment appears enormous. However, the relative achievements and the problems created these two neo-liberal policies have remained a subject of academic and intellectual discourse by the scholars (Nwoye, 2001; Igbuzor, 2002; Momoh, 2002; Jerome, 2008).

The features of Modern Economy

The main features of Modern Economy are;

- Use of sophisticated machines or technology for production of goods and rendering of services.
- Recruitment into bureaucracy is based on qualification and technical competence
- There is great emphasis on the division of labour and specialization.
- Economy is compartmentized into three main sectors.
- There is a separation between home and office.

Some Challenges of Modern Nigerian Economy

There are a number of challenges facing the modern Nigerian economy. These problems are isolated and discussed below:

Unemployment: Labour market is saturated with large of number of people who are unemployed. In Nigeria, accurate unemployment rates are difficult to access.

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However, Nigeria's unemployment can be grouped into two categories: first, the older unemployed who lost their jobs through retrenchment, redundancy, or bankruptcy; and second, the younger unemployed, most of whom have never been employed. The statistics from the Manpower Board and the Federal Bureau of Statistics showed that Nigeria has a youth population of 80 million, representing 60% of the total population of the country. Also, 64 million of them are unemployed, while 1.6 million are under-employed. The 1990-2000 data on youth unemployment showed that the largest group of the unemployed are secondary school holders. Also, 40% of the unemployment rate are among urban youth aged 20 – 24, and 31% of the rate are among those aged 15-19. Also, two-thirds of the urban unemployed are ranged from 15-24 years old. Moreover, the educated unemployed tended to be young males with few dependents. There are relatively few secondary school holders and the lowered job expectations of primary-school graduates. The authors, however, admitted that there is no consistent trend of unemployment rates in Nigeria. An increase in one or two years is sometimes followed by a decline in the subsequent years (Awogbenle & Iwuamadi, 2010).

According to National Bureau of Statistics (2009:238; 2010:2), the national unemployment rates for Nigeria between 2000 and 2009 showed that the number of unemployed persons constituted 31.1% in 2000; 13.6% in 2001; 12.6% in 2002; 14.8% in 2003; 13.4% in 2004; 11.9% in 2005; 13.7% in 2006; 14.6% in 2007; 14.9% in 2008 and 19.7% in 2009.

Specifically, as regards the age group, educational group and sex, data provided by the National Bureau of Statistics (2010:3) further showed that as at March 2009 in Nigeria, for persons between ages 15 and 24 years, 41.6% were unemployed. For persons between 25 and 44 years, 17% were unemployed. Also, those with primary education, 14.8% were unemployed and for those with only secondary education, 23.8% were unemployed. Furthermore, for those with post-secondary education, 21.3% were unemployed. For those who never attended school and those with below primary education, 21.0% and 22.3% were unemployed respectively. As regards sex, data showed that males constituted 17.0%, while females constituted 23.3%.

Infrastructural Collapse: Another main challenge facing the economy is poor economic and social infrastructure. These include bad roads, erratic power supply, limited access to portable water and basic healthcare, and much more. All these have led to the collapse of industries and factories and increased the cost of doing business in Nigeria. There are over 800 collapsed industries in Nigeria, and over 37 factories have closed shops in 2009. About half of the remaining operating firms have been classified as "ailing," a situation that poses a great threat to the survival of manufacturing in the country in the next few years. According to a survey carried out as part of its membership operational audit in January 2010 by the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN), the 834 figure represents the cumulative aggregate of firms that have shut down their operations in 2009 across the country. The MAN survey usually covers five manufacturing enclaves, into which the country is divided, in terms of manufacturing activities. These include Lagos, northern, southeast, south-south and southwest areas. The report of the survey showed that in 2009, a total number of 176 firms became terminally sick and collapsed in the northern area, comprising the Kano and Kaduna states manufacturing axis. In the southeast area, which comprises Anambra, Enugu, Imo, and Abia states, a total number of 178

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companies closed shop during the period. While in the south-south area, which consisted of Rivers, Cross River, and Akwa Ibom states, 46 companies shut down operations before December 2009. According to the survey, the southwest area, which is comprises Oyo, Ogun, Osun, Ondo, Ekiti, Kogi, and Kwara states, lost 225 companies during the year. It said that the Lagos area, covering Ikeja, Apapa, Ikorodu, and other industrial divisions in the state, followed closely with 214 manufacturing firms closing shop before the end of 2009 (Okafor, 2008; Maiyak, 2010; Oparah, 2011; Usman, 2011).

In sum, the consequence of infrastructural collapse is the poor investment climate in the economy that has rendered the economy uncompetitive. In the absence of adequate infrastructure (power, roads, water, and the like), the cost of doing business in the country remains high, forcing to neighbouring countries even companies that had existed in Nigeria for upwards of four decades.

Macroeconomic Challenges: The Nigerian macroeconomy is characterized by structural rigidities, dualism and the false paradigm model. Generally, the sectors of the economy are so disjointed to the extent that the primary sector does not relate meaningfully with the secondary sector and the same for the secondary and the tertiary sectors. Agricultural produce end up as final consumer goods as only a small quantity is processed or used as raw materials for local manufacturing industries. Also, the produce of the extractive industries are exported in their raw forms without local value addition. Given the higher incomes in the oil and gas sub-sector of the extractive industry, attention is concentrated there to the almost total neglect of the mainstream economy. Consequently, the economy is broken into the very rich (relying on the oil and gas industry) and the very poor (relying on the mainstream economy) with almost a complete vacuum in-between these two. The false paradigm model also plays out in the economy in the sense that while the few very wealthy group clamour for relevance in the context of 'expert' advise, the very poor suffer from ignorance, disease and malnutrition. Thus, there is no structural change and, hence, the attitudinal changes expected of economic transformation are absent (Sanusi, 2010).

Poor Institutions and Corporate Governance: Another important challenge to sustainable economic growth in Nigeria is lack of effective institutions and good governance. These factors have been hindering various efforts and reforms of the government to stimulate economic growth for sustainable development in Nigeria. The prevalence of weak institutions and poor corporate governance as well as poor ethical standards in most public and private organizations hinder the attainment of the goals of economic policies in the country. Poor corporate governance has adversely affected the quality of institutions to the extent that public and private institutions are used for selfish interests, thereby, making regulation and law enforcement ineffective.

Corruption Challenges: Discourse on the causes of youth unemployment in Nigeria will be incomplete without discussing the issue of the massive corruption perpetuated, and still being perpetuated, by successive military and civilian administrations. Corruption, which has permeated the entire social structure of Nigeria, has robbed the country of developing a vibrant economic base. Funds meant for development projects have been misappropriated, diverted, or embezzled and stashed away in foreign banks, while some incompetent and corrupt bureaucrats and administrators in the public enterprises and parastatals have liquidated these organizations (Okafor, 2007b). The point being made here is that the collaboration of the political elites, local and foreign

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contractors in the inflation of contract fees have robbed Nigeria of the chances of using more than $500 billion estimated revenue from the oil sale in the last 50 years to develop a vibrant economy that would have created jobs for the youths in various sectors of the economy. The ruling (political) class failed because they replaced the vision, policy, and strategy, which should be the thrust of every leadership with transaction (contract award and other mundane money-related activities). Each successive government took turns to prey on the nation's wealth, by using public power, resources, good will, utilities, instrument of abuse, and personal gains (Okafor, 2005).

The most recent rating of Nigeria, by the Transparency International (TI), on corruption computed a scale of 0-10 that showed that corruption has yet to abate. Nigeria was ranked 134 out of 178 countries that were assessed. They were viewed against previous ratings for the year 2008 and 2009, in which Nigeria was ranked 121st out of 180 countries and 130th out of 180, respectively. The country has declined alarmingly on the corruption scale. In the African Bracket, Botswana led with a score of 5.8, while the crisis-ridden Somalia was at the bottom with a score of 1.1. Countries like Ghana, Liberia, Gambia, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Benin Republic, Mali, and Niger led Nigeria. No Africa country made the top 20 list of countries with low corruption in the survey. This is despite the fact that Nigeria has streams of institutional mechanisms for combating corruption, namely, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices (and other related offenses) Commission (ICPC), and the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) (Ijioma, 2010).

Over Reliance on Oil and Non-diversification: Nigeria is a mono-product economy with the bulk of government revenue coming from oil exports which is susceptible to shocks in the international oil market. Moreover, many other solid minerals with which the country is richly endowed with remain generally untapped. More fundamentally, the economy has disproportionately relied on the primary sector (subsistence agriculture and the extractive industry) without any meaningful value addition. In light of this, the little growth recorded in the economy, thus far, has been without commensurate employment, positive attitudinal change, value reorientation, and equitable income distribution, among others.

In a nutshell, since the oil price boom of the early 1970s, Nigeria has abandoned the agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy to the old and weak. Both the public and private sectors of the economy concentrate their efforts in the oil and gas industry to the extent that the mainstream economy is denied funding, requisite investment and even managerial capabilities. Thus, the mainstream economy has become uncompetitive globally, while the country has turned into a trading outpost for foreign companies. This has hindered the much-needed transformation of the modern Nigeria economy.

Conclusion

Nigerian economy has undergone a lot of transformation from pre-colonial times to the modern era. The economies of various ethnic groups are as diverse as the ethnic groups. As already stressed in the traditional society, land was the major means of production because farming was the predominant economic activity. However, in the modern time, although economic activity has been diversified into three main sectors, yet primary sectors have continued to dominate the economy. Thus, the Nigerian

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economy is still dominated by the primary sector, followed rather closely by the tertiary sector with the contribution of the secondary sector remaining insignificant. Little wonder, the diversification index remained below 0.4 per cent through the review period, despite a number of reforms in the sector. A review of the statistics from comparable countries shows that the share of primary commodities in total exports is 20.0% for Malaysia, 24.0 per cent for India, 12.0% for China. For developed countries, it is 17% for Britain and America and 9% for Japan. In Nigeria, the primary sector contributes 99% of exports with only 1.0% coming from the secondary sector (Sanusi, 2010).

From all indications, the Nigerian economy is import dependent with very little non-oil exports. It relies heavily on crude oil and gas exports with other sectors trailing far behind. Crude oil exportation accounts for about 90% of foreign exchange earned by the country, while non-oil exports account for the balance. This has made the economy susceptible to shocks in the oil industry as caused by either developments in the International crude oil market or the restiveness in the Niger Delta region of the Nigeria. Agriculture has been abandoned to the rural poor. Meanwhile, the economic and social infrastructure that was supposed to support modern economy especially the power sector is grossly inadequate and dilapidated. In addition to this poor corporate governance, both in the public and private sectors, have led to high incidence of corruption and inequity in income distribution, thereby affecting the economy negatively. Tackling the crises in the modern Nigerian economy will therefore require a multi-sectoral approach.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE CULTURAL DOMAINS OF NIGERIANS' WORK ETHICS

Akanle, Olayinka, Olutayo, Seun and Adebayo Kudus

Introduction and Background

Every society has its bounds and specificities yet limitless in its potentialities for development depending on the nature, conception, disposition, attitude and practice of work. The limit and limitlessness of any society is thus embodied, codified and bound by culture as displayed in dominant ethos, values and behavioural practices of the people. Culture determines what work is, how work is to be undertaken and what would be the acceptable attitude to work. These are defined and determined in ethics that are usually determined from within culture. The trajectories of culture and work ethics are central to ultimate sustainable development of any people and society. This is important for Nigerian and African development today going forward (Akanle, 2011a). Although culture has a twin characteristics of universality and relativity and critical for construction of work and associated forces, unique cultural elements that must of necessity resonate ethics that guide work. Culture is a defining characteristic of all human societies, such that without it no human aggregate may be said to inhabit a society especially as it affects the work life of a people. As already implied above, culture is relative, largely and varies from place to place, in time, and from one human group to another. This could be termed *cultural variability* relative to time, place and groups. This is very crucial especially the age of globalization of the 21st century and beyond. Summarily, the social institutions of a society, as well as its practices, are nothing but reflections of its culture within the prism of work. Thus, the ideas, acts, beliefs, attitude, law, politics, economy, leisure, work, and work ethics are all cultural constructions and expressions regardless of the state of development of a people (see also Akanle, 2012).

In the present chapter, our focus is on the analysis of work ethics within the domains of culture. We examined the role of culture on people's attitude and their orientation towards work. Following this introduction and background, ethnographic examinations of work ethics in Nigeria are trans-epocally attempted. These are followed by another section on the culture of work in the contemporary Nigerian society, with emphasis on some of the contradictions which make it difficult for people to maintain a good and healthy work ethics. In the last section, we highlighted the implications of good work ethics for societal development and offer some suggestions for the future through reflexive conclusions.

The word culture has been defined differently by sociologists, and the debate is still on-going. Attempts will however be made to excurse the intellectual definitional terrains of important concepts. According to Bruce & Yearly (2006, p. 58), culture refers to the "shared beliefs, norms, values, rituals, language, history, knowledge and social character" of a society. This definition captures the aspect of culture commonly known as the non-material, as against the material aspects which may include food, music, dance, dress, greeting patterns and the like. Culture has also been defined as the expected and accepted ways of behaving. This is what is usually meant when we say that someone is "cultured" (Aderinto, 2001). The culture of a society is an important identifier of its members, and it separates them from all others who may share their geographic boundaries. In another effort, Joan Ferrante (2011, p. 60) conceives culture as "human-created strategies for adjusting to the environment

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and to those creatures (including humans) that are part of that environment." This conception sees culture as a kind of design for living used by people to navigate existence, as well as social radar with which people see the world and define themselves. In simple terms, culture may be seen as the totality of the way of life of a people, their behaviour, ideas, acts, and artifacts (Isamah, 1993, p. 16).

Like culture, it is not easy to define or even conceptualize work. This impression is also shared by Grint (2005). Austin Isamah (1993) describes work as a phenomenon that is fundamental to human existence. Quoting Karl Marx, Isamah (1993) further explains that work is a human action that is focused on the production of value and the appropriation of natural substances for human needs. It is usually organised in terms of types of work to be done, the hours involved, and the rate of pay (Aderinto, Olutayo & Obemeata, 2001). For many, work is a means of earning income, but some people also engage in other types of work for which payment is not received. Introducing gender and age components at this juncture, it is possible to classify household house chores in the category of non-remunerated work. Yet household chores in traditional and even modern Africa are critical to societal order. A lot of women in traditional Nigeria and even in the modern era engage in household chores, yet they are not paid. Also, children are socialized to work life early especially in traditional Africa which Nigeria was part. Children were introduced into work early by following parents to farm and to market. This was to build their work ethics early in life so they do not depart from positive work character later in life.

Unfortunately, modern feminist theories and gender advocates condemn gender mainstreaming in house chores, while child rights movements consider children work socialization as child abuse. Such practices must be well located within the Nigeria cultural specificities and historical existences in manners that interconnect with the present for sufficient understanding and sociological appreciation that hold theoretical and pragmatic importance. While work could be put within the remit of payment and money especially in the 21st century economy therefore, unpaid *work* and *employment* are equally important and must be catered for just as children socialization into work practices are equally important. This is not however to justify child abuse, but the conception and labeling of child abuse must be culturally and historically sensitive as they are cultural constructs, and their determinants and meaningfulness are in culture.

Examples of unpaid work will be household labour, child care or volunteering. In different societies, the importance accorded to work by individuals and groups varies significantly, and this is often a reflection of culture. As Shalom Schwartz (1999) observes, cultural values are important determinants of the way people perceive the significance of work in their lives (in comparison with leisure, family, religion and the like, and a great determinant of whether they will see work as an entitlement or a social obligation. Culture, continues Schwartz, may also influence what we consider to be the ultimate value of work, which may have values that are *intrinsic* (personal growth, autonomy, interest, and creativity); *extrinsic* (pay and security); *social* (contact with people and contribution to society), or *power* related (prestige, authority, influence). Consequently, the role of culture in shaping people's perception, their view of work, and their overall attitude towards it, cannot be overemphasised. In other words, culture determines the work ethics of a people. But what do we mean by work ethics?

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Work ethics connotes a set of principled values, norms, ethos and ideals that are based on hard work and a strong dedication to duty. It is conviction that work is valuable and characters are built around this to determine humans' orientation to work. People may be said to have a good work ethics or a bad one, and the assessment of people based on what are considered to be elements of "good work ethics" can be used for evaluating their suitability for societal benefits. These elements can include being reliable, diligent, skilled, driven, resilient, or being passionate, enthusiastic and motivated. At the level of individuals and small groups, good work ethics can make difficult tasks appear easy, and can accelerate the achievement of personal and organisational goals. At the level of the society, the work ethics of a people can go a long way in determining the pace of their socio-economic development (Isamah, 1993). Being a product of culture in itself, work ethics is said to have contributed to rise of industries and economic capitalism, both of which Isamah (1993, p.18) believes to be "the basis of much of today's wealth and economic development." In his now classic text titled *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904), Max Weber attributes the rise of industry to the religious doctrine of Calvinism (aptly named after John Calvin) which exalts the value of work and encourages people to engage in work as an existential task. Without work, investment and re-investment, preached Calvinism, the goal of life would have been unfulfilled. Weber argues that it was on the basis of these religious precepts that people in Western Europe began to change their attitude toward work, and it is from thereon that capitalism began to take shape.

Nigerian Ethnic Groups and the Tradition of Diligence: Different Cultures, Many Work Ethics

Although the exact number is not known, Osaghae & Suberu (2005) note that scholars have estimated between 62 and 500 ethnic groups, making Nigeria one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world. From the number of languages to beliefs systems, rituals, and myths of origin, the expectation should be that Nigeria will have as many work ethics as well. As we shall find out soon enough, there are grounds to support this expectation since different ethno-cultural groups are known to have distinct views of reality. At this point, we must make a quick clarification of two separate, but related, ideas, namely: work ethics and cultural norm about the value of work. While the former talks about whether hard work is valued in a particular culture or not, the latter describes people's perception of the centrality of work to their lives based on their respective histories. This distinction is important because it makes it easy for us to identify where the ethnic groups of Nigeria differ from one another, and also help us identify what they have in common. To further demonstrate the significance of this point, let us look at how both ideas played out in traditional Nigerian cultures with focus on the Yoruba, Ibo, and Hausa ethnic groups.

In traditional Nigerian society, hard work is generally considered a virtue. Members of the society were socialised to imbibe the values of diligence and responsibility from childhood, beginning as soon as a child was able to run little errands around the household. Laziness was not condoned at all and slackers were thoroughly checked through direct and indirect means, checks that were sometimes packaged as songs, idioms, adages, or other forms of code. Except those that were ready to endure a life time of endless ridicule, which was very rare, no one dares to choose indolence over industriousness. In traditional Yoruba communities, to be lazy, says Aluko (2000), was an aberration, and those who took pride in idleness were

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looked down upon with contempt. Hardworking people whether male or female were respected in society. Good opportunities and values as well as benefits were reserved for people with track records of hard-work and positive work ethics. For example, beautiful women were reserved for those with proven track record of industry. For the family of the bride, it was a guarantee that the wife and her children will be well catered for. In the public sphere, songs, proverbs and sayings were in frequent use as means of checking idleness and reinforcing hard work and positive work ethics among the people. They are all to demonstrate that hard work and positive work ethics is beneficial to the person, group and nation. From past and even till date, proverbial songs and sayings like the following are definitive across cultures and particularly among the Yoruba:
Ise loogun ise (Work is the antidote of poverty)
Mura sise ore mi (Be hard working my friend)
Bi a ko ba ri eni feyinti (if we do not have a helper)
Bi ole laarí (we would be as though a lazy person)
Bi a ko ba ri eni gbekele (if we do not have someone to rely on)
A n tera mose eni (we increase hard work)
Mama re le l'owo l'owo (your mother may be rich)
Ki baba re lesin lekan (and your father may be prosperous)
Ti o ba gboju le won (if you rely on them)
O te tan ni mo so fun o (you will be put to shame)
Agbojulogun f'ira re fosi ta (anyone that relies on inheritance will come to poverty)
Iya mbe f'omo ti ko gbon (suffering is certain for a stupid person)
Ekun mbe f'omo t'o n sa kiri (a truant will weep at last)
Ma fowuro sere ore mi (do not waste away your early life my friend)
Ise la fi ndi eni giga (it is work that makes one great).

The traditional song below also shows the culture, value, work ethics and traditional economy of the Yoruba of South-western Nigeria and Nigeria in particular:
Ise Agbe ni se ile wa (farming is our traditional occupation)
Eni ko sise a ma jale (anyone that does not work will be a thief)
Iwe kiko lai si oko ati ada koi pe o koi pe o (education without hoe and cutlass is incomplete)
Iyan ati eba lounje ile wa (yam flour and cassava flour are our traditional foods)
Eni ko jiyan a je eba to tutu (anyone that does not eat hot pounded yam will eat cold cassava flour)
Isapa lai si iyan ati egusi koi pe o koi pe o (isapa soup without pounded yam and egusi soup is incomplete)
Ise agbe ni ise ile wa eni ko sise a ma jale (farming is our traditional occupation, anyone that does not work will be a thief)

Also:
Ole alapa ma sise (a lazy one with hands yet refused to work)
ole faso iya bora sun (a lazy person covers himself with cloth of poverty)
iya ole koro mo bi (a mother of a lazy person is childless)
e wa wa aiye ole lode o (come and look at the life of a lazy person; it is a shame/pity)

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For the Ibo people, meaningful existence was akin to success, and it was generally acknowledged that work plays a great role in its achievement. From the earliest period of their history, the Ibo persona was identified with doggedness and individual ambitiousness. This character was built over centuries of coping with harsh environmental conditions, landlessness, and continuous struggle for survival. Writing about this ethnic group, Imoagene (1990) observe that land, which every traditional society depended on, was not really enough to support the Ibo, so members were constantly on the move to occupy new lands. Coupled with high population density, Ibo families dispersed outwards in their numbers to secure habitable and farmable territories. This expansionist tendency of the *Ibo man* also defined him as a worker who is always in search of new and efficient ways to earn a living. It is extremely difficult to miss this aspect of the Ibo ethnic group in modern Nigeria as people now assume that an area must be underdeveloped if an Ibo person is not there conducting business. The Hausa people are similar to other groups regarding hard work. However, it must be mentioned that the traditional Hausa culture as we know it today was greatly influenced by Islamic religion. The Hausa people maintained a gendered labour practice in which husbands were expected to do all the work, both in the house and on the farm. Unlike their Fulani neighbours who allowed their women to earn some money, Hausa women were culturally barred from doing serious work except during the harvesting of certain crops. Notwithstanding, those who formed the workforce were expected to give optimally to the work process. Because of the strict nature of the climatic condition of the Hausa, there was little room for slow motion.

What will be noticed from our discussion so far is that hard work is admired in traditional Nigerian society. Except those who were handicapped by age or some forms of physical disabilities, everyone was expected to earn a living through work. What makes hard work (expressed as physical labour) an important asset was the fact that most of these traditional societies were dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. People married many wives, bore dozens of children, and lived in large extended households because of the need to maintain a steady supply of "quality" labour to farm the land. It was therefore from this foundation of diligence that the traditional societies of Nigeria evolved. The value was shared, learned and transmitted from one generation to the next. But this common background does not guarantee that the three ethnic groups will share the same norm about the proper place of work in their lives. Put in another way, while the Yoruba, Ibo, and Hausa groups can be said to have good work ethics, to the extent that they all show great admiration for hard work and diligence, there may not be strong grounds to believe each culture will perceive work in the same way nor accord work the same priority in the general scheme of things. Using the three ethnic groups that we have been considering so far, Aluko (2003, p. 170-171) explains thus:

> *With regard to the culture of work, the Yoruba tend to strike a balance between the opposite extremes represented by the Ibo and Hausa typologies. While that of the Ibo is extremely individualistic, that of the Yoruba remains largely collective. The Yoruba work according to the need and dictates of the situation. However, there is a tradition of hard work and excellence...*
>
> *...the Hausa places a high premium on deference to authority, loyalty, obedience and sensitivity to the interests, opinions, views and demands of one's superiors. Their custom strongly favours*

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> *qualities of servility, respect for authority, allegiance to management or whoever is powerful, and submissiveness...*
>
> *...Ibo culture as a whole is receptive to change and is achievement oriented. The work ethos idealizes egalitarian, individualistic and anarchic pursuits, with due respect to age and tradition [al]. The struggle for survival was characterized by fierce individualistic struggles and ruthless determination to succeed...Culturally, the Ibo value hard work, discipline, thrift and excellence in all its ramifications.*

The long quotation above serves to direct our attention to the point that we have been making that even though there was a tradition of hard work in those societies, they each developed according to the dictates of their respective histories.

Nigerian Worker of the 21st Century: The Clogs

The Nigerian society that we have discussed up to this point existed mainly in the pre-colonial era. Colonialism marked a watershed in the history of the societies that will later make up the Nigerian state. While it has been more than two centuries since the British explorers stepped on the shores of Nigeria, and more than five decades since their departure, the encounter brought many changes to the entire social structure of existing communities and also brought hitherto autonomous cultures under one system of governance. As almost all the social structures were transformed, work was not spared because Europeans felt that their own view of what constituted "meaningful work life" was superior to what they met. These transmorgrifications in the social structure of Africa affected values and norms right from the family to work (Olutayo and Akanle, 2007). Besides, in order to manage the new territory successfully, there was that urgent need to create western-style modern institutions and industries. Although they also endeavoured to train some Nigerians over the course of their unholy rule, the available human capital at independence was not enough to manage the new society that the Europeans were leaving behind. In respect of work, what the members of the new society shared in common was a tradition of hard work, but more was required to sustain Nigeria, with new knowledge and rededication to work being the most crucial. And while the old cultures were interacting within new social structures, the old work ethics was also giving way for new culture of work especially with the corrosive influence of globalization, westernization and modernization on the original cultural systems of Nigeria and Africa (Akanle, 2011b; Akanle and Olatayo, 2010). Unfortunately, the attitude that was emerging did more harm than good. Again, Aluko (2003) gives us a hint of what he identifies as the points of convergence about the "new work" ethics of three ethnic groups:

1. Collective tradition is in place in all Nigerian cultures.
2. Nigeria is a fatalistic society where people believe in divine intervention rather than hard work.
3. Workers on the average, "moonlight," that is, they engage in some form of private practice.
4. The level of commitment to materialism; that is, the craze for wealth is high, and workers are extrinsically oriented, that they are largely motivated by monetary rewards.

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5. The culture of corruption has been institutionalised in most of the workplaces.
6. Workers in general are not time-conscious.

Besides the first item, the rest are unarguably anathema to work ethics. While some of the items above are debris of the old tradition (1 &2), the rest are mostly products of the new social structures and institutions. But what are the factors responsible for this change in the culture of work and how pervasive were they? The subsequent of this section will, in brief, explain just four out of the many possible factors that may be identified.

Tradition vs. Modernity

In his popular theory of "Two Publics," Peter Ekeh (1975) remarks that most countries of Africa were divided between the primordial and the civic publics whereby people were caught in-between two life worlds, both begging for commitment. The problem started when the primordial public, which has to do with sentiments of tradition or traditional culture of work, was imported into the structures of the civic public, which was made of impersonal, ordered, strictly compartmentalised system. As Isamah (1993, p. 21) emphasizes, "the influence of continuing co-existence of traditional culture within the modern industrial culture is the explanation for the seeming inability of workers to achieve high levels of productivity…" In the new modern system, there is no respect for age at the workplace; paternalism was discouraged, and meritocracy replaced spiritism. Regarding the last especially, the individual carries the blame for her failure at work, and no one was expected to identify his/her failure with transcendental beings – as it was in the past when the spirits might "reasonably" be the cause of poor harvest and famine.

For those working in the informal sector of the economy, the society was making new demands that they could not meet. This was a result of the lack of expertise to manufacture products that can compete favourably and effectively with foreign goods that were finding their way into Nigeria. Furthermore, the value placed on agriculture was also diminishing rapidly, caused in part by the "false consciousness" of the people, particularly the youth, about the wealth waiting to be grabbed in the emerging cities. This encounter of the old and the new led to serious mental re-adjustment, or mental confusion if you like, that changed the work ethics of the Nigerian. The hard work of the past, which was basically oriented to physical work, will not be useful in the modern society if it is not augmented with abstract and more innovative thinking. Suffice it to say that the problem was not whether the Nigerian worker can adjust to the new system. Rather, it was about the cultural, political, social, and psychological confusions that characterised the transformation process.

Oil Wealth

After the new society was created, regional focus on agriculture did a lot to sustain the feeling that maybe the old work ethics was still relevant. This changed, however, when Nigeria started producing oil in exportable quantity. Gradually, agriculture was sidelined, and within a matter of a decade or two, millions of people have flocked to the cities to benefit from the new found wealth. While this was going on, national economic/development planners were busy acquiring industries through the indigenisation policy, all of which were meant to be occupied by the newly educated

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workers of Nigeria based on the principles of federal character. With the oil wealth, government created a society that relegated agriculture, discouraged meritocracy as a matter of principle, and encouraged favoritism and nepotism in the public sphere. All over, people were changing their work ethics from "working hard" to "working smart." Working smart was fundamentally about "who you know and who you are" and never about "what you know." As expected, it was only a matter of time before "short cut" became the correct way of doing things.

Misconception about the Goal of Education

Under normal circumstances, education was supposed to develop skills, innovative thinking, and build individual character. It should prepare those who benefit from it for the task of nation building, and all literate persons ought to agree that education was only a stepping stone to other important societal tasks. Contrary to these expectations, however, the goal of education was defined too thinly by the society and those in charge of it. According to Ekeh (1975), the new rulers of Nigeria misconceived education as follows:

> *Most colonized Africans had the perception of the European as a man blessed with much, who did nothing much more than acquire literary education to earn such luxury. To become a Western educated African in the colonial situation was for many an avenue for escaping hard work. Hard work was meant for the 'natives'. At least it was believed that the European, having acquired an adequate education, could not work with his hands. (1975, p. 99)*

This definition of the goal of education was thought to many in the years following independence. As regional governments were vigorously pursuing the goal of mass education, the use for which the knowledge will be put was not clearly defined. Then, school leavers were expected to secure employment, get married, and live large immediately after their education. This orientation, though reasonable for a while, had negative implications on the long run because it encouraged mental laziness. In places where the goal of education was being defined, agriculture was still considered a priority even though the newly emerging society will depend more on technical knowledge to truly "modernize." This disorientation is captured in a very popular primary rhyme in southwestern Nigeria, as already demonstrated in full:

Iwe ki ko, lai si oko ati ada,
Koi pe o, koi pe o!
(Formal education without hoe and cutlass is incomplete)
Ise aagbe nise ile wa
Eni ko sise, a ma jale!
(Farming is our traditional occupation and he who refuses to work will surely steal)

Poverty and Corruption

This point will not delay us here since it is easy to imagine how widespread poverty in the midst of plenty can cause change in the attitude of people to work. In traditional societies, hardly will a hardworking person go hungry or live in abject poverty. Those who were handicapped by age or other forms of physical or mental disabilities we cared for by the community. Collective responsibility was the watchword. However,

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the modern system, with its attendant abstract state, changed this by creating a system that allowed a few to become wealthy, while majority wallow in chronic poverty. This persisted in spite of the fact that the Nigerian working class was still adjudged to be industrious. It was a case of "working and suffering." Only those with access to politicians or political offices were escaping poverty, a situation that led to what Richard Joseph (1987) called "prebendalism." For many, politics was the only path worth taking, but with it came clientelism, embezzlement, godfatherism, and other negative values that killed the spirit of traditional culture of hard work among Nigerians.

All the factors enumerated above, as well as issues relating to widespread material culture, are some of the factors that caused changes in the work ethics of Nigerians. In contemporary Nigeria, it is no longer uncommon to find industrial sociologists reporting low productivity among workers. Most people are not motivated to give their best, and paid employments are now seen as other people's work, needing little commitment – that is, just enough to get by. Given the situation that existed in traditional cultures, what can be said of the culture of work of Nigerian workers today is that the situation has changed almost completely for the worst. Under this circumstance, positive and progressive changes, in terms of socioeconomic and human development, will be hard to achieve. Isamah (1993) makes the same point when he noted that at the core of Africa's underdevelopment is the attitude and orientation that Africans hold towards work. The problem is now more pronounced among the youths who generally believe in the possibility of sudden wealth which they continue to chase through socially proscribed means.

Promoting Culture of Work and Work Ethics: Concluding Reflections

Culture is human, and human is culture. There can never be society without culture, and there can never be culture without society. The past of humans, the present of human and the future of humans relative to their developments are strongly located in culture and propelled through hard work and work ethics for sustainable development. Locating hard work within cultural and historical specificities of the society is thus critical. Hence, culture is central to how people perceive work, shape their attitude towards to work and how they work. It is within our respective of cultures that we come to internalise the value of work, and it is within that framework that a society ought to evolve its social institutions, and it is from it that mechanisms for adaptation to new realities must derive. But we also know, as has been demonstrated above, that unanticipated interruptions may occur and bring radical changes for which a society may be unprepared. This was what happened to most countries in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The difference between the countries in these continents, however, is how they each adjusted to the changes. For Nigeria specifically, adjustment was both slow and confusing. With regards to work, the traditional met the modern, and new social structure created conditions that rendered hard work almost useless. This is why the youths in Nigeria today are seen as mostly atavistic, rebellious and fast. The values of the youths today have changed. This gave resonance to the principles of *old school* and *new school.* This is why the practice of *yahoo yahoo* is very common and acceptable among many urban youths today, while it seen as dangerous and lazy by the elders. The question then is: what can be done?

One way to begin is to revive those aspects of our traditional cultures of work that can be re-adapted for the socialisation of the upcoming generation. Children must

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be thought to appreciate the value of diligence right from their formative years. This may be backed by country-wide, and targeted, advocacy programmes that are strategically designed to get out the appropriate messages. Second, effort must be directed at ensuring that the sense of insecurity is reduced in modern industries. The impersonal nature, and the uncertainties, of new industries are causes of low or lack of commitment to work. People generally tend to have no motivation to perform in the atmosphere of fear, and even when they contribute effectively to the work process it is usually because they were afraid of what might happen – not because they love what they do. Third, modern establishments must endeavour to ensure that their management styles reflect an awareness of the prevailing cultural norms of work. Many multinational corporations have realised the importance of the local culture of work for overall organisational success, and researchers have been busy studying the national culture of work in different countries across the world (Miller, 2010; Fernandez, Carlson, Stepina, & Nicholson, 1997). While industries must look out for extremely harmful traditional work-related practices, such as extreme paternalism, ways must be sought to integrate undisruptive elements.

Fourth, the "get-rich-quick syndrome" must be tackled decisively. In this wise, the media has a lot of role to play as it remains the strongest medium through which surrealistic ideas are being promoted. From the movies to the so-called "reality shows" and "corporate promos," society must require everyone to act responsibly, with a set of accompanying policies in place to ensure conformity. This is necessary because everything seems to start and end with the human mind – and it is the mind that the media is freely manipulating and unchecked. Finally, government at all levels must begin to treat positive culture of work as a development priority. This includes, amongst other things, a re-definition of the goal of education. Our educational institutions must develop curriculum that would teach usable skills which can meet the demand of the society in manners that interconnect the past with the present for the future development of Nigeria and Africa. This must place strong premium on positive work ethics, especially among the youths who today are significantly disoriented and disconnected from original Nigerian and African values, norms, ethos and ideals as they affect work ethics.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

CULTURE AND WORK VALUES IN TRADITIONAL IGBO AND YORUBA SOCIETIES

Onyeonoru, Ifeanyi P., Samuel Ayodeji Omolawal & Theophilus Akpan Joshua

Introduction

Work in traditional African society is culturally situated and its culture relates with the totality of the way of life of a people. The word, "culture" comes from Latin *cultura* which is related to cult or worship. This reflects the element of close, mutual association and solidarity among groups of people. Part of the controversy associated with the notion of culture relates to its links with civilization. Social anthropological idea of culture is based on the classical definition of the term by Edward Tylor (1871) who referred to it as a learned complex of knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law and custom – the totality of the way of life of a people. This definition implies that culture and civilization are the same. This equation although possible in English and French usage, runs counter to the German distinction between *Kultur* and *Zivilization* - the former referring to symbols and values, while the latter deals with the organization of society. Archaeological usage, though acknowledging the wholeness of human societies, makes a distinction between material cultural practices and beliefs and the non-material or adaptive culture – transmitted by teaching and tradition.

The anthropological viewpoint of culture is further elaborated by Hughes et. al. (1999) who referred to it as the social heritage of a people - those learned patterns for thinking, feeling, and acting that are transmitted from one generation to the next, including the embodiment of these patterns in material items. It includes non-material culture – abstract creations like values, beliefs, symbols, norms, customs, and institutional arrangements; and material culture – physical artefacts or objects like stones axes, computers, loincloths, tuxedos, automobiles, paintings, electric guitars, hair styles and domed stadiums. The material and non-material aspects of culture implicate work values which we discuss below.

For 19th century anthropologists such as Tylor and Lewis H. Morgan, culture was a conscious creation of human rationality. Civilization and culture, in this conception, show a progressive tendency towards what was regarded as higher moral values and this enabled Western scholars to construct a hierarchy of cultures or civilizations which provided a rationale for colonial activities by supposedly higher order European civilizations which translates to outright ethnocentrism.

Another way to look at culture is to implicitly or explicitly contrast it with nature. The things that human beings produce or do are cultural whereas the things that exist or occur without human intervention are part of the natural world. Christopher Jencks described culture in this sense as embracing all that are symbolic - the learned aspects of human society (Jencks, 1992).

Culture is therefore, "the system of meanings which are shared by members of a human grouping and which defines what is good and bad, right and wrong and what are the appropriate ways for members of that grouping to think and behave" (Watson, 1995: 113). It is a signifying system, through which social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored (Williams, 1981).

Work, in a sociological sense, reflects the physical or mental effort directed at doing or making something, or the function of completing a process or carrying out a task (Stone, 2005; Dubin, 1958). It is essentially "the carrying out of tasks which

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enable people to make a living within the environment they find themselves" (Watson, 1995:113) Culture impacts on the way people organize work and survive in the environment in which they are located. But members of a socio-cultural group do not simply adhere to cultural norms but also contribute to it, particularly in the process of dealing with challenges of human existence such as livelihood. Work is, therefore, culture bound as cultures make prescription regarding how to go about the issue of work and the process of working modifies or advances the cultural heritage of a people. According to Watson (1995: 114),

> *... since the problem of how 'properly' to go about working and 'making a living' face all human groups, we would expect every society, through its culture, to have its distinctive way of making sense of the question of work and a distinctive set of values and priorities giving guidance on how its members should proceed with it.*

On the basis of the foregoing, this chapter is organised around five subheadings as follows: Work, Gender and Adaptation; Communality at Work; Intrinsic Work Orientation and Motivation, and The Value of Hard Work. In the discourse that follows, Nigeria is the African society in question. We shall, basically, use the Igbo of South Eastern Nigeria and the Yoruba of South Western Nigeria as our case studies.

Work, Gender and Adaptation

Lee (1998) observed that the human-environment relationship that existed in pre-historic millennia was essentially a survival response. This came primarily as a result of sustained and persistent features of culture that produced the adaptation of people to the environment. As humans improved in consciousness, the link between culture and work became closer through a conscious effort to learn and understand the environment and adapt intuitive skills to dominate the environment within the framework of existing rituals and customs of society. Brooks (1983) and (www.insurgentdesire.org.uk/basics.htm) explain that the mastery of humans over nature led to increase in the productivity of labour – regarding it as the major distinction of human beings from other species of living things. Hence, the human progressively changes nature through labour, and in doing so changes itself. Humans have also devised an infinitely greater variety of ways of dealing with their material situation. This is unique in the extent to which they have divided up and allocated particular tasks to individuals and groups within the general tasks of subsisting. By so doing, they differ from lower animals in the way they bring value-based conceptions of alternatives to the problem of sustaining life around them (Watson, 1995).

Work and family life were not segregated in the traditional work, as it is in modern organization. Work was integrated into family relations in such a way that one did not constitute a barrier to the other. It was also a strategy to enhance adaptability to the environment as indicated by the adage: "What gives the child the itch has already given him the fingernails for scratching it." Gender based division of labour in Igbo land was similar to that described by Hofstede, (1984). Allocation of tasks to the sexes as the people lived in small, independent band and tribal societies was such that the men were responsible for hunting and building shelters, while women engaged in gardening, cooking, and caring for children. The extension of this cultural practice to modern (colonial or postcolonial) industrial society led to occupational segregation of jobs. Chukwu (2012) however, observed that although colonialism reconfigured

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gender relations among the Igbo in a pattern that was unfavorable to the women, their creative ingenuity as they adapted to the changes, allowed them to occupy an indispensable position in the economic transformation in southeastern Nigeria. The value of mentoring at work was expressed in the following adage: "The stream said that it is because it has nobody to direct it that it goes in a zigzag way".

Communality at Work

Work in traditional African society such as the Igbo or Yoruba of Nigeria can be discussed within the framework of primitive communism which Karl Marx identified as one of the epochs in his idea of historical materialism. In the early stage of society, people did not go into factories, or work to produce things they would not normally consume. These were not required as no one was 'rewarded' at the end of the week with pieces of coloured paper or decorated discs in exchange for food, clothing, or the likes. People lived in small communities grappling with the control of the forces of nature. The means of production were under common ownership and were barely sufficient to enable each member of the community to sustain life and reproduce its kind (www.worldsocialism.org/). Production relations were linked to a natural adaptation of the people to their environment. Hence, the Igbo adage which says that "whatever the type of firewood found in a place, it is usually good enough for cooking by the people of that community". Symbiotic relations and communal consciousness (Singman, 1999) identifiable with the Igbo is also reflected in the Igbo adage which states that "A man who believes that he can do everything, should give a thought to the possibility of digging a grave and burying himself". A related Igbo adage also states: *Egbe bere Ugo bere, nke si ibe ya ebele nku kwa ya,* meaning "Let the kite hawk have a perch, and let the eagle also have a perch. Whichever begrudges the other the right to perch, may he have his wing broken.

Intrinsic Work Orientation and Motivation

Mullins (1996) identified three basic schools of thought about orientation to work which have implications for our discussion in this section. The first school of thought is that work is mainly extrinsic to man - unnatural and external to him. Motivation from the extrinsic viewpoint is related to "tangible" rewards such as salary and fringe benefits, security, promotion, contract of service, the work environment and condition of work. This involves an instrumental orientation to work. Decisions about such rewards are often made at the highest organizational level and hence, may not be at the control of individual managers. This is typically the case in corporate organizations in modern capitalist economies.

The second viewpoint relates to the belief that work is intrinsic in man - natural to him and innate in him. From the intrinsic perspective, motivation is related to "psychological" rewards such as opportunity to use one's ability, a sense of challenge and achievement, receiving appreciation for a work considered well done, positive recognition, caring and considerate treatment. In this case, intrinsic satisfaction is derived from the nature of the work itself, interest in the job, and personal growth and development. This involves a personal orientation to work and concerned with "oneself". Much of the psychological rewards are those that can usually be determined by managerial action.

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The third is the social relationship viewpoint. This relates work to such variables as friendship, group working, and the desire for affiliation, status and dependency. This involves a relational orientation to work and a concern with "other people". Work in a traditional African society may be located within the framework of second and the third perspectives.

First, orientation to work in a typical African traditional society in Igbo or Yoruba was based on intrinsic motivation. Everybody had a stake in it given its significance for survival and existence; it was not based on owner-worker relations as the means of production such as land or river were communally owned; and hence, there was little or no work-related conflict of interest among members of the community. At the later stage when land became owned, there were value consensus regarding the machinery for conflict resolution that had its basis on the belief system. In Igbo land, for instance, the Okonko Cult played such a role; the Ekpe also did so among the Efik of Calabar.

In a typical Igbo or Yoruba traditional society, the cock crow at dawn signified the onset of farm work. Even in the absence of modern time keeping through the modern clock or watch, the Igbo had a sense of punctuality regarding time and work, hence, the Igbo adage that "A woman who needs to borrow a calabash cannot count on going early to the stream". The workforce consisted of the elders - men and women who were more experienced in the task, the youth who were being socialised as apprentice and children who were engaged in minor errands also as part of the socialization process. They required no "stick" to accompany the "carrot"; no supervisor to wake them up either at such early hours or employed to be on their neck during work at the farm site. Work was valued as a form of duty to the community for subsistence and bonding, and to self and family for survival and wellbeing. Indeed hunters took the risk of spending the night in the bush hunting for games.

Implicit in the above is a relational orientation organized around the concept of social exchanges – social affiliations and social differentiation based on kinship relations. Since the economy was subsistence, profit motivation was not the essence and instrumental orientation had little or no value. The motivation was to sustain community and its communality, to contribute ones effort to the existential imperatives of the community and the need to reinforce the value of social bonding through social exchanges. The kith and kin were enmeshed in a network of production process woven around community values - bush cutting, bush clearing and burning, land cultivation and harvesting. Such work did not attract wages as the workers were not hired labourers or employees in contemporary sense. These traditions still subsist in many rural communities of the Igbo and Yoruba societies

The reward of work, though not necessarily material was embedded in social exchange relations, where the beneficiary would perform similar tasks for his kinsmen in return. Blau (1964) tends to capture this scenario when he stated that once the initial ties are forged, the rewards that they provide to each other serve to maintain and enhance bonds. Such rewards may be intrinsic (for example love, affection, and respect) or extrinsic (such as money or physical labour). The parties, however, cannot always reward each other equally. Hence, when one party has a need for which the other can provide and has little or nothing comparable to offer in return, the persons may take various routes including one party subordinating itself to the other. This gives the superior party 'generalized credit" in the relationship from which it can draw when it is in need of assistance. Power relation was integral to this (Ritzer, 2008), though, there was little or no class conflict because there was no owner-worker or employer-employee relations.

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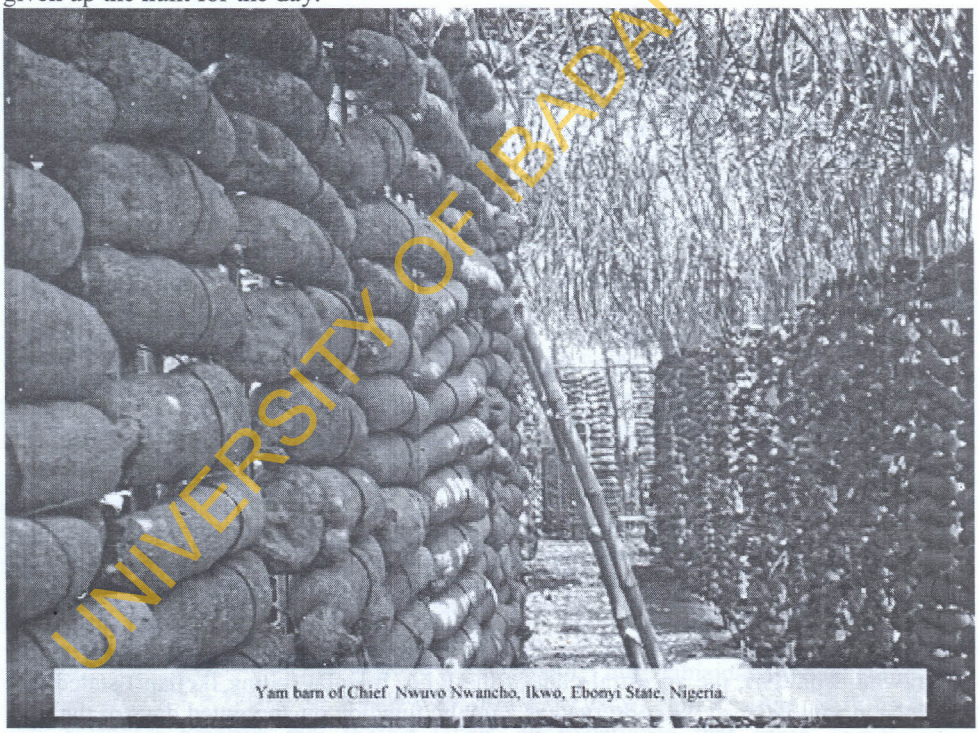
Work was organised as a socio-cultural activity with planting and harvest times culturally celebrated. Hence, there were no antagonistic relations between workers and farm owners. This is viewed in contrast with modern capitalist economy where conflict of interest between enterprise owners and workers exist (Onyeonoru 2005).

The Value of Hard Work

The value of hard work among the Igbo and Yoruba (which we pay some attention to) is reflected in the adage that says "The world is like a goat's udder. It does not produce any milk, unless you punch and squeeze at it". Rewards were based on cherished communal values such as valour, prowess and hard work. A talented hunter who killed a tiger was titled *Ogbuagu* – the killer of a tiger. A hard working famer was similarly rewarded. This can be captured in an adage that says, "The strength of a man is symbolized by the size of yams in his barn". Hence, a man whose barn is high with tubers of yams is titled "Ezeji" which literarily translated means "The king of yams" but symbolically means one who has the potential to be king because he has the capacity to provide food security to the community. Persistence as a work value was expressed in the following adage: "The big game often appears when the hunter has given up the hunt for the day."



Yam barn of Chief Nwuvo Nwancho, Ikwo, Ebonyi State, Nigeria.

Source: http://www.igbobasics.com/proverbs.html

A similar Yoruba adage says, *idi ise eni la ti nmo eni lole'* which means that it is through the course of work that a lazy person is identified. In Yoruba land people were taught to value hard work as the way to earn a living, to reach great and lofty height in life and to be socially recognized. This is further reflected and emphasized in the Yoruba adage that says, '*Ise loogun ise'*, which means that work is the antidote of

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poverty. A similar adage says '*Owuro nise',* which literarily means that people should not play with their work early in the morning'. The implications of laziness is portrayed in the Yoruba adage: '*Ole lapa ko le fi sise, Ole daso iya bora, Ojoojumo le bi maa npole sun*', meaning that a lazy man has arms but does not work with them, he covers himself with the cloth of poverty, and he daily goes to sleep with hunger. The need for proper socialization with regard to work is also reflected in the adage: '*Ma fowuro sere ore mi, ise la fi ndeni giga*'. Translated, that means: *Do not play in the morning or with your childhood; you can only become an achiever through work"* This adage was expressed further in a song by Dipo Sodipo, (a.k.a Pope) in his album 'Amoran' which says '*Ise aje ma le ore mi ko mura o, ma fowuro sere nitori ale o*'. The orientation in both adages and song is that a man who plays in the morning cannot reach a great and lofty height. The 'morning' here can be understood in two contexts:

a) The literal meaning that we should work early in the day (in the morning) so as not to go hungry in the night.
b) It also means that we should work in our youthful or early life so that he will not suffer at old age.

People are all believed to be endowed with talents needed to work without depending on the opportunities created by parents. This is expressed in the following adage: '*Mura sise ore mi, Ise la fi ndeni giga, Bi a ko ba reni fehinti, bi ole laa ri. Baba re le lowo lowo, Ki ya re lesin lekan; Bi o ba gboju le won, o te tan.'* The focus here is that to reach great heights in life, people should be autonomous regarding work and depend less on inheritance, otherwise they may be disappointed. It also means that they should chart a path for their own success in life (Idowu, 1962; Olaitan, 2005). It is also noteworthy that the Yoruba emphasize farming as a traditional work that should be done despite the western education. This is expressed in the following folk song: '*Ise agbe nise ile wa, eni ko sise a ma jale, iwe kiko laisi oko ati ada, koi pe o, rara, koi pe o.*' meaning

'Farming is our traditional work, he who does not work will steal, education without hoe and cutlass, is not complete, not complete at all.' From the above, work is seen as very important to the Yoruba and the need to work is inculcated into the young ones and expressed in songs, folklores, proverbs and other cultural heritage of the Yoruba people (Idowu, 1962; Olaitan, 2005).

Work for the Igbo is not location bound. Outmigration for work is a common feature of the Igbo. Hence the adage: "The world is like a mask dancing, if you want to see it well, you do not stand in one place". In a similar vein, "A travelled child knows better than the old man who sits at home". The value of reward for success at work among the Igbo is most vividly captured in the celebration of the New yam Festival. Drawing from Nri, the ancestral clan of the Igbo, Iroegbu (citing Ikejiani) stated that the New yam Festival was observed as a public function on appointed days of the year as follows:

> *An offering is put forward and the people pray for renewed life as they eat the new yam. An offering is made to the spirits of the field with special reference to the presiding deity of the yam crop. In the olden days, fowls offered as sacrifice must be carried to the farm and slain there, with the blood being sprinkled on the farm. Yam is cut into some sizes and thrown to the gods and earth with prayers for protection and benevolence. When the ceremony is completed, everything is taken*

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> *home; the yams are laid up before the "Alusi" (deity) together with all the farming implements, while the fowls boiled and prepared with yam for soup (ji awii, ji mmiri oku) are eaten at the subsequent feast. Everyone is allowed to partake in this and those who are not immediately around are kept portions of the commensal meal.*

Chinua Achebe's seminal work *Things Fall Apart* also portrays the New Yam festival as an occasion for giving thanks to *Ani* (or *Ala),* the Earth goddess. Ani is considered the most important local deity in Igbo land because she was viewed as a source of fertility, arbiter of morality, and in close contact with ancestors of the clan. The nature of festivity on the occasion is described in book:

> *The pounded yam dish placed in front of the partakers of the festival was as big as a mountain. People had to eat their way through it all night and it was only during the following day when the pounded yam "mountain" had gone down that people on one side recognized and greeted their family members on the other side of the dish for the first time.*

The New Yam Festival is, therefore, a time of feasting with many guests. Speaking on this Iroegbu (2010), stated that the festival is woven around the people's religious belief in the supreme deity as a giver of yam and the custodian of good harvest. It is such a highly appealing event that dominant religions such as Christianity, in particular, Catholic Dioceses and Parishes have acculturated it in Christian worship and celebration. There are cases, he stated, where the Festival is renamed *Ji Maria*, *Ji Madonna* and *Ji Joseph* to venerate the Holy Virgin Mary as the Mother Earth and of whole produce to glorify God. Typically, New Yam Festival embodies a heritage of dances, feasting, renewal of kinship alliances, as well as marks the end of one agricultural season with a harvest to express gratitude to Almighty God (it used to be the land deity in the traditional society) http://www.igboguide.org/HT; http://www.jiffynotes.com/ThingsFallApart/Chapters5and6.html

Another modernized structure that is employed to engrave the symbolism represented by the New Yam Festival is the Ahiajioku Lecture Series. According to Iroegbu (2010), the concept of Ahia-ji Oku" indicates exertion, industry, to strive after, hence to trade; "ji", to lay hold of and "Oku" riches. Thus, the full meaning is: "Industry or trade brings wealth." The lecture in commemoration of the New yam is now flushed of its fetish rituals in order to accommodate Christianity. It is currently reinvented to recapture Igbo cultural essence, particularly in the form of annual ritualistic intellectual harvest. Commencing from 1979, the first Ahiajioku lecturer Professor M.J.C. Echeruo, reiterated the value of hard work among the Igbo when he said, "Our harvest can only be as good as our labour." http://ahiajoku.igbonet.com/

Hence, a variety of festivities marked the New Yam Festival. Folk dances, masquerades, parades, and parties create an experience that some participants characterize as "art"; the colourful festival is a spectacle of joy, thanks, and community spirit. It is in a significant sense, a celebration of the essence of work.

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The New Yam festival in Dublin, Ireland. **Source: http://www.igbobasics.com/proverbs.htm**

The socio-cultural significance of masquerades *(Mmanwu)* in such a festival is noteworthy. Masquerades are associated with spiritual elements, as according to Igbo belief, they represent images of deities or sometimes even ancestors. The presence of masquerades in the New Yam Festival, therefore, goes beyond mere entertainment. It represents the approval of the festival by the ancestors, in this case symbolised by the *Ala* deity that occupies a central position in the New Yam Festival. To date, the New Yam Festival as a cultural expression of the value of work has been sustained among the Igbo in Nigeria and also in Diasporas, as the picture above shows

Conclusion

Cherished work values in African traditional societies exemplified by the Igbo and Yoruba of South Eastern and South Western Nigeria respectively were instrumental to the sustenance of their economies. In both traditional societies, work was seen as very central and significant to the human environment, and the need for hard work was part of the socialisation process. Work values associated with intrinsic work orientation identified in the traditional societies in this work, which are fleeting in the contemporary Nigerian workplace need to be reinvented for the benefit of the Nigerian economy and society.

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SECTION SEVEN
HEALTH ISSUES

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

CULTURE AND HEALTH OF PEOPLE OF NIGERIA

Aluko-Arowolo, Sunday Olusola

Introduction

Health, or lack of health, was once merely attributed to germ invasion of the body, biological malfunctioning or natural calamities. However, studies on health and illness have demonstrated that the spread of disease is also influenced, to a very large extent, by the socio-economic status of individuals, group of individuals, ethnic traditions, beliefs, and other cultural factors (Jegede, 2011; White, 2002). In other words, human beings have long sought after advice, counsel and healing methods with those who are knowledgeable or skilled in the art of healing in both orthodox and unorthodox practices (Onibonoje, 1965; Ischei, 1983; Owumi, 1996; Erinosho, 2006).

To explain the above further, aetiological understanding of illness or disease would be best elucidated by looking out for the relationships between the culture of society and health practice which is peculiar to that society. That is, an understanding of health and illness in relation to social institutions, such as family, education, politics, religion and level of education which are prevailing in such circumstances. The platform for these institutions is the values, norms and social structures that are held supreme and sacrosanct to direct societal affairs. In all societies, both institutions and structures share intrinsic affinity with culture.

Culture, therefore, constitutes the very basis of interaction, communication, cooperation and even conflict among the members of a society. It is the standard of the world view and distinctive features of all societies. In a broader analysis, it is the only factor by which a society defines and interprets situations and occurrences (Olugbile, 1997).

The objective of this chapter, therefore, is to situate health and illness contextually as socio-cultural issues, just as they are also biological phenomena. The chapter draws heavily on the debate between health practice and cultural understanding of disease causation, as people often adhere to concept of illness, disease, body anatomy and treatment that often differ dramatically from orthodox medical position. Therefore, the conventional approach to medicine and related health matters in Western societies is to subsume illness or disease diagnosis in terms of biological malfunctioning of the body to germ invasion of the body. The body is regarded in this context as having an entity of its own, clearly detached from the social entity (Knight, 2000). The body, is therefore, mechanically treated.

In this regard, Western societies' bio-medical approach of medical services focuses on the internal workings of the body without consideration for outside/socio-cultural factors, without which the body would cease to exist. This approach can be said to be inadequate, in that, it ignores the consideration for social and cultural factors. Medical services in sum total from this reductionism view, therefore, only provide for medical solutions without necessarily providing holistic health solution in all ramifications. By and large, these outside factors are supervening by the cultural factors. On the other hand, in advancing reasons for ill-health in non-Western societies, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, however, it is often traced by indigenous societies/traditional health practitioners to magic, curses, spell and religion .Others are witchcraft, sorcery and other mystical forces (Erinosho, 2005). Often, the ancestors or

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spiritual connection is involved to determine the origin of ill-health and type of treatment required (Aluko-Arowolo, 2006).

In other words, many epidemiological differences that both health practitioners and patients have been holding in abeyance may be due to yet undisclosed aetiological background which can be illuminated if attention is paid to relevant culture of each society. There is therefore the need to understand the mutuality of existence of health and culture for effective health promotion.

Health and Culture: Siamese Twins

Culture is important to health in that it points to social origin of disease and the central role society would play in disease diagnosis, treatment, prevention and prognosis (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1991; Corin, 1995; Chinwuze and Okolocha, 2001; Jegede, 2011). The relevance of culture and its interpretation of disease or health matters cannot be over-emphasized because it helps to shape the focus of individuals who are unhealthy to recognize the implication of this on their household, family, lineage and/or community. On the other hand, society does not leave its sick member(s) to make decisions alone but makes it a particular matter of the society and renders at the same time, a composite approach that would involve all. For instance, Johansson (1991) surmised:

> *...society is unlikely to leave the individual decision makers to their own imaginative devices. Instead, cultural pressures designed to standardize perception and behaviour will be brought to bear on private decision making with respect to health related preferences (p. 43.)*

Culture pressures and solutions proffered to assuage the ill-health would, therefore, identify and spell out reasons for sickness and also suggest imperatives for suggested remedy. Culture, from the above, shapes our understanding of health and ill-health. It equally defines our world-view, which translates to personal and collective experiences on health issues. Mechanic (1978) and Isiugo-Abanihe (1994) placed premium more on culture than biological differences in morbidity, fertility and mortality. For instance, they did not associate women's life expectancy (in developed countries) to biological factors alone but suggested that other influences, like culture, shape behavioural patterns and health seeking which act as one of strong determinants of high life expectancy and longevity.

Zola (1975) identified interplay of culture and health in analyzing patients' presentation of complaints. To him, differences in the epidemiological origin of disease and treatment given out are due to cultural understanding of the disease and the etiological forces. After surveying many societies cross-culturally in comparison with morbidity, Zola saw the relevance of culture in presenting symptom(s) as standing out as a dominant factor which influences perception of certain conditions as symptoms. And invariably treatment of such 'symptoms' would be determined by the culture that informed the presentation in the first instance.

Scholars have alluded to mutuality of existence between culture and health. That is, healthcare in both prophylactic and therapeutic manners cannot be understood without serious recourse to its context culturally (Bradley, 1992; Owumi, 1996; Oke, 2002; Erinosho, 2006; 2005; Jegede, 2011). This relationship is therefore noted to predispose the aetiological understanding of disease causation (Osunwole, 1996;

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Roberta, 2000; Aseka, 2011) in African societies and elsewhere in non-western societies. While germ theory is a typical scientific way of explaining disease causation and prescription offered in Western and North American societies; often, in non-western societies as emphasized by Caldwell and Caldwell (1991), belief system and environmental factors are noted to play interventionist roles, and these roles are quiet significant:

> *...many broad minded medical scientists do not dismiss the social origins of disease or the central role of society and culture to disease treatment and prevention, but consider such areas unresearchable. They turn their faces from muck and mystery of human kind to the safer world of microscope and the laboratory (P.I).*

Culture is critical for the establishment of social order and health stability in every society. Culture, to perform these roles, employs norms and values as mechanisms to mediate the complex social structures that exist within such society (Durowade, 2003; Ritzer, 2008; Aluko-Arowolo, 2010). Culture, in this respect, encapsulates commonly agreed upon values and norms. This serves as media of social life (including health-care, illness and wellness). It is also a mediating link for social transactions; for instance, it defines the relationship between the healthcare givers (health practitioners) and healthcare consumers (patients).

This is because culture serves as the template to make social exchange possible and equally governs the processes of social integration and differentiation in either simple or complex, rural or urban societies (Ritzer, 2008). For Culture to meet the specifications inherent in the above descriptions, it must be interconnected with society's component factors (including the healthcare) and come together to form a coherent and understandable whole. In this sense, it would help people to adapt to their environment. Stressing this point further, it is assumed that medical care and other health matters are often in symmetric relationship with the prevailing culture of any society. As society grows, and new ideas are emerging, there would also be a shift in health belief to accommodate emerging trends. This is to suggest that culture principally is not inelastic or static, because it yields to new dynamics.

Understanding culture and disease causation from the above, goes in tandem with UNESCO's definition of culture as enunciated in Mexico Declaration of 1982, which broadly explicated culture to mean a way of life, traditions and beliefs, representation of health and disease and perceptions of life and death. Others are sexual norms and practices, power and gender relations, family structure, languages and means of communication, and arts and creativity (Aseka, 2011). From the foregoing, culture is perceptively understood in terms of the principles governing the functioning of a society's institutions, both formal and informal.

To recapitulate, culture serves as the idiom of personality and the totality of what society stands for (Andah, 1988). This is in coterminous with every aspect of human behaviour, which includes the means of deployment to correct societal ambiguities and health discontinuities. To correct health problem, culture spells out reasons for a particular health-seeking behaviour and at the same time plays a very unique and highly important role in the aetiology of disease and establishes reasons for epidemiological dimension of any disease or diseases (Littman, 2009; Zola, 1975). For

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instance, it is believed across all societies, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, that diseases are caused by natural, preternatural and mystical factors (Esinosho, 2006).

Natural occurrence is related to bad diet, bad blood in people and the like, while preternatural problems include mental illness, insomania, festering sore, cancerous disease and infertility, which are believed to be brought about by witchcraft, sorcery or evil mechanization of enemies. The mystical occurrences are diseases or problems associated with destiny- that is, one may be afflicted when cosmos or invisible elements are working on the contrary against one's destiny (Jegede, 1994; Odebiyi, 1994; Erinosho, 2005).

The obsession with magico-spiritual-cultural factors in the aetiology of disease in these societies (Africa) plays a profoundly crucial role in how illness is perceived, diagnosed and acted upon in terms of treatment prescribed and disposition towards the use. Belief in this respect motivates people, including educated elites in Nigeria and elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa to seek medical help from different sources, such as like traditional healers, witch doctors, faith based healers (FBAs) and orthodox medical outfit.

This argument leads invariably to pathways in health consumption of an average citizen in Nigeria and elsewhere in Sub- Saharan African societies.

Pathways to Healthcare in Nigeria

There are two methods of explaining health-seeking behaviour. The first is the pathway, which describes the steps, the process from the recognition of symptoms to the use of particular health facilities (Kroeger, 1983). This method specifically attempts to identify a sequence of steps and looks at social and cultural factors of disease causation, which affect the sequence. Dominant among these factors are the roles of family, social networks/ significant others and cultural norms. Secondly, health-seeking behaviour can be perceived as a function of a set of determinant factors which are associated with the choice of different kinds of health services (Singer, Davidson and Gerdes, 1989).

The determinant factors may be seen in various contexts such as physical, social, economic, cultural and political. Therefore, the utilization of healthcare systems, public or private, formal or non-formal or faith-based interventions may depend on socio-demographic factors and social structures in terms of level of education, cultural beliefs and practices, gender inequality, status of women - economic and political. Others are disease patterns and the healthcare system itself. The decision to engage or consult with a particular medical outfit among other issues is also a factor of culture and the source(s) of decision making. Sometimes, pathways to healthcare may be a factor of patriarchal norms; where the women in the societies kowtowing after their men. Pathways to healthcare consumption are showing graphically below:

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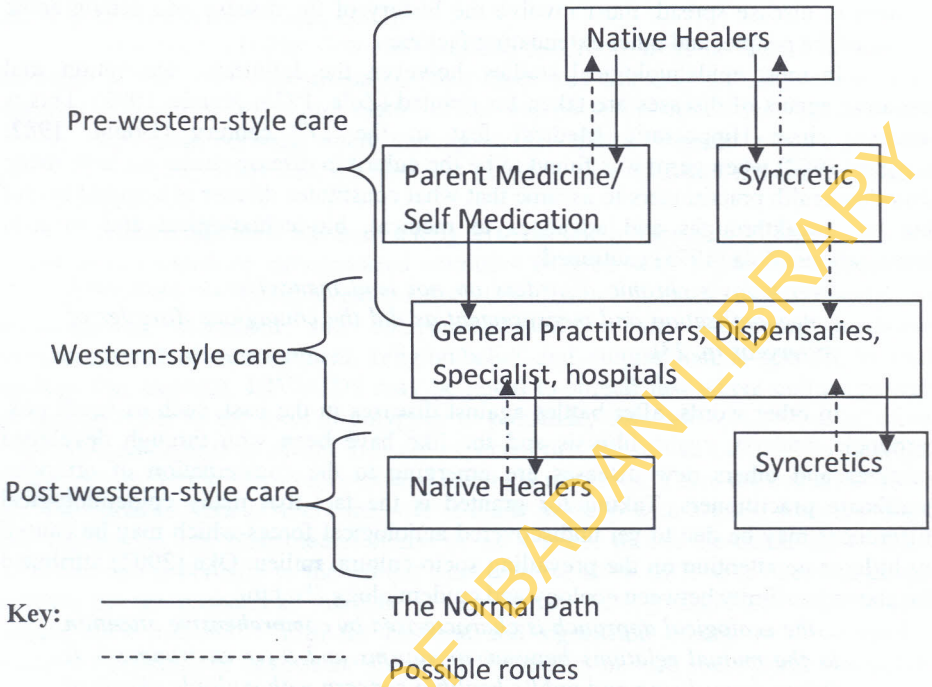
Pathways to Healthcare Consumption



Adapted from Erinosho, 2005

In explaining the diagram above, an average Nigerian, whenever he/she is taken ill, would rather consult with unorthodox practitioner(s) and/or self medication before going to orthodox care centre(s). Even after consultation, the tendency is to go back to the pre – western methods, believing that orthodox medication only works fast but very ephemeral. Only the traditional methods work with intensity and very deep rooted. Straddles along these two methods are regular consultations through prayers to God for effective healing.

Culture and Social Epidemiology of Disease

There are differences and similarities in pattern of health and ill-health across societies, over a given period of time, within and without a particular society in comparison with others. It is indisputable fact that Africa like any other society has its own system of healthcare system; from method of understanding of symptom, disease causation, diagnosis, to the treatment effected through skilled health practitioners (Owumi, 2002). This is in spite of contacts with the outside world through colonialism and trades. In other words, various societies have developed their medical system (including epidemiology dimension) in line with their needs, capacity and limitation. While the study of disease distribution and causation remains central to epidemiology, the techniques of epidemiology have a wider cultural implication which covers many socio-cultural issues, relating not, only to the disease under investigation but also to

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the system of health services and the situation(s) that warrant(s) disease occurrence. In short, epidemiology to serve as means of learning, to ask questions, and getting answers to disease spread, must involve the history of the disease and demographic profile of the people, and other extenuating factors.

In most epidemiological studies, however, the definition, description, and causative agents of diseases are taken for granted (Zola, 1975; Jegede, 1996). This is because, since Hippocratic Medical feat in the 17th century (Dobin, 1982; Sergeant,1982) when germ was found to be the culprit in disease causation have made orthodox health practitioners to assume that what constitutes disease is a settled matter due to breakthroughs and advances in medical, bio-technological and surgical dispensations. Zola (1975) cautioned:

> *...yet today's chronic disorders do not lend themselves to such each conceptualization and measurement as did the contagious disorder of yesteryear (p. 23).*

In other words, after battles against diseases in the past, such as small pox, carbuncle, malaria, cystic fibrosis and the like have been won through developed vaccines and others new diseases are emerging to the consternation of orthodox healthcare practitioners. Taking for granted is the fact that many epidemiological differences may be due to yet undiscovered aetiological forces-which may be caused by little or no attention on the prevailing socio-cultural milieu. Oke (2002) attributed the above to affinity between ecology and epidemiology. To him:

> *...the ecological approach is characterized by comprehensive attention to the mutual relations between organisms and their environment. It brings to medicine and public health a concern with multiple effects of human actions that alter the relationship between people and their environment, often with important medical consequences* (p. 201).

For instance, when one considers malaria morbidity, one may ask why it was possible to eradicate it in developed regions of the world, and this has not been possible in the underdeveloped ones. The reasons are not far-fetched; the first is related in the actual prevalence of the sign or symptom, and the second is the major value-orientation occasioned by the dominant culture. While the first one can be dealt with medically, the second is about perception which goes beyond medical intervention. For instance, the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria regarded malaria as having a life entity of its own, and therefore, spiritual (Aluko-Arowolo, 2006), and thus, no matter the extent of orthodox care, there is always recourse to traditional medicine, probably to settle the spiritual aspect. Culture and spirituality also play important roles in the healthcare of Hispanic groups in the United States. Mexican Americans believe that their health problems may be as a result of God's will or importance attached to culture (Harris, 2001). Because of cultural distrust of orthodox medicines the Hispanic American may decline the recommended treatment and choose to use traditional folk medicine. Here, self treatment is not out of place (see discussion on pathways to healthcare).

From extant literature, there are ample evidences which demonstrate that spread of disease or epidemiological dimension of any disease is heavily influenced by patriarchal norm, socio-economic status of individuals, (such as position of the woman in the society) and other cultural factors (Owumi, 1999; Oke, 2002; Erinosho, 2006; 2005; Aluko, 2008; Jegede, 2011). All these are beyond mere medical research

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involving only data gathering and statistical inferences. An understanding of etiology of disease (the context of the milieu of disease occurrence) *vis-à-vis* the prevailing culture from which the disease(s) developed would provide insight on what are the cause(s) of the disease (White, 2002).

Jejeebhoy's (1998: 300-308) work in two rural areas in India lent succinct credence to the above. He found out that there was a strong cultural influence on survival or death of infant and foetal loss or otherwise; he concluded that there is a strong relationship between where nursing mother and/or pregnant woman lives and pregnant outcome. Therefore, whether it is going to be eventful or not depends on the prevailing culture.

Historically there has been a long term decline in mortality of both adults and infant in developed or industrialized countries coupled with higher life expectancy than developing or underdeveloped societies. These diseases in all epochs are sociologically examined and compared based on the traditional medicine, economic/level of development, religion/belief and culture that is specific to each society. For instance, HIV/AIDS may be noted to spread fast where culture permits polygamy either in the form of polygyny or polyandry than where such marital union is considered bigamy or illegal. It is not expected that the spread may also be enlarged where disposition towards extra-marital affairs is nebulous. There are societies within the sub-Saharan Africa, where the wife is made to sleep with a guest who is passing the night(s) in her matrimonial home or as a guest of her husband, all to show affection and generosity to the visitor. This extreme show of love to entertain people offends not the husband as this has his imprimatur. Acting otherwise by the woman would elicit innuendos from the husband and significant others. In this regard, a sustained programme against the spread of HIV/AIDS in such society(ies) would take into consideration this culture/practice for effective preventive and curative interventions

Similar to the above is the practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). Though in some societies it is a part of total puberty rites for a young lady who is moving to womanhood, bestriding this practice is the way girl-child/woman is held in perpetual inequality in Nigeria and some other Sub Saharan African societies. Some explanations on FGM world suffice; In some communities in Nigeria and elsewhere in the black African regions, proponents of the practice contend that FGM is justified as a socialization into womanhood and it is believed that it has a strong religious significance. Culturally, it is believed that it curbs female sexual desires, and has aesthetic, purifying or hygienic benefits (Odimegwu and Bisiriyu, 1998; Erinosho, 2005). Furthermore, a woman who has gone through FGM enjoys recognition and positive value in marriage and childbearing as she is trusted not to be promiscuous. Contrarily, women who have not gone through FGM suffer opprobrium as they suffer less attention. Many men refuse to marry a woman who has not undergone the process. Therefore, to be circumcised is to have access to status or voice in (these) communities (UNICEF, 1994 in Odimegwu and Bisiriyu, 1998). Yet, this is not without health implications, as some victims may have both/or either labia minora or majora badly cut. This may result in infertility among other health problem, as the excision may lead to damage of urinary bladder/urethral opening or rectum or anus (Odimegwu and Bisiriyu, 1998; Erinosho, 2005). This may also allow bacteria infection

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Culture, Gender Inequality and Healthcare

Several efforts have been made in the past to improve women's health in general. Such efforts include the United Nations Decade for women from 1975 to 1985, which was declared to look at women's plight, especially in the areas of health. The Alma-Ata conference of 1978 was equally declared to enhance the quality of primary health-care in particular. The Cairo conference in 1994 under the theme of Population and Development was held to discuss, among other objectives, how to improve the quality of women's health and enhance longer life among the world's population. Similarly, the Beijing conference was on women's rights, roles and responsibilities.

Underscoring all these efforts particularly was the emphasis on unequal status women are sharing with men and pointed to the need on how to empower women and bring about equality of rights and enhanced sound health. However, in spite of all these efforts, the state of women's health in Nigeria and other parts of Africa is still very worrisome. For example, only two percent of the world's women reside in Nigeria, but the country is contributing about 10 percent of world maternal mortality (Aluko, 2008). This may not be unconnected with the roles women are performing. According to Oppong and Abu (1987), women are expected to perform seven roles; these are maternal, occupational, conjugal, domestic, kin, community and individual roles. These roles define the pattern of their relationships with significant others (people) with whom they relate with. Lynch and Fahny (1991) corroborated the above submission:

> *...where patriarchal norms prevail women are expected to provide for themselves and their children when husbands are unable to bear large numbers of children to assist their husband in household industries, to prepare and serve food and in many instance to provide this foods, even after their children have married and setup households of their own they also contribute to labour and reproductive care and with insufficient diet and other needs (p. 41).*

Marmot, Bobak and Smith (1995) highlighted the importance of socio-cultural factors in the etiology of disease/illness. To them, the prevalence of chronic disease and disability as determinants of life expectancy are associated with one's marital status, social support and social class. Marmot and his colleagues were able to demonstrate that health status is directly related to the position in the social/occupational hierarchy.

Social placement and social mobility in Africa at large and Nigeria in particular is the possible outcome of training/skills acquired through education (Adedimeji, 2000). One plausible interpretation of this is that a great number of women who are facing maternal death or morbidity are lowly placed within the social hierarchy due to poverty occasioned amongst other things by lack of sufficient income. Poverty on its own produces and identifies women as a social group at the bottom of the hierarchy characterized by a disproportionate number of unhealthy individuals (Eschen, 1992; Shabi, 2000). Thematically, the argument is further explained and corroborated with works of feminist as espoused by Ritzer (2008)

Four themes according to him characterized feminist argument on gender inequality. One, men and women are situated in society normally differently but also unequally. Two, women get less of the material resources, social status, power, and opportunities for self-actualization than do men who share the same social location.

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The social location may be on class, race, occupation, ethnicity, religion, education and nationality. In other words, inequality is as a result of how societies are organized – which may be horizontally or vertically. Social placement and mobility would then be predicated on this arrangement not necessarily from any significant biological or personality differences between women and men. Put differently, the variations purportedly occurring between men and women are the products of culture and the way the society is patterned.

There is no significant pattern of natural variation that distinguishes both sexes than what the culture specified:

> *...to say that there is gender inequality, then, is to claim that women are situationally less empowered than men to realize the need they share with men or self-actualization* (Ritzer, 2008:463).

Four, giving women the right opportunities based on egalitarian ethos, with malleable social structures as situation, women and men would both respond fairly and equally to the same conditions in all ramifications, including healthcare delivery.

Concluding Remark

Discussions about health and effective healthcare delivery in culture-bound societies should be in terms of ethno-specific services to complement mainstreaming health policy. Ethno-specific refers to the need to meet the needs of specific ethnic groups or coalition of ethnic groups that are contiguously very close. In this regard, members of the ethnic group(s) are the targeted clienteles for specific health-care intervention (Julian, 2000), which would take into consideration the culture and tradition of such group(s). Mainstreaming, in this sense, is the provision of health services to all members of the society through the same institutional structure – just like orthodox services being rendered within three-tier modality of primary, secondary and tertiary health system in Nigeria. Therefore, for efficient health promotion, education and delivery for all, there is need to accommodate genuine cultural differences, and give all the sense of belonging.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

TRADITIONAL HEALING PRACTICES AND HEALTH REFORMS IN NIGERIA

Owumi, Bernard. E. and Taiwo, Patricia A. (Jerome)

Introduction

Good health represents an ideal state towards which all human societies strive to achieve for their members. This is borne out of the ancient realization that only healthy people can fulfill their various obligations to the society and in the process ensure survival and development (Isamah, 1996). Thus, remaining healthy is vital to all people in all societies, but the ways of evaluating and treating the problems of ill-health varies from one group to the other (Owumi, 1996). As a result, each society or, more comprehensively, each culture, no matter its level of development evolves a health-care system best suited to its own peculiar circumstances and environment.

It is this context that National health policy stimulates the desire and expresses the collective will of the governments and people of the country to provide a comprehensive health-care for the citizenry. The policy describes the goals, structure, strategy and policy direction of the health-care delivery system envisaged. It defines the roles and responsibilities of the three tiers of government as well as those of non-governmental actors. The long-term goal of the health policy is to provide the entire population with adequate access not only to primary health-care but also to secondary and tertiary services through a well functioning referral system. Sound as this may appear, it still remain to be examined whether the referral system, referred to captures the alternative medicine available within the Nigerian society and the interest of the underserved population that abound in the rural areas that are underserved in terms of the localization of western- oriented medical system.

In its World Report, WHO assessed the health system of its 191 member states the report assessed and ranked countries health systems in terms of their responsiveness, fairness, overall goal attainment, level of health expenditure, per capita, impact on health and overall performance. It is noteworthy that Nigeria scored near the bottom of the 191 countries for every one of these indicators (UNICEF/NPC, 2001). The dismal performance of Nigeria in spite of its human resources and intellectual capital in health, not to mention its natural resources compared with most other African countries is indeed a cause for concern. The reason for this poor performance is not far from the fact that Nigeria is yet to adequately harness all human resources including traditional healers available for it to improve the health of its citizen.

Among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria, different health-care professionals have evolved aside the western health practitioners. The Yoruba referred to them as "babalawo"; the Hausa called them "boka", while the Igbo called them "dibia". Among these groups, different experts in various aspects of healing had emerged. They included herbalists, traditional birth attendants (TBAs), bonesetters, traditional psychiatrists and a host of others. Over time, these traditional health practitioners have created lasting impressions in the minds of their indigenes. Those who practised their art were recognized in their community as competent health-care providers (Maclean 1971, Erinosho and Ayorinde 1985 and Owumi 1989). They relied on vegetable, animal parts, mineral substance and certain other methods (divinations, prayers, incantations, among others) based on values of the community

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regarding the physical, mental, and social wellbeing and the causes of disease and disability.

Even though reported estimates of healers in the population are based on intuition rather than surveys which assessed their numerical strength (Erinosho and Ayorinde, 1985), it is however widely believed that traditional healers are preponderant in the population of developing countries (Owumi, 2006). According to Ademuwagun (1969), close to 4% of the urban and 10% of the rural populations were traditional healers. In any case, it appears that the assertion concerning the preponderance of these healers derives from data on the utilization of their services when compared with those of the western practitioners. Furthermore, various reports suggest that the way an illness is perceived in Nigeria and other parts of tropical Africa is generally different from culture to culture and so is the utilization of medical care choices or options (Maclean, 1971; Oke, 1984; Owumi, 1989; 2005).

Against this background, this paper seeks to examine the extent to which health reforms thus far have addressed traditional medicine as a source of therapy, which sector has the reforms targeted? What are its goals? And at what level is the reform aimed? The paper also attempts at revealing the strategies that have been put in place (if any) to facilitate the achievement of the envisaged goal.

Modernization theory

Modernization theory emphasizes and approves the trend towards western, capitalist modernity. Modernization seems to be easily defined with reference to the concept of modernity which simply refers to what is 'up-to-date' in a specific place at a given time. Generally, it will be an aspect of westernization involving changes which contrast with the previous traditional stability according to Harrison (1988). Historically modernization is the process of change towards those social, economic, political systems that have developed in Western Europe and Northern America overtime especially with reference to the 17th and 19th century. Herbert Spencer and Durkheim stressed social and structural differentiation as a result of which societies become structurally more complex. The point is that the differences in societies and cultures will diminish as industrialization brings about a shift to modern society.

Harrison (1988), in summarizing the views of other theorists on modernization stated that, in many respects, modernity and tradition were regarded as antithetical. People, values, institutions and societies were either traditional or modern. They could not be both, and when the two came together, there would be some kind of social disturbance. At the best, there would be an uneasy symbiosis, probably for a temporary nature in which modern and traditional institutions might co-exist in a dual society. In more human terms, the grocer would live alongside the chief, but not for long.

The present situation encountered in the Nigerian society with regards to traditional and western-health care system is no way different from the explanations of Harrison (1988). The existence of traditional medicine in the curing and maintenance of illness/health cannot be overemphasized especially before the advent of Western medicine and even now. However, since the inception of Western healthcare system, the essence of traditional medicine has been relegated to the background so that our historical and traditional values as regards maintenance of health which we use to hold in high esteem has been overtaken by western values of health maintenance all in the name of modernization. However, attempts were made to westernize traditional

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medicine with the aim of improving their standard, knowledge and skills. For instance, there was a time that traditional birth attendant were given kits and trained to improve their hygiene. However this was not extended to all parts of the country, and very few traditional practitioners enjoyed such opportunity. The tendency of allowing both traditional and health-care system to co-exist in the Nigerian community has attracted oppositions from some authorities and western medical doctors resulting in some form of social disturbance. This is because traditional medicine was not considered "rational", a term which is attributed to westernization by Max Weber. Hence, it seems that both traditional and western medicine in Nigeria can hardly co-exist peacefully. Rather, western medicine which in this case is regarded as the "chief", is the dominant, recognized, financed and highly supported health-care system in Nigeria.

Health reform which is meant to transform and re-build the system as the term "reform" depicts seem to be an abstract and a paper work only. In practice, the authorities and western medical agents accord very little or no recognition to traditional medicine despite the fact that it is widely used, affordable and considered efficient by the members that patronize it (Maclean, 1971; Erinosho and Ayorinde, 1985). Reform in the same light with modernization has to do with transform something to be better than it used to be. However, rather than adequately improving and transforming our own traditional medicine which has contributed immensely to healthcare maintenance in Nigeria, the authorities have relegated traditional medicine to the background and indirectly restricted it to an "underground" form of healthcare system so that there is very little or commitment on the part of the government towards training and empowering traditional healers. Initially, past reforms like the reform of 1988 had recognized traditional medicine. However, the current reforms like that of the 2004 never recognized or built upon the opinions of recognizing traditional medicine despite the fact that the it acknowledged that communities and health consumers are not sufficiently empowered to demand and advocate for their health rights. One begins to wonder whether we are retrogressing or progressing on our health reform system and in turn its impact on the healthcare of the people.

All over the globe, the existence of multiple sources of health care has never been in dispute, if nothing else, what obtains is the existence of a variety of methods of management of ill-health (Giddens, 1996). Even in the isolated societies, traditional values and religious practices have created health-care choices. This has become more apparent in cultures that were or are in contact with other cultures as is the case with Nigeria and more importantly in the global world of today (Owumi, 2005). Unfortunately, the issue of choice has not been addressed to facilitate the appropriate use of the word "alternative medicine." Our western bias is implicated in our inability to properly define what alternative medicine implies until recently. The picture that was created is such that western medicine is the sole medicine and all other medicines are alternatives.

Health-Care Policy and Reforms

Health-care reforms typically attempt to improve the quality of health-care, decrease the cost of health-care, improve the access to health-care specialists, expand the array of the health-care providers for consumers to make their choices and broaden the population covered by private or public insurance. These goals appear germane and suitable for a developing society like Nigeria where the varying status/orientation of

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the referent man and the forms of available health-care are crucial and thus the divergent opinion as to what constitute health or healthy state.

The underlying principles and values of the health-care policy and reforms in the revised edition of the health-care policy and reforms of 2005 include:

- the principle of social justice and equity and the ideals of freedom and opportunity that have been affirmed in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
- Another principle is that of access to quality and affordable health care which is considered as a human right.
- A third principle is the fact that good health care shall be assured through cost effective interventions that are targeted at priority health problems. "Since health is an integral part of overall development, intersectoral cooperation and collaboration between the different health related ministries, development agencies and other relevant institutions shall be strengthened and a gender-sensitive and responsive national health system shall be achieved by mainstreaming a gender consideration and implementation of all health programs."

The overall health reform objective is to strengthen the national health system such that it would be able to provide effective, efficient, quality, accessible and affordable health services that will improve the health status of Nigerians through the achievement of the health-related Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

It was further included in the policy declaration that apart from ideal state and governmental participation in contributing to better the quality of health and life of the people. Nigerians have the right to participate individually and collectively in the planning and implementation of their health care. Such, according to the policy, is not only their right, but also their solemn duty. A critical examination of the above policy and reform reveals that it targets every Nigerian in all ramifications vis-à-vis class, religious, geographical location, education residence, status, as well as gender, much so that the issues of equity, affordability, individual discretion and participation were directly and indirectly considered a right. This, therefore, implies that all forms of health- care which are considered useful, efficient and affordable can be adequately patronized based on individual's discretion and decisions. Individuals thus have rights to alternative health care system. However, the policy in actual practice has not achieved these over the years as most of these goals seem neglected when it comes to implementing them.

Essence of traditional/alternative medicine

Basically, the term alternative implies where there are two or more things performing the same function. Either of which is an alternative to the other. Put differently and in an anthropological sense, an item is alternative where the adoption of a new innovation does not exterminate the original practice or phenomenon (Oke 1984). In which case, the innovation is the alternative to the original facts. Before the advent of western medicine, Maclean (1971) observed that there was no question of choice of health care and thus it was the incursion of western medicine into our society that made the question of choice available. Thus it could be said that western medicine should in fact be tagged alternative medicine or being alternative to traditional medicine because traditional medicine predates western medicine indigenous and the

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fact that the adoption of western medicine did not evolve a habit where traditional medicine is abandoned (Oke, 1984) neither was it under serious threat for change (Maclean, 1971). An understanding of this fact is inevitable for the proper appreciation of traditional medicine to enable us understand the need to promote and develop traditional medicine.

Health and healthy living is generally viewed from different perspectives including the biological perspective which stresses or relies on the establishment of a foreign body (disease). In order to return the individual to a state of good health, the health professional must therefore understand the normal functioning of body to be able to eliminate this foreign body (Allias, 1995; Popenoe, Cunningham and Boult, 1998). There is also the supernatural conception to health, which includes the belief that there are some supernatural forces which are powerful, invincible and incomprehensible to man that can inflict some harm or cause some kinds of misfortunes to him.

Lambo (1961) observed that indigenous African culture has not yet accepted European methods of treatment in their present forms, and our people seek medical care with a considerable degree of ambivalence (reminiscent of infantile ambivalence), but paradoxically with such a degree of dependence and often despair of resignation, that increases both the effectiveness and difficulties of the physician to the point where he can earn undue credit or undue blame. This assertion which is said to be made several years ago is still valid for tropical Africa today.

Traditional system of health-care, according to Isamah (1996), is still quite and relatively efficient for its millions of patrons for centuries, hence its persistence to the present in large parts of the world. Although, each culture evolved its own concepts of physical health and illness, much of what is now recognized as medicine derives from development in western society over the past two to three centuries (Giddens, 1989) from where it spread to almost all parts of the world. The consequence of this in Nigeria today as it is in other sub-Saharan African countries is that the modern medical system has been considered more dominant in the dualism of healthcare system that exists. This is probably because modern health-care system is more adequately financed and supported. Despite the above fact, Isamah (1996) still concluded that modern medicine has not been enhanced in terms of efficiency because of the bureaucratic nature of Nigerian hospitals. This is hardly experienced in the traditional healthcare system.

Treurnicht (2000) explained that indigenous knowledge system was not granted their rightful place in the development debate. This he stated was due to the fact that not until fairly recently, various scientists refused to realize the limitations of western medicine as it is not possible for western science to provide us with a universally applicable framework for all societies. He thus suggested that all knowledge systems should be mobilized to address the existing and future challenges in society. Such combination of knowledge was therefore very necessary especially with regards to maintenance of health.

The observation above, together with indigenous beliefs made traditional medicine not only persistent but also complementary and a major source of health care in our society. Added to the preceding is the fact that several studies have proven that traditional medicine enjoys high patronage (Erinosho & Ayorinde, 1985; Owumi, 1989, 2005). The high patronage that traditional medicine enjoys from the population

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is an indication of its influence on the health care delivery. It has been acclaimed that 70% of the Nigerian population and, by extension, Africans utilize the services of traditional medicine (Owumi 2005). This is quite significant when we consider the fact that the frontier of western health care in our society is highly limited, and, so, the underserved in the society are catered for by this health care (traditional health care) in our society.

The multifaceted conception of ill health has further facilitated patient's tandemic use of therapeutic materials in one ailment episode. Studies have revealed that patients on admission to western system even smuggle traditional medicines to ward off evil forces and/or complement the treatment of western medicine. The rationale behind this attitude is rooted in our cultural values and perception about causes of ailment. It should be noted here that in spite of the high level of patronage which the practitioners enjoyed among their clientele, government not only prevented their uninhibited practice, but blackmailed and castigated the art as an unconventional, unscientific, barbaric medicine, to mention a few. It was just recently that the federal government gave tacit recognition to traditional medicine as a useful approach to health-care promotion at the primary care (PHC) level (FMOH, 1998). This was however not backed by financial support, except in situations where some selected TBAs were trained and given some kits to enhance the delivery of their services (Owumi, 2005)

Owumi (2005) emphasized that several studies have shown that the effectiveness of some indigenous healing practices in the management of a variety of ailment, are indisputable. These range from the activities of Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs), traditional psychiatrists and others to a variety of herbs used in the treatment of the ailments. Furthermore, the significance of traditional health-care system does not only lie in the efficacy of treatment administered but also on the efficacy of the herbs used which sometimes form some components of western drugs. Sofowora (1982) scientifically demonstrated the fact that the herbs and plants used by traditional medicine practitioners have medicinal value. It is also needful to note that the popular Aro psychiatric hospital has its foundation in the belief of the efficacy of traditional medicine in the management of mental ailment. The fact that there is a socio-psychological component and explanation of health-care management gives room for us to realize that the values of our people which forms their beliefs and psychological interpretation of illness and health cannot be underscored.

The strong appeal of traditional medicine to the literate and non-literate in Nigeria, and Tropical Africa, despite efforts by the authorities to develop and promote a comprehensive western health-care delivery system has been attributed to a number of reasons. It has been observed that traditional therapists are more accessible than the formally trained western practitioners (Harrison 1974). Furthermore, the patient's confidence is greater on the therapeutic skills of the traditional practitioner than in those of the western practitioners. This belief stems from the fact that the traditional healer shares holistic or widely shared view about diseases which has implication for his understanding and relating to patients in the course of providing care.

It has been emphasized by Owumi (2005) that the most important reason accounting for the strong appeal and disposition of the patients and their next of kin to these healers could be found in the nature and scope of the therapies which the healer administers. The healer treats diseases through the use of herbs and other concoctions. He also initiates social diagnosis as well as integrates symbolic rituals. These axioms

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(social diagnosis and symbolic rituals) which are familiar to African patients and their next of kins and which appear to be awesome, heighten suggestibility and induce a very strong therapeutic influence. The implications of the way in which illness is acted upon in tropical Africa, have also been highlighted in several reports (Erinosho and Ayorinde, 1985).

Despite the fact that traditional healers abound in large numbers and claim to have expertise in the management and treatment of diseases and disorders, a great number of them have not been tested scientifically for their therapeutic skills. Most of the traditional healers who most times learnt the skills from their kins are non-literate and getting old. What we are failing to consider is the fact that if they are not recognized and trained , they are likely to die with such skills which could tapped and passed to the younger generation for utilization in order to ensure maintenance of good health and continuity to the efforts to achieve health for all. The interest of the Nigerian government (except Lagos and Delta) according to Erinosho and Ayorinde (1985) Owumi (2005) has been confined only on the promotion of research on medical herbs which is even minimal.

In their study, Erinosho and Ayorinde (1985) stated that views from existing literatures can be categorized into diametrically opposed schools of thought which included those who examine the asset in traditional healing in relation to the numerical strength of the healers. In this regards, it is held that traditional healers could be used and that their services could complement those which are rendered through the western health- care delivery system. Justification for this is based on the preponderance (that is, numerical strength of the healers vis-à-vis the western health care agents and the fact that they (that is, the healers) constitute a viable alternative. This view is further strengthened by the fact that traditional healers in Tropical Africa serve as the cornerstone of health care largely because several Africans utilize their services and rely on indigenous medicine (Good et al., 1979; Warren et al., 1982).

Furthermore, there are those who perceive the full import of traditional medicine within the context of certain therapeutic techniques. There is at least a strong belief in the efficacy of traditional therapies for certain conditions in some quarters (Saunders et al., 1953; Prince, 1960); there are claims concerning the efficacy of indigenous therapies which are portrayed through dogged references to a number of pharmacologically active substances which are put to use by the traditional healer. In addition, the healer's dexterity in psychotherapy was considered a factor that enhances the efficacy. Whereas they are those who perceive traditional medicine as unempirical and a risk to human life and wellbeing and should not be allowed to co-exist with western medicine.

Unfortunately, there is inequality in terms of the recognition and financial support given to the traditional healthcare system when compared to that given to western health care system. This is probably because of the increased globalization, modernization and civilization that is said to be emulated by the Nigerian society today. What we have failed to realize is the fact that the gap between the rich and the poor is so wide and the rate of poverty in the country is so alarming that most individuals in the Nigerian society hardly acknowledge the need to be cautious of their health status, unless they experience break downs or perceive a threat to their health. This they do due to the cost of maintaining good health using western health-care hence the increased use of herbs such as "Agbo" and "jedijedi" (concoction for pile)

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Whitehead (1999) stated that the issue of social inequalities in healthcare system and healthcare is now more widely recognized as a major challenge to public health. Further more, there are concerns that the situation may deteriorate with the unfavorable economic climate and with the retrenchment that has characterized policy responses both inside and outside the health sector over the past decade. Some debate has now opened up about the need to develop more equitable alternatives and how to go about it. Several debates have overtime been on as regards the need to adequately recognize alternatives for health care system such as traditional medicine.

Primary Healthcare System

Primary healthcare is the key to attaining the goal of health for all people of this country (Lambo 2005). It is essential health care based on practical, scientifically sound and socially acceptable methods and technology made universally accessible to individuals and families in the community through their full involvement and at a cost that the community and the state can afford to maintain at every stage of their development in the spirit of self-reliance. It shall form an integral part of the national health system whose central function and main focus in the overall social and economic development of the community. This is because of the increase in poverty which has compounded the current situation of Nigeria today. Poverty is keeping more and more people in poor health, just as the poor health of an increasing number of Nigerians is retaining them in poverty. We are therefore at a point where we need to improve the health of Nigerians not only to break the vicious circle of ill-health, poverty and a low level of development, but convert it to a virtuous circle of improved health status, increased well-being and sustainable development.

In line with these, Owumi (2005) stressed that issues ranging from sustainable health care, finance, access to health-care services, patient/health professional ratio to drug availability featured mainly as part of the bane to effective and adequate health-care deliver as also identified by (Jegede, 2002). One way to resolve these problems according to Owumi (2005) was to "resort" to local and available in-expensive resources to improve or enhance access to health-care which was found in traditional medicine. As a result, traditional medicine was officially acclaimed as popular and highly accessible, affordable to the people with their material inputs found within the environment. It was with this value that traditional medicine became the cynosure of the World Health Organization with their special reference to developing countries like Nigeria, providing affordable health care to their people. Making reference to the Alma Ata conference, the Nigerian health care policy and strategy to achieve the health for all Nigerians goal in 1988 noted that:

> *Traditional medicine is widely use, that there is no uniform system of traditional medicine in the country but that there are wide variations with each variant being strongly bound to the local culture and beliefs. The local health authorities shall, where applicable see collaboration of the traditional practitioners in promoting their health programs (p 68).*

The policy further stated that

> *Traditional health practitioners shall be retrained in order to increase their skills and effectiveness and to promote their integration with the primary health acre system. In addition to this, they shall be instructed*

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on how to make effective use of the referral system of the orthodox medical care (p 68).

There is need to further note that the above policy on the need to improve or develop traditional health-care system was not accidental in nature but was considered necessary because of the gap created by the western health-care system. Unfortunately, the policy seemed more like a paper work as traditional medicine or variant medicine as it was referred to by the National Health Policy document remains largely unchanged, improved and lacked adequate support. This is as a result of the fact that the desire to develop it was not home-grown, and those who in fact designed the policy (elite) were not sincere or lacked the desired commitment to harmonize these variant medicines (traditional medicine). This was confirmed by the sayings of Lambo (1989), as quoted by Owumi, (2005);

The unwillingness of medical doctors to accommodate other forms of medical practices is responsible for the nation's poor health status. He observed that western trained doctors have been brainwashed to be unreceptive to change and to consider their practice as superior to alternative and traditional medicine (P 28).

The discrimination against traditional medicine by western health professionals as reflected in their unwillingness to accommodate this alternative health care system (traditional medicine) is obvious not only practice, but also in comments. For instance, Gureje (2005) state:

It is difficult to integrate a service about which very little is known. And much more difficult when the practice of one is not only befuddled with secrecy, but often associated with very obvious risks to life and wellbeing. The truth is that we cannot condemn wholesale traditional healing practice. We can neither extol nor recommend them (P 224).

Basically, lack of education and training of traditional healers has affected their tendency to be secretive in their practice. Erinosho and Ayorinde (1985) revealed that although several amongst the traditional healers who were interviewed in their study were prepared to give full information on their medicines and practices in return for official recognition, it seemed that those with some formal education amongst them are more disposed towards this than their counterparts who lacked formal education. Even western medical doctors, according to Erinosho and Ayorinde (1985), were divided on the recognition of traditional healers as some agreed, while some others did not probably because of the possible competition which might ensue between them and the traditional healers if they are accorded recognition. However, a reasonable number of western medical doctors, especially the females, agreed probable due to the fact that they must have benefited one way or the other from the activities of the traditional healers. More so when interviewed on the integration of traditional healing techniques into western medicine, majority of the western medical doctors agreed. However, in actual practice today, such is not obvious at all. It was further revealed by Erinosho and Ayorinde (1985) that the relationship between traditional healers and both the Nigerian authorities and the formally trained western medical doctors have been marked by deep-seated suspicion in the past decades and up till now. This is connected mainly to the wariness on the part of the authorities, on one

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hand, to consider the issues of recognition and the general hostility of the formally trained western medical doctors on the other hand. It could on the other hand be attributed to the fact that traditional medicine is considered outdated and primitive as only the values and norms of the western world seem to be considered "rational"

Health Care Reforms and Transformation of Traditional Medicine

No doubt, a little transformation has been observed in terms of the recognition of traditional healthcare system. Traditional healers to some extent have been recognized and trained in some states like Delta and Lagos states. They have formed associations and guild under which they can seek protection and adequate recognition. International organizations have also acknowledged their importance and recognized them. The case of the WHO's declaration of the Alma Ata conference comes to mind.

In November (1995), WHO convened an inter-regional meeting on prevention of maternal and the working Group recommendations endorsed and encouraged efforts to train traditional birth attendants (TBAs) to provide effective prenatal care within the first "referral unit" point at which many maternal deaths occur. Attempts have been made to train traditional healers especially traditional birth attendant and incorporate them into primary health-care system. Dangoji (1992) stated that efforts were put in place by health workers in Nigeria under the umbrella of Inter-Africa Committee (IAC) on traditional practices affecting the health of women and children to work with traditional birth attendants (TBAs), to identify safer methods they could use among their clients. It set up pilot projects in every Local Government Area (LGA) in Nigeria where they trained midwives who in turn would train TBAs. The trainers depended on practical demonstrations, posters films and culturally relevant information about taboos to teach the illiterate TBAs about safe labour and delivery methods. Each TBA received a delivery kit to supplement her traditional delivery techniques once she finished the training course. The IAC midwives were said to have been in contact with the TBAs which has resulted in their high interest and that of their communities and also gave them the support and problem-solving skills required to maintain replacement parts. These same exercises were also carried out in places like Oyo state where a total 673 TBAs were retrained. It was also however recorded that about nine LGAs had no records of training TBAs. The exercise was conducted in other states, but the level of government's commitment has a great deal of impact and affects the general performance.

Owumi (1994) conducted a study on the position of the TBAs within the primary health-care context in Nigeria with reference to Oyo state. He concluded in the study that the retraining of TBAs in Oyo state was as a result of the TBA's persistent utilization consequent upon their utility within the community in addition to WHO declaration and not as a result of the government's sincere desire for development. Thus, there was poor or lack of commitment to the programme. Lack of commitment on the part of the government to improve traditional health-care system is due to the fact that the importance of traditional medicine in Nigeria today is yet to be adequately recognized by them, and this is what contributes a great deal to the inequality experienced in the health care of the people.

The implication of the increased lack of recognition and support for traditional health-care system has certainly increased inequalities in healthcare and difficulty in achieving the Millennium Development Goal of Health for all by the year 2015 and this goal had been on and was unachieved even before the year 2000. We

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may, therefore, continue to dream and set such goals without realizing it if adequate recognition and support is not given to traditional medicine which attracts the patronage of not less than 70% of the Nigerian population and has been considered popular and affordable, especially by the underserved population. This will continue to increase because of the numerical strength of traditional health-care system which attracts the patronage of not less than 70% of the Nigerian population. This at least constitutes a justifiable ground on the need for its development if we are to extend adequate health care to the underserved in society.

Several countries in the world have made successful remarks in their provision of equitable and accessible healthcare to their citizens. Notable among these are Britain, Germany and America. Britain has been termed a liberal welfare state in terms of healthcare. Its National Health Service (NHS), with its tax financing, state provision and claims to benefits based on social citizenship has made positive impact in the health of its citizens. Britain imposed a market into its state-administered health-care system so that the distribution of health-care was based on the demand and patronage of members of its society to a referral system. In Germany, benefits are provided on the basis of membership in an occupational or regional sickness fund and corporatist actors administer the system on the state's behalf. Germany opted for a more mixed menu of cost containment policies, including a cautious use of market forces for greater state intervention, but also adjusting the tried and true framework of associational self-governance. The United State has a liberal healthcare system in which majority of the population receives insurance through the workplace on the basis of a voluntary decision by employers. Britain and Germany have recorded great success not only in safeguarding solidarity, but also in the equitable access to health care (Guiamo & Phillips, 1999).

Traditional health-care system is popular, preferred and highly patronized in spite of its being befuddled with secrecy and characterized by obvious risks to life as alleged by Gureje (2005). A critical look again will make us realize that if something is not done by getting the practitioners trained like their western counterparts by the governments; more harm is likely to occur. This is because many Nigerians and indeed Africans run to them not only as their last resorts, but also as reserved healers. A lot have been emphasized on the need to improve the health of the masses and ensure equality in health care for indigenes and members of the society, but very little has been done to ensure equal or adequate recognition to traditional healers who contribute a great deal to health maintenance of Nigerians. If healthcare must be equally accessible and affordable in Nigeria society as stated in the Health Reforms and Policy, then justice must be done to the traditional healers because it has been considered a right on the part of the individuals to participate in the implementation of decisions pertaining to achieving good health. Most Nigerians have been observed to prefer and patronize traditional healers as a result; the traditional should be encouraged and improved upon in order to meet the goal of the healthcare policy/reform of Nigeria. This to a large extent can contribute highly to our achievement of the millennium goal of health for all by the year 2015 if health must really get to all.

Recommendations

Recognizing the high numerical strength, accessibility, affordability and patronage of traditional medicine, there is need to identify the numbers of traditional heath-care

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practitioners in Nigeria. There are some associations and traditional medicine guilds already where we can start from. Other states could emulate Delta and Lagos state governments who have taken a step to recognize them. We could also trace the unrecognized traditional medical practitioners in the course of action. Traditional practitioners should be educated, trained and retrained continuously and adequately with full commitment on the part of the government rained. Traditional health-care system should be adequately financed and supported both nationally and internationally in order to enable them carry out their activities more effectively and efficiently. There is also need to back up these traditional practitioners legally so that it will be easy to monitor, assess and evaluate their activities.

It is expected that we build on past suggestions and views which can contribute to improving Nigerian healthcare system and not abandon them. Thus health-care reforms should be revised to build on past strategies that support the development of traditional medicine. The reform should be revised to spell out clearly the role of the government in the traditional health-care system as well as the expectations or functions of this health- care system. Machinery could be set in place to ensure it is improved and evaluated over time to meet the need of the people. If truly Nigerians have the right to participate individually and collectively in the planning and implementation of health care as implied in the health care reform, then government should be generally involved in evaluating Nigerian's patronage of the health-care system and making it affordable and accessible to all members like it is done in Britain. Otherwise, Africa, and Nigeria in particular, will continuously be saddled with the problem of managing the healthcare problem of their population, especially because of the fact that traditional health-care system which is better patronized by the Nigerian population.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

PEOPLES, CULTURE AND HEALTH

Salami, Kabiru K. and Taiwo, Patricia Awa (Jerome)

Introduction

The general acceptable definition of health according to the World Health Organization (WHO) emphasizes the relevance of social interaction in human society (WHO, 1978). Likewise, the central theme of the report of commission for the social determinants of health is the socio-cultural factors responsible for health outcomes (CSDH, 2008). In both, while the issue of health was the main concern, the nature of people's interaction and the culture of the people concerned were considered important. Evidences have shown that we may be missing out a complete frame of socio-cultural issues determining people's health especially in academic manual for readings, if this theme is not considered along with existing related issues in literature. For instance, scholars have written about peoples and culture (Jegede); peoples of different regions in Nigeria (Aremu and Ajala; Eghafona and Dokpesi), and peoples and culture of Nigeria in a globalised world (Oludayo and Aderinto). Others have linked peoples and culture with the mass media (Okunola, Imhonopi), and with religion (George and Amusan), all in this issue. With this, there exists an unusual opportunity for us to pay little attention to the concepts of "peoples" and "culture", rather we emphasize the impact of peoples' interaction and socio-cultural issues on their health outcome/status.

For clarification of concepts as they interconnect here, the term **people** is synonymous with words such as populace, natives, public, group, inhabitants, community, and nation. People as a group can be looked at in terms of socio-demographic structures such as age, sex, class, marital status and the like. People's health is central to sociological discourse. For **culture**, several definitions exist. There also occurred diverse opinions about culture which are indicated by individuals' and groups' life experiences. To the layman, the term culture can be used to denote one's character, behavior and manners. Hence, an individual can say that one, who is not well behaved, is not "cultured" (Otite and Ogionwo, 2006). However, in the scientific sense, culture is seen as the total way of life of people. The most popular definition that is usually considered by sociologist is that given by E.B. Tylor (1981) who defined culture as the complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society.

The foregoing depicts that there are both overt/visible (material) and covert/invisible (non-material) culture. The material aspect of culture includes arts in forms of houses, shoes, dressing, and the like, while the non-material aspects include language, beliefs, morals, and knowledge. In a nutshell, however, it is noteworthy to understand that most features, characters, activities and behaviours, which are unique to peoples in societies, are guided by their culture. This is aside the fact that peoples' abilities and capabilities, which are learned and shared even with respect to their cultural traits, help them not only to adapt to and master their environment, but also to develop methods and approaches which can be used to deal with ill-health or discomfort, and generally maintain their health. In line with this, Oke (1994) noted that some organic diseases have at least indirect cultural origin. He also noted that human behavior is a manifestation of his culture (2006). Freund and McGuire (1999)

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emphasized that ideas about peoples, bodies and health, as well as illness, are influenced by both culture and peoples' social positions, such as class or gender due to their social constructions. Freud and McGuire also added that both cultural and social structural factors are important in understanding peoples' behavior and health. Thus, people respond and act in the way they perceive their health, because of what they believe should be done which is usually influenced by interactions that are culturally influenced (Jegede, 1996). In sum, the social and cultural practices of people in relative society affect their health outcome, hence high or low health outcome (Salami, 2008). They affect the nature of illness and their help seeking. In the same vein, such socio-cultural factors that influence people's health are reflected in their eating and hygienic practices, and ideas about their health, illness and healing.

The concept of **health** is synonymous with physical condition, fitness, well-being, vigor, strength and absence of: pain, discomfort, sickness or diseases. The World Health Organization (WHO's) definition refers to health as "the state of complete physical, mental and social well being, not merely the absence of disease or infirmities" (WHO, 1978). This could also mean a state of being totally well and sound which goes beyond not having disease or infirmity in one's body, but rather means that the individual is alright socially, mentally and physically. Although such situation is often everybody's dream, it is a difficult state to meet if at all it occurs. Both individuals and societies have plans in place to meet up with some levels of achieving health for man through their health-care systems. Health-care system of a particular community or society is any system of preventing, healing and counseling available for maintenance of healthy living in such a society. **Disease** by medical model is often explained in terms of biological discontinuities (Erinosho, 2006) which are also often described in relations to the malfunctioning of a part of the human organism. According to Idler (1979), disease is an abstract biological-medical conception of pathological abnormalities in people's bodies. This is indicated by certain normal signs and symptoms which are observed, measured, recorded, classified and analyzed according to clinical standards of normality. However, the cultural concept of disease dominant among Nigerians is anchored on three etiological factors (Erinosho, 2006); natural, supernatural/mystical and preternatural. These factors are described in the next section.

Influence of People's Culture on their Health

As noted above, the cultural perceptions, beliefs and general practices of a people do not only affect their health, but also affect every aspect of it including the distribution and types of diseases which determine how healthy they are. Man lives in an interactive society that is being affected by what happens in his environment; this determines his reactions and behaviours, hence social environment is also important in the determinant of peoples' health. This is to say that the determinants of health and disease in a community cannot be discussed outside the cultural practices of the people in it. Medical Sociologists and Anthropologists have identified the twin terms of culture-free and culture-bound to explain such situation of cultural practices. Scientists in this field have described illness as culture-bound, while disease is described as culture-free. Culture-bound looks at people's reaction to illness based on their cultural orientation. It has to do with people's belief, attitude and, in turn, behaviours in relation to one's state of health and can be affected by people's culture, which is subjective. Since the definition of illness is subjective, emanating from people's perception about it, their reaction and response to illness in terms of treatment

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seeking is influenced by their culture. On the other hand, disease is objectively defined as observable, measurable, recordable, and at the same time classified and analyzed through clinical diagnosis. It, therefore, follows that while illness differs across cultures, disease is same anywhere in the world, thus making it culture-free. For example, while *igbe eyin* (teething stool) is recognized all over the world as common to children less than age one, at about time their teeth start coming out (culture-free), preparation for the period as a milestone in children differs across culture based on differences in perception as normal or not (culture-bound).

The peoples' perception and or explanations of illness causation affect the way they act to return an individual, a sick person, back to normalcy. As observed by Osunwole, (1996), the traditional diagnostic methods are influenced by cultural and religious beliefs of most indigenous communities, where the concept of two worlds predominates and where human problems are traceable either to heaven which symbolizes the spiritual world or earth which represents the physical entity. Man's physical and spiritual constituents that correspond to the nature of the universe have given him the capacity to interact freely with the visible and invisible worlds. God is accepted as the creator of the universe where events are ordered through the instrument of natural laws. Although the spirits and humans are under God's control, they have the capacity to manipulate either the physical or spiritual environment to cause events to happen through supernatural means. Thus, Osunwole (1996) posited that there are events that take place quite naturally without the intervention of either humans or spirits, and there are those which happen through the involvement of living or dead human agents. For instance, the Yoruba in Nigeria believe in natural causation, supernatural causation and preternatural causation (Erinosho, 2006). For natural causation, it is believed that infections in the body, which are most often caused by vectors or through malfunction of body systems, can result in illness. A good example is mosquito bite that releases malaria parasite that can result in malaria in the body. The appropriate treatment for this type of illness is modern/orthodox/western health care services. Supernatural causation is the belief that "stepping on forefathers'/ancestral' toes" or "abuse or violation of the law of the land" was a cause of an illness. Appeasing the angry gods, forefathers and ancestors is often the recommended treatment. This aspect is related to violation of 'yam festival' rights in the Eastern Nigeria. The last is often attributed to the work of sorcery. Indigenous healers are believed to be the appropriate quarter to appease, on behalf of the sick person involved. All the services for different causations are available in Nigerian society. People make their choices based on their perception of illness causation. In addition, people could also seek for treatment in societies outside theirs if they are sure of getting better treatment elsewhere. This also relates to the levels of reality: science, magic and belief: belief in one is less of the others (Oke, 2006).

Many cultural practices have perpetuated and increased the prevalence of certain diseases and health problems in Nigeria. However, this is not to say that there are no cultural beliefs and practices that have improved and enhanced the health status of Nigerian citizens.

Let us look at some aspects of health or ill-health that are being caused or influenced by people's culture, as well as those that have promoted people's health in Nigeria. Examples are drawn from both documented and undocumented practices

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relating to tropical diseases, communicable and non-communicable diseases, reproductive health, mental health, safe motherhood, child survival strategies, and practices that promote transmission of diseases like HIV/AIDS.

Tropical Diseases: Malaria

Malaria is a tropical disease caused by the vector- mosquito. There is no gainsaying the fact that Malaria is endemic in most tropical parts of Africa, Nigeria inclusive, Millions of individuals including children under the ages of five years and pregnant women have passed on as a result of Malaria. Yet, some practices, which could be considered social or cultural, have accounted for the prevalence and spread of malaria. For instance, the pattern of housing structures in Nigeria especially in the less urban and some parts of the urban suburbs encourages the breeding and invasion of mosquitoes. Some houses in rural areas are built with mud and thatch and the ones in urban areas are decorated with some openings which connect to the outside without nets and are wide enough to allow entrance of mosquitoes. This is aside the fact that there are usually vegetations and drainage systems that breed mosquitoes outside these buildings. In a study of production of health for children under the age of five in a rural Southwestern community, Salami (2008) documented the lack of ceiling (25.3%); window nets (23.1%); and bed net (53.6%) in rooms where the index children slept a night before the survey. Also, due to the increased electricity challenges in the country, poverty and ignorance, people have made it a way of life to store water in pots and other containers after rainfall and even from wells and boreholes. Some go as far as storing dirty water for flushing the toilets or cleaning the floors in order to reduce the stress of having to fetch more especially when the house is a storey building. In the same study, Salami (2008) measured the paces of location of full water basin at floor level in and outside the house to location of room where children slept the previous night before survey. Results indicated that about 26% of children slept between first and fifth feet away from the open full water basin in the house. All these practices either from oneself or one's neighbors encourage the breeding of mosquitoes around houses and then the prevalence of malaria. Culturally, there are some beliefs among the Yoruba in Nigeria that the symptoms of high fever and even malaria (often referred to as "iba") is caused by staying too much under the sun and too much oil in one's body (Jegede, *et al.,* 2005; Ramakrishna, Brieger and Adeniyi, 1988-89). Thus, based on these wrong notions, individuals restrain themselves and their wards from going under the sun and also from taking much oil in order to achieve cure instead of seeking orthodox medicine. Biomedically, however, lack of oil in the body results in bad sights (Medikka, 2007). In some parts of Nigerian society, some people also believe in the efficacious strength of herbs such as "dogoyaro" (*azadirachta indica*) than drugs in the treatment of malaria. Jegede *et. al.* (2005) reported that about 21% of market women at Bodija had the wrong perception that malaria is being caused by 'sun' and 'dust' apart from mosquito bite, and therefore they found herbs as one of appropriate treatments for it (Jegede, *et al.*, 2006). Also, Brieger, Salami and Oshiname (2007) found that people attributed the colour of eye to the yellow urine that comes out of the body of sick persons to make request for pink-coloured drug for treatment of malaria.

Non-communicable Diseases: High blood Pressure /Hypertension

Hypertension which results most times from high blood pressure has been a major silent killer in Nigeria environment especially in recent years. In the Eastern part of

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Nigeria, specifically (Enugu), hypertension has been reported to be the leading cause of heart failure encountered in the University of Nigeria Teaching hospital, Enugu (Medikka, 2007). Importantly, most of the traditional practices predispose individuals to this deadly disease. Apart from ignorance of not checking one's blood pressure consistently which might be due to the level of literacy and stereotype attached to doing constant check-ups, most individuals (men and women) from this part of the country (Udi town to be precise) take alcohol in large quantities. As a matter of fact, the symbol that welcomes one to the local government headquarters of this town is that of a palm wine tapper climbing his palm tree. Hence, the medical director of Udi district hospital identified hypertension as the leading health problem in that area (Medikka, 2007). Heavy alcohol intake is also found to be rampart in Edo and Delta areas of Nigeria. It has also been identified as a major risk factor for hypertension in the areas. Also, the rate of taking in raw salt which is sometimes in excess is a common practice in our society. It is not unusual for one to see people adding raw salts to the food they eat not minding how much was added when it is being cooked. Salt is used to preserve fish in riverine areas of Nigeria, and these are often consumed as raw as they are. Increased salt intake also contributes to hypertension. This was found similar in Southwestern Nigeria (Cooper et al., 1998).

Mental Health

Mental health is an important aspect of individual's state of healthiness. It is often taken for granted in the analysis of people's health status because of the usual explanation of disorderliness in the body system which, most of time, is attached to supernatural and preternatural causation. In actual fact, the cause of mental disorder can be physical, spiritual, environmental, social, psychological and even economical. In most parts of Nigeria, mental illness is attributable to spiritual causes. In Yoruba culture, for instance, people who suffer from mental disorder are called "were", and it is believed that such illness is suppressed when the individual is pregnant (if she is a female). It is also believed that some children right from conception are possessed with a spirit and born to be "emere" which makes them misbehave. They often want to go back to their mates in the spirit world. Surviving children are sometimes observed to be manifesting various forms of mental illness ranging from manipulative stereotyped histrionic dissociative disorder to real schizophrenia. Also, most people in Nigeria believe that people suffering from mental illness are the architects of their own misfortune. They perceive that it is either they are drug addicts, cultists, ritualists or general evil doers who receive their punishment at the point when they suffer mental disorderliness. They are seen as serving the consequences of one evil or the other that they have committed sometimes in their past. As such, when someone is mentally ill, it is unusual for his people to seek Western medical care. They may rather consult traditional medicine men and diviners who are perceived as being efficient in such areas since the cause of the problem, for them, is certainly from the "spirit world". This practice may influence both the prognosis and overall outcome of the illness. In the cause of the treatment or curtailing the spirit, several other pains and discomfort may be afflicted on the victims as most people believe that the victim should be flogged terribly with "medicine brooms" and tied in chains. Some go as far as sprinkling some unhealthy chemicals or water on the victim's face with the belief that such will make them powerless. The stigmatization that the individual experiences

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afterwards, even while he or she is cured, is enough to make the individual feel sick as every action and behavior is suspected as a chance for the mental illness to re-occur. Thus, throwing the victim into a state of confusion and loneliness and affecting his or her self esteem which in-turn might be misconceived for an aftermath of the mental challenge.

Reproductive Health Problem: HIV/AIDS

The spread in HIV/AIDS in Nigeria has some cultural connections. Unsafe sexual intercourse is known as the major channel through which the pandemic is transmitted. Nigeria is the third country with the largest number of orphans due to HIV/AIDS. These high prevalence rate and mortality due to HIV/AIDS in Nigeria are largely due to some cultural practices which promote the spread of the virus. The matter of sex and sexual intercourse is rarely discussed without shyness and stereotype that it should not be an issue of public discussion. The discussion of sexuality issues with teenagers, especially girls, is seen as indecent, unhealthy and unacceptable. As such, young people wallow in ignorance as far as sexual and reproductive health issue is concerned especially with respect to health information about sexual matters, thus contracting and spreading the virus. Furthermore, stigma and discrimination which are both common among Nigerians have also influenced the prevalence and spread of this pandemic. People living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) are seen as immoral and wayward sexually, and this definitely affects the attitude and behavior of people towards them. Also, Nigerians hardly want to test for their HIV/AIDS status voluntarily because of the fear of being stigmatized if they are positive, except when it becomes mandatory for them. This has influenced several ignorant transmissions of HIV/AIDS.

Cultural practices in form of beliefs, perceptions, attitudes and behavior of individuals in the aspect of wrong marriages and union have contributed to the increase in HIV rates especially among women. Early marriages especially in the Northern part of the country have not only contributed to the prevalence of Vesco Vagina Foscula (VVF, a diseases usually experienced by young girl during and after child-birth due to the immaturity and smallness of the pelvic of the girl), but also to the spread of HIV/AIDS. Some parents see marrying out their daughters early, as a way of protecting their girls from the outside world and maintaining their chastity, however, they end up ruining their lives in the long-run. Hence many young girls have been victims of these acts.

In almost every part of Nigerian society, extramarital sex is not uncommon for men especially when their wives are pregnant or have just put to bed. Extramarital sex has been found a risky practice that may favour the transmission of HIV in Nigeria (Ajuwon *et al.*, 1993-94). In most cases, where the concubine is a regular sexual partner whose HIV- status is not known, the man contracts the virus and transmits to the wife, since culturally, women find it difficult to negotiate condom use to protect themselves against sexually transmitted diseases, such as HIV, gonorrhea, syphilis and the like.

Circumcision for both male and female are other cultural practices which when not properly done, enhance the transmission of HIV. A Nigerian study (Ajuwon *et. al.* 1995) reported how the work of local surgeons (*Oloola*) who specialized in circumcision and making traditional facial marking can contribute to transmission of HIV. Facial marking is socio-cultural in indigenous society, but the process of marking favours transmission of diseases like HIV through blood contact. According to Ajuwon *et. al.* (1995), the *Oloola* used the same knife for all operations and cleaned

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it simply by rinsing it in a bowl of water. The potential for HIV transmission between practitioner and clients and among clients during the procedures is high. Most unnecessarily is the belief in some cultures that females must undergo circumcision to reduce promiscuity. Apart from other attendant obstetric problems that female genital mutilation may bring, it puts women and girls at risk of contracting HIV from unsterilized instruments such as knives and broken glass that are used during the procedure. This is because most of these circumcisions, especially female genital mutilation, are done in the villages where no form of asepsis is taken into consideration. Another socio-cultural practice that may also contribute to transmission of HIV was addressed in the study of Salami *et. al.* (2005-2006). In their study of observation of barbers' activities and transmission of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria, Salami *et al* found that although sterilization of instruments for barbering was done for the most part without the customers asking for it; the general lack of such requests indicates that the customers probably do not perceive themselves at risk of any disease from the barbershop.

Maternal and Child Health: Maternal and Infant Mortality

Several cultural practices in Nigeria have influence on maternal and child mortality. However, maternal and infant mortality rates in Nigeria raised a great deal of concern both to the local and international world. Apart from the challenge of having adequate and efficient healthcare services in Nigeria as in most other developing nations, some cultural beliefs and practices have contributed to the rise in maternal and infant mortality rates in Nigeria. Some of the beliefs and practices are explained below:

Nutrition: It has been observed that in some cultural settings, pregnant women are not allowed to eat some particular kinds of food which might just be adequate nutritionally in their state. For instance, pregnant women are not allowed to eat snails which contain iron because of the belief that the child will be dripping saliva which will be slippery just like a snail. Likewise in the Southern Nigeria, pregnant women are not allowed to take beverages because of the belief that such will cause the child to be too big and negatively affect the process of delivery. Some parents and relatives go as far as giving their daughters concoctions to make the baby small in the womb to facilitate easy delivery without considering the possible side effects of such practice on the health of the infant and the mother. Thus, some pregnant women who attend antenatal clinics might not obey or listen to the nutritional advice given to them. In the same vein, young children are not given eggs and some meats for fear of them becoming thieves in future. The practice of exclusive breastfeeding (EBF) meant for providing necessary substances for growth, immunity and development for the newborn infant was found undermined by use of other liquids in Southwestern Nigeria (Nwonkwo and Brieger, 2002). For a new mother to engage in EBF, it means that a baby receives breastmilk within the first 24hrs of life and is fed only on breastmilk for up to 4-6 months of life after which weaning can start. Most women found the process very difficult to bear even for the sake of their children.

Antenatal and Natal care: The role of religion in the utilization of modern healthcare services for both natal and antenatal care in the northern and southern Nigeria is worthy of analysis. The practice of Islam among the northerners does not allow male health workers to attend to women's natal and antenatal care. The situation is however different in the Southern region where gender-specific patient –

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health worker is not a factor. Furthermore, the average Northern pregnant woman is conditioned to endure labor pains. Inability to do this is considered a shameful act. In fact, it is expected that she endures whatever feelings of pains she has and not let the other party know that she is in pains. On the other hand, pregnant women from the South-west are expected to express their pain in whatever way they can, even if they have to scream aloud for the other party to know the extent of pains they feel and get help while in pains or even exaggerate the feel of the pains to attract sympathy and help. Either way, it is quite difficult to attract the adequate attention needed to deliver the pregnant woman safely when these occur as these reactions may result in getting the attendant to act seemingly nonchalant or confused on the right thing to do.

In some parts of Edo state, drinking liquor or alcohol is a strategy to reduce labour pain. It is believed that the alcohol will bath the child clean and make him or her strong, while the women remains at home in the power of this alcohol to deliver the child at home as a "strong and ideal women". In Southwestern Nigerian, special use of alcohol for women was identified including easing the pains of childbirth (Mamman, Brieger and Oshiname, 2002). The same study (Mamman, Brieger and Oshiname, 2002) identified problems associated with drinking alcohol that women confronted: accidents, fighting, illnesses, mental problems, children learning to drink, child neglect, rape and tarnishing of one's image, among others. Also, it is forbidden in some Nigerian cultures, especially among the Northerners, for a child to be delivered in a supine position. This is because it is believed that children delivered in such position will be lazy. It is therefore ensured that women deliver the child in the acceptable or ideal position in the culture without consideration of the effect of such on the safety of the neonate. A lot of head injuries are likely to occur on new born babies when these happen in people's cultures.

Postnatal Care: After delivery, the woman is usually subjected to some medically unaccepted treatment in the bid to carry out culturally accepted and prescribed methods of postnatal care. In most settings, for instance, the woman is exposed to very hot bath for 40 to 60 days, most especially among the Yoruba and also in Northern Nigeria. Even in the northern Nigeria, a woman's failure to comply is sometimes threatened that her husband takes up another wife. This has contributed strongly to one of the reasons why women in northern Nigeria refuse hospital delivery, since hot bath is not given immediately to the woman who has just delivered her baby.

In some cultural settings in Nigeria, facilitation of the flow of breastmilk for the baby is a practice. It is expected that the woman consumes hot pap mixed with some ingredients and concoctions that contain plenty of potash. It is believed that consumption of such concoction will increase the flow of breast milk for the baby. However, increased potassium consumption can encourage postpartum anemia with oedema.

Among the Ijaw of Niger Delta, when a child is delivered by a member of the community, the child is taken to the river and left in the river for some time. It is believed that the child needs to be treated and trained that way in order for him to recognize that he comes from a riverrine area. This belief and practice is attributed to the reason why an Ijaw child is not expected to ever drown in any form of river. One cannot imagine the implication of dropping a newly born child who is supposed to be kept warm in a river because of the supposed cultural practice. Aside from the possibility of drowning or consuming contaminated water at such a vulnerable state, the child is exposed to cold which could result in pneumonia. Also, most people in Nigeria believe that diarrhea is associated with teething. In fact,

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many believe that every child has to experience one or two episodes of diarrhea as a sign of surviving the challenges of growing teeth. It thus becomes unnecessary for them to seek medical care when a child is having diarrhea.

Cultural Treatment for Certain Illness:

Convulsion: Among the Edos and some Yoruba, the leg of a child who has convulsion is placed on the fire after beating him seriously with a rubber and broom. In some cultures, the child's mouth is spread wide with a big spoon with the caution that the teeth must not meet, while some concoction is poured straight into his/her mouth with some traditional and diabolical materials which may include a dead wall gecko tied around his neck (as common to the Ishan of Edo).

Measles: For the treatment of measles among some parts of Delta in Nigeria, the water from onion is applied to the eyes of a child suffering from measles. Some people also bath the child with fermented palm wine and pour some in the child's eyes, and at the same time give the child some portion to drink. It is believed that the god of palm wine and measles do not agree and that palm wine is very powerful in the treatment of measles. In some other settings, the water melon seed is thrown into people's houses to prevent the spread of any contagious disease such as measles.

Among the Ishans of Edo and some other tribes, the stomach of a child with an extended abdomen is cut seriously and deeply to create large marks for traditional incisions, due to the belief that the abdomen is extended as a result of the accumulation of bad blood. Such large cuts have caused some children to bleed to death. Also, traditional cutting of the uvula (traditional uvulectomy), on or before they are seven days old, has caused many children to bleed to death, especially in Northern Nigeria, when such was not properly done.

More painfully and dangerously is the cultural practice of circumcising a seven month pregnant female in Delta state which will not only inflict so much pain on the woman and expose her to contacting HIV/AIDS, but also put the life of the un-born at risk. The practice of early marriage also increases maternal and child mortality since the woman may not be biologically, economically and socially matured enough to face the challenge of motherhood. Other practices that have affected child mortality is the general cultural practice of giving small quantity of proteinous food in the form of meat, fish and egg to the child who need it most and reserving the lion share for the adult who does not need it that much.

Some cultural practices have also had positive effects on the health of Nigerians. For instance, the emphasis on prolonged breast feeding by most mothers is a positive practice among the Yoruba in Nigeria. Some parents recommend that babies are breast fed till they are two years old. In some cultures, especially in the North, women who have just delivered are provided with special nutritious diets which could include the eating of meat every day at least for the first seven days. To make the moment more exciting, a ram is slaughtered on the seventh day in the name of the child for the mother to eat alone and give to others if she so wish without which no other has right to that meat. The cultural practice of carrying baby in the back of the mother has not only ensured some extent of safety but also provides warmth for the baby.

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Factors affecting Cultural Influence on Health Matters in Nigeria

So far, we have been able to highlight some of the cultural practices that inhibit or encourage high health outcome. This section will conclude by identifying some of the factors that are affecting those practices on health matters in Nigeria. Among them are: i) ignorance, ii) education, iii) Poverty, iv) Conservativeness, v) Nonchalant attitude, and vi) Inadequate/poor Healthcare Delivery System.

1. **Ignorance:** Ignorance results when an individual lacks knowledge about something or is unaware of something. Most cultural practices which are detrimental to members' health in the society today are usually due to ignorance or lack of knowledge that such practices are either harmful to individuals. Some cultural practices ignorantly disallow the intake of quality foods such as snail (rich in iron), eggs and beverages (rich in protein) both by pregnant women and babies. These have implications for the wellbeing of the victims. Furthermore, phenomenon of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) was high when members were ignorant about its adverse effect on the females. Today, knowledge and high awareness about these ills have contributed to its reduction and total eradication in some cultural settings.

2. **Education:** Education encourages exposure and empowers members to make decisions that affect their health. Many cultural characteristics and their effect on health are associated with education, occupation, income, and social status. Education, in turn, affects these factors and vice versa. These factors influence one's awareness of the world, and whether one will seek improvement regarding one's health by exhibiting behaviours that are health-promoting and avoiding those that are detrimental to one's health or even accepting things the way they are. Educated persons, especially those who are gainfully employed in white-collar jobs, may be more aware of the benefits of exercise than those without formal education. They are more likely to have better-paying jobs that enable them to afford good food and quality health care than those who are not. Education also exposes one to the knowledge of how to maintain good health.

3. **Poverty:** One major challenge and obstacle to individual development, even in the area of maintaining good health, is that of poverty. This challenge as a social problem is a deeply embedded wound that permeates every dimension of culture and society. It includes consistent low income level among members of a community. It contributes to lack of access to basic and social amenities as well as services such as education, health care, lack of decision making ability, and lack of communal facilities like water, sanitation, roads, transportation, good food, communications and good housing. Hence, when health-care facilities and centres are available at some cost, poverty prevents individuals from accessing them. Poverty affects members' level of formal education so much that even when members have ideas as to what should be done in terms of consumption of nutritious foods and maintaining good health, their inability to pay for such due to poverty makes them experience poor health without seeking quality health care. Most people die of poverty-related diseases which could include cholera (resulting from poor water consumption), malaria (resulting from poor housing facilities, lack of insecticide treated nets (ITN) and other chemicals for combating malaria and poor nutrition which breaks down the immunity of individuals to fight against the parasite that causes malaria). Maternal and infant mortality rates have some

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connections with poverty. Women, due to lack of proper diet, experience ill health. Infants suffer from such ill health as the healthiness of a mother is expected to reflect in the child through breast feeding. Another major poverty related disease experienced by children is kwashiorkor.

4. **Conservativeness:** Some people are so conservative that they are not ready to change and practise health improving behaviour. Conservativeness is what makes some people hold tight to their cultural orientation and perceptions even when it is expected that such behavior be dropped, modified or avoided due to their negative consequences on members' health. Those who are culturally conservatives sometimes pass on some cultural traits which are detrimental to their health. Some go further to insist that such traits be practised because it has been their tradition over the years. Such persons hardly allow positive change and are ready to stand against those who want to bring about these changes in their cultural orientation and practices.

5. **Nonchalant Attitude:** Cultural traits which are imposed on or practised by members of a community, especially those that are detrimental to the people's health despite the knowledge of its adverse effect, continually occur sometimes due to nonchalant attitude or lack of concern for people's health.

6. **Inadequate or Poor Healthcare Delivery System:** Inadequate facility is one major challenge that occurs in cultural settings especially in the rural areas. This is usually obvious when members of community have been made to drop or disregard their cultural practices which they have considered useful to them only to find the "ideal" health-care facilities inaccessible or unaffordable. This occurrence is not unconnected with the fact that these healthcare facilities are unavailable or inadequate. It is observed that people travel very long distances or go abroad to seek for quality healthcare delivery system.

Our conclusion is that the influence of socio-cultural factors is significant in the health outcome of people in Nigeria. Such factors also affect the nature and process of treatment that people seek for when they are ill. As suggestion, there is high need for further awareness creation on those cultural practices that affect health negatively. We recommend that works in a similar perspective be promoted among scholars and students as well to identify those other practices and possible practical replacements that are culturally appropriate. This will surely make people drop cultural the practices that are detrimental to man's health and take to new and appropriate behavior that promote healthy living.

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SECTION EIGHT
THE MASS MEDIA

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CHAPTER TWENTY ONE

PEOPLES, CULTURE AND THE MASS MEDIA

Okunola, R.A.

Introduction

Man as a social being cannot live outside his society and other governing agents that conduct the affairs of his existence. One of these governing agents is culture. Every person is born into an existence culture, which must be learned and which shapes his/her life. This explains why the social scientist sees culture as the entire way of life within a society. As a phenomenon that is shared or held in common by group, culture goes beyond often more deeply rooted and stable; it is not easily transitory. In line with this, culture could be said to be "the sum total of the learned behavior of a group of people which are generally considered to be the tradition of that people and are transmitted from generation to generation" (Sitaram, 1970). Salazar (2006: 321-322)) and Ogunbameru (2000: 50-52) see culture as "the aggregate of all non-genetically inherited information, the modes of organizing and preserving information."

Culture emerges as shared historical experiences of a given society which of course is continuous and ever changing and developing. Culture is not merely a return to the custom of past, but it embodies the attitudes of people to the future of their traditional values faced with the demands of modern technology which is an essential factor of development and progress. Cultures do not exist in isolation as human groups relate to one another, which result in borrowing and fusion. For example, culture could evolve from that of others who are their immediate neighbours. This is deductible from language, religious worship, festive and other cultural elements (Ayakoroma, 2011). As a starting point, when expressing one identity to others, culture is complex, and it includes characteristics which go beyond ethnicity and religion.

In Nigeria, what many refer to as culture according to Olaide (2000) are traces of achievement of our forefathers at various levels of stages of their development and the cumulative knowledge of these various achievements. The implication of this is that culture can be found in our political institutions, our literature, and our language and even in our moral values. Not only this, the moral value of a particular group of people is also an embodiment of their culture. What an individual learns morally and the values he acquires thus depend on the culture, in which one develops and the activities and institutions that surround one's life.

Community life is almost the same with culture of the people, and this entails activities within the regulation and scope of culture which morality also takes cognizance of. The number and kinds of people in a community have a great influence on the type of community, and this is where the traditions of such people have a great role to play. Traditions are the customs, practices, bits of legend and folklore, and legends go a long way in establishing the community life, that tangible quality which makes it different in spirit from other communities in the same circumstances (Warren, 1965).

Posner (1988) describes culture as constituting to the community and to society what memory is to the individual. It shapes individual and group attitudes and behavior because it is based on shared history and the human needs for recognition. Thus, it could be said that cultures cut across identities and boundaries because of historical relations between groups in term of trade, inter-tribal marriages and diplomatic relations. There are many different people, groups and tribes across the

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continent of Africa with cultural peculiarity varying from tribe to tribe. Gender, class, physical and mental abilities, religious and spiritual beliefs, sexual orientation, age and other factors influence cultural orientations. In view of the fact that individuals make up a complex weave of cultural influences, it is impossible to define any person by a single cultural label. Cultural histories are filtered by experience and psychological characteristics, making each person unique.

African culture is incredibly interesting because it is so diverse. Every African country is a mix of tribes each with their own unique language and culture. Nigeria is classified as a country with ethnic diversity; this is reflected in the fact that the country has over 250 identified ethnic groups. Three very large ethno-linguistic entities dominate: the Hausa-Fulani, the Igbo and the Yoruba. The concern of this paper is to examine how people make a mutual understanding among themselves, most especially intra-ethnic communication. Particular interest is on communication styles, traditional forms of information dissemination and the media through which such forms of information are passed. Conscious efforts at learning about and understanding of idea of people, their culture and communication become necessary in order to a avoid wrong assumption that particular beliefs and values are normal at the expense of those who hold different beliefs or values. This essay however focuses on traditional societies in the first instance and the influence and relationship this has on contemporary society. At the same time, it aims at defining and understanding the practice of mass media within the traditional settings, most especially the situation of things among the three dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria (Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba). In the course of this, effort will be on information dissemination process. and most often the concepts of mass media and communication will be used interchangeably.

What is Mass Media?

Mass media is any medium used to transmit mass communication. Until recently mass media was clearly defined and was comprised of the eight mass media industries: Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Recordings, Radio, Movies, Television and The Internet. Mass media is media which is intended for a large audience. It may take the form of broadcast media, as in the case of television and radio, or print media, like newspapers and magazines. Internet media can also attain mass media status, and many mass media outlets maintain a web presence to take advantage of the ready availability of Internet in many regions of the world. Many people around the world rely on the mass media for news and entertainment, and globally, mass media is a huge industry.

Usually, mass media aims to reach a very large market, such as the entire population of a country. By contrast, local media covers a much smaller population and area, focusing on regional news of interest. The summary of what Mass media refers to include all media technologies which are intended to reach a large audience via mass communication.

Functions of Mass Media in Society

The media offers entertainment, culture, news, sports, and education. To politicians, artistes, celebrities and advertisers, the media is essential but of course they also matter to everyone else, including teachers, doctors, and lawyers as they depend on the media for information. On many occasions, the images and information in the media that are

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reflected through news broadcasts, situation comedies, talk shows, plays, advertisements, press photos, e-mail and the like are reflection of our society (Kolawole *et. al.,* 2011). When visual images and graphics are used in the media, the images passed are retained in the brain even long after they have been watched and can be replicated (Adebola, 2007).

The news media focus the public's attention on certain personalities and issues, leading many people to form opinions about them. The mass media can also reinforce latent attitudes and "activate" them, prompting people to take action. Just before an election, for example, voters who earlier had only a mild preference for one party or candidate may be inspired by media coverage not only to take the trouble to vote but perhaps also to contribute money or help a party organization in some other ways (Obi, 2000).

The mass media play another important role by letting individuals know what other people think and by giving political leaders large audiences. In this way, the media make it possible for public opinion to encompass large numbers of individuals and wide geographic areas. In areas where the mass media are thinly spread, as in developing countries or in countries where the media are strictly controlled, word of mouth can sometimes perform the same functions as the press and broadcasting, though on a more limited scale. In developing countries, it is common for those who are literate to read from newspapers to those who are not, or for large numbers of persons to gather around the village radio or a community television. Word of mouth in the marketplace or neighbourhood then carries the information farther (Davidson and Worcester, 2009). In countries where important news is suppressed by the government, a great deal of information is transmitted by rumour. Word of mouth (or other forms of person-to-person communication) thus becomes the vehicle for underground public opinion in totalitarian countries; however, these processes are slower and usually involve fewer people than in countries where the media network is dense and uncontrolled. Four major roles of the mass media as agents of publicity and awareness creation have been documented (see Atolagbe, 2007):

- **Acting as Sentinel:** Through their roles in keeping us informed about things going on around us
- **Acting as Arena:** This comes up in the form of giving us publicity to events so as to make the masses arrive at a consensus.
- **Acting as Instructor:** The mass media do this by telling people about others and how these others do things with a view to learning from them.
- **Acting as Social and Political regulator:** This takes the form of providing the citizens, the information about what occur in the world with a view to making us (especially leaders) have the right attitude to the government and national assignments.

The mass media promote overall social cohesion; the strength of such social cohesion depends upon the strength by which the mass media are able to attract attention. Media in competition are continually trying to attract attention more strongly from more people and groups, by generating wider choice. People differ; so also are their preferences which vary according to age, sex, region, religion, politics, hobbies and countless other special interests. Thus, two members of the public will attend to

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precisely the same elements of the mass media, and the evaluations of any given media item may be multiple and opposite (Charlton, 2006).

Communication and Traditional Communication System

In Africa, the uniqueness of the continent is not limited to customs, tradition and culture, but in its means of communication. African means of communication are embedded in their originality, creativity, tradition and culture of the people. These essentially make them highly effective and enduring in the dissemination of information personally, inter-personally and through group communications. However, the enduring nature of the African means of communication has actually made them to subsist and remain relevant in the contemporary world despite the emergence of organs of mass communication like books, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, telex, facsimile, internet and the social media.

Traditional Communication Systems include all organised processes of production and exchange of information managed by rural communities. Their tools, like traditional theatre, masks and puppets performances, tales, proverbs, riddles and songs, should be seen as a cultural and endogenous response to different community needs for information, education, social protest and entertainment. These systems are often used to solve the contradiction between the need for change (development) of a rural community and the need to preserve its cultural values.

In oral society, the conditions of cultural continuity are much more limited than today. In a wholly oral culture, meaning in language is highly specific and local. The context of oral culture is the memory, asked to store and keep accessible what is relevant (Inglis, 1990). Oral traditions used verbal messages that are reported statements from the past beyond the present generation. The messages are oral statements spoken, sung or called out on musical instruments (Vansina, 1985).

Among the inter-personal forms of communication which traditional societies used or rural people still use to receive and give information are the family and neighbourhood, friends and acquaintances, markets and washing areas, and festival gatherings for the village. Institutional networks involve the church or religious networks, the administrative structure, the political party, the school, police and army, and such government service agents as agricultural extension, health, and family planning among others that may operate in the village. The cultures of small-scale societies are cultures of face-to-face oral flows of meaning. The cultures of complex societies on the other hand now make use of writing, print, radio, telephones, telegraph, photography, film, disk, and tape recording, television, radio and computers.

The major concern of communication in whatever medium that the process is being employed is to pass information across to a particular segment of the society or to the general public. The medium that is used in one geopolitical entity may differ from the other. At the same time, the processes do change with improvement in level of technology obtainable in such an environment. This explains the rationale behind variation in modes and patterns of information dissemination in traditional setting and modern society.

Traditional communicative systems also change with the passage of time with the changing environment and needs of the society. The traditional symbols deriving out of the environment may also change with the changing environment. Thus, a

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symbol derived out of an object in any traditional society may acquire a different connotation with the disappearance of the object itself (Ghosh, 2010).

Communication Patterns in Traditional Societies

In traditional societies (Gellner, 1988; Charlton and Andras, 2003) the mass media essentially functioned as an instrument of ideological control, producing heavily censored 'propaganda' on behalf of the ruling powers who controlled the media – and this situation continued through the earlier stages of industrialization before the evolution of the modern mass media. This was possible because the mass media faced little or no competition: books were expensive and copying text was technically difficult, while early broadcast media comprised only a handful of channels. Therefore, mass media of feudal, totalitarian and theocratic societies were essentially monolithic in their communications and manipulative in their intentions (Chomsky, 1989; Gellner, 1988).

But the modern mass media are different. Although printing was invented in the Middle Ages and had a massive impact – allowing much larger and more complex societies to be administered (McLuhan, 1962; Wright, 2000) - the first modern mass media were probably delayed until there was an excess production of printed communications such as cheap newspapers and stories, relative freedom from censorship, a mostly-literate population and also effective consumer choice between media. Since that time, according to Charlton (2006), media-providers have increasingly needed to compete for limited public attention both within media (for example, competition between radio stations, or between channels on TV) and between media (for example, competition between the news on TV, radio, newspapers and the internet).

Information in traditional societies is disseminated both horizontally and vertically. Such information is relayed through the town crier to the villagers (audience) publicly and simultaneously or indirectly to the compound heads who in turn delivers the message vertically to the people through the family heads. Messages that originate from these sources are of diverse nature. They range from developmental messages like school building to social, economic, political and traditional ones. The messages are communicated with dates of certain festivals (cultural), the developmental messages like building, cutting and clearing of roads, use of general group dialogue, or individual discretion of the town announcer.

Similarly, social messages like proclamation, banning certain domestic animals from wandering round the village use various communication modalities, but exclusively these use the masquerade for communication and enforcement. These messages pass through a nexus of stages. From the source – Oba, Emir, and Council of Elders whose deliberations occasioned the order, to the village square meeting. This is equivalent to the referendum in modern democracy; then to the town crier who timely reminds the people of the messages and accelerates people's compliance. In the same vein, other messages, apart from the local ones, from local government, special messages from national and state levels circulate round the village to both groups and individuals, vertically, and horizontally.

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Functions of Traditional Communication

Traditional communication systems change with the passage of time with the changing environment and needs of the society. The traditional symbols deriving out of the environment may also change with the changing environment. Traditional forms of communication are for instance myths; story-telling; songs; proverbs; religious rituals; artistic, musical, dance and theatrical elements, as well as ornaments depicted on pottery, textiles and wood. These forms differ greatly from one another, being characterized - among others - by their own particular society and by economic, social and religious characteristics. Myths give warning to reflections and observations of nature and human beings. They convey a view of life, depicting the position of human beings. On this basis, values and standards are shared and rules laid down concerning behaviour towards nature and relationships between men. Traditional communication fulfils several functions, including the following:

- The passing on of knowledge and experience (agricultural, social, botanical, meteorological, and so on). Ancient experiences in form of myths are handed down from generation to generation. Animal myths - dance and representation - played an important role for the hunting and tribal folk, as it was necessary to know and understand the habits of the animals. Even their language gives evidence of this. For instance, an extensive vocabulary was developed in relation to hunting, tracking and bagging of prey. All these resulted not only in the actual capturing of the animals, but also to ensure and protect the continuity of these creatures. Rules and regulations existed about when, how or how many animals were slaughtered. Closed seasons were indicated by taboos, the breaching of which was punished by sanctions. In this way, an over-exploitation of natural resources was overcome. (Today only a small number of hunting and tribal folk still exist, as their survival is dangerously threatened by the ever-increasing advance of modem civilization).
- One further aspect of traditional communication is the conveyance of moral concepts: moral and social standards such as legal patterns which rule the co-existence of human beings, their dealings with natural resources, and regulates their behaviour towards foreigners. Examples are to be found in stories, songs and proverbs, in which virtues are rewarded and weaknesses punished. (What is to be understood by virtue or weakness is laid down by the respective society on grounds of its human and worldly concept).
- Other myths and tales give answers to questions of vital significance to human being, such as the sense in grief, illness and death. These helped - and still help - by overcoming such situations.
- Information concerning historical events in the society as a whole or ancestral tale serves to form the identity of a person or a society, and strengthens their solidarity.

Activities which, from a utilitarian point of view, seem meaningless (for instance, story-telling, dancing, singing, performing of religious ceremonies), play however important roles in the functioning of social order and the ensuring of economic foundations. In this way traditional communications serve finally the survival of the group itself. Traditional forms of communication are ritually repeated on special occasions, for instance, of annual or lifetime celebrations. In this way, they renew and prove their worth and experience, and in so doing are communicated to the younger generation.

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Traditional communication forms are a part of the culture of the relevant society. They are familiar to the members, and they are used by them and understood by all. Very often, they take the form of social events (for instance, parties, celebrations).

As with traditional communication means, the connection between life and survival is given once again here, as well as the active participation and involvement of all groups in the task of solving problems. Communication is no longer a one-way-street ruled by a dominant society. It would be desirable if this type of media work finds its rightful place in society as a whole at national and international levels, as also here the number of contributions received from the South" are steadily diminishing.

Information Dissemination in Traditional Societies: Patterns, Symbols and Meaning

Information is an important tool used in the realization of any objective or goal set by individuals. It remains the lifeblood of any individual or organization. It is a valuable resource required in any society; thus acquiring and using information are critical and important activities. Users of information use it for different reasons. Some use it for health; others use it for advancement in knowledge, others for politics. To all these people, information seeking is a fundamental human process closely related to learning and problem-solving (Goldfrab, 2006). Many factors initiate the search for information; among these are individual tasks for knowledge advancement, creativity and for future documentation. Information-seeking process depends on these tasks, and the complexity of the task/difficulty is an important factor that influences an individual in seeking information.

Information is now accepted as an important factor in the sustained development of any society because it reduces uncertainty and enhances awareness of possible actions to take to solving problems (Adimorah, 1995). Lack of information is argued to act as a barrier to development because of importance of information provision in 'capacity building' and 'empowering communities (Wakelin and Simelane, 1995).

Information and its appropriate dissemination are seen as critical resource for people and communities in both rural and urban areas (Okogbe, 2002). However, the lack of information provision in rural contexts remains a problem. Thus, there is alarming information gap that exists between rural and urban areas and how little is being done to bridge this gap (Moyo, 1994). It is assumed that if we know the factors which influence information need and the demand for the information, we are likely to be in a better position to design better information systems and services. Therefore, it is important to ascertain and distinguish between the information needs of an individual or group as well as how such information needs are passed or channeled to meet these needs.

Drums

Before the advent of conventional mass communication, all the major functions of modern mass media were carried out in Yoruba land through the talking drums. Whenever there is a danger, be it in form of invasion or war, the people would be alerted through talking drums. Interestingly, the traditional African communication system still survives in spite of the threat and encroachment of foreign culture and

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modern means of Mass Communication. Music played a lot of role in the traditional African communication and is still relevant till today. Various forms of drums are available in all the surveyed communities. The list ranges from "Gangan" otherwise known as talking drum to "Gbedu", the Oba's drum. The sound of the drums and the way it is beaten will convey a message to the hearer depending on socially constructed meaning attached to such sound and the intended message. For example, the music of Oshugo among the Remo-Yoruba will tell people about the burial of an important member of the community, while 'Gbedu which is a common and very important drum across Yoruba land' is beaten when an Oba joins his ancestors or a new one is crowned. Whenever 'Gbedu' drum is being beaten, no other drums could be beating at that particular point in time. 'Gangan' on the other hand is also very useful in information dissemination adding that when a visitor approaches the Oba's palace, the man in charge of the talking drum will beat it to alert the oba that a visitor is approaching the palace. Not only that, if there is going to be a war, it is the talking drum that is used to communicate to the town's people. In that way, the people get the message, and they react to it appropriately. Thus, drums could be beaten in different styles for different purposes. Members of 'Ogboni' confraternity could use it as a call for a meeting as it is being practised. These drums are so powerful that the sound they produce can travel almost one kilometer, especially during the harmattan season.

A drum was used originally for communication between villages. It is usually an hourglass shaped two-headed drum where the heads are laced together with thongs of gut or leather. The drum is typically held between the arm and body so that varying pressure can be applied to the thongs which alter the drum's pitch, thus 'talking'. Talking drums are part of a family of hourglass shaped pressure drums; in the Yoruba language of West Africa, these include "gan gan" (the smallest member of this drum family) or "dun dun" (the largest of the talking drums). The drum heads at either end of the drum's wooden body are made from hide, fish-skin or other membranes which are wrapped around a wooden hoop. Leather cords or thongs run the length of the drum's body and are wrapped around both hoops. When you squeeze these cords under your arm, the drum heads tighten, changing the instrument's pitch.

Drums have often symbolized the power of a traditional political leader, and skilled drummers have held considerable status in these West African communities. While this type of instrument can be modulated quite closely, its range is limited to a gathering or market-place, and it is primarily used in ceremonial settings, including dance, rituals, story-telling and communication of points of order.

One of the unique features of the instruments is their ability to closely imitate the rhythms and intonations of spoken language. In the hands of skilled performers, they can reproduce the sounds of proverbs or praise songs through a specialized 'drum language' - their dialogue can be easily understood by a knowledgeable audience. Whether the beating of the drum is accompanied by dances or sending messages, the sound of these instruments can be transmitted along many miles.

The various beats of the drum are suggestive of different signals in Umuofia (as exemplified by Chinua Achebe in *Things Fall Apart*) and by extension the Igbo community. This medium is fast gaining universal application in Africa. The narrator comments that "the drum beat the unmistakable wrestling dance – quick, light and gay, and it came floating on the wind. Within this source, it was further shown that Okonkwo (the principal character in the novel) explains that the drum has not been beaten to announce the death of Ndulue because of his wife Ozoemena. Signals also

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come in the text in the form of gunshots meant to celebrate the transition of prominent persons. It is in one of such celebrations that Okonkwo inadvertently kills Ezeudu's son and eventually goes into exile.

Folk media

Folk media is mainly engaged as an oral tradition. Folk media are intangible artifact of a culture, made up of customs, traditions, stories, songs, religion, performance arts and superstition. It can be considered to be the memory of a collective people. Its survival is premised on its ability to meet the needs of the cultural group and hold meaning for the people around whom it is centred. Folk media may involve virtually everyone in a community as well as people from outside.

This form of media has developed a rich pattern of expression in all cultures. It is used to transmit information from one generation to another in a ritualised fashion. Folk media, which comprises of broad range of art forms, is used primarily for entertainment as well as to promote education, values, cultural identity and continuity to meet the needs of the cultural group. Folklores, proverbs and parables are folk media and means of information dissemination in Nigerian towns and villages (Akpan, 1977 and Otasowie, 1981; Nwuneli, 1983).

Folklore is story from a particular place that was originally passed on to people in a spoken form (Hornby, 2000). Folklores and storytelling constitute a common feature in most African traditional societies. In rural Africa, during the moonlight, children would sit around elders listening to stories. Nwuneli (1983) found out that folklore in Nigeria touches every aspect of life. Folklore is common to the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba races. Folklores (*alo* in Yoruba and *Inu* in Ukwuani) in Nigeria touch every aspect of life. African story tellers narrate memorised historical epics and genealogies at length. Conventionally, folk stories are told to children especially in the evenings, that is, after the day's work when people are relaxing before going to bed. So, it is not unusual at this particular time of the day to find many children gathered around an elderly person, mostly women, to listen to folk stories. Generally in Africa, children gather around elders who tell them stories under moonlight, and sometimes this could involve song, singing and clapping of hands. The children are allowed to participate by contributing to lessons learnt from the stories, and the children are encouraged to adhere to the positive sides always.

Mede (1998:2) revealed that "folktales are actually part of mythology of the Tiv people of Benue State in Nigeria". They explain certain supernatural events and facts in life. This may account for the argument that folklores are vehicles for transmitting cultural information. It is originally structured to entertain. It can be used to promote development and acceptable behaviour in society. Since children are allowed to participate by contributing to the lessons learnt from the stories, they are encouraged to adhere to the positive sides always. The folklore medium plays a very important role in the socialisation of children in African communities because the medium is primarily used to educate and inculcate the traditional social values into the children, apart from entertaining them. For the old people, the folklore medium serve as means of social control, especially in reinforcing the traditional values that have already been acquired. Such traditional values include honesty, integrity, hard work and faithfulness.

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Poetry

Poetry is another type of communication in traditional African societies. Although it is an old traditional African communication strategy, it is still very relevant in the day-to-day life of the people of the surveyed communities. In Yoruba land, members of the community use poetry a lot, most especially the praise poetry (Oriki). This affords the people an insight into what had happened in the past. It affords the opportunity of acquiring knowledge about family history. Like in the Yoruba land, the Igbo also use songs to praise the successful elders or winners of wrestling bouts (Odunlami, 2006). This is also common among other ethnic groups, especially the Hausa in Northern part of Nigeria.

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Town Crier

In the traditional African settings where most residents are not formally educated, the mode of passing information to such categories of people is through town-criers. This medium of information dissemination is found to be effective, cheap, simple and reliable (Abraham, 2009). The uses of Town Criers are still in vogue in some traditional towns and villages in Africa and some parts of the Caribbean (Meyer, 2005). Town criers play the role of modern radio by announcing important messages. They are used whenever there is a message to pass to the people; it is the town crier that will take the 'gong' and beat it. Immediately that is done, everybody will be attentive to receive the oba's message. This medium is still in use in the rural area in the face of the pervading influence of radio and television. It becomes very handy when the message to be passed across is urgent.

In this medium of communication, designated persons are employed as honorary official announcers of the community whenever needs arise. Whatever they announce are responsibilities of the community. Just like the modern new media, their announcements cover everybody within the community. Town announcers are mainly rewarded through barter in Emu Kingdom (a clan of Ukwani speaking people in Ndokwa West Local Government Area of Delta State- Nigeria). They are rewarded by exempting them from community labour and offered other remunerations during Council of Elders' meetings whenever gifts are shared or distributed. In the words of Ogwezzy (1999), it is the quickest and widest way of news relaying by the traditional way. It is still the people's main news media at the grass root.

Most of the pieces of information disseminated by the town announcer usually originate from some authoritative source such as the Emir, Oba, Council of Elders, or from someone or Age Grade with delegated powers to perform specific tasks for the village or town (Nwuneli, 1983). It is these authoritative sources that determine the content of the town crier's message. The attention gaining medium chosen by the village announcer depends on what has previously been accepted by the town or village, and the choice of channels could vary from gongs of various sizes and shapes to bells and drums.

The post of the village announcer or the Alaago or Akede in Yorubaland is in most cases hereditary. According to Ugboajah (1980), an Ijebu village announcer trains his children in the communication jobs that await them. Thus, the young village announcer must be briefed in his early years about the time, place and utility of the news and about technicalities in the use of the gong

In Hausa land, the announcer is called Mai Shela/Sankira; the Igbo call him Otiekwe, while he is known as Alaago/Akede Ilu among the Yoruba. He is the

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legendary figure, aided by the general belief that he is the appointee of Allah, but he is selected by the Sariki or ruler of the village. Being revered and respected as a holy man, his body is inviolate, and his announcements undoubted. The culmination of his yearly responsibilities is when he predicts and announces the date and sighting of religious Ramadan moon.

In Isukwuator village, in Imo State the village announcer is a jester and a confidant of the elders and the Ofor (title holders). He has been described as, 'an institution synonymous with traditional authority'. It is to his credit that he was found very useful in the rehabilitation of the villages following the civil disturbances in this area of Nigeria. The functions of the village announcer known variously as the village bell man or town crier in Nigeria are similar despite the great linguistic and ethnic diversities in the country (Nwuneli, 1983).

The bell man indeed occupies an important position in the diffusion of messages within the belief systems of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria and in their opinion formation processes and actions (Wilson, 1982). The intimate relationship between the source of the information and the audience creates a bond of trust which always determines the reliability of any information received and shows that the town crier is a trained professional with noble mind and wits. He is an eloquent interpreter of his chiefs' messages and well tutored in traditions and proverbs (Ugboajah, 1979). Beside these, the bell man is a trusted confidant, whose loyalty to the village authority is indisputable. In contrast with what is obtained in modern mass media, the bell man discharges his duties efficiently and conscientiously too since he is a part of the village system, and his task of news dissemination was never competitive or profit-oriented (Wilson, 1982). This explains why the various ethnic groups attach great importance to traditional communication, and since traditional media are said to have force and credibility, they put stability into Nigeria's indigenous institutions (Ugboajah, 1991).

Wooden Gun

Another traditional instrument of communication is the wooden or Dane gun. This is however peculiar to rural towns especially in Yoruba traditional setting. When an important chief or member of the hunters dies, it is traditional to honour the departed soul with gun salute. Immediately the people hear the sound of the gun, the meaning is easily decoded. In Igbo culture, signals also come in the form of gunshots meant to celebrate the transition of prominent persons. It is in one of such celebrations that Okonkwo, in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart,* inadvertently kills Ezeudu's son and eventually goes into exile (Odunlami, 2006).

Masquerades and Oro Cults

In Yoruba mythology, masquerade is perceived first as representative of the departed ancestors and secondly as a medium of entertainment. There are seven different types of masquerades representing each of the compounds or clans in a community. Each of them comes out to perform at events such as "oro festival" or 'Egungun' festival. It is however instructive to note that each of the masquerades conveys oba's message(s) to the people in each clan. In some Yoruba towns, only masquerades come out to convey the message to the people. When the people see masquerades on such occasions, they quickly decode the message that something has happened.

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In the past, special masquerades were used to convey some special messages such as war as well as the death of an oba. In contemporary times, the masquerades are mainly used as a form of entertainment (Popoola, 2004). Among the Igbo in southeast Nigeria, masquerades emerged at night to gossip and expose scandals like modern columnists except that the masquerades' freedom of expression knew no laws of libel and sedition. The Yoruba 'Oro' and Igbo 'Isato' masquerades are indicated by Nwuneli (1983) as being used as effective channels of communication in the maintenance of village security or discipline in some parts of southern Nigeria.

While some Yoruba villages might use the 'Oro' cult to keep away intruders from their villages, some Igbo villages use the 'Isato" masquerade to ward off thieves from their villages and towns. The 'Oro' explained by Nwuneli (1983), is an ancestral cult organisation whose symbol is the bull roarer. It is used in proclaiming curfew when riots are expected and in apprehending criminals and reducing crime.

The use of Aroko

Aroko is a symbol-object or a collection of such objects usually parceled together and sent through a messenger to another person for the purpose of conveying a message to be decoded by the receiver. It is a traditional means of communication that existed in a predominantly pre-literate Yoruba society and usually it is sent by hand through a courier or messenger. It is often wrapped in leaves, put in a sack, in a calabash or any other suitable container (Ogundeji, 1997).

The use of material objects packaged together in specific ways was the traditional system of sending messages to people among the Yoruba people in the past. It is a form of local communication among the Yoruba, which is often used whenever there is an urgent message to be sent. Against the ecological background of the Yoruba communities the choice of certain vegetational, animal or other resources in the area could be justified as man can only use the resources available to him. 'Aroko' usually comprise Kolanut, a bottle of drink, bitter cola and little oil, wrapped up with a bunch of leaves. This traditionally represents a letter from the oba through his messenger to his chiefs whenever there is an urgent matter to discuss or pass across. When the receiver gets it, he must comply immediately. In the rural and semi-urban towns of some Yoruba towns, according to Popoola (2004), palm frond is used as another form of communication. In a situation where people are fighting over a plot of land or an economic tree, such as Mahogany, 'Iroko' and so on, palm frond is tied round such tree in the case or other trees on the disputed land to signify that nobody should touch the tree or do anything on the land. As a symbol of communication, pepper was one of the means through which news of an impending war with another community could be broken. When a community intends to wage war with another community, all the heads of the community needs doing is just to wrap two or three pieces of pepper with leaf and send 'parcel' to the head of the community to be engaged in war. It is however no longer in use.

Opadokun (1986) describes Aroko as a non-verbal traditional system of communication among the Yoruba that was in vogue before the advent of the Europeans in Nigeria. Aroko involves sending an item or a combined number of items to a person from which the decoder is expected to infer a piece of information. Before the colonization era in Nigeria, Yoruba had been using various signs, including parts of body to communicate to another person far and near. Yoruba used eyes (starring) to attract, accommodate or repel; nose (wrinkling) to cheapen or rubbish; head (nodding)

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to indicate approval or disapproval; hand (waving) to call or bid farewell; finger nails (spreading) to castigate/insult one's mother and lots more.

Traditional attires in Yoruba are also a means of non-verbal communication. For instance, certain clothes and costumes put on by an individual signify the identity of such people, for example, a hunter, farmer, bride, king, chief, and priest. Aroko could be sent by a traditional ruler or chief, Ifa priest, Ogboni cult member, Hunter, Artisan or an ordinary person to a fellow counterpart or any other person, group or body.

In certain situations, aroko can be delivered by a domestic animal like a dog. For instance, if an item known as Obu-o-toyo, which is a caricature of salt, is wrapped and tied on the neck of a dog and the dog sent home. The receiver shall get the message that those working in farm need salt for their food. The salt will be consequently wrapped and tied on the neck of the same animal transmitter for onward delivery (Abdullahi-Idiagbon, 2009).

Purpose of Usage, Classification and Interpretation of Symbols of Aroko among the Yoruba

The use of Aroko within the society is understandable through the purpose it is serving among the adopters. Here, these purposes and classification which Opadokun (1986) states as being for convenience rather than consensus of views, as well as the interpretation presented to various forms of Aroko according to Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2009) are stated herein.

Purpose of Usage and Adoption of Aroko

- Maintenance of the secrecy of the message being passed across; in most cases, the bearer of an aroko might not be aware of the content let alone its interpretation. Even, the bearer might be the conveyer of his own death sentence.
- For the avoidance of verbal message and its concomitant shortcoming features like omission, misconception, manipulation or distortion.
- For the expression of comradeship, confidence and solidarity among various secret cult members.
- To reinforce the authenticity of the message by often accompanying an *Aroko* with a widely known personal belonging of the sender to mark his identity.

The Functional Classification of Aroko

Category One: Warning to an individual or a community. Examples are leaves of an Odan tree, a stick of broom.
Category Two: Admonition/punishment - a parrot egg, binding of an arrow and a gun
Category Three: Announcement -. Akoko leaves (a kind of tree) bitter kola
Category Four: Road directives - Putting a stone at a junction or money beside a bunch of banana.
Category Five: Expression of affection/feelings - sending a half chewed chewing stick to a widow.
Category Six: Pleading - pineapple, a combination of items of cam, salt and palm oil.

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Interpretation of Aroko through the Symbols Adopted

According to Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2009), when an iconic image of a particular man is placed in front of his house, with the man's physical identity like trademark on his right cheek and a different trademark on the left side, it signifies that a man of the identity described in front of whose house such image is displayed is having an illegitimate secret affair with a woman nearby and whose tribal mark is on the left cheek. It is a warning that the two actors in the illicit act should be exposed publicly as this icon is exposed to the public.

Also, Odan which is a big tree mostly planted to provide shade and food for goats and sheep signifies that in spite of the size, beauty and value of this tree, it is just a mere food for goats. This object is also a warning signal.

A comb is a tool for separating rough hairs in order to be smooth. However, its interpretation when used as Aroko will depend on who is sending it and the relationship between the sender and the receiver. If it is sent by and to a lover, it is an indication of imminent separation between them. However, if it is sent to hairdresser, it is an invitation to come and plait for an about-to-wed bride.

Symbol like a half-chewed chewing stick sent to an in-law signifies that their daughter has been defiled before her marriage and that her husband did not meet her as a virgin. On the other hand, if a half-chewed chewing stick is sent to a widow by a man, this indicates an expression of affection. The stick signifies that either or both of them have tasted marriage. The acceptance or rejection of the stick signifies either positive or negative response respectively.

Also, personal identity markers like a cap, ring or whisker are used to accompany an aroko to testify or confirm the genuineness of the source of such aroko.

A parrot egg covered in a calabash is a symbol of notoriety; it symbolizes that such an individual, usually a traditional ruler, has been rejected by his people. The traditional ruler is expected to commit suicide.

Arrow and gun are symbols of war; this sign is mostly sent by and to a hunter meaning that the receiver is banned from further hunting. Failure to comply is a preparedness to go into war with the sender(s). It is used for admonition or punishment for turning deaf ears to the earlier warning.

Certain fruits like pineapple, bitter kola and the like are also symbols being adopted for aroko among the Yoruba. The pineapple, for instance, has a sweet juice though its outside appearance is not smooth. It signifies perseverance and optimism. Bitter kola, on the other hand, indicates that all is not well at home and that the attention of such receiver is urgently needed.

The sender and receiver need to be skillful in the art of interpretation of an aroko sign. This is enhanced by possessing a common knowledge on how an aroko works. For the sender, he has to be competent in encoding or packaging his aroko message. He should be aware of the signification of a wrong or faulty packaging. The receiver on the other hand can employ the service of an expert if he cannot interpret or is not sure of his ability. The transmitter is the channel through which an aroko passes from the sender to the receiver. He is expected to be a trustworthy and honest bearer of an aroko because if he tampers with the quality, quantity or form of the aroko, the meaning may be affected. Apart from the competence and trust involved among the three players involved in aroko, role relation between the sender and receiver also plays a considerable and integral part in whatever the interpretation an aroko would bear.

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If certain sum of money and a commodity like a bunch of banana are juxtaposed, it is an index of the cost price of such commodity. An interested passer-by buys the commodity by putting same sum of money before he takes the fruit.

Numbering is another form of aroko which is of semiotic significance. For instance, one symbolizes completeness, fullness and wholeness. That is why a full keg of wine sent to a bridal in-law is an indication that their newly wedded daughter is complete and met a virgin by her husband. However a half means that she has been defiled before marriage.

Odd numbers like three and five are exclusive to Ifa priests and Ogboni cult members; only the initiates could interpret the content. But if the item is five, it is a form of summon, then the receiver is expected to appear personally within five days ultimatum or else face the wrath of the group. Numbers seven and ten are also used to summon, though restricted to the cult or Ifa members.

Number six symbolizes affection and love. It is commonly used to express passionate feelings and affection among admirers or lovers. Number eight also indicates peace, good health and security. It is used to allay the fear of and guarantee the receiver that all is well.

Number nine is a symbol of a looming danger. The context and shared knowledge of the discourse participants would illuminate what the danger is all about.

A sign of aroko could have different interpretations depending on the sender, status and context. A good example of this is a handful of sand. If it is wrapped and given to a hunter's wife; it is an indication that it was a friend to that hunter who helped the former's wife to lift her luggage on her head. On the other hand, if a culprit is given a handful of sand, it indicates he is sent to exile based on the offence committed. This same sign can be a testimony that the bearer is truly from a friend (who is the sender) to a receiver.

Metal Bell

In Yoruba land, it is called Agogo. This is a single or multiple bell now used throughout the world. The agogo may be the oldest samba instrument and was based on West African Yoruba single or double bells. The African agogo bell is also called the gangkogui or gonkogui. It is made of metal with each bell a different size. This allows a differently pitched note to be produced depending on which bell has been hit. Originally wrought iron, they are now manufactured in a variety of metals and sizes for different sound qualities. The most common arrangement is two bells attached by a U shaped piece of metal. The smaller bell is held uppermost. Either bell may be hit with a wooden stick to make a cowbell-like sound or less commonly a clicking sound is produced by squeezing the two bells together.

It is known as Ogene in the Igbo language. Ogene is an instrument used to communicate with the ancestors in Igbo culture. When the elders are about to pray in front of their shrines, they use ogene to speak to their gods and ancestors. Just like the men use ekwe, women use ogene to call themselves together if they have a meeting or something to summon to themselves. Ogene has a male and female parts. One can explicitly hear and note the difference from the sound. The sound itself comes from the vibration of the iron body when struck, which is made to resound by the hollow inside of the bell. The iron body is usually struck with a soft wooden stick in order to make sound out of it. There is only one thing which can destroy ogene. It is an ant.

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That is the reason why it is not advisable to leave ogene on the ground because when the ant injects something on it, one can never hear the sound again. However, a broken ogene is still potent; one can still hear the sound from it when in use, but when the ant touches them, one cannot.

Colour Scheme

The use of colour scheme in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* manifests in the people's tradition of drawing patterns usually in white, yellow and dark green or painting themselves with camwood before festivals (Odunlami, 2006). In either of these instances, white is impliedly suggestive of purity and peace, while green symbolizes fertility, black (evil), red (danger) and blue stands for love. There is similarity among the Igbo and Yoruba in terms of colour scheming and interpretation of what each colour stands for.

Kakaki and Other Forms of Instrument of Communication

The kakaki is a three to four metre long metal trumpet used in Hausa traditional ceremonial music. Kakaki is the name used in Chad, Burkina Faso, Niger and Nigeria. The instrument is also known as Waza in Chad and Sudan, and malakat in Ethiopia. The kakaki originally comes from Songhai cavalry. Its sound is associated with royalty and it is only played at events at the palace of the king or sultan in Hausa societies. It is used as part of the sara, a weekly statement of power and authority. Kakaki are exclusively played by men.

Kakaki as an instrument is also used by the Tiv people of Benue State (in the North central geopolitical zone of Nigeria) to convey special messages to the people of the community, such messages as the new born child of the King, his naming ceremony, the crowning of a new king, to gather people together during the marriage ceremony of the king and the king's son's marriage ceremony. This instrument was used to convey all the messages to the people to assemble at the square for the ceremony, as well as when there is an enemy attack on the community; a warning sound of the Kakaki is blown to alert those whom can defend the society and every citizen to be alert.

Ilyu is another instrument used among the Tiv. It is a light wooden instrument used to pass messages to the people of the village, probably for the invitation of the people for a particular meeting of the elders at the king's palace or for the people to gather at the market square for a message from or by the king. It is now used as an instrument to indicate the death of someone. *Indyer* on its own is a heavy wooden instrument carved out of mahogany trunk by the Tiv people. It is used especially during festivals of masquerades, yam festival with music to pass messages for ceremonies, celebration of good harvest for the year. *Adiguve* is also an instrument peculiar to the Tiv people. It's an instrument like a violin, used for music and dances in conjunction with *Agbande* at festivals and dance occasions, sometimes to announce the death of a leader or an elder of the community. During this period it is played sorrowfully for the mourning of the dead; often it is played at funerals.

Conclusion

It is obvious that no society is left behind in terms of technological advancement as events have shown that at one point in time,, people were able to fashion out one instrument or the other in order serve their social and political needs. Typical in this

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case are the media of passing information across within traditional societies. There are several things most of the societies share in common with differences manifesting in the concepts by which these instruments are called in their respective locales. It was equally demonstrated that traditional mass media have being playing vital roles in developmental processes of the people. Unlike the mass media, access to the traditional mass media is culturally determined and not economic. Only the selected groups of young men or the elders have the mandate of disseminating information generally. These forms of media are better transmitters of communication because they belong to the community and not to individuals, state or private/public industry. At the same time, local talents and localized messages have more credibility than those centralized ones emanating now from state capitals. Acceptability, cultural relevance, entertainment value, localized language, legitimacy; flexibility, instant two-way communication, and so on are among the virtues of these means of information dissemination.

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CHAPTER TWENTY TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCE OF MASS MEDIA IN THE NIGERIAN SOCIETY

Imhonopi, David

Introduction

The Nigerian press, a subcategory of the country's mass media, has been adjudged to be the biggest, most outspoken, most free and most virile press community in Africa followed by South Africa, Kenya and Ghana (Park, 1995; Soyinka, 1996; Olutokun and Seteolu, 2001; MON, 2011). The success of the media in Nigeria dates back to the colonial era where the media institution, represented by the press, fought colonialism and imperialism and its avaricious merchants, and won national independence and political freedom for the country. The mass media also have been instrumental in ensuring good governance in the country, and their watchdog role has been regarded as being effective against military rule, abuse of official/state power, political and economic corruption, ethnicism, nepotism and primitive accumulation of state capital. Interestingly, the media in Nigeria have assumed the role of the country's leading ombudsman in guaranteeing political freedom, the defreezing of the political space, the enthronement of democratic culture and the checking of the excesses of the political and dominant classes. This can be seen in a statement made by Onome Osifo-Whiskey, Managing Editor of *Tell* in an interview he granted in 1999, where he asserted that had General Abdulsalami Abubakar reneged on the handover date, "we (journalists) would have gone back to the trenches to pick up guerilla journalism. We left our underground paraphernalia intact for most of 1999" (Olutokun and Seteolu, 2001). This statement seems to justify the argument that the mass media as the fourth estate of the realm is as powerful as the other estates. Eco (1967:27) captured it well, when he said:

> *Not long ago, if you wanted to seize political power in a country, you had merely to control the army and the police. Today it is only in the most backward countries that fascist generals, in carrying out a coup d'etat, still use tanks. If a country has reached a high level of industrialisation the whole scene changes. The day after the fall of Khrushchev, the editors of Pravda, Izvestiia, the heads of the radio and television were replaced; the army wasn't called out. Today a country belongs to the person who controls communications.*

Thus, this further justifies the position of the third American President, Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809), who argued that a free press was sacrosanct to the building of an enduring democratic culture and that the press was the engine room of any democratic system, and it was through journalism that healthy policies could be secured within the state (Soeze, 2011). Consequently, as Soeze argues, the pen is not only mightier than the sword, it is mightier than the gun in modern journalism, because journalists are "pen soldiers."

However, the mass media institution in Nigeria has not been without its numerous failings and challenges which include the assumption that the media are a representative of the wishes, political and economic interests of the dominant and ruling classes, the palpable and constant threat to press freedom resulting in the persecution, subjugation and assassination of journalists and closure of media outfits

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for speaking the truth and revealing the subterranean activities of government and its managers, the poor remuneration and welfare packages of many media workers, the corruption and greed of many journalists and media gatekeepers which induce them to take bribe or sustain the culture of 'brown envelopes', which for them is an economic survival measure in a harsh economic climate like Nigeria, among many others. Furthermore, the operating environment for mass media in Nigeria is demotivating, uninspiring and unrewarding, compared to countries like South Africa and Ghana.

In this chapter, therefore, the objectives of the author are to investigate the development and influence of mass media in Nigeria, trace its historical development as an institution, examine its functions and contributions in different areas in the country, identify its challenges and make recommendations towards a more virile, functional and effective media that would act as the Guardian of the people's hope, the Vanguard of their welfare and interest, the Observer for the poor and downtrodden, the people's Punch to a sustained harvest of democratic gains and dividends and the Tribune of the people's rights, ensuring that we reach the New Nigeria of our dreams where the Sun never goes down.

What is the Mass Media?

Generally, as Potter (2008) observes, the mass media refers collectively to all media technologies, including newspapers, magazines, the radio, television, and the internet which are used for mass communication, and to the organisations which control these technologies. For Edward and Chomsky (2002), the term "mass media" denotes that section of the media specifically designed to reach a very large audience, typically at least, as large as the whole population of a nation-state, today, including not only radio and television, which tend to be limited to the local or national level, but also the Internet, which is global. It was coined in the 1920s, with the advent of nationwide radio networks, mass-circulation newspapers, and magazines, especially in the United States, although mass media was present centuries before the term became common. Rodman (2006) argues that given that mass media penetrates the whole of society, its reach and influence is immense. Therefore, the responsibility of those participating in this type of communication is also great, as the future direction of human society could well be guided by the mass media. More recently, a new culture of citizen journalism has arisen, supported by the advent of new media technologies such as the Internet, podcasting, blogging, and others have been added to this list. All of these public media sources have better informed the general public of what is going on in the world today. Some traditional public broadcasters are turning to these new areas to reach more people or reach people more quickly. These methods of communication reach a greater number of people faster than traditional oral communication and give people an opportunity to express themselves in ways that can only be done with such technologies.

Several scholars have variously described the mass media as gadgets used to effect mass communication. For example, Defleur and Dennis (1981: P 4) define the mass media as "devices for moving messages across distance or time to accomplish mass communication." The reduction of mass media to technical devices is crucial to the understanding of the concept. In fact, the general acknowledgment of this conceptual fact of the mass media has resulted in the terse submission of Uyo (1987) and Ibagere (2010) that the mass media, being gadgets used to effect mass

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communication cannot be practised. For Uyo, it is wrong referring to someone as a "media practitioner" because this means he or she practises gadgets. Thus, for Uyo and Ibagere, those involved in the operations of the mass media are gatekeepers who are responsible for the purveyance of information in the mass communication process. They are, therefore, part of the mass media. However, it is the position of this author that "media practitioner" may actually be apposite as a term to describe media workers. This is because gadgets, instruments or technologies cannot operate on their own. Besides, the practice of journalism requires years of training in mass communication and the use of mass media gadgets for mass communication. As a corollary, these professionals have to manipulate and utilise media gadgets to facilitate the process of mass communication and to make the process possible. Therefore, referring to those working within the media as media practitioners is akin to saying that anyone who teaches is a teacher. However, for this work, the author will adopt the terms gatekeepers, journalists and media workers as descriptions of the professionals in the media industry.

Sambe (2004) recognises that the mass media is a process of transmission of information, cultures, opinions, attitudes, and the like to a relatively large, heterogeneous and anonymous audience simultaneously (Sambe, 2004). This view is shared by Bittner, in Ibagere (2010: p 57) who opines that "for mass communication to exist, we need an intermediate transmitter of information, a mass medium..." In other words, Bittner contends that without the machines or gadgets that serve as paths or ways of transmission of messages to a large people, communication would otherwise be limited to two people, or a group of people in a face-to-face setting. Invariably, what this means is that, mass communication cannot take place without a mass medium. For McQuail (2000), the mass media process is a means of communication that operates on a large scale, reaching and involving virtually everyone in a society to a greater or lesser degree. Media is plural of medium, which means a channel or vehicle through which something is carried or transmitted. In other words, mass media are channels of communication in a modern society, primarily the print and the electronic media. McQuail further describes the mass media as the organised means for communicating openly and at a distance to many receivers within a short space of time. The mass media are impersonal communication sources that reach large audiences. The primary function of the mass media system is to provide information to several millions of people. The mass media are extremely influential. Each of the media is presumed to affect perceptions and behaviour in a distinctive way. They can affect the society and vice versa. The mass media are the uniquely modern means of public communication, and much of their importance lies in the fact that they are a major cause of whatever modes of perception, thought, public discourse, and political action. Because of their size and the large number of people they reach, the mass media have tremendous impact on society. Murphy (1977) did a brilliant write-up on the societal impacts of the media in different ways comparing them with oil, glue and dynamite. As oil, Murphy asserts that the mass media keep the world running smoothly by helping individuals adjust to the reality of lives. They keep society on and healthy by suggesting solutions that are socially acceptable. As glue, social cohesion is maintained by communication. Murphy contends that the media gives all of us including strangers something to talk about by setting agenda of discussion, and that, over the years, communication builds up and reinforces the fabrics that hold a society together. Murphy also describes the mass media as dynamites that can rip the society

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apart. A good example of this is the propaganda campaign that preceded the Russian Revolution in 1917 and Hitler's rise to the German Chancellorship in 1933. Similarly, the mass media, particularly the newspapers and magazines, played a tremendous role in the struggle for Nigeria's independence in 1960 (Ate, 2008).

Historical Development of the Mass Media in Nigeria

The mass media institution, represented by the press, is a hundred years older than Nigeria as an independent country (Ameneghawon, 2010). This is so as the first newspaper in Nigeria, "*Iwe Irohin*" was published in Abeokuta, Ogun State, in 1859 by Reverend Henry Townsend, while Nigeria achieved political independence in 1960 (Momoh, 2004). According to Oloyede (1985), cited in Iyagbaye (2000: 34), following this in 1863, Robert Campbell published what was viewed as the first real newspaper *The Anglo African*. Also the first magazine to be published in Nigeria was the Nigerian edition of *The Readers Digest* which was called Read, published in 1887. Magazines started when the missionaries saw the need to support messages from the pulpit with written words. Such magazines included *In leisure Hour* in 1917 by Church Missionary Society (CMS); *African Church Gleamer (1917); African Hope (1919* and *The Nigerian Catholic Herald (1924).* These papers were followed up by newspapers published by early African and Nigerian nationalists and were used as weapons to press for de-colonisation and the eventual independence of Nigeria. The historical development of the print media is tabulated in the diagram below:

S/N	Newspaper	Name of Publisher/Promoter	Year of Establishment
1	Iwe Irohin	Revd Henry Townsend	1859
2	Anglo African	Mr. Robert Campbell	1863
3	Lagos Times	Radical African Scholars	1880
4	Lagos Weekly records	John Jackson & Thomas Jackson	1891
5	Iwe Irohin Eko	Radical African Scholar	About 1890
6	THE Lagos Echo	Radical African Scholar	About 1890
7	Nigerian Chronicle	African Scholars	1908
8	Nigeria Times	African Scholars	1910
9	Times of Nigeria	African Scholars	1913
10	Eko Akete	African Scholars	1920
11	Eko Igbehin	African Scholars	1920
12	Akede Eko	African Scholars	1920
13	Lagos Daily News	Herbert Macaulay	1925
14	Nigerian Daily Times	Europeans	1926
15	Daily Telegraph	Europeans	1927
16	The Comet	Duse-Mohamed Ali	1932
17	The Nigerian Observer	Nigerians	1930s
18	West African Advertisers	Nigerians	1930s
19	Nigerian Echo	Nigerians	1930s
20	West African Pilot	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1934
21	Eastern Nigerian Guardian	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1940
22	Nigerian Sportsman	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1943

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23	Southern Defender	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1940s
24	The Comet	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1945
S/N	**Newspaper**	**Name of Publisher/Promoter**	**Year of Establishment**
25	Gaskiya Tafikwado	Northern Region	1939
26	Nigerian Citizen	Northern Region	1940s
27	Nigeria Tribune	Chief Obafemi Awolowo	1949
28	Evening Times	Nigerians	1943
29	Daily Telegraph	Dr. Mbadiwe	1958
30	The Spear (Magazine)	Nigerians	196
31	Amber Magazine	Nigerians	1960s
32	Modern woman	Nigerians	1960s
33	Morning Post	Nigerians	1961
34	Daily Post	Western Regional Govt	1964
35	Daily Sketch	Western Regional Govt	1964
36	New Nigeria	Western Regional Govt	1966
37	Nigeria Chronicle	Nigerians	1970
38	The punch	Ajibola Ogunsola	1971
39	Daily Star	Nigerians	1970s
40	Lagos Weekend	Nigerians	1970s
41	The Sunday Tribune	Nigerians	1978
42	Triumph	Triumph Publishing	1980
43	National concord	Nigerians	1980s
44	Satellite	Nigerians	1980s
45	Guardian	Nigerians	1980s
46	Nigeria Calls	Nigerians	1980s
47	Eagles	Nigerians	1980s
48	Okigwe Voice	Nigerians	1980s
49	Trumpet	Nigerians	1980s
50	Daily Nation	Nigerians	1980s
51	Echo	Nigerians	1980s
52	Daily News	Nigerians	1980s
53	Record Stamp	Nigerians	1980s
54	Advocate Premier	Nigerians	1980s
55	Hope Graphic Sun	Nigerians	1980s
56	People's News	Nigerians	1980s
65	Evening Punch	Nigerians	1984
66	Newswatch Magazine	Nigerians	1984
57	African Concord	Nigerians	1984
58	The Vanguard	Vanguard Media	1984
59	The Reporter	Late Gen. Shehu Yaradua	1987
60	The Champion	Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu	1988
61	Platform	Dr. Chuba Okadigbo	1989
62	Africa and the world	Dr. Chuba Okadigbo	1989
63	The Sunday World	Chief Anthony Enahoro	1989
64	The weekender	Chief Anthony Enahoro	1989
65	Vista	Chief Anthony Enahoro	1989
66	Sports Souvenir	Sunny Ojeagbase	1980s
67	Complete Sports	Sunny Ojeagbase	1987
68	Tell	TELL Communications Limited	1991
69	Port Harcourt Telegraph	Prince Ogbonna Nwuke	1991

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70	News	Nigerians	1990s
71	Osun Defender	Moremi Publishing House Ltd	1990s
S/N	**Newspaper**	**Name of Publisher/Promoter**	**Year of Establishment**
72	Tempo	Nigerians	1993
73	PM News	Independent Communications Network Limited	1994
74	Today's News Today (TNT)		1995
75	A.M. News		1995
76	ThisDay	Leaders & Company	1995
77	The Third Eye		1995
78	Business Hallmark	Prince Emeka Obasi	2000s
79	Independent	Independent Newspapers Limited	2001
80	The Sun	The Sun Publishing Ltd	2001
81	Trust	Media Trust	2001
82	Leadership	Leadership Newspaper Group	2000s
83	Next	Timbuktu Media group	2004
84	Business Day	Frank Aigbogun	2005
85	The Nation	Vintage Press Limited	2006
86	Mirror	Global Media Mirror Limited	2006
87	The Compass	Otunba Gbenga Daniel	2008
88	People's Daily	People's Media Limited	2008

Source: Imhonopi and Urim (2011)

However, the early introduction of electronic media in Nigeria as Maduka (2009) comments started with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) which commenced radio broadcasting in the United Kingdom in 1927 and within Five years had begun to broadcast into Africa. In 1932, a relay service was launched in Nigeria. The Service known as Radio Distribution Services (RDS) started in Lagos and extended to Ibadan in 1939. Furthermore, 14 years after Britain had commenced her first television service, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, then premier of Western Region of Nigeria, established a television service. In 1951, the RDS transformed as the Nigeria Broadcasting service, later incorporated as the Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation in 1957. This arrangement was a monopoly, until 1959 when the broadcasting law that allowed the establishment of regional broadcasting houses was passed. Owing to years of military rule in Nigeria, private broadcast media did not take off until 1992 when the then military government implemented constitutional provision that allowed private organisations and/or individuals to own broadcast outfits. Presently, Nigeria has about 113 radio stations and a hundred (100) television stations including those owned by private as well as state and federal governments (Ameneghawon, 2010).

Implications of the Historical Development of the Mass Media in Nigeria

The historical development of mass media in Nigeria throws up certain implications that are worth considering here even if briefly. These implications will be considered against the backdrop of the different phases of the history of mass media development in Nigeria.

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The Colonial Era

This era marked the introduction of the press in Africa and Nigeria by the Christian missionaries. Newspapers were precisely established in Africa by the missionaries for the purpose of spreading the gospel among the people. That is why some scholars believe that the Nigerian press was borne and nurtured in the waters of colonialism. Concerning the Nigerian press, Daramola (2006:78) contends that it had "its debut in Rev. Henry Townsend's newspaper *Iwe Irohin fun awon ara Egba ati Yoruba*, which began publication in 1859." Thus, the print media, a sub-set of the mass media, in Nigeria were established originally to meet the missionary and colonial agenda of the colonialists who were the publishers and promoters at the time.

The Pre-independence Era

This period witnessed great agitation for political freedom and self-governance by educated young Africans who were in the vanguard for political change and transformation of colonial Africa. Indigenous newspapers published by these nationalists waged a dogged war against the socio-political and economic injustices of the colonialists. During this period, newspapers such as, the *Nigerian Pioneer* established in 1914 by Kitoyi Ajasa and Ernest Ikoli's *African Messenger* established in 1921 came on board (Ate, 2008). Several others followed suit and their efforts were rewarded with the granting of independence to Nigeria and other African states.

The Post-independence Era

During this period, communication and media research received a tremendous improvement. However, political leaders advocated for development journalism, while lots of legal barriers were mounted against the press in order to curtail what was perceived as the tremendous power wielded by the media institution. Also, this era witnessed a sudden shift from national aspirations to regional politics. Daramola (2006:89) describes this scenario: "from 1959 to 1966, the press took regional and ethnic posture. This was as earlier stated due to struggle for power by the nationalists who now formed the bulk of local politicians. Since no press operates independent of the society in which it operates, the regional politics of the post-independent Nigeria ultimately gave rise to regional government establishing regional newspapers. Radio and television were meant to champion their parochial interests on national issues." Thus, what emerged as an instrument of liberation in the hands of early nationalists in Nigeria became an instrument for pursuing, entrenching and protecting regional interests, goals and agenda during this phase. In fact, the first coup in Nigeria was a response to the nauseating avarice, corruption and social vices perpetrated by national and regional leaders and politicians in the country (Fakoya, 2010).

The Present Era

The mass media have emerged as the champion of the people's cause on the one hand and a reflection of the powerful interests of the political and economic bourgeoisies in the country on the other hand. While the partnership of the mass media and the civil society has resulted many times in landmark victories like the recently assented Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill by President Goodluck Jonathan, in May 2011, after much agitation, the mass media institution, represented by different organisations and their gatekeepers, has been caught in the web of corruption and compromise, and some of them exist to provide shelter and a platform for their owners and the ruling

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elite. This status quo therefore reduces the faith of the people in the watchdog role that the mass media are supposed to play and cast aspersions on the institutions and their representatives. As Ate (2008) put it, the mass media are still inhibited by endogenous and exogenous problems like economic challenges, technological impotency, censorship, corruption and other social mishaps. However, it must be noted that in spite of the challenges faced by the mass media in Nigeria, the choking and unfavourable economic situation that the industry and players have found themselves in, and the exposure of journalists to stiff opposition, persecution and attacks, the mass media in Nigeria have continued to evolve into an agent of social change as evident in the recently concluded elections in Nigeria between April and May 2011 where the media joined forces with the civil society to give the country what is now considered as the freest and fairest elections, ala June 12, 1993. Furthermore, this era has also witnessed improvements in the training of professionals and the rise of communication research. There have also been remarkable improvements in both the broadcasting and the print media and their programming content. It is also in this era that new media technologies like the Internet, blogging and podcast, inter alia, have emerged to redefine and reposition the media industry, creating a new community made up of citizen journalists. This era is known for its stiff media business competition, global flux of information and technology availability, making it the most progressive, masses-driven, technology-based and fluid era in the communications industry.

Classification of the Mass Media

The mass media can be broadly classified into two types: the print media and the electronic media. This classification is carried out according to the mechanism involved in the process of conveying messages.

The Print Media

An economic and social phenomenon of our society, the print media are a major force in forming public opinion and affecting national and international efforts towards economic progress and global understanding (Imhonopi and Urim, 2004). The print media are made up of newspapers, magazines, books, monographs, journals, pamphlets and information materials that appeal to the sense of sight. As Imhonopi and Urim noted, specialty newspapers exist for school students, major financial dailies appeal to the commerce tycoons, financial experts and financial savvy people of the world, tabloids address the newsstands of city transportation hubs, and popular underground publications appear or disappear at the change of a trend or movement. Newspaper stories have turned ordinary men and women into heroes and have also removed world leaders from power and dealt killer blows to despotic and autocratic regimes. Huge presses chunk out hundreds of pages in a single edition, and modern transportation and communication systems can put that same edition on a breakfast table several miles away. Today, the newspaper industry has become one of the largest in the world, employing hundreds of thousands of people, from managing editors, to investigative reporters, to carriers. It has survived wars, economic collapse, political schemings and social destruction, yet remains essentially the same type of medium that it was centuries ago – pages of print communicating information to readers (Brittner, 2002). However, as Nweke (1984) notes, the print media has limited value (and reach) in the country because it is constrained by the level of literacy in place and

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its scale of circulation is relatively minimal and largely confined to the elite in the urban areas. Even when newspapers and magazines embrace a rural readership, they address only a particular type of reader, who in effect is marginal to the rural community. The issue of poverty is also a drawback as most Nigerians cann't afford to buy a newspaper every day no matter how "newsy" it is or news hungry they are. However, the Print media is still a powerful tool loved by the people, feared by dictators and despots and a threat to autocracies and despotic regimes anywhere (Imhonopi and Urim, 2004). Thomas Jefferson, third American President, summarises the invaluable role of the press in society: "To the Press alone, chequered as it is with abuses, the world is indebted for all the triumphs which have gained by reason and humanity over error and oppression" (Iwunze, 2003: p 5). He also said, "given a choice of a government without a press or a press without a government, I will choose the latter."

The Electronic Media

1. **Radio**

The entrance of the 20th century signalled the era of electronic communication. The habits of media consumers changed as people began to spend more time with a new novelty called radio. Although the introduction of television threatened this trend, media consumers returned, and radio has once again prospered. Radio reaches every corner of the globe, bringing the latest pop music to a large metropolis or information about fertilizer to a remote tribal village. Radio is unique in both its portability and ability to reach us while we do different things or even while consuming other media. The soothing background music of a classical FM station adds to the atmosphere of a library reading room. The latest rock music bounces from the speaker of a nearby transistor as a teenager leafs through a favourite magazine at the beach.

Radio Broadcasting In Nigeria

Radio broadcasting started out in Nigeria as an experiment called rediffusion service of the British Empire (Kazeem, 1998). The Nigeria Post and Telegraph Department was vested with the authority to map out plan for the distribution of this rediffusion service to subscribers in Lagos, Kano and Ibadan. The body was also mandated to work in conjunction with the Empire Broadcasting Service. This radio distribution service was established in Lagos in 1939 as a means of distributing programmes which originated from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in London as part of overseas service. Rediffusion therefore became the principal mode of broadcasting in Nigeria with many subscribers from the 1940s to the mid 1950s. The British colonial administration in her bid to establish a West African Broadcasting System received Turner and Byron's report, which indicated that such a system was not possible due to language barriers. Therefore, on April 1, 1957, the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS) was formed following the report of Turner and Byron, by the conversion of the rediffusion stations to full radio stations. However, in 1956, the Queen of England gave her consent to an act of parliament converting the NBS to Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).

The NBS had been heavily criticised for being the lapdog of government, hence the need to convert it into a statutory corporation known as NBC, which thus became the first public service broadcasting corporation to have existed in any British colony (Kazeem, 1998). After the creation of NBC, each region of the federation came

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up with its own broadcast systems. The first to be established was the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service (WNBS) in May 1960. This was followed by the East on October 1st 1962 and the Northern Region Government started out its own the same year. However, as Imhonopi and Urim (2004) noted, the regional governments, exercised full control over their radio stations with little or no federal government interference, and the programmes featured by these stations were ethnic-based, while politicians who established them used them as a veritable vehicle to propagate their political ideologies which laid emphasis on the ethnic diversity of the nation and further rivened the country apart.

The name NBC was later changed to Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) by the Federal Radio Corporation Decree No 8 of April 1978. This decree also handed over all NBC states affiliates to the states in which they were situated. The decree also mandated stations handed over to transmit their programmes only on medium wave band.

With the Second Republic, the Federal Ministry of Information established Federal Radio stations in states which were not being controlled by the ruling party (National Party of Nigeria) to spread their political influence in such states. State governments also had their own stations which propagated their party's programmes and doctrines. This was a gross violation of the 1978 decree. When the military came into power in 1983, there was a reversal to the existing decree which was grossly violated by the defunct civilian regime. All radio stations created then were closed down, and efforts were made to strengthen the existing zonal stations of Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN). This closure also affected states that operated dual stations. With the Babangida regime in place, a great landmark in the history of broadcasting organisation in Nigeria was established. The amendment of the 1978 decree by the Babangida administration and permission for private individuals to establish media organisations were championed by that administration. Today, Nigeria has quite a handful of private radio stations established and several TV stations that operate with up-to-the-minute technology and world-class standards.

Nweke (1984) argues strongly that the radio's role as an informant and educator can best be exploited in the Third World because the majority of people there are illiterates and live in rural areas. Unlike the TV and newspaper, the radio transmits its messages to more people at any given time. It is also in everybody's reach. The average worker or peasant can listen to it. Neither is there need to make any extra effort to listen, for radio can be heard anywhere and one does not have to stop whatever chores he or she is doing in order to listen. Radio also covers a large distance and stems barriers. Also, since there are some parts of the country without electricity, rural families can easily listen to their radios by using batteries. Radio also reaches them in their local languages, and because the messages are short and simple and delivered in a pleasant manner, unlike in the print media, there is little effort needed by recipients except to turn the dial. Even the blind and the handicapped can benefit from the radio, and since repetition is a major technique used, it has become the most effective of all the news media to promote campaigns and ideas to people in the Third World (Nweke, 1984).

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2. Television

Television has been called everything from an educational panacea to a "boob tube," projecting images of a vast wasteland (Imhonopi and Urim, 2004). People have labelled it biased, accurate, liberal, conservative, and have accused it of everything from wrecking the family to robbing us of our individuality. Somewhere in-between lies the truth. One thing is certain, the medium has become one of the most powerful forces of communication in the history of civilisation (Bittner, 2002).

Television in Nigeria

The first Television station in Nigeria, and more so, in the whole of Africa went on air on October 31st 1959 through the efforts of the Western Regional Government. It was named Western Nigeria Television Service (WNTS), established by an act of the region's house of parliament. It was established to promote formal and informal education (Kazeem, 1998). Its slogan was "First in Africa." A year later, precisely on October 1st, 1960, the Eastern Region established its own television broadcasting service Eastern Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (ENBC) with the slogan "Second to None." However, foreign programmes dominated the television screens of these regional stations as these stations were built by foreign companies in collaboration with the regional governments concerned.

The Federal government, challenged by the efforts of the two regional governments, contracted to build a federal government television station in Lagos to an American company. This led to the birth of Nigeria Television Station (NTS) in April 1962, which later became Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) with the promulgation of Decree 24 of 1977. The promulgation of the decree stemmed from the fact that the existing television stations lacked national outlook and presented programmes with foreign orientation. The federal government therefore took over these stations to justify tax payers' money and to effectively participate in the country's mass media. The Decree of 1977 established in April 1st of that year empowered the NTA to supervise the television industry in Nigeria and restore order, national dignity and unity through television broadcasting among the ethnic groups in Nigeria. However, with the second republic in place and the restoration of the constitution which placed electronic broadcasting on the concurrent list between the federal and state governments, state governments were allowed to establish their own TV stations independent of the NTA structure. Television stations like LTV 8 for Lagos, Oyo State Broadcasting Corporation Television (OSBC-TV) for Oyo, Ogun State Television (OGTV) for Ogun and others were established. However, it was during the Babangida regime, with the promulgation of the 1989 Constitution, Section 38 (1) (2) that empowered and paved the way for private broadcasting. This constitutional provision led to the establishment of the first ever Nigeria Private Radio Station "Ray Power 100.5 FM." This was followed in 1995 by the establishment of a private television station like Cable Tel/UHF Channel 50 "The Family Channel," Channels Television Station" transmitting on UHF Channel 45, Mhuri International Television (MITV), and Channel 43 "The Soul of Entertainment." On December 5th 1996, DAAR Communications, the Parent company of Ray Power 100.5 FM established her Television station called Africa Independent Television (AIT) transmitting on Channel 49. 1997 saw the establishment of another radio station called Rhythm FM, transmitting on 97.8 Frequency Modulation Band. Other TV stations have sprung up like DBN, Galaxy Television, MINAJ Television, Silverbird

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Television and several other terrestrial, digital satellite and cable television stations and channels.

Like the print media, television is largely confined to urban centres. But this is mainly because of technical and financial reasons. Moreover, very few people can afford TV sets and antennas, and this has resulted in TV becoming a status symbol. Television consumers are also mainly urban dwellers and include the professional, commercial and bureaucratic classes who constitute a reference group within which leadership operates. Therefore, for TV to become effective in mobilising people, more money has to be pumped in for coverage to extend beyond the urban centres, and there must be more vigorous local programming (Nweke, 1984). Recently, the TV industry in Nigeria has begun a rapid localisation of programming content in the area of entertainment, films, education and others. The present government of President Goodluck Jonathan is working on transforming the power sector in the country so that many more rural dwellers will see the need to buy and own TVs in this 21st century and information age. The TV combines audio and visual effects, which make it a powerful medium that can be exploited by government for the mobilisation of the people politically and used to inform them of government's plans, programmes and policies.

Emergence of New Media Technologies

The new media technologies in place which have redefined the face of mass communication and increased a community of citizen journalists include the following:

The Internet

The advent of the Internet has been one of the most exciting major events in the second half of the 20th century. The ancient dream of "a scholar knows all things happening in the world without venturing outdoors" has finally become a reality (Imhonopi, 2009). Since 1993, the Internet started to take off. At present, the Internet has spread to more than 180 countries and regions, connecting more than 600,000 domestic networks of various types, hooking up more than 20 million computers available to 120 million users (2% of the entire global population) (Imhonopi and Urim, 2004). Internet technology became noticeable on the media radar of Nigeria in the late 1990s and today virtually every media organisation has a web presence and uses the internet to further their media goals and activities. The internet has also facilitated the growth and ascendancy of a new community of bloggers and citizen journalists. The internet has contributed so much to society by bringing about the speedy exchange of information/ideas, bringing about access to a vast ocean of information, integration of societies into one cultural bloc, made available abundant wealth creation opportunities, become an instrument for e-commerce, e-business and e-trade, facilitated electronic education or e-Learning and increased more windows to entertainment.

Electronic Publishing

Through information and communication technologies, the use of electronic publishing has continued to rise as the advocacy for a paperless and green economy continues to resonate across business and non-business sectors. Thus, electronic

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publishing is now preferred in some quarters and this is further made possible by the availability of modern computer storage devices like compact disks, flash disks and external mobile hard disks, and computer systems like desktops, laptops, notebooks, and Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs).

Blogging, Mobile Phones and Video Games

Another set of exciting new media technologies that aids communication across a large spectrum or population of people are made up of blogging, mobile phones and video games. The blog is a diary on the web and a frequently updated personal journal chronicling links at a website for a global audience or for public viewing. Podcast is electronically enabled broadcast and videos on mobile phones, androids and PDAs for such things as news, music, pre-recorded speech, and video. They are used for rapid breaking news and short clips of entertainment like jokes, horoscopes, alerts, games, music, and advertising. Even today, video games have become an instrument possessing mass appeal. Children of different cultures and backgrounds understand the language of these games and participate in them from Nigeria to America. The exciting thing about these innovations is that they can be found in Nigeria today. All these technologies have further redefined mass communication and pushed traditional mass media to the edge forcing the owners and gatekeepers to incorporate/adopt the technologies as vehicles to propagate their news and other content.

Theoretical Framework

This chapter is cast against the backdrop of the Marxist and Cultural Hegemony Theories. Marxian theories share the premise that human society over time has experienced radical but gradual social evolution. And each epoch or period of this change can only be understood in terms of the social and economic relations in place which are determined by two different classes. In other words, Marxian scholars assert strongly that there are groups that make up the dominant class whose interests are protected and shielded from damage because they control the base (economy). This dominant class therefore controls or manipulates the superstructure which is made up of the media, the legal system, politics, policies, and the like. As Karl Marx puts it, "in every epoch, the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class" (Marx and Engels, 1970). Therefore, the Marxian school holds the general belief that the media institution is the means by which the ideas of the ruling class maintain their dominance as the "ruling ideas." Marxian scholars believe that the ruling ideas control the information we have about the world, shape our perceptions and perspectives and influence our responses to news content, trend and style. This process or status quo is sustained because the capitalist class has unrestrained and unlimited access to the resources which enable its members to present their ideas as "normal." Marxist theories argue that while the pluralist perspective claims that there is a marked diversity within the media messages, there is indeed centralised ownership, that is, a few individuals and media corporations own and operate most media. This is true of what obtains in Nigeria, as many media houses and institutions are owned, financed and run by few but powerful individuals in society who determine the quality and quantity of news content, give a jaundiced slant to media messages and filter news content to determine what society hears or sees and what is swept under the carpet.

However, the cultural hegemony, which sprang from the Marxian school, argues that the effect of the media on society can and should be viewed from an

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ideological standpoint and not necessarily a simple pursuit of economic interest. According to this theory, most media personnel genuinely act according to their personal beliefs, which are not necessarily determined by (although they are linked to) their class position. To them, dominance is instead accomplished at the unconscious level. The hegemonic model is associated with the work of the Italian Marxist, Anthonio Gramsci. The central argument therefore in the hegemonic theory is that the culture of the dominant class is reproduced in subtle or unconscious ways through the mass media. This is part of what is known as cultural hegemony: the domination of one set of ideas over others. Stuart Hall, another arrowhead in this school of thought, argues that each culture in society has a different way of classifying the world (Hall, 1995). All of the ways in which a culture communicates, including the communications of the mass media, contain systems of signs which represent aspects of its world view. According to Hall, the media encodes the meanings of the powerful in a subtle way.

While not undermining these theories, the mass media institution in Nigeria is an institution to be reckoned with in the country. In spite of its numerous challenges, the media institution in Nigerian historical development has contributed a lot right from the colonial era to the present time by opposing arbitrary rules of the government and fighting causes that promote the interest of the citizens.

The Functions, Influence and Contributions of Mass Media in the Nigerian Society

The functions of the mass media are numerous, they include the following:

Political Functions

The mass media are an agent of propaganda in society. Most media organisations, especially those owned by government at the local, state or federal levels, represent the wishes of the ruling class and foist the interest of this class on the public, though subtly. The media are used by candidates aspiring for political positions to get their opinions and ideas across to society through the mass media. Also, government policies and activities are and can always be made known to the masses through the various media outlets by ways of print and electronic relay of such items of information like TV and radio broadcasts, leaflets and pamphlets, tracts, and newspapers.

Economic Functions

The mass media perform economic functions in our society by conducting business reviews and analysis via business magazines and programmes where they enable the public, among other things, to know, for instance, the exchange rate that is operative at a particular point in time. The mass media also help in the area of advertising, distribution and marketing of goods and services among others.

Cultural functions

The dissemination of socio-cultural norms and values in society is one of the major functions of the mass media. Various ideas of the ruling elite are transmitted to the general public or hoi polloi. The teaching of various Nigerian languages can be enhanced through the use of the mass media kinds, so also are the traditional festivals taking place in various parts of the country. Through the help of the media, such

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festivities are given wide publicity and enjoy ubiquitous knowledge among the people of the country.

Social Functions

Media organisations also perform social functions in the society. This is being done through the creation of awareness of certain items of information regarding naming ceremonies, marriages, burial ceremonies (obituaries) and other relevant programmes via radio, newspaper, television and other new media platforms. Through the mass media, there is always the possibility of creating awareness within the members of a society concerning certain issues at stake.

Educational Functions

The mass media have recorded much success in this area. They have helped and still help to carry out educational programmes through the radio, television, newspaper and of course the newspapers and new media technologies. This is a way of enlightening the public on government policies, programmes and plans with regards to education, for instance, Better Life and family programmes, and where such subjects like Mathematics, English and other Nigerian languages are taught through these media. The mass media also helps in conducting adult and distance educational programmes, which help to improve the literacy level and intellect of those in that category.

Religious Functions

The mass media also provide avenues where religious devotees and the ignorant get adequate enlightenment in the things pertaining to religion. This is usually done through preaching on the radio and television, printing of religious tracts, pamphlets and magazines.

Developmental Functions

The mass media help to further promote certain developmental programmes including health, education, family planning, nutritious family life and welfare programmes. It has also been used to mobilise the public towards government's developmental policies and programmes.

The Influence and Contributions of Mass Media to the Nigerian Society

The mass media in Nigeria have influenced and contributed to the Nigerian society in the following ways:

Surveillance Role - According to Lucien Pye, a scholar of communications and development process, because of the limited capacity of citizens to survey their social environment, the media provide them with the means to understand the substance of politics at any particular point in time (Farounbi, 2004). In its surveillance role, the media provides citizens with the reportage of events, an analysis of issues and synthesised data which can form the basis of political decision-making choices. Such choices can only be right and informed, when the media provide information for the people. However, as Nweze (1984: P 7) noted, the print and electronic media in some instances have failed to discharge this responsibility because they take "sides with the various political parties and governments or the political/economic barons who directly or indirectly own them." A politicised media will become a dangerous weapon in the hands of powerful social forces to legitimise or "delegitimise" a government in

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place, a policy that interests or is detestable to it. This was, according to Al-Bashir, what ignited the ugly incidents that preceded the Civil War of 1967-70, when a report on a neighbouring radio station about alleged massacre of Northerners in the East led to the sad events in the North during that period (Al-Bashir, 2003). This also was played out several decades after in the East when an unverified report was published that the remains of thousands of Igbos were conveyed in tens of lorry loads and dumped in Onitsha. This led to the massacre of Northerners in the East even as the report was later discovered to be false. Thus, the media occupy a very hot seat of high social responsibility, which must not be abdicated to satisfy venal, sectional, selfish, private interests of forces interested in the disintegration of the country (Imhonopi and Urim, 2004).

Status Conferral Role – According to Farounbi (2004), the media perform an amplifying role by giving wide publicity to actions of certain individuals. Otherwise known as Status Conferral role, this enables the media to elevate certain individuals to positions of eminence within the society. In the circumstance of Nigeria, Farounbi argues that the media in its hunger for heroes had lowered standards and values in an effort to create celebrities. In his words, "our ideals have been lowered so that mental dwarfs, those who lack appropriate character, integrity and vision, intellect and moral Lilliputians can be presented as national heroes. This is sad as this new generation of heroes, creations of our media today do not compare with any of our past heroes." These characters with borrowed toga of heroism from the media cannot be measured when compared with late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, late Chief Obafemi Awolowo, late Sardauna of Sokoto, late Tafawa Balewa, late M. I. Okpara and late S. L. Akintola, among numerous others.

Watchdog Role - In Oladepo's view, it is the social responsibility of the media to serve as the watchdog to the society (Oladepo, 2004). A responsible media plays the role of the vanguard of the people and at the same time defends the rights of the people. It opposes obnoxious laws and policies injurious to the people and canvasses for actions and policies that would improve the quality of the lives of the people. Commenting on the watchdog role of the media in Nigeria, Olukotun and Seteolu (2001) cite three examples in the early part of the Fourth Republic where through the influence of the media certain public office holders were brought to book to answer for their crimes and deceits. According to them, during the transition to civil rule between 1998 and 1999, the media emerged as a crucial part of the apparatus for vetting and legitimising elections. To keep the transition on track, for instance, *Tell* magazine did, week after week, a countdown to the hand over in every single issue it published between July 1998 and May 1999. It was the media that documented and facilitated the controversy which led to the fall of Alhaji Salisu Buhari, former Speaker of the House of Representatives having discovered that the former speaker falsified his age and certificate. The media's watchdog role also brought the corruption charges levelled against the former Senate President, Dr. Chuba Okadigbo, which also led to his impeachment. Recently, the media facilitated the realisation of the freest and fairest elections in Nigeria by giving a blow-by-blow coverage of the 2011 elections which exposed groups involved in election violence, under-aged voters and ballot box snatchers. However, sometimes the media cannot play this role because of its attachment to the powers that be or the fear of reprisal from a despotic government that crushes any voice of dissent or opposition.

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Builder of Morality and Value System – Through the media, the morality and value system of a society can be preserved or abandoned. The media in Nigeria have helped, for instance, in the fight against child trafficking, armed robbery, drug addiction, early sex among youths, and the evil of kidnapping and ritual killings for pecuniary reasons. A responsible, socially sensitive media will frown at and vociferously kick against any group, act, trend, programme or issue that attacks the moral sanity and value system of society. Pornography, lesbianism, gay fad, corruption, celebration and honour of questionable characters in society will be denied unreservedly and without fear or favour by a media institution that is socially responsible and interested in the healthy continuity of society.

Other influences mass media have exerted on the Nigerian society include help in reporting microeconomic and macroeconomic issues as they affected citizens and state; they have been an instrument for inspiring the making of public policies and the analysis of such policies; they have been an opinion-moulding institution; they have provided entertainment for the Nigerian public, projected and promoted the image of the local environment; they have been an information bank from which the society draws rational decisions; they enlighten citizens about government's policies and programmes; and they have been the instrument for feeling and reflecting the pulse of the people.

Challenges Facing the Mass Media in Nigeria Today

The Challenge of Media Equipment

Mass media institutions face a major problem of lack of equipment, and many of them cannot boast of having modern gadgets and tools to work with. This situation limits their productivity and increases the cost of operations, making them less viable and profitable.

Poor Remunerations

Mass media workers in Nigeria are poorly remunerated, and this is what promotes the 'brown envelope' syndrome in place as these journalists seek other ways to survive the harsh economic climate. This situation also makes journalists vulnerable to temptations.

Lack of Training and Inexperience

Due to the paucity of funds available to many media organisations in the country, many of them find it difficult to employ quality hands to man different roles for them. Thus, these organisations are forced to employ lowly educated personnel who get some level of on-the-job training to make up for their skill deficiencies. Also, because many media workers are not graduates of journalism and mass communication, their efficiency and effectiveness on the job are limited and this affects their overall performance.

Lack of Press Freedom

Many journalists and media organisations have been hounded in time past by dictatorial governments and the political managers of the state for not representing their interests well. Thus, as a report put it, it is a risky business to tell the truth in Nigeria (African Report, 1994). Stories of abducted, persecuted and assassinated journalists abound in the history of mass media in Nigeria. However, with the signing

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of the Freedom of Information Bill by the President, Goodluck Jonathan, it is hoped that the persecution of journalists and the media organisations they represent for daring to report government and its activities would gradually become be a thing of the past.

Ethical Challenges Facing the Nigerian Mass Media

Despite the introduction of the code of ethics for Nigerian journalists and the establishment of the Nigerian Press Council, ethical issues abound which are part of the overall problems in the society. These include sycophancy, character assassination, Afghanistanism, bribery, moonlighting, sensationalism, self-censorship, plagiarism, deception and faking of stories among others.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to trace the historical development of mass media as an institution, investigate the development and influence of mass media in Nigeria, examine its functions and contributions in different areas in the country; the study is placed against the backdrop of the Marxist and Cultural Hegemonic theories, to identify the challenges facing the mass media in Nigeria. It is the position in this chapter that the media is instrumental in the freedom we enjoy today in the country, and that the institution has remained a trusted ombudsman, overseeing the activities of the three arms of government, thus putting a check on the excesses of the ruling class and have justified the reason they are considered the "fourth estate of the realm", their failings and shortcomings notwithstanding.

Recommendations

For the mass media to be able to perform its functions effectively and efficiently without fear or favour, the following are important recommendations to be considered.

First, the constitution, relevant laws and the government of Nigeria must guarantee the independence of the media. This is because where fear of persecution and suspicion of reprisals prevail, journalists will not be able to dispense their jobs without fear or favour. Therefore, guaranteeing the independence of the mass media will go a long way in promoting journalism and mass media activities in Nigeria. Second, civil liberties, like freedom of speech, freedom of movement and the rule of law, must not just be enshrined in the constitution, but also must be observed by the government and its managers. Every journalist must be assured that he or she is free to report what they see based on justice, fairness and a good conscience without fear of being hounded or persecuted by the government or ruling class. Third, Nigerian journalists and media gatekeepers deserve better remuneration and conditions of service like their colleagues in South Africa and in the developed world. This will deter many of them of falling cheap for 'brown envelopes' given to them to sell their conscience. Fourth, media organisations and workers in the country need to show more social responsibility in their reportage and activities. Fifth, there is need for subscription to high ethical values and codes of conduct by media outfits and gatekeepers. This will eliminate many scandals and corruption charges levelled against many media journalists and media professionals. Six, importantly, journalists and would-be journalists require good education in the Arts, Journalism and Mass Communication to enhance the quality they bring to the job. Also, since education

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raises personal pride, it will help many journalists to shun attempts by politicians to use or corrupt them. Lastly, better financial management of media organisations will put them in a good financial footing to meet their obligations as they fall due and to acquire the best tools and gadgets and pay their staff well.

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SECTION NINE
BELIEF SYSTEM

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CHAPTER TWENTY THREE

RELIGION AND ACTS OF WORSHIP AMONGST THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE: IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT AND NATIONAL UNITY

George, Tayo O. and Amusan, Tolulope A.

Introduction

Background to the Study

The belief in an ultimate supreme being has always been a way of life for Africans and the Nigerian people in particular. Religion is acknowledged as a powerful force that has a strong influence on social behavior and human interaction; it is deeply entrenched in the culture of the Nigerian people, and this is largely reflected in the various religious practices amongst the different ethnic groupings in the country.

Primarily, religion occupies a unique position in the national development programme of any nation. Therefore, it has been acknowledged as one of the bedrocks of socio-economic and political advancement of many countries in the world. Religion exemplifies morals and advocates uprightness and piety, as opposed to sacrilege and profanity. Religion is therefore one of the most powerful social institutions in the social system that is used as an instrument of social cohesion, unity and integration.

Amongst the Nigerian people of the west coast of Africa, three religions are dominant: Christianity, Islam, and Traditional religion. However, before the advent of Christianity and Islam, the traditional society had always been characterized by traditional religious beliefs and acts of worship. Every ethnic group in Nigeria at some point practises traditional religion handed down to them by their forefathers. The belief in spirits, witchcraft and extra-terrestrial beings are a common phenomenon among the Nigerian peoples which perhaps influences the belief in the invisible and supernatural world in the affairs of men, so much so that whatsoever may befall a man, be it good or evil, has always been attributed to the doings and makings of the spirit world. The various ethnic groups in Nigeria have their peculiar religions and modes of worship, and, unlike Christianity and Islam which have some forms of documented written materials (Bible and Quran), traditional religions have no written or documented material. However, they are rich in oral tradition which is usually passed on from one generation to another through the process of socialization.

The Igbo (also pronounced Ibo) of the Eastern part of Nigeria, for instance, are a profoundly religious people who believe in a benevolent creator, usually known as *Chukwu*, who created the visible universe (*uwa*). Opposing this force for good is *agbara*, meaning spirit or supernatural being. Apart from the natural level of the universe, the Igbo also believe that it exists on another level, that of the spiritual forces, the *alusi*. The *alusi* are minor deities, and are forces for blessing or destruction, depending on circumstances. They punish social offences and those who unwittingly infringe their privileges. The role of the diviner is to interpret the wishes of the *alusi*, and the role of the priest is to placate them with sacrifices. Either a priest is chosen through hereditary lineage or he is chosen by a particular god for his service, usually after passing through a number of mystical experiences. Each person also has a personalized providence, which comes from *Chukwu*, and returns to him at the time of death, a *chi*. This *chi* may be good or bad (Slattery, 2001). There was no shrine to *Chukwu*, nor were sacrifices made directly to him, but he was conceived as the ultimate receiver of all sacrifices made to the minor deities.

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These minor deities claimed an enormous part of the daily lives of the people. The belief was that these gods could be manipulated in order to protect them and serve their interests. If the gods performed these duties, they were rewarded with the continuing faith of the tribe. Different regions of Igboland have varying versions of these minor deities. Listed below are some of the most common:

Ala – the earth-goddess, the spirit of fertility (of man and the productivity of the land)

Igwe – the sky-god. This god was not appealed to for rain, however, that was the full-time profession of the rain-makers, Igbo tribesmen who were thought to be able to call and dismiss rain.

Imo miri – the spirit of the river. The Igbo believe that a big river has a spiritual aspect; it is forbidden to fish in such deified rivers.

Mbatuku– the spirit of wealth.

Agwo – a spirit envious of other's wealth, always in need of servitors.

Aha njuku or ***Ifejioku*** – the yam spirit.

Ikoro – the drum spirit.

Ekwu – the hearth spirit, which is woman's domestic spirit, (Slattery, 2001).

Amongst the Yoruba of the South-western Nigeria also exist different forms of traditional acts of worship. The faiths of the Yoruba of Western Nigeria vary significantly from one part of the region to another; the same deity may be male in one village and female in the next, or the characteristics of two gods may be embodied in a single deity in a neighboring region (Horton, 1993).

Traditional Yoruba beliefs see the world made up of two connected realms. The visible world of the living is called *Aye*, and the spiritual world of the Orisas, the ancestors and spirits, is called Orun. *Ase* is the life force that is given to everything by the Creator of the universe. *Ase* is in everything: plants, animals, people, prayers, songs, rocks, and rivers. Existence is dependent upon *Ase* because it is the power to make things happen and change (Mullen, 2004).

The Yoruba believe in the Creator who rules over the entire universe along with many other gods that serve underneath him. The Creator of the universe is called Olorun. Olorun lives in the sky and is considered to be the father of all other gods. Olorun is the only god that never lived on earth. Olorun is the supreme god and has no special group of worshippers or shrines, like the other gods do. The Yoruba people worship over four hundred different deities. These gods are called Orisas. Some of the Orisas are worshiped by all of the Yoruba. Other gods are only worshiped by certain towns or families. Every person is given or receives a special deity to worship. A person usually worships the god of his father, but some worship the god of their mother. Some people are contacted by a particular god in their dreams and are instructed to worship them (Mullen, 2004).

Curiously, the Yoruba never actively worship their all-powerful god, variously known as Olorun ("the owner of the sky") or Olodumare (roughly translates as "the almighty"), among many other names. Unlike Shango, who has dozens of shrines erected to him, Olorun has not a single shrine; the Yoruba never make sacrifices to him, and he has no priests. He plays much the same role as do the Judeo-Christian and Islamic gods-- he is "the creator of all things, the almighty and all-knowing, the giver of life and breath, and the final judge of mankind"(Horton, 1993).

Some Yoruba legends have a pair of gods, Orishala (Obatala, Orisa-nla) and his wife Odudua, as supreme creating deities, either independent of almighty Olorun

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or preceding him. One legend has Olorun creating the world and then leaving Obatala and Odudua to finish up the details; other interpreters have considered Olorun and Obatala one and the same. Obatala, often a sculptor-god, has the responsibility to shape human bodies; the Yoruba consider the physically deformed either his votaries or the victims of his displeasure. Olorun, however, reserves the right to breathe these bodies to life. In some places, Obatala also rules over all of the orisha, or minor gods, as king, although still subordinate to Olorun. The Yoruba explained to early missionaries that these minor gods descended from the single almighty god, just as Jesus was the son of the Christian god.

Among these orisha, the Yoruba see the god *Ogun* among the most important. The god of war, of the hunters, and of iron-working, Ogun serves as the patron deity of blacksmiths, warriors, and all who use metal in their occupations. He also presides over deals and contracts; in fact, in Yoruba courts, devotees of the faith swear to tell the truth by kissing a machete sacred to Ogun. The Yoruba consider Ogun fearsome and terrible in his revenge; they believe that if one breaks a pact made in his name, swift retribution will follow (Horton, 1993).

Some regions combine Ogun with the trickster god, Eshu. Eshu, or Legba as he is also known, had mistakenly been identified by Europeans with the Devil in the past. The Yoruba pantheon, however, has no evil gods; a more accurate comparison would be between Eshu and the Satan of the Book of Job, to whom God assigns the task of trying men's faith. One myth dealing with Eshu illustrates his mischievousness: Eshu, posing as a merchant, alternately sold increasingly magnificent gifts to each of a man's two wives; the ensuing battle for the husband's favor tore the family apart. Surprisingly, Eshu also serves as the guardian of houses and villages. When worshipped in this tutelary position, his followers call him Baba ("father"). Eshu also serves as the god of Ifa, a sophisticated and complex geomantic divinatory tool which uses nuts, signs, and increasing squares of the number four to predict all facets of the future.

The Yoruba treat their ancestors with great respect, as might be expected in a culture with only oral records of the past, but anthropologists debate as to whether the rituals dealing with ancestry are religious in nature or simply respectful. At least, a few groups believe that ancestors, after death, become demigods, but only once they have assumed the persona of a true deity (Horton, 1993).

Amongst the Hausa-Fulani of Northern Nigeria also exist some elements of traditional acts of worship. An example is the "Maguzawa", the animist religion, which was practised extensively before Islam. In the more remote areas of Hausaland, Maguzawa has remained fully intact, although it is rarer in more urban areas. It often includes the sacrifice of animals for personal ends, but it is thought of as taboo to practise Maguzawa magic for harm. What remains in more populous areas is a "cult of spirit-possession" known as Bori, which still holds the old religion's elements of animism and magic. The Bori classification of reality has countless spirits, many of which are named and have specific powers.

In the early twentieth century, the traditional religions of the Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa altered significantly as a result of European rule. Where the modes of worship conflicted with Western mores, the ruling colonial powers placed restrictions on religious practice. The white rulers for example accused the Shoponna priests of spreading smallpox in order to keep their power and so outlawed the cult even before

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the use of smallpox vaccine. Night gatherings, so vital to the worship of various deities in Igbo, Hausa and Yorubaland, were also severely restricted.

Christianity and Islam were thus introduced to replace traditional and indigenous acts of worship. The arrival of Christianity and Islam in Nigeria dates as far back as the 11th century and marked the beginning of a great change in the belief systems of the people. Christianity and Islam gained a widespread popularity and acceptance among Nigerians partly because of the accompanying civilization and literacy, and partly because of the aggressive evangelism of their adherents. Despite the influx of these foreign religions into the Nigerian society, it has been observed that Nigerians are still very traditional in their belief system. The practice of *syncretism* - the amalgamation or attempted amalgamation of different religions- is a common feature of some Christian denominations spread across the country. The *"Aladura" churches,* Celestial Church of Christ (CCC), as well as the Cherubim and Seraphim church movement dominant among the Yoruba community are prominent examples where the practice of syncretism is common. This local syncretic Christianity sect utilizes the bible and combines biblical principles with some aspects of African traditional beliefs. Past studies have also revealed that African traditional beliefs still hold sway in the hearts of people: a lot of people directly or indirectly still participate in traditional religious festivals. An example is the "new yam festival" among the Ibo ethnic group of South-eastern Nigeria. During this festive season, a lot of indigenes in different parts of the world always make it a tradition to travel home to participate in these religious festivals. Those that could not travel usually send money to facilitate these festivals. The New Yam festival of the Igbo (Igbo: *Iwa ji*) is an annual harvest festival by the Igbo people held at the peak of the rainy season in early August.

The *Iwa ji* festival (literally "*new-yam eating*") is practised throughout West Africa (especially in Nigeria and Ghana) and other African countries and beyond, symbolizing the conclusion of a harvest and the beginning of the next work cycle. The celebration is a culturally based occasion, tying individual Igbo communities together as essentially agrarian and dependent on yam.

Yams are the first crop to be harvested and are the most important crop of the region. The evening prior to the day of the festival, all old yams (from the previous year's crop) are consumed or discarded. The next day, only dishes of yam are served, as the festival is symbolic of the abundance of the produce.

Traditionally, the role of eating the first yam is performed by the oldest man in the community or the king (*igwe*). The *Igwe* offers the yams to God, deities and ancestors, and it is believed that their position bestows the privilege of being the intermediaries between their communities and the gods of the land. The rituals are meant to express the gratitude of the community to the gods for making the harvest possible, and they are widely followed despite the influence of modern society occasioned by foreign religions, (Christianity and Islam) and westernization in the area.

Another example that rightly comes to mind is the "Osun-Osogbo" festival in the South-west geopolitical zone of Nigeria. The festival which is annually celebrated by the Yoruba speaking people of Nigeria in honor of the Osun river goddess is attended by people from all over the world. Every August, a grand and colourful cultural festival is usually organized at the "Osun" sacred groves in Osogbo, south west of Nigeria. The annual festival draws tens of thousands of believers and tourists from both within and outside the country. The former custodian and priestess of the

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groves was an Austrian artist, late Susanne Wenger, popularly called "Adunni Olorisa". The festival marks the renewal of mystic bonds between the river goddess and the people of Osogbo, who represent all of humanity. Osun devotees dress traditionally in white clothes and believe that the river goddess brings divine favour and has healing and fertility powers. From the foregoing, therefore, we can come to the conclusion that religious beliefs and acts of worship constitute an integral part of the Nigerian society and culture.

Some years ago, the BBC announced that it had carried out a survey of the nations of the world and arrived at the conclusion that Nigeria was the most religious nation in the world (Onaiyekan, :2010). The data source however failed to explain the details of the criteria used to arrive at this conclusion. About the same time, other public opinion polls concluded with the assertion that "Nigeria was the most corrupt nation in the world". How we combine these two opposing remarks is a matter for deep reflection. Incidentally about the same time, it was also said that Nigeria was the happiest nation in the world. Whether this is in any way related to the fact that Nigeria is both the most religious and the most corrupt is not too clear (Onaiyekan, 2010).

Indeed, the incessant religious crises and political upheavals that have been pervasive in the country makes one wonder if, truly, religion has lived up to the expectation of engendering social cohesion and unity. One of the major functions of religion according to a great thinker and Sociologist, Emilie Durkheim, is stability and cohesion. For him, religion forms a balanced and cohesive moral community. It is a means of protecting individuals from anomie, alienation and the threats of disruptive mass movements and so maximises the individual's potential for happiness. Shared religious experiences provide the social cement for group unity and consensus. In the light of past and present religious squabbles in Nigeria, it is rather unfortunate that religion rather than fostering social cement for group unity has led to great disunity and disharmony among the people. The instrumentality of religion has been misused in different quarters of the Nigerian society. Religious bias and differences have been used as the basis for wanton destruction of human lives and property. Most of the ethnic and political violence in the country's history has been traceable to religious bias and intolerance.

The primary thrust of this paper is therefore to analyse the effects of religious beliefs and practices on Nigerian people with a view to harnessing the areas of strength and weaknesses for attaining the much needed peace, stability and development for the country.

The Concept of Religion

Religion is often difficult to conceptualize primarily because it means different things to different people. Over the years, influential thinkers have offered their own definitions, with greater or lesser degrees of assurance and certainty. However, virtually all the definitions of religion have been found wanting by the majority of scholars.

There are several problems in trying to make a definition of religion that is not overly vague and general, but that still is "inclusive enough" to not leave out any of the beliefs and practices that seem religious to most people. By their nature, religious beliefs tend to motivate other aspects of human behavior beyond those which would strictly be considered to be of religious concern.

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Emile Durkheim, the French Sociologist, was perhaps the first to recognize the critical importance of religion in human societies. He defined religion as a unified system of beliefs and practices, relative to sacred things. According to Durkheim (1922), religious faiths distinguish between certain transcending events and the everyday world. Durkheim thus concluded that a religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things; that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, and all those who adhere to them (Henslin, 2006). The major elements of religion identified by Durkheim include:

(i) **Beliefs:**– These refer to the principles which members of a particular religion adhere to. Beliefs are based on the existence of a supernatural being that has the power to control events in the real world of human existence. In a nutshell, belief is the basis of all religions.

(ii) **Rituals**:– These are the practices required of a member of a religion, to honour the divine power worshipped and a ritual may be performed at regular intervals, or on specific occasions, or at the discretion of individuals or communities. It may be performed by a single individual, by a group or by the entire community; in arbitrary places, or in places especially reserved for it; either in public, in private, or before specific people. A ritual may be restricted to a certain subset of the community and may enable or underscore the passage between religious or social states. Among the Egun of the Badagry area of Lagos State, for instance, Simpson (2001) notes that virtually all aspects of life find relevance in ritual observance. She adds that "it is, in fact, not difficult for the visitor in Badagry to realize that daily life in the town is shaped by, and in essence, comprehended in terms of the potency and pervasiveness of ritual.

The purposes of rituals are varied; they include compliance with religious obligations or ideals, satisfaction of spiritual or emotional needs of the practitioners, strengthening of social bonds and demonstration of respect or submission. Rituals also involve stating one's affiliation, obtaining social acceptance or approval for some events or sometimes, just for the pleasure of the ritual itself.

(iii) **Experience:**– This implies the feeling or perception of being in direct contact with the ultimate reality.

Bronislaw Malinowski in his own assertion viewed religion as reinforcing social norms and values and promoting social solidarity (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008). For Karl Marx, religion is the opium of the people; it is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world (Marx 1844/1964, in Henslin, 2006). By this statement, Marx meant that oppressed people find escape in religion. For him, religion is like a drug that helps them to forget their misery. By diverting their thoughts towards future happiness in an afterlife, religion takes their eyes off their suffering in this world, thereby greatly reducing the possibility that they will rebel against their oppressors (Henslin, 2006).

For Sigmund Freud, religion is an illusion: it *is a fantasy structure from which a man must be set free if he is to grow to maturity*. Freud views the idea of God as being a version of the father image, and religious belief as at bottom infantile and neurotic. To him, authoritarian religion is dysfunctional and alienates man from himself.

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According to the anthropologist, Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917), religion is the belief in supernatural beings, and this belief originated as explanations to the world. In addition, religion encompasses ancestral or cultural traditions, writings, history and mythology, as well as personal faith and mystic experience. The term 'religion' refers to both the personal practices related to communal faith and to group rituals, stemming from a 'shared conviction'. The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* sees religion as "a set of shared beliefs and practices often centered upon specific supernatural and moral claims about reality, the cosmos and human nature often codified as prayers, rituals and religious laws". Religion, according to Reineke (1995:430), expresses and shapes the ideals, hopes, and needs of humankind. For Mbiti (1969:1), "religion permeates into all the departments of life so fully that it is not easy or always possible to isolate it."

Background Information on Nigeria

Findings from literatures reveal that more than 373 ethnic tribes call present-day Nigeria home. The three largest and most dominant of the ethnic groups spread across the six geo-political zones of the country are Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo (pronounced *ee-bo*) ethnic groups. Other smaller groups include the Fulani, Ijaw, Kanuri, Ibibio, Tiv, and Edo. Prior to their conquest by Europeans, these ethnic groups had separate and independent histories. Their grouping together into a single entity known as Nigeria was a construct of their British colonialists. These various ethnic groups never considered themselves part of the same culture. This general lack of Nigerian nationalism coupled with an ever-changing and often religious and ethnically biased national leadership, have led to severe internal ethnic conflicts and a civil war. Today, bloody confrontations between or among members of different ethnic groups continue.

What is now called Nigeria is thus an arbitrary creation of the British Empire. Before the European colonization, these territories were occupied by different ethnic groups that interacted mainly through trade and, in some cases, warfare. They existed as autonomous socio-cultural, political and economic units. The North was dominated by monarchical feudal formations, the Hausa-Fulani emirates and the Igala and Jukun kingdoms. The South was dominated by several kingdoms and empires such as groups among the Yoruba and clans among the Igbo. In the Niger Delta region, the kingdoms of the Efik and Izon were predominant (Anikpo, 2002).

These were the formations and structure that the process of colonisation disrupted. The British intervention began with the colonisation of Lagos between 1851 and 1861, and its expansion to create the Colony of Lagos and the Protectorate of Yorubaland in the 1880s and 1890s. By 1900, the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria were created. It is 1914 however that is generally recognised as the year for the creation of Nigeria as it is today, with the amalgamation of both Protectorates.

After independence in 1960, following the colonial administration, the country was broken into units or regions which broadly corresponded to religious areas of influence: the Muslim North and the Christian South; the latter also divided in Catholic East and Muslim and Christian West. The region known as the middle-belt was predominantly 'pagan' and became the recruiting grounds for new advocates for both Christianity and Islam; the former being more successful due to western

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education that was controlled by Christians (Enwerem, 1995). The Nigeria of today is a product of all the above. It is now under a democratic civil rule since 1999, after three Republics, several military coups, civil war and many interreligious and inter-ethnic violent confrontations.

In addition, it has been estimated that 50 % of Nigerians are Muslims, 40% are Christians, and that the remaining 10 percent practise various indigenous religions. While Muslims can be found in all parts of Nigeria, their strongest footholds are among the Hausa and the Yoruba. Islam in Nigeria is similar to Islam throughout the world. It is based on the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, which are outlined in the Qur'an and Hadith.

Christianity is most prevalent in the southern part of Nigeria. The vast majority of Igbo are Christians, as well as are the Yoruba. The most popular forms of Christianity in Nigeria include Catholism, Anglican, Presbyterian, American Southern Baptist, and Methodist. Also, there are large pockets of Seventh-Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses. We also have the upcoming new generation Pentecostal churches including the Redeemed Christian Church of God, Mountain of Fire and Miracles and the Living Faith Church. Religious affiliation in Nigeria is strongly related to ethnicity, with rather distinct regional divisions between ethnic groups.

Common Types of Religion in Nigeria

Reports from the *New York Times* (2008) reveal that "there are six major religions in the world currently" (pp17) These include: Christianity (33 percent); Islam (19.6 percent) and Atheism, Gothic, Mormon, Jewish, and other religions with few adherents constituting the remaining 58 percent of the world's population.

Nigeria is a religiously pluralistic society. Every religion has its distinctive features or characteristics with peculiar and unique principles which constitute and determine the mode of worship in such religions. Overall statistics thus indicate that about 50% of the population are Muslims, with a majority practising the Sunni branch of the faith. About 40% are Christians and about 10% practise traditional African religions or no religion at all. While Islam and Christianity are the dominant religions in Nigeria, neither of the two is completely free of influence from indigenous religions. Even though most Nigerians consider themselves good Muslims or Christians, the passion and practice of local religious practices is evident among the worshippers of these foreign religions as a make-up for the perceived shortcomings in their religion. Most indigenous religions are based on a form of ancestor worship in which family members who have passed into the spirit world can influence things in the world of the living. This mixing of traditional ways with Islam has led to groups such as the *Bori* cult, who use spirit possession as a way to understand why people are suffering in this life. The mixing of traditional ways with Christianity has led to the development of the *Aladura* Church. Aladura priests follow the basic Christian doctrine but also use prophecy, healing, and charms to ward off witchcraft.

Many Nigerians follow the teachings of purely indigenous religions. Most of these religions share the idea that one supreme God created the earth and its people, but has left people to decide their own paths in life. Followers of the traditional Yoruba religion believe that hundreds of spirits or minor gods have taken the place of the supreme God in influencing the daily lives of individuals. For instance, many Yoruba slaves who were taken to the Caribbean and the Americas brought this religion with them where it was used as the basis of Santeria and voodoo.

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According to Muslim and Christian traditions, officials in these religions tend to be male. For most indigenous religions, priests and priestesses are common. Traditional priests and priestesses get their power and influence from their ability to be possessed by their god or by their ability to tell the future or to heal. In the Igbo religion, men serve as priests to Igbo goddesses, and women serve as priestesses to Igbo gods. While both men and women can rank high in the Yoruba religion, women usually are among the most respected of traditional priests.

Because many of the indigenous religions are based on various spirits or minor gods, each with influence over a specific area of nature, many of the traditional rituals are based on paying homage to these gods and spirits. Likewise, the area of control for a spirit also marks the places that are holy to that spirit. For example, a tribe's water spirit may have a specific pond or river designated as its holy place. The Kalabari, Okrika, and Ikwerre tribes of the Niger Delta region all have festivals in honor of water spirits sacred to their peoples. The Yoruba of south west annually hold a twenty-day Sango festival to honor the god of thunder. For the Igbo of south east, it is bad luck to eat yams from the new harvest until after the annual New Yam Festival, a harvest celebration held in honor of the Igbo earth goddess *Ani*.

For the purpose of this paper, the three commonest and most popular religions, Islam, Christianity and African Traditional Religion (ATR), will be examined to ascertain their roles in the lives of Nigerians.

Christianity

According to the *World Fact Book and Almanac*, Christianity is the second largest religion in Nigeria after Islam. Christians are listed as comprising 40 percent of the population, with Muslims 50 percent and indigenous religions 10 percent.

Christianity is the most advertised religion in Nigeria. It was introduced in Nigeria in the middle of the nineteen century by missionaries from Britain. Christianity was one of the several things (education, technology, civilization and the like) introduced by the British colonialists. The missionaries came preaching the message of Christ, ministering to the people and healing the sick, performing miracles which pulled many crowd to them in the first place. Christianity started from the eastern part populated by the Igbo, there after it infiltrated the village councils and chiefs, who gave the colonialists lands to build local churches. Before the 80s, Christianity had spread to the southern part of the country, to the Yoruba and the middle belt (Benin). As at the year 2005, there were over 50 million Christians in Nigeria; we have the Protestant who strongly believe in the power of the Holy Ghost as well as the catholic, Baptist and Anglican churches.

Islam

This is one of the dominant religions in sub-Saharan Africa, including Nigeria, especially the northern part which accounts for one of the largest Muslim populations in Africa. Islam came to northern Nigeria as early as the eleventh century and was well established in major towns of the northern region by the sixteenth century, spreading into the countryside and towards the middle belt uplands. Like Christianity, Islam contains an ideology of gender and embodies assumptions about women. The most significant element of the Islamic ideology includes the extension of basic legal rights in marriage, divorce, and property. Under the Islamic law, widows are entitled to

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inherit at least one-eighth of the dead husband's property and land. This share is frequently 'managed' and then taken by the brother-in-law.

Traditional Religion

African Traditional Religion (ATR) is the fundamental religion of the indigenous African people in Nigeria. The belief and practices of ATR are based upon the faith of the ancient indigenous people (Ancestor) handed down from one generation to another. In comparison to other religions (Christianity and Islam) which are considered as foreign since their doctrines and practices came from outside Africa, ATR as a religious belief has been in existence from time immemorial and is being adhered to today by most Nigerians in spite of the influx of foreign religions like Christianity and Islam. This is reflected in the firm grip of ATR on common cultural practices such as widowhood and property inheritance modalities among the people. The statistics and geographical distribution of the followers of ATR in Angola, Gambia, Guinea, Lesotho, Niger, Nigeria, Sao-Tome and Sudan is 10-29% (*Camboni Missionary Magazine*, 2000: 2).

Sorcery and witchcraft beliefs persisted in African traditional belief system and were usually discussed as forms of medicine or as coming from "bad people" whose spirits or souls were diagnosed as the cause of misfortune. There also were special ways in which the outcomes of stressful future activity, long trips, lingering illnesses, family and other problems could be examined. Soothsayers provided both therapy and divinatory foreknowledge in stressful situations.

In the city-states of Yorubaland and their neighbours, a more complex religion evolved that expressed the subjugation of village life within larger polities. These city-states produced a theology that linked local beliefs to a central citadel government and its sovereignty over a hinterland of villages through the monarch. The king (*oba*) and his ancestors were responsible for the welfare of the entire state, in return for confirmation of the legitimacy of the *oba*'s rule over his subjects. In Oyo, for example, there were a number of national cults, each with its own priests who performed rituals under the authority of the king (*alafin*) in the public interest. *Sango*, god of thunder, symbolized the power of the king and of central government; *Ogboni* represented the fertility of the land and the monarch's role in ensuring the well-being of the kingdom.

In the 90s, these indigenous beliefs were more or less openly practised and adhered to among many Christians and Muslims in various parts of the country. Thus, in a number of the northern Muslim emirates, the emir led prayers for the welfare of the state at the graves of royal ancestors. In many Muslim and Christian households and villages, a number of the older religious practices and beliefs also survived. On the other hand, research indicated that many, especially younger people, believed the older traditions to be apostasy so that it was common, particularly in rural areas, to see mixtures of local beliefs with either Christianity or Islam. Also, in some instances, although the overall trend was away from indigenous religions and toward monotheism, older people suffered such mental and physical anguish over denouncing inherited beliefs that they abandoned the newer one.

Inspite of the declining number of followers, the ATR however continues to be the source of meaning, direction, and security for many Nigerians. Before the advent of Christianity and Islam, the Nigerian people had mixed religions. Their forefathers were traditional religious worshippers. Traditional religion is regarded as

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the oldest of the three religions practised by most Nigerian communities today. Among the Yoruba ethnic group, for instance, traditional religion involves the worship of Olodunmare (Yoruba), meaning 'god' and its divinities, such as *Sango, Oya, Esu, Orisa-Nla, Orunmila, Ogun, Ela, Sonpona* and the like. The religion also has linkages with common Yoruba festivals like *Oro, Egungun, Agemo and Eyo* which are celebrated periodically by the followers. Although statistics are not available on the number of traditional religious adherents in Nigeria, due to absence of written records, the religion is acknowledged as comprising both the educated and non-educated members of the society. There exists evidence on how western civilization has greatly influenced the practice of traditional religion in recent time. For instance, human sacrifice which was once a common feature of the religion is now gradually eroded and replaced with animal sacrifice. The Nigerian people are made up of a large number of traditionalists. It is a common occurrence today to note that the traditionalists use both print and electronic media to advertise their businesses. Common traditional festivals such as *Oro* and *Egungun* are equally given high publicity on both radio and television. It is not however surprising to note that some highly placed individuals, educated elites and top government dignitaries secretly patronize priests and priestesses of traditional religion in our society.

Essentially, ATR represents the common religion and spiritual rooting of persons from the same ethnic group. This is reflected in persons who feel that as long as no harm is intended for the other person, one can go to a Christian church, pray in a mosque and offer sacrifices in an African Traditional shrine. In the religious world view of ATR practitioners, syncretism does not have a negative connotation, rather it recognizes the supremacy of the Supreme Being, yet it sees the lesser divinities merely as intermediaries between the Supreme Being and man, or agents of God (Opoku, 1978).

The practice of ATR varies so widely from one place to another that some people tend to refer to it as Religions, in the plural, rather than singular sense. Unlike other organized world religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam, ATR has no written scriptures. It is however rich in oral ones. Through the traditions of the elders, all creed and functions are carried in the individuals' heart. These are reflected in its traditional philosophy and culture which embrace all aspects of life ranging from religion, custom, folklore, legends, myths, tales, song and lyrics. According to Abe (1993), all these project the tremendous richness of ATR's moral values or ethics. Isizoh (1998) argues that early Christian missionaries from Europe to Africa did not meet pagans, people without religion, but people with a high sense of the sacred and Supreme Being. In Gabon, for example, the earliest missionaries to the country equated traditional religion with fetishism and idol worship. The essence was to wipe away 'paganism', considered as barbaric by the colonizers. Its attendant consequence was the gradual disappearance of ATR as a religious institution.

Religious Intolerance: Cases from Nigeria

Nigeria is a multi-religious society. This has created a suitable and conducive environment for religious pluralism and diversities. With the heterogeneous nature of the country, the tendency is for the various religions to gravitate towards parochial consciousness at the expense of collective consciousness that should generate national unity (Archibong and Okokon, 2008).

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Ekwenife (1993), in Alanamu (2003), defines religious intolerance as blind and fixated mental and psychological negative attitudes towards religious beliefs and practices that are contrary to one's cherished beliefs and practices. Such negative attitudes constantly manifest themselves in violent riots that spill over the political and economic lives of the citizens. There is religious intolerance when members of the self-acclaimed true religion proclaim in practice that persons they consider to be in error have no right to live, no legitimate political, social and economic amenities unless they renounce their error and be converted to the supposed true religious views and practices (Ekwenife, 1993).

Relations between Christians and Muslims are tense in many areas of the country. Since the dawn of Nigeria's independence in the year 1960, numerous clashes between the two have led to thousands of deaths. The northern city of Kaduna has been the flash point for many of these riots, as local leaders discussed whether to institute Shari'a law in the region. Demonstrations by Christians against the idea soon led to violent confrontations with Muslims. The debate over Shari'a law and the violence accompanying it continue in many of the northern states.

These conflicts often take tolls of human and material resources and endanger the political and social lives of Nigerian citizens (Ekwenife, 1993 in Alanamu, 2003). Cases of these waves of religious violence abound. The tension created over Sharia (lslamic law) issue in the late 1970 (Wambutda, 1978), the religious disturbances in Kano (1977, 1979, 1980), in Zaria (1981), in Maiduguri (1982), in Kaduna (1982), in Kano (1982), in Yola and in Gombe (1984): religious disturbances in Saki (Oyo state), and Ilorin (Easter 1986), the Organization of Islamic Conference controversy (1986), the carnage in parts of Kaduna and Kano states (1987), and, the 1988 religious crisis in Kaduna Polytechnic (Osume, 1988) are all evidences of the religious bigotry of the Nigerian state.

Other examples are the Bauchi religious crisis of 1991, Kaduna crisis of 2001; Jos religious crisis of 2001, the religious violence sparked by a blasphemous article on Prophet Mohammad (*Punch* November, 2002), the ethno-religious crisis of Yobe state in 2003, Kaduna crisis of 2004, Lagos crisis of 2004, Isale eko crisis of 2005, Kano and other northern states crisis of March 2008; recent Bauchi/Plateau crisis, and the very recent Boko-Haram religious disturbance, occasioned by suicide bombings, killings and wanton destruction of lives and properties.

The above exemplify a heightened religious upheaval in Nigeria right from the 1980s till this present-day. This gives a dangerous signal to national unrest and disunity and indicates an urgent need for national integration and unity. The problem of religious intolerance casts a serious doubt on the future of the socio-political and economic stability of the country. A glance at Nigeria's history reveals that certain constant factors breed and nurture religious intolerance with obvious consequences on the political, social, economic and moral lives of the citizens. These factors include monopoly of religious truth, religious fanaticism, unbridled actions of the press, unhealthy rivalry and incitement, aggressive evangelism, indiscriminate acts of the government and other external influences (Alanamu 2003).

Religion and Social Change

Undoubtedly, imported religions (Christianity and Islam) have both positive and disruptive implications for the social structure in Western African societies, particularly, Nigeria. Religion can act as both an agent to keep the status quo, as well

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as an agent of change and revolution (Fasina, 2010). The Catholic Church's supremacy through the Middle Ages is a clear example of how religion can be an effective instrument to keep and legitimize the status quo. More contemporary events illustrate the disruptive power of faith and how it can be a strong means to social change: the black civil rights movement in the US, Poland's Solidarity movement, the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution, South Africa's anti- apartheid movement and the like (Smith, 1996).

There are a number of possible relationships between religion and social change as suggested by Haralmbos and Holborn (2008). Religion may be a factor that impedes social change or it may help to produce it. Another possibility is that religion itself has no influence on changes in society, but that there is nevertheless a causal relationship between the two. From this point of view, it is social change in society as a whole that leads to changes in religion (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008).

From the foregoing, religion can act as a conservative, disruptive or revolutionary force. For the peaceful co-existence of the people and attainment of development in all spheres of political, socio-economic and educational lives, the positive strengths of religion from the revolutionary point of view should be harnessed.

Religion as a Conservative Force

Functionalists, Marxists and Feminists have generally dismissed the possibility that religion can cause changes in society. They believe religion acts as a conservative force and that it is changes in society that shape religion not vice versa.

Haralambos and Holborn (2008: 399) opine that religion can be seen as a "conservative force" in two senses, depending on the meaning attached to the word 'conservative'. The phrase 'conservative force' is usually used to refer to religion as preventing change and maintaining the status quo. Functionalists have claimed that it acts in this way because it promotes integration and social solidarity. Marx had similar views, although he saw religion as maintaining the status quo in the interest of the ruling class rather than those of society as a whole.

"Conservative" may, however, be used in another way: it can refer to traditional beliefs and customs. Usually, if religion helps to maintain the status quo, it will also maintain traditional customs and beliefs.

In some instances, religion supports social change, while at the same time promoting traditional values. This often occurs when there is a revival in **'fundamentalist'** religious beliefs. Such beliefs involve a return to what a group claims to be the fundamental or basic, original beliefs of a religion.

Religion as a Disruptive Force

While functionalists and Marxists emphasize the role of religion in promoting social integration and impeding social change, Max Weber (1958) argues that in some instances, religion can lead to social change: although shared religious beliefs might not integrate a social group, those same beliefs may have repercussions which in the long term can produce changes in society. In certain places and times, religious meaning and purpose can direct action in a wide range of contexts. In particular, religious beliefs can direct social, political and economic action.

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Religion can be said to have led to massive social changes in the nature and structure of the Nigerian society. The penetration of foreign religions such as Christianity and Islam has greatly impacted on the way of life of traditional Nigerians. Christian and Islamic doctrines always put the African traditional religion in a bad light and have greatly succeeded in converting majority of Nigerians into their faith and beliefs. The success of the infiltration of these foreign religions has led to a great social change that is evident all around us today.

A cursory look at the Nigerian society today will reveal that religion has led to a lot of positive and negative social and political misdemeanours. The incessant religious conflicts that have been the order of the day in the country are a pointer to this fact.

Religion in Politics and Development

Given that religion drives people's behavior and actions in a more productive direction, it is not possible to separate religion from development (Bashar, 2008). The belief in the existence of an invisible world contains spiritual forces that affect people's material lives. Opinion polls consistently show that Nigerians, like most Africans, have more trust in religious leaders than in politicians, often causing religious networks to fill the gap left by inefficient states. This is evident in the case of Nigeria in the light of the last election. It is the first time in Nigeria's recent history that the election result has exposed the huge division between the Muslim north and Christian south. The Incumbent President of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan, won in nearly all southern states, which are predominantly Christian, except one, while his main challenger Muhammadu Buhari won in the Muslim north-east and north-west. Both candidates shared votes in the north central area which has a substantial Muslim and Christian population.

Elections in Nigeria are not necessarily about issues but about ethnicity, religion and regionalism. Historically, elections have been won as a result of either a formal alliance by political parties or - more recently - an informal agreement within the governing PDP to alternate the presidency between north and south. For this reason, the winning candidate - irrespective of region, religion or ethnicity - normally commanded a wide national spread. In 1999, Olusegun Obasanjo, a Christian from the south, won the majority of the votes in northern Nigeria. However, the rotation was broken when Dr Goodluck Jonathan succeeded to the presidency in 2012 after the death of Umaru Yar'Adua, a northerner. This election, described by international observers as the most successful for decades, seems to be compounding the country's regional and ethnic divisions on the basis of religious differences.

Conclusion

Religion is a cultural universal found in all known human societies across the world. In a pluralistic society like Nigeria, three major religions are common: Traditional and foreign (Christianity and Islamic) religions culminating in different belief systems and acts of worship. Religion, whatever form it takes, constitutes a social and political reality (Ellis and Haar, 2007). Whatever else it may be, religion is a way of thinking about the world and about reality in the broadest sense. It is for that reason that religion has a role to play in development, a process that must be assimilated into people's ideas about their relation to the past and the future of their societies. Ellis and Haar (2007) report that in sub-Saharan Africa, religion arguably now forms the most

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important connection with the rest of the world. Not only does religion remain a key element in the thinking of most Africans, it is increasingly evident in the public realm, including in politics with some governments explicitly proclaiming themselves Islamist, and some heads of state publicly claiming to be born-again Christians.

Nigerians are acknowledged as the most religious people perhaps because of the huge number of worship centres and worshippers across its nooks and crannies. The *World Factbook* (2009:2) reports that "The Largest Church Auditorium (The Living Faith Church Worldwide also known as the Winners Chapel) that seats about 50,000 worshippers at once is located in Ota city of Ogun state, south-western Nigeria". A typical Nigerian is very religious and superstitious by nature as demonstrated by the various religions and acts of worship. This informs why development practitioners need to pay serious attention to religion as a veritable tool for national unity, stability and development. The integrative force of religion can be harnessed to move the Nigerian people and society forward.

Finally is the clarion call for development planners and theorists to give a serious thought to the role of religion as a potential agent of development through seminars, workshops and scholarly researches. Much can be achieved therefore using religion as a tool for positive development, stability and national unity.

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CHAPTER TWENTY FOUR

THE MEANING AND ESSENCE OF AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RELIGION IN NIGERIA

Jegede, Obafemi Charles

Among all the religions in Africa, the most understudied, misunderstood and even misinterpreted is African indigenous religion (Ranger & Kimambo, 1972: 106). Some of the factors responsible for this is the exclusive attitude towards religion, ethnocentrisms on the part of the European theologians, missionary anthropologists and entrepreneurs who were the earliest to study African traditional religion. In fact, most of the approaches ignore the intrinsic variables such as the influence of cosmology as well as forces in nature that are responsible for the actions of the divinities. For example, they thought and taught that among the Yoruba, Ogun of the Yoruba and Ikenga of the Igbo is said to be "the god of iron" and Sango of the Yoruba and Amadioha of the Igbo, god of thunder. According to Ifa, a Yoruba corpus, Ogun is never a god of Iron (*olorunirin*) and Sango, god of thunder (*olorunaara*). However, Ogun can be symbolised with iron and Sango with lightning. More striking is the fact that except for very few, most of the writers on Yoruba Orisa cults are either Christians or Muslims, and many are foreigners. This, of course, tremendously influenced their positions. It is therefore axiomatic that lack of proper understanding of the nature and workings of indigenous religion has affected the process of theologising African Traditional Religion (ATR).

The indigenous scholars like Idowu, Mbiti, Awolalu and others could not divorce their Christian background especially their Christian theological standpoints and theories from their understanding of African traditional religion. This is because they were clergy men in the various churches in which they belong and so their Christian backgrounds tremendously influenced their understanding of African traditional religion. They studied African traditional religion in specific places, and yet they wrote as if they were studying the religion as practised among all Africans, not minding the fact that Africa is multi-ethnic and also multi-dimensional in many respects.

Extensive studies have demonstrated the complexity of the Yoruba and Igbo pantheon and its relative sophistication among world religions in the rural areas of Hausa land. There exists what is called Maguzawa; the traditional religion in Hausaland. Perhaps because of the overbearing influence of Islam, the deities are not known, and little or no scholarship is done on traditional religion in Hausaland. Resisting the common Christian and Islamic condemnation and devaluation of the Orisa, Susanne Wenger (1983) asserted that Orisa are an ever-present reality in Yoruba cosmology. The same was made applicable to African traditional religion as practised in all ethnic groups in Nigeria. All the deities as found among the Yoruba were also found among the Igbo, and other ethnic groups even though they bear different names. Ekwensu among the Igbo is Esu among the Yoruba, and Amadioh, the Igbo god of thunder is Sango among the Yoruba. Besides these deities, there exist pantheon and other ancestral cults. It becomes clear then that in this study, we are dealing with an extremely complex formal religious system. This is more apparent when we examine the big and high god called Olodumare among the Yoruba, Chineke or Chukwe among the Igbo and Obangiji or Allah among the Hausa.

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For example, Idowu and Awolalu's studies are mainly about the Yoruba, and yet their study of the Yoruba is used to imply what obtains in Africa. Olupona (1991, 1992 & 1997), a Harvard Professor, has started a new course in this important academic enterprise wherein he started to champion scholarship on indigenous traditions in some countries and ethnic groups in Africa so much so that we can talk about Yoruba Religion, Akan Religion, Igbo and, more importantly, there are elaborate studies on Indigenous religions in the Diaspora. These, therefore, trigger genuine interest in the Nigeria Indigenous Religious Tradition (NIRT). This is purposely to inspire studies in indigenous religion in Nigeria.

The Problem of Meaning

The question of the meaning of African Traditional Religion (ATR) has puzzled the minds of scholars for several decades. When an endeavour into the meaning of religion is on its own a most herculean task, how much more the meaning of ATR? Some of the reasons as adduced are because of its lack of sacred writing thereby making it difficult to theologize the religion; it is culture bound, antithetic to modernity as the religion cannot easily adjust to modernity, and it has no universal relevance. It is also worth noting that the western anthropologists who started the study of African Indigenous religion from the outset misled curious learners regarding what was supposed to be the trend of the scholarship in African indigenous religion (Idowu, 1973). They gave the religion all sorts of derogatory and misleading terminologies, such as fetishism, animism, idolatry, heathenism and paganism which were not able to project the nature and essence of the religion. For these reasons, it was impossible to consider it as being of any significance in the pursuit of development and stable democracy. If all of these are what AIR is not, what then is it? Like Idowu and Mbiti, threading the same theoretical trend of western scholarship, Awolalu (1975) attempts a definition of African Religion. He claims that when we speak of African Traditional Religion we mean the indigenous religion of the Africans. It is the religion which resulted from the sustaining faith held by the forebears of the present Africans, and which is being practised today in various forms and various shades and intensities by a very large number of Africans, including individuals who claim to be Muslims or Christians. It is the religion that has been handed down from generation to generation by the forbears of the present generation of Africans before the missionary enterprises of Christians and Muslims in Africa. In this vein, it can be argued that African Traditional Religion (ATR) is the religious beliefs and practices which were in Africa before the advent of missionary religions especially Christianity and Islam (Pobee, 1976: 16). If this or any other espoused definition can be considered, it is in fact very difficult to theorize ATR in drawing the developmental agenda of any nation. This is because development, including the democratization process, cannot easily be construed within the domain of ATR, partly because democracy is generally regarded as a western construct. Even from western perspective, democracy is not understood from the perspective of religion, and this explains the essence of the secularization theory of western democracy. Western developmental agenda, in the way it is construed, carries a certain paradox in being an anti-thesis to ATR since indigenous religion is often tied to culture and tradition. This explains why Nigeria is undergoing a democratization process which brings about a

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kind of governance dictated by abstract principles that are not contextually understood, neither can it be easily adopted.

Indigenous religious beliefs usually become less important as developmental process takes hold. Yet African indigenous religion is a key factor in transnational interactions and a major imperative in world civilization and development. There is also the problem of theorizing ATR within the context of a people's democratization process. Beyer (2003), theorizing religion especially western religion as a concept, opined that "religion is such that it is based on immanent/transcendent polarity that functions as independent subsystem in the highly differentiated structured of late modernity". If Beyer's opinion is anything to go by, it is principally applicable to western perspective on religion, and this is what African indigenous religion is not. This, we argue, is the core of the issue. While western religion perspective is that of immanent/transcendent, spiritual/material, sacred/mundane polarities, ATR on the other hand is immanent/transcendent, spiritual/material, sacred/mundane affinity; they are inseparable domains of interacting realities. African Traditional Religion in Nigeria drives the process of these interactions toward the equilibrium of the cosmos. It is the mechanism for the purpose of putting order into the primordial disorder. This religion, therefore, is a problem-solving mechanism; it gives answer to every question regarding the origin of the world, nature of the world, how to relate with the world, and several other issues that agitate the minds are attended to by religion. This is what Idowu and Mbiti mean by the saying Africans are "incurably religious." This can be interpreted to mean that religion as the giver of answer to every question and solution to every problem permeates every facet of Africans' life. This is true to the extent that religion is not limited to transcendence. From the adherent of indigenous religion in Nigeria, religions inherently functional, providing solution to ultimate problems and providing answers to fundamental questions.

God in Nigerian Indigenous Religious Tradition

Religion as part and parcel of life is a major tenet of communalism among adherents of African traditional religion in Nigeria (Mbiti, 1969, 1990; Uzukwu, 1997; Okere, 1995; Dipio, 2007). The Igbo has a belief that every person is guided by a personal god, called *chi* in Igbo language and enikeji in Yoruba. This is similar to the 'guardian angel' in Christian theology. As an aspect of communalism, Mbiti states that "religion is the way of life of Africans" (1969: 29). These are apparent communications between the living and the dead guided by the hierarchical ordering of things in African communalism. Humanity first is created by the supreme God who is called *Chukwu*or *Chineke* the God that creates (*Yahweh elohim*). This is where African traditional religion in Nigeria shares boundary with Christian theology that defines the triune God as the being which nothing greater than can be conceived (*non solumesquomaiuscogitarinequit*) but greater than all that can be conceived.

The concept of God in African communalism is revealed by the names given to Him in African languages. Following the principle of 'ageresequitoresse' (acting according to being), God is conceived as an unfathomable being, a force that creates all others and beyond whom there is no other. Mbiti emphasizes this point by arguing that "God is the origin and sustenance of all things. He is older than the Zamani period. He is outside creation and beyond creation. On the other hand, he is personally involved in his creations, so that it is not outside of his reach. God is thus simultaneously transcendent and immanent" (1969: 29). This image of a *being* that is

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involved in the totality of African life is a force that recreates everything. Obiego, using the Igbo experience of religious faith to buttress this same point, remarks that "the profundity of their ideas and belief in *Chukwu* (God) is immortalized in their personal names (born mostly out of their experience in the struggle for life) as well as in *Chukwu's*praise titles or epithets. Some of these speak of *Chukwu's* existence in the emphatic way, as if to convince someone" (1981: 57).

Nature and African Traditional Religion in Nigeria

In the religion of all indigenous people, nature is inhabited by forces, and these forces are regarded as deities. Deities are inhabited by animals, plants, rocks, natural phenomena, such as thunder; geographic features such as mountains or rivers, or other entities of the natural environment (Taylor, 2005). For many indigenous peoples, religion as an expression of a unique identity and a philosophy of connections to particular territories and places is central to their beliefs and practices. It is a religion in which transcendence is mediated as a result of the overriding force of the nature with which the indigenous people are confronted (Brown, 2004: 408). Since human beings are part of the natural order regulated by natural laws, everything in creation plays a unique role; the role and responsibility, as human beings, is to live peacefully and in equilibrium with all life (Doumbia and Doumbia (2009). Indigenous religion in Nigeria as in all African ethnic groups is ecocentric. This explains the reason why Nigerian Indigenous Religious Tradition (NIRT) is expressed based on the harmony, peace and ecological balance, which ensure long-term sustainability for future generations (Karade, 1994). Mother Earth, Father Sky, and all of Creation, from microorganisms to human, plant, trees, fish, bird, and animal relatives are part of the natural order, and they are to be respected in their creaturely integrity. Each is sacred, respected, and a unique living being with its own right to survive so as to play essential roles in the survival and health of the natural world.

In the Nigerian Indigenous Religious Tradition (NIRT), most of the deities are approached through their natural habitats, such as trees, mountains, rivers, forest and so on. Also, most of the African deities have dual existence, while some have mono-existence. Ogun, Oya, Egungun, Oro, Ifa, Osun and a host of others are domiciled in the forest and as well in the towns, while Oro is predominantly domiciled in the forest. However Oro is brought from the forest to the town only during Oro festivals and when the need arises. The veneration of these deities demands that their realities at both ends are evidence of their potency. In Lagos, the economic capital of Nigeria the landscape of pre-colonial Lagos was characterized by pristine forests, mountains, rivers, brooks and other natural phenomena which housed the deities. In response to modernity, there exists forest without trees, and so shrines which had to be located in the forest are located in the city. There are also many tree spots without trees.

There is Igbo Oro (Oro grooves): sacred groves dedicated to Oro deity. In the indigenous Yoruba religion, it is not possible to conceive of Oro without a sacred forest dedicated to it. Oro is an ancestral deity that is used to bring social order and harmony to the community; Oro is a force that can be used to ward off evil, such as drought, pestilence and war. What is unique in Oro is that Oro domiciles only in the forest as the forest is the sacred habitat of Oro. Nevertheless, Oro should be brought to the town during Oro festival and whenever the need arises.

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There are Igbo Igunnu (Igunnu grove) at Bariga and Oshodi, the very heart of Lagos. According to the rubrics, the devotees of Igunnu must have grove dedicated to this tall ancestral and masking deity popularly called Igunnu. Igunnuko is an imported tradition introduced to Yoruba country by the Nupe who came to settle in Yoruba land. In their bid to assimilate, they try to maintain their cultural identity (Drewal, 1992). Hence, Igunnuko culturally links Yoruba with the Nupe of Niger State with some other West African countries like Ghana and Benin. According to Drewal (2002), Welsh, Hanley and D'Amboise (2010: 52). Igunnu, apart from being a deity for fertility and good health, peace and tranquility, is capable of bringing rain, stop epidemics and antisocial behaviors. Like Oro deity, Igunnnu must have its dual dimensionality; it must exist in a grove and as well in the house within the town; hence, special house must be built for the deity among the people, most especially devotees. In fact, among the Tapa in Nupe land, Niger State, and in many parts of Yoruba land, there are status and palaces dedicated to Igunnu. Among the Igbo, there are shrines that serve as natural habitats of the gods.

Population of Nigeria and African Traditional Religion

The issue on population raises the question as to whether traditional religion is of any significance in the study of religion in a particular country. The fact is that population of a religion is fundamental to its strength. The Nigerian population census claims that only about 5% of the total population in Nigeria are adherents of African traditional religion. They are therefore regarded as being insignificant as the religion can be regarded as being of no effect to the developmental agenda of Nigeria. This is perhaps why the religion that is indigenous to the people is not regarded as being of any relevance. In an interview with Prof. Wande Abimbola (an adherent of ATR and one- time Vice-Chancellor of Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU) Ile-Ife) while contending the demography of religion in Nigeria, he asserted that it is difficult to have an accurate number of Muslims and Christians in Nigeria; this is because the survey is based only on the person's name, church or mosque attendants and public religious rituals.

Abimbola harped that though majority of Nigerians bear Christian and Muslim names, attend churches and mosques, in the same vein, majority of Nigerians secretly or openly consult with priests and priestesses of indigenous religion and participate in indigenous religious rituals and festivals. In fact, many are initiates of the cults of gods and goddesses in the Nigerian Indigenous Religious Traditions (NIRT). Many also appropriate tenets and practices of African indigenous religion in their personal lives. The fact still remains that many people, including politicians and political office holders, are genetically indigenous, and the principles of indigenous religion guide their public and private lives. Apart from this, ATR is the religious and cultural background factor which all Christians and Muslims in Nigeria come and in which they live. Onaiyeakan (2010), corroborating Abimbola, noted that though the arrival of Christianity and Islam as missionary religions has tremendous influence on every Nigerian, there are still a good number of our people who live according to the religion of their forefathers, and they still maintain the practices and rituals of the NIRT. Secondly, and more importantly, every Nigerian whether he is Christian or Muslim retains some basic elements of the Traditional Religion, since there are many aspects of our traditional religion that are reflected in both Christianity and Islam. It is

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possible to assert that it was the religious atmosphere which the missionary religions met that fostered effective missions.

African Traditional Religion and Festivals in Nigeria

Although most Nigerians have been converted to Islam and Christianity, the participation and the peoples' allegiance to the tradition of their places of origin is becoming acceptable. This is as evident in the attendances at festivals of the gods. Festivals, according to Famuyiwa (1992), are periodic recurring days or seasons of gaiety or merry-making set aside by a community or clan for the observance of sacred celebrations, religious solemnities or musical and traditional performance of special significance. It is an occasion of public manifestation of joy or the celebration of a historical occurrence or a religious celebration during which sacrifices are offered to the different gods having power over rain, sunshine, marriage and good harvest. In most Yoruba festivals, religious activities play a very prominent role and a participant in a festival identifies himself with the sacred time through ritualistic-re-enactment of the events that inform man about his identity (Famuyiwa, 1992: 83). Participation in the ceremonies of local traditional deities acknowledged in such a community becomes a strong means of identity formation and produces a collective spiritual consciousness (Ogungbile, 1998: 129). To detach oneself from the religion of one's community is to be severed from one's root and kinships.

The annual Yoruba religions festivals, such as Ifa festival in Abeokuta, Sango festival in Oyo, Ogun festival in Ondo and Ijesa land, Agemo festival in Ijebu land, Gelede festival in Yewa land, Oro festival, Egungun festivals, Osun Festival and others among various groups in Yoruba land, are very important events. There is the sacred festival *of irijiohuru, Mmanwu, Mmuo* and other festivals in Igboland. Interestingly, many of these festivals are becoming international as foreigners and Africans in the diaspora trace their roots through these festivals. In Hausa land, traditional festivals have virtually gone into extinction, and there are mainly Islamic festivals such as Id-El-Kabir; Id-El-Fitr; Id-El-aulud. They are occasions for re-union of the people with their gods and for renewal of religious and social values.

Secualarisation and Nigerian Indigenous Religious Tradition

The secularization theory, which portends that the modern society would reject religion and that religion, therefore, would be eliminated by modernity, has been proved off beam (Patrick, 2011). The reality in Africa, and particularly in Nigeria, has transformed this debate. In Nigeria, modernity and globalization, as they affect Nigeria, show that advancement does not make people become irreligious. Also, reality around us has shown that there is interconnectedness between religion and democracy, religion and law, religion and science and, in fact, religion permeates every facet of the collective and private lives of Nigeria, in Africa and particularly in Nigeria. More importantly, secularization theory would not have had its place in the floor of any debate in Africa, especially during the pre-colonial era. This necessitated the Idowu's assertion (1962) and Mbiti's (1992) that Africans are "incurably religious." In the pre-colonial Nigeria, indigenous religion was fundamental to governance. For example, among the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria, before a king is appointed, it has to be after consultations with Ifa, a Yoruba corpus and divination system. After the appointment, the king must do several rituals before he could be

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enthroned. The whole of the life of Africans and African communities is guided by African indigenous religion. Chiefs and rulers often held both temporal and sacred power.

African indigenous religion is one of the religions of the world, the distinctive difference is, unlike most other religions, it has no specific founder, no defined creed, or a properly codified theology, but its practice and values are orally handed down from generation to generation. It is indigenous to the practitioner and not missionary in nature. Its teachings and rituals are not easily didactic but more easily understandable and analysable in practice. The religion is more obvious in the total ways of life of the people as it is not possible to remove it from any aspect of African peoples' lives. When you remove African indigenous religion from Africa, you may not find Africans. The indigenous religion therefore is the essence of Africanness. The European Christian religious orders operating in colonial Africa mirrored, to a large extent, the patterns of governance structures found in the colonial political orders. This entrenches the belief that traditional African religions were primitive and that conversion to Christianity was an essential part of their "civilizing mission (Gellar, 2006).

Although the 'death' of African Indigenous Religion (AIR) has often been celebrated, directly or indirectly, in many historical accounts due to the successful activities of the missionaries in planting Christianity in Africa (Isichei, 1973; Obi, 1980; Nwosu, 1982; Eke, 1983), the enduring presence of African Indigenous Religion in the minds of the people has continued to draw attention. Commenting in this regard, for example, Ritchie (1998: 146) underscored the point that although many of the African Instituted Churches will tell you that they have departed from paganism and are now delivered into the Kingdom of God; therefore they have nothing to do with African indigenous religion. But if we wish to understand the interplay of religious ideas and the matrices within which the people live their lives, we would do well to go beyond the superficial; to 'smell out' what lies beneath the surface of religious discourse and investigate the root metaphors, symbols and core values of the lives of African people. There are indications, both from field research and from the published literature that the religious consciousness of African peoples still remains in many ways functional, even where the superstructure of African indigenous religion is gradually fading out. By superstructure, we mean the apparatus of worship, the traditional priesthoods, the places of worship, and the religious ceremonies associated with African Traditional Religion.

According to Atanda (1980: 50), the stability of the Yoruba in the nineteenth century was hinged on the development of the religion which formed an important aspect of the life of the people. In the religion are norms which regulated their social life and which gave them a high standard of morality and the whole of the existence of man, and the sustenance of the world was hinged on this. Therefore, there emerged a form of government in which the religion of the people played prominent roles.

Prior to the advent of colonialism, each major group of what later became known as Nigeria had its distinct religion under what in the presents days is generally referred to as African Indigenous Religion (AIR). Many gods and goddesses were revered in different parts of Nigeria, including Ogun (god of iron), Sango or Amadioha (god of thunder), Ikenga (Igbo god of prosperity), among others. Islam penetrated several parts of the Nigerian society long before the arrival of the Europeans. As part of their "civilizing mission," the Europeans introduced Christianity

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as an instrument of civilization. While the southern part of Nigeria received Christianity, the northern part was predominantly Muslim. By the early decades of the twentieth century, Islam had dominated the northern region, while Christianity had been wide-spread in the South. For political expediency, the British prevented European missionaries from operating in the Muslim-dominated North, where their indirect rule system was very efficient. Thus, religious tension and dichotomy existed in Nigeria throughout the colonial period. The religious division of the country played major roles in the political arrangement, which came into existence at independence in October 1960 when Nigeria inherited a parliamentary democracy deeply implicated in ethnic and religious pluralism (Black Hacket, 2006).

Due to apparent misunderstanding and hostility toward African indigenous religion and partly due to sheer ignorance of the content and relevance of ATR, the colonial state of Nigeria created an environment that marginalized African indigenous religion in the political process. However, the missionary religions- Islam and Christianity have tremendous influence on the political, economic, social and cultural arrangements of Nigeria so much so that the existing structures that were in existence before their arrival were regarded as evil and therefore condemnable (Lo Liyong, 1988: 81-91). Historical and contemporary hindsight clearly reveals that there exists an elision or suppression of the religious contributions of the non-western religion to the consolidation of Nigerian's democratization process. By criticizing African traditions and religions as being savage and superstitious, European colonialists succeeded in weakening and undermining them, leading to the conversion of several Africans to Islam and Christianity (Manning, 1988).

This religion, therefore, is fundamental to the sustenance of the sacred African universe. It is the imperative that guides the lives of Africans from birth to death, farming, politics, technology, jurisprudence, sickness, health and healing and all other aspects; they are interpreted and guided by religion. As secularity is becoming impracticable in Nigeria because of the overwhelming influence of religion, the democratization process is favouring the essentiality of religion. The democratization process, therefore, provides a fertile ground for the renewed interest in African indigenous religion as given the nature of the religion, it can be said to be what Beyer calls "performance religion."

Conclusion

Although the world is fast-changing, the African Traditional Religion will continue to exist in Nigeria for several reasons, such as the provision of the true culture of the people. Nigerians still communicate in African languages; it is a symbol of continued existence of the culture and religion of the indigenous people. When an African child is born, he may probably be christened with African names and, in most cases, a traditional naming ceremony is organized for him. When a person is sick, childless beyond the provision of medical solution, African herbs are quickly sought to do the magic.

In Nigeria, the Ijaw people are known as experts in the treatment of bone injuries and related problems. The knowledge is continually passed on so that its reliability and relevance is guaranteed. After returning from churches or mosques, many Africans furtively visit fortune tellers and great medicine men to determine their

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future while also seeking solutions to these perceived problems. With these, we ask ourselves whether African Religion in Nigeria will become a thing of the past or not.

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SECTION TEN

LAW AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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CHAPTER TWENTY FIVE

RELIGION AND THE NIGERIAN CULTURE

Ayantayo, Jacob Kehinde

Introduction

We deem it fit to open this discussion with a brief explanation of what the two key words underlying this topic stand for, that is, culture and religion. Culture, whether it is discussed theoretically or practically, is multi-dimensional, hence the justification for a multi-faceted approach to its discourse (Nwadialor, 2012). In the context of this essay, culture can be described as the totality of a way of life of a people. This is amplified by Iwe, one of the foremost discussants of the discourse. He defines culture as a way of life that reflects people's distinctive genius and spirit, their fundamental character or ethos, their value orientation, world-view, institutions and achievements in the various fields of human endeavour – legal and literary, artistic and scientific, religious philosophical and technological (Iwe, 1985).

It is also difficult to have an acceptable definition of religion, like culture, because it is a sensitive phenomenon, which stands for different things for different-people. Indeed, the phenomenon is defined on the basis of individual conviction, which is the end-product of religious experience. It is pertinent to state that religious experience precedes religious conviction, and, ultimately, religious expression and belief. Religious experience is the practical encounter, which, a person has with the Ultimate God. This experience provides justification for people's religious conviction. For now, we adopt one standard model of religion, used in religious studies courses which was proposed by Clifford Geertz who defines religion as a collection of belief systems, cultural systems, and worldviews that relate humanity to spirituality and, sometimes, to moral values (Geertz, 1966).

Interplay between Religion and Culture

It is important to note that religion and culture intertwine. Religion is a product of culture, because it is one of the ways of life (like arts and literature) of a people. Since religion has to do with belief system, it is therefore essentially a product of culture. People's beliefs arise from interpretation of things around them (Akonga, 2003:24-25). A systematic reflection and interpretations of what people see around them do inform religious encounter, which later translates to religious conviction and ultimately religious beliefs. The religious thinking of a people is reflected in what they say about God. For instance, the people in the riverside areas who experience large expanse of water every day are likely to conclude that God is a God of water. In the same vein, somebody in the forest area is likely to feel that God is god of Forest who sustains the forest during the dry season. Another important thing to note at this juncture is the fact that religion is manmade. It is based on man's projection. For instance, nobody has ever seen God, yet religious people believe that He exists. Nevertheless, what they see around them, such as the sun, water, moon among others, inform their religious convictions about the existence of God, who is regarded as the architect of those things.

Religions in Nigeria

There are three major religions in Nigeria namely: African Traditional Religion, Christianity and Islam. It should be noted that, Indigenous Traditional Religion is

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rooted in African culture. It has no historical founder, but it is as old as the beginning of humanity. Immediately Africans found themselves on the surface of the earth, they begin to think, act, behave and hope religiously. The idea of religion came to them in their attempt to provide meanings and interpretations to bewildering questions about man's destiny (Ayantayo and Fatokun, 2005). For example, the Africans ruminated on issues, such as how they came into being, who brought them into existence, what happens to them now and in the future? Upon long pondering, they conceived the idea of religion, which is constantly reflected in their day-to-day activities.

Nigerians like other Africans were practising this religion mainly until the emergence of Islam and Christianity which came to Nigeria in the 11th and 15th century respectively. Islam and Christianity which most people refer to as foreign religions have grown wide with their denominations cutting across every nook and cranny of Nigeria (Babalola, E.O. 1995). Their emergence brought about religious pluralism with its negative and positive effects, but what is outstanding is that religion, qua religion, permeates the life of Nigerians like their counterparts in African continent. The theses of Mbiti and Idowu are apposite confirmations of this fact. In the words of Bolaji Idowu, Africans are religious in everything, and Mbiti rhetorically remarks this that:

> *Africans are notoriously religious and each person has its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices. Religion permeates into all departments of life so fully that it is not easy or possible always to isolate it. (Mbiti, 1969)*

Manifestation of Religion in the Culture of Nigerians

Religion manifests theoretically and practically in the social, economic, technological, business and political cultures of Nigerians. We have copious examples to cite. For example, in the area of politics, an average Nigerian believes that political power is of God and whoever gets the power must have got it from God. This perhaps is the basis of the popular dictum that the voice of man is the voice of God. Nigerian Christians are fond of quoting the Bible that all authority is ordained by God, while Muslims also explain the concept of political power and nation as something that has its bases in Islamic principles of unity, which form part of Islamic predestination (Khan, 1993:23). Even ordinary election results, which are man-made and mere practical political action, are explained religiously. It is amazing that the so-called losers in the April 2007 general elections who wanted to challenge in courts and tribunals the mass rigging in the elections were advised against such decision but rather should leave everything in the hand of God ,whereas, such advisers ought to have protested the rigging instead of resorting to religious fate. In our estimation, this practice is anti-public sphere in theory and practice at a time when there is a need to correct social ills in our contemporary governance.

The concept of a nation which, to political scientists is just a human community possessing an historic territory, shared myths, symbols, and memories, a common and distinctive public culture, and common laws and customs for the members is interpreted by an average Nigerian as a religiously based community. This mentality impeccably reflects in the preamble of Nigerian constitution which states as follows:

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> *We the people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, having firmly and solemnly resolved, to live in unity and harmony as one indivisible and indissoluble sovereign nation under God, dedicated to the promotion of inter-African solidarity, world peace, international co-operation and understanding and to provide for a Constitution for the purpose of promoting the good government and welfare of all persons in our country, on the principles of freedom, equality and justice, and for the purpose of consolidating the unity of our people, do hereby make, enact and give to ourselves the following Constitution (Nigerian Constitution, 1999). (the italic is mine)*

Adjunct to this is the ending of Oaths of Allegiance sworn by public officers with the phrase "So help me God." However, this practice which is not peculiar to Nigeria falls under what Jonathan Smith labels as civil religion, which, refers to the set of religious or quasi-religious beliefs, myths, symbols, and ceremonies that unite a political community and that mobilize its members in the pursuit of common goals (Smith, 1995: 275). According to Barker who was the first to use the term, civil religion implies that:

> *there is a purely civil profession of faith, the articles of which, it behoves the sovereignty to fix, not with the precision of religious dogma, but treating them as a body of social sentiments without which, no man can either be a good citizen or a faithful subject. (Barker, 1960:305-306)*

The idea of civil religion refers to the view of some people that the foundation of their societies and the events that mark its progress through history are parts of a larger, divine scheme of things. This thesis could also best explain religious coloration of Nigerian national symbols such as currency, statue, tower, national anthem and national pledge. These symbols among others are of national significance because they signify common national traits which, by implication, remind Nigerians of their origin, history and political development. The consequence of these symbols propels them to work in unity as people of common identity and origin.

Religion also manifests in the choice of candidates. Election time always provides an ample opportunity for the public to get together, freely discuss and identify societal problems inherent in politics. Based on this premise, people's discussions influence political action by nominating or selecting candidates of their choice. One of the problems is whipping of religious sentiment into public matters in such a way that interests of people belonging to different religions are safeguarded. At this time, supporters of almost every candidate for public offices at all levels can be heard during the campaign talking about trying to get the "Catholic vote", "Muslim vote", "Baptist vote" or "Pentecostal vote". Such interest, according to Johnstones, gives a very explicit recognition to the correlation that exists between religious affiliation and commitment on the one hand and voting behaviour on the other hand (Johnstones, 2001:134). In Nigeria, such practice is spearheaded by religious bodies such as Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) in such a manner that the choice of a candidate to a public office is made with reference to his/her religious affiliation. We also hear of Christian /Muslim or Muslim/Christian ticket. This is common where we have two positions running

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concurrently such as those of President and Vice President, Governor and Deputy Governor. This practice is evident in the political history of Nigerian past leaders as shown below:

1. Nnamdi Azikiwe/Tafa Balewa (Christian/Muslim ticket) - 1960–1966
2. Shehu Shagari/Alex Ekwueme – (Muslim/ Christian) -1979-1983
3. Buhari/Idiagbon (Muslim/Muslim Ticket) -1983-85
4. Babangida/Ebitu Ikwe, Aikhomu (Muslim/ Christian) -1985-93
5. Shonekan/Abacha (Christian / Muslim ticket) -1993-97
6. Abacha/Diya, (Muslim/Christian Ticket) 1997-98
7. Abudusalami/Akhigbe (Muslim/ Christian) 1998-1999
8. Obasanjo/Atiku (Christian / Muslim ticket) -1999-2007
9. Yaradua/Jonathan (Muslim/Christian Ticket) -2007-2010
10. Jonathan/Sambo (Christian / Muslim ticket 2010–to date

On a similar account, religion is used by Nigerians as a tool to implement government policies. For example, the government of Lagos state in Nigeria recently used selected Christian and Islamic religious leaders in paid advertisements to sensitise her citizens to pay tax as one of the sources of Internally Generated Revenue (IGR). This view is expressed in the advert within the contexts of the following pictorial settings. We have the inscription stating "You are obeying God's word when you PAY YOUR TAX." There is a bold picture of Pastor Adeboye, the General overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of Nigeria. The small picture was inserted near the picture of the religious leader to suggest that, some infrastructures are waiting for government funding. Following this is a lengthy quotation reading thus: "Let somebody shout Halleluiah!'' It is important to note, that Pastor Adeboye is reputed to be fond of saying ''Let somebody shout Halleluiah!'' to the extent that many people have taken the expression as his password. Adeboye uses this religious approach to advertise further that:

> *Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in Mark 12:13-17 enjoins us to give unto Ceaser what belongs to Ceaser, and this includes paying our taxes. Paying our taxes is not only civic responsibility but being obedient to the word of the Lord. Now there's abundant evidence to show that the Lagos State government has made it a duty to provide improved health care facilities, better sewage disposal, better road network and transportation. To do all these, the government needs your support and cooperation. That's why I'm appealing to you, please pay your taxes. "Let somebody shout Halleluiah" (Nation Newspaper, July 9th, 2008: A6).*

Another one was published for the attention of Lagos Muslims, and it appears in this manner: every religion supports payment of Tax, PAY YOUR TAX. We have a bold picture of Imam Garuba Akinola, Chief Imam of Lagos State. The small picture inserted near the picture depicts infrastructures waiting for government funding. We have lengthy a quotation reading thus:

> *Asalam alaikun waramotulai wabarakatum! My dear brothers and sisters in Islam, the Holy Qur'an enjoins us to discharge our civic responsibilities by paying our tax so that we can*

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> *contribute to the progress and development of Lagos State .Tax is the vehicle through which, government derives the provision of social infrastructural amenities for its citizens. Let us obey the teachings of Islam by cooperating with government in the payment of our tax. Eko ko ni baje (Nation Newspaper, July 30th 2008:A4).*

In the two instances, the Lagos State Government has taken advantage of the respect Christians and Muslims have for the two religious personalities in question to market their political policy aimed at generating resources for the running of government. The degree to which this mechanism has worked or not would be a subject of verification for sociologists of religion.

Furthermore, religion is exemplified in National Symbols via National Ancestor Veneration. National symbols such as statutes, currency, national anthem, and national pledge represent the social and political culture of a people. As a culture of immortalizing national ancestors, some notable airports and roads are named after nationalists like Murtala Mohammed, Azikiwe and Aminu Kano, among others, mostly Nigerian cities. Ancestors are also venerated by building of statutes and towers in their names and honour. For instance, in all the 36 states of the federation, we have statutes, towers, cenotaphs and arcades for unknown Nigerian soldiers. The soldiers were the ones who fell in the battle as they struggled to protect Nigeria's national integrity and boundary especially during the coup d'état (January 1st, 1966) and the Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970). The arcade is designated as a living place for the dead. In actual fact, the place serves as the venue where Army Forces Remembrance Day is celebrated on annual basis specifically on January 15th of every year. During the event, the governor of each state, along with the army and important political leaders, lay wreaths across the country. The event provides opportunity for political leaders to call Nigerians to renew their loyalty and embrace their spirit of patriotism towards stability and peace in the country. As for the currency, the heads of some Nigerian nationalists appear as logo in some Nigerian currencies. For instance, we have Tafawa Balewa in ₦5.00 note, Alvan Ikoku in ₦10.00 note, Murtala Mohammed in ₦20.00 note, Chief Obafemi Awolowo in ₦100.00, Ahmadu Bello in ₦200 note and Nnamdi Azikiwe in ₦500 note.

Religious beliefs and practice also feature in the culture of Nigerians in the area of name and naming, social status, greetings and dressings. For example, most Nigerians bear religious related names. Such names among traditional religious practitioners include Orisagbemi (Orisa supported me), Oriyomi – Ori (Inner head delivered me), Falope (Ifa is a cause of gratitude), Fasina (Ifa opens the way) and Esugbayi- (Esu saved me). Esu refers to the divinity in charge of ritual according to Yoruba belief. For Christians, we have names like Abraham, Moses, Joseph, Esther, Deborah, Sarah. For the Muslims, we are familiar with names such as Ismail, Rasaq, Hakeem, and Rukayat. Today, many Nigerians wear religious oriented dresses like Hijab for the Muslims and Caftan for the Christians. Religion also features in greeting, as we have Muslims using Arabic and Christians using Greek words such as *Assallam – aleh - ikum* and *Shalom, meaning* peace be unto you respectively to greet one another. Religion also influences the marriage culture in Nigeria, while traditional religious adherents adopt the polygamous type of marriage, most Christians place emphasis on monogamy and Muslims adopt elite monogamy or polygamy. All the religious practitioners justify their marital status based on the precepts of their

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religions. The two foreign religions have really influenced the culture of education in Nigeria. Christianity and Islam have brought about Western education and Arabic education respectively. These religions have really brought significant influence of intellectual impaction and material development and non-development to all Nigerians directly and indirectly.

The Other Side of the Coin

While we appreciate a good manifestation of religion in the Nigerian culture, we cannot shy away from the fact that religion has produced some negative cultures among Nigerians. These are cultures of individualism, secularism and intolerance. For example, we have many cases of exploration of religion as an instrument of influencing politics. In the Nigerian public sphere, it is not without its burdens because more often than not the practice is tantamount to manipulation of religion, which has its attendant problems, such as intra and interreligious conflicts. Manipulation of religion theory was popularized by Usman Bala who defines it as an act of controlling the action of a person or a group of people. without that person or group knowing the goals, purpose and method of that control and without even being aware that a form of control is being exercised on them at all (Bala,1987). This theory has been exemplified in various ways in which Nigerian political leaders have whipped religious sentiments in the process of interpreting some political policies and government actions some of which, have been mentioned in the preceding sections. What is alarming in the matter is that those being manipulated via religious sentiment are ignorant of their being manipulated, and ironically they consciously or unconsciously become puppets in the hands of their users-political elite. This perhaps explains why democracy has not worked to the satisfaction of Nigerians, especially those people who believe that most of Nigerian politicians are not mature politically. The practice also has some moral implications because, in our judgement, whipping of religious sentiments, to win the sympathy of electorates is a game of deceit because there is relationship between politics and morality.

As a result of religious pluralism, the country has witnessed series of interreligious conflicts. This is often ignited by monotheistic debate. We observe that many muslims believe that Christianity is a polytheistic religion on the grounds of the belief in Trinity, which are God, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This apparently suggests to an average Muslim we interviewed that Christians do not have a clear concept of God. The impression such Muslims have is that it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile Trinity with Christian conception of monotheism. Their argument is premised on the Qur'anic injunction about God saying ''Say He is God, the One and Only; God, the Eternal, Absolute; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; and there is none like unto Him." Put in a broader perspective, Christianity is a monotheistic religion judging from its doctrinal teachings which are captioned in the Jewish Shema –Hear Oh Israel, the Lord your God is one. Paul's declaration in Corinthians proves that there is One Faith, One Lord, One Baptism, One God and Father of all who is above all. Finally, the Nicene Creed also affirms this monotheism of Christian God (Ayantayo, 1991: 6).

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Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is obvious that religion and culture intertwine. The inter-relationship has produced both good and bad dividends for Nigerians. However, an important issue to be noted is that Nigerian culture is undergoing an unprecedented change brought about by the wave of globalisation. This, notwithstanding, Nigeria is still noted for her peculiar identity noticed across the globe.

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CHAPTER TWENTY SIX

CULTURE, DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN NIGERIA

Aderinto, Adeyinka A. and Oludayo, Tade

Understanding Deviance

All human societies have expected (normative) ways in which an individual is required to conduct his/her affairs within a given social space. These normative expectations are a product of culture, which explains the totality of a people's way of life. People's actions and conducts are then defined from the standpoint of that which is 'agreed' (though unwritten) as a measure of what is 'right' or 'wrong', and 'good' or 'bad'. This, perhaps, explains why the debate on legalization of abortion in Nigeria may remain a subject of debate. Legalizing abortion is, to some people, against the sanctity of lives and attacks the traditional culture of Nigeria, which, until now, believed in chastity. Similarly, the motion on same-sex marriage was thrown out of the Nigerian National Assembly. These two examples border on morality. Norms and value make up the moral code which defines behaviour as good or bad. They also vary from one society to another, one group to another, and one subculture to another. Deviance is, therefore, a behaviour that fails to conform to the norms of the society. However, deviance is time (Chasity or Virginity at marriage), place (riding on a bike with a woman in Zamfara and Lagos States), consensus or power bound (definition of what is murder).

Deviance is not the act but the reaction to the act. In other words, deviance is not the property inherent in certain forms of behaviour; it is the property conferred upon these forms of behaviour by the audiences which directly or indirectly observe or witness them. The issue of militancy in the Niger-Delta is not seen as a deviant act from the perspective of the 'militants', but the 'state' defines it as such. Thus, it is important to consider:

1. The act
2. The actor
3. The social context (situation) under which a particular act was performed
4. The social audiences, in order to know what deviance is and who can be so labelled

The foregoing standpoint derives from Becker (1963), who notes that social groups create rules whose infraction constitutes deviance and apply these rules to particular people and label them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not the quality of the act the person commits, but a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label. It is collectively held, at least by the majority in Nigeria that corruption constitutes deviance and the 'offender' is labelled as corrupt. However, when this collective sentiment/norm/value is threatened, people come together to ensure that the norm is sustained. For example, after being convicted for corruptly enriching himself as the head of Nigeria Port Authority and serving a two-year jail term at the Kirikiri maximum prison for financial crimes, Chief Olabode George was treated to a 'flamboyant' welcome party by his family and associates in Lagos with a thanksgiving church service. A crowd of supporters welcomed him, while political bigwigs showed their overt support. The public condemned this action and the participation of 'who is who' in Nigeria angered

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the public. Among those who welcomed him were a former deputy governor of Oyo State, Taofeek Arapaja; Gbenga Daniel of Ogun State[1]; former Minister of Environment, Mr. John Odey; and former Minister of Justice, Mr. Adetokunbo Kayode. They were joined at the church by a former president, Olusegun Obasanjo[1]. The public was outraged as this act constituted an attack on the collective conscience of the nation. One of the comments posted on the website of *Nigerian Tribune* newspapers reads:

> *It was a national shame and an eye-sour to the world! A revolution will soon happen in Nigeria. A criminal was release and he was celeberating. They are supposed to send him to 20 years-in-prison for the crime he committed. The judiciary is encouraging government officials to loot with fewer sentences (Bello, March 2, 2010).*

The comment of Bello attested to the reaction of the people about the party and the 'limited sentence' relative to the injury the misappropriation had caused the Nigeria Ports.

However, there are positive deviance and negative deviance. Each of these has attendant sanctions. The achievement of the former chairman of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Mallam Nuhu Ribadu, illustrates positive deviation from anti-corruption crusade. His actions brought awards and international recognition that redefine the image of Nigeria in the international community. Owing to his performance and public trust in him, Ribadu was appointed the Chairman of the Special Task Fund on Petroleum Subsidy under the Goodluck Jonathan administration. However, his successor at the EFCC, Farida Waziri, was seen as 'deviating' from the tempo of Ribadu. She was eased out of the system by the 'powers-that-be'. Stealing, rape, and armed robbery are examples of negative deviations which attract negative sanctions of legal prosecution. Former Governor of Bayelsa State, Deipreye Alamieyeseigha, was convicted of stealing billions of naira belonging to the state. His punishment was mitigated by plea bargaining and the intervention of the presidency.

Durkheim (1958) argues that deviance is a necessary part of all healthy human societies. To him, deviance does not only create the sinner, but it also creates the saint. Deviance also strengthens solidarity among law-abiding members of the society by coming together to fight a common enemy (consider the public outrage against the 10 billion naira Scam of Nigeria House of Representatives during the Dimeji Bankole speakership). According to Durkheim, deviance promotes social cohesion which decreases crime; it is a factor in public health and an integral part of all healthy societies. Deviance also provides safety value for discontented people. Prostitution allows for sexual perversion which could not be experienced in marriage. Finally, deviance induces social change. The Professor Attahiru Jega-led Independent National Electoral Commission has been seen as a deviant group which has ushered change into the electoral process of Nigeria. The act was positive deviation from what Nigerians had experienced in previous elections. It is important to state here that while all criminal acts are deviant acts, not all deviant acts are criminal.

Perspectives on Deviance

Attempts at explaining crime and deviance date back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At that time, it was unthinkable that a normal individual could willingly

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engage in crime without the influence of evil spirits and demons. Spiritual explanations were proferred for occurrence of crime. However, the natural explanations of crime had its foundation in people's understanding of the nature of reality and the cause of events.

Spiritual explanation

In the middle-ages in Europe, feudal lords instituted mechanism by which they thought God could indicate who was innocent and who was guilty. Trial by battle which was the first to be introduced meant that the victim or a member of his family would fight with the offender. This was based on the notion that God would give victory to the innocent. Imagine the use of this method where a rapist would have to fight the victim. The result became unfavourable as the offender usually came out triumphant. Later, *trial by ordeal* was instituted. In this method, the accused was subjected to difficult and painful experiments; if the person was innocent, he/she came out unscathed. For example, one of the ways to determine a witch was to tie her up and throw her into the water. If she sank, she was innocent, but if she floated, she was guilty. Other methods included walking on broken bottles and fire. However, trial by ordeal was replaced by *compurgation* in which the victim gathers twelve reputable individuals in the society to swear that he or she was innocent. The idea was that no one would lie for fear of being punished by God. This method has translated into the modern way of testifying as a witness in courts of law through the use of the Bible or the Qur'an. It is a common practice in prosecuting a case to call witnesses who are vital to ensure judicial victory.

The modern prison system emerged from the spiritual explanation of crime where a group of Quakers in Philadelphia about 1790 conceived the idea of isolating criminals in cells and giving them the Bible to read and, to some, manual labour to perform. According to Vold and Thomas (1986), the Quakers thought criminals would then reflect on their past wrongdoing and repent. They used the term penitentiary to describe their invention, a place for penitents who were sorry for their sins. However, the problem with this spiritual view is that it cannot be proven and, hence, not considered scientific. In Akwa Ibom, in 2011, a clergy man proclaimed that most children in the state had witchcraft. These children had some of their body parts mutilated.

Natural explanation

The natural explanation uses objects and events in the material world to explain crime. According to Vold and Thomas (1986), it developed among the Greeks. Hippocrates (460 BC) provided a physiological explanation by thinking that the brain is the organ of the mind. Democritus (420 BC) proposed the idea of an indestructible unit of matter called the atom as central to his explanation of the world around him. With Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, the ideas of unity and continuity came to the fore, but the essential factors in all explanations remained physical and material. In Roman law, the Hebrew doctrine of divine sanction for law and order merged with Greek naturalism to provide a justification based on the nature of things. Thus, the rule of kings by divine rights became the natural law looking at the nature of things for its principal justification. Modern social science continues this natural emphasis; social scientists seek their explanations within the physical and material world.

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Classical and Positive Schools of Criminology

Cessare Beccaria (1738–1794) and Jeremy Bentham (1748–18 32) could be regarded as the founders of Classical Criminology (CC). The classical school of thought believes that human beings are rational and would be able to decipher good from bad and behave accordingly based on the utilitarian pleasure-pain principle. According to Jeremy Bentham (1967: 21):

> *Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure... they govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think: every effort we can make to throw off our subjection will serve but to demonstrate and confirm it.*

The basic elements of classical school of criminology include:

1. The People in society have the free will to choose criminal or conventional solutions to meet their needs or settle their problems;
2. The Criminal solutions may be more attractive than conventional ones because they usually require less work for a greater pay;
3. A person's choice of criminal solutions may be controlled by fear of society's reaction to such aids;
4. The severe, certain and swift the action, the better it can control criminal behavior; and
5. The most efficient crime-prevention device is punishment sufficient to make crime an unattractive choice.

The premise of CC is that all humans have the tendency to be criminals if not kept in check by the fear of punishment. The application of punishment should relate to the offences committed and not the 'might' of the one who holds political power in the country. According to the *Declaration of Rights of Man* adopted by France's Constituent Assembly in 1789;

> *The law has the right to prohibit only actions harmful to society...the law shall inflict only such punishment as are strictly and clearly necessary...no person shall be punished except by virtue of a law enacted and promulgated previous to the crime and applicable to its terms.*

If people could corruptly enrich themselves with public funds in the case of Alamieyeseigha and Peter Odili, the position of the classical school is that they must be punished in such a way as to deter future offenders of law. The law must, however, be swift and certain, and those who choose to commit crime must face the "wrath of the law."

Positive School

The positive school of criminology attempts to account for crime causation through the scientific method of investigation. However, the classical school dominated the thinking and understanding of crime for almost a century. The advent of scientific criminology in the nineteenth century shifted attention from the notions of rationalism and punishment to an investigation of the causes of crime. It stresses in particular the influence of hereditary, psychological and social factors. The positivists believe that

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behaviour is determined; that is, human actions are shaped by forces and factors outside the immediate control of the individual. It is the assumption that offenders vary, and this variance can be measured and classified. Rather than being oriented towards the punishment, the positivist approach is directed towards the treatment of offenders. The specific cause of crime and deviant behaviour is to be unraveled and applied for crime to be healed in the society. We now explain some biological positivism starting with the ideas of Cessare Lombrosso.

Cesare Lombroso: The Born Criminal

Cesare Lombrose was an Italy-born Criminal Anthropologist. Lombrose studied Medicine and Psychiatry. Lombroso's contributions are contained in his book *The Criminal Man.* Lomboroso explains criminal behaviour on the basis of biological characteristics and heredity. He opines that a general theory of crime is possible based on measurable physical differences between the criminal and the non-criminal. He proposes the concept of *Atavism* to explain that criminals are born. This reflects the notion that crime is the result of something essential to the nature of the individual criminal. These crimogenic individuals have inherited physical problems that impel them into a life of crime. To Lombroso (1968), criminals suffer from atavistic anomalies--physically; they are throwbacks to more primitive times when people were savages.

Lombroso developed the typology of criminals to include the insane criminal (who commits impulsive, obscene, and cruel acts); criminals by passion (who may kill and later commit suicide); and occasional criminals who do not seek to commit crime but drawn into it for insignificant reasons.

Somatology

Somatology looks at the physiology or body structure as a predisposing factor to criminality. William Sheldon (1940), in his analysis of youths, identifies three basic body types. He sees these as fundamental predisposing factors to deviance and criminality. Sheldon states that the first, e*ndomorphic* (soft and round) people with this body type are heavy built and are slow moving. They are involved in lethargic behaviour. The second, *mesomorphic* (muscular and strong) people with this body type have well developed muscles with athletic appearance. They are aggressive, active and sometimes violent and are most likely to become criminals. *Ectomorphic* (thin and fragile) people are less social and are more intellectual than the other types. The Nigeria Police Force employs somato-type in arresting criminals. Also, 'bounders' used at party venues are more muscular and strong. However, arresting people based on the body type has been criticized. For instance, Motor mechanics are more likely to be mesomorphic owing to the nature of their food and activity. Also, the modern level of criminality does not need an individual to be mesomorphic. For instance, involvement in 419 and Internet fraud by youths does not need the body type. The failure of the biological theories to fully account for factors of crime necessitated the development of theories which look into the social aspect of living. We shall now discuss the sociological theory of crime using Robert K. Merton's theory of Anomie.

Anomie Theory

The concept of anomie could be traced to Durkheim (1964), who used it to explain a situation of namelessness in society brought about by rapid social change, war,

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conflict or unrest. Anomie could result from conflicting moral codes and laws of society. Inspired by the writings of Durkheim, Merton (1938) sought an explanation for crime in the USA. He observed that the US system placed emphasis on success as the American dream. This emphasis motivates hardwork and contributes to society's prosperity. However, people have unequal access to legitimate means to become successful (for instance, good jobs; but there is high level unemployment rate in Nigeria). When the goal is over-stressed at the expense of legitimate means to achieving societal goals, anomie sets in. Thus, anomie is a social condition in which norms are too weak to regulate human conducts. The lower class people are more likely to fall in to this category; hence, they may develop what Merton calls modes of adaptation.

Conformity: This involves the acceptance of the cultural goals and using the accepted means to attain it, for example, going to school in order to become a lawyer, Doctor and Business Tycoon.

Innovation: This involves accepting the goals but rejecting the means to achieving it by devising another means to it. A classical example is the case of students who want to become rich quickly by resorting to Internet fraud called Yahoo-yahoo and lately Yahoo-plus[1].

Ritualism: This occurs when individuals accept the cultural goals even when they know they cannot achieve it. They continue to pursue the institutionalized means irrespective of the outcome.

Retreatism: People in this category reject both the cultural goal and institutionalized means of attaining them. They simply withdraw from the society. Examples include those involved in substance abuse.

Rebellion: Those in this category create for themselves conventional goals and means of attaining them after rejecting both the cultural goals and institutional means of achieving them. They simply desire a utopian society. Late Gani Fawehinmi and Fela Anikulapo Kuti typify the rebels.

Most deviant or criminal acts committed in Nigeria can be said to have anomic origin, like robbery, theft and lower-class crimes. Anomie theory, however, fails to account for embezzlement, tax fraud and white-collar crimes. How do we then explain the crimes of Cecilia Ibru, Erastus Akingbola, and Bode George, among others, who have but still stole from collective patrimony? Some have argued that this could be located under the culture of prosperity embraced by most Nigerians.

Social Control

Social control is mechanism put in place by social structures (such as family, politics, religion and education) to regulate behaviour within a given social space with a view to moderating infractions from the laid-down rules. When sociologists talk about social control mechanisms, they refer to how a society ensures that the rules governing human conducts are observed. Agents of social control include parents, kinsmen, employers, fellow workers, government officials, local leaders, courts, the police, the prison and the army. This can be grouped into two: formal and informal control methods.

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Formal Agents of Social Control: The Police

The police are saddled with maintenance of law and order in society. Policing is a part of the criminal justice system which deals with the investigation of criminal acts and arraignment of suspects for prosecution in courts of law. In Nigeria, the image of the police is tainted with issues of selectivity in criminal investigation, extrajudicial killings, brutality and so on. This conception has its root in the foundation of the police from the colonial era, where the police were used as an instrument of oppression. The reaction of Nigerians to the ineffectiveness of the Nigeria Police is caused by years of neglect and bad administration. The police lack techniques of modern crime-fighting owing to rusty colonial training. The bombing of Police Headquarters by the Boko Haram, an Islamic sect, has further confirmed the need for intelligence-gathering mechanism. In Nigeria, the police have been unable to unravel the murder of a former Attorney General of the Federation, Chief Bola Ige, murdered on December, 23, 2001 and similar cases.

Other inhibiting factors to police performance are the willingness of the police to drop charges in favour of bribe, indiscriminate arrest, fading public trust of the force, decaying police barracks, poor remuneration and inadequate equipment to fight the modern dimensions of crime in Nigeria. The increase in the wave of armed robbery and the bombing of the Police Headquarters on June 16, 2011 show that the Nigeria Police lack the modern intelligence to tackle dimensions of crime mastery by deviants.

Courts

The judiciary is an important arm of government which sees to the interpretation of laws and adjudication of cases. After arrest by the police, the next stage in the criminal justice system is the court law, where charges would be read to convicts based on the laws of the land. The courts vary in order of superiority. These are: Customary Courts, High Courts, Federal High Courts, Appeal Court and Supreme Courts. Has the judiciary fared well in Nigeria in the discharge of their constitutional duties? There has been an upward appraisal of the judiciary in the last decade, particularly under democratic governance. However, politicization of court judgments has been the bane of having a clean, independent and unbiased Nigeria judiciary. The clash between the former Chief Justice of Nigeria, Justice Aloysius Kastina-Alu and the suspended President of the Court of Appeal, Justice Ayo Salami, shows that the judiciary is riddled with corruption. However, the judiciary has restored sanity into governance and checked government excesses. The efficiency of the judiciary is tied to the political will of the executive arm of government. The judiciary was less dependent under the Olusegun Obasanjo-led administration (1999-2007) as against the Umaru Musa Yar'Adua-led administration, Delayed judgment, judicial workers' strike, and threat to judges by suspects in order to get 'favourable' judgment and dwindling welfare packages for judges stand to affect the efficiency of the Judiciary as an important agent of social control.

Informal Social Control

The informal agents of social control remain very strong in indigenous towns (Bamisaiye, 1974) and operate in other neighbourhoods with relatively stable population or where a cohesive community has developed. They include local gossip, scolding, shaming, ostracism, vigilante group and local courts. All these have proved

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useful information agents of social control. We shall now turn to the role of culture in social control in Nigeria.

Crime and criminality have been associated with the people from time immemorial. Different strategies have been adopted to contend with crime and deviant behaviour depending on the nature and extent (Emmanuel, 2009). Culture is the totality of a people's way of live. The behaviours of individuals are modified and structured by existing, normatively sanctioned institutions. These regulatory structures must be manifestly strong enough as to manage individual behavioural dispositions. These institutions (family, school, education, politics, and media) have had their primary functions altered by globalisation.

This derailment in functions has made social control at the micro level difficult and the growth of criminal culture at the macro level inevitable in Nigeria. This happens when the family fails in inculcating norms of conformity in their members; when educational institutions lay emphasis on books and not on morals; when the political institutions are devoid of the 'will' to formulate, enforce and implement laws on anti-social behaviours, and when the religious institutions celebrate prosperity rather than encouraging hard-work. Where all the aforementioned issues are apparent, Nigeria may be said to be experiencing institutional anomie. In this state, economic pursuit dominates the life and time of regulating institutions, making individuals to cultivate and learn deviant culture as a by-product of the environment.

Why do people deviate when there are institutions erected to socialise and sanction anti-social behaviours? The answer is provided by Hirschi Control Theory. According to this perspective, crime occurs when the bond that binds society together becomes weak or broken. According to Hirschi, everyone has the potential to become a criminal or deviate but tamed by their bond to society. When the social bonds that individuals have to parents, peers, and important social institutions, like the school or the workplace are strong, they fear that their criminal activity may jeopardize their relative position in society.

Considerable social control is exercised within the family, as parents socialise their children into proper behaviour and punish them for deviance, and kinsmen press for conformity to community norms. Despite existence of courts, community elders still constitute important social control agent in indigenous Nigerian communities. Their experience and respect inculcated through culture have made them an important agent in checking deviation and punishment of offenders. Among the Yoruba, there is the father figure of *olori-ebi* (family head) who presides over the affairs of the family and settles disputes. He also checks infraction and ensures that his members behave to protect the name of the family in the public. Members of the family respect this institution when they settle disputes.

Traditional authority remains a relevant vital social control platform in Nigeria. In virtually all cultures in Nigeria, there are social control mechanisms. Traditional Yoruba and Hausa societies operated centralised administration, while that of the Igbo was a cephalous type. Several methods were used to ensure compliance with the moral codes of the communities. There was the secret society that provided checks and balances on the excesses of the king, the age-grade group, the council of chiefs and warlords. They served as the custodian of the people's culture; traditions of the people are preserved by this structure. The chief, with or without his council, held his hours of hearing all cases brought before him. At the appointed time and according

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to certain signs which the natives knew well, the people would come to the courtyard, prostrating themselves before the chief, take their seats on either side to await the deliberation of the court. Whoever had a case would present themselves, prostrate themselves before the chiefs who head the pleadings and gave decisions (Clarke, 1972). Although Clarke observes that chiefs might not be absolved of the reproach of bribery, where parties to a case were balanced in character, honour and wealth, there was not much danger of violation of justice where the parties fully understood the customs and laws of the country (1972: 253).

The cultural norms of Nigerians encouraged fighting crime using taboos (Emmanuel, 2009). Taboos were used to maintain peace between rulers and their subjects, and among neighbours. According to Awolalu and Dopamu (1976), '*eewo*' among the Yoruba explains that which is not worth doing, saying and so not worth eating and forbidden. These norms or codes of conduct can be seen as moral values against things which must not be done (Fabarebo, 2001). Among the Yoruba, taboo was an important tool used in combating corruption within the chieftaincy institution or in unveiling indecency in office (Emmanuel, 2009). The debate over the anti-gay rights bill on the floor of the Nigerian National Assembly is a test case. Those practising lesbianism or gayism do not have the boldness to share their category with the public because of the resentment and the threat it poses to moral codes governing the sanctity of marriage. Also, it is 'culturally misnomer' and a threat to 'deregulate' sexual relationships.

Even in the face of globalisation and the growing tendency for a globalised culture, Nigerians have fought to check deviation in its customs and traditions governing sexual relationship. If, however, the bill is not assented to by the President, such would be seen as an affront on a people's culture on the sanctity of heterosexual relationships. It is obvious that human beings are guided generally by norms, values and conventions which insulate them from falling into an animal kingdom where incivility and relational anomie reign supreme. To allow the sexual perverts in the society to have their way under the veil of human rights is seen as an assault on Nigeria's religious and cultural values. The public rose in condemnation to check other sexual deviant groups, such as the incestuous, polyandrous and bestial sexual orientation from seeking recognition within the ambit of fundamental human rights. Although the United States threatened to withdraw its aids to the country, the collective sentiments of the people remain unshaken. Durkheim (1984) notes that government's vital function is to ensure respect for beliefs, traditions and collective practices, namely to defend the common consciousness from all its enemies, from within as well as without.

Sexual immorality is sanctioned in most cultures in Nigeria. It is the belief that sexual promiscuity could endanger the life of a partner. The use of '*magun*' (thunderbolt) in the traditional community is to check such ill-motivated behaviour and preserve the sanctity of marriage. *Magun* is a death sentence passed on the carrier. As a traditional form of capital offence, it is believed among the Yoruba of southwest Nigeria that *'A fe ni laya, ko foju re woni'* (he who dates one's wife can plot one's death). For the woman, a Yoruba axiom: '*obirin to ba n yanle, ti o ba para e...yio seku poko*' (an adulterous woman may kill herself or expose her husband to death). She is seen as a servant of death. '*Magun*' sometimes has cure which may not be applied. It may be used to justify a claim among family members that a wife is promiscuous.

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'*Teso*' may also be placed on a man, and this automatically checks erection when the man attempts to sleep with his concubine.

Incest is a deviant act within some cultures in Nigeria. This encourages intra-family rather than inter-family marriages. To marry from within the same family is deviance. This taboo has persisted, defying Westernisation. It is a taboo, with serious repercussions, for people of the same family to marry each other. Similarly, it is an abomination to have fun or sexual dealings with an Oba's wife. It is also a taboo for a child to beat his parents; severe calamity shall be the repercussion of such. These acts are seen as an injury to the collective sentiments of the people. Durkheim (1984:37) observes that:

> *...crime has not been defined when we have stated that it is an injury done to the collective sentiments, since most of these may be wounded without any crime having been committed. Thus incest is fairly generally an object of aversion, and yet it is a purely immoral act. The same holds good for breaches of sexual honour committed by a woman outside marriage, either by yielding her liberty utterly to another or by receiving the surrender of his liberty....the collective sentiments to which a crime corresponds must be distinguished from other sentiments....they are in no way mere halting, superficial caprices of the will, but emotions and dispositions strongly rooted within us.*

In some tertiary institutions in Nigeria, dress codes have been introduced to check growing dress-deviance among students. Sagging and half-nude dressing have undoubtedly become fertile products of moral deregulation in Nigeria. This culture is resented within the cultural community; the practitioners operate within the accepted community. Without a moral code, allowing half-nude dressing could lead to another heightened form of crime, rape. Those who violate these dressing codes are summarily punished.

Also, despite the advent of modernisation and adherence to Christianity and Islam, the Yoruba have refused to deviate from some cultural ways of doing things. In relation to the treatment of the dead, the circumstances surrounding the death of the dead are considered before determining what type of burial rites would be performed. The case of the people flooded away by the torrential rain of August, 26, 2011 shows that the traditions relating to burial of drowned victims still hold among the Yoruba. Virtually all those killed in the flood were buried along river banks. The cultural belief is that those killed by water must not be buried outside river banks in order to prevent serial death (*akufa*) among the relatives of the dead. This is a deviation from the normal burial ritual.

Oath-taking has transited as an important ritual for office holders in the traditional society to modern society. Violation of the oath attracts serious sanctions, including death. Oath-taking is one of the oldest cultural practices meant to ensure that people do not derail in their service to the people. It has stood the test of time and many generations (Ilesanmi, 2004). Oath-taking was done with the use of powerful divinities, such as *Ogun* (god of iron) and *Sango* (god of thunder) where infractions attract the anger of these gods. The use of iron and thunder instils the fear of violence in the oath-taker and result in sanitizing the land (Ayantayo, 1999). Traditional oath-taking still remains potent even in modern times. In Anambra State, Okija Shrine was

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used to secure allegiance to political godfathers. Traditional oath-taking seems more potent and a needed tool to check unbridled corruption in Nigeria. It does not delay judgment; it is swift and certain. Modern oath-taking has become a ceremonial affair with no implication for non-adherence.

Shaming is an important cultural practice to check deviance. Theft could be managed privately and could be a community issue. The penalties for theft range from imposition of fine, public beating and singing disgraceful satinical songs to the culprits' and restoring the stolen property to the owner. The thief is often ridiculed in the society. His head may be shaven, or he may serve his punishment in the public space to serve as a deterrent to others in the community. Shaming includes all processes of expressing disapprovals which have the intention or effect of invoking remorse in the person being shamed and/or condemnation by others who become aware of the shaming. Thus, for him, shaming can be reintegrative or stigmatizing (Braithwaite, 1989). Clarke (1972:255) notes that among the Yoruba, the readiness with which laws are enforced has produced such an effect that a people more law-abiding and orderly than they are hard to find. He observes that:

> *During a sojourn of nearly four years I never saw a street fight between two men—a disgraceful act discouraged by all honourable natives; heard of but one case of adultery; of but very few cases of theft and not exceeding four or five cases of murder throughout the native kingdom.....*

Clarke's account shows the internalization of moral codes and the effects of social control among the Yoruba. In essence, moral consciousness and collective sentiments serve to check deviation from collective values. Durkheim (1984) avers that the bond of solidarity to which repressive law corresponds is one whose breaking constitutes crime. Deviance and deviation provokes reaction from the society through the variation of punishment to the infracted moral code to show how important the society resents the act. Consequently, what makes deviance is the degree of importance attached to the act. Durkheim (1984: 40) asserts that 'we should not say that an act offends the common consciousness because it is criminal, but it is criminal because it offends that consciousness. We do not condemn it because it is crime, but it is crime because we condemn it.' However, the veracity and potency of collective sentiments are being attacked in a mechanically 'solidarised' society where the definition of what constitutes 'norm' is defined by the political class.

The government may differ on what is deviant in terms of definition with the collective conscience. For instance, while many Nigerians want corruption to be treated as a capital offence because of its impact on collectivity, the federal government only criminalises it and, lately introduces *plea bargaining* where the accused parts with some of the items stolen without a deterrent effect. No doubt, culture has been a potent tool in correcting and preventing the onset of crime in the country. It produces greater effect and results in traditional-mechanical society more than in modern-industrial society. As it is in lower societies that this authority is greatest and this seriousness weighs most heavily, it is in this same type of society that the collective consciousness possesses most power (Durkheim, 1984: 43).

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Conclusion

Human behaviours are governed by rules, whether normative or legal. The definition of what constitutes deviance depends on who defines what as constitutes deviant act. This definition depends on the sector of the social world from where such label emanates. Deviance is, thus, relative, and power-and time-bound. However, conformity to norms and rules is ensured by agents of social control, such as the police, court and prison systems. According to Hirschi (1969), it is the individual's bond to the society that makes the difference in terms of whether or not they abide by the society's general rules and values. This social bond is made up of four elements: **attachment** (the ties of affection and respect to significant others in one's life and to the opinion of others); **involvement** (the devil makes work for idle hands), **commitment** (the investment of time and strategy to activities such as school and various conventional and unconventional means and goals); and **belief** (the extent to which people see the law as right and as reflection of moral consensus in Nigeria). The more an individual internalizes these four elements, the lesser the chances of his/her involvement in deviant acts.

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CHAPTER TWENTY SEVEN

THE NIGERIAN CUSTOMARY LAW RULES AND THE CHALLENGES OF HUMAN RIGHTS LAWS

Akintola, Simisola O. and Taiwo, Elijah Adewale

Introduction

In this chapter, an attempt is made to examine the customary law in Nigeria in the light of the Nigerian constitutional provisions as well as other international and regional human rights instruments to which Nigeria is a signatory. The paper examines the meanings of customary law and human rights. It interpolates the two concepts by bringing out how they impact on each other. What should be pointed out at the outset is that the term "customary law" is capable of different meanings depending on who uses it, whether an anthropologist, a sociologist or a legal theorist.[i] Another thing worthy of note at the beginning is that the terms "customary law", "custom" or "culture" should be distinguished; because they are interwoven, there is tendency to regard the two terms as the same.[ii]

According to Bronstein, "culture is a critical part of the lived reality of people's lives. It gives meaning to all our lives and is fundamental to our identities."[iii] Culture and customs are valuable and important parts of people's lives.[iv] Allot posits that custom is the "raw material out of which customary norm is manufactured."[v] A custom is a rule of conduct; it is only when such a rule of conduct attains a binding or obligatory character that it becomes a customary law.[vi] A breach of custom does not occasion any injury to the infringer, because it is not backed by sanction, but a breach of customary law attracts the imposition of the appropriate traditional sanction.[vii] It is this element of sanction that distinguishes a "custom" from "customary law."[viii]

With the introduction of the English law into Nigeria in the 19th Century, the indigenous/customary law rules were relegated to the background, coming after the received foreign law, statutes of general application and other ordinances. The validity of these customary law rules is assessed based on the English principles and ideas of justice. Repugnancy doctrine was one of the English principles introduced to assess the validity of customary law. Based on this foreign standard, substantial rules of customary law were found offensive, inconsistent with the English sense of justice and human rights and, therefore, declared invalid. Thus, an attempt is made to examine the repugnancy clause and human rights and their impact on the Nigerian customary law.

This contribution is divided into six parts. Following this introduction, the paper consists of the following parts: part two which discusses the meanings of customary law and human rights. Part three examines the impact of human rights on the aspects of customary law on devolution of property or inheritance rights, child and health issues respectively. Part four discusses transformations of customary law rules, while part five makes suggestion for reform. The sixth part is the conclusion.

Definitions: Customary Law and Human Rights

The two dominant terms in this paper are "customary law" and "human rights." The pertinent issue at this stage, therefore, is to examine their meanings. Defining these terms before proceeding further will put the discussion herein in a proper perspective and, as well, set out the scope of this work.

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Customary Law

Upon the creation of the Colony of Lagos in 1862, one of the first actions of the British authorities was to introduce into the territory, later known as Nigeria, the main body of English law.[ix] But previously, there had been in existence, in various parts of the country, local customary laws administered for the people by their own recognised chief.[x] As stated above, one should distinguish the terms "customary law" from the term "custom"; the two terms are not the same, and, therefore, should not be confused. For a custom to qualify or develop into customary law, it should have the element of sanction or punishment for its breach.

Thus, customary law is defined as "those customs generally accepted by a particular community as binding, the breach of which is supported by customary sanction."[xi] In *Princess Bilewu Oyewunmi & Anor v Amos Owoade Ogunesan*,[xii] the Supreme Court, *per* Obaseki, JSC defined Nigerian customary law thus:

> *Customary law is the organic or living law of the indigenous people of Nigeria regulating their lives and transaction. It is organic in that it is not static. It is regulatory in that it controls the lives and transactions of the community subject to it. It is said that custom is a mirror of the culture of the people. I would say that customary law goes further and imports justice in the lives of those subject to it.*[xiii]

Also, In *Kharie Zaidan v Fatima Khalil Mohssen*,[xiv] the Supreme Court defined customary law broadly thus: "[a]ny systems of law not being the common law and not being a law enacted by any competent legislature in Nigeria but which is enforceable and binding within Nigeria as between the parties subject to its sway." Customary law has also been defined as "[t]he unrecorded tradition and history of the people which has 'grown' with the 'growth' of the people to stability and eventually becomes an intrinsic part of their culture. It is a usage or practice of the people which by common adoption and acquiescence and by long and unvarying habit has become compulsory and has acquired the force of law with respect to or the subject matter to which it relates."[xv]

According to Mqeke, Customary law refers to the "custom and usages traditionally observed among the indigenous African peoples and which form part of the culture of those peoples."[xvi] It is reputed as being the law that was handed down from time immemorial from ancestors, and as such represents a collection of precedents and decisions of the by-gone chiefs.[xvii] The term entails the customs and usages traditionally observed among the indigenous people that formed part of their cultures and religions.[xviii] It has also been described as "a mirror of accepted usage"[xix] and common law of the people.[xx]

Nigeria as a country is a heterogeneous society with diverse customs and cultures. As such, customary law varies from region to region and, even within a region, variants of customary law exist. Also, within a tribal group, there are some local variations and differences. Thus, the term "customary law" is, therefore, used in this work as a blanket description covering diverse customs and cultures.[xxi] In Nigerian context, the term "customary law" also embraces both the ethnic law and the Muslim law.[xxii] The former is known as the native law and custom, while the latter is referred to as *shari'ah* or Islamic law. Although some scholars have expressed some reservations on categorizing Islamic law as customary law,[xxiii] however, for our

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purpose in this work, Islamic law and the various tribal laws are treated as customary law.[xxiv]

It should be noted that one of the main features of customary law is its acceptance as an obligation by the community. It is recognized as law by the members of the ethnic group.[xxv] Another characteristic of customary law is that it is flexible.[xxvi] The rules change from time to time, and they reflect the changing social and economic conditions within a particular community.[xxvii] In *Lewis v Bankole*,[xxviii] Osborn, CJ said: "one of the most striking features of West African native custom…is its flexibility; it appears to have been always subject to motives of expediency, and it shows unquestionable adaptability to altered circumstance without entirely losing its character."

Also, customary law is generally unwritten;[xxix] an exception, however, is the Islamic or Moslem law whose content is not readily affected by social change.[xxx] It should also be noted that customary law is treated as a matter of facts before the English courts, and as such, it has to be established either by proof or by judicial notice.[xxxi] Having discussed the meaning of customary law, the next section discusses the meaning of human rights.

Human Rights

The concern of the United Nations with the promotion and protection of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom is an expression of the ever-increasing interest of the international community in ensuring that these rights and freedoms are enjoyed by all human beings everywhere. The experience of the Second World War resulted in the widespread conviction that effective international protection of human rights was one of the essential conditions of international peace and progress, and this conviction was set in a number of statements, declarations and proposals made while the war was still being fought. These efforts culminated in the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), 1948 and the eventual translation of the Declaration into binding instruments, to wit: the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), 1966 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), 1966. This Bill of Rights serves as watershed for other human rights instruments later adopted at the global level and within the European, American and African regional levels.

Human rights are usually referred to by various names such as "fundamental rights", "basic rights", "natural rights" and sometimes, "common rights."[xxxii] The term "human rights" defies a single acceptable definition, the reason being that the theoretical foundations of human rights vary over the years depending on the prevailing school of thought at the time. The term is a dynamic one, and is subject to change and expansion. While the concept is widely and generally acknowledged, there is, however, considerable confusion as to the basis of human rights law. Shaw posits that the question of what we mean by the term "right" is itself controversial and the subject of intense jurisprudential debate.[xxxiii] In the same vein, Udombana notes that the notion of rights has been a subject of much legal and philosophical speculation and, therefore, defies definition.[xxxiv]

In this regard, Baxi asserts that the term "human rights" is deeply problematic; it straddles several universes of discourse.[xxxv] At their foundation, human

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rights are a set of moral principles about how people should treat each other, particularly, how people should be treated by the State authorities.[xxxvi] Alsō, Palmer argues that the concept of human rights straddles the boundaries of moral, political and legal discourses. It is the central element in a normative system that recognises that every human person has an equal right to claim conditions of human existence, such as liberty and personal autonomy or integrity of the person, without which it is impossible to maintain the fundamental dignity of human kind.[xxxvii]

According to Raj, human rights are those minimal rights that individuals need to have against the State or other public authority by virtue of their being members of the human family.[xxxviii] The concept is founded on the ancient doctrine of natural rights based on natural law. Ever since the beginning of civilisation, the shortcomings and tyranny of ruling powers have led people to seek higher laws. The concept of a higher law binding human authorities was evolved, and it came to be asserted that there were certain rights anterior to society.[xxxix] These are superior to rights created by human authorities, universally applicable to people of all ages in all regions, and are believed to have existed prior to the development of political societies. These rights are considered as mere ideologies, and there are no agreed catalogue of them and, indeed, no machinery for their enforcement until they are codified into national constitutions as judicially enforceable bill of rights.[xl] It is generally believed that the concept of human rights has its origin in religion, humanitarian traditions and the increasing struggle for freedom and equality in all parts of the world.[xli]

For our purpose, however, the definition of human rights as propounded by Dlamini shall be adopted. According to Dlamini, human rights are "the rights which all human beings have or should have equally by virtue of being human irrespective of race, gender, age, noble or ignoble descent, social class, national origin or ethnic or tribal affiliation; and regardless of wealth or poverty, occupation, talent, merit, religion, ideology or other personal idiosyncrasy."[xlii] These rights are inalienable and cannot be transferred, forfeited or lost by having been usurped or by failure to exercise or assert them, for whatever length of time. They are fundamental because they are important, and life, dignity and other high human values all depend on them.[xliii] They are often set out in the fundamental law of the country, for example in the bill of rights in a constitution.

The well articulated rights include the right to equality and human dignity, the right to life, freedom and security of person, freedom from slavery, servitude and forced labour, right to privacy, freedom of religion, belief and opinion, right to freedom of expression, assembly and association, and a host of socio-economic rights. It is the effect of these various rights on the Nigerian customary law that is the subject of discussion in this paper.

Customary Laws and the Challenges of Human Rights

In this part, an attempt is made to examine the customary law within the lens of human rights as enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution and other human rights instruments. Customary law rules relating to women and children raise issue of health which impacts on women's rights. For instance, where a woman is discriminated against for several reasons known to customary law such as denial or exclusion from inheritance in a family property, this may pose both psychological and health challenges such as depression and other serious ailments.[xliv] The discussion in this paper shows the challenges posed to customary law in terms of their validity and acceptability in this

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modern age. Specifically, aspects of customary law rules on devolution of property, inheritance rights as well as child issues are our primary focus.

Inheritance Right

The two basic principles of succession in customary law are primogeniture of males through males and universal succession.[xlv] The rule of primogeniture permits only male issues to inherit the property of a person who dies intestate.[xlvi] The concept of universal succession, on the other hand, entails that under the customary law, when a man dies his heir[xlvii] takes his [deceased] position as the head of the family and stands *in loco parentis* to the other members of the family.[xlviii]

Under the primogeniture rule, on the death of a person subject of customary law, his estate devolves on his eldest son, or his eldest son's eldest male descendant.[xlix] If the eldest son has died leaving no male issue, the next son or his eldest male descendant inherits, and so on through the sons respectively.[l] The rule of primogeniture has been in existence in Africa since the early times as part of African culture.[li] In Nigeria, the primogenitor rule is particularly prevalent under the Benin customary rule of inheritance as well as in some other societies in the country. Under the rule, no female child is permitted to inherit under this customary law rule.[lii] If a man dies without a son, his property is inherited by his nearest male relative in the collateral line, usually his brother or his brother's male descendant.[liii]

For instance, under the Yoruba customary rule of inheritance, a widow is excluded from the succession. In *Ogunbowale v Layiwola,*[liv] the position under the *Yoruba* customary law was stated. In that case, the deceased was survived by three wives and three children, one from each wife. The deceased also had two houses. The 2nd defendant who was the mother of one of the children sold and conveyed in fee simple one of the two houses left by the deceased claiming that she sold the property under the authority of a paper signed by the two daughters of the deceased and another relation of the latter. The question that came for determination in the case was: "the position in law of the wife or children of a Yoruba man in relation to his real property after his death intestate."

Setting aside the sale of the property, the Court held that nothing by way of property devolves on the wife/wives of a Yoruba man under customary law. It held further that under the customary law, a wife who had children for the deceased could continue to live in the home of the deceased with her children. A wife without any issue for the deceased if she desires to stay on with the family of the deceased would appear to have a right of occupation only. The court concluded that the 2nd defendant had sold the property involved in this case as her own property and conveyed same to the 1st defendant in *fee* simple. Given that she inherited no estate in the real property of her husband except the right to live there as a widow she, therefore, had no interest in the property that she could convey.

Earlier, in *Oloko v Giwa,*[lv] it was held that on the death of the husband, the room allotted to a wife becomes part of the deceased's real estate and not vested in the wife. The wife is privileged to use the property not as a member of the family but with the acknowledgement of her husband's membership of the family if and only if she does not remarry outside her deceased husband's family after the death of her husband. This position is similar under the Ibo customary law. A woman without a child for the deceased is not entitled to inheritance in his property. In *Osilaja v Osilaja,*[lvi] the

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Supreme Court held that the rule that a widow cannot inherit her deceased husband's property has become so notorious by frequent proof in courts that it has become judicially noticed.[lvii]

The primogeniture rule and customary rule of devolution of property have been criticized as discriminatory on the ground that they prohibit female from inheriting.[lviii] Kaganas and Murray assert that for African women, customary law openly discriminates against them.[lix] Equally, in *Nonkululeko Bhe v The Magistrate, Khayelisha,*[lx] Ngwenya J (of the South African Court) opines as follows:

> *We should make it clear in this judgment that a situation whereby a male person will be preferred to a female person for the purposes of inheritance can no longer withstand constitutional scrutiny. That constitutes discrimination before the law. To put it plainly, African females, irrespective of age or social status, are entitled to inherit from their parents' intestate like any male person...*[lxi]

Unlike a woman who marries under the Marriage Act, a woman who marries under customary or Islamic law in Nigeria does not enjoy adequate legal protection in the distribution of assets.[lxii] Under customary arrangement, the husband is generally regarded as having dominant or legal power to dispose of family property. In some cases, this power, he often exercised without taking cognizant of the wife's contributions, as assets are usually acquired in the husband's name.[lxiii] Duncan captures the position of African women under customary law when he states:

> *"[t]raditionally the position of women, throughout their lives, is that of minor children. Before they are married, they are the children of their father; after their marriage, they are the children of their husbands; and during widowhood, they are the children of their heirs."*[lxiv]

The position is, however, a little better under the Islamic law where women are given a measure of protection on inheritance issue. Under Islamic Law, a widow is entitled to one quarter of her deceased husband's property (or one eighth if the deceased had children), while a widower is entitled to half of his deceased wife's property (or one quarter if the deceased had children).

The primogeniture rule has been justified as playing important roles in ancient African customary societies. It holds the society and family together as a unit.[lxv] Niekerk posits that the "[t]he reason for the emergence of the rule was to ensure the continued existence of the family or the group. It is obvious that the primary goal of the rule of male primogeniture could not have been to prejudice certain members of the community."[lxvi]

One of the obvious consequences of the basic principles of succession under the customary law is that the heir becomes owner of all the deceased's property, movable and immovable at the time of death.[lxvii] Another important consequence of the heir's succeeding to the deceased's position is that he becomes the guardian of the women and minor in the family and he is bound to maintain and support them.[lxviii] It should be emphasized that as the heir becomes owner of the deceased's property, he equally becomes liable for the deceased's debt. He is liable for the deceased's debts even though they exceed the value of the assets in the estate, and even though there are no assets in the estate enough to offset them.[lxix]

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Notwithstanding any useful purpose which primogeniture rule plays under the African customary societies, it is submitted that in today's circumstances, primogenitor rule is discriminatory having regards to the principle of equality in the Nigerian Constitution,[lxx] as well as in the various human rights instruments such as the UDHR,[lxxi] the ICCPR,[lxxii] the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR), 1981,[lxxiii] the Convention against Discrimination on Women (CEDAW),[lxxiv] among others.[lxxv] Enforcing a customary law rule that gives family property to one person enriches the *heir* unfairly against other children (male and female), and it encourages him to use the inherited property to serve his own personal interest.[lxxvi] Commenting on the customary rule of primogeniture and the Bill of Rights in South African context, A.J. Kerr submits as follow:

> *Succession of males through males is inconsistent with the provision on unfair discrimination on the ground of gender. Primogeniture does not discriminate unfairly if the succession is to a position that can only be held by one person, such as the headship of a tribe, which position does not involve legal guardianship of others and does not deprive others of equality of treatment in the distribution of assets. If the Bill of Rights applies to all branches of customary law, one has to eliminate the phrase 'of males through males' as 'inconsistent' with the Constitution and therefore 'invalid', and the position of primogeniture is continued, is that the eldest child, not eldest son, succeeds to the position.*[lxxvii]

The South African Constitutional Court considered the constitutionality of the primogeniture rule in *Bhe v Magistrate Khayelitsha; Shibi v Sithole; SA Human Rights Commission v President of the Republic of South Africa.*[lxxviii] The Court held that primogeniture rule is discriminatory and, therefore, inconsistent with the Constitution. According to the Court, "the exclusion of women from inheritance on the grounds of gender is a clear violation of section 9(3) of the [1996 South African] Constitution. It is a form of discrimination that entrenches past patterns of disadvantage among a vulnerable group, exacerbated by old notions of patriarchy and male domination incompatible with the guarantee of equality under this constitutional order."[lxxix]

Earlier, the Nigerian Court of Appeal had in the case of *Augustine N. Mojekwu v Caroline M.O. Mojekwu*[lxxx] held the same view. In that case, the Court of Appeal, *per* Niki Tobi, JCA (as he then was) expressed thus:

> *The appellant claims to be that 'Oli-ekpe'. Is such a custom consistent with equity and fair play in an egalitarian society such as ours where the civilized sociology does not discriminate against women? Day after day, month after month and year after year, we hear of and read of about customs, which discriminate against the womenfolk in this country. They are regarded as inferior to menfolk. Why should it be so? All human beings, male and female are born into a free world and are expected to participate freely, without any inhibition on grounds of sex; and that is constitutional. Any form of societal discrimination on grounds of sex, apart from being unconstitutional, is antithesis to a society built on the tenets of democracy, which we have freely chosen as a people. We need not travel all the way to Beijing to know that some of our customs, including the Nnewi Oli-ekpe custom relied upon*

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by the appellant are not consistent with our civilized world in which we all live today...On my part, I have no difficulty in holding that the Oli-ekpe custom of Nnewi is repugnant to natural justice, equity and good conscience.

It is submitted that the customary rules of inheritance, which deny a surviving spouse, the right of inheritance or benefit over the property of his/her deceased partner, is repugnant to social justice, equity, fair play and good conscience.[lxxxi] In this modern age, it is an established fact that both men and women contribute to the families' economic wealth irrespective of the fact that they consummate their marriages in terms of the native law and custom.[lxxxii] Thus, to allow the rule of primogeniture to govern intestate succession would not only be unfair and discriminatory, but also outrageous. It is submitted that primogeniture rule and other similar customary law practices are repugnant to natural justice, equity and good conscience, and above all, inconsistent with the Constitution and, therefore, need reform if they are to stand.[lxxxiii]

However, the Nigerian Court of Appeal pronouncement in *Mojekwu's case* has been condemned by the Supreme Court when the case came before it on appeal in *Mojekwu v Iwuchukwu*.[lxxxiv] The legal issue before the Supreme Court was whether the Court of Appeal erred in holding the *Ili-ekpe* custom to be repugnant and contrary to the gender equality provisions under the constitution and pertinent international human rights instruments. The Supreme Court held that the rules of procedure precluded the Court of Appeal from determining whether *ili-ekpe* custom was repugnant since neither of the parties to the case brought the validity of the custom as a legal issue before the court. The Supreme Court, however, upheld the Court of Appeal judgment in the case because, in its view, it did not result in miscarriage of justice, as the *Kola tenancy* was indeed the applicable law, and thus, the respondent and her family were rightfully held to be the owners of the property in issue. But it held that the Court of Appeal erred in holding that the *Ili-ekpe* custom is repugnant to natural justice.[lxxxv]

Child issues

Under the Nigerian customary societies, children work in one sense or the other within and outside their families. Such work is generally regarded as part of socialization process through which children are prepared for adulthood.[lxxxvi] It is customary for a child to perform family errands; this he does within his ability. At times, members of community work together to enable children acquire skills that would be needed when they reach adulthood. The nature and the kind of work given to children enhance their health, physical and psychological development.[lxxxvii] Girls are, for example, expected to do in small scale what their mothers do. In the same vein, boys are expected to follow in their fathers' footsteps. There were even cases where children would be sent to lend hands to their relations.[lxxxviii]

All these are designed to achieve two main purposes, namely, first, to acquire specific skills which they would find useful when they become adults; and secondly, to teach children the desired responsibility to others, perseverance and moral values.[lxxxix] However, with human rights consideration, these types of work are now considered not to be in the best interest of the child, and are, therefore, considered as child labour and child abuse which the various human rights instruments forbid.[xc] It should be noted, however, that not all these kinds of work come within the meaning of child labour and child abuse, but lack of clear-cut delineation between this kind of work and child labour puts this well established customary practice to human rights

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challenges. Similarly, under the customary society, children are expected to be submissive, quiet and perform what is specifically required by parents.[xci] Any child that goes against this established order is normally punished, disciplined or chastised.[xcii] Discipline is about positive behaviour management aimed at promoting appropriate behaviour and developing in children, self-discipline and self-control.[xciii] Methods of discipline vary from parents and from one society to the other; it includes corporal punishment.[xciv] Within the purview of human rights, corporal punishment is now seen as a form of cruelty to a child and, therefore, amounts to degrading treatment. This is another challenge to customary rules and practices.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), (1989) is the first binding universal treaty dedicated to the protection and promotion of children's rights. The CRC is a significant legal and political achievement: it elevated the child to the status of an independent rights-holder and placed children's issues at the centre of the mainstream human rights agenda.[xcv] The UDHR, ICCPR, the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), 1984, as well as the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), 1981, provide children with an absolute right not to be subjected to torture, inhuman or degrading treatment.[xcvi] Respect for human dignity, the right to physical integrity and equal protection under the law, are the three fundamental human rights principles enshrined by these international human rights instruments.[xcvii]

Similarly, at the national level, the Nigerian Child's Rights Act (CRA), 2003 provides for the concept of the "best interests" of the child. The CRA states: "[i]n every action concerning a child, whether undertaken by an individual, public or private body, institutions or service, court of law, or administrative or legislative authority , *the best interests of the child shall be primary consideration.*"[xcviii] The UDHR, the ICCPR, the CRC, the CAT as well as the ACHPR provide children with an absolute right not to be subjected to torture, inhuman or degrading treatment. Of these human rights instruments, the CRC[xcix] presents the most comprehensive provisions prohibiting corporal punishment of children.[c] Spanking, beating, corporal punishment and many more which are permissible forms of discipline under the customary law can no longer stand test of human rights.

Transformation of Customary Law Rules

Under the Nigerian legal system, rules of customary law are treated as statement of facts, and as such, they need to be proved to establish their existence and validity. Because the procedure in the English established courts where the customary law rules are to be proved were based on different principles and ideas of law, the exercise is seen as subjecting the customary law to a second position in its own land. It is relegating the indigenous law to imperial law. It is submitted that one feature of the repugnancy clause is that it presents customary law as a system of law inferior to the received English law.[ci] Thus, any rule of native law and custom which comes in conflict with the Common law or any statutory law must give way.[cii]

However, courts sometimes modify customary law rules in the process of judicial interpretation. The effect of such approach is that it transforms the customary law from what is generally acceptable as binding within the community to judicial perception of what is fair and just which is capable of distorting customary law rules.[ciii] Also, courts have sometimes employed a more liberal approach whereby the

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good aspects of customary law rules are upheld, while the offensive parts considered repugnant are eliminated. This liberal approach was adopted in *Re White*[civ], wherein the Court refused to apply the rule of customary law *in toto*.

In that case, according to the *Fanti* customary law, the property of a deceased, a *Fanti*, would have gone to his sister, but the Administrator-General refused to apply this rule; instead, the property was distributed between the deceased's sister and her daughter. The Court upheld this mode of distribution as equitable. Customary law scholars have warned that this approach may be dangerous in the sense that it could change customary law rules to what they never were. In this regard, Koyana submits that the repugnancy clause is anachronistic, discriminatory and should be repealed from the statute books. He asserts that in some African countries, such as Tanzania and Ghana, the repugnancy clause has been dropped from their laws. It was considered unfitting to the dignity of the indigenous laws of the people of those countries to suggest that repugnancy clause existed.[cv]

Reform and Recommendations

It is accepted that the "repugnancy doctrine" was routinely employed in a legal "cleansing" mission and was the engine for the imposition of hegemonic, foreign culture. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that repugnancy doctrine has contributed in no small measure to the development of Nigerian customary law. It has refined and modified obnoxious rules of customary law and brings them in tune with modern-day realities. It is submitted, however, that while interpreting customary law within the context of the constitution and human rights, an interpretive approach on customary law that ensures its survival and adaptation to the dictates of equality in an egalitarian society should be adopted.

It will be good if customary law is placed on the same pedestal and status as the English law. It is submitted, however, that considerable caution should be taken in the uncritical and contemporary use of the repugnancy doctrine and its precedents under the Nigerian law. Some African countries have, at one time or the other, carried out comprehensive review of their customary laws and also paid close attention to customary law.[cvi] Review of customary law rules to bring them in tune with human rights and modern day realities is necessary. The South African Law Commission has been forth-coming in this respect. Several aspects of customary law have been reviewed under the auspices of Project 90: The Harmonization of the Common Law and the Indigenous Law: Succession in Customary Law.[cvii]

Other African countries such as Ghana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe have at one time or the other carried out comprehensive review of their customary law. It is only when this is done that customary law can be elevated to the status of a justiciable right preserved in the Constitution as is the case under the 1996 South African Constitution.

Conclusion

This chapter examines the challenges posed by the concept of human rights to the Nigerian customary law. It starts by examining the meanings of customary law and human rights. It distinguishes the terms "customary law", "custom" or "culture" and states that given that they are interwoven, there may be tendency to regard those terms as the same. It points out that with the introduction of the English law into Nigeria, the indigenous or customary law rules have been relegated to the background, coming after the received foreign law, statutes of general application and other ordinances. As

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such, the validity of the customary law rules is often assessed based on the English principles and ideas of justice. Repugnancy doctrine was one of the English principles introduced to assess the validity of customary law. Based on this foreign standard, the rules of customary law found offensive or inconsistent with the English sense of justice and human rights are often declared invalid.

It is revealed that customary law rules are assessed with the lens or idea of human rights as enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution as well as in other regional and international human rights instruments. The paper shows the challenges posed to customary law rules in terms of their validity and acceptability in this modern age. Specific aspects of customary law rules, such as devolution of property, inheritance rights, child issues, as well as health issues, received particular attention. It posits that unless they are modified or reviewed, most of these rules will be incompatible with modern ideas of justice, fairness and equity, and are mostly discriminatory against women. The consequence is that such rules will be automatically declared invalid if they are tested in law courts. The paper, therefore, concludes by advocating for a review or transformation of the Nigerian customary law rules to bring them in tune with the modern-day realities.[1]

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Notes and References

[i] See Nwabueze, R.N., "The Dynamics and Genius of Nigeria's Indigenous Legal Order" (2002) 1 *Indigenous Law Journal* 155-200 at 157.

[ii] In this regard, Seymour distinguishing the Bantu customary law and Bantu custom stated as follows: "Bantu law is often spoken of as Bantu custom. This is a common-law point of view, arising from the fact that Bantu law is unwritten, and since it was originally only ascertainable orally from the Bantu themselves, it is viewed by courts applying the common law as similar to trade custom. There is, however, a clear distinction between Bantu law and Bantu custom, although they are inextricably interwoven." See Seymour, S.M., *Bantu Law in South Africa* (Juta & Co., Johannesburg, 1970) 13.

[iii] See Bronstein, V., "Reconceptualizing the Customary Law Debate in South Africa" (1998) *SAJHR* 388 at 393.

[iv] See Robinson, K.L., "The Minority and Subordinate Status of African Women under Customary Law" (1995) 11 *SAJHR* 457-476 at 469.

[v] See Allott, A., "The People as Lawmakers: Custom, Practice and Public Opinion as Source of Law in Africa and England" (1977) *Journal of African Law* 1 at 5.

[vi] See generally, Allen, C.K., *Law in the Making* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1964) 67-70; see also, Nwabueze, *op. cit.*, at 158.

[vii] Nwabueze, *op. cit.,* at 159.

[viii] See Elias, T.O., "The Problem of Reducing Customary Law to Writing" in Kiralfy, A.K.R. (ed.), *British Legal Paper* (Stevens & Sons, London, 1958) 61; Obi, S.N.C., *The Ibo Law of Property* (Butterworths, London, 1963) 28-29.

[ix] See Ordinance No. 3 of 1863.

[x] See Ajibola, J.O., *Administration of Justice in the Customary Courts of Yorubaland* (University Press Ltd, Ibadan, 1982) 1.

[xi] Nwabueze, *op. cit.,* at 159. See also, Rattigan who defines customary law thus: "Customary law, or as it is called, *mores majorum or consuetudinarium* is composed of a large body of rules observed by communities, evidenced by long usages and founded on pre-existing rules sanctioned by the will of the community. It exists independently of a sovereign authority." See Rattigan, W.H., *Digest of Customary Law,* 13th ed., (The Uiversity Book Agency, Delhi, 1953) 8; see also, Schapera, I.A., *A Handbook of the Tswana Law and Custom* (Frank Cass & Co., London, 1938) 37.

[xii] [1990] 2 NWLR (pt 137) 183.

[xiii] At 207.

[xiv] [1973] 1 All NLR 86 at 101.

[xv] See *Aku v Aneku* [1991] 8 NWLR (pt 209) 280 (CA).

[xvi] See Mqeke, R.B., *Customary Law and the New Millennium* (2003) 3; see also, Taiwo E.A., "Customary Law Rule of Primogeniture and its Discriminatory Effects on Women's Inheritance Rights in Nigeria: A Call for Reform" (2008) 22(2) *Speculum Juris* 104-122; Taiwo, E.A., "Repugnancy Clause and its Impact on Customary Law: Comparing the South African and Nigerian Positions- Some Lessons for Nigeria" (2009) 34(1) *Journal for Juridical Science* 89-115.

[xvii] Mqeke, *op. cit.*, at 3.

[xviii] Although, African customary law is often perceived to be synonymous with culture and custom, Juma argues that lawyers must endeavour to distinguish "law" from "custom" to facilitate a more reasoned appreciation of the place African law ought to occupy in the legal system. He asserts: "Custom refers to practice; what people do. Law is the norm; what people ought to do." See Juma, L., "From 'Repugnancy' to 'Bill of Rights': African Customary Law and Human Rights in Lesotho and South Africa" (2007) *Speculum Juris* 88-112 at 94; see also, *Hlope v Mahlalela* 1998 (1) SA 449 (T) 457, where Van der Heever AJ observed that not "all cultural practices are indigenous law and vice versa."

[xix] See *Owonyin v Omotosho* (1961) All NLR 304 at 309. This definition was also adopted by the Nigerian Supreme Court of Nigeria in *Kimdey v Military Governor of Gongola State* [1988] 2 NWLR (pt 77) 445; see also, *Zaidan v Mohssen* (1973) 11 SC 1 21.

[xx] See *Ex Parte Ekepenga* FSC 204/1961 of 30/4/1962 (Unreptd.)

[xxi] It should be noted that the term "customary law" in Nigerian context embraces both Native Law in Southern Nigeria and Shari'ah Law operating in Northern Nigeria. See Taiwo "Justifications, Challenges

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and Constitutionality of the Penal Aspects of Shari'ah Law in Nigeria." (2008) 17(1) *Griffith Law Review* 183 at 187-188.

[xxii] Professor Obilade notes as follows: "In Nigeria, customary law may be divided in terms of nature into two classes, namely, ethic or non-Muslim customary law and Muslim law." See Obilade, A.O., *The Nigerian Legal System* (Spectrum Publishing, Ibadan, 1990) 83; Park equally alluded to this categorization when he notes: "But tribal laws are not the only systems covered by the term 'Customary Law', for throughout the federation it includes Islamic Law also." See Park, AEW, *The Sources of Nigerian Law* (Sweet & Maxwell, Lagos, 1963) 130; Anderson, J.N.D., *Islamic Law in Africa* (Frank Cases & Co., London, 1970) 172.

[xxiii] See Tobi, N., *Sources of Nigerian Law* (MIJ Professional Publishers, Lagos, 1996) 151. See also, *Alh. Ila Alkamawa v Alh. Hassan Bello* (1998) 6 SCNJ 127 136.

[xxiv] Park, *op. cit.*, at 65.

[xxv] Obilade, *op. cit.,* at 84.

[xxvi] *Ibid.*

[xxvii] See *Alfa v Arepo* [1963] WNLR 95.

[xxviii] (1908) 1 NLR 81 at 100-101.

[xxix] See *Adelaja v Oguntayo* [2001] 6 NWLR (pt 710) 593 (CA); *Edozien v Edozien* [1998] 13 NWLR (pt 580) 133 (CA).

[xxx] Obilade, *op. cit.,* at 84.

[xxxi] In this regards see sec 14 of the Evidence Act, LFN, 2004. See also, *Adedibu v Adewoyin* (1951) 13 WACA 191; *Adeseye v Taiwo* (1956) 1 FSC 84; *Suberu v Sunmonu* (1957) 2 FSC 33; *Oyekan v Adele* [1957] 1 WLR 876; *Balogun v Oshodi* (1929) 10 NLR 50; *Dawodu v Danmole* [1972] 1 All NLR 298; *Adeniji v Adeniji* [1972] 1 All NLR 298; *Ababio II v Nsemfoo* (1947) 12 WACA 127; *Ehiogae v Ehioghae* (1964) MNLR 30; *Taiwo v Dosunmu* [1975] 1 All NLR 399; Obilade, *op. cit.,* at 84-99.

[xxxii] See Saharay, H.K., *The Constitution of India: An Analytical Approach,* 3rd ed. (Eastern Law House, Kolkata and New Delhi, 2002) 32; Mubangizi, J.C., *The protection of Human Rights in South Africa: A legal and Practical Guide* (Juta and Co. Ltd, Lansdowne, 2004) 2.

[xxxiii] Shaw, M.N., *International Law* 4th ed. (Cambridge, Grotius, 1997) 196.

[xxxiv] Udombana, N.J., "Shifting Institutional Paradigms to Advance Socio-Economic Rights in Africa" (LLD Thesis, UNISA, 2007) 9.

[xxxv] See McCorquodale, R. (ed.), *Human Rights* (Ashgate Dartmouth Publishing, England, 2003) 159 at 162.

[xxxvi] See Halliday, S. & Schmidt, P. (eds.), *Human Rights Brought Home: Socio-Legal Perspectives on Human Rights in National Context* (Hart Publishing, Oxford & Portland Oregon, 2004) 23.

[xxxvii] Palmer, E., *Judicial Review, Socio-Economic Rights and the Human Rights Act* (Hart Publishing, Oxford and Portland, Oregon, 2009) 11.

[xxxviii] Raj, M.S., "Awakening of Human Rights" in Nirmal, C.J. (ed.), *Human Rights in India* (Oxford University Press, 2000) 1.

[xxxix] *Ibid.*

[xl] See Basu, D.D., *Human Rights in Constitutional Law* (Parentice-Hall of India, New Delhi 1994) 5-6.

[xli] Mubangizi, *op. cit.*, at 4.

[xlii] Dlamini, C.R.M., *Human Rights in Africa: Which Way South Africa?* (Butterworths, Durban, 1995) 3.

[xliii] *Ibid,* at 3-4.

[xliv] Also in medical research for instance, before a woman can validly consent to research on herself and/or on her child, such consent must be approved by her spouse. But in cases where the research may benefit only the wife and the spouse does not consent, the health of the woman may be at stake.

[xlv] See Kerr, A.J., "Customary Law, Fundamental Rights, and the Constitution" (1994) 111(4) *SALJ* 720 725; Kerr, A.J., "The Bill of Rights in the New Constitution and Customary Law" (1997) 114(2) *SALJ* 346 350; Kerr, A.J., *The Customary Law of Immovable Property and of Succession,* 3rd ed. (Grocoti & Sherry, Grahamstown,1990) 99-100.

[xlvi] Kerr, *The Customary Law of Immovable Property, op. cit.,* at 99-100.

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[xlvii] The heir is the person who steps into the shoes of the deceased head of the family as the administrator of the family property. See Robinson, K.L., "The Minority and Subordinate Status of African Women under Customary Law" (1995) *SAJHR* 457 460.

[xlviii] Kerr, *The Customary Law of Immovable Property, op. cit.,* at 100.

[xlix] Mbatha equally states that the devolution of estates under customary law follows the male lineage, by entrusting the control and administration of the family property to the heir. See Mbatha, L., "Reforming the Customary Law of Succession" (2002) 18 *SAJHR* 259 260.

[l] See *Sonti v Sonti* 1929 NAC (C&O) 23 24.

[li] See Omotola, J.A., "Primogeniture and Illegitimacy in African Customary Law: The Battle for Survival of Culture" (2003) *Speculum Juris* 181.

[lii] See *Madolo v Nomawu* (1896) 1 NAC 12; *Mahashe v Hahashe* 1955 NAC 149 (S) 153.

[liii] Kerr, *The Customary Law of Immovable Property op. cit.,* at 99.

[liv] (1975) 3 CCHCJ/HC 323 of 19 March, 1975.

[lv] (1939) 15 NLR 31.

[lvi] (1972) 10 SC 126.

[lvii] See *Bolaji v. Akapo* (1968) NMLR 203; see also *Akinubi v. Akinubi* [1997] 2 NWLR (pt 486) 144; (1997) 1 SCNJ 202. See *Davies v Davies,* (1929) 2 NLR 79 80, where Beckley J., held that a wife was deprived of inheritance rights in her deceased husband's estate because in intestacy under native law and custom, the devolution of property follows blood. Therefore, a wife or widow not being of the same blood with her husband had no claim to any cause. See also, *Suberu v Sunmonu* (1957) 2 FSC 31, where Jibowu FJ, reiterated it that it is a well-settled rule of native law and custom of the Yoruba people that a wife could not inherit her husband's property since she herself is like a chattel to be inherited by a relative of her husband.

[lviii] See Bennett, T.W., *Human Rights and African Customary Law under the South African Constitution* (Juta & Co, Lansdowne, 1999) 80-95; Robinson, *op. cit.,* at 457-476.

[lix] Kaganas & Murray "Law and Women's Rights in South Africa: An Overview" in Murray, C. (ed.), *Gender and the New South African Legal Order* (Juta & Co., Cape Town, 1994) 16.

[lx] Unreported suit No. 9489/2002, judgment of the Cape High Court delivered on 25 September 2003. This judgment has been confirmed by the Constitutional court and is discussed *infra*.

[lxi] *Nonkululeko Bhe v The Magistrate, Khayelisha* (supra); see also, *Brink v Kitshoff NO* (1996) 6 BCLR 752, para 44 (CC).

[lxii] The Married Women's Property Act accords some recognition and gives a surviving wife inheritance rights on certain portion of the legacy. Married Women's Property Act, 1883 (England) is a Statute of General Application in Nigeria. Where marriage is dissolved, the Nigerian Matrimonial Causes Act 1970 provides that a judicial order shall divide the family assets between the parties.

[lxiii] See *Nwanva v. Nwanva* [1987] 3 NWLR 697.

[lxiv] See Duncan, P., *Sotho Laws and Custom* (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1960) 4.

[lxv] Van Niekerk, G.J., "Succession, Living Indigenous Law and *Ubuntu* in Constitutional Court" (2005) 26(3) *Obiter* 474-487.

[lxvi] *Ibid*, 479.

[lxvii] See Kerr *The Customary Law of Immovable Property, op. cit.,* at 100-101.

[lxviii] *Ibid*, at 108.

[lxix] In the South African case of *Maguga v Scotch* 1931 NAC (T&N) 54, it was held thus: "It is most characteristic of the Native law of inheritance that the view was adopted that the heir must be made answerable for the debts of the deceased, if necessary, with his own property. The heir was made answerable in the same manner as though he had contracted the debt himself or, to put it more plainly, he was made answerable in the same way as though he was the deceased himself." See also, *Dlumti v Sikade* 1947 NAC (C&O) 47; *Umvovo v Umvovo* 1952 NAC 151 (S).

[lxx] For example, sec 42(1) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution (as amended) prohibits discrimination on account of sex among others.

[lxxi] See art 7 of the UDHR (1948) which guarantees the equality of all persons and freedom from any forms of discrimination.

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[lxxii] Art 26 of the ICCPR (1966) also provides: "[a]ll person are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

[lxxiii] Art 3 of the ACHPR provides that every individual shall be equal before the law and shall be entitled to equal protection of the law. Its article 18(3) further provides that "[t]he State shall ensure the elimination of every discrimination against women and shall also ensure the protection of the rights of the women and the child as stipulated in international declarations and conventions."

[lxxiv] In terms of article 2 of the Convention, State Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its form, and agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay, a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and undertake *inter alia* to take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women. See also art 2(f) & art 5(a) of the CEDAW.

[lxxv] Also, the preamble to the United Nations' Charter sets as a basic goal the followings: the "reaffirmation of faith in fundamental human rights in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women." Article 1 of the Charter proclaims that one of its purposes is to achieve international cooperation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all people "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

[lxxvi] See Mbatha, *op. cit.*, at 267.

[lxxvii] Kerr, The Bill of Rights in the New Constitution, *op. cit.*, at 350-351; Kerr, Customary Law, Fundamental Rights, *op. cit.*, at 725-726.

[lxxviii] (2005) 1 BCLR 1, hereinafter shortened as *Bhe*'s case. Langa DCJ (as he then was) delivered the majority judgment which Chaskalson, CJ, Madala, Mokgoro, Moseneke, O'Regan, Sachs, Skweyiya, Yacoob & Van der Westhusizen, JJ concurred in. Ngcobo J dissented.

[lxxix] *Bhe*'s case, para [91].

[lxxx] [1997] 7 NWLR (pt 512) 283.

[lxxxi] See generally, Taiwo E.A., "Customary Law Rule of Primogeniture and its Discriminatory Effects on Women's Inheritance Rights in Nigeria: A Call for Reform" (2008) 22(2) *Speculum Juris* 104-122; Taiwo, E.A., "Repugnancy Clause and its Impact on Customary Law: Comparing the South African and Nigerian Positions- Some Lessons for Nigeria" (2009) 34(1) *Journal for Juridical Science* 89-115. See also, sec 14 of the Evidence Act, Cap 112, LFN, 2004.

[lxxxii] In this regard, Van der Meide argues: "[g]enerally speaking, African women contribute to their families' economic wealth in the same manner as do their husbands and non-African counterparts. Yet during a customary union they are legally prevented from maintaining a separate estate, and should the union be dissolved, the law is such that they leave it virtually empty-handed. See Van der Meide, W., "Gender Equality v Right to Culture: Debunking the Perceived Conflicts Preventing the Reform of the Marital Property Regime of the 'Official Version' of Customary Law" (1999) 116 *SALJ* 100 at 109.

[lxxxiii] See generally, Kerr, The Bill of Rights in the New Constitution, *op. cit.*, at 346 352.

[lxxxiv] [2004] 4 SC (pt II) 1. The names of the parties changed because, when the matter was pending before the Supreme Court, Caroline Mojekwu, (the original party to the suit) died and was substituted with her daughter, Mrs. Iwuchukwu.

[lxxxv] See generally, Taiwo, Adewale, *The Nigerian Land Law* (Ababa Press, Ibadan, 2011) 176-198.

[lxxxvi] See Taiwo, E.A., "Checking the Child Rights Abuses under the Nigerian Laws" in Yakubu, J.A., *et. al.*, (eds.), *The Abused and the Society* (Royal People (Nig.) Ltd, Ibadan, 2007) 20-38 at 29.

[lxxxvii] *Ibid.*

[lxxxviii] Akintola, S.O. & Taiwo, E.A., *Nigerian Woman and Her Child: The Remaining Challenges* (Demyaxs Press Ltd, Ibadan, 2004) 22.

[lxxxix] *Ibid.*

[xc] See the provisions of the CRC, 1989 and the Child's Rights Act, 2003 (Nigeria) among others.

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[xci] See Akintola & Taiwo, *op. cit.*, at 18. Even under at common law, parents and persons *in loco parentis* have power to chastise and discipline the children or wards under their care. See Robinson, J.A. (ed.), *The Law of Children and Young Persons in South Africa* (Butterworths, Durban, 1997) 260-261.

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[xciii] See Van der Bank, A., "Codes of Conduct for Learners" in Davel, C.J. (ed.), *Introduction to Child Law in South Africa* (Juta & Co, 2000) 302-303.

[xciv] Akintola & Taiwo, *op. cit.*, at 19.

[xcv] See Fottrell, D., "One Step Forward or Two Steps Sideways? Assessing the First decade of the Children's Convention of the Rights of the Child" in Fottrell, D., (ed.), *Revisiting Children's Rights 10 Years of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* (Kluwer Law International, the Hague, London & Boston, 2000) 1-14 at 1.

[xcvi] See art 5 of the UDHR, 1948; art 7 of the ICCPR, 1966. Art 5 of the ACHPR for instance, provides: "[e]very individual shall have the right to the respect of the dignity inherent in a human being and to the recognition of his legal status. All forms of exploitation and degradation of man particularly slavery, slave trade, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment and treatment shall be prohibited."

[xcvii] See Newell, P., "Ending Corporal Punishment of Children" in Fottrell, (ed.), *op. cit.*, 115-126 at 115.

[xcviii] Sec 1 of the Act; italics added for emphasis.

[xcix] The Convention was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 20 November, 1989 and is widely ratified.

[c] See Bitensky, S.H., *Corporal Punishment of Children: A Human Rights Violation* (Transnational Publishers, Ardsley, 2006) 50.

[ci] See Koyana, D.S., "The Indomitable Repugnancy Clause" (2002) 23(1) *Obiter* 98 at 104.

[cii] See *Nbono v Manxiweni* (1891) 6 EDC 62; *Ntame v Mbede* 3 NAC 94 (912); see also, *Eshugbayi Eleko v Officer Administering the Government of Nigeria & Ors* (1931) AC 662, 673 where the Privy Council held that customary law is either good or bad and that the court cannot itself transform a barbarous custom into a milder one. If a rule of customary law still stands in its barbarous character, it must be rejected as repugnant to natural justice equity and good conscience.

[ciii] *Gidja v Yingwane* 1944 NAC (N&T) 4.

[civ] (1946) 18 NLR 70.

[cv] See Koyana, *op. cit.*, at 104 & 107.

[cvi] See The South African Law Commission Report (2000) 34.

[cvii] *Ibid.*

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SECTION ELEVEN
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE

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CHAPTER TWENTY EIGHT

PEOPLES AND CULTURE OF NIGERIA IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD: ARE THERE TRULY UNIQUE NIGERIAN PEOPLES AND CULTURE?

Tade, Oludayo and Aderinto, Adeyinka A.

Introduction: Conceptual and Research Agenda

Globalization is one of the concepts that enjoy interdisciplinary fluidity. Apparently transparent and without complexity, the idea of globalisation masks more than it reveals of what is happening in the world. And what it envelopes is, when viewed from a different perspective, so important that the transparency and simplicity of the idea of globalisation, far from being innocent, must be considered as an ideological and political device endowed with specific internationalities. Giddens (1990) sees globalisation as the intensification of worldwide social relations, which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are swayed by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. It is a process whereby political, social, economic and cultural relations increasingly take on a global scale which has profound consequence for individual local experience and everyday lives (Bilton, 1997).

Indeed, Van der Bly (2005) argues that globalisation still seems to be a staggering concept that has apparently not lost any of the overwhelming connotations of its imagination to the limitations of reality. According to the determinist fallacy, globalisation is a spontaneous, automatic, unavoidable, and irreversible process which intensifies and advances according to an inner logic and dynamism strong enough to impose them on any external interference. Castells (1996) views globalisation as the unavoidable result of the revolution in information technology. By Castell's view, therefore, human life (structure, culture, institutions and organisation) and, by extension, behaviour modification are not unaffected by globalisation. It is *global* because the core activities of production, consumption, and circulation are organized on a global scale (Castels, 1996: 66). Globalisation results from a set of political decisions which are identifiable in time and authorship. For instance, European expedition of colonization over other nations, the idea deregulation of the economy, democratization process all over the world started as a political decision to assert firm hegemonic control and superiority of ideology.

The second fallacy is that of the disappearance of the South. According to this fallacy, North/South relations have never constituted a real conflict, but, rather, over a lengthy period of time, the two poles of relationship have become easily identifiable, with the North producing manufactured products, whilst the South supplied the raw materials. The situation began to change in the sixties (taking into account theories of dependency or dependent development) and was radically transformed from the eighties onwards. Today, whether on a financial level, or on the level of production or even of consumption, the world has become integrated into a global economy in which, faced with multiple interdependencies, it no longer makes sense to distinguish between North and South and, furthermore, between the core, periphery and semi -periphery of the world system. The more triumphant the concept of globalisation is, the less visible the South, or the hierarchies of the world system become. The idea is that globalisation has a uniform impact on all the regions of the world and on all sectors of activity and that its architects, the multinational companies, are infinitely innovative and have the ability to organise well enough to transform the new global economy into an unprecedented opportunity.

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Robertson (1998) distinguishes between four main globalisation discourses. *Regional discourse,* such as, for example, the Asian discourse, the Western European discourse or the Latin American discourse have a civilisational tone, in which globalisation confronts regional particularities. Within the same region, there may be different sub-discourses. For example, in France, there is a strong tendency to view globalisation as an Anglo-American threat to French society and culture and to that of the other European countries. Yet, as Robertson remarks, the anti-globalisation of the French can easily be converted into a French globalisation project. The *disciplinary discourse* relates to the way in which globalisation is seen by the different social sciences. The most salient feature of this discourse is the emphasis given to economic globalisation. *Ideological discourse* can intersect with either of these and relates to a political evaluation of the processes of globalisation. The anti-globalisation discourse opposes pro-globalisation discourse and within both, it is possible to distinguish left and right wing positions. Finally, there is *feminist discourse* which, having started off as an anti-globalisation discourse favouring the local and attributing male concerns to the global is nowadays also a discourse of globalisation and is distinguished by the emphasis it places on the community aspects of globalisation.

The plurality of discourses on globalisation shows that it is imperative to produce a critical theoretical reflection on globalisation and to do so in such a way as to capture the complexity of the phenomena it involves and the disparate interests it confronts. The first contradiction is between globalisation and localisation. The present time reveals itself to us as dominated by a dialectic, at the heart of which the processes of globalisation occur parallel to the processes of localisation. In fact, as interdependence and global interactions intensify', social relations in general seem to be increasingly more dispossessed, opening up the way towards new *rights of choice,* which cross borders that until recently were policed by tradition, nationalism, language or ideology and frequently by a combination of all these factors. Willien (2002) predicted that globalisation will lead to de-territorialisation, which he describes as the end of geography or an end to sovereignty.

Globalisation and Culture

Cultural globalisation is driven both by a centripetal force of convergence and a centrifugal force of des-integration; a pairing which at first glance seems contradictory. Everywhere on the planet, we are witnesses to a movement that returns to and promotes integrity as a value and the distinctness of local traditional cultures (Kathleen, 1995; Daniel. 1997). Many nations are defining or redefining themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs, and institutions. This wave of essentialism revives values, norms and local practices, and contributes to their transmission on a global scale whatever their size, importance and origin. This phenomenon is a natural reaction of cultural self-assertion and self-preservation in the face of the danger of homogenisation generated by globalisation.

Cultural globalisation can be understood as the process by which local values, norms and practices are diffused on a global scale through transnational communication channels. This process has a double effect of both convergence and disintegration (Robertson, 1992). Globalisation is defined as an intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (Giddens, 1990). Held and McGrew

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(2002) see globalisation as the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of interregional flows and patterns of social interaction. It refers to a shift or transformation in the scale of human social organisation that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world's major and continents.

This aspect of globalization relates to the diffusion of two sets of cultural phenomena: the proliferation of individualized values, originally of Western origin, to ever larger parts of the world population. These values are expressed in social constitutions that recognize individual rights and identities and transnational and international efforts to protect "human right. Bureaucratic organization and rationality, belief in a law-like natural universe, the values of economic efficiency and political democracy have been spreading throughout the world since they were propagated in the European Enlightenment (Meyer 1996; Markoff 1996). Whereas some of the discussions of the world polity assume that cultural components have been a central aspect of the modern world-system from the start, for instance, (Manna 1986, Meyer 1989). Christopher (1999) acknowledges the growing salience of cultural consensus in me last 100 years. He opines that whereas the modern world-system has always been, and is still multicultural, the growing influence and acceptance of Western values of rationality, individualism, equality, and efficiency is an important trend of the twentieth century.

Neo-liberal globalisation theory is very vast, not reduced to integrated system of markets but includes other spheres of social life. To them, globalisation is the process that will lead to creating a global cultural identity and developing a unique model of economic, social and political order. However, Karl Marx argued that globalisation of neo-liberals in other Asia countries has been destructive and regenerating, entailing the annihilation of old Asiatic society and the laying of the material foundations of the Western society in Asia (Barrilon, 2001). From the culture point of view, David (2002) states that globalisation is the process of harmonising different cultures and beliefs. According to Castells (1997). globalisation is the process that erodes differences in culture and producing a seamless global system of culture and economic values.

According to Fafowora (1998), globalisation is a process of integration of economic, political, social, and cultural relations across international boundaries. In essence, culture globalisation and realizing modernity are as hidden formulas for global or civil society. Indeed, it is argued that the principal aim of culture globalisation is transcendental homogenization of Western theories in political, socio-economic and cultural spheres across the globe. Ohabunwa (1999) noted that an evolution which is systematically restructuring interactive phases among global nations and civilizations by breaking down barriers in the areas of culture, commerce, communication and several other fields of endeavour.

Globalization of cultures and religious identities has become one of the most important roles of information and communication technologies. In fact, as social and political structures influence in the power relations, the information and communication technology can be freely articulated in the destruction of the cultures and religious identities. The assumption of culture globalisation is that if societies want to become civilized, they must abandon their cultures and identities. Culture globalisation with the rise of information and communication technologies in recent years has undoubtedly accelerated a uniform world culture. Nation(al) culture and

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identities that cannot compete with the grand power are undoubtedly facing dangers of going into extinction. Globalisation which resulted from the use of Information and communication technology has thrown up conflicts between the old culture and the new cultures, between secularism and religion, between the east and the west. Thus, technological development has amplified exchanges at the planetary level with unprecedented rapidity.

UNESCO (1980) asserts that communication industry which has come to be regarded as 'culture industry' produces transmits cultural products. These cultural products which are found in modern-day Nigeria include books, films, or recordings, programmes on television or cable networks that are mass produced for a diverse audience. The media, according to Lie (2000) is a cultural producer, reflecting the values of their ownership and the social realities in which they are produced. We contend that the media presentation of happenings via the western media championing the spread of democracy as an ideological war against the North (Africa), the Revolution in Tunisia opened up can of worms which later spread to Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen among others rather than a way to liberate the people of those countries.

Globalisation and Nigeria Culture: Explaining the Phenomenon

The attack on the culture of Nigerians by the Western world dates back to the period of Colonization, during which the Europeans, lacking indigenous understanding of way of life of a people condemned the way of life of the indigenous people. By the time Britain established its colonial rule throughout Nigeria in 1914; the West had made tremendous progress in technological development and effectively established its hegemony all over the world, whereas the regional cultures in Nigeria remained in the firm grip of oral traditions and practices handed down from generation to generation. Thus, the intrusion of Europeans, for instance, into Igbo heartland led to the acculturation of the Igbo through Western education and Christian missionary activities. During this unequal process of cultural exchange, European missionaries and administrators did all in their power to suppress indigenous cultures and belief systems and simultaneously promoted the adoption of foreign culture by the local people.

Culture defines a people's civilization and determines its identity (Dasylva, 2006). In the area of identity, Falola (2003:51) opines thus:

> *Culture shapes the perception of self and interaction between people and their environment. It (Culture) explains habits...and defines behaviour....boundaries among people...It is the basis of identity and ultimately of development.*

Anele (2010) asserts that the success of Europeans in overthrowing the traditional system is a loss not to the Igbo communities but to the human race in general. Anele's view was anchored on the negative impacts the 'westernization' of lives of the traditional people has caused. Isiechi (1976) commented on the supernatural powers of the witch doctors and medicine men in the effort to halt the advance of western culture into the Igbo Society.

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> *I think it is possible that Igboland's dibias were developing real skills or sciences- in the sphere of what we now call extrasensory perception. The imposition of colonial rule has basically put an end to these skills, and deflected Igbo intellectual energies into such 'modern' as medicine or physics. It is possible that in doing so it cut off a real and original advance of the human mind and the impoverished the total development of human knowledge (Isiechi. 1976:124).*

According to Edward Tylor (1871, 1924:1) culture is:

> *.....that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits.*

Culture consists of everything about human groups, and according to Gilmore (2000: 563-5 64) culture was what produced a distinctive identity for society, socializing members for greater internal homogeneity and identifying outsiders'. Olutayo (2007) argues further that culture is the implicit and overarching reflections of social institution and structure. According to him, culture is taught within the family in terms of dressing habits, greeting patterns, language .of communication, and even age range within which specific behavioural patterns are supposed to be exhibited. Culture can be material and non-material.

Virtually, all fundamental ways of life of Nigerians, including traditional medicine, music, language and art, have come under the influence of globalisation. Rich cultural heritage like the extended family structure has depleted in importance in modern-day Nigeria (Tade, 2010). The continuing world-wide growth of access to internet is being mirrored by an equally discernible rise in its use by ethnic ideological and national groups anxious to assert their culture identity (Obiora, 2002). This is most apparent in the information obtained, some of which reflect interest and goals, with trade agreement and liberalization of telecommunications. Corbit (1999) notes that corporate culture is said to rule the nation. Jean (2002) observes that globalization has made it possible for the whole world to be wired and plugged into T.V programme, movies, news, music, life style and entertainment of the advance countries. Satellite, cables, phones, walkmans, V.C.Ds, D.V.Ds and retails grants as well as wonders of entertainment technology are creating the mass marketing of culture.

The impact of globalisation on the culture is immense and diverse. It has affected the cultural aspect of people in different ways. Duru-Ford (2002) observes that people had to change their living ways due to influence of globalization. Since globalization involves the opening up the economies and knowledge freely and widely to the global market and its forces, Friday (2002) contends that it is required that whatever the nature of their level of development, and whatever their location in the global economy, all countries must pursue a common set of economic policies.

All aspects of globalisation appear to have been successfully implemented in Nigeria. The Babangida administration in 1987 pioneered Structural Adjustment Programme; such as deregulated foreign investment, import liberalization, deregulated banking system and so on. Tuhus-Dubrow (2002) observes that a language is

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considered endangered when it is not longer spoken by children, moribund by only handful of elderly speaker and left to extinct when it is no longer spoken. The number of languages endangered varies, but the average estimates from studies, according to Whale (2002), are alarming with half of the world language struggling to survive. It has been observed that many of Nigerian languages are endangered (Ajayi, 2001). Most families now send their wards to private schools where they are taught to communicate in the English language. It is often considered a 'class' factor and social prestige while speaking indigenous language particularly, the Yoruba, shows 'backwardness' and is sanctioned negatively.

It is opinion of Walleh (2002) that a language should be preserved. This is because language recognizes people's right to determination of their own fate. Any culture can be expressed in any language in some ways, but the nature language is most effective. In Nigeria, the indigenous languages are rendered impotent because the English language is the official language of the country. Globalisation has made English a predator language. This informs James (1997) to state that the English language is a "killer" language. English has run rampant all over Nigeria. People want to speak the English language because it is the language of advertising, blockbuster, movies and pop music, as well as vital tool of success. Wade (1997) maintains that we will continue to use languages of our aim, but we all know that these languages are giving way to the English language.

The world is moving towards the extinction of a rich and varied cultural and symbolic life and emerging in the global language. On the other hand, the Nigerian indigenous languages are facing serious danger of extinction. Furthermore, Nigeria music has .been neutralized with the western beats of Michael Jackson. Lionel Richie, Craig-David, and he like many Nigerian Youth now prefer western hair style, shoes and dressing modelled after western stars.

Yakubu (1999) discovers that young people of the Third-World countries (we say Nigeria here) are the largest consumers of global culture. The youths now constitute endangered species with a display of insatiable appetite for Global channels like MTV, Eurostar global entertainment where western music is the dominant value. Most of the T.V. screens are dominated by U.S. films, music and life style. Children no longer sit in the evening for tales by moonlight that promotes the values of respect, integrity, peace, love and unity. Children now involve themselves in crimes such as robbery, thuggery, violence and female prostitution.

Globalization has made the working class run into the habit of borrowing salaries even before they receive them. According to Oni (2001), bribery and corruption are encouraged so as to make ends meet. Awareness of globalization is on the increase that no one wants to be left behind.

Another area where globalisation has affected the traditional culture of the Nigeria people is work. From an African point of view, mothering has traditionally been located within the domestic spaces of home and family. Women who take up jobs are therefore seen as challenging the existing norms and assumptions surrounding their mothering role with serious implications. Erinosho (2005), reports that a wife and mother who works must be withdrawing from the care of her home and children, time and attention of which they are really in need. In effect, the social bonding hitherto enjoyed within the family setting has diminished with inadequate socialization of children.

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Among the features that characterize culture is that it has its own personality and identity. Culture changes exactly the same way as the human being change. In other words, culture is dynamic. According to Obiora (2002), the transformation of culture is gradual and not sudden. Obiora (2002) contends that culture is a continuous process of change. In spite of the change, culture continues to give a community, a sense of dignity, continuity', security and binds society together. Another attribute of culture is that it is learned, acquired, transmitted or diffused through contact or other means of communication flow from one generation to another. For instance, in the old days, a young Nigerian girl from Yoruba culture would kneel down to greet their elders. For Britain, a girl may stretch hand shake.

In the modern-day third-world countries, absolute kneeling down may be fading as noted by Tardif (2002) who opines that culture is not genetically transmitted; rather it takes place by process of absorption from the social environment or through deliberate instruction. Such learning does not occur through natural inheritance. Probably, that is why Jekayinfa (2002) maintains that the man learns culture through the process of socialization, enumeration, personal experience and through deliberate indoctrination or teaching. Ajayi (2001) remarks that globalization is about competition and struggle for dominance which encourages more than anything else, the continuation and expansion of western imperialism in the new millennium.

Globalization has resulted in the introduction of policies aimed at eliminating all obstacles of the "free" exercise of economic activity across boundaries including trade liberalization, deregulation of production, the labour market and the market of goods and services and the implementation of regional and international agreements. Nigeria, for instance, has opened her border to goods and services of ECOWAS nations. Furthermore, Nigeria's border is opened to any information or data coming from any country of the world. Before globalization, Nigeria's economy like other developing economies was heavily regulated by the state. Under the regulated economy, restrictive business practices on import and export were in place. These include use of import license, imposition of tariffs quota, and control of foreign exchange and sometimes outright bar on importation. During this period, self-reliance was the slogan. However, this has now been replaced by deregulation, economic liberalization and privatization of the national economic activities. The hope is that this new approach will accelerate rapid economic growth and development. Nigeria has now become a big importer of rice (textile materials, oil^) to the detriment of locally produced rice (Crystal. 1997), most Nigerian prefer American Rice. This has forced the production of local rice to be reduced.

Irele (2001) notes that there is need to promote, protect, preserve and modernize Black and African culture in general, in order to empower them to compete favourably in the emerging global world dominated by western cultural values and standards. One way of doing that is the need to aggressively collect African oral traditions especially poetry and preserve them with audio-visual facilities in order to conceptualize, The mechanics and technique of African performance arts as well as enhance their utilization for research and development purposes.

The representations of media and issues in news and other programs are greatly influenced by the global spirit. Nigeria films, TV and records portray the dominant American culture. Nigeria film industry, .Nollywood, is named after

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Hollywood, a western way to fulfil 'global acceptability'. The contents of these products show the influence of globalisation. Though home-video films portray Nigerian themes and characters, they are rendered in the Hollywood style of fashion, sex and violence and African values (Eregare, 2002).

Isola (2003) argues that before the incursion of the west into the cultural nerve center of the now extant great African empire which were dynamically culturally developed. He went further to indicate that the evidence of the relics of civilizations that existed then, including the indigenous technologies in farming, architecture, music, textile production, sculpture, and warfare. He maintained that there were consistent traditions of knowledge dissemination and acquisition before the incursion of the west. The process of socialization of children has been punctured by globalisation where most children now attend nursery schools where they are taught events in western culture rather than Yoruba, Hausa or Igbo traditions. Indeed the end of the year celebration at the secondary primary school level usually marked by traditional dancing and poetry and play is fading away. However, Isola (2003:5) notes that

> *Folktales introduced children to the socio-political problems of the society because the folktales of a society tend to reflect the fears and aspirations of the people. A poor community would create reversal of roles in its folktales: the affluent prince became prince and the hapless farmer suddenly came into riches! The arrogant was humiliated and the cheated avenged. Among the Yoruba, the various adventures of the tortoise demonstrated how dirty tricks in any form would land the culprit in trouble.*

Dasylva (2006) notes that Nigeria had strong indigenous systems of knowledge of dissemination and acquisition prior to contact with the west (via globalisation campaign) and that the intervention of the imperialist West and the subsequent imposition of rather alien educational system and policies were largely responsible for cultural disorientation and general decay with which colonial and post-colonial Nigeria is contending with.

Western education was ushered into Nigeria through the establishment of missionary schools. Despite its merits, Daslyva (2006), however, notes that it initiated ever-mounting threat to the survival of non-literate indigenous traditions and cultures. By the time Christian missionaries colonized the psyche of the people through western education and religious doctrines, cultural values, belief systems and philosophical hermeneutics had been completely ruptured. Indigenous belief systems had become 'taboos' that civilised people (God's people) must not associate with any longer if they wanted to 'get to heaven'. This marks the process of severe culture denigration. We cannot agree less with Daslyva's assertion, as there are many people (particularly the Christians) who changed their names which have cultural origin to reflect 'God'. For instance, Ogunbunmi (god of Iron) has been rechristened to Jesubunmi (Jesus Christ); Awolowo (then) now to Jesulowo; Ifaoye (then) now to Jesuwoye. The wide-held belief is that Ogun has certain spiritual implication on the bearer if anything negative happens to him.

The Nigeria situation is more pathetic; globalisation has made the wearing of Western dresses a norm, while traditional dresses are relegated to the background, particularly in the Southern part of Nigeria. It is not uncommon to see authorities in tertiary institutions coming up with 'dress codes' among their students' as a means of

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checking me effect of globalisation of wears where 'skimpy dresses' modeled after the west have gained much ground. The level of moral deregulation has eaten deep into the moral fabric of the Nigeria society. Chastity, a long-held tradition has been brutalized, and the youth no longer see the need to keep them till the wedding night. Sexual promiscuity, abortion legalization (in the west), in the southern part of the country, where Adire, Aso-Oke were the cloths showcasing the tradition and indigenous technology of woven cloths, the young population have been alienated due to unbridled impact of globalisation. Polygamy has been displayed by monogamy while there is rise in single headed households.

Dasylva (2006) observes that the teaching of Nigerian cultures from the grassroots as required in the national policies on education and culture is hardly given any priority at all by relevant agencies saddled with the responsibility of implementation in the nation's educational sector. The overexposure of Nigeria's children to foreign cultures and education, children are either unwittingly denied access to, or are no longer interested in. 'local' or indigenous festival, oral performances, moonlight stories and so forth. They are not interested in taking up their parents' professions as oral performers such as singers, poets, drummers and storytellers. Many children's minds are now broadened through the acquisition of globalized knowledge, and imposed multi-culturation encourages them to unwittingly "yank off their cultural identity". Nigerian youth steadily become self-alienated and lose touch with their indigenous roots as a result of global culture and capitalist economy which severely mitigate existing indigenous social order. Aime Cesaire (1956:15) identifies two means by which a people can suffer miscegenation of cultural identity: "by a walled segregation in the particular or by a dilution in the universal". The latter, according to Dasylva (2006), is the direction which Nigeria is headed if the cultural situation in the country remains unchecked.

Conclusion

Globalisation has no doubt created Institutional Anomie, attacking the basic social institutions of the Nigeria society. A society whose language is lost has no future. The Nigerian high commissioner to the United Kingdom states thus:

> *Culture, as you will recall, is the way of life of people. It is the bedrock of the history, progress and civilisation of a people. It is also a reflection of a people's identity. Nigerian food, culinary cultures and traditions constitute an essential component of who we are as a nation, our identity as a people. For good measure, these deserve to be preserved, promoted and celebrated at all times. A people without a culture that is worthy of celebration and documentation is a people without a noble past and indeed, a glorious future. That is why, we as Nigerians and Africans, are very proud of our cultural history, as the solid basis of our hope for the present and optimism for a better future (Dalhatu Tafilda, 2009:2).*

Euro-centric policies which have downplayed the teaching of Nigerian languages in schools in favour of English and French should be discouraged. Incentives should be awarded to any student who chooses to study any Nigerian language. There need to be control and censor programmmes, and high attention should be placed on cultural education programmes. Despite these deleterious effects, Nigerian traditional institutions are battling

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with survival. Committees are being set up to encourage that Nigerian culture and languages survive the onslaught of globalisation. There are, however, adherents of the old ways of life. Nigeria can however benefit if we incorporate our culture into the globalisation and sell it to the world. Ali Mazrui (1996:17) notes: non-western route to modernity is possible for Africa (Nigeria), provided African (Nigerian) culture is fully mobilized as an ally in the enterprise".

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CHAPTER TWENTY NINE

SOCIALIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Owoeye, Omotayo O.I.

Introduction

Every society has its own codes and conducts, rules and regulations, and norms and values. Infact, human beings as cultural animals have to figure out ways to adapt to their world and pass those ways to their children. Every human group passes to their children what they believe would enable them adapt to their world. Therefore, Osuji (2005) stated that all human beings intervene to help their children learn appropriate behaviours, ignoring the adults because they are not amenable. However, socialization occurs throughout an individual life which means that socialization is a means of passing culture from one generation to another.

Socialization has been a prevalent term among social science and humanity scholars with diverse definitions. However, it can simply be referred to as the process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs and ideology. In other words, socialization provides individuals in the society with the skills and habits essential to participate in societal activities and also to operate within their own society. However, a society does not exist singly; it relates to other societies. This leads to changes in the societies; no wonder Clauden (1968: 5) succinctly stated that a society develops culture through a plurality of shared norms, customs, values, traditions, social roles, symbols and languages. Therefore, socialization is the means by which social and cultural continuity is attained. However, this paper focuses on socialization and social change in Nigerian societies.

Socialization

Most human societies try their best to get their children internalize their norms because human infants are born without any culture. Therefore, in order to become a cultural and socially adept animal, they must be transformed by their parents, teachers, and other agencies in the society. This has created awareness in most human beings to work hard to socialize their children before it is too late. The general process of acquiring culture is referred to as socialization. Billingham (2007), in Stretch and Whitehouse (2007), defined socialization as simply the means by which human infants begin to acquire the skills necessary to perform as a functioning member of their society, and this is the most influential learning processes one can experience. Osuji (2005) explaining the importance of socialization argued that most societies know that if there is a failure in getting a child to be normal by age 12 that it may be too late to rectify the situation.

During socialization, humans learn the language of the culture they are born into as well as the roles to be played in life. In addition, they learn about the occupational roles that their society has in store for them. This process of socialization is not limited to languages only but also the learning and adoption of cultural norms, which are conceptions of appropriate and expected behaviour that are held by most members of the society. However, it is important to clarify that while socialization refers to the general process of acquiring culture, anthropologists prefer the term 'enculturation' for the process of being socialized to a particular culture. Therefore, human beings are enculturated into their own specific culture by their parents and other actors in the society.

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Agents of Socialization

Most, if not all, social science scholars agree that institutions are the structures and mechanisms of social order and cooperation governing the behaviour of a set of individuals within a given human collectivity. These institutions serve a social purpose and transcend individual human lives and intentions, by making and enforcing rules governing cooperative human behaviour (*Standard Encyclopedia*, 2012). Therefore, the institutions classified as agents of socialization help the process of learning in a society. These are explicated below:

1. Family
2. Peer groups
3. Schools
4. Religion
5. Work places
6. Associations
7. Mass Media

1. **Family:** Every human child is born dependent and helpless but raised in families. Each family, as a social, unit socializes children to behave in a certain manner. The family works on the basis of rewards. Children are positively reinforced such as hugs, praises or given something when they behave in a certain manner as their parents asked them to. However, a child could also be rewarded with punishment such as being ignored, whipped and so on when he does not act, as asked by the parents. This system of rewards and punishments generally suffices to produce a normal child. But underlying this system is love. Whenever a child is loved, he will do anything to please the parents.
2. **Peer Groups**: Human beings, beginning with childhood, want to be liked and accepted by their peer groups. A child shrinks when his peers reject him; therefore, teenagers could do anything to get their peers to accept them. Children crave other children's approval. If the peer group is law-and-order oriented and approves appropriate behaviours in its members, this helps a child to learn appropriate behaviours.
3. **Educational Institution:** In just about everywhere in the world, it is mandatory for all children to be at school from the age of six onwards. Also, every society attempts to get its children to accept its political culture via these institutions. Children are taught about the political system and told what their civic duties are.
4. **Religion:** in the world, there are some kinds of religion, which are all instruments of socialization as well as means of civilizing human beings. It is noteworthy to state that it is irrelevant to argue whether God is a social construct and a projection. But the most essential fact is that man is capable of hienous crimes, and the society must seek every means possible to civilize him and make him respect the lives of other people.
5. **Workplace:** this is another means of socialization. In order to get and retain a job, one must constantly please one's bosses and co-workers. If the behaviour is inappropriate, one gets fired. Therefore, the capacity to be materially comfortable to meet the necessity of life will be absent. Hence, the workplace makes sure that people behave in an appropriate manner.
6. **Associations:** This is the final agent of socialization. Individuals join groups, participate in their activities, and play by their rules of the game.

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Socialization in Nigerian Societies

Socialization is a learning process that begins shortly after birth, and each society has its own socialization culture and process. This is mostly referred to as the rite of passage in anthropology. Early childhood is the period of the most intense and the most crucial socialization. It is then that we acquire language, learn the fundamentals of our culture and much of child's personality takes shape. However, we continue to be socialized throughout our lives. As children age, they enter new statuses and need to learn the appropriate roles for them. There are also experiences that teach lessons and potentially alter expectations, beliefs, and personality. Therefore, since this paper is focused on some Nigerian cultural groups, it will elaborately explain the socialization process of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria.

Hausa

The Hausa are the largest ethnic group in West Africa with a wide geographical distribution and interaction with many different peoples of other cultures. They are more than 20 million in population. The Hausa people are concentrated mostly in north-western Nigeria. This area is mostly semiarid grassland or savannah, dotted with cities surrounded by farming communities.

Socialization process

About a week after a child is born, it is given a name during an Islamic naming ceremony. Boys are usually circumcised at around the age of seven, but there is no special rite involved. In their mid-to-late-teens, young men and women may become engaged. The marriage ceremony may take as long as several days. Celebrations begin among the bride and her family and friends as she is prepared for marriage. Male representatives of the bride's and the groom's families sign the marriage contract according to Islamic law, usually in a mosque. Shortly, thereafter, the couple are brought together.

From about the age of six, Hausa children attend Koranic schools (schools where teaching is based on the Islamic Holy Scripture, the Koran). They learn to recite the scriptures and the practices, teachings, and morals of Islam. By the time they reach adulthood, many achieve high levels of Islamic scholarship.

Music and art are important in their everyday life. From a young age, Hausa children participate in dances, which are held in meeting places such as the market. Work songs often accompany activities in the rural areas and in markets. Praise-singers sing about community histories, leaders, and other prominent individuals. Storytelling, local dramas, and musical performances are also common forms of traditional entertainment.

Hausa society has a strong division of labour according to age and sex. The main activity in towns is trade; in rural areas, it is agriculture. Many Hausa men have more than one occupation. In the towns and cities, they may have formal jobs, such as teaching or government work, and also engage in trading on the side. In rural areas, they farm and also engage in trade or crafts. Some Hausa are full-time traders with shops or market stalls. Many Hausa are full-time Islamic scholars.

Hausa women earn money by processing, cooking, and selling food. They also sell cloth scraps, pots, medicines, vegetable oils, and other small items. Since

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women are generally secluded according to Islamic law, their children or servants go to other houses or markets on their behalf.

Yoruba

The Yoruba are of the South-western Nigeria, but they inhabit an area that stretches about 120 miles along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, east from the Benin border, to about 200 miles inland into the savannah belt of West Africa. The Yoruba are the most urbanized and possibly the most industrialized ethnic group in sub-Saharan Africa. About 20 per cent of Nigerians and 10 per cent of West Africans are Yoruba. South-western Nigeria has the country's highest concentration of industries, with more than 50 per cent of the country's manufacturing outputs, predominantly in light industrial manufacturing products such as furniture, textiles, clothing, plastics, paper, leather goods, foodstuffs, confectionery, beverages, and tobacco products.

Socialization process

The family is the most sacred and significant institution to the Yoruba, who are child-centred, ruled by the elderly, and controlled by adults. The family is an effective unit of political control, religious affiliation, resource allocation, and assurance of safety. It is also the most effective agent of socialization.

The family is where young people are exposed to their first preferences and prejudices. In the family, lessons in honour and shame are learned, just as are the first lessons in dissembling to avoid the truth that may injure the well-being of the community. More poignantly, it is in and through the copious lessons in religious symbolism learned in the family that one comes to understand the cyclical and connected way of life in the here and now, the future, and the hereafter. Many Yoruba proverbs reiterate the view that the dead gave birth to the living, and the living ought to give birth to and nurture the children who represent the future.

Yoruba culture places extremely high value on children. It is safe to say that children are the *summum bonum* - the highest good - of the Yoruba. Caldwell (1976) pointed out an economic rationale underlying this value; however, Olusanya (1987), Babatunde (1992) and Hallgren (1991,) also stated that it may be expressed in spiritual terms. Therefore, the value of children seems to show nature of immortality of the soul which flows cyclically in the lineage through the birth of children.

The socialization of a Yoruba child starts at birth. Therefore, Yoruba tradition stresses that parents are the first teachers of their children, instructing them in the `'proper'' way of relating to their elders and people of the same age group. In the communal atmosphere of the traditional family, parents of children who behave in approved ways are approved as successful; parents whose children misbehave are shamed and advised to "put their houses in order" (Babatunde, 1992, 8-10).

According to traditional Yoruba religion, it is the duty of parents to bring up their children ethically and in the knowledge of God (Adewale, 1986). From the beginning, children are made to believe in reward and punishment and, accordingly, in the potency of blessings and efficacy of curses of spiritual beings. Parents' role in training is reflected in the verse from the Ifa divinatory corpus (Odu):

If one trains one's children, they will be perfectly wise
As Ire, the daughter of Olokun.
If one does not train one's children,

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They will be stupid and foolish
Like Ibawini, the son of Otu Ife.
'Bí o ba tọ awọn ọmọ rẹ, wọn ma di ọlọgbọn
Bí Ire, ọmọbirin Olokun.
Bí o ba se itoju awon omo re, won ma di omugọ
Bí Ibawini, omo Otu Ife.'

Parents also must love their children and should not be harsh or selfish to them. The lesson of generosity towards children is expressed in the following verses:
An elder who consumes everything without leaving a remnant will himself carry his calabash home.
The dove eats and leaves a remnant for the pigeon.
The green wild pigeon eats and leaves a remnant for the mocking bird.
I will leave a remnant for my children when I eat.

A major way in which parents teach their children is by sending them on errands (Akinware et al. 1992), and their performance of errands is found by Lloyd (1970) to be the most valued. The two-year-olds in our sample already had been taught to bring or deliver needed items or information to the mother, or from the mother to another destination. Two-year-olds observed in the ethnography often were given small amounts of money and sent to purchase items. Errands teach the child in following instructions; carrying objects, and finding neighbourhood locations, and also teach the social skills needed for verbal and commercial transactions (Timyan 1988). Other caregivers are less likely than the mother to create and reward errands for preschool children (Akinware 1992).

Children are taught to report to their parents any kind gestures of others and show them any gifts received, and must gradually learn how to be honest without being a tattle-tale (Babatunde, 1992, 95).

In terms of physical discipline, Babatunde (1992, 91) stated that when Yoruba children fail, they are often flogged. The flogging is seen as an act of kindness aimed at preventing the child from becoming a difficult person, or at protecting them from true danger. This attitude is expressed in the proverb that states that "A child lacks wisdom, and some say that what is important is that the child does not die; what kills more surely than lack of wisdom?" *A bímọ kò gbọn, a ní kó má □áà kú; kí ní ńpa ọmọ bí àìgbọn?*

The socialization by other relatives and household members occurs in traditional compounds. The compound head has wide disciplinary responsibilities (Fadipe 1970, 108-109). Disrespect to elders, theft, disturbing the peace, or sexual impropriety were usually punished by flogging and warnings against recurrence. Repeat misbehaviour brought red pepper rubbed into flogging wounds or knife slashes on the back of the palm. In describing traditional Yoruba life, Fadipe (1970, 312-313) writes:

> *It is chiefly within the extended family - that is, from members of his compound that a child obtains the bulk of his education as a member of society. Since the child cannot be continuously under the eyes of his parents and elder brothers and sisters, various members of the extended family take a hand in his education at one time or another.*

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> *But the indirect education the child receives in the compound is almost as important as the direct. In the extended family the child is afforded frequent opportunities of various experiences not only of the practical effects of many items of the social code but also of the unpleasant consequences attending their infraction. The handling and punishment of such offenses as theft or incest which occur within the household and the opinion of members on such crimes are all impressive object lessons to him.*

Igbo Socialization process

An Igbo offspring is a product of his father's lineage, and therefore the *chi* is patrilineal in outlook. The Igbo culture perceives socialization primarily as rites of passage.

One of the highest occasions in the life of Igbo girls and boys is the initiation into adulthood through the rite of passage. This marks an epoch in the life of these adults. It appraises the physical and moral estate and plans for their future. Both boys and girls go through the rite of wearing cloths (*Ima Akwa*) - from nakedness to clothing, - a sign of social status and individual transformation.

The rite of circumcision, whereby a child is initiated into his culture, occurs on the eighth day after birth, when he or she is circumcised. Traditionally, the operation was performed by a midwife (native doctor), but since the mid-20th century, this slight surgical operation is done mainly by physicians for hygienic reasons. The experience of modern Igbo girls proves that they are neglected and are resentful of traditional circumcision. **Female circumcision** is the cutting of the hood of the clitoris. It is the only type of mutilation which can be called circumcision. Among the Igbo of Nigeria, for instance, excision takes place shortly after the child is born. It is basically a conservative rite of passage.

The third rite in Igbo culture is *Iru-mgbede* (fattening of a girl before marriage). The women are separated from the usual household or abode. This shows the change of a woman's status from a single, virginal individual to someone looking forward to moral sex, pregnancy and childbearing. The songs during the ritual convey the maturation to womanhood. The *Iru-mgbede* culture rite of passage is only for women. The culture feels that healthy offspring, physically fit enough to cope with life, can be born only to healthy, physically fit mothers. It is therefore very jealous of the health of Igbo women, taking every precaution to safeguard it before marriage. Chief among these precautions is the custom of monthly separation before marriage. This is a time to refresh and prepare intellectually, emotionally and physically in readiness for the status of a married woman.

The fourth rite of passage is *Itu Anya* (the initiation of a Diviner). The individual passes through many stages before he is equipped with the power, knowledge and courage for being confirmed with the title of a Diviner. *Itu Anya* introduces adolescents to the world of men and confers an additional power or ability to communicate with spirits. According to this doctrine, the initiated person sees far into the future. "*Itu Anya* initiation lasts eight days. Usually it is performed by adolescent males."

The fifth is *Igba Mgba* (wrestling). It is always a privilege in the community for one to have the courage to engage in a fight against an opponent. One becomes a star, a warrior, or a wrestler by winning a wrestling match. "The Igbo believe that a

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man should fight such aggressors, human or spiritual, to the best of his ability. In Igbo land, a man is said to be a man when he efficiently and effectively handles trying situations."

However, it is essential to point out that when one attains the age of puberty, one is introduced to both the mother's mother's lineage and the father's father's lineage. When one marries, his wife's lineage plays a very important social role for his children. In fact, in the entire society of Igbo people, there exist a series of Agnatic groups. For inheritance and succession, a person takes the lawful right property from the lineage of his father.

Social Change and Socialization

Every culture tries to socialize its children into accepting its specific ideology, but it is noteworthy to state that no culture is static. Most Nigerian cultures have passed through several periods of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial reigns, and they have been affected by several forces within and without. Therefore, social change affects every aspect of the society strata in the process of urbanizing and industrializing the society. This is commonly considered as the history of human civilization which is really the history of urban life.

This social change can be observed from the change from subsistence economy to one which rests progressively on the ability to create a surplus of food, it can also be described as a change from a nomadic-based society to a village-based society. For the sake of shorthand we can say that this is a change from hunters and food-gatherers to peasantry, from a high degree of mobility to settled village life. To identify a form of human settlement as a village is to suggest an important intermediate step in the movement from band societies to urban life. As the size of these settlements grew so did the sometimes positive, but more often negative, competition between them.

These changes created new urban centre with a number of outstanding functions such as the promotion commercial activities and serving as "cultural enclaves" where a Western life-style could be promoted, ostensibly to maintain the cultural and environmental climate. This acts as an organizing nexus where a concentration of merchants and bureaucrats take place. Other functions of these cities, including education, health, entertainment and information were incidental.

Social change therefore affects socialization in terms of transfer of values and ideas affecting the rate and direction of socialization.

Social Change and Socialization of a Child in Nigeria Society

With the background provided in the preceding section, we can begin to understand the role of Nigerian cities and urban centres in social change and socialization. The specific urban and city conditions vary according to particular history that led to the establishment of the centres; Nigerian towns are clearly "motors of development," the main agents of social change. Therefore, migrants from the Nigerian traditional centres where conventional socialization is ingrained are now rejecting "totalitarian rural and village tradition." Whether armed at times with high school or even college certificate, or unskilled labour in search of almost non-existing jobs-city life is seen as an "escape from the traditional rural life" which simultaneously absorbs, clutches and emasculates.

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The decay of traditional society and its values, the pace and haphazard character of city growth and the conditions of labour, exploitation, inadequate housing and the lack of other infra-structural facilities have created new set of socialization and their effects. Being in most traditional societies the core institution, the family, is a sensitive barometer of whatever changes occur in a society.

As elsewhere, the family is the most basic unit of social organization in Nigeria. However, unlike its counterpart in Western society, family membership is not restricted to husband, wife and children, for it is characteristic for this basic unit to be part of a larger extended family. It is within the family that the effects of urbanization and urban migration are most evident on socialization. Family members are separated and scattered throughout a country. As a result parental authority and established marital conventions are weakened.

The normative structure of marriage and family life spills over into many other organizational and institutional features. Thus, socialization involves more directly the families of the bride and the groom than in the Western culture. While the parents are central to a child's socialization, a larger number of kin on either side also become involved in the socialization.

The ethnic and familial heterogeneity of most Nigerian cultures, for instance, has meant individualization of socialization, geographic dispersion of families, and the changes in the operative values of traditional cultures to that of the urban cities. Children's education has also been affected in Nigeria as education is starting to become commercialized in Nigeria.

The familial change is that the early socialization process of some of the children has been altered. In most of the major cultures in Nigeria, it has been observed that because of the cultural lag which exists in the society and the lack of adequate institutions to channel children's needs, this discrepancy places these youths in a marginal position. It also impels them to satisfy their needs through deviant conduct with their peers in the process of adapting to urban community. Just as the extended family traditionally had joint responsibility for bringing up children, the breakdown or contraction of this responsibility is one of the major primary causes of urban juvenile delinquency.

Another effect of social change is the context in which most of the traditional social supports (the extended family, kinsmen, age-group, and organizations of the migrants according to their rural origin) are no longer relevant or operative. The inability of changed society to provide substitutes creates problems of mental stress, personal disorientation, and social disorganization for many people. This is regarded as partly responsible for the high incidence of all forms of psycho-pathological phenomena in Nigerian societies.

Even when the tradition of joint responsibility is maintained, its impact may be different in the cities than in the traditional milieu: a shift of responsibility from one relative to another within the village context usually does not mean a significant geographic change or interaction with new faces in new places, but in the cities the shift may be to a new neighbourhood of strangers with different values.

Conclusion

In general terms, many of the Nigerian cultures have been affected by the adoption of a Western life-style. One cannot deny that this way of life has enabled Nigerian society, not only in terms of standard of living and general level of material welfare,

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but the socialization of Nigerian children. The advent of advanced technology, its adoption and effects is in fact a reflection of the interpersonal and intra-personal stress arising from the conflicts between people who value the Nigerian traditional socialization process and the group equivalently linked with modern and western-based socialization values.

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CHAPTER THIRTY

YOUTH CULTURE IN NIGERIA: AN EPOCH CHANGE IN MORES AND BEHAVIOUR

Nwokocha, E.E.

Introduction

As a recurring concept in Sociology, Youth Culture is gaining increasing recognition in social science discourse in view of the changing lifestyle pervading this sub-group globally. Ordinarily, culture is ascribed to a spatially-definite community of humans with distinctive characteristics that separate it and its members from all other communities. As man-made, it is embedded in complexity that finds expression in both social and physical traits that ultimately impact the perception, goals and actions of a group (Oke 2009; Herskovit 1955). These traits culminate in norms, values, beliefs, practices and other capabilities and habits acquired by individuals as society members (Tylor, 1871). This presupposes that culture is people-specific to the extent that we talk about Igbo, Yoruba, Tiv and Hausa cultures, among others, in Nigeria. In the latter sense, notwithstanding an individual's age or status s/he is expected to conform with community's expectations as a member of the group.

By contrast, youth culture transcends ethnic, religious, socio-economic and spatial boundaries and covers young people that identify with, almost simultaneously, the evolving attitudinal and behavioural values in, virtually, all locations of the world. This paper views this global sub-culture as a kind of social movement whereby actors are locked-up in perceptual and attitudinal consensus that promotes deviation from established community folkways and values. We note here that the development of such sub-culture is not only an indication of knowledge explosion that derives from information technology, but also the readiness of youths to contest the relevance of existing values. The locus of such contest is at the point where extant cultural traits, for whatever reasons, are classified as obsolete and/or burdensome to contemporary social reality. We are persuaded by the quantum of events around and consequences of youth culture to regard this era, of polar values, as an epoch in the evolution of society. Indeed, Peter Ekeh's conceptualisation of epochs is instructive:

> *Perhaps the most outstanding characteristics of epochs is that they represent changes in kind, not simply in degree. A corollary of this attribute is that epochs represent crises in human experience... with epochs the central parameters of society, the central value assumptions on which society rests, are never the same again with those whose times and regions are captured by epochal movements ... There are hardly times or periods in the history of nations in which there are no elements of social change. Change is eternal. But ordinary, non-epochal, change is episodic and its direction cannot be fully predicted (Ekeh, 1980:7).*

The enormous amount of change in youth culture is perceived by some as contradictor to age-long traditions and by implication antithetical to normal human development. A disproportionate number of young Nigerians are embedded in this epochal movement and this creates tension and conflict between the youth and the parent generation. Thus, the purpose of this paper is five-fold: (1) examine the changing sexual values among youth, (2) understand the juggernaut of change that has

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swept across the country and beyond, (3) discover how some youth have been able to cope with non-traditional lifestyle choices, and (4) how these choices have affected the family and community, and (5) explore the possibility that some youth might revert to conventional community norms and values in Nigeria.

Selected Aspects of Youth Culture and Changing Values

The consensus in literature is that culture is dynamic as well as relative to times and places essentially because it is human-made and also due to, the persistently, inherent quest for change among individuals. Culture relativity supposes that even when values change, such occurs only within a specific group and necessitated by social and physical contexts in the environment. Indeed, youth culture defies the logic of both relativity and specificity, in culture discourse, given its globalized posture wherein youth values are becoming increasingly universalised. In what follows, we examine some aspects of attitudes and behaviour that reveal these changing values among Nigerian youths.

Prostitution/Multiple Sex Partners

In traditional Nigerian society, prostitution/commercial sex or multiple-sex partnership was regarded as an atrocity committed against the individual, society and the gods and it attracted collective community condemnation. The prostitute was stigmatised and discriminated against, and in some cases treated like an outcaste, and sacrifices were needed for cleansing against inexplicable consequences on the actor and her people. The severity of these sanctions was paramount as well as constant reminders to parents and guardians of the need to undertake their socialisation functions assiduously. For the most part, children belonged to the community to the extent that any elder could confidently correct an erring child without confrontation from biological parents who would rather amplify the sanctions.

However, in the spirit of Westernisation and Americanisation of Nigerian peoples and cultures parents not only hold back on hitherto appropriate sanctions for wrong doing but also condemn, in strong terms, efforts at correcting their wards by other individuals. This attitude of silence in the face of social deviation has accounted for the despicable level of dangerous mischief among Nigerian youth. Consequently, cultural constraints have been eroded by characteristic permissiveness inherent, mainly, in sexual expression (Williams 1985; Oloko & Omoboye 1993), including prostitution. Nwokocha (2007) has noted that notwithstanding the devastating consequences of transactional sex on practitioners, this activity has remained persistently common among young people.

The outcome of this *prostitution revolution* is that labels are designed to trivialise the stigma hitherto associated with the behaviour. For instance, Nwokocha (2007) and Machel (2001) observed that sex for money and/or gifts, from older men referred to as *Aristo*, is seen in some quarters as a coping strategy for dealing with economic handicap rather than perceived as commercial sex. Moreover, Nwokocha's (2007: 68-69) study of youth transactional sex workers in two universities in Southwest Nigeria revealed that unlike previous generations of prostitutes that engaged in commercial sex, strictly, for financial reasons, some present day girls join the prostitute sub-culture just to 'belong'; others, to hurt their parents for failure to

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meet their frivolous demands such as a trip abroad, posh car to be used in school, some designer outfits, among others.

Bankole, Singh, Woog & Wulf (2004) have also found that young men at the pressure of proving their manhood not only engage prostitutes in sexual intercourse but also many partners, at times, without condoms, thereby increasing their vulnerability to STDs, unwanted pregnancy and abortion (Elmore-Meegan, Conroy & Agala, 2004). These, among other factors, explain mounting evidence that youths are uniquely vulnerable to sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS (Munthali & Zulu, 2007). For several reasons, adolescents in Nigeria constitute the bulk of unrestrained youth as well as the most vulnerable to negative social, economic and health outcomes (Nwokocha, 2011). Thus, in finding justification for increasing academic focus on adolescence Munthali and Zulu (2007: 151) stated:

> *Adolescents' exposure to out-of-wedlock sex has been increasing over time because they are maturing earlier and marrying later than previous generations did. Globally, the ages of first menstruation for girls and the experience of first pubertal body changes/wet dreams are dropping mostly as a result of better nutrition and socio-economic status.*

The NDHS (2008) indicate that 30% of young Nigerians age 15-24 had sexual intercourse during the 12 months preceding the survey; this may well explain the increasing number of induced abortions, which, according to Otoide, Orosanya & Okonofua (2001), accounted for 20,000 of the estimated 50,000 maternal deaths in Nigeria. As Oye-Adeniran, Umoh & Nnatu (2002) observed, an annual estimate of 610,000 Nigerian females engaged in illegally induced abortions which are among the proximate determinants of morbidity and mortality in the country. Although it could be argued that these data are about a decade old, however, maternal situation in the country has remained virtually unchanged if not worse in present-day Nigeria.

Early Sex and Stigmatisation of Virginity

Ilesanmi and Lewis (1997) have noted that prior to colonisation, community elders were charged with the responsibility of preparing young adults for manhood and womanhood not only to emphasize group solidarity but also to ensure that high morality was sustained. Essentially, misbehaviour of a community member translated to an act of irresponsibility by the entire group. Such attitude towards collective responsibility presupposed internal behaviour control mechanisms for which heavy sanctions were meted out on deviating individuals and sub-groups. Clearly, in most Nigerian societies, female chastity before marriage was a norm that spoke directly to the extent to which parents were able to raise their wards in line with prescribed values. Olutayo (1997) observed, for instance, that adolescents in Nigeria were expected to repress their sexual desires until marriage. Virginity before nuptiality was rewarded, and incest taboo was created around premarital sex. The attitude and behaviour of young people in Nigeria towards virginity have indeed changed, and as Nwokocha (2007: 60) stated:

> *Virginity which was hitherto cherished as virtuous and perceived to facilitate pregnancy and safe-delivery after marriage is rather viewed presently as an anti-socialist status.*

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The immediate consequence of stigmatising virginity is that undue pressure is exerted on young people by their peers to join the *bandwagon of iniquity*. As a result, virgins are labelled naive, uncivilised, antisocial, among others, as a way of sustaining the characteristic falsehood and deception that pervade the youth community. Incidentally, several young people are deceived by such delusiveness that is expressed in acts that speak directly to exuberance and risky behaviours. Population related surveys, in different societies, reveal decreasing age at first coital experience. Although the Demographic Health Survey (DHS) of various African countries indicate minor differences in age at first sexual intercourse, generally, the ages are low relative to what obtained in past generations that emphasised strong sexual restraints (Nwokocha 2007). For instance, in both Nigeria and Kenya, the median age at first sexual intercourse for women age 15-49 is 16.9 years and men of the same age, 21.3 and 17.6 years for Nigeria and Kenya respectively (NDHS 2008; KDHS 2003). Using the latest DHS, National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) and HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey data, Table 1 shows the median age at first sexual intercourse for men and women in seven African countries and India.

Table 1: mean age at first sexual intercourse for both sex in seven African countries and India

S/N	Country	Median age at first intercourse (women age 15-49 years)	Median age at first intercourse (men age 15-49 years)
1.	Ethiopia	15.7	20.8
2.	Ghana	17.9	20.2
3.	Kenya	16.9	17.6
4.	Liberia	16.3	18.4
5.	Nigeria	16.9	21.3
6.	Sierra Leone	16.3	19.7
7.	Tanzania	16.7	18.6
8.	India	17.4	22.6

Similar trends obtain in Ghana, Tanzania, Ethiopia, India, among others. Ghana (DHS 2008), Tanzania (HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey 2007-08), Ethiopia (DHS 2005) and India (NFHS 2005-06) show that the median ages at first sexual intercourse for women age 15-49 are 17.9 years, 16.7 years, 15.7 years and 17.4 years respectively. These statistics indicate clearly that young people are increasingly engaging in sexual intercourse quite early notwithstanding inherent multidimensional consequences. We observe that the figures could be worse in some locations within and outside Nigeria where sexual permissiveness is more profound and also due to phenomenal under-reporting of reproductive health issues, particularly, among young people. We note here that despite the huge resources committed to campaigns against adolescent/youth sexual and reproductive health challenges and mishaps by governments and agencies, over the years, negligible success has been recorded. For instance, while Nigeria's DHS (2008) reported the median age at first intercourse of 16.9 years for women age 15-49years, Isiugo-Abanihe (1994), close to a decade and half before the survey also reported the median age of 16.3 years for first sexual experience among unmarried women aged 15-24.

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Sexuality Education and Exposure to Multiple Sources of Information

Sex education remains a contentious issue in Nigeria notwithstanding the consequences of lack of awareness about human sexuality. Perhaps, the present generation has fared better than past generations due to a combination of factors such as higher literacy rate, migration, cross-cultural networking and exposure to mass-media. It was obvious that sexuality issues, conceived as purely exclusive for adults to deliberate upon, were never discussed in families and households either in the open or in seclusion (Buckley, Barrett and Arminkin, 2004). In fact, it was mystified in some settings to the extent that young people themselves were personally persuaded to avoid such discourse even when adults inadvertently engaged in sex-related discussions close to where these young people are. Yet, even in the midst of such pervasive ignorance and silence, ignoble number of high risk sex behaviours was recorded probably as a result of community sanctions against premarital sexual intercourse (Ilesanmi and Lewis, 1997).

This paper argues quite forcefully that lack of sexuality awareness should not be condoned and that recourse to strong behavioural norms as a basis for irresponsibility is not tenable. It has been observed that young people with little or no knowledge of sexuality usually engage in dangerous premarital sex (Sauvain-Dugerdil *et al.*, 2008) and face different dilemmas that relate to Sexually Transmitted Infections, unwanted pregnancies and others. As Bankole *et al.* (2007:29) summarized, the consequences of failure at sex education for young persons are enormous, considering that:

> *An estimated 4.3% of young women and 1.5% of young men aged 15-24 years in sub-Saharan Africa were living with HIV at the end of 2005 and 9-13% of young women had given birth by age 16. Clearly, young people need access to protective information and skills before they become sexually-active in order to reduce their risk of contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and of experiencing unintended pregnancies and very early childbearing. The key challenge is to determine what specific information to give very young adolescents, from what sources, at what ages and in what ways.*

We note that intra-generational ignorance about a particular phenomenon, in this case sex education, may eventually create an inter-generational lacuna or the missing part that may be difficult to fill. For instance, considering that most parents were not educated on sexuality by their own parents, they lack the requisite knowledge, confidence and capability to transmit relevant awareness to young people (Utomo and McDonald, 2009). Incidentally, the burden of consequence, such as diseases, including HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancies and abortion on the present generation, is more alarming and requires greater openness and commitment by stakeholders (Madunagu, 2007).

Indeed, many young people access sexually explicit materials through internet, peers and entertainment and print media (Utomo and McDonald, 2009) notwithstanding cultural or religious injunctions against their exposure to damaging information. Experience shows that emails, facebook, twitters and blog among other internet facilities instead of bridging sexuality knowledge-gaps are currently employed by most young people, especially in urban centres, to encourage promiscuity in a manner that heightens their vulnerability to risky behaviours. Thus, rather than getting

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deterred from initiating sexual activities early as a result of the knowledge, about the risk of HIV/AIDS and other negative outcomes, gained through exposure to multiple sources of information, many young people are embedded in exuberance that is usually catalysed by peer pressure.

Dressing Patterns and Pornography

Ill-mannered behaviour among Nigerian youths manifests clearly in their mode of dressing and growing interest in pornography. It is common to sight young people of both sexes in dresses that defy community expectations, notwithstanding places and occasions. For instance, girls and boys wear *spaghetti-handed* blouses *and sagged* trousers respectively to churches and for events such as wedding, naming ceremonies, birthday parties, lectures, funerals, among others. The solemnity of some of the occasions makes little or no meaning to these young people. Some of our campuses have gradually become disguised theatres of anatomical displays wherein female students flaunt their bodies without restraint. Perhaps, these expositions are perceived as acquaintance with contemporary expectations in the fashion world. We contend that while nudity is not sufficient justification for sexual violence against females in particular, it could however be implicated in the rising cases of rape among many young people, who are already lovers of pornography.

Experience shows that a large number of urban youths in Nigeria spend far more time on the internet browsing through pornographic materials than on documents and sites that contribute to their academic advancement. Indeed, mass media and other information sources have led to the globalisation of pornography for which Nigerian youths are strong partakers. As Malamuth, Addison & Koss (2000) stated, and in line with the revelation of *Forbes* Magazine, companies that produce sexually explicit depictions constituted a 56 Billion dollar Pornography industry, to the extent that internet pornography companies were listed on the NASDAQ stock exchange. After a decade, this industry is likely to post higher profits considering that more young people are getting involved, especially in societies that down play the effects of the industry on human development.

Homosexuality

Until recently, lesbian and gay issues were hardly conceptualised and discussed in Nigerian societies. Traditionally, sexual relations were strictly between males and females, and negative attitudes were exhibited toward lesbians and gays in line with community disaffection about roles and behaviour of actors (Simon 1998). Even among more developed societies, up to the early 1970s, homosexuals were perceived as sick, in a way or another, ascribed mainly to "disturbed upbringings or the perverted results of genetic mishaps" (Kitzinger 1987:39). The pathological conception of homosexuality has been described by a clinical psychologist thus:

> *Homosexuality is a symptom of neurosis and of a grievous personality disorder. It is an outgrowth of deeply rooted emotional deprivations and disturbances that had their origins in infancy. It is manifested ... by compulsive and destructive behaviour that is the very antithesis of fulfilment and happiness. Buried under the 'gay' exterior of the homosexual is the hurt and rage that crippled his or her capacity for true maturation, for healthy growth and love. (Kronemeyer, 1980: 7).*

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However, as societies became more permissive to behaviours, and justifications are adduced for virtually all actions and inactions, the pathological explanation of homosexuality caved in. As with other aspects of lifestyle adopted almost wholly by African youths, homosexuals in Nigeria may soon become visible as their counterparts in Western societies (Macionis & Plummer, 2005). For the most part, the voices of homosexuals grew stronger with the emergence of the Queer Theory in the 1980s that was championed by Sedgwick (Macionis & Plummer, 2005). By proposing fair and equal treatment for Lesbians and Gays relative to heterosexuals, the theory represents the threshold of de-stigma and de-discrimination against homosexuals in relevant societies.

Although homosexuality is gradually gaining prominence among Nigerian youths, the health and social consequences are enormous. As Diplacido (1998) observed, homosexuals undergo more stress arising from their orientation than heterosexuals and are less likely to seek routine medical care for fear of revealing their sexual status to health care providers. In addition, family members of homosexuals usually react negatively upon disclosure of such sexual orientation, and, in extreme cases, disapproving parents and significant-others may disown such a family member (Muller, 1987). Clearly, disowning a homosexual will hardly lead to reversal of behaviour, but could rather throw up a cycle of psychosocial, emotional, economic, and familial challenges that may even outweigh the burden of seeking sustained reorientation and rehabilitation of the homosexual.

Cultism and Human Wastage

Cultism and human wastage were regular features in Nigerian tertiary institutions especially close to the end of 20th century. Although these have dwindled significantly in some schools, reduction has however been quite gradual in others. Perhaps, the difference between cult activities among Nigerian youths and their gangster counterparts in Western countries may be in the modus operandi and particularly initiation processes and rites. Ugwulebo (1999) identified psychological immaturity, exemplified in the problem of crisis of self, as one of the greatest pull factors towards cultism. Such immaturity, consequently, drives the individual to seek recognition and respect, even if through deviant ways. As Ugwulebo (1999) again noted, the 'hard guy' syndrome with its concomitant implications for abusive behaviour is a major manifestation of such psychological problem.

According to Owoeye (1997), violence among young people in society is a reflection of permissive but despicable youth culture that generates impetus in the failure of institutional mechanisms, youth integration schemes in communities, among others. We observe that the history of cult and confraternity activities in Nigeria is embedded in evolution from moderate to extremism in aims and activities. As several scholars have noted, cultism among Nigerian tertiary school students has accounted for unquantifiable loss of lives and property (Adelola, 1997; Owoeye, 1997; Ugwulebo, 1999), even when the initial purpose of establishing pyrates confraternity, which was the first to be founded, in 1953 was far from bloodletting. Quoting Wole Soyinka, who was one of the founding members of the latter confraternity, Adelola (1997: 54) says:

> *... the confraternity was not designed to be a secret cult. We sailed in my time on the top of platforms. Our performance which was just*

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> *singing, telling stories and debating were opened to anybody. We discussed everything including politics and anybody who liked or wanted to loosen up was free to join us.*

Such openness and willingness to universalise membership within the student body are marked differences from what obtains presently. Moreover, the earlier group was characterised by specificity of goal which tended to project African cultures and values against repressive imperialistic and destabilising agents.

Fraud and Dishonesty

Honesty among Africans was a traditional value cherished and upheld by the people probably because sanctions, against dishonesty, were strong and often tied to beliefs and wraths of gods. Perhaps, more than anything else, the supernatural consequences of dishonesty and allied activities kept behaviours in check. However, as Westernisation, Christianity/Islam and formal legal systems crept into Nigerian communal life and existence, traditionalism dwindled into insignificance. The amplification of these non-traditional phenomena has accounted for delays in judgements and, by extension, sanctions. Thus, the time-lag between commission of an act or omission and punishment, either to reflect western permissiveness or Christian/Moslem forgiveness or legal technicality, has created a lacuna that has exacerbated fraudulent activities among individuals and groups.

Fraud among Nigerian youths, it can be argued, is a reflection of general systems decay that manifest clearly in corruption in all facets of the country's life. It has been noted somewhere that the long years of military dictatorship occasioned by economic hardship is largely responsible for the high rate of corruption in Nigeria (Nwokocha, 2007). Thus, although fraudulent activities can be identified among different generations of Nigerians, the present youths are however diversifying the scope of fraud. For instance, Adekunle (2010) noted that the majority of cyber crime perpetrators in Nigeria are youths, and students in particular. He stated further that:

> *Yahoo boys proudly claim that their involvement in cyber crime is a way of getting back at an unjust system in a non-violent way... They are eager to show other people that they have arrived. Some hostels in tertiary institutions are known as Yahoo hostels apparently because almost everybody in these hostels gets involved in cyber crime... This has worsened Nigeria's image challenge within the global community. (Adekunle, 2010: 23; 54)*

Most of these young cyber criminals, in not conceiving their acts as anti-normative but rather a kind of innovation against poverty, are hardly perturbed by people's perception of their illicit activities. This rebellious attitude whereby individuals feel alienated from both means and goals and strive to reform the social structure by challenging its norms is located within the framework of R.K. Merton's theory of Differential Opportunity (Pfohl, 1994). Moreover, peers may be attracted by cyber criminals' flamboyant lifestyle at halls of residence and other places that may provide opportunities to showcase cars, phones, jewelleries, among others. Sutherland's Differential Association Theory is anchored on the premise that criminal behaviour develops through frequent and consistent interaction of the individual with

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criminal groups (Opara, 1998). The challenge, therefore, is not only in devising effective reorientation and rehabilitation strategies for established cyber criminals but also in ensuring that others are not pulled and eventually immersed in cyber criminality.

Theoretical/Conceptual Framework

Several theories could explain youth culture, unrestrained mischievous behaviour and deviation from community norms in different societies mainly due to the diverse nature of the phenomenon both in content and consequences. However, Functionalist, Diffusion, and Social disorganisation theories have been adopted for this analysis.

The Functionalist Theory sees the society as composed of sub-systems that function separately but cooperatively in maintaining the entire system to the extent that weakness of any of the sub-units not only affects it but also others and the whole (Ritzer 2008). In this wise, such weakness in affecting the functionality of the whole system leads to what is referred in everyday Sociology as, dysfunctionalism which is the reverse of the principle of functions. The dysfunctionalist perspective views youth culture as the cumulative effects of weak sub-systems such as family, school, economy, politics and religion. Onyeonoru (2000) had noted that a system is portrayed as an entity made up of interrelated and connected parts. As such, rather than dealing separately with various aspects of attitude-moulding as unrelated entities, the systems approach conceives of youth culture as evolving from the interactions of various deficient parts.

Nigerian youths are victims of general systems decay brought about by decades of leadership insensitivity, rugged individualism, lack of direction, dwindling cultural and primordial sentiments, among others. Family and kinship values are fast disappearing as parents and guardians struggle fiercely for economic survival in a pervasively impoverished country like Nigeria irrespective of her enviable resources. Consequently, young family members are almost absolutely left without necessary socialisation, and given that nature abhors vacuum, the onus of that orientation function is unwittingly undertaken by peers. Yet, these peers may themselves be victims of neglect in their own families and kin-groups.

Diffusion Theory is also adopted in examining youth culture and changing values. Diffusion research began as far back as 1903 when Gabriel Tarde plotted an S-shaped Diffusion curve (University of Twente 2010) and has continued due to its relevance in understanding social change. As Rogers (1995) stated, diffusion is a process of communicating an innovation through some channels, among the members of a social system, over a period of time. Diffusion supposes that a new idea, attitude, or behaviour will be adopted by members of a given culture or sub-culture. Thus, Diffusion of innovation theory predicts that media as well as interpersonal contacts provide information that influences opinion and judgment of relevant individuals (University of Twente, 2010) in a given context. For our analysis, exposure to varied information has accounted for the proliferation of opinion leaders and gatekeepers within the ranks of youths. These change agents adopt different persuasive strategies such as personal contacts, blackmail and positive sanction to influence their target audience.

We note here that in some Nigerian cultures, diffusion of these youth-cultural traits was achieved through the enculturation process whereby these opinion leaders and other relevant individuals prefer cultures other than theirs to the extent of

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adoption. In this case, preference for what youths in Western and other non-western societies do and cherish irrespective of the implications for the actor's community norms and values. For instance, through access to mass media, internet and personal contacts, several young people in Nigeria have adopted western lifestyle related to dressing, language, hair-do, alcoholism, drug abuse, gangster activities, clubbing, among others.

The disorganisation theory of the Chicago school in explaining youth culture as deviation that occurs as a natural bye-product of rapid social change, observed that high rate of anti-normative behaviour occurs when society experiences much upheaval in too short a time, sufficient, to disrupt the existing order (Pfohl, 1994). The theory suggests that such rapidity fractures the normative organisation of society thus creating different normative frameworks and value dissensus. The discrepancy accounts for weakening of rules of behaviour and the emergence of new values that oppose established traditions. The rapidity of change is exemplified by the internet revolution among young people, in particular those, residing in urban centres across the country. A decade ago, internet was neither hardly known nor used by young Nigerians; presently it is common knowledge, thus, serving as an incentive for computer literacy.

A synthesis of the above theoretical triangulation is a conceptual framework that interweaves elements of the three theories adopted for the analysis. Figure 1 shows that the virility of Diffusion and enculturation of culture, in form of adoption of western lifestyle at the expense of domestic patterns, is an indication of failure of individual sub-systems such as family, school, economy, politics, religion and local technology on one hand and the entire system as a whole on the other. Consequently, youths are left with limited attitudinal and behavioural options which include ambivalence and involvement in anti-normative behaviours.

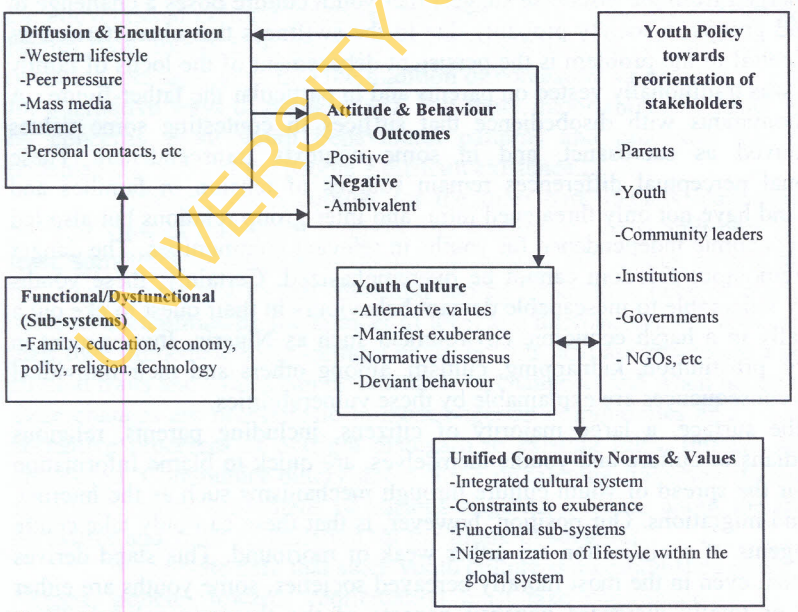

Fig1: Conceptual Framework

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Youth culture is conceived in the above framework as the outcome of a dysfunctional system that negatively impacts attitude and behaviour of young people over time. Thus, without a corresponding reaction from a functional system, hardly the case of Nigeria, these negativities are bound to stick to the extent of becoming a way of life. The framework indicates that youth culture could be disaggregated into alternative/contending values, exuberance, normative conflict and deviant behaviour. In addition, exposure to western lifestyle through mass media, internet and others could have a direct effect on the values cherished by youths, exhibition of unrestrained non-normative behaviour in its several manifestations and involvement in deviant behaviours.

Consequent upon the challenges posed by youth culture such as normative conflict and contested values which stand in direct opposition to traditional values, a youth policy designed to re-orientate stakeholders including parents, youths, leaders, governments and agencies is suggested. A well-conceived and implemented policy will unwittingly cushion the effects of unnecessary diffusionism/enculturation usually expressed in negative attitude and behaviour, often, among bemused youths. Ultimately, such a policy should promote unified community norms and values that curb damaging exuberance and inefficiency of sub-systems. Specifically, a youth policy proposed here will not only impact the sensibilities of relevant groups, but will also project a Nigerian lifestyle that takes into cognizance global orientation and currents. That way, Nigerian youths are made to emphasize the essence of home-grown cultural traits even when it becomes necessary to adapt from other peoples and cultures.

Discussion and Recommendations

Issues that emerged from the discourse suggest that youth culture poses a challenge to individuals and groups in society probably due to the swiftness that characterised its emergence. Central to the problem is the persistent debasement of the locus of family authority that was traditionally vested on parents and in particular the father-figure. A shift was synonymous with disobedience that suffices in contesting some values hitherto perceived as sacrosanct, and in some contexts transcendental. These intergenerational perceptual differences remain sources of tension in families and communities and have not only threatened intra- and inter-group relations but also led to early socioeconomic independence for youths in relevant communities. The danger in such unceremonious freedom cannot be overemphasized. Certainly, these youths become highly vulnerable to inescapable deviant behaviours in their quest to eke out a living, especially in a harsh economic environment such as Nigeria. Involvement in armed robbery, prostitution, kidnapping, cultism, among others and their individual and collective consequences are explainable by these vulnerabilities.

On the surface, a large majority of citizens, including parents, religious leaders, custodians of culture and youths themselves, are quick to blame Information Technology for the spread of youth culture through mechanisms such as the internet, mass media and migrations. Our position, however, is that these can only take centre stage where agents of socialisation are either weak or moribund. This stand derives from the fact that even in the most morally bereaved societies, some youths are either indifferent to or totally disregard negative aspects of the thematic culture. Thus, wholesome assimilation into the youth culture is a function of protracted failure of institutions such family, school, religious groups, the political class and the economy.

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By de-functioning, these sub-systems separately and jointly laid the path to youth vulnerability and by extension adoption of alternative ways of life that seek to fill the vacuum.

We contend here that the failure of these institutions was not purely deliberate but had resulted mainly from the inability to adjust correspondingly to changing times. For instance, it would be foolhardy for a parent in trying to dissuade his/her ward from the negative effects of the media to dispose of a television set in the hope that lack of access in the family will automatically cut the young person off from such medium. Embracing the technology and engaging youths on relevant issues would rather not only make for knowledge acquisition but also demystification of unnecessary misconceptions about mass media. It was argued somewhere that the culture of silence about important family issues such as sexuality, family and reproductive health explains the high rate of moral decadence in Nigeria (Nwokocha 2011).

As the fierce contest between traditional and emerging values rages on, and youths are at the centre of making choices on the path to follow, we recommend a mixture of the two mainly because each has at least a modicum of relevance in shaping the attitude and behaviour of youths. No matter how negative the youth culture may seem, it would be unrealistic to suggest its outright abandonment in view of the magnitude of its adherents among the youth population. However, traditional values can only stem the tide of this fledging culture by being more attractive, to the youths and other relevant groups, through careful modifications that will bridge the value gap between old and new generations of Nigerians.

Conclusion

Youth sub-culture transcends people and cultures of Nigeria. The paper deviates from the conventional cultural discourse wherein specific spatially distinct groups such as Idoma, Ijaw, Ibibio, Efik, among others are each analysed exclusively. This conscious deviation, perhaps, keys into the tradition of contesting values that thrives in yearning for alternative ways of doing things. But more importantly, the paper was motivated by concerns about youth behavioural patterns and processes that have become undeniable aspects of the people's difficult existence.

Although youth culture, for the most part, depicts inadequacies from the point of view of traditional symbols and sentiments, we submit here that there is, at least, something developmental about this way of life. Young people more than ever before are embracing formal education and by implication delayed marriages, are less naive as exemplified by the number of local and international networks formed outside their own immediate socio-cultural environments, and are projecting a conviction that cultural traits and values can be amenable to change as and when necessary. However, these changes are problematic in most Nigerian communities as a result of the non-normative processes of outright disregard to existing rules, through which they are introduced. Community outcry about these threatening transmogrifications relates to agitations among custodians of various Nigerian cultures about the implications of normative and value annihilation for the future of societies.

We re-state here that since youth culture is an established existential reality in Nigeria, policies towards reorientation must take cognisance of its global status. Moderating the attitude and behaviour of young Nigerians through a combination of

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the global and local/traditional, rather than an insistence on reverting wholly to old ways, is the surest way of achieving compliance. Moreover, an absolute reversal will translate to journeying backward into a secluded horizon of antiquity when the entire world is striding on the path of progress. Our position is that such reverse-movement will spell greater misery for Nigeria than did slavery and colonialism.

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