IKENGA, after which this journal of the Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, has been named, is a cult object of the Igbo-speaking peoples to which traditionally is attributed success or good fortune in the professions or in life generally. It is also closely associated with the right arm with which a man hacks his way through life. IKENGA could, therefore, be briefly described as the Igbo god of achievement. The journal is dedicated to the critical study of the fortunes of the black man down the centuries, and of his contemporary problems and dilemmas. Its interest covers the entire spectrum of African Studies.

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Nature and Nurture Education in the 21st Century
Knowledge and Political Economy

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Introduction:

Knowledge they say is power and that is probably why Ben Carson thinks and believes strongly that “the renoun that riches and beauty confer is fleeting and frail. To him, mental excellence is a splendid and lasting possession”. Mental excellence is a natural endowment that can always be developed and exploited to great advantage. There is power mighty in money because money answereth all things. There is power mighty in material possessions because this can confer some advantage and there is power also in your connection with high places because these can sometimes speak for you. Yet we know that all these sources of power can develop wings and fly, leaving the controller a wretched man he is. But there is power that remains and equips the possessor with strength and might that cannot be stolen. That is intellectual power. That is why any one with great intellectual capacity has the ability to think intelligently, understand and manipulate situations to produce great results. The reference to intellectuals usually provokes the idea of highly educated people but how can one be highly educated or in fact be educated in the first place except one has the natural endowment to be. A baby is therefore, genetically endowed with natural features that flow from the loins of the parents just as the parents received such natural capacities from their own parents. But there is always an original Cause, God who created man in His own image and gave him power to multiply and fill the earth and subdue it (Gen 1: 26-28).

The world is experiencing a strong wave of enlightenment and the provisions of computer and information and communication technology bring to the door-step of whoever cares, the latest discoveries in science and technology as well as the latest procedures in politics and social sciences. The age of great discoveries made popular by the Newtonian Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy is
important because of the revelation that the universe is, after all, “not a mystery moving at the whims of an inscrutable god but a mechanism operating by a rational formula that can be understood by any intelligent man or woman”. Men of this age sought order and found it in the new sciences but in spite of the apparent order, life remains poisoned at the fount (McMichael 2000:169). The strange thing, therefore, is that creation is so bright and beautiful but yet so dark and ugly. It does not matter the attractions of the new science, we do not experience only joy in life. There is always the rude awareness of the ravages of hunger and starvation, the carnage of accident and war, the threats of kidnapping and assassination, the demands of electric bills and recharge cards and of course the rising trends in unemployment charts. It is now clear that the political utopia of health for all by the year 2000, education for all by the year 2000 and food for all by the year 2000 is over. The perfect socio-political system where all live in peace and joy is forlorn. The point, after all, is that although the age of enlightenment places great emphasis on the achievement of the new sciences, there is the unshakeable resolve that God is the First Cause of all things, including the mental excellence of Ben Carson.

The 21st Century and the current trends in knowledge economy have produced powerful jingles that are linked with the Millennium Development Goals. The world as a unitary system may be difficult to sustain but the contemporary world as a knowledge-driven system has created a novel situation which, according to Oriafo (2005), is commonly referred to as globalization. Yet we know that there has always been the cultural hierarchy and compartmentalization of the world into races, classes and groups with such antithetical combinations as haves/have nots, white/black, developed/underdeveloped as well as Europe and America/the rest of the world. It does not matter the diversity of culture or level of education, there is always the over-riding image of the slaves and the enslaver which gives rise to a similar image of the horse and the rider. The antithetical combinations are matter-of-fact situations in human relationships but there is a natural foundation that can be nurtured to produce the varying vantage and disadvantaged positions.

This paper therefore, explores what may be described as “naturecratic education” but with some recourse to the provisions of modern world.

2
Concept of Naturecracy:

Two things are permanent in life and those are the processes of growth and change. That is why there is great sense in the saying that the child is the father of the man. A baby who is born today soon grows to become a youth, a young man and then an old man with weak limbs. What is apparently a change may sometimes result from a natural process of development and growth. The changes from infancy and infant mind to maturity and adult mind follow a natural process of growth and development.

Every human being has a divine inbuilt mechanism for this growth. One important factor, however, is that the mechanism, divine and inbuilt though, must be nurtured and harnessed to be manifest. The child has to be properly fed and has to be exposed to healthy influences of development for effective growth. As long as these divine and natural mechanisms are properly nourished, there must be growth and sure manifestations and evidences of change in both physical and psychological terms.

Man has to recognize and develop the divine and natural investments in him to be fully accomplished. The recognition and development of these potentials may follow a formal process of education but there is still the more important process of developing and exploiting the inner powers and talents through what Nsoffor (2010) calls “an inward looking process”. It is in fact the process of exploration and exploitation of thoughts and ideas through a uniquely culture-based inward looking process that Nsoffor describes as naturecratic. What is really important in naturecracy is the creative imperatives of a people. From all indications, therefore, naturecracy is an emerging ideological concept with great potentials of survival based on the awareness that is being created in the field.

Naturecracy in its face-value tends to provoke a sense of political ideology but while it has some political implications, it is essentially a “self-development philosophy” with a strong hold on overall development and exploitation of the potentials of man with some cultural trust. While Europe and America have a long standing history of medical achievement, India is shaking the world with exploits that are indigenous and impressively rewarding. The need to survive in the face of obvious demands in life propels a people to exploit alternatives but complacency drowns the power of inner drive to achieve uncommon feat. This may explain why the Nigerian civil war produced uncommon breakthrough and witty inventions in the lives of the disadvantaged sections of the country. The sudden relapse into
affluence with the end of the war killed every incentive to invent. The drive for naturecratic education is strong in India and China and the results justify the efforts so far. This apparently new self-developmental ideology is captured in the concept of naturecracy and the growth of this ideology is likely to produce new trends with great rewards.

**Naturecratic Education:**

Ordinarily, education is a fundamental factor in promoting individual and national development. That explains why governments and organizations make adequate investments in education. There is always the desire to enhance individual and national development goals and of course enhance whatever progress is made. Adequate investments in education provides for adequate human capacity building required for proper economic development and significant improvement in health and general life expectancy. Adequate investments in education also provides for health and general life expectancy. Adequate investments in education also provides for a healthy political economy that strengthens our national life and prepares us for a healthy relationship with other nations.

Investments in education could be extended beyond the boundaries of formal education to affect the forces of nature and natural endowments in man. This kind of education that will provoke new thoughts for self improvement in man may be described as naturecratic education. While it is not always in line with the forms and provisions of formal education, naturecratic education provokes the capacity of man to think, grow and understand one’s talents and potentials to achieve success and yet live in harmony with nature’s principles.

A new born baby is always received with the neonatal impression that nothing dwells in the brain of such a child except what is introduced through some form of education. The philosophical controversy about knowledge and knowing has a long history which does not appeal to this paper. What is actually of great relevance to this paper is the fact that knowledge can be gained through naturecratic processes, formal education and what may be conveniently described as divine inspiration. Of all these sources, Carson (1992) tends to suggest that it is the inspirational knowledge that can stir the naturecratic process in man to shake the tree of life and bring down fruits unheard-of.

While knowledge in general terms, is an act of cognition that manifests in physical and mental activities, naturecratic education and
the resulting knowledge endows man with unchanging human condition that can only be improved on for better performance. The neonatal logic may survive but nobody has been able to explain how the child acquired the knowledge to protest over the harsh condition of existence through the birth cry and subsequent cries of want. This kind of knowledge and reaction which results from natural divine endowment can be described as naturecratic. It appears that such actions that result from natural endowments provoke universal and unitary response or reaction. The world of human psychology shows that the birth of a child is usually heralded with the birth cry and the same child smiles as the mother appeals to its soft spots. The philosophy of *tabula rasa* of the mind prior to experience remains but the child has some innate driven reactions which follow from natural development. In the same way, every normal human being responds to sex drive without any formal education. The pornographic exposures or formal education on human reproduction can only add to the perversion of the natural process. Just as no father or mother teaches a child to direct a morsel of bread into the mouth, nobody teaches a child the art of sex response. All these are natural responses to natural stimulus which may be associated with naturecratic education. It is, however, necessary to distinguish between the response to natural impulses and the naturists’ strange response and attachment to the natural man.

While the responses to natural stimulus described above are universal phenomena, some naturecratic forms of education are peculiar to individuals and families. The knowledge and manipulation of herbal powers for instance are peculiar gifts to some families or individuals. The concoction of different herbal ingredients for curative purposes follows a natural endowment which the family develops to their advantage. Although some strangers can be co-opted into the family tradition through training and apprenticeship, it is sometimes thought that the potency of the herbs administered by these strangers may not be as strong as that dispensed by the traditional member of the family. That is why the power of bone-setting rests in specific families and continues to be handed down from generation to generation to members who desire the art. These family traditions may not be subject to formal education and dissemination but there is an insert mechanism for enhanced performance.

The brief survey above shows that there is something about the culture and tradition of a people which informs their response to life issues. The cultural input can also affect the political economy of the
people especially with the reformist impulse of “reinventing government” projected by Harrigan and Nice (2006:5).

**Cultural Democracy:**

The ability of a state or government to discharge its responsibilities effectively depends, to a large extent, on the political economy. On the other hand, the political economy derives from the interaction between economic conditions and public policies. The interaction affects the beliefs, expectations and attitudes of the people toward the government. The buzzword of reinventing government is not just a political jargon but a sloganeering stance designed to promote the idea of the government becoming more flexible and entrepreneurial in the provision of public services. At a time when the demands for public services are fast becoming greater than the financial resources for meeting these demands, the government should be more entrepreneurial and, therefore, less costly in order to rebuild public confidence. A political culture that develops from such approach is likely to create a cultural democracy that is people-oriented. And a people-oriented government exists to preserve the existing social order which extends political participation far beyond the limited interests of the political elites. In fact, Ugwu (2010:29) amplifies this position when he projects the point that a “natural man left without the mechanism of social control or governance is in a condition of warfare with each other. There is no doubt that man is wolf to man without an organized mechanism for social control. What is actually of great interest to this paper is Ugwu’s Public Choice Theoretical Framework in the analysis of the dynamics of grassroots governance in Nigeria especially as he queues into the tenets of public choice theory presented by Soludo, Ogbu and Chang (2004:28). According to these men, Public Choice Theory presents a picture of a society of self-interested individuals organized into interest groups for the extraction of benefits from the government. That is why politics is apparently an organized forum for these self-seeking individuals who stand on the cover and provisions of established policies to make promises that never square up with the realities of the time in order to achieve “self utility maximization”.

Obvious indicators in the literature, therefore, show that the Public Choice Theory seems to flow across the grains of cultural democracy as espoused by Adams and Goldband (1995). If cultural democracy stands for the animating philosophy behind community cultural development, the Public Choice Theory prospers a group
articulation of policies that serve as political ladder for selfish social attainment. The times are changing and as we join the inevitable march of progress, we are constrained to explore the complexes and evolving interplay between cultural democracy and universal principles of politics. As we agree with McMichael (2000) that we live in a world that is simultaneously integrating and disintegrating under the pressure of fragile globalization, we must also accept the antithetical combinations of life as inevitable manifestation of international inequality. The scale and style of politics are also changing with rapid circulation of ideas with electronic impulses. Fresh ideas of human rights are emerging with deep-rooted contention over the shape and procedures of the emerging world order. But cultural democracy is an internally driven political approach that seems to recognize the local ingredients of the group in line with the wider ranges of the democratic dividends. It is this recognition that provides the conceptual framework in which the particularities of our life merge into the commonalities of our corporate existence.

We discover, therefore, that the “naturecratic principles” of our existence must continue and the traditional procedures in life may yet survive but the rapid pace of social change introduces some procedural adjustments and shifting debates in the world socio-political order. We live in a world unified by global technologies and products. With the emerging communications revolution and the irresistible appeal to the provisions of these global technologies, we evaluate other political cultures and gain knowledge of their treatment of children, women and people who live on the margins of the economy. In this way, we come to terms with alternative currents of meaning and social organizations that may shake our attachment to cultural democracy and traditional beliefs. Yet, it has become clear that peculiar situations and problems demand peculiar solutions. What matters to us today is how to make sense of the many political problems of our democracy today. Most times, our political discourse centre on slogans that are mere clichés that are inadequate to address the varying complex dimensions of the political issues. But recent advances in research on naturecracy and cultural democracy offer new insight into some of the long-standing political questions. Climate change remains a global phenomenon but kidnapping is a peculiar Nigerian problem. The apparent collapse of the stock market may be a universal business calamity but poor road network as well as VIP food poisoning is unique Nigerian problem. We need a political system that will strengthen our cultural loose ends and yet strengthen our unity in diversity. The appreciation of the natural as
well as the socio-political deprivations of the Niger Delta region for instance demands a naturecratic education that exposes the weakness in the conventional strength of our naval power. It was only a culture-driven political attention to the problem that resulted in the uneasy peace Nigeria seems to be enjoying. A man’s gift makes a way for him. The Niger Delta militants knew themselves and, therefore, exploited fully the benefits of their aquatic strength to carve a special political niche that remains a vantage point for uncommon concessions. It appears that it is the people’s recourse to naturecratic education that increased and strengthened their capacity to work in co-operation with their natural landscape to achieve self and group recognition and benefits.

The world we live in today is different from our world of the 19th and 20th Centuries. The rapid pace of socio-political change makes the tasks of handling this world difficult and supplemented by the new wave of globalization and there is, therefore, the need to understand the pulls and mobilizations of the fragile globalization in order to queue into the world commodity chain and be properly aligned with the political and knowledge economy of our age. Naturecratic education which is designed to address peculiar Nigerian political questions and counter-mobilizations is likely to fill the gaps in our existing political culture. The Naturecratic Association may be a recent development in our socio-political organization but it is an association that is likely to re-direct the movement and pulse of our society, the forces of modernity notwithstanding.

**Conclusion:**

No man is an island to himself. We live in communities and societies with socio-political ties and affiliations. These community affiliations are going through an over-riding process of globalization with its undercurrent of development. Under the circumstance however, it is clear that man lives in a world of alternatives. And naturecratic education and emerging cultural democracy have promises of a strong alternative.

With the moral failures of our political elites, we really need new ways of handling the complex issues of freedom and justice. We also need better and creative ways of thinking and creating awareness and virtue among our youth who face the challenges and tensions of our pluralistic world. What matters, as James Hunter will always say, is not just how to make sense of our democracy today but how to face the challenges of healthcare, environmental degradation, financial crisis,
unemployment and terrorism. Naturecracy presents an alternative current of meaning and social order that can tap into the imperatives of Nigeria’s re-branding project. But the odds are heavy since we must connect to the mainstream of global economy (Onuigbo, 2010) and according to Saraki (2009), position Nigeria to confront the challenges of our time as well as take advantage of emerging opportunities of the 21st Century.

References:


Weaving the Fabric of Archaeological Research in Ugwuele-Uturu Stone Age Site of South-Eastern Nigeria

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**Introduction:**

The prehistoric site of Ugwuele in Uturu of Abia State was discovered about three decades ago. The state of euphoria associated with this spectacular discovery fuelled a lot of research interest on the site at the initial stages. With the passage of time, however, the research interest could not be sustained, probably due to a number of seemingly difficult obstacles that needed to be crossed, to enable the original intetia to be regained. In this paper, therefore, we shall attempt to re-visit the site in order to appraise the progress of work by the Pioneer researchers and also suggest ways of mustering support for research to continue at the site in order to save it from the threats of destruction from other competing interests.

**History and Nature of the Site:**

The Ugwuele Stone Age site is the earliest prehistoric site in South-eastern; Ugwuele is one of the villages in Uturu town in Isuikwuato Local Government Area of Abia State, Nigeria. Uturu is located 10 km east of Okigwe on the Okigwe/Afikpo road while the Ugwuele is about 7 km north of the Hopeville Rehabilitation centre and
schools which become visible immediately one enters Uturu from the Abia State University road junction. The site was acquired in 1977 by a construction company, Ozigbo Engineering Company, for the exploitation of dolerite, a hard basic igneous rock which when crushed was used as aggregates for building and road construction (Anozie et al 1978, Anozie 1979; 1985). Information about the site (5° 53’ N, 7° 26’ E) was first received in October 1977, when Mrs. Mercy Emezie, a geography student of the University visited the site and saw many stone flakes scattered over a large area. Puzzled by the flakes, she picked up a few and brought them to her Professor, G. E. K. Ofomata, who suspected that the flakes were of archaeological interest and sent some to the Archaeology Laboratory of the University of Nigeria Nsukka. On examining the flakes, they were found to have well-defined bulbs of percussion and therefore man-made.

A visit was quickly arranged since information from the student who made the chance find was that the construction company had already started quarrying at the site since they had obtained a mining lease to do so. When the team of archaeologists from the University arrived at the site they found several hundred piles of artifacts made up of flakes, cores, handaxes, cleavers, picks, etc, near a crushing machine while some had already been crushed (Anozie, et al 1978). A report of the finds was made to the Director of the Federal Department of Antiquities (now National Commission for Museums and Monuments), and to Professor A. E. Afigbo, member for Anambra and Imo States on the National Antiquities Commission. When the Directors of the company were approached they showed understanding by allowing some of the artifacts to be collected for the University Museum and also agreed upon request, to reserve two portions of the site for detailed archaeological study. Since the site was under threat, a rescue excavation was conducted in 1978 on the unreserved area to collect as much information as possible about the site. This was done in the belief that some vital information that could lead to the proper reconstruction of the history of the site could be gleaned from the unreserved area.

The site is situated on a ridge at the scarp-foot of the Awgu Escarpment while the dip-slope of the escarpment is dissected by fast-flowing streams with deeply incised valleys producing a rugged sandstone terrain (Anozie et al 1978). The scarp face is composed of a 300m thick and steep sandstone wall. The foot of the scarp is composed of a plain underlain by folded Lower Cretaceous shale. A line of perennial springs rise roughly at the sandstone/shale interface
and sprawl through shallow valleys northwards to the Cross River (Anozie, et al, 1978). Igneous intrusions of doleritic and dioritic composition emplaced close to the crest of the anticlines of the fold were exposed during geomorphic processes of Late Tertiary to Pleistocene time. These now stand as low highlands above the Cross River Plain. The dolerite ridge which is exposed to the north of Ugwuele is very fine grained and when struck, the rock fractures conchoidally producing a sharp edge. This made the Ugwuele rock very suitable for tool-making than others in the area. The Ugwuele rock occurs in boulders and these served as the source of raw materials for the stone axe factory in the area.

A number of factors have combined to make the site attractive to Early men. The first is the location of the site at the foot of the Awgu Escarpment surrounded by several perennial springs that flow into the Cross River. Water was very important to early men as it was to the animals they hunted for food, so they camped near a river or lake so as to drink at will and to lie in wait for the animals that came to drink. Many geographical reports (Grove 1951, Farrington, 1952) show that the site is situated at the northern edge of the forest, but its present vegetation is derived savanna due to human interference. The dominant grasses in the area are Pennisetum purpureum and Andropogon sp. with a sprinkling of other grasses such as Imperata cylindrical. A few tree species, including the oil-palm and Phyllanthus discoideous are scattered over the area (Anozie, et al; 1978).

The situation of the site within the forest-savanna ecotone made it ideal as the early man could exploit the resources of the two habitats. The third factor is that the doleritic rock at Ugwuele is exposed and occurs in boulders of various sizes thus making it easily accessible to the tool makers. Another important factor is that the whole of Igboland lack suitable rocks for tool-making as the country rocks are mainly shale and sandstone which are very unsuitable for the manufacture of stone tools. However, the Ugwuele dolerite is fine-grained, heavy, hard and produces flakes with sharp edges. It was probably the best material for the manufacturing of stone tools in South Eastern Nigeria and the site has been described as perhaps the largest stone axe factory in the world (Anozie 2002). Unlike other Acheulian sites in Nigeria such as Mai-Idon-Toro, Nok and Pingell (Anozie 1975) all on or near the Jos Plateau, where the materials were found in river terraces with most of the tools slightly water worn, suggesting that they were transported from elsewhere, the Ugwuele site is stratigraphically
sealed. There is every possibility, therefore, that many facts associated with the way of life of early man in Africa could be preserved there.

(Source: Anozie et al. 1978)

**FIG. 1** Map showing the position of the Ugwuele site and geological cross-section.
FIG. 2  Geology of the Ugwuele locality

Excavations:

As pointed out above, a rescue excavation was carried out over an eight week period between November, 1977 and March 1978 and was directed by F.N. Anozie. During the excavation two test pits of 2m by 2m each and two trenches of 6m by 2m each were dug. These rescue excavations were concentrated in the Zone on the north-eastern
flank of the ridge which was subsequently destroyed (Anozie, 1982 and 1983). The two test pits were dug near the top of the ridge, to a depth of 20 cm and 1.8 metres respectively. The test trenches I and II attained a depth of 6 metres and 3.4 metres, respectively. In test trench 1, which was dug to a depth of 6 metres, the last 1 metre was largely occupied by dolerite boulders (Anozie, 1982; Allsworth-Jones, 1987).

The site was further excavated in February 1981 by a joint party from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, the University of Ibadan, and the National Commission for Museums and Monuments (Anozie et al, 1978: Anozie, 1982, 1983, Andah and Derefaka 1983). The joint part in 1981 also dug three test pits on the northern slope of the ridge in archaeological reserve 1. As in the 1977-1978 rescue excavations, the excavation at the top of the ridge produced nothing and it was therefore not numbered by the excavators. However, test pits 1 and 2, which produced artifacts, were taken to a depth of 90 cm and 80 cm respectively (Allsworth-Jones, 1987). The joint party made stratigraphic observations by stating that the walls of archaeological reserve II formed a kind of “island” left behind by the company at the north-eastern end of the ridge. Anozie observed the remains of an extensive hearth at a depth of 1.2 metres in his test trench II. Some charcoal samples from this hearth were sent to Groningen for C-14 dating. The joint party that excavated the site in 1981 was able to make some distinctions in the succession that was revealed at archaeological reserve II. The stratigraphic succession is as follows:

(a) a dark brown topsoil, up to 30 cm thick, containing artifacts;
(b) reddish-brown deposit, 2-2.5 metres thick, ‘marked by several horizontal lines of artifacts alternating with clay lenses’;
(c) mottled strong brown deposit, 3 metres thick, more homogenous, but still with artifacts, above;
(d) dolerite boulders and bedrock (Andah and Derefaka, 1983; Allsworth-Jones, 1987).

**Analysis and Interpretation of Finds:**

The artifacts recovered from the site include handaxes and cleavers which were few in number, picks, side scrapers and a variety of flakes and cores. The principal tool found at the site however was the handaxe which was of various forms and sizes. Three categories/types of handaxe were identified and they are:

(a) a heavy crude type with average max. Length 32 cm, max. Width 17 cm, max. thickness 10 cm and max.
weight 6 kg. It is flaked all over the body by stone hammer. Some of the flake scars are very deep and the edges are irregular and sinuous;

(b) a well finished typed (Fig 1) with shallow flake scars and straight edges, with average max. length 17 cm, width 9 cm, thickness 4 cm and weight 1 kg. This type constitute over 70% of the handaxe collected;

(c) A small cordiform type (Figs 2 and 3) well finished with thin and straight edges with max. length, 11 cm., width 8.5 cm., thickness 3 cm., and weight 0.8 kg. Several miniature bifaces that are not cordiform were also collected (Anozie, et a, 1978).

The cleavers recovered are few. They are triangular in cross-section and made on specially prepared flakes (fig 4). The picks are pointed and massive. Analysis shows that some of the flakes were struck from cores prepared so that flake form and size was predetermined. The most common of these are of Levallois type, and most of the cleavers and well-finished handaxes were made on such flakes. A few kombewa flakes with two ventral surfaces were collected. Also recovered from the site are curious stone axes reminiscent of the iron axes still made and used today in Igboland. These stone axes show no evidence of grinding. Axes (adze?) and some tranchets similar to the ones recovered from Ukpa Rockshelter at Afikpo (Chikwendu 1981) were also recovered (Anozie et al 1978).

The question that is asked is “how old is the site”? Since over 80% of the tools found at the site are handaxes which are of various forms and sizes, the consensus among the researcher and scholars is that the site belongs to the handaxe culture known as the Acheulian which has been found in many places in Africa. Although the Ugwuele site has not been precisely dated, the Acheulian culture to which it is ascribed flourished between 1.6 million and 95,000 years BP (Clark 1974, Anozie 2002: 18), therefore the age of Ugwuele falls within this range. Judging from tool typology alone, it seems that the site belongs to a later phase of the Acheulian culture. This is because the well-finished type with shallow flake scars and straight edges predominate and constitutes over 70% of the handaxe collected. In other parts of Africa, this phase has been dated to about 500,000 years BP (Clark 1974; Anozie 2002). Attempts to date the site include the use of the Carbon -14 and Potassium-Argon techniques, although these techniques have their attendant problems. Similarly, other specialists
like the geologists and palynologists have been invited to assist with the dating using other methods.

An important observation by the pioneer researchers is that over 60% of the handaxes collected were either broken or unfinished. This was because, although the rock has a conchoidal fracture and flakes easily, it is also brittle and even a small error could ruin a tool. This accounted for the large accumulation of tools and fragments at the site, thus indicating that a lot of raw materials were wasted. Anozie (1982) has consistently maintained that the Ugwuele site constitutes a primary workshop centre, and given the enormity of artifacts, could qualify as “the largest stone age axe factory in the world”, Andah and Derefaka (1983) are of the view that the second deposit in particular shows traces of sorting by stream action, and that in general the whole site may constitute a “secondary occurrence resulting from redeposition of artifacts by water movement”. In a similar vein, Allsworth-Jones (1987), does not consider the site as Acheulian, as he ‘feels some unease’ about that description. This feeling ‘arises partly from the nature of the site itself and partly from the nature of the materials recovered’. He further stated that he did not ‘consider the elements accompanying the handaxes to be particularly diagnostic, nor did be see anything that could be convincingly claimed as Levallois’. He also considered the broken or unfinished ones as ‘preforms or roughouts’ for something other than handaxes, perhaps for ground stone axes.

(Source: Anozie F.N. 2002)

FIG. 3 Medium Handaxe.
(Source: Anozie F.N. 2002)

FIG. 4 Two Small Handaxes

FIG. 5 A Cleaver
(Source: Anozie F.N. 2002)

FIG 6. Kombewa Flake  
FIG. 7  Stone Knife.

**Discussion, Suggestions and Conclusion:**

In this paper, we have looked at the discovery of the stone axe factory at Ugwuele, the research as far carried out at the site as well as the controversy among some scholars about the nature of the materials
and the proper placement of the site. While scholars like Anozie (1982, 2002) of the view that the site is undoubtedly Acheulian, others like Allsworth-Jones (1987) do not consider the site as Acheulian. The latter school of thought has also considered the broken or unfinished handaxes, which occur in large quantity at the site, as ‘preforms or roughouts for something other than handaxes, perhaps for producing ground stone axes. If this view is accepted, it then means that the finds from Ugwuele could be consigned to the neolithic. This view in the opinion of scholars in the field is unjustifiably biased since it was held without regard to a proper understanding of the nature of the rock used in the manufacturing of the tools. Geologists who have looked at the nature of the Ugwuele rock (Umeji, 1978) are of the view that although the rock has a conchoidal fracture and flakes easily, it is also brittle and even a small error would ruin a tool. This accounted for the large quantity of handaxes that were either broken or unfinished which scholars like Allsworth-Jones (1987) erroneously regarded as ‘preforms and roughouts’. Whatever the arguments against the site’s credentials, the consensus of opinion among several archaeologists to that the Ugwuele site undoubtedly belongs to the handaxe culture and therefore occupies an important and early position in African cultural sequence. As strategic as the site is in our understanding of the story of man in the remote past especially in an area hitherto considered by archaeologists as unoccupied by man at that time, because it falls more or less within the tropical rainforest zone, research at the site has lost its momentum. As a matter of fact after the initial researches were carried out, not much has been done as a follow up. This situation is worrisome, especially when one considers the importance of the site and the several threats the site has faced over the years and the one it is currently facing. These threats come from other land use activities going on around the site, the greatest coming from quarrying. As pointed out earlier, the land was acquired in 1977 by the Ozigbo Engineering Company for the exploitation of dolerite rock at the site which they crushed into aggregates for house and road construction. It was at this time that the site was accidentally discovered and efforts were made to save the site from destruction. These efforts included rescue excavations and the reservation of two portions of the site, upon request, for detailed archaeological study. As a result of the feud between the prospecting company and the Ugwuele community over the failure of the company to meet some of its social obligations to the community, the quarry activities were halted. However, in recent years, another Construction Company, SETRACO, a key player in road
construction in South-Eastern Nigeria, has been granted a lease by the Ministry of Solid Minerals, to quarry at the site. Unfortunately, this new company was not a party to the initial agreement to leave two portions of the site as archaeological reserves. This means that if no serious intervention is made to save the site, every other thing that needs to be known about the site will be completely lost.

To save the site from total destruction therefore, a number of measures could be taken. One of these measures should involve a meeting between the company currently quarrying at the site and the Department of Archaeology and Tourism, University of Nigeria, Nsukka under the auspices of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments, to intimate them with the initial agreement reached with the previous company and to educate them on the importance of the site. Another measure, which should quickly follow the first, is to resume research activities at the site and also evolve a comprehensive site management plan for the site that will involve all the stakeholders. The National Commission for Museums and Monuments should blaze the trail by carrying out as well as sponsoring such researches at the site. To make the site accessible to the public and also enable them understand its significance, a site-museum should be erected there. This type of museum also known as Visitor information centre could help visitors to the site appreciate the many different values of the site. The museum when built should have pictorial illustration and other displays that could show the different types of stone tools and the techniques used in their manufacture. This would no doubt help to educate and inform the public including the local inhabitants of the area about the significance of the site and its materials and also help to enlist their support in any efforts to protect and preserve this important cultural heritage. A similar thing has been done at several archaeological sites across the world such as the archaeological sites of Ephesus in Turkey (Torre and Maclean, 1992) and the royal tomb at Luxor of Queen Nefertari, one of the Queens of Pharonic Egypt (Agnew, 1997). A museum has also been built at NOK to display the various elements of the Nok culture. The local community and other stakeholders can be involved in this project to enable all to share in the stewardship role. The Ugwuele stone axe factory site is an important heritage of this country and efforts should be made to save the site and its contents from total destruction.
QUARRY SITE - UGWUELE-UTURU

Quarrying of dolorite

Blasting of dolorite

(Source: Umeokafor, C.L. 2005)
References:


The Effects of Working-Class Consciousness on the Coal-Mining Industry in Eastern Nigeria: An Appraisal

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Abstract:
This paper examines the characteristics and effects of ‘working-class consciousness’ and actions on the coal-mining industry in Enugu, Eastern Nigeria during the colonial period. From the inception of the industry in 1915, the ‘working-class’ shared similar economic motive that they protected through collective actions; the hallmark being the 1949 ‘go-slow’ strike that led to the shooting incident. Drawing from both primary and secondary sources, the essay argues that management’s efforts to create ‘labour aristocrats’ failed, but the working-class consciousness and actions later had positive effects on workers’ welfare at the industry. It concludes by placing the 1949 shooting incident in its proper historical perspective after a thorough appraisal.

Introduction:
The origin of the coal industry in Eastern Nigeria dates back to the colonial period. Bituminous coal was discovered in Udi, near Enugu in 1909, while production commenced with the opening of Udi Mine in Enugu-Ngwo in November 1915. In subsequent years more collieries such as Iva, Ogbete and Ekulu were built; but throughout the colonial period the Enugu collieries had a continuous existence as an enterprise that utilized labour in various forms. As a result of this, many able-bodied young men left the rural areas of Igboland in Eastern Nigeria for reasons such as tax demand, ethnic or communal obligations and desire for European goods to work as wage labour in the mines. This led to the creation of proletariats in Enugu and its surroundings.

The collieries operated the capitalist mode of production that required the buying and selling of labour power through the market mechanism. The sellers of labour power are forced to sell because they neither own, nor have access to the means of production.
of labour power own the means of production and can therefore discriminate between sellers, thereby exercising stiff control over them leading to a further element of subordination. However, all the sellers of labour power belong to the same economic class and therefore comprise the “working class”; because no matter their status they all have similar economic motive. Thus V.L. Allen observes that:

*an economic class consists of people who are in the same objective economic position. When people are subjected to the same economic pressure, then other things being equal they will act in essential respects consistently and uniformly thereby satisfying the main criterion for belonging to class category.*

It is against this background that series of working-class actions were noticed at the coal mines in Enugu during the colonial period. These actions were in form of working-class consciousness that protected their collective interests on several occasions. The most publicized of these consciousness that commenced in 1925 was the 1949 ‘Go-slow’ strike of the Colliery Workers’ Union (CWU), which is a vital focus of this paper.

Generally, Nigerian historians have not laid much emphasis on working-class consciousness and actions. Few works that exist on the subject covered the Northern and Western sections of the country respectively. While B. Freund, and C. Gonyok, highlighted the activities of wage-labour at the tin mines in the Jos plateau and its environs; A. Olukoju examined the travails of wage-labour in the Lagos Metropolitan area during the inter-war years.

However, with reference to Eastern Nigeria, there exists dearth of literature on the subject. Although some studies made mention of the ‘shooting incident’ at the Enugu coal mines in 1949, but only few highlighted series of working-class consciousness that led to that incident. These are works by A. Akpalla and W. Ananaba. While the former treated working-class actions from the perspective of management/labour relations, the latter discussed events at the coal mines from the general view of Nigerian trade union movement. Similarly, these studies could not draw conclusion on the major effects of working-class actions at the coal industry.

Consequently, this paper examines series of working-class consciousness and actions that led to the ‘shooting incident’ of 1949. It analyses the effects of the shooting incident, and concludes (after a thorough appraisal) that the workers’ actions at the mines were
psychological and principally economically motivated. For purpose of analysis, this paper is divided into five sections. These are: origin of the coal industry, the emergence and classification of wage-labour; management and growth pattern of the industry; working-class consciousness, rise of unions and the ‘go-slow’ strike of 1949; effects of the shooting incident; and a conclusion.

Origin of the Coal Industry, the Emergence and Classification of Wage-Labour:

Coal, “the pioneer of Nigeria’s energy industry”¹¹ was until the late 1950s the most important source of energy in Nigeria. It was discovered as a result of the colonial government’s desire for a cheap source of energy. Consequently, in 1903, the British Imperial Institute was mandated by the colonial government to undertake the mineral survey of Southern Nigeria.¹² This led to the discovery of coal (as observed earlier) in Udi, near Enugu in 1909.

With the discovery and with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914; establishing a coal-mining industry became a priority project to the colonial government in Nigeria. It was hoped that coal from the mine would lead to increase in local coal consumption; and as well benefit the neighbouring British colonies of Gold-Coast and Sierra-Leone. The coal industry was also aimed at facilitating the colonial administration’s war efforts, especially boost export of agricultural and other allied raw-materials to Britain. As a result of all the above, in January 1915, Mr. W.J. Leck arrived Nigeria from Britain to take charge of mining operations in Southern Nigeria.

Major land for the development of the colliery and what later became Enugu township was acquired in two stages from chiefs of some communities in Udi Division (Chief Onyeama of Eke, Chief Chukwuani of Ozalla, and certain chiefs from Ngwo) between 1915 and 1917.¹³ This led to the establishment of the first mine, Udi, in November 1915. A second mine, was opened at Iva Valley in 1917, while the third was opened at Ogbete in 1918. By March 1936, the first mine, Udi, was worked out and closed down, while Iva mine and Ogbete became the nucleus of production up till the end of colonial rule.

Unlike the tin mines in the Jos Plateau (Central Nigeria) where the indigenous people had knowledge of tin production before British advent,¹⁴ coal production was developed by the colonial government. The first set of wage labour at the mines was from Onitsha Division. This was as a result of the indigenous peoples’ refusal (due to their
traditional beliefs) to take up initial mining jobs.\textsuperscript{15} This first set of workers was assisted by prisoners drawn from the Udi prisons. The initial tools for coal extraction were local implements such as picks, shovels, diggers and head pans. This early miners had neither boots nor helmets.\textsuperscript{16}

From the inception of the coal industry in 1915 till 1937, procurement of labour was through contracts. This led to the emergence of labour contractors, with local chiefs being involved. Some of them, such as Chief Onyeama of Eke went as far as Bende in Owerri Division (a distance of about 120 kilometres) to recruit labour to work in the mines. As from 1916, the indigenous people changed their attitude towards mining; and thenceforth sought jobs as miners and became the principal source of labour at the mines. However, between 1918 and 1920, there was a decline in labour supply as a result of the influenza and small-pox pandemic in Udi area during the period.

The supply of labour stabilized as from 1922. Specifically, in 1925, statistics of wage labour at the mines showed that the source area, Udi, had 57 percent; Owerri and Okigwe Divisions, 18 percent; Awka Division, 13 percent; Onitsha Division, 6 percent; while the other parts of Igboland contributed 6 percent of the total work force.\textsuperscript{17} The workers were procured by contractors; who were paid by the colliery management; while each contractor paid the labourers through his ‘boss-boy’ (foreman). This trend at the mines was in line with Bill Freund’s observation that in Nigeria, “labour recruiters and skilled workmen were often African; the number of European employees was tiny, and confined largely to management and petty stake-holders”\textsuperscript{18}.

With reference to the classification of wage-labour, generally, there were two categories of labour in the mines: the underground and the surface workers. The underground workers were those who extracted the coal from beneath the ground. They included the hewers, who dug coal; the tub-men, who carried the coal in tubs to the haulage rope and returned the empty tubs to the hewers to refill again. There were also the timber-men, who built support for the roof in the process of digging; the timber drawers salvaged timber from abandoned areas for re-use; the rail-men laid rail for trailing the tubs. There were also other underground workers such as the haulage-men and the machine-men, whose duties also facilitated the process of coal extraction.

On the other hand, the surface workers included administrators, managers, supervisors, clerical assistants, cashiers, messengers and runners, guards, lorry drivers, and special workers such as refuse collectors and disposers, cleaners, and the “hammock boys” (carried the
white officials on specially made tarpaulin to and from work). There were also interpreters, artisans and helpers. The collective role of these workers enhanced the growth of the coal industry during the period under review.

Management and Growth Pattern of the Industry:

From the inception of the mines in 1915, the colliery had a symbiotic relationship with the Nigerian Railways. Its first manager, Mr. W.J. Leck worked under the supervision of the Nigerian Eastern Railway. However, in 1937; the colliery was granted partial autonomy when it became a Government Department under the Transport Directorate. Despite this, the colliery manager continued to receive directives from the Transport Directorate in Lagos, while the Chief Commissioner, Eastern Provinces, Enugu supervised administrative matters.

The colliery management’s status changed in 1949 when the Enugu Colliery Board was inaugurated with members appointed by the central government. In 1950, through Ordinance No.29, the establishment of the Nigeria Coal Corporation was enacted, with the responsibilities of developing and managing Nigeria’s coal resources and the coal industry. This notwithstanding, the relationship between the colliery and the Railway remained; as the latter continued to act as the colliery’s sales agent until 1960 when the Nigerian Coal Corporation created its marketing department.

Although (as observed from the above analysis), the colliery management seemed not to have had autonomy; but in reality, the internal colliery management ensured the day to day running of the industry. Consequently, throughout the period under review the management did all it could in ensuring industrial harmony. One of such measures was recruitment of labour on clan basis. This policy became well noticed after the 1925 strike action that was championed by non-indigenes. From thenceforth, the colliery management preferred indigenes (Agbaja), who formed the major underground workers; whereas the non-indigenes took up clerical and other technical jobs.

No doubt, a major reason for the management’s preference of the Agbaja was to ensure its firm control of the colliery, particularly wage matters. Whereas most of the non-Agbaja workers (especially those from Onitsha and Owerri Divisions) were relatively more enlightened and could voice their grievances; and therefore were regarded as ‘trouble makers’, the Agbaja were rather more submissive to the management. However, it was observed that indigenous factor
also played a role to sustain this recruitment policy. This corroborates John Flint’s assertion that: “during the early decades of colonialism, the indigenous chiefs facilitated European capital development in Nigeria”.23

With regards to the growth pattern of the industry, more than 7,000 tons were produced in the few weeks of production in 1915; whereas the industry recorded its highest output of 905,397 tons in the 1958/59 financial year.24 Generally, exigencies of given periods such as the general depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s affected production. Nevertheless, the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 led to a rise in production because of the closure of other sources of coal supply to West Africa due to the effects of the war.

At this juncture, it should be stressed that despite colonial government’s seriousness in establishing the coal industry, the industry did not experience speedy growth as a result of many factors. Some of these were: the system of production that involved the non-application of modern technology; the problem of transport; constant government control of prices and the problem of capital for further development. There was also the limited market for Nigerian coal that was deliberately designed by the colonial government to serve only few West African states and for internal consumption by government departments at subsidized rates.25 Thus it can be argued that deliberate government measures inhibited the smooth growth of the industry during the period.

Working-Class Consciousness, Rise of Unions and the ‘Go-slow’ Strike of 1949:

As observed earlier, all employees in the coal industry belonged to the working-class at the mines. It has been argued that at certain stage in the working-class/management relationship in the production process the working-class develops some form of class consciousness. R. Sandbrook and R Cohen have outlined three levels of class consciousness.26 Of this three, two are attainable: the simple acceptance by a group of workers of their identity based on similar roles in the production process; and a recognition that workers have common interest as a class, which need to be protected through collective action against opposing claims of other classes. However, the third level of working-class consciousness, which is the eventual replacement of the capitalist system, has been difficult to attain. In the coal industry, the first two levels were attained through collective action of workers on many occasions.
From the inception of the mines in 1915, the working-class showed series of consciousness especially with regards to their remunerations. The take-off wage in 1915 was 9 pence per day for underground workers. This was reduced to 6 pence in the first few months of 1918 due to the purported over-supply of labour. However, between 1915 and 1937; there were series of work stoppages that numbered more than eight. These were caused by either reduction in wages or non-payment of certain allowances.

The first noticed major working-class consciousness was the 1925 strike action that was organized by the non-Agbaja hewers who protested the reduction in their wages from 6 pence per tub to 4 pence. Their action led to stoppage of work for many days and eventually made management to sack the protesting workers and replaced them with the Agbaja; who lacked experience in underground operations. This incident marked the beginning of management’s efforts to create ‘divide and rule’ among the workers. Although, few strike actions by the workers (such as the 1937 strike when wages that were reduced due to the economic depression of the early 1930s were restored) were successful, but most failed as a result of the non-existence of collective bargaining. It has been observed that any form of organization of workers generally emerge from their efforts to seek an improvement of existing conditions through collective bargaining. This was lacking at the coal industry up till 1940 due to distrust among workers.

Efforts to form trade unions commenced in the late 1930s despite the fact that the colonial government had enacted Labour Ordinance Code No.1 of 1929 that made it possible for different categories of workers to form unions if they desired. Even at that, the first step in collective bargaining was initiated in 1937 by the colliery management, which asked the workers to form a Representative Council on clan basis. By management’s explanation, the Council was to play advisory role; but the truth was that the Council was used as a ploy to curtail the emergence of a virile trade union and to create ‘labour aristocrats’ (relatively privileged workers), among the work force.

The passing of the Trade Union Ordinance into law by the colonial government in 1938 led to suspension of the Representative Council. The Ordinance specified that as few as five persons could combine to form and register a trade union. Consequently, two workers’ unions emerged at the industry in 1940. These were the Enugu Colliery Workers’ Union and the Enugu Colliery Surface Improvement Union formed by underground and surface workers.
respectively. The two unions pursued separate interests; but in the 1942/1943 Cost of Living (COLA) negotiations, the underground workers’ union had a better bargain. This made many surface workers to enroll en-mass into the underground union.

However, in April 1944, both unions merged to become the Colliery Workers’ Union (CWU). The first secretary of the amalgamated union was Mr. Okwudili Ojiyi; a literate employee who had benefited from the colliery training scheme initiated in 1938; aimed at assisting Nigerians to acquire the necessary mining techniques. At inception, the main objective of the CWU was to sustain workers’ solidarity and destroy the management and government’s policy of ‘divide and rule’. Put in a wider perspective, the principal aim of the CWU was to fight a legacy of ‘labour distrust’ that had taken root in the industry over the years.

The first test of CWU was its demand made in 1944 for the improvement of wages and working conditions necessitated by the high cost of living caused by the Second World War. Management’s refusal to negotiate led to a trade dispute that lasted till 1945; and resulted to management’s dismissal of underground workers, and the banning of the CWU in April 1945. This led to the re-introduction of Workers’ Representative Council on clan basis. During the June-August 1945 National strike in Nigeria, although there was no coordinated participation of the CWU; but work was near stand-still because the Railway (the cooperating partner of the colliery) was on strike.

While the ban imposed on the CWU lasted, its leadership operated underground and sensitized workers on general labour trends in Nigeria; especially the recommendations of the Tudor Davies Commission on the 1945 National strike, which specified that Nigerian workers should adopt collective bargaining as a system of regulating relations with employers. Consequently, the secretary of the proscribed CWU used that opportunity and tried to open contacts with colliery management through petitions to the Chief Secretary’s office in Lagos; but the petitions were ignored by the colliery management.

Meanwhile, between 1946 and 1947, the central government increased wages of government employees in the country. As the management tried to harmonize the new wages, the outlawed CWU saw the delay as a ploy to deny workers their legitimate wages; and on 4 November 1947, the secretary of CWU mobilized workers and taught them the ‘welu nwayo’ (go-slow) method of work. This marked the genesis of the ‘go-slow’ as a mass action. It was a passive resistance whereby workers in all sections of the mines worked slowly with little
output. In its face value, the ‘go-slow’ was not a legal strike because there was no work stoppage.

In a Press Release, the outlawed CWU executive argued that workers worked slowly because they were hungry. It was against this background that recognition was restored to the CWU, while its leaders entered into negotiation with management. An agreement reached with management in December 1947 provided for payment of the new harmonized wages and some arrears. This was victory for the CWU as the increment was backdated to January 1946. The colliery management paid all the arrears in March 1948; and the CWU having noticed that it’s ‘go-slow’ was successful declared a second ‘go-slow’ action on 8 November 1948 over claims of the under-payment of certain category of workers in the March 1948 payments. Once again, the CWU was victorious in its demand, as the management yielded.

The third ‘go-slow’ action (that led to the shooting incident) was declared on 8 November 1949 as a result of another trade dispute with management over certain unpaid allowances. Irked by the constant use of strike by the CWU, the management took drastic action and sacked 200 underground workers. Concerted efforts made by the Ngwo community (on whose soil the colliery was located) to hold conciliatory talks with the two groups failed. Meanwhile, the dismissed workers and the CWU executive converted the ‘go-slow’ action into a sit-in-strike and refused to vacate the mines for days.

At this juncture (for fear that explosive at the mines might fall into wrong hands), the government decided on 17 November to remove the explosives at the mines. Consequently, on 18 November 1949, a senior superintendent of police, Mr. F.S. Philip was appointed to head 105 policemen in the operation to remove the explosives from the mines. The explosives were successfully removed at the Ogbete mine, but at Iva Valley mine, the dismissed workers resisted the removal. By this time, about 1,500 miners had gathered with sticks, chanted war songs, and demanded that the explosives must not be removed. In the process, a struggle ensued between three policemen and some miners. In the ensuing melee Mr. Phillip ordered his men to shoot; and accordingly, the policemen shot indiscriminately at the protesting miners. The shootings led to the death of twenty-eight miners while more than fifty were injured.

**Effects of the Shooting Incident:**

The November 1949 ‘go-slow’ strike was the hallmark of working-class actions at the colliery in Enugu. News about the shooting
spread very fast and Nigerians from all parts of the country reacted spontaneously. One immediate effect of the shooting was that it aroused nationalist feelings, as the Nationalists set up a National Emergency Council (NEC) headed by Dr. Maja, while Mazi Mbonu Ojike was the secretary. Labour also set up a National Labour Committee to look into the incident. With this zeal (as an aftermath of the shooting), the NEC, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), and the Nigerian Youths Movement made a call to grant Nigeria self-governing status.

The shooting incident also aroused the consciousness of the indigenous peoples of Enugu and its environs. After the shooting, some miners who survived cut down trees and laid ambush for the police. Similarly, some women from Abor, Ukana, and other neighboring communities in Udi Division marched all the way to the mines to protest the shooting. It was due to the above pressures that the colonial government set up a 4 member Commission of Enquiry, headed by Mr. W.J. Fitzgerald. Two members of the Commission were Nigerians. The Commission, announced on 28 November was inaugurated on 7 December 1949; and sat from the 12 December up till 5 January 1950. In its Report published in June 1950, both the government and the trade union leaders; particularly Mr. Ojiyi were indicted for the unfortunate incident at Iva Valley.

As it concerned the workers, the recommendations of the Commission among others, changed the names of African workers at the mines in the roles they played. For instance, before the shooting incident, foremen were called ‘boss-boys’; but after the incident, they became known as foremen. Pick-boys became known as hewers, tub-boys became known as tub-men; while the job done by the hammock-boys was abolished. Thus the pride of African workers was restored as ‘racism’ was abolished from the mines.

The incident also created more consciousness among the workers, in terms of participation in trade union activities. Although the CWU was indicted, but working-class consciousness persisted in the 1950s. A new union, the Nigerian Coal Miners Union, was formed and recognized by the management in April 1951. Like its predecessor, management interfered constantly in the affairs of the NCMU. T.M. Yesufu observes this to be the trend with labour unions in the 1950s; due to the interferences of politically motivated Regional Governments. Nevertheless, workers showed their un-alloyed commitment to collective bargaining at every point in time.
Other benefits accrued to the workers after the shooting incident (observed by a commentator) were: the representation of Nigerians at the Colliery Board, the regularization of the appointment of miners (particularly casual workers), and the improvement of workers’ condition of service.\textsuperscript{39} In the same vein, the gains accrued to African workers extended even to the post-independent era. For instance, between 1961 and 1962, the number of expatriate staff was reduced from 21 to 16; while the number of Nigerians in senior service positions rose from 45 to 58.\textsuperscript{40}

It was in the course of these events that coal started to lose its status as a major energy source in Nigeria. Dwindling fortunes set in around the late-1950s and the mid-1960s. The Nigerian civil war compounded its problems as the industry was closed down for nearly three years. Its major customer, the Railway started dieselizing, while its use to generate electricity diminished, because at the end of the civil war, the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) found other sources of energy generation.

Conclusion:

This paper has highlighted events at the Nigerian coal-mining industry in Eastern Nigeria during the colonial period. The origin of the industry, its growth and classification of wage labour were noted. Working-class consciousness manifested in various forms and at various times; and culminated into the shooting incident of 18 November 1949. The following observations emanate from the study in order to place events at the colliery in their proper historical perspectives.

Generally, it was observed that the colliery management tried to create ‘labour aristocrats’ at the mines. The Council of Representatives on clan basis served its interest to the detriment of the workers. Colonial labour policy was exactly what was implemented at the colliery by the management. T. Fashoyin observes that though the colonial government gave partial support to trade unions, but its labour policy did not give room to protests, whether occupational or otherwise.\textsuperscript{41}

In the course of analysis, it was also observed that workers had participated in strike actions before the formation of the CWU in 1944 and the subsequent ‘go-slow’, as a mass action. These reactions of the workers were in line with M. A. Tokunboh’s observation that: “a trade union is a function of the environment, the economic development and the culture pattern from which it grows”\textsuperscript{42} Similarly, as shown in the
analysis, the entire workers operated in circumstances, with their primary aim being to earn wages, which would enhance their standards of living. The miners were virtually Igbo, the same culture and therefore found cooperation with each other easier than in an enterprise with workers from diverse cultural backgrounds. Thus, the workers’ collective actions at the colliery could be likened to the railway workers’ strike in Lagos in 1920, which succeeded in getting the colonial government act to alleviate the suffering of wage labour.\textsuperscript{43}

At this juncture, it is worthy to stress that few existing works on this subject have not actually agreed on the trend of events at the colliery; whether caused by socio-economic factors or politically motivated. The studies emphasized the political motive, particularly the activities of the Nationalist movements during the period; such as the Zikist Movement (youth wing of the NCNC), NCNC, and the NYM as having influenced the workers’ actions. Mention was also made of the individual factor, in the person of Mr. Okwudili Ojiyi, the secretary of CWU as having motivated the rest of the workers.\textsuperscript{44} Similarly, J.S. Coleman argued that a nationalist press in Enugu was at hand to advertise the activities of the workers; that this did heightened workers’ commitment to ‘their cause’. He concluded that later events was a signal to make the Zikist to move into action through mobilizing nationalists in forming the National Emergency Council.\textsuperscript{45}

However, these arguments can be debunked taking into consideration that while the political motive may be traced to the existence of nationalist press such as the West African Pilot; at the same time, most of the workers were not literate enough to read newspapers. The role of the Nationalists was only a coincidence, given that nationalist activities were at a lull in the period preceding the shooting incident. In like manner, other forms of mass-media such as radio and television were not common then. The individual factor can be seen as part of leadership responsibility, dynamism and flexibility. Though Mr. Ojiyi, as leader ‘on the spot’ must have influenced certain workers, but this should not over-ride the major observed factors in the course of analysis.

Based on the above clarifications, this paper argues that the series of working-class consciousness that culminated into the shooting incident of 1949 were psychological, and principally economically motivated. From the psychological point of view, it should be stressed here that mining all over the world is very tedious in nature. This has been illustrated by P. Abrahams, who observed that any form of mining weakens workers, who eventually gets tired and dies.\textsuperscript{46} Considering
that there were many fatal accidents at the Enugu collieries during the period,\textsuperscript{47} and given the fact that there was no concrete social security for workers such as insurance policies; the Enugu colliery workers had to exert pressure on the management to pay the necessary entitlements due to them.

Secondly, series of events at the colliery were economically motivated, because in the course of management/workers relations, there were disagreements that led to working-class actions. This showed that at all point in time, the workers as an economic class had primary economic interests to protect. On the other hand, the management as owner of capital and employer of labour tried as much as possible to subvert and suppress the collective bargaining power of the workers. The major issue at stake in the industry was that both management and workers had economic interests to protect, which manifested through the chain of events noticed in the course of our analysis.

The economic motive is further elaborated in line with A.G. Hopkins’ assertion that urban employees suffered a serious fall in their living standard in the period of 1930 to 1945 due to retrenchments caused by the World-wide economic depression and the Second World War.\textsuperscript{48} Therefore; it became imperative that those workers who retained their jobs strived to sustain themselves economically. There was also the need for the migrant worker to meet his financial obligations, both in the urban centre and send remittances to his family in the rural area. With these in mind, the workers did not relent in ‘fighting’ for their economic rights. Finally, that the series of working-class actions were economically motivated is further buttressed by the fact that many of the miners were migrants, whose sole reason for leaving the rural areas was to earn better wages and improve their living conditions. Furthermore, many of the miners invested their money wisely in properties. For instance, some houses that sprang up in Ogui and Abakpa-Nike areas of Enugu in the late-1950s were built by ex-miners.\textsuperscript{49}

\textbf{End Notes:}
\begin{enumerate}
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4. Ibid, p.179.
11. Caption on the entrance to the Head-quarters of the Nigerian Coal Corporation, Enugu.
17. C.A. Browne, *Croasdale Report* (A Booklet deposited at NAE); p.3
19. Comprehensive list of categories of miners was derived from the private papers of Pa George Anyaegbu (84) of Amichi-Nnewi. Retired Assistant Secretary, Nigerian Coal Miners’ Union, 1951-52.


32. Mr. Okwudili Ojiyi introduced the ’go-slow’ strike and championed the chain of working-class actions at the colliery between 1944 and 1949. His role in the colliery will remain indelible in Nigerian labour history.

33. Interview: Pa George Anyaegbu (84); former union leader; 6 May 2005.

34. For detail of the Tudor Davies Commission, see Ananaba; chapter 8, pp.59-65.

35. An informant, Pa Simon Agu (an ex-miner) confirmed that the sacked miners feared that the removal of the explosives (which hewers depended largely on) meant that they had finally lost their jobs.
36. Interview: Pa Stephen Ude(75); retired miner from Awkunanaw, 13 May 2005.
37. Interview: Chief Francis Ibezim (77); retired miner from Orlu, 12 December 2005.
44. Earlier works (cited in this paper) failed to specify the actual factor(s) that motivated working-class consciousness at the colliery in Eastern Nigeria.
47. One of such incidents took place on17 June 1943, during which 3 underground workers lost their lives; see National Archives, Enugu (NAE) File No. 18099, Vol. 11; my informant, Pa Agu also observed that although mine work was tedious, but people were attracted to it because of the high wages when compared with work in the farms. He resigned from the mines when his friend was killed in a mine accident in 1953.
49. Most of my informants (mainly ex-miners) confirmed that many successful miners built their own houses in outskirts of Enugu such as Abakpa-Nike and Ogui. These areas are currently parts of Enugu metropolis.
Archaeological Sites as Visitor Attractions: Towards Preserving and Presenting Nigeria’s Archaeological Heritage

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Abstract:
Archaeological sites in different parts of the world have acted as cultural icon or focal point that have served as magnet in attracting visitors to these regions. Although archaeological sites were not originally created with the deliberate intention to attract tourists, yet over time their appeal and significance, have widened to the point where tourism flourishes because they exist in these areas.

Archaeological sites that are serving as important visitor attractions today in different parts of the world, include the Stone Henge in Wiltshire England; the tomb of Queen Nefertari in Luxor, the Pyramids at Giza, the burial sites at the valley of the kings, the great Zimbabwean Ruins and the archaeological sites in the Mediterranean such as Knossos in Crete and Ephesus in Turkey. Efforts have been made by governments and agencies in these regions, through legislations and local sanctions, to protect and preserve these sites and to harness, package and present them as visitor attractions. This has yielded substantial amount in tourist revenue to these countries.

Nigeria is blessed with a plethora of archaeological sites some of which rank among the most exquisite in the world. Unfortunately, however, their potential as visitor attractions have hardly been realized and harnessed.

In this paper, therefore, attempts will be made to identify those sites with immense visitor attraction potential and methods will be suggested on how to protect, package and present them to the domestic and international tourist markets.

Introduction:
Archaeological sites in different parts of the world are today being harnessed as visitor attractions. This has been made possible by the diversified nature and unlimited scope of the products that interest tourist today arising from man’s insatiable appetite for new tourism experiences. Another reason for the pull exerted by archaeological sites on tourist is the realization by several countries of the world of the immense economic, social and cultural benefits derivable from harnessing their tourism potential, archaeological sites being considered an important tourism resource that can be developed to achieve the above goals.

Nigeria’s archaeological heritage though rich and diverse, has hardly been recognized and appreciated as an important ingredient that can help to grow the country’s tourism as has been realized by some countries like Egypt and Turkey. These sites, which dot Nigerian’s geographical landscape range from Stone Age sites, caves and rock shelter sites through iron working sites to industrial sites. Examples include the Early Stone Age site at Ugwuele Uturu in Southeast Nigeria, regarded as the largest stone axe factory in the world; the world-famous Nok sites that produced the Nok terra colta, fuguries located in Northcentral Nigeria; the Ife sites that yielded life-size terra-cotta heads in Western Nigeria; the Benin sites in Midwest Nigeria where bronzes of exquisite craftsmanship were excavated. Others are the sites at Old Oyo in North Yoruba land; the excavated mound at Daima in Northeast Nigeria and the several iron-smelting sites located in different parts of the country. Although these sites have been lying waste, it is envisioned that with appropriate planning measures they can be protected, preserved, packaged and presented as visitor attractions. As visitor attractions, these sites, when adequately publicized, can help expand the countries primary tourist markets and help to increase the number of international tourist arrivals, especially those interested in cultural tourism. The revenue that should be generated will help to boost the local and national economies. Besides, proper planning measures could go a long way in protecting and preserving the country’s archaeological heritage and enable this resource play an enviable role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the nation.

**Definition of Basic Concepts:**
Visitor Attractions:

Attractions are about the most important factor behind tourism because they generate the visit and act as the object that pulls man to visit unusual environments. Attractions give rise to excursion circuits and create an industry of their own. Ashamu Fadipe (2007), has identified three categories of attractions, although there is an on-going debate on the appropriate definition due to lack of conceptualization of the term. These categories are:

a. **Natural Attractions:** They are unusual objects whose origins are derived from the physical environment and have outstanding values that appeal to the tourists. They include scenic landscapes wildlife parks, beaches, lakes. Examples include the Yankari Game Reserve in Bauchi State, the Agulu Lake in Anambra State. Natural attractions may be further divided into those that are managed and those that are left in their natural state.

b. **Cultural/Historic Attractions:** They are those attractions that relate to history, science, religion, politics, archaeology traditions such as music, folklore and the way of life of a particular society. Cultural and historical attractions are as diverse as the people of the world. Attractions that arise from people’s culture and history include museums and monuments, festivals, folklore, archaeological sites, places of worship and native life. Examples of these are Abuja Carnival, the Kano and Benin City walls, the Sukur World Heritage Site in Adamawa.

c. **Man-Made Attractions:** They are those objects created by man that appeal to the curiosity of tourist and help to generate tourist trips. They include theme and amusement parks, theatres, casinos, historical buildings museums.

**Carrying Capacity:** According to Matheson and Wall (1982:21), carrying capacity “is the maximum number of people who can use a site without an unacceptable decline in the quality of the experience gained by visitors”. To this definition has been added “without an unacceptable adverse impact on the society, economy, and culture of the tourism area. “(Inskeep, 1991:144). The reason for establishing carrying capacity in tourism areas is to ensure the level of development and use is maintained that will not give rise to environmental or
sociocultural deterioration or that will not be perceived by tourists as undermining their enjoyment and appreciation of the tourist area. By using carrying capacity analysis, it will be possible to set the upper limits on development of the tourist area, and thereby limiting the number of tourist arrivals or more precisely the number of tourist days.

**Archaeological Heritage Management:**

The International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM, 1986) has defined archaeological heritage management as “the protection and administration of archaeological heritage in its original environment and in its relationship to history and contemporary society” This entails the application of care in the preservation and conservation of archaeological resources in a territory for the benefits of present and future generations.

**An Overview Of Previous Efforts To Protect, Preserve And Present Nigeria’s Archaeological Heritage:**

A number of spirited efforts have been made, over the years to protect, preserve and present Nigeria’s archaeological heritage. These have been made possible through parliamentary legislations and military decrease that sought to protect and preserve the country’s archaeological heritage. Presentation has been mainly achieved through exhibition in museums art galleries, journal publications, newspaper articles, radio and television presentations as well as the production of souvenirs. The first piece of legislation that helped to guide prehistoric research in Nigeria was passed in 1953. This legislation popularly called “Ordinance 17” created both the Federal Department of Antiquities and the Antiquities Commission. Before this law came into existence, “archaeology in Nigeria was the mere past-time of amateurs in the Colonial Service or that of intrepid adventures (Nzewunwa, 1983), who engaged in unscientific and sometimes illicit archaeological excavations often resulting in the plunder and illegal transfer of the antiquities discovered (Ekechukwu N.J.H. No 17 Forth Coming). It is important to recall that by 1943 the colonial administrators inaugurated the Antiquities Services as a result of a strong feeling for the protection and preservation of Nigeria’s antiquities that had been plundered, illegally transferred overseas, desecrated or destroyed through ignorance. The Antiquities Services of 1943 gave the needed impetus to the establishment of the first set of museums in Nigeria. “Interestingly enough, these museums were archaeological in character, and located in places where archaeological discoveries had been made.
and they exhibited the discovered materials (Fatunsin, 1994 in Ekechukwu, Forth Coming). These early museums that helped in presenting Nigeria’s Archaeological heritage to the public were located at Esie, Jos and Ife. The statutory responsibility for executing and guiding archaeological research in Nigeria was, by “Ordinance 17” vested only on the Federal Department of Antiquities (Now National Commission for Museums and Monuments. Today however some of these responsibilities are shared with academic institutions with the proviso that these academic institutions obtain authorization before embarking on archaeological field research. The provision of “Ordinance 17” and other subsequent legislations preclude non-professionals from engaging in archaeological research in Nigeria except under strict guidance by accredited professionals. In 1957, the Antiquities (Export permits) Regulations was enacted to help monitor the movement of antiquities, including archaeological objects from Nigeria. This was followed in 1975 by another minor legislation known as the Antiquities (Prohibited Transfers) Decree Popularly known as “Decree , 9” This decree provided for the protection of antiquities such as archaeological objects and made the buying and selling of antiquities in Nigeria an illegal business. It has been observed that both Decree 9 and the Antiquities Regulation of 1957 made little or no impact on cultural heritage management in Nigeria since they were sometimes unenforceable (Ekechukwu N.J.H. No 17 Forthcoming). However, Decree No. 77 of 1979 put in place a new administrative structure known as the National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM), which replaced the federal Department of Antiquities and helped to rectify nearly all the anomalies of Ordinance No. 19 of 1953 (Agbaje-Williams 1994 in Ekechukwu N. J. H. No 17 Forthcoming). In an effort to protect and preserve Nigeria’s archaeological heritage, as part of its statutory function, the Commission maintains effective archaeological presence in almost all parts of the country through its new policy of recruiting and attaching archaeologists to every National Museum. The Commission through its Archaeology Division has conducted excavations and other research activities in different parts of the country and has sometimes collaborated with the Universities in these research endeavours. Apart from the museum display, the Commission has also played a leading role in presenting the archaeological heritage to the public through its various journals, newsletters as well as through radio and television programmes across the country.
Another important body that has participated actively in the task of protecting, preserving and presenting the country’s archaeological heritage is the Archaeological Association of Nigeria, (AAN). The body was inaugurated in 1975 as the apex organization of archaeologists in Nigeria. The association holds annual conferences and the proceedings of such conferences are published for public enlightenment. The universities in the country have also played very important role in research and manpower training geared towards producing the needed manpower for the archaeological enterprise in Nigeria. Among the Universities that have established full-fledged archaeology department are the University of Ibadan and the Universities of Port Harcourt and Ahamadu Bello University, Zaria have their archaeology unit in History Departments (Fatunsin, 1994). Although concerted efforts have been made to protect, preserve and present Nigeria’s archaeological heritage, these efforts laudable as they have appeared, have failed to yield the required dividends as a result of a number of problems most of which are largely scio-economic in nature (Ekechukwu, Forthcoming). These problems have, in some way, hindered the protection, preservation and proper utilization of our rich archaeological sites as a viable option for generating tourism that could help to grow the country’s economy.

Charting a Course for the Transformation of the Sites:

In order to harness the social, economic and cultural potential of the archaeological sites in Nigeria, a number of strategies need to be adopted. These strategies will involve a site planning approach that will enlist, to a large extent, the support and participation of the various stakeholders, especially members of the local communities; the adoption of a more proactive approach to site protection and conservation, and the use of an aggressive marketing campaign to present the sites and promote their use as tourist attractions.

In this paper, we shall adapt the planning model put forward by Inskeep (1991) as a tool for effective planning and development of sites in Nigeria. This model outlines the objectives, approaches, process and techniques as well as principles for planning of archaeological sites. The reason for adopting this model is informed by the similarity in the nature of most archaeological sites across the world. For example, cave and rockshelter sites in different parts of the world assume similar morphologies but could differ in terms of the material artifacts located in them. Also iron-working sites especially smelting sites and their
contents (furnace and slag) assume similar shapes if the smelting tradition adopted is the same.

A. Planning Objectives and Development:
Among the planning objectives will be:
- To involve the local communities and other stakeholders in the planning and management of the sites, thereby making the peoples the stewards of their heritage. All the stakeholders must be identified and involved in planning and management. The stakeholders will include the community leaders/head and other custodians of the people’s culture and tradition; the various tourism bodies and the art and culture institutions.
- To create awareness among Nigerians about the importance of the archaeological heritage by implementing educational programmes for both children and adults.
- To protect and secure the archaeological heritage from looting and destruction through guarding and building of facilities that can secure the sites from encroachments.
- To strengthen the laws that govern theft, illegal exports of the artifacts and destruction of sites.
- To publicize the sites to the outside world in order to appeal to tourists.
- To generate revenue especially foreign exchange by using the sites as visitor attractions.
- To construct visitor facilities at designated sites to accommodate the needs of visitors.
- To develop a comprehensive site management programme for selected sites with conservation undertones
- To enable the sites play an active role in the nation’s socio-economic development.

B. Planning Approaches:
The basic planning approach that could be adopted will involve survey, mapping, inventorization and analysis of sites to determine those that have primary importance or attracting power and those that are secondary and complementary to the primary features. In other words, the surveyed and inventorized sites should be prioritized to select those that have high potential to attract visitors. For site mapping, the rapid survey method called traversing could be used as the basic field mapping technique. Another basic approach for planning archaeological sites involves the application of the environmental and
cultural conservation approach. In this approach, emphasis is laid on the conservation of the natural environment of the sites to help minimize the impact that may arise from the immediate environment. This approach also involves the design of visitor facilities and organization of site use that could help to preserve and not degrade the environment. The approach enables an equilibrium to be maintained among such variables as maximum use, enjoyment and appreciation of the sites by visitors and avoiding environmental impact by tourist while helping to uphold and maintain the conservation objectives. When planning a site the main issue considered is conservation of the principal archaeological features. This may involve the preservation of the site as it is or the use of preservation technique such restoration where there are visible signs of deterioration.

C. Planning Process and Technique:
This will involve:

- A determination of the conservation needs from the archaeological survey and analysis of the sites. The survey and analysis may sometimes involve site excavation.
- The establishment of visitor carrying capacity.
- An analysis of the socio cultural and environmental impacts, especially where some people are living in the site area.
- Determination of the type and extent of visitor facilities and services that should be provided at the sites. The facilities should be integrated into a visitor centre complex and located at or near the main entrance to the site.
- Provision of a visitor use plan that will show the entry and exit points and the manner in which traffic should flow at the site. Direct access to very fragile archaeological features could be prohibited but only allowing views of them from a distance.
- Control of the total numbers of visitors at the site at any one time, especially if there is danger of congestion or site deterioration.

D. Planning Principles:
The best principles for developing visitor facility within a site are usually to concentrate the major facilities in one area, so that they can become an integrated complex. This facility complex, often known as the visitor centre usually include the reception/lounge area, an information centre, a shop selling books and other items such as souvenirs related to the site, a snack bar or restaurant, an exhibit area or small museum about the site and other facilities like toilets, parking
space for cars and tour buses. In building the visitor information centre and other structures at the site, traditional architectural styles of the area can be adopted, while building materials could be sourced from the local environment. Visitor accommodation can also be provided within or near the facility complex and where this is not available, arrangements could be made for visitor accommodation in a nearly village or town. (Adapted from Inskeep, 1991).

**Site Protection and Conservation Measures:**

Although a number of measures have been taken, to protect and preserve the artifacts excavated from different sites in Nigeria, as can be seen from the various ordinances and military decrees highlighted above, however, not much has been achieved in the area of site protection and conservation. Most of these sites have suffered from all forms of neglect, abandonment desecration, destruction and environmental degradation without any attempts at protecting and conserving them. In Nigeria and indeed several parts of the world, site conservation has not kept pace with excavation, as archaeologists are busy excavating without sparing a thought for the preservation of the sites they have excavated upon. With expanding industrialization, there have been increased activities in the field of construction, mining, and agriculture. These industrial activities have given rise to large-scale development projects like housing, highways, dam construction, and refineries, most of which have frequently resulted in the obliteration of the natural landscape and with them, of course, our archaeological features, “Although social and environmental protection concerns have been expressed in several quarters with regard to these projects and studies have been commissioned by the governments of this country on the impacts of these large-scale public works, unfortunately, however, archaeologists have hardly been invited to participate in such environmental and social impact assessment studies in this country (Ekechukwu, N.J.H. VOL.17 Forthcoming). The absence of a comprehensive register or inventory of archaeological sites and features along with archaeological survey maps showing the locations of these sites and features within the landscape have not helped matters at all. The laws and regulations for the protection and preservation of the archaeological heritage, including the sites and features do not carry stiff penalties that serve as deterrent to offenders. To achieve a measure of success in the area of site protection and preservation, a number of strategies need to be adopted. These should include:
1) The development of a comprehensive site management programme for all the sites in the country, whether excavated or potential. This will include the construction of visitor facilities at some designated sites to accommodate the needs of visitor/tourists while helping to minimize the impact of these visitors on the sites.

2) The establishment of site conservation programme and insisting that conservation experts be included in excavation teams. To realize this objective, archaeologists could be trained in archaeological field conservation so that they can carry out conservation treatments in the course of site excavation.

3) The strengthening of the cultural legislations to ensure that the country’s sites and features are well-protected. Indeed, Local Governments should be empowered to make bye-laws as appropriate to protect and preserve the archaeological sites in their domains.

4) The engagement of the local communities in the task of site protection and preservation. One way of achieving this, is by employing members of these communities around which the sites are located as guides and guards.

Presenting the Sites to the Public:

In several countries of the world, archaeological sites have been developed, packaged and sometimes presented with interpretation as visitor attractions. This presentation with some interpretation has not only helped to arouse interest about the sites but has also assisted in generating huge traffic in tourism to these countries with the attendant economic benefits. Some of the countries where this has been achieved are Egypt, Turkey, and the United of America. For example, the sites in Egypt that range in age from the prehistoric, pharaonic, Greco-Roman through Jewish, Coptic to Islamic, have kept attracting unprecedented number of international tourists to that country. The “Valley of the kings” one of the sites located in the Theban West Bank attracts nearly two million visitors per year while the figure put for the “Valley of the Queens” an adjacent site, is approximately four hundred thousand per year (Neville Agnew and Martha Demas, 2008: 20). Today a vast tourism industry, based on these sites, exists in Egypt and the country’s economy depends on the revenue from this form of tourism. The sites of Ephesus in turkey, which was the capital of the province of Asia and one of the wealthiest cities of Asia Minor during Roman Imperial period, attracts thousands of tourist from different parts of the world.
every year, who come to see its Hellenistic and Roman architecture and urban planning (Torre and Maclean, 1997:21). Also at Chaco Canyon in North-western New Mexico, USA, the Native American Anasazi established a series of settlements and the magnificent archaeological ruins of this ancient community now form the Chaco Culture National Historic Park, a World Heritage site that attracts thousands of tourists to the area. In these countries, various strategies and techniques have been adopted in interpreting, presenting and promoting these sites to make them attractive to visitors. One of these strategies is the building of visitor information centre, a facility that helps to publicize the site and enable visitors appreciate the various values of the site. At Chaco Canyon, the visitor centre complex consists of an exhibition gallery in which materials excavated from the ruins for several years are exhibited. It also contains photographs, maps, site brochures and other items of information on the culture and tradition of the Native American Anasazi for the benefit of its visitors. An important marketing tool used by these sites is the tour brochure. The tour brochure is a tool used by tour operators to package tours to destinations. It has the advantage of influencing customers to reach a decision to buy the tour products offered. Apart from the manual brochure, the use of the electronic website (e-brochure) is now gaining much popularity within the travel and tourism industry. The particular advantage of the websites is that information about the product can be changed frequently and at short notice (Holloway, 2006), to enable quicker market penetration and allow visitors from distant parts of the world to browse and download information about the sites. Nowadays, the use of mobile phones has enabled visitors to download materials direct from the internet provided information about the sites are posted on the internet. In line with the practice in other parts of the world, site museums with visitor facilities can be built in some designated sites in Nigeria to achieve a similar purpose. The use of brochures, both manual and electronic, as a marketing tool for advertising and promoting sites in Nigeria in both local and oversease travel and tour markets cannot be overemphasized. Information on important archaeological sites in Nigeria should be made available on the worldwide web in order to create awareness about them and arouse some curiosity in the minds of people in Nigeria’s primary tourism markets. This type of marketing campaign can pay off by generating a substantial flow of international tourists to Nigeria. Tour guides should be trained for these sites and the local communities should serve as the major source from which such manpower can be recruited.
**Benefits to the Society:**
Developing archaeological sites into visitor attractions have their benefits on the society. Some of the over-riding reasons for tourism development in any society are the various socio-economic and cultural benefits they bring to the host communities. However, such benefits, may go with their negative effects which invariably tend to slow down the pace of tourism development. Among the economic, social and cultural benefits of tourism, are foreign exchanges generation; local empowerment with its income, and employment effects; infrastructural changes, environmental effects, and cultural awareness creation. With increased popularity through publicity, our sites can attract international visitors and this can help generate substantial foreign exchange. When large number of tourist visit an area, their presence can impact on the local economies through their spending, provided there are no leakages and this can go a long way in empowering members of the local communities. This could come in the form of employment and income generation which tend to raise the living standards of the people. Tourism usually creates the need for modernized and improved facilities and the provision of such infrastructural facilities usually benefit the visitors/tourists and the host communities. Tourism helps to beautify the environment and when these sites are transformed into visitor attraction that will bring changes in the surface of the environment around the sites. When these sites are developed and presented, it will generate pride in the people of these communities and help to promote the people’s cultural heritage to the outside world.

**Summary and Conclusion:**
In this paper, we have examined the possibilities of transforming the archaeological sites in Nigeria into visitor attractions. It is recognized that some of these sites are already popular across the world, especially among the archaeological community. It emphasized the planning objectives that could enable the sites to publicize the culture and tradition of the country to the outside world, protect and preserve the country’s archaeological heritage and also enable the sites play an active role in the nation’s socio-economic development. The paper also adapted a development objective that ensures that both conservation and tourism needs are served. The paper lamented the near-absence of site conservation in the country and suggested the
inclusion of conservation in all planned excavations in the country as well as the training of archaeologist in archaeological conservation.

In order to plan and develop archaeological sites in Nigeria into visitor attractions has been achieved in such countries as Turkey, Egypt and the United States there is the need to provide the visitor facilities, and mobilize the stakeholders, especially the local communities around which the sites are located and mount aggressive marketing and promotional campaigns using the modern ICT to reach the primary tourism markets across the world. By these efforts, archaeology can play a leading role in helping Nigeria actualize its dream of ranking among the global top 20 economies by the year 2020.

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Art, the Artist and Nation Building

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Abstract:
The artist and his art are constantly battered. His luminous relevance to the society is beleaguered by the lopsidedness of the public mentality—a mentality, which denies an active involvement of art in technological or economic advancement. Art is however a vital force, a living magical force available as an instrument of tool for the development of man. The extent to which it goes in fulfilling this vital function depends largely on its application and on the motive for which it is applied. It is therefore the intention of this paper to examine, with some reference to its financial input, the role of art in economic development. The paper will also x-ray some biting problems inimical to meaningful and sustainable art professionalism.

Introduction:
Art has been under severe attack by certain individuals who myopically view it as “just an object of aesthetics.” Such attitude portrays them as people who are unfortunately uninformed, not only about the meaning or nature of art, but also about its prospects and efficacy in the development of any economy. Often times, artists are left out in any meaningful deliberations geared towards national development. Their roles, in the eyes of many, begin and end with the production of art objects for souvenirs to senior government officials, or drama for amusement and cultural competitions, or still music for entertainment as interludes within cocktails. To them, art is just an amusement, an object for aesthetic satisfaction. However, even as this may be the traditional role of art, it actually goes far beyond it.

It is this effacement that perhaps compelled Naum Gabo to keep reiterating that civilizations are the result of a collective endeavour in which the artist actively played a part and shall continue to play (Gabo, 1948). The artist is not just an entertainer; he is also a builder. Gabo’s observation could not be contended unless we want to blink the fact
that art complements sciences in all spheres. True, sometimes some people could not help arguing it even when all indications unanimously point to the importance of art in both human and material development. But do we relegate art to limbo and first determine its relevance before we can sanction its functions?

It is along this line that Sealy (1963) reasoned when he attempted to outline the place of art in the society. According to him, art is a potent means of communication which could be used not only to represent, but also to imitate, to inform, to arouse, to persuade and to move. In other words, he views art not merely as an instrument of representation, but also as a motivational force capable of directing man’s action. On the other hand, however, Albert Camus identifies it as something running between two gulfs, namely: frivolity and propaganda; that is, he situates art on a ridge between the two chasms where the artist makes his adventure (Laird, 1963).

In Laird (1963), however, Plato rejected artists because he felt that when Arts are not guided by rational law and a sense of responsibility to the society as a whole, they brew negative results. Although Plato holds this view, he also notes that arts could be “the most useful instruments of education”. He is of course in order. After all fire can be a faithful servant, as the old saying goes, or a cruel master. It all depends on the function it is allowed to perform. The artist is trained to generate and creatively develop ideas that will further the development of the society.

The Potency and Potentials of Art in a Developing Society:

It is a fact that human development paves way for material development. One cannot find enough ground to discuss any form of development – political, economic, religious, social, and so on in isolation. All are interwoven: for advancement in one necessitates a corresponding and simultaneous improvement in some others. In the same manner also, different disciplines combine to enhance any of the human endeavours. It is in this light that one should attempt to see beyond the contributions art makes to religio-cultural development of any given society. All along it seems art was tethered to a stake, which revolved within the ambit of religio-cultural circle.

But it is no longer so; art plays vital roles in the economy of any given society. Most often, these roles are beclouded by the few self-appointed economic arbiters who pedantically romanticise figures. Their enterprise rather weaves dangerous spells. The crass economic theorisation and analysis that constantly pervades our society are
normally silent about art and its contributions to economic growth. And because science (social) could not function as art or fill the vacuum created by the exclusion of art in economic planning and execution, there is always an egregious chasm begging for attention.

It is in response to the above demand that the former Irish Finance Minister, Charles Haughey, while announcing some economic measures to encourage the artists by the state, emphatically underlined “the importance of the artist to the community in which he lives and the values of the contributions he makes…” (Abercrombie, 1975). The Republic of Ireland used to dismiss with a wave of hand the importance of art in nation-building until the effect was adversely felt on her economy. It was then that it dawned on her that she should take a positive step in checking the country’s “long history of exporting her most creative people”, and also in devising measures “to halting the intellectual drain”.

All Ministers of Finance are not Charles Haughey. Haughey realized a crucial lapse in his country’s administration resulting from the outstanding neglect of the artist and decided to address it. But the ruling class, particularly in developing countries, would rather resign their mandate than tolerate the artist because his art exposes and criticises their recklessness. They are only prepared to find art palatable if it should be in the past and not in the present, that is, a historical record of the past like the Paleolithic age. Or, if it should be in the present, it should be for amusement. Art as a live wire that can be used to electrify the public is abhorred.

But I must hasten to add that art stripped of this vital role is like a body with the limbs amputated. Or how else could art be potently functional? Art is such an effective tool which could be used to mobilize the people for veritable purpose and against any vanity of life. It is through this means, I think, that art is best applied to the service of mankind. It even lends an understandable meaning to that very essence of aestheticism.

Most battered economies spring from mismanagement of available resources and corruption by those who hold power. And as the duty of reflecting it falls on all and sundry, the artist plays his own role via his art. He creatively turns his art into a mouth-piece with which he condemns all agents of economic and social retrogression. Moreover, his masterpieces sometimes go further to constitute tourist attractions which generate income for the society while they recreate people. And where any of these works is leased or sold, the financial gain involved becomes much more. These support Firth’s view that art
has a “thoroughly pragmatic function aimed entirely at direct economic objectives” (Sealy, 1963). Nations that understand the role of art in economic development give art its rightful place in their economic planning by making policies and creating enabling opportunities that encourage artists to practice their profession effectively. A West African state, Senegal, is an outstanding example; she invests immensely on art and artists so much so that her economy depends largely on the proceeds generated from art through biennales, exhibitions, conferences and tourism.

Art as an instrument of a practical approach is perhaps best perceived in the light of its practical value where results are turned out in concrete terms. In this way, it demonstrates its efficacy. Vagueness is often minimal when it is used either as an instrument of self-expression or communication because it is not just a creation but an independent live creation, a vibration of reality. So, in effectuating an economic objective, art often diversifies its approach to issues for an effective result. In other words, it becomes a vehicle for propaganda – a means to persuade, to arouse, and then a call to action.

When Okay Ikenegbu, a sculptor, decided to publicly frown at the widespread corruption and the unflagging retrogression in Nigeria, he organized an art exhibition – Now We Cry. He identified and portrayed in his works, as much as possible, the problems with the system. He equally vivified the throes of the economic hardship on the citizens as can be seen on the faces of the charred figures on the panels, Now We Cry. In reacting to the work Ikwuemesi observes that “… Ikenegbu captures the present situation where we seem to be shipwrecked in our national affairs, Everything seems to have gone wrong… so much so that Now We Cry – cry for the past, the present, and the future” (Ikwuemesi, 1995).

Ikenegbu neither used any verbal language nor gesticulated. Yet this message was communicated in a most precise and effective way to such extent that people of different languages and of all class understood him. He successfully articulated his views with the most suitable material and flung them in the face of the public.

Even at group art shows where different artists with different ideologies and ideals come under one umbrella to celebrate art in its ritualistic way, the artists, though in diversity, seem to be compelled to form a common front against the forces of retrogression. Take for instance the 1987 Aka Exhibition (Aka is an artistic association – a group of exhibiting artists). Almost all the artists portrayed the realities of the year in their individual ways. A look at Nsikkak Essien’s
Armageddon or Oppressor, Obiora Udechukwu’s The Driver Has Changed or The General is Up, Samson Uchendu’s The Struggle, and Obiora Anidi’s The Problem is Internal, -- will confront the viewer with an effectual formalized visual reality. The titles, even though they are from different independent studios, portray a kind of mixed grill turned out from one creative pot.

Again, in Artesmundi, nine artists reflected on the environment as it affects man and then created some thought provoking work that
call for action. They re-presented nature in another context that induces the audience to ask questions regarding their assumptions about the society. Abdoulaye Konate for example, through his textile art in the show, raised the disturbing issue of “environmental effects of deforestation and the devastation drought brings” (Artemundi, 2008:3). In their own part, Mathew Dalziel and Louise Scullion collaboratively produced work that opens the viewers’ eyes to their environment from an alternative point of view where they can “establish a new relationship with it”. A look at one of their exhibits, *More Than Us*, which is an enhanced expansive natural rock formation of sea coast, momentarily persuades the viewer to see aspects of natural world adorned with the beauty of plants and sea. It goes beyond presenting and concretizing the reality to exploring the complexities of nature like all other exhibits in the show, in order to provide an alternative.
The artist’s impact is felt not only through art exhibitions. Magazines and national dailies are other channels through which he fights the negative trends in the society. This organ proves so effective that sometimes one wonders if it were not the only potent means through which the artist’s critical mind gets in touch with the majority of the people. Even those who deride or fear art come face to face with its explosive functionalism in cartoons. A vivid example, for instance, of the directness and clarity of cartoon in dealing with issues is portrayed in the Tell Magazine of 30th November, 1998. The Graffiti column of this Nigeria’s independent weekly pointed out in a pictorial form that the ex-minister of finance in the expired military administration had chosen to cling stubbornly to power and money, and had refused to jump down from a cracked wall even when his position was terribly endangered, (Oyekusibe, 1998). And because cartoon stimulates, plenty of the readers of newspapers and magazines always flip quickly through the pages of the papers to the cartoon page first before relaxing to peruse the remaining pages.

So, the artist preaches against all types of social vices via his works in the same way he strives to amplify what he believes are the ideals of a better society. These he does when he wields his art as an instrument of propaganda, that is, an art which has become an attendant to religion, a handmaid of morality or social ideology, (Read, MCMLXVII). This goes to say that the artist often has a purpose far beyond mere entertainment. The pleasure he gives through his art helps to get people attuned to the massage, the idea he passes across.

**Hurdles against Meaningful Art Professionalism:**

The level and nature of patronage the artist enjoys in any society somehow influences the style and nature of art flourishing there. It may also be contended, perhaps erroneously, that it determines the extent the artist is accepted in the community. For non-appreciation or collection of his works implies rejection. But then one may wonder if the non-appreciation goes in any way to affect the intrinsic or extrinsic values of his works as art objects. An art work does not lose its value because the viewer could not frankly understand or appreciate it. I think what is just needed to bring the viewer into agreement with the work is enlightenment or orientation.

And so, the artist depends on his works for a living. He relies on his patrons-individuals, corporate bodies and the government – who either sponsor or collect his works. But unfortunately patronage particularly in developing countries leaves much to be desired as the
trend spells doom for art professionalism. It has come very close to a point where quack art collectors or patrons have outrageously destroyed the status quo and assumed the role of the artist while the artist himself, in a bid for survival, takes solace in working as artisan and studio assistant.

In other words, some artists, for the fear of losing their patrons, or for the frightful prospect of turning out works without selling them, allow their minds to be enslaved by the “money bag” collectors who dictate the course of art. Some time ago, for instance, one artist returned from an art show in Lagos and dejectedly set to work on five of the paintings he had exhibited but could not sell. When asked why he was reworking the paintings, he lamented that as many as six people wanted to collect the works but complained that they had military friends who may not like to encounter paintings preaching against military rule. Upon that the painter went ahead and transformed the works — one, a bishop with a scepter; another, a traditional ruler; and the rest, Muslims. Sure, the works have now conformed to the taste of the so-called collectors, collectors who are only interested in forms and not in meaning or content of art works.

Such attitudes according to Ikwuemesi (1997) induce lots of people to believing that art practice is nothing else but a survivalist enterprise where an artist sacrifices anything in an attempt to making himself financially comfortable. He begs for commissions, dances to the dictates of his prospective patrons, and hawks his works from house to house. In his view, these travesty the very essence of art, positioning it as creativity motivated by hunger and want which in turn can ruin an entire tradition.

It is however surprising that the artist, particularly in developing countries, only enjoys very little encouragement from the government. He receives no grants from the government. Besides, the government seldom spends any portion of its resources in collecting contemporary works of art. It even imposes some stiff tariff on art materials so much so that it now costs the artist a fortune to produce a work. Almost all the few enabling factors for the propagation and development of art are the sole handwork of the artist himself.

The low level of patronage as the artist enjoys from the government is not necessarily as a result of any prevailing economic retrogression. To my mind, it is rather because it feels, as observed earlier, the contemporary artist has no other preoccupation than toiling all day creating art forms that criticise or expose its lapses. Or how could it be convincingly explained that the government strives to
finance and develop all the human endeavours including sports and then, on the other hand, abandon art and its sustenance at the mercy of the artist and a few voluntary charitable individuals and organizations?

Equally regrettable is the fact that many artists fall short in their professional commitment. They tread the course of frivolity in art which points to neither functional nor understandable concept. They seem to be insensitive to the social realities of their immediate surroundings as they more or less preach nothing but aestheticism. Hence, their explorations in art become geared towards formalistic excellence only. The relevance of their works is not seen as a whole because the artists disowned the concept of art and dwell just on a fragment.

It is therefore in the light of the problems of art patronage and functionalism generally identified above that one could understand why art professionalism is dwindling. The more the artist is inundated with those constraints the less meaningful and relevant his art becomes.

Conclusion:

As already discussed, art in its very essence, as amusement, does not convey a complete meaning until it communicates to, and influences, man. The entertainment that derives from art is principally an impulsive trait, which, in a way, influences man psychologically. The artist is quite conscious of this. He is aware that his function does not end at thrilling people but at making an understandable and intelligible assertion. In other words, his art transcends entertainment and becomes an instrument with which he can persuade or spur on his spectators: that is, an instrument for propaganda. It is also his only weapon – a weapon with which he fights against deprivation, cheating, corruption, and other forces of economic depression.

But the situation of the contemporary artist especially in the developing society is quite pathetic. He is only accepted as long as he faithfully follows the dictates of the counterfeit art collectors and patrons at whose mercy he subsists. Any attempt he makes to find himself productively functional and professional relevant is often frustrated by the same collectors and patrons who subject him to starvation. He even suffers unthinkable neglect from the government which does very little to encourage him. Faced with these constraints, the modern artist, in a bid to survive, sometimes strays from the corridors of art professionalism to vain art practice devoid of creative discipline.
However, the society could benefit more from the special endowment of the artist if his rightful place in the society is restored and accorded some respect. And for this to be, the public should be made conscious of the values of art; there should be public enlightenment programmes directed towards art appreciation. Moreover, like his counterparts in other professions, the artist should be encouraged morally and financially. It is only when he works under a favourable condition that he could produce works richly charged with meanings – works that will survive posterity.

References:


The Impact of Corrupt-Political System in Nigeria: Psychological Implications on the Youths

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Abstract:
The study investigated the impact of corrupt-political system in Nigeria and examined its psychological implications on the youth. Participants were 500 male and female Nigerian youths, 250 males, 250 females from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The age range was between 20 to 30 years, with a mean age of 25 years. An instrument used for the study was the corrupt political system (CPS) developed and validated by the researcher. The result showed that participants who responded yes to the items of the questionnaire had a mean score of 488.43 and SD of 25.72 while those who responded no had a mean of 40.56 and SD of 12.61. The chi-square analysis of yes and no responses was $x^2 (1) = 84.3$ $P<.001$. The researcher recommended that the operators of the electoral system should maintain free and fair elections in order to avoid duplicity in the political system.

Introduction:
Behavioural patterns of leaders and adults of any country can positively or negatively affect the life patterns of the developing individuals of such country in various ways. Future generation of Nigerians will always attempt to understand the paradox that stares contemporary Nigerians in the face; regarding how and why a richly endowed nation like Nigeria is stuck in the lower ranks of the world’s poor nations. The reason is not far fetched. Nigeria, irrespective of rich natural and human resources, is grouped among poor countries of the world, because of corrupt political system, dependency syndrome and compounded by maladministration, which results in mass unemployment and endemic poverty.
Discussing the issue, Akanbi (2004), Chuta (2004) observed that corruption is a situation whereby government officials or private economic agents allow personal and narrow interests to override considerations of the public good. Corruption is categorized as misconduct of all kinds which ranges from massive fraud, extortion, embezzlement, bribery, nepotism, influence peddling, speed money, over-invoicing, tribalism, bestowing undue favours to friends, abuse of public property, rigging of elections, leaking of official government secret, sale of expired and defective goods (such as drugs, food, electronic and spare parts to the public). Other corrupt behaviours are “kick-backs” “ghost workers” syndromes, award of contract to front companies belonging to public officials, payment for non-existing project. Corruption is one of the dangerous social ills that do the society no good. It wears different faces where human beings live and operate.

Corrupt political system is the dubious means by which political leaders are selected and instituted into political offices. In the Nigerian politics and elsewhere, politicians dehumanize or assassinate their opponents by using thugs or charms in order to attain political power or leadership. Corrupt political system never made use of clean and fair elections. In the corrupt political business, elections are rigged and results are manipulated. In Nigeria a typical example is the June 12th, 1993 Presidential election which was characterized by massive rigging and manipulation of election results. When political election is about the corner, tension and anxiety are felt all over Nigeria. Asobie (2006) in broad terms stated that corruption means unethical behaviour or practice. It is the perversion of societal norms, deviation from and negation of accepted standards of behaviour and conduct.

Factors Sustaining Political Instability in Nigeria:

The underlying causes of political instability in Nigeria and other parts of Africa can be traced to socio-economic factors. Among these factors poverty is prominent. It is estimated that over 65% of the Nigerian population lives on less than 2 U S dollars a day. The country’s literacy level is less than 60%. Access to housing is next to nil, while people die from preventable diseases. The issue of corruption remains unaddressed; while morality remains an issue of mere academic exercise rather than positive action. Furthermore, in a situation of abject poverty and in the absence of clear moral values, it becomes easy at election times to buy and sell votes or promote other types of abuse (Okafor, 2003).
It is disastrous that the electorate and all those involved in manipulating elections or stealing votes do not understand that they are mortgaging their future and those of generations of their children. The corrupt-politicians, who patronize the democratic violation, by buying votes, rigging election and other forms of duplicity, understand very clearly that they do not intend to use their mandate to cater for the welfare of the populace. In addition, the political class seems to consist largely of people who are politically corrupt, who may not possess independent means of livelihood except through political wheeling and dealing. It is observed that some politicians have questionable motives. To such politicians, politics is a do or-die exercise. Political opponents must be eliminated at all cost and by all means. As a result politicians often employ the services of political thugs and hired assassins for their opponents. Defeat in an election for them could mean a life of penury afterwards. Based on this, there is violence, bickering, rancour and vote buying that bedeviled past elections in Nigeria and elsewhere. Therefore poverty is a key factor sustaining political instability.

Greed is attributed as one of the factors that are sustaining political instability, this is because generally people often criticize those in power, but when such people found themselves in power they may become worse than their predecessors. Not only this, those individuals who sponsored the political aspirants, ensure that all the monies allocated for the development of the State, Local government or buildings of projects are recouped. Okafor (2003), Akanbi (2004), Chuta (2004) observe that those who spend money directly or who sponsor others for electoral positions do so as an investment that must be reaped with commensurate returns in one elective term. This makes people to employ whatever means within their reach, and ensure that they do not lose their “capital”, so the best bait for them is to manipulate electoral outcomes to win at all cost. In African politics and in Nigeria in particular the individual party that wins takes it all, while those who lose, lost every thing, sometimes including the right to exercise their basic freedom of expression or right to life that is guaranteed under the constitution.

Ignorance and lack of adequate political education increases the evil of political instability. Majority of the electorate do not know their real right at elections. They do not know that their vote is their power to put the right political aspirant to the leadership position. It is observed that sometimes the corrupt-politicians when they gathered the populace to declare their manifestoes, they never made known to the bulk of the illiterate masses, the reason for elections rather they confuse
the electorates with the spreading of new mint naira notes of different denominations which the hungry and illiterate populace scramble for.

Without proper electoral sensitization, the people see electoral candidates as symbols of ethnic group, religious affiliation or other human sentiments. It therefore becomes imperative for them to be recruited to fight the battles of corrupt-politician under the canopy of ethnic or other loyalties. It is often, from among these poor and uneducated masses, especially the youth, that the armies of political thugs are recruited, brain washed with money and these are ready to die for a cause they may not understand.

Another major reason for political instability in Africa in general, and Nigeria in particular is lack of objectives, politicians in Nigeria turn Nigerian politics into mini wars and political campaign area as battle grounds, because politics is bereft of objectives or ideologies. Politicians do not build their campaigns on solid definable objectives, in terms of attainable things they would do for the Country, State or Community, if voted into power. Rather they build utopian manifestoes around the populace and get them confused, (Okereke 2005). For lack of clear objectives make politicians decamp one political party for another, or enter into alliance and alignments without remorse or qualm. As these politicians ‘flirt’ from one party to another, they employ the thugs the youth; males and females for different political services. So corrupt-politic violates systems of morals, rules of behaviour or conducts of politics, the sole concern is how to win election by a fair or fraud means.

In the corrupt political system, politicians use the growing individuals, the youths as political thugs and equip them with sophisticated weapons (like AK.47 guns) to fight any electoral officer who would molest them from stealing votes or manipulating results. During elections, some youths who served as political thugs were killed, some were maimed or sustained heavy injuries that have made them to become social liabilities or useless all their lives. It is observed that, most political leaders are always at unease they are tension-anxiety-ridden. That is why security agents always guide them, even when they want to visit the toilet, when they are talking, walking, eating, etc. Politicians seem to be at crossroads with their lives.

At times political leaders may not spare the life of any promising young person for fear that such person (s) would stand to challenge them. Time and events have shown that the statistics of those who die mysterious- untimely deaths are those within the age bracket of (25-30 years). Akanbi (2004) observes that corruption stunts
national growth and development, visa-vis human-growth and development. It creates political instability, destroys socio-economic life of a nation, and places the wealth of the nation in the wrong hands and leads to uneven distribution of the amenities and prerequisites of life.

Corruption is everywhere, the human being on the street, the next door neighbour, the human being in the market, place of worship, the church and mosques; the policeman on beat patrol; the soldier at the check point, the heads of departments or units as well as classroom teachers and gate men, prison wards, mortuary attendants, street hawkers name it. (Okadigbo 1987). It is bitter to note that Nigerian political leadership is fraught with political instability rancour, political bickering and animosity.

It is pertinent to note that the behavioural style of the developing individuals in the contemporary society is a reflection of the adult’s life. It is of the utmost importance to note that vicarious modeling, or learning by observation, imitation and identification do not refer to acquisition of socially acceptable or adaptive behaviours only; socially undesirables or maladaptive behaviours are acquired through the same process of modeling or vicarious learning. Eyo (2004) observes that a factor common to the acquisition of both adaptive and maladaptive behaviours is the perceptible reward associated with the behaviour exhibited by model. Thus reward has a big role in the behavioural pattern of both adaptive and maladaptive forms of behaviour.

Any reasonable Nigerian can attest that the political leaders have planted some very dangerous seed of discord in the country. This seed of discord is breeding a lot of obnoxious fruit, which are so challenging to the society, especially to the youth. The corrupt politicians hire the youth during political campaign and elections and equipped them with sophisticated weapons to menace their opponents or steal votes for them. After elections, instead of looking for something more lucrative or meaningful to do, these youths turn those sophisticated weapons on the members of the society, on the highways and by-ways or in people’s homes to surrender what they have, money, car, cell-phone (GSM) etc. This behaviour of forcing people to surrender their goods under the force of arms is liken to the attitude and behaviour of politicians who use force to manipulate and steal votes at elections. When corrupt politicians make their ostentatious empty promises some youths are easily carried away and then go after such
politicians. It is unfortunate that some individuals attain prominence through arrogance and nefarious means in the contemporary society.

The present day- Nigeria abounds with cases of the misapplication of the reward system, thus making dishonesty, corruption, misappropriation, cheating etc, look like the national norm, which should be adopted in the constitutions. Some people in prominent positions both in private and public sectors, as well politicians and political leaders are known to be corrupt and some have acquired their wealth through dubious means and once they get away with it, the society often turns round to reward them or acclaim them for such duplicity. For example such dubious individuals are given chieftaincy titles made chief launchers on found-raising occasions or award Federal or State contracts for public works. At times such individuals are awarded honorary doctoral or professorial degrees. Eyo (2004) observes that for the young people, such dishonest individuals become models of ‘success’. Eyo further indicates that the young Nigerian graduates of all discipline, who struggle to join the Nigerian custom at all cost, is because of the speed with which custom workers are suspected to be making money.

It is ludicrous that whatever that is considered maladaptive or corrupt anywhere else in the world seems to be an adaptive pattern of behaviour in Nigeria. For example intimidating people, stealing of votes, dehumanization and other atrocities associated with elections are parts and parcel of Nigerian’s corrupt-political system.

**Purpose of the Study:**

It is observed that during political campaigns young people follow political aspirants of all calibre with their political slogans. It is also observed that after elections some of these youths are seen loitering about and showing some forms of antisocial behaviours. The study investigated the impact of corrupt-political system in Nigeria and examined its psychological implications on the developing human beings. It was hypothesized that corrupt-political system is associated with behavioural patterns of youths in Nigeria.

**Method Participants:**

Participants were five hundred male and female Nigerian youths from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. These comprised two hundred and fifty males and two hundred females; the age range was 20 to 30 years with a mean age of 25 years.
**Instrument:**

An instrument called corrupt-political system (CPS) developed and validated by the researcher was used for the study. The items of corrupt-political system questionnaire were formulated after serious interviews, dialogue and discussion with some Nigerian youths from Benue State University Makurdi. The purpose of the instrument was to formulate some of the values corrupt-politicians hold on to as ideal in their political power pursuit and the psychological implications on the behavioural patterns of Nigerian youths. The instrument was given to five experts in the field of Social Sciences and Education to judge for the face and content validities. Four (80%) of them endorsed the instrument as having face and content validities. All items represented statements to which the participants responded on Yes or No options. The score ranged from 60-150 points, with a mean score of 75 points. If a participant scored 75 and above, he/she accepted the harm corrupt-political system has in Nigerian youths. If it is below 75 points the respondent does not see any harm in corrupt political system. The internal consistency of the instrument using Cronbach Alpha ranged from 0.35 to 0.65. The alpha reliability was .84.

**Procedure:**

The researcher went into a lecture hall where students from various departments gathered for public lecture. The researcher obtained the permission of the co-ordinator and asked volunteers to respond to the questionnaire. 510 students stood-up for the exercise. They were taken to another empty lecture hall. There with the aid of research assistant the participants got seated. The questionnaire was administered to them. At the end of 10 minutes, all respondents submitted the questionnaire. It was discovered that 10 copies of the questionnaires were not properly filled and they were discarded.

**Design/Statistic:**

A across sectional survey design was used for the study and Chi-square (X²) statistic was used for data analysis. Descriptive statistic was used for the mean scores.
Results:

Table I: Mean Scores and Standard Deviation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scores</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes Responses</td>
<td>442.09</td>
<td>25.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Responses</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td>2.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results in table I showed that corrupt political system in Nigeria has impact on the way of life of the youths in Nigeria as indicated from the mean scores for yes responses.

Table 2: Chi-Square analysis of Yes and No responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O*</td>
<td>485 (97%)</td>
<td>15 (3%)</td>
<td>500 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E **</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 (1) = 84.3 \quad P < .001 \]
*Observed frequency** Expected frequency

The results in table 2 showed that there is association between corrupt-political system and the behavioural patterns of Nigerian youths.

Discussion:

It is pertinent to note that most obnoxious behaviours prevalent in the society, especially among the youths are attributable to corrupt-political system. The hypothesis stated that corrupt-political system would be associated with behavioural patterns of youths in Nigeria, was tested. The result obtained showed a significant association \( X^2 = 84.3 < .001 \). For instance, a politician who wanted to pull the people’s attention to his/her side would seduce the youths with money who do the job of thwarting electoral processes. With money arrogant politician beats down a probable innocent politician. All the items that involve the youths as political thugs attracted 100% attention of the respondents, because it is the youths who are used during political period. It is the youths that politicians use as hired assassins to eliminate their political opponents. It is the youths who are used to carry or steal election boxes for the unpopular politician(s) who would
impose himself/herself on the people who do not want him/her as their political leader(s). It is the youths who are equipped with all types of sophisticated weapons to instill terror, tension and fear on the citizens during elections. These findings tend to support (Okafor 2003, Okereke, 2005, Asobie, 2006) who observed that corrupt political system has bred uncountable obnoxious behaviours among developing individuals in the society. Because of corrupt-political system, the youths who serve as political thugs are brain washed with money. It is observed that most of the antisocial behaviours prevalent in the society, like violent robbery is the brainchild of corrupt political system. On election days the youth thugs are fed with intoxicating drinks, which make them not to be in touch with reality. Some youths involved as political thugs may find it difficult to adjust to mental work activities like teaching- learning exercises. Some youth-thugs who were wounded during the political campaign may become useless all their life. Because of corrupt-political system, some politicians kill their political rivalries at the corridors of power. In order to win political leadership, some human beings, including the political thugs are kidnapped for ritual sacrifice.

Santrock (1995), Berger and Thompson (1998), observed that individuals between the ages of 20 and 30 years, have such physical dexterity that they can get hold of anything and squeeze life out of it, without any weapon and it can be worse, when they are armed. This is the sole reason the politicians use the youth as their weapon or war fighting instrument during elections. Nwoke (1998) observe that the antisocial behaviours of the youths is a reflection of some adults whom the youths model after. Since the youths go after flashy and pompous people or things, they model after politicians who are flashy and pompous set of human beings.

The findings support Akambi (2004) Chuta (2004) who indicated that the detrimental influence of corrupt political system on national development is being echoed from every nook and cranny of the social system. The influence of corruption is so devastating that some social structures have lost their capacity to perform their functions. For example, the legal and security systems seem to have been silenced by any type of leadership on the stage. While some arms of the social structure like the health, indirectly and mercilessly extort the sick, as some services is exorbitantly paid for by the sick, (Nwoke, 2006)

The 419- phenomenon, money-laundering, human trafficking, prostitution, as a business, are the nefarious behaviours most youths
have learnt from the corrupt-political leaders in Nigeria and elsewhere. Lack of respect to rite to life, patronizing the legalization of abortion, encouraging examination malpractice in all forms; intimidating people, silence killing of human beings with missles or silent bombs are the achievements of corrupt-political leadership in Nigeria. It must be noted that whatever evil in any given society, the developing individuals quickly model and treasure them.

One may safely say that leadership in Nigeria is corrupt hence it seems that the Nigerians patronize corruption and seem to uphold it as a policy, inspite of all the hazards of corruption in the society (Okereke 2005).

Psychological Implications:

a. Having been brain washed with money and wealth acquisition syndrome most youths, become pre-occupied with on how to get rich overnight, by all means and at all cost, hence they engage in all sorts of obnoxious activities. For instance, most politicians are in secret cult and they initiate their political thugs (youths) into it.

b. Youths who are equipped with sophisticated weapons turn those weapons on the citizens through violent robbery, on the highways, byways and in homes.

c. Some youths cannot adjust themselves to a job, learn a trade or engage themselves to any lucrative work they prefer loitering about the government houses for easy money.

d. Most youths who served as political thugs and who were drugged, may not adjust to any mental work.

e. Political youth are always political causalities, anyone who survived, may become social liability, because they may not be able to do any serious work.

f. During elections, youths are fed with hard substances, which maybe disastrous to their mental health

g. 419 phenomenon is corrupt political manoeuver and the youth have learnt to treasure it.

h. Politicians woo young girls into prostitution and many of them might carry sexual transmitted diseases (STDs).

i. Corrupt-political system creates dependency syndrome among Nigeria youths and elsewhere.

One of the major conclusions of this study is that corrupt-political system in Nigeria has impacted a lot of obnoxious and
maladaptive behaviours among the citizens and especially the young individuals.

To curb the bizarre influence of corrupt political system in Nigeria the following behaviour patterns are suggested.

1. Let there be clean, free and fair elections.
2. Let the person whom the populace want to lead them prevail
3. Let politicians eschew intimidation, violence, stealing and manipulation of votes
4. Youths who are involved or hired by politicians, as their thugs should have the moral courage to say no to certain behaviours the politicians would inculcate into them.
5. On a very serious note, politicians and political leaders should retrieve the sophisticated weapons given to the youth, this they do by employing, the services of psychologists and other behavioural scientists who can change the obnoxious behaviours through behaviour modification.
6. Government should establish industries and create job opportunities for the youth, so that they are kept busy with mental challenges associated with work.

References:


APPENDIX A

Questionnaire: Corrupt-Political System (CPS). Respond to the best of your knowledge by ticking (√) in the box of your choice.

<table>
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<th>ITEMS</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>In political realm, corruption destabilizes rule of law</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Corruption distorts electoral choice</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>When rule of law is not effective the populace suffer</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Corruption prevents the process of human rational thinking</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Because of corruption, people cannot make right and healthy decisions</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Corrupt-political system undermines the progress of the nation.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Corrupt-political system has destroyed the regular pattern of public expenditure, which grossly affects job</td>
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<td>Corrupt-political system has affected all the arms of social structure of the nation</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>It has endangered the economic life of the nation</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>People’s health is in danger and in most cases wrong drugs are administered to the sick because of corrupt system.</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Corrupt-political system has endangered the social life of the nation</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Political bickering has affected the mental health of the people because of tension</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Corrupt-politics has made many people to forget their human rights.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Because of corrupt-political system, some youths are hired as political thugs.</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Because of corrupt-political leadership, the youths who serve as political thugs are brain-washed with money.</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>In order to win political leadership, some politicians use the youths to dehumanize their political opponent to mere garbage.</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>In order to win political leadership, some human beings including political thugs are kidnapped for ritual sacrifice.</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Because of corrupt-political system, some politicians kill their political rivalries at the corridors of power.</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Most antisocial behaviours prevalent in the society, especially among youths, like violent robbery is the brainchild of corrupt political system</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>On election days, the youths involved as political thugs are fed with employment</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Youths involved as political thugs find it difficult to adjust to mental work.</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Some political thugs do not know what to do with themselves after elections.</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Some promising youths are indirectly eliminated during political tussle.</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Some youths (thugs) who were wounded during political campaign, may become useless all their life.</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>For fear of revealing their devilish secrets, some political leaders may mysteriously eliminate their political thugs (youths).</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Many political youth (thugs) often loiter about the government houses.</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Because of corrupt-political system the number of armed robbers is on the increase</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Some of the armed robbers are political thugs, who are equipped with sophisticated weapons.</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>The political thugs – youths are trained on how to threaten people at election polls and steal votes for politicians</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Corrupt-political system has bred uncountable detrimental behaviours among developing individuals in the society.</td>
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**Reliability Coefficients**
No of cases 25, No of items 30, Alpha .84
Churches, Government and Taxation in Nigeria

Hilary C. Achunike & Joe Ezechi
Department of Religion
University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Abstract:
Taxation is a universal phenomenon. From ancient times, it has been the source of financial support to governments in the running of state affairs all over the world. The laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria specify the payment of taxes of various forms and shades by all-income earners and entrepreneurs in the country either as individual or as corporate organization. Thus individuals, companies or institutions pay taxes to the various levels of government according to their incomes or assets. Today, unlike before, a hot debate arises on the national media whether religious bodies now emerging in their numbers are also subject to the government’s tax policies. Religious bodies in general are considered as non income earning and this shows the rationale for their apparent immunity from tax payment in Nigeria. This paper concentrates on whether government should tax churches or not. Admittedly, the recent trend of the formal involvement of many church bodies, denominations or personalities in enterprises with business orientation - school management, industries, financial institutions, article shops etc, calls this seeming immunity to question. Noting the difficulty in defining what is meant by "business orientation" with regard to church enterprises, this paper sees the logic in taxing those church enterprise that are strictly commercial.

Locating the problem:
Taxes are considered a problem by everyone. Not surprisingly, taxation problems date back to earliest recorded history. For instance in Egypt, reckoned as the earliest known system of taxation, people evaded the cooking oil tax imposed by the "scribes" or tax collectors of the days of the Pharaohs (A History of Taxation, n.d). They resorted to leavings generated from other cooking processes as substitute for the
taxed oil. Therefore, Egyptian peasants were seized for non payment of taxes. Josephus (1987) the Jewish historian, also wrote about the effronteries of nations under Egyptian rule against the tax policies of Ptolemy. In those ancient days too, the Mediterranean peoples showed strong opposition to taxation by imperial Rome.

One can think about the Jewish hatred for the tax collectors (or publicans) themselves (Mtt. 9:9-13) or the revolts of the people of the British isles in the year 60 AD, against Roman taxation (Adams, 1993). Opposition to the tax system was also seen in England when the nobles of Aquitaine, France, rebelled against Edward, the Black Prince, in the 14th century AD following his oppressive tax policies. And in America, what is now known as the Whiskey Rebellion was settlers' riot against the discriminatory excise tax of Alexander Hamilton in 1794. In Nigeria, when people could not stage a strong and successful opposition against government, taxable adults still scamper away into the bushes at the sight of tax officers. Evasion, rejection or opposition, everything points basically to a general aversion of taxpayers towards taxation. People do not like being taxed, and because taxes often come as imposition, they are greeted with opposition. There is an unaccomplished need for tax education for Nigerians to begin to appreciate taxation as ethical.

However, the problem of taxation in Nigeria is not only associated with taxpayers, but with other forms of taxation. The real setback to the tax system was registered in the late 1970s when the country realized its oil deposit. With the discovery of crude oil, Nigeria government never again paid any serious attention to the old internal sources of revenue including taxation, agriculture, coal and cocoa industries. The tax officers were neglected and distressed, and for about two decades that sector decayed in the hands of corrupt officers and touts for whom already it would seem to have become a private business. But the heaviest blow by government and tax officers to this all-important sector was the unprofessional and unethical diversion of tax funds for sundry ends. Sometimes, the diversion was still in the interest of government like when tax funds are used to solve other needs of government than their proposed intentions, viz, procurement of public amenities. Whatever is the case, taxpayers do not see the effect of their contributions to government and that makes it harder to convince people to pay tax again. The current effort of the Yar' Adua government to reinstall a functional tax system in Nigeria must as a matter of urgency be supported by equal commitment for accountability to taxpayers.
A third important problem of taxation in Nigeria today is the current debate on the taxing of churches and of course religious bodies in general. The tax laws are very clear on this (PITD, 1993). But the picture of prosperity painted by some religious leaders in all three major religions in Nigeria – Christianity, Islam and the Traditional Religion - today makes it topical in the National Assembly and the National Media to ask why they should not pay tax like other income earners. The authors of this paper believe that when a church or religious body is engaged in profit making ventures, those business outfits of theirs should be taxed and not the church or religious body per se. When churches and other religious bodies go commercial they are believed to make a lot of money. People who think like that also seem to rate the Pastors, the Imams, and even some Traditional medicine men in Nigeria along with politicians, in terms of affluent living (cf. Comments on Adeboye, 2008). In that case, “taxing the churches” would seem a regulatory measure to bring sanity to churches that are apparently drifting away from their basic religious calling. The authors however insist that church owned Micro-finance Banks, Universities, Printing presses, Factories etc. are taxable ventures. The churches themselves should not be taxed because the business outfits are different from the churches as institution.

**The emergence of the (income) tax system:**

From the earliest history of civilization, the contributions of the citizenry have always been necessary for the running of the state. Taxation is an organized system of extracting these contributions and has been employed even by the best democracies. Buhari in Okpe (1998: 1) defines it as "a compulsory contribution from individuals and from business organizations for the purpose of financing government expenditure". It is not always very easy to see the justice in making the people to pay a part of their hard earned income or profit- But in partial explanation to that, reference is also made to the social contract theory linked with Thomas Hobbes, in which case society is believed to emerge in the first place as the consequence of a peoples agreement to keep a union for their common good.

At a time in history when individual property rights did not exist, kings were sole owners of everything in their domain, including the bodies of their subjects. Thus for the support of government, the kings of ancient civilizations like Egypt, Palestine, Assyria and Babylonia simply forced their subjects to work for them. Trade by Barter was also in vogue in the ancient times, and farmers for example,
gave their crops in return for the piece of land leased to them. With the introduction of laws or tax regulations, farmers were required to turn over specific proportions of their crops to the State. In Egypt, they submitted a fifth of their annual harvests to the king as tax (cf. Gen. 47:24, 26). That translated to 20 percent of annual farm produce. The Pharaohs made biennial tour of their kingdom collecting tax revenues from them (Taxes in the ancient world, 2002) Josephus (1987) told in details the account of Joseph’s round-the-country travels for tax collection among the colonies of Egypt, in his work, the Antiquities of the Jews. The only people exempted from the Pharaoh’s tax were the priests for they were already living on allowances from the king (Gen. 47:22, 24,26).

Ancient kings also went to war and made their conquered enemies to pay tribute which became added income to government. Incessant wars made many kings levy their subjects in order to service the army, improve the armory, and provide security to the people. For instance the Athenians imposed the ‘eisphora’ or tax on every one in order to pay for special wartime expenditures. However, they rescinded the tax at the end of the war and refunded tax payers of taxation, n.d). Taxation therefore, was generally an emergency policy. Even when it comes regular, it was a burden for slaves and non citizens.

In Rome also, by the 2nd century BC, citizens were equally exempted from poll tax after the Punic Wars, due to enormous foreign tribute at the disposal of government. Slaves and foreigners (Perigrini) were taxed. Later tax policies by the Caesars would involve everyone; example was the inheritance tax of Caesar Augustus.

Many Sovereigns in medieval Europe exempted church officials from taxation with particular exception of the British government. But in addition to taxing the clergy, the British government also evolved a progressive income tax system that extracted more from those who have more. The medieval church officials obviously had more in terms of properties. Britain became the originator of the income tax which till today in levied on peoples gross earnings or profits. That experiment was done during the war with Napoleon in the turn of the 18th century AD.

In Nigeria, the income tax policy emerged with British colonization. But it has become a local practice after Independence in which case individuals who perform employment duties in the country and those resident abroad but who are employers of the Nigerian government, are levied to fund the government: The Nigerian personal
income tax is based on a Pay-As-You-Earn system (PAYE) and the scale is graded from 5 percent minimum of taxable income to a maximum of 30 percent (Taxation of International Executives, 2008). This amount is withdrawn after due calculation by the government or employer before the worker or employee receives his salary/wages. Because of this arrangement of withdrawing income, taxation in Nigeria is only effective with civil servants. The majority of businessmen and income earners are apparently exempted from taxation. In fact, it is generally believed that those who make big money in this country are not taxed. Some people think that church officials are among the lucky group. But everything seems to be changing with the government of Yar’Adua.

The renewal of interest in taxation by the federal government, together with the seemingly sentimental assessment of churches today by the average Nigeria, has triggered off a debate in the National Assembly regarding the taxing of churches. That debate has already spilled over to the public forum of the media eliciting opinions from both sides of the divide. The debate can be analyzed to mean: (a) the taxing of income due to churches as institutions, and (b) the taxing of income due to church members (workers) as salaries and wages, and (c) the taxing of income accruing to church properties.

The legal basis for the income tax in Nigeria is found in the provisions of the Personal Income Tax Decree (PITD) enacted in 1993 and amended as Personal Income Tax Act 104, Cap 8 LFN 2004. By this document tax is officially imposed on every individual, community and families, and on the income arising or due to a trustee or estate (PITD 1993). Therefore, every human person in this country is liable to pay tax (either to Federal or State Government as the case may be) on the aggregate amount of his income whether derived from within or outside this country; the salaries, wages, fees, and allowances, and often gains or benefits given or granted to an employee are chargeable to tax (Taxes in Nigeria, 2008).

**Taxation and regulation of churches:**

Some people think that churches should pay tax especially now that they are making so much money from their congregations. (The other religious groups in the country like Islam are never insulated from this popular assessment). The flamboyant lifestyles of some religious leaders, which often tend to compare with what obtains among politicians and political leaders in Nigeria, seems to betray this fact.
Some now have private jets, ply the streets in limos and flashy cars; build cozy abodes on lands they acquired with little next to nothing as price. They dress in expensive suits and own the fattest accounts in Banks worldwide. But today more than before the Nigerian society seems to get increasingly enlightened and many people are realizing that church leaders are actually a rich class.

On the internet and the media people now give vent to their feelings. They think that ‘church leaders have gone crazy’, that churches are shifting and drifting away from their ordinary responsibility of religion and evangelization to the rather tangential issue of money making. As the saying goes, churches have become full business organizations and companies, engaging in various forms of profit-making businesses such as school proprietorship, banking and finance, transportation, trading, real estate management, etc.

Aideloje http://www.vanguaedngr.com/content/view/21316/42 once commented that "churches in Nigeria are business entities in which the pastor is the chairman and his wife, the managing director. They have board of directors and also make profits weekly. No business is as successful in Nigeria as owning a church…." While there are those who think churches have right, like every other body, to use their money to make more money, others argue that churches should therefore pay taxes like every other organization engaged in the business of money making. Nsiegbe (2008) writing in Sunday vanguard argues that churches that have taken to business oriented ventures "have lost the privileged and special status of non-profit, non-business organization. As such, whatever tax laws that apply to all profit-oriented business and bodies need be extended to them as well". When churches were really non-profit organizations, they were regulated and modest. They were like the NGOs who depend on the goodwill of donors; therefore they were justifiably immune to the tax law.

Ikwueze (2008: interview) also admits that the present call for the taxing of churches did not arise in the past when churches were really non profit making organizations. According to the senior tax officer, income tax laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria are made in view of income earners. Anybody that falls within that scope is automatically chargeable to tax. Interviews with many pastors and church leaders in Enugu tend to suggest a readiness of churches to accept taxation provided it is limited to income earning properties of the churches, like schools, hospitals, real estates and article shops. Such is the opinion of Obinwanne Chukwu, Arch Deacon of the Church of
Nigeria Anglican Communion. For him, taxation may be justified for church profit-oriented establishment like the schools, hospitals, banks, and printing press, but not for the church as an institution. To tax the church as an entity amounts to "Double Taxation". (Chukwu 2008: interview.)

People who think that taxing churches is necessary also see in it a veritable regulation to the unbridled proliferation of churches and the alleged chase for money and influence by some religious leaders. The churches appear to be dumping their ordinary calling and they need to be called to order. In a two-fold open recommendation to the Houses of Assembly of this country, Nsiegbe (2008) distinguished between "church" for Christ" and Church for profit". He believes that all profit yielding ventures run by churches should be fully registered as separate entities for the purpose of income tax assessment and payment, and churches that are not ready to do that should not be allowed to engage in such ventures.

Perhaps, the underlying feeling to that opinion is that huge money which these properties translate to the churches is enough attraction and serves also as the primary reason for the proliferation of churches and their bizarre attitudes in contemporary Nigeria. Other opinions pooled together by Atum (http://www.nigeriansinamerica.com/vbulletin/showthread.php?= 3582) massively point to taxation as a checkmate to wealth accumulation even by church leaders. They think churches are rich enough to be taxed, even though they don’t normally distinguish between churches as such and church workers or leaders. Emma Anizoba who is one of the exponents of 'tax by churches' clearly states his vote for government regulation of churches through taxation. In his reaction against pastor Adeboye, Anizoba (2008) notes: "any responsible government must have ... oversight over the activities and finances of both the profit and nonprofit organizations ... Government oversight in such regulation (would be) to restrain the zeal of undiscerning and untutored cult-priests. We need to regulate these cults, miscalled religions". However, there is a vacillation of views regarding who has the ordinary right to regulate the churches. While Anizoba, Nsiegbe and many others give it to the government, believing that tax authorities like Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS) should have access to churches' financial records, they need to say whether the NGOS like Red Cross, are accountable to their donors or to Uncle Sam. But there are other opinions like pastor Adeboye that think that the job of church regulation should fall to church bodies like CAN, PFN, etc because...
"the government will not even know the criteria to look for".

**Some dissenting voice:**

Once in an address to journalists, Adeboye (2008), General Overseer of Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) said that churches cannot pay tax. According to a report written by Sam Eyoboka of the Sunday Vanguard, Adeboye believes that to tax the church is to double tax the members. Because those who are giving to the church have already paid taxes, taxing what they have given to the church means you are taxing them twice on the same income. This opinion is logically sound especially where income from donations is not tax deductible. But the validity of the argument is surely put to the test when we recall that we pay VAT on goods purchased with taxed money, and we do not cry double taxation.

The argument of double taxation is restated differently by Amobi Onaga, an accountant of the RCCG Enugu. According to Amobi (2008: interview), to tax the church at both parish and central levels would mean taxing the same money twice. This is because many churches, in Nigeria operate a central administrative system whereby parishes or branches remit all monies to the centre. Government should therefore work out an appropriate scheme to avoid the injustice of double taxing churches.

Bishop Benson Jolomi of the Foundation Faith Church thinks it is an aberration to ask churches to pay tax. Such a pronouncement is mischievous and indefensible, he said, because churches in Nigeria have a social and welfarist disposition towards the society (Jolomi 2008). Rehabilitating addicts, and caring for the poor in the society, is what he means by social and welfarist disposition or project. Therefore he believes that churches should be encouraged to do more of such social functions than charged to pay tax. The strength of this opinion is brought out by the Canadian situation in which companies or institutions are permitted to deduce monies spent on charity and social welfare, like students’ excursion programs, from their annual tax charges. If churches keep their annual record of fund spent on charity and the social welfare, it is possible that they actually spend so much to deserve no further taxing. But the question is: how many churches do charity or the so called social welfare, and how many keep record of such expenses?

Elder Oswald Ozougwu (2008: interview) also thinks that churches should not be taxed because many church denominations are so poor that they cannot even pay their ministers and workers
sufficiently. To tax such churches or their poorly paid workers, for him is to worsen the grip of poverty on them. In fact some junior workers of the Good Shepherd Anglican Cathedral Enugu, who chose to remain anonymous, have argued that they should be part of the minimum wage scheme in Nigeria before it would be justifiable to tax their monthly earnings. It is indeed a general knowledge that church workers are poorly remunerated compared to their counterparts of equal qualification in government ministries.

**Tax practices in churches:**

Taxation as compulsory individual contribution for the support of government is not altogether a new concept to the churches. From the history of the Jews, reckoned as the cradle of Christianity, we learn of some local tax policies, including the Temple tax of half shekel for the upkeep of the Temple. Jesus and Peter paid the Temple Tax, and as it were encouraged every other individual members of the church to do the same (Matt.17:24-27).

When the Christians became an autonomous religious community, they needed fund for sustenance but merely relied on the free declaration of assets for communal usage, by their members. But by the medieval period, the church could also impose taxes on its members, although tithing was a major source of church income by that time. Tithe was a compulsory payment of a tenth of one's harvest and livestock. In later days, it had to become purely a voluntary pious exercise that is almost extinct in many mainline churches.

The history of the Roman Catholic Church reveals that as far back as the medieval period, Bishops and the entire clergy made payments to the papacy at Rome. They themselves collected tax from people in the areas allotted to them as property by the Princes and nobles. That practice is seen today in the canonical provision for the imposition of moderate tax by the diocesan bishop on juridical persons within his territory (CIC, can. 1263). However, the laity or individual members of the Catholic Church still pay levies, fees and stipends to the church. Such levies in Nigeria include AMC, building levies, Peters pence etc. But they are not perceived as taxation.

In Roman Catholic Europe, ministers and the clergy pay tax to both government and church till today. Donatus Onuigbo (2009: interview) confirmed that in Germany 45 percent of the priest's salary is paid as tax to government in addition to 5 percent to the church. Not only the ministers or priests, the entire faithful, everyone in Germany pays religious tax to government provided such a one belongs to a
religious group as indicated in their national identity card. It does not matter if he really attends churches. It should be noted that there is an understanding between the church and German government. While the German situation may be interesting to the current debate on the payment of tax by the church and religious groups in general, it is equally important to note that priests are in government pay roll. In Canada, where priests are not in government but church's pay roll, Fr. Gabriel Ude (2009, interview) confirmed that priests still pay tax to government like every other income earner. However, Canadian government refunds money to taxpayers whose incomes are below taxable amounts. Note that European and Canadian Churches operate in wealthy economies where taxation cannot induce poverty at any rate.

The Anglican Church does not have a clear practice of taxation in Nigeria apart from the Annual assessment that is an official statutory payable to the center (diocese) by all churches or parishes. This assessment is also practiced by the Methodist church. It is levied according to the financial strength of the local church or parish, though it is compulsory. But both Anglican and Methodist churches receive tithes from members. For them tithing is voluntary yet it is a sign of one’s true membership to church.

In the Pentecostal churches, there are no taxes strictly speaking. The common source of fund is tithing and free will donations. More emphasis is however given to tithing by the Pentecostal Churches to make critics think that they have become a form of taxation.

But tithes are not taxes because of the absence of real coercion in its administration. The only authority which the Pentecostals appeal to is conscience. The Christian conscience makes the believer feel guilty for withholding his tithe (cf. Mal. 3:8 – 10).

The appeal to conscience is also obtainable among Muslims in relation to tithing. According to Alh. Muteeu Osuji, P.R.O, Enugu Islamic Community, the Koran recognizes tithing (Arabic, sadakat) only as charity to the poor. It may also be given to the head of the Islamic community for the maintenance of the poor. The sadakat therefore is not a tax. Real tax (Arabic, zakat) which is a compulsory payment of the rich to the poor (also known as ‘poor due’) was commanded both by the Prophet and by the Koran (2009, interview). Alhaji Osuji explained that in Nigeria, the in-house Islamic tax – zakat - seems to have been overtaken by the government tax policies. And Islam encourages the payment of government taxes by its faithful. For him, any good muslin worthy of that name should pay tax on the income he earns. Likewise, any religious enterprise oriented to income
earning, like the school run by the Islamic community in Enugu, should be taxed appropriately. As for the Islamic clergy, Osuji thinks that those of them on voluntary or non salaried engagements should not be susceptible to government taxing. He also knows that some Islamic clergy are leading affluent lives, and since their status may not forbid them from engaging in extra-religious enterprises, their wealth may have a genuine source. But they should pay tax to government. He however admits that undue affluence is contrary to the spirit of the clerical state whatever the religion.

**General evaluation:**

That religious leaders now have money in Nigeria even beyond the capacity of some natural taxpayers is a platitude that experience and logic jointly accentuate. It is also true that taxpayers' money is used to provide amenities for the sundry people of Nigeria including those that do not pay tax either by legal exemption or by unlawful avoidances and evasion. But it seems clear from the foregoing that the call for the taxing of churches is based a lot on sentiments. This is true for the debaters in the National Media no less than those at the National Assembly. Even many of those who oppose the proposal for taxing churches merely appeal to faith and piety. Sentimentalism in general is a disastrous footing for generalized policy on church taxing and regulation.

A serious argument on the taxing of churches can only come from the law. From a legal consideration, it has already been said that every income earner in Nigeria is chargeable to tax. In fact, the law makes a list of persons chargeable to tax by the state as we see in Okpe (1998), includes the following:

a. Individual residents of a state.
b. An indigenous community.
c. Trustees of any trust or settlement.
d. Body of individuals.
e. Agents.
f. Partnership
g. Itinerant workers.
h. Indigenous family.
i. Nigerian employees in the Ministries except those in External Affairs and Foreign serves.
j. Persons resident inside Nigeria but employees of companies registered in Nigeria.
To be added are those persons residing within the FCT and those employees of the Federal Government like the police, Nigeria Army and Navy etc. that list most obviously presumes the church in its community or corporate body and its members, lay or sacred.

But then, the same PIT document provides another list of income exempted from Nigeria tax, including that of the church. Hence, "the income of any ecclesiastical, charitable or educational institution of a public character in so far as such income is not derived from a trade or business carried on by such institution" is not chargeable to tax (PITD, 3rd Schedule no 12; sections 19.1 and 74) The importance of this provision is seen in its clarity as per the chargeable and the non-chargeable income of the churches.

a) Non-chargeable church income would include offertories, donations, tithes, gifts, and all income accruing to the church as non-profit organization.

b) Chargeable income includes all income derived from trade or business carried on by the church. Section 3 subsection 1 (a) of the document affirms this chargeable income when it specifies that "gain or profit from any trade, business, profession or vocation, for whatever period of time such trade, business, profession or vocation may have been carried on or exercised" are chargeable (PITD Schedule no 12 section 3 sub. 1a).

In simple terms, churches as corporate bodies or institutions cannot be charged to tax legally in Nigeria. But church properties that are profit oriented (trade or business) are chargeable to tax under the above tax law. That law surely presumes the exemption of church workers and ministers, in so far as they are perceived as non income earners.

In Nigeria, priests of Roman Catholic Church (accept those in government services), like the Islamic volunteer teachers cited by Osuji, normally earn no salaries or formal income; they live on unofficial and irregular income: gifts, donations, stipends, etc. Therefore they have no justice in paying tax. The fact that priests live on charity is likened to the reason why priests of ancient Egypt were exempt from tax under the Pharaohs. They were living on allowance from the Pharaohs (Gen. 47:22). However, when gifts, donations and stipend are manifestly big enough, as the lifestyle of some clergy tends to suggest, immunity from tax would appear to lack justice.

It should be added however, that priests who engage in healing ministries own some business outfits. Their businesses are often
situated around church premises. They span from banks to petrol stations, to transportation and water processing industries. These are taxable businesses. Other mainline (and some Pentecostal) churches in the country place their priests and pastors on self made salary schemes. And sometimes this is done in accord with normal government grading, as can be seen in the Presbyterian Church. But where the salaries or wages are below the national minimum wages scheme, taxation would intensify poverty.

The problem of taxing the churches will first of all be to know whom to tax and otherwise. This is complicated by the fact that many of those not on salaries live more affluenty or make more money than those on salaries. It seems to save the trouble simply to place all the churches under the same blanket immunity as the government of Nigeria has wisely done since Independence. And this does not suggest the exemption of profit oriented religious outfits.

**Conclusion:**

Extracting taxes from religious institutions per se - churches, Islamic or traditional African groups - is certainly out of the question. The Law of the Federal Republic of Nigeria exempts them. They are also arguably not business enterprises, in spite of a number of avowed excesses. But even the taxing of their profit oriented ventures (schools, hospitals, real estates, etc) has a legal bottleneck.

Since the days of Independence and beyond, churches in Nigeria and religious bodies in general have been seen as non profit making and registered with the Corporate Affairs Commission as such. All the so-called profit-oriented ventures are up until now subsumed under their "nonprofit toga". It will surely take an appropriate legislative act to separate them. This perhaps is what the Bill in the National Assembly is pressing for.

But how do the embattled properties now become profit-making? Take the school and hospital as example. Right from the colonial era, churches in Nigeria have established schools and hospitals as special evangelical strategies. They succeeded in combating ignorance and disease to a large extent in our land. But although the services of those schools and hospitals were not free of charge, they never perceived by both the people and government of Nigeria as business or profit-making ventures. Wherefore they were immune from taxation ever since. Is it possible that churches today embark on schools and hospital proprietorship for purposes of wealth accumulation? In other words, they have become profit oriented
businesses?

Yet the problem is more complex than that. If government schools and hospitals do not pay tax as institutions (recall that the PITD exempts educational institutions of a public character from tax, 3rd Schedule no. 12), one may wonder the justice in taxing similar establishments when they are owned by religious or other private bodies. It should be borne in mind that by establishing schools, hospitals and real estate, these non-government groups are rendering powerful services to the Nigeria people, which government ought to render but never seem to do creditably. The efforts of these bodies have to a no negligible degree, attenuated community health, education and housing problems in the country. From this perspective, one may even think that government should actually encourage the churches and other religious or private institutions oriented to these services by giving subventions, instead of calling for their tax. This seems more amenable to universal standards of morality and justice.

The government may need some criteria to distinguish profit-making from non profit making schools and hospitals belonging to religious institutions like the churches, moslin bodies and other private groups. There is a strong logic in asking for the taxing of profit making establishments owned by religious groups in general – schools, hospitals, real estates, and so on - but on their net income, which is after deducting expenditure from gross income.

Reference:


## Oral Interviews

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Communication as a Tool for Promoting Cultural Festivals in Igboland

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Abstract:
Festivals are common to all human societies. In Nigeria, numerous festivals are usually celebrated in different places at various seasons of the year depending on the nature and aim of such festivals. The aim of this paper is to identify the various cultural festivals in Igboland so as to showcase their values and/or relevance in today’s society using the mass media of communication. This is especially so when we realize that communication is central to development. Accurate information is essential in order to mobilize, motivate and/or re-orient people to participate, organize and make informed decisions. The paper argues that the mass media is pivotal in the effort to project cultural festivals for development purposes, especially national development.

Introduction:
History reveals that communication has variously and continuously served as a tool for development. It is central to the overall development of the society. Communication is certainly crucial to man’s effort to live a greater quality of life because it affects his productivity, his personal expression, social needs and aspirations. It is therefore not an overstatement to say that communication is inevitable in the social existence of man. It has been noted for its ability to promote people-oriented development programmes. This perspective which has become accepted by different authorities in mass communication, derives from the long-standing traditional role of mass media of communication as agents of change. People need to be informed, exposed to new ideas, and broadened horizontally. In this regard, communication plays an important role in development especially in conveying information and persuasive messages. (Lerner 1958). Indeed, world leaders have constantly turned to the communication media to seek for solutions to many societal problems in areas such as resolution of conflicts, prevention and management of
natural and man-made disasters, improvement in health and agriculture, adoption of innovations, among others. Thus, Berlo in Wogu (2006) agreed that we communicate to influence a change. This can be achieved by encouraging and gingering people up to achieve the aims or goals of the society. According to Okunna (1999) “these goals are promoted by the media which then stimulate and foster the aspirations and activities of individuals and communities, to achieve such goals.

There is no gainsay therefore that communication media should be employed in developing countries like ours for the promotion of such development programmes as festivals. This is because, without mass media, no information on development can go further than the immediate environment. The mass media help to structure events and people’s awareness of the world. This power of communication stems from two recent development: the growth of communication media and increased understanding of communication process. Instructively, communication affects the wishes of the society and their aspirations. It shapes how members of society perceive certain issues including festival as serious. Indeed, communication is part of and influences culture, it is therefore necessary that it should seek, influence, promote, boost and develop those areas of culture, including festivals that will aid overall national development. This is based on the implied relationship between communication media and the society. The mass media are invaluable in the preservation and modification of cultural heritage, values and norms, among others (Igben, 2006). It can be argued that there are no organized systematic utilization of mass media in the area of cultural festivals. However, little is heard from the media on the Argungu fishing festival of Kebbi State. The media can help to transform a local festival of a state to an international tourism festival. It must be remembered that Olympic Game started as a local festival and has now developed into a global fiesta. As trustees of the public and fourth estate of the realm, the mass media remain one of the best avenues through which awareness on the values of festivals can be disseminated (Popoola, 2005). These point to the fact that when properly understood and applied, the media can play positive roles in developing the festivals in Igboland.

It is in this regard that this article seeks to examine the ways by which the mass media of communication can promote cultural festivals in Igboland. It opines that festivals are valuable cultural heritage that can make positive impact and contribution(s) to the society for overall national development if properly packaged.
Theoretical Overview:

To place our discourse in proper perspective, we shall anchor this paper on the agenda setting theory, which maintains that the mass media can set agenda for the society by deciding what members of the society think about. According to McCombs and Shaw in Baran and Davis (2000) Audience learn not only about a given issue, but how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of emphasis the mass media place upon it. In other words, the mass media determine the important issues. They create an agenda for thoughts and influence us in what seems important; they have the power to raise issues of public importance. This is in line with Lippman’s assertion (in Ojobor, 2002) that the “media help to put pictures in our heads”. Closely related to the above is the agenda-building theory which assumes that “media can have profound impact on how a society (or nation or culture) determines what are its important concerns and therefore can mobilize its various institutions toward meeting them…” (Baran and Davis, 2002). Thus agenda – setting theory aims at commanding the public’s attention through quality/frequency of reporting, vividness of presentation and prominence given to the reports.

The foregoing, no doubt, underscores the communication factor in the effort to promote festivals in Igboland with view to showcasing their values for overall development.

Conceptual Issues:

This paper revolves around two key concepts namely: communication and festival. These key words need to be operationalized. It is hoped that by attempting a thorough definition of the concepts, the issues being addressed in this paper will become more explicit.

Communication:

Communication involves sharing and/or exchange of ideas, information, opinions, feelings or experiences between or among people. Jayeweera (1991) defines communication “as an interaction process through which persons or groups relate to each other and share information experiences and culture”. According to Opubor (1985) communication may involve:

Two people interacting in a face-to-face situation; one person telling folktales in the presence of a participating
group; many people reading the thoughts of one person, or hearing his voice over the radio.

Communication from this point of view could be seen as social interaction by means of messages which are both human and technological (Mowlana and Wilson 1988). The type of communication being referred to here is known as mass communication. It is a type of communication in which information or messages are directed to a large, usually dispersed and heterogenous audience through a variety of channels called mass media.

Mass media include newspapers, magazines, radio, television, etc used in disseminating information and ideas to enormous number of people. According to Nwosu (1990) mass media refers to all technologically mediated, institutionally organized and spontaneously expressed forms of social communication in the rural and urban area and includes such forms as radio, television, newspapers, magazines as well as traditional communication modes like gongs, drums, festivals, rites and rituals. The fore going definition shows that mass communication also involves interpersonal or face-to-face communication. It also points to the fact that there can be no communication at the mass level without the mass media.

In this study therefore, communication shall mean creation and dissemination of information and ideas to enormous number of people using the mass media. Thus the word communication is synonymous with mass communication and mass media in the study. This paper examines how the mass media can help to promote festivals. Communication and mass media are used here interchangeably as we cannot discuss effectiveness of communication without the media.

Festival:
Festivals are special times of celebrations usually devoted to merry-making. According to Encyclopedia Americana (1993) festivals are days of celebration, usually in a communal manner of past or present events to which special significance is attached. A festival in the words of Amankulor (1985) may be purely secular like a sports festival or purely religious like the Easter festival. Any festival is social in nature and symbolizes the feeling of a whole community. Festivals are celebrated seasonally in many communities. Relations and neighbours travel to festival towns and/or places to celebrate with their kinsmen and friends. Festivals are occasions for relaxation and peaceful
co-existence among the people. Buying and selling increase among the people during such times (Okpoko and Okonkwo, 2004).

From the foregoing, it is seen that festival is a very significant form of communal activity. Through it, the life of the community is renewed, people are entertained and their tensions find outlet. It also involves exchange of gifts and visits. This explains why Amankulu (1985) notes that during a festival, society spends its energy and income towards providing the best entertainment in art and hospitality to its visitors. In other words, festivals promote and activate economic activities and social life in the host community.

**Festival in Igboland:**

In Igboland, numerous festivals are usually celebrated in different places at various seasons of the year. Popular among them are the masquerade and new yam festivals. Others are fishing festivals and other local festivals such as Ekpe, Nwafor, Ikeji etc.

New yam festival is called different names in different parts of Igboland. While majority call it Iriji festival, some call it Iwa ji, Iro mmuo, Onwa isaa, Ime Njoku, Iku Mmanu and Ichu Unwu (Ogbalu, 1979). Almost every Igbo speaking community celebrate new yam festival, however, the period and mode of celebration sometime differ. Generally, it is celebrated between the months of August and October every year. It affords the community opportunity to jointly appreciate God for enabling them to harvest their crops alive, take a break from (hard) farm work and commemorate the departed members of their community (Ogbalu, 1979).

Masquerade festivals are also celebrated in many parts of the Igboland and with varied names. Such names include Uzoiyi festival of Umuoji and Uke towns in Anambra State, Omabe, Odo and Akatakipa in Nsukka area of Enugu State and Ikpikpo in Ojoto own, Anambra state. In some communities, local festivals are celebrated but not without masquerade outing. Some of such popular festivals celebrated with masquerades are Ekpe in parts of Abia State, Ikeji in Arondizuogu, Imo State, Nwafor in Ogidi, Imoawka in Awka Anambra State, etc. These festivals feature different kinds of masquerades ranging from entertaining to fierce-looking ones, and several different performances (like eagle-masquerade laying egg) are displayed during the celebration. Furthermore, fishing festival is celebrated in some Igbo fishing areas. Among them is the Ehoma fishing festival of Afikpo, Ebonyi State celebrated between February and March.
One major characteristic of all these festivals is their ability to draw people (indigenes and non-indigenes) of all walks of life, from far and near to the place of celebration. Thus Okpoko (1990) commented that festivals draw spectators from distant lands during which participants share common concern. They share emotion and sentiments as well as merriment together. The local economy of the villages is usually stimulated during such occasions which are usually marked by spectacular displays (of masquerades dance groups) enjoyment of music, food and wine. Festivals serve as crowd pullers, and the dissemination of people’s cultural heritages is one of the main functions of Igbo festivals.

The paper advocates for the modernization of these traditional festivals so as to harness their full potentials since many people, especially, fanatical Christians, do not opt for traditional things any longer. Modernization here should mean organizing these festivals at local, state or national government levels at officially approved venue(s) and on appointed date(s) in accordance with the directives of organizing officials/committees. This is unlike traditional festivals that take place in their original contexts (Okpoko, 1990). Okpoko further stated that modern festivals derive their significance not only from their ability to achieve the motives behind traditional ones, but from the awareness created among members of the society on the values and contributions of our rich cultural past. We stress here that the communication media should be employed to resuscitate and disseminate the value(s) of these festivals so as to get people informed and involved in them as well.

**Communication as a Tool:**

In any given society and at various times, communication play important functions and is known to exert an enormous influence. Great communication scholars have endeavoured to delineate these functions. According to Lasswell in Umechukwu (2000), the mass media perform three major functions namely, surveillance of the environment, correlation of parts of the environment (society), and transmission of social heritage. Charles Wright (in Umechukwu) adopted the Lasswellian functions but added one – entertainment – which he thought, was missing. The expansion in the functions of mass communication has continued and gives to the media a more embracing role in society. Quoting MacBride et al (1981) commission’s report, the major functions of mass communication in society are as follows:
• **Information:** The collection, storage processing and dissemination of news, data, pictures, facts and messages, opinions and comments...
• **Socialization:** The provision of a common form of knowledge... which fosters social cohesion and awareness;
• **Motivation:** The promotion of the immediate and ultimate aims of each society, and the stimulation of personal choices, and aspirations, the fostering of individual or community activities, geared to the pursuit of agreed aims;
• **Debate and discussion:** the provision and exchange of facts needed... to clarify differing viewpoints...;
• **Education:** the transmission of knowledge so as to foster intellectual development...;
• **Cultural promotion:** the dissemination of cultural and artistic products for the purpose of preserving the heritage of the past; the development of culture by widening the individual’s horizons;
• **Entertainment:**... for personal and collective recreation and enjoyment;
• **Integration:** the provision... of messages which [people] need in order to know and understand each other and to appreciate others’ living conditions, viewpoints and aspirations.

Okunna (1999) succinctly put it thus:
*The information function of the mass media is all embracing and indispensable for the meaningful existence of members of the society. Through their various contents the mass media collect, store, process and disseminate news, data, pictures, facts, messages, opinions and comments which members of the public require in order to react knowledgeably to personal, environmental, national and international conditions, as well as to be in a position to take appropriate decisions.*

Through information function, the mass media is able to accomplish all other communication functions, such as socialization, motivation, education etc.
The mass media in performing socialization function works closely with other socializing agencies like the family, the school, the church and the peer group to make individuals aware and internalize acceptable behaviour patterns, which enable them operate as effective members of their society (Okunna 1999). By this, they can bring about the resuscitation of some of “collapsed” festivals in their society. It is worthy to note that these functions are very much interrelated and that the performance of one function has implications for the other.

It is obvious that for people to take appropriate and timely decisions on developmental programmes and react to them rationally, they need adequate and accurate information about them. Also, information needed to stimulate action towards changes can be disseminated most effectively, quickly and widely through the mass media. The mass media of communication therefore are a sine qua non in the promotion of social cultural events. Wilbur Schramm (1964) succinctly put it thus:

*The populace must have information about national development; their attention must be focused in the need for change, the opportunities inviting change, the methods and means of change; and if possible, their aspirations for themselves and their country must be raised.*

Information, therefore, is a vital function of communication which enlightens the people and awakens their interests for change in their environment. Through the mass media, people get almost all the relevant information that shape their personality in relation to the society and also shape their perceptions of issues in the society and even adequate information on how to react to such issues. For instance, if the Igbo and her government are well informed, through various communication channels about the values and importance of festivals and the need for their continued existence and celebration, there is the tendency that the people will react positively to the message. Therefore, adequate information will make people aware of how to contribute their quota to the promotion of festivals.

The mass media through good (broadcast) programmes and featurized development news reports, could encourage and ginger people to appreciate and be involved in festival promotion. They also educate people on the values of festivals to themselves and to the community. By so doing, the media become object of motivation and education, which stimulate action and educate people, on the need to
appreciate and practice their culture. They are also employed in persuading the authorities to make policy that will promote and sustain festivals in their location.

Because the media raise issues and create awareness on various topics, they are able to bring to the fore the need for continuing sustenance and appreciation of various aspects of our culture such as festivals. The mass media not only promote our culture but also encourage appreciation of others’ culture through its integration function. For example through festivals, different aspects of a cultural system are exposed to other cultures, leading to greater understanding and appreciation of their differences and commonalities. At this, cross-cultural fertilization takes place, the society and mankind in general become better off (Ebeze 2002). This means that festivals can bring about national unity.

As a function of entertainment, the mass media can, through festivals “provide diversion and escape from the harsh realities of life, offer relief from the medium of day-to-day existence and lessen the stress and strain emanating from a rapidly – changing world” (Okunna 1999). They provide some diversion and amusement, relaxation and respite.

To this end, the role of communication in promoting festivals is enormous. Through communication, awareness is created, issues are interpreted and people’s interest are awakened towards appreciating, participating and promoting festivals in their communities. This is in line with the agenda-setting theory, wherein the media create in the minds of the people issues that should be viewed as priority issues – such as festivals development.

It is therefore recommended that media practitioners and policy makers should harness these media potential to achieve desired results. It is proposed that a team of experts comprising communication and cultural experts, entertainment professionals and event planners be organized to identify Igbo festivals that could be harnessed and promoted for development. Since masquerades cut across all festivals in Igboland, festivals like Irijii, Ikeji, Ekpe, Nwafor, Odo, etc should be studied, synchronized and promoted as a mega Igbo cultural festival. The various features which make them individually and/or collectively attractive to visitors should be promoted. The venue, period of celebration and other features that will make the festival worthwhile should be agreed upon by the constituent groups.

Having done the above, the communication expert(s) would ensure that appropriate media of communication are employed to
attract the desired audience. This could be done both locally and internationally using programmes like documentary, Public Service Announcement, interview, featurized reports, bill board and e-marketing.

Conclusion:

We may not have exhausted all the ways by which communication media can help to promote festivals in our society, but we have succeeded in bringing to notice, the fact that festival promotion is part of communication function in the society. We have also tried to highlight the values of festival with the aim of making people appreciate them. This becomes necessary because people protect whatever they like and so will be motivated to attend cultural carnivals and fiesta, protect cultural resources within their domains while encouraging its use for development purposes.

These values may not be harnessed if they are not communicated to the right public/audience. The above explains why this study becomes apt. The paper argues that festivals in Igboland can be promoted using communication as a tool. It identifies some festivals that attract visitors to Igboland and points out that some of these could be harnessed for development purposes using appropriate media of communication. The radio, television, newspaper, magazine, etc. are invaluable in this regard. It is suggested that government should take the lead in promotional campaigns for festivals using such media as television, radio, newspapers, pamphlets, internet and other trade items. Such promotional campaigns should be subject to periodic review to take care of new developments. Furthermore, media practitioners should embark on more research on their part and work out appropriate strategies to ensure that this aspect of our culture is promoted and imbibed.

References:


Ecstatic Performance, An African Theatre Of Sublime

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Abstract:
In this paper, attempt is made to make a critical view of ecstatic performance as a theatre form. Also, there is a critical analysis of the possession state of an ecstatic dancer that is, the brains behind ecstasy and possession, and whether ecstasy and possession are mere fallacy. Also, the paper seeks to discern the theatrical elements that are inherent in such African performance of sublime. Ecstatic performance is the first state of possession. The performance consumes or catapults the performers from their state of being and lodges them into a spiritual realm. Theatre is a conglomeration or a synthesis of all facets of art form, it transcends human activities and a place where all human endeavours including the spirit essence are highlighted, re-enacted and woven together as a unit. This study has its premise on “Iya ebo” or the performance of the deities among the Igala. It is indeed, out to establish the relationship between the mortal and the immortal worlds among Igala people.

Introduction:
Igala is a people and the language spoken by the people. The people occupy the eastern flank of the River Niger. Igala is the largest ethnic group in Kogi State. The people believe in life after death. This means that they have a great reverence for the spirits, the spirit world, the ancestors, deities and spirit essence. The Igala equally believe in life after death that is, one is not just a waste after death like lower animals. When an adult dies, he joins his ancestors and later he may decide to come back to the world again by being born to one of his relations through the process or reincarnation. Also such ancestors can decide to come back to the earth through masquerade. J.S. Boston highlights this vicious cycle of one’s existence thus, “a man’s relationship with his
guardian spirit and with the other ancestors expresses the notion that his
destiny is not entirely of his own making but it is determined partly by
forces beyond his control”. He states further that, “in Igala religion, the
person’s destiny in this world is believed to depend upon a choice made
in the presence of the creator (Ojo), in the spirit world before the person
was born”. (1977:33).

This belief serves as a panacea to Igala performances through
their music, dance, ceremony and festival. Every social or spiritual
event has its strong base on the people’s cosmology and view of the
world.

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines ecstasy
among others as, “… a religion state in which the soul is to leave the
body and be united with God …” In this regard, ecstasy is a state of
possession, which results to one leaving his natural state into a spiritual
realm as a result of the body, which has been imbued with spirit and
spirit essence.

Osterly believes that ecstatic state is the outcome of strong
religious emotion, which necessitates some bodily expressions and may
be parallel with the exuberance of one’s physical health, which may
demand vigorous exercise” (1923: 102). In this vein, ecstasy is a
function of the loss of the self-control as an individual is catapulted
from the natural to the supernatural and from the moral to the immoral
state.

Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary defines sublime
among other things as, “set aloft, lifted on high, exalted, lofty, majestic,
elate, blindly supercilious supreme of the highest of noblest nature,
awakening feelings of awe and veneration, just under the skin that
which is sublime the lofty or grand in thought or style, the supreme
degree to raise a loft, to exalt, to transmit into something higher, etc.”

In view of the above, the concept of African theatre of sublime
is borne out of a tripartite level of communications. Such areas of
communications are, performers/performers, performers/audience and
performers/supernatural beings.

Dance, particularly African dance form is a rich, formidable,
sustainable and enduring art form. A typical African dance is loaded
with all facets of art forms. In such dance, there is a manifestation of
drama, history, geography, fine art, music etc. Dance is a way of life of
the people of Africa as it is not just meant for entertainment but also
deply rooted in people’s culture, their cosmology and their worldview.
It is an established fact that, Africans dance for joy, they dance for
sorrow, they dance to avert calamity, they dance to sustain the seasons,
the people’s well-being and the people’s relationship with their guardian spirits, ancestors and deities. In this premise, dance is a very rich language of the people. What I mean is dance, is the unspeakable language of the people such language can easily be understood by other related cultures both far and near. African dance is a demonstration of life, life on earth and life after death. A typical African dance has every instrument that can easily pass it as a complete theatre form.

In every circumstance of the life of the African is a reenactment of action or a demonstration of life itself. This is made manifest in their occupational lives, in war, in religion, in festival, ritual and rites, in marriage, in jubilation, at death, at the birth of a child and in every other social and sacred circumstance.

**Iya Ebo Performance:**

In Igala, every dance is a demonstration of a particular circumstance, which has affected the lives of the people. It could be circumstance of war, occupational circumstance, an act of religion worship etc.

*Iya-ebo* (dance for the deities) is also known in some quarters as *Iya Ikpakachi* or *Iya Alijenu*. *Iya ebo* is a sacred dance, which emanates as a result of religious euphony. It is a mini-festival for the spirits and deities alike. It is such festival, which calls for the congregation of both mortal and immortal beings.

*Iya ebo* is a sacred dance which takes a different form from other dances particularly social performances. In Igala, sacred dance is meant for religion purpose such as ritual, rites and burial ceremonies. *Iya ebo* has an efficacy of strong religious attribute. It is one of the dances in Igala culture, which is characterized by ecstasy. It is imbued with possession. This type of possession is not a mere excitement, or exhilaration. Exhilaration can take place in every dance be it traditional or modern dance form. Exhilaration is simply an exhibition of excitement, which causes the dancer to repress his problems out of joy or enjoyment. Ecstatic dance is a holy dance, which is believed to be imbued with spirit essence, and which has the capacity to catapult or lift the individual to astral journey. As the possession takes place the individual’s spirit now communes with other spirits in the spirit realm.

The subject of *Iya ebo* as an ecstatic performance shall be viewed from the perspectives of religion and drama. *Iya ebo* performance is viewed as one of the few occasions when the living and the dead share a common communication outlet. In such vein, Osterly gives reasons for religious or ecstatic performance by stating:
Sacred or (ecstatic) performance is meant to honour the supernatural power, to be in union with supernatural being, dancing until one becomes unconscious so that the body is made a fit and a temporary abode for the gods, to induce the god to make crops grow, to help the sun run its course, to hallow or consecrate a victim for sacrifice, it serves as an act of homage to the gods who are present during the ceremony, it assists the warriors gain victory on battle field, it equally, serves as marriage or mourning rite etc (1923:203).

In another point of view Jankovic remarks, “most ecstatic dances epitomize the dramatic elements of various rituals and actions with significant ritual-magic actions” (1934: 13). In the same vein Combel observes, “the spoken mythological beliefs and dance drama are the elements of ecstatic dance” (1946: 31).

Iya ebo performance is not a national festival neither is it a community activity, but an individual who feels he has a stake with his guardian deity or spirit can host the performance. In a traditional Igala community, every individual has a guardian deity known as “Ebo Ojii” and a particular ancestral spirit who serves as a personal god or Ojo who is believed to have reincarnated the individual. Sometimes the individual comes all out to honour or reverence his totem or Alijenu which in most cases leads to a performance that would embrace a large audience.

In Igala, there are two forms of deities, those that are owned by a large community and those that are owned by individuals. Both the community owned deities and the individual owned deities have chief priests who are appointed with the consent of the community or the deity in question as is determined by the pronouncement of the Ifa oracle. There is no grand preparation for the Iya ebo performance. On the day in question, items for the celebration are brought in, that is, to the shrine or the sacred groove. There are no special invitations for the performance as everybody within the vicinity who is disposed to the celebration is found there. Foods and drinks are dedicated to the deity or the spirit in question. The items of food and drinks are shared among the worshippers.

In the process, the good spirits are invoked and invited to share the items of foods and drinks while the purported are told or rather warned never to come close to the vicinity. When the food consumption is over, a message of goodwill is passed round for
individuals and the community generally. The eating and drinking takes the first phase of the festival.

The second stage of the festival is the music and dance. There are no designated instrumentalists or dancers for this occasion. Anybody who has the impetus among the worshippers can take up the instruments and play on. The musical instruments are big drums, two small drums, Iye Uba and Oma Uba, metal gongs and rattles. The vocal music is such that can invoke the spirits who have already been conjured by the chief of Atama.

The music starts with low tempo with an accompaniment of melodious songs, which lyrics hinges on the propitiating and thanking the deities in question. Everybody present is a potential dancer depending on one’s stake with the spirits present. As the music goes frenzy, dancers began to emerge. Sometimes a passerby who never knew of such festival could be captivated by the spirit of the music and dances in.

Iya ebo dance has no specified form. It is not organized in an orchestrated form. Every individual who is in the league or at liberty with the spirit is induced into dancing. It is a spirit induced form of dance/performance. The individual’s dance steps, dance movement, body manipulation, gestures and all forms of expressions are dictated by the abiding spirit. Because, the dance is spirit induced, it becomes a spontaneous act.

As the dancer gets up from his seat or dances from the road or from the neighborhood, he is in a state of possession. His dance behavior is wild and unstrained. His utterances are punchy, hard and sometimes difficult to discern. Such utterances are in most cases prophetic. The dancer sometimes falls down and rolls on the ground. Sometimes, they jump and even attempt to fly. As they dance along, strange things continues to happen, such things are sometimes viewed as metaphysical. A woman may appear with a big basin or a pot of water on her head without a hand support, as she dances she goes frenzy without the basin of water falling, the water spilling or the pot falling or breaking. In some cases, a dancer will carry an ember of fire on her bare hands without getting scalded or burnt. As the performance progresses a dancer may appear with some particles of broken bottles and begins to chew. In all cases, everyone that comes out in the performance arena is in a state of possession and transformation as the body and soul are lost to the spirit. At the climax of the possessive state, there arises a communication gap between the possessed or ecstatic dancers and other human beings who have not gone into such
state. The ecstatic dancers seem to stand in the gap between the living and the dead for the welfare or well being of the individual and the community in general. This fact is better explained by the following dance researchers on dance as they observe: England reports, “the preliminary stages of ecstatic dance are formal and secular, and that during the main part of the dance, the medicine man’s potential to become religiously possessed is ever present” (1966: 51). In the same vein Osterly enunciates; sacred dance is used to induce dissociated states of consciousness which are invested with religious significance and value, as techniques of divination and healing” (1966:35). In his own view, Middleton asserts “dance could be considered as an outlet for expression of certain psychological states and that is, as a form of drama for watching audience, as a means of entering communications with spirits by becoming possessed, and as a way of enjoying the sense of one’s own physical movements irrespective of whether one is being watched or not”, (1985:31). Making the same observation, Ijeomah is of the opinion that, “sacred dance disintegrates the inhibition of the flesh and arouses the inner emotions that transcends the earthly considerations… such dance elevates our consciousness either in praise of the sacred kings, the overtures, or in supplication for some desires” (1986:28).

Earlier, Osterly has enumerated reasons for ecstatic dance stating that, sacred dance makes the body a temporary abode of deity or spirit and such is utilized at that moment for divine purposes which is the case with Iya ebo ecstatic dance form.

The theatrical aspect of the phenomenal African theatre form is not less imbued and less directed by the spirit and spirit essence. The performance arena is in a sacred groove or a shrine where the presence of the spirits are made manifest even though not every mortal being beholds their presence. Shrine and sacred groove are the abode of deities or ancestral spirits. Such environments are usually held in awe with an unflinching reverence as they serve as umbilical cord between the land of the living and the land spirits. The congregation usually sits in a semi-circular formation a little bit distant from the shrine. This arrangement is such that has the mortal beings sit in a semi-circular formation, the spirits sit in the other side thereby forming a complete circle while the performance is done in the center of the circle. It is a typical African arena theatre or theatre in the round. The instrumentalists sit together with the congregation while the chief priest sits aloof, in most cases, the chief priest shares same apartment with the
deity. The arena stage is wide enough to accommodate the ecstatic dancers with all their movement and body manipulation.

The dialogue, which is rendered in form of recitation, chant, incantations, invocation and song first of all, comes from the chief priest. The other form of dialogue comes from the dancers while in trance as they prophesy and make all forms of noises. This sacred or metaphysical dialogue is between the chief priest/ spirit and chief priest/ the congregation. The other level of dialogue comes from the singers and instrumentalist. The lyrics of the songs are clear and the messages are passed down to the spirit, the chief priest and the congregation. The last level of communication or dialogue is between the ecstatic dancers/ the spirits, which is further decoded to the congregation. These messages are not passed across just to entertain, sensitive and conscientize as is the case with the Western theatre form, but to enhance the welfare of the people via good health, prosperity and long life.

The costume, which is leitmotiv, is meant to delineate the character or personality of the chief priest from the congregation. It is only the chief priest or Atama who wears such designated costume. The costume is a hand-woven or locally made calico, which is known by Igala as Okpe. The costume is both white and red in colour, white signifies purity while red connotes debacle, turmoil and prodigy. These conflicting colours emphasize the extent of prodigy and debacle on one hand, and peace in Iya ebo performance.

The power to explain the essence of African theatre of sublime lies in one’s deep understanding of the cosmos, which lays guardian to the Igala and Igala culture. Sometimes such apocalypse is made manifest through the Atama or the chief priest. The chief priest is usually vested with such metaphysical power as to explain or discern the prodigy that characterizes the ecstatic performance.

Like Iya ebo performance, Barnes says of Ogun dance of Yoruba as, “an integral part of African ritual theatre, which addressing metaphysical beings or powers is a poetic, non-verbal and verbal expression which is continually created and re-created by countless performers and interpreters over generations…” (1989:1020).

It must be recorded that in its formulation of time, space and dynamics, dance transmits a people’s philosophy, values and thoughts, which are embodied in human action. As a primary vehicle for communicating with the spirit realm, it is an instrument of the gods through which they communicate with the phenomenal world. In such
view, ecstatic dance is an essay on the nature and quality of metaphysical force actualized in phenomenal world.

Like any other culture in Africa, Igala people have the desires to reach to the Almighty (Ojo) through the lesser gods or deities (ebo). Ebo serves as a bridge between the Igala and the Almighty God (Ojo). Apart from ebo, the Igala believe in other spirit such as, ancestral spirits, Ogwu spirit, spirits of the forest (Alijenu), water spirits, and etc. The greatest manifestation of the world of the spirits among the mortal world is in the performance. There are a series of performance, such as ritual activities, rites, adorations and above all music and dance. Iya ebo, which simply means, a dance of the deities is meant to bring the deities close to the mortal beings through the act of ecstasy and possession. Iya ebo belongs to the class of thaumaturgy in Igala, and the essence of such performance is for veneration. Anyone who may participate in Iya ebo performance must be pure as that is the criteria that may lead one into a state of ecstasy and possession. The state of possession catapults one into a higher state among the mortals.

In a nutshell, African theatre of sublime belongs to the class of thaumaturgy. It entertains, informs, informs, sensitizes, conscientises, stimulates and enhances the people’s cosmology and view of the world. It is indeed a benediction to the people of Igala in particular and African in general.

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Nsukka Igbo Dress Fashion: A Paradigm of Culture Change

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Abstract:
The dress fashion trends of the Nsukka Igbo of the southeastern Nigeria have not been the subject of any scholarly study. The present attempt is therefore to find out whether the dress tendencies of the people were so inconsequential as not to attract the attention of researchers and scholars or whether they lived in a hermetically sealed terrain as to shield off completely the ever-groping lenses of the researchers and scholars. This paper in an attempt at addressing the issues thus raised investigates the trajectory of the dress fashion of the Nsukka Igbo area from the earliest time, specifically between 1900 and 1980; and as well tries to locate how time and space have affected the style changes of the Nsukka Igbo dress fashion. In so doing, historical and sociological methodological approaches are employed to source and elicit information from available scanty sources. The paper considers the traditional and contemporary periods of dress fashion changes of the Nsukka Igbo. Traditional as used in this context refers to the authentic dress fashion of the Nsukka Igbo not tainted by Western presence while contemporary refers to the dress fashion as it exists presently amidst western influences.

Introduction:
Our senses become fatigued without the variety of change. The nose loses its sensitivity to any constant odor. The ear becomes deaf to incessant sound; the tongue finds a constantly repeated taste increasingly tasteless. And the eye soon indifferent to an unvaried stimulus and requires something different - a new look to stimulate it.
Dress, clothing, and fashion are terms often used interchangeably as synonyms, but in their proper usages and applications, they connote different meanings. To understand better their usages in the context of this paper, the meanings of these terms are thus given. Dress refers to a particular style of clothing worn on special occasions when people are to appear in their fineries. The rarity of its appearance gives it its name, ekwa ohualakpati[^2] in the Nsukka Igbo area of the southeastern Nigeria. Clothing signifies the fabrics intended to be worn on the human body either as everyday or occasional wears. Simply put, clothing refers to all fabrics and non-fabrics used to cover the human body for every occasion. Basic clothing differs from trendy fashion. Fashion stands for styles in clothing or dress that is popular among a particular group or society at a particular historical period. Accordingly, it is fashion that gives meaning and relevance to dress within any given society, period or style; without fashion, dress would be lackluster, monotonous, and unappealing. In the context in which fashion is discussed here, it denotes those elements of clothing styles that signify the social, gender and cultural identity; and characterizes as well as identifies the expressions of the dress culture change of the Nsukka Igbo across time and space. Fashion in dress is a transient phenomenon; it has always implied a process of change that makes dress go out of fashion long before it wears out. This suggests that fashion undergoes several style changes and, taking different forms at different historical epochs, wears out clothes more than men do. Thus, fashion is likened to an ogbanje[^3] that comes and goes now and again several seasons[^4]...once and the repeated time, ageless.[^5]

Consequently, fashion is both a process and product of change. From the preliterate period to the present, the fashion of the Nsukka Igbo, like elsewhere the world over, has intermittently changed as a result of a number of sociological variables. These affect, alter and, to a great extent, modify their dress fashion styles. Some of these sociological variables include social, religious, cultural and political factors that manifest in socio-cultural interactions with others: wars and conquests; art and religion; and competition for status within a society and, in the recent time, improvement in Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

**Traditional Dress Fashion of the Nsukka Igbo from 1900 to 1920:**

The dress fashion of the Nsukka Igbo considered within this period constitutes all fashion modes that existed as part of the cultural complex of the people from the earliest time to the period of the contact with the western civilization in the early 20th century. This denotes that the dress fashion was the real state of affairs, resulting from the ancient and relatively conservative local heritage society before their initial contact with the Europeans; with
their cultural domination, willful exploitations and intentional disruptions of Africans’ ways of life.\(^6\) Thus, fashion under consideration here is essentially of the traditional period that existed without much influence of western cultural and aesthetic values. The dress fashion modes of the period were fundamentally and holistically indigenous to the people in terms of materials and styles, and in conformity with the prevailing circumstances of the period. The history of fashion in this area goes back to as early as the period of the people’s occupation of the area around 2555 B.C.\(^7\)

The story has it that in the early periods of their occupation of the area, there was culture of nudity among the people. That they were “seldom cloathed /sic/…but go stark naked playing, bathing, and swimming together, without distinction...”\(^8\) The only art of beautification prevalent in the era was the intricate uli body paintings, and cicatrization on the bodies and faces. Corals, jigida, and cowries later came to be part of the objects of body adornment for the ladies, and the young men. Apart from these, they were usually naked until the age of puberty when they were introduced to wraparounds and loincloths respectively; particularly the boys at initiation into adulthood, cults and or societies and the girls usually at marriage during a ritual known as itu ekwa.\(^9\)

References to the use of any materials for body covering are fairly rare but not unknown. The use of plant materials and animal skins later came to be fashionable among the people. They were hunters and subsistence farmers who domesticated crops and animals as well as hunted wild beasts and other games. They flayed their skins and used them as clothing. They also made profuse use of banana leaves and ukpo nkwu.\(^10\) Banana leaves were of a universal use as a body covering in different traditional societies and historical epochs. For instance, Kochlar writes that in the Hindu legend, banana was the forbidden fruit in the earthly paradise, and it was with its leaves that the first man and woman, Adam and Eve, covered their nakedness in the Garden of Eden at the realization of their nakedness after they ate the forbidden fruit.\(^11\)

Interestingly, it is good to note that the people of the Nsukka Igbo did not stop at using the plant materials as naturally obtained from the plants. With great dexterity, they aesthetically improved on them for clothing. A few informants\(^12\) could, for instance, remember how the brittle fresh banana leaves were softened to a pliable state by adeptly waving them over a flame of fire severally to improve on their luster, and consequently their applicability as a body covering. Subsequently, the Nsukka Igbo produced their first fabrics with natural fibres, using the techniques of crocheting, knotting or macramé, tying, and weaving. The more prominent of these were the macramé and weaving techniques. Macramé or knotting technique was
mainly for the production of costumes especially for masquerades. Weaving was more of a general purpose cloth production technique, using straws and fibres from raffia palm. These preceded the development of looms and subsequent weaving on the looms.

This new development brought in the weaving of narrow strip cloths. The narrow strip cloths were used as loincloths by the men and as wraparound by the women respectively. The narrow strip cloths, woven on men’s traditional horizontal looms, were usually about 30 cm to 40 cm wide. According to Adepegba, Fagg observes that originally, men seemed to have had only one-piece clothes that were tied or wrapped around the body, implying that men’s tailored clothe might not be considerably old. This suggests that the traditional narrow strip textiles were the earliest clothes for men, as evident in different ancient art forms such as the Bwari figurine from Nok, a horse rider on a hilt and the male figurine on an altar stand from Igbo Ukwu, and seated Tada figure of the Tsoede bronzes, among others.13

Adepegba further explains that abamte is the common name for loincloths among several Nigerian peoples.14 This is not a generic name per se, but one of the styles or methods of wrapping or tying loincloths. The many and varied styles of tying loincloths determine the names given to the loincloths in Nsukka Igbo area. For instance, Ekaihu which was the most casual, incongruous and ludicrous, was usually folded in two halves and passed over a rope of yarns tied around the waist. The cloth was just wide enough to cover the genitals and worn only in the groin region to shield the genitals from view, leaving the buttocks bare (Fig. 1). The second type called Owe was an improvement on the ekaihu and this was worn between the legs and under to parcel up the genitals, and over a rope of threads around the waist to hold it in place. The front part of the cloth was usually made to hang low to cover the parcelled up genitals (fig. 2). Owe antedates abamte that was worn around the waist with the cloth pleated lengthwise, passed between the thighs, tucked in and firmly knotted at the back (Fig. 3). Worn on the body, abamte resembles in every respect the modern item of underpants. As a result, when the modern underpants were introduced in the area in the wake of colonial administration in Nigeria, ladies were skeptical about wearing them because “it was an abomination for anything to be between the thighs of an Igbo woman in the name of clothing.”15 Consequently, writing on the culture of the Igbo, Basden misconstrued this puritanical observance of traditional way of life to mean men placing embargo on feminine apparel and deliberate barring of women from the use of clothing.16
The women had their own methods of tying the wraparounds. The loincloths used by the women were usually two or more pieces of the narrow strip cloths joined together to get a wider cloth they used as wraparound. These they wrapped or tied around their waist, long enough, almost knee-length, to cover the genitals and the buttocks but leaving the upper part of the body bare (Fig.4). An improvement on the wraparound was the *patari* worn around the waist. It is a modified, sewn wraparound; it was the women’s first tailored dress in Nsukka Igbo area. It is a hollowed, tubular knee-length dress. A few women still wear it at home or as underwear, but modern textile technology has introduced slip or simmet underwear similar to it.

The traditional fashion styles of the Nsukka Igbo have always continued to evolve new trends of change over time. The prevalent cultural and social changes of the time were more of effects of internal influences rather than “responses to opportunities or alternatives presented by the more recent urban, national, or international sphere of relations.” The predominant changes of the time were largely as a result of their interactions with their Nigerian neighbours, mostly the Idoma and Igala of the north-central axis, and Nri and Aro of the southeastern zone. For instance, the people’s first contact with English cloth (*ekwa eru*) was through the Aro cloth merchants who had links with them. The Nsukka Igbo and these neighbours shared a common history and destinies of belonging to the preliterate and pre-industrial society whose ideas and ideals were similar in many ramifications and among whom were remarkable indications of cultural borrowings and syncretism. Accordingly, these interactions continued to influence, alter, and modify their fashion lifestyles. Although there were glaring evidences of close affinities of dress modes of these traditional Nigerian societies, particularly in the tradition of loincloth that was widespread among them, there still existed peculiar dress traditions associated with each sub-group which, through socio-cultural interactions, had influenced Nsukka Igbo dress modes.

For instance, *aso oke*, a traditionally woven cloth, and *agbada* all associated with the Yoruba, a highly organized society with cultural homogeneity and a culture of splendid dress mode had infiltrated into the dress culture of the area and become a commonplace fashion since the traditional era. *Baba riga*, a voluminous, long free-flowing robes, and *kaftans* associated with the Hausa, also came into the area and assumed a prominent position in the fashion milieu of the Nsukka Igbo. The voluminous, free-flowing *agbada* and *baba riga* were worn in the area as prestige dresses meant to show affluence, prominence or social status. This does not however suggest that the people of Nsukka Igbo were unresponsive and unreceptive to the changes resulting from western cultural and aesthetic values; with the
passage of time, they began to show penchant for acculturation to western cultural values. The socio-cultural influences on the people started, with time, to drift from internal to the external. Their main external influence was as a result of their closer contact with the colonial administration in the early 20th century which hitherto was minimal.

**Contemporary Dress Fashion of the Nsukka Igbo from 1920 to 1980:**

Nsukka Igbo began to feel the full British colonial presence when they were made, and administered as, part of Awka sub-district between 1906 and 1908 and later as part of Okpoga Division in the then Middle Belt Region (now Benue State) between 1909 and 1919. This Okpoga Division was later broken up in 1919 and Obollo Division was constituted with its headquarters at Obollo-Afor. This was later transferred to Nkpologwu in the present Uzo-Uwani Local Government Area, and finally moved to its present location, Nsukka in 1921, till today the geopolitical zonal headquarters of the area. Thus, 1921 becomes an historical landmark in the political and cultural history of Nsukka Igbo. The creation of Nsukka Division brought the British colonial administration closer to the people of the Nsukka Igbo. From then onwards, British rule has been firmly established and in its wake altered the old order of things and brought a sudden change to existing pattern of life in the Nsukka Igbo. The result was the social, cultural, commercial, and matrimonial interactions between them and their Nigerian neighbours. However, before these epochal periods, precisely between 1903 and 1904, the British colonial officers had only been paying periodic visits to the Nsukka Igbo area from their distant stations of Awka and Okpoga Divisions. As a result, their influences on the people were sparingly felt.

At the inception of British colonial administration in the area in the early 20th century, two features of the administration were therefore responsible for the sudden change in the general patterns of life of the Nsukka Igbo: the establishment of their judicial, religious, and educational institutions as well as the general trends of modernization which brought about a sort of dramatic change in the dress pattern of the Nsukka Igbo. Dress modes of the people that were hitherto traditional were gradually being eroded by western dress styles. The people of the Nsukka Igbo, as most other people under the British colonial administration, began to see adornment in European dresses as a mark of modern civilization; they began to develop predilection for, and started dressing in, them. The British colonial administrators in order to stamp their cultural and aesthetic values on the minds of the people even banned the wearing of traditional dresses in the colonial offices.
The Europeans came with English-tailored shirts, trousers, and suits. Among the English-tailored dress styles introduced by the western influence were suits of different styles such as the three-piece, double-breasted, and double-lapel suits, jeans (normal and later, stretch), bongo or labu, and pencil-mouthed trousers for men, and mini-skirts (cross-no-gutters), micro-mini gowns, maxi, midi, halter-neck show back for the women. As western civilization continued to engulf the people’s socio-cultural landscape, there came to be no distinction between what men and women wore; women started aping the men in the use of trousers. Gender sensitivity brought in the wearing of trousers by women in the early 1970s and from then on, men have been competing with them over the use of men’s attire. Not only did they wear trousers, they wore the brief knee length tight oriokpa\textsuperscript{19} style of trousers that brings out the contours of the wearers.

Another important factor on the Nsukka Igbo fashion modes was the establishment of the University of Nigeria in the area in October 1960. The university brought people from diverse cultural backgrounds to the area. Thus, there came to be a sort of multicultural dress styles from these diverse cultures. As a result of the intermingling of these cultural values and aesthetics, the Nsukka Igbo dress culture was greatly influenced. In view of this diverse cultural dress cultures, it was now very difficult to associate any particular fashion genre to the Nsukka Igbo.

Fashion has never followed any regular pattern of style change either from the old to new or vice versa. This signifies that dress in fashion today may be out of fashion momentarily but may stage a comeback only in a very short period. This however depends on the prevailing value patterns of the time. For instance, between the late 1960s and 1980s, pencil-mouthed trousers popularly known as “tanner” came to be fashionable. The trousers were so close and tight to the body that they brought out the contours of the wearers. There was also in fashion then the slim-fit type of shirt. The name was given to the shirt because of the way it clung to the body of the wearer. This period was therefore regarded as a period of the body hugging style of dressing.

Shortly before the Nigerian – Biafran Civil War of 1967 – 1970, the fashion experiences responded to the yearnings and aspirations of the national consciousness of the Nigerian polity of the period. Most African political leaders of the period made themselves the avant-garde of cultural consciousness and renaissance. For instance, Mbonu Ojike, the prophet of “boycott all boycottables"\textsuperscript{20}, and Leopold Senghor of Senegal, an acclaimed apostle of negritude, agitated vehemently against British cultural domination. These and other African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, to mention a few, were always adorned in their respective traditional attires, probably in
defiance of the British cultural domination, manifesting in every sphere of the peoples’ life. The efforts of these juggernauts reawakened the cultural consciousness of the African people towards traditional and cultural rearmament, and Africans began to appreciate the beauty and dignity of African cultural values, including their dress patterns. As a result, the campaign against cultural domination continued even thereafter, and in the mid-1980s, Air Commodore Emeka Omeruah, the then governor of the old Anambra State, made Igbo traditional attires a mandatory official dress in government ministries and parastatals. He made it a law that, even, the television newscasters must always appear in traditional dresses.

Immediately after the war, the fashion mode that prevailed was the four-pocketed safari-type suit and trousers styled after the military uniform and were popularly known as the “Biafran suit”. The safari-type suit was later in the late 1970s and early 1980s popularized by the then governor of Anambra State, Chief Jim Nwobodo, who always wore safari suits to any state public functions and because of his position, he became a model to many. Bongo or labu, the wide-mouthed trousers, emerged almost at the time pencil-mouthed trousers were going out of fashion. Bongo has a wide mouth, tapering as it moves up to the waist region. The bongo and slim-fit shirts later, between 1972 and 1974, gradually faded out of fashion, and loose, baggy trousers and shirts became fashionable; they allowed the wearer better freedom of movement. Bongo trousers later came back to the fashion stage and became fashionable again among the ladies. Thus, what is today seen as contemporary fashion in the dress modes of the Nsukka Igbo may not necessarily be a totally new creation but a fusion of the new and old styles or a reappearance of what was fashionable in the past. For instance, among the women, what is fashionable today is a resurgence of, except for those who ape the men in the wearing of trousers, the aftermath of the Nigerian – Biafran Civil War styles of leg-baring mini, the knee-length and sedate-looking maxi or full length style that is hot that come in different shapes: the slim pencil style, pleats, ruffles, puffballs, tulips, A-line or flared. To add splendour to their fashion, the women pair their downs with tops such as tank tops, spaghetti, halter necks, jackets, shirts, tunic tops, and low camis “that reveal even hotter cleavages”\(^2\), among others.

**Conclusion:**

The study of the trajectory of fashion change among the Nsukka Igbo has revealed that no clear line delineates periods of change in fashion trends; the change has always, like elsewhere the world over, been “a history of loss and gain”\(^2\) as well as transitional. It has also been observed that cultural borrowings have had serious impact on the fashion modes of the people and

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rendered the dress fashion across cultural groups almost impossible to be identified as the product of any particular culture, group, or period. As they intermarried, engaged in wars, and interacted commercially, socially and culturally, they inadvertently exchanged and borrowed styles from one another. Similarly, improvement in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has significantly blurred, if not totally obliterated the line dividing the geographical boundaries of the world, somewhat transforming the whole world into a microcosmic entity; a global village. As a result, people from different parts of the globe now easily share fashion styles, and therefore, it has become very difficult or almost impossible for younger generation to easily identify a fashion mode as belonging to a particular group, period, society or continent.

This study of fashion trends of the Nsukka Igbo within this historical epoch has also shown that the dress fashion of the people was not as inconsequential as non-documentation seems to make it; they had always moved with the trends like other cultural groups of the traditional societies. More so, they had also mutually existed and interacted with their neighbours which encouraged exchange of cultural borrowings among them. This is evident in the socio-cultural similarities, especially in their dress modes that attest to the historical and cultural links between them and their Nigerian neighbours. A major evidence of cultural affinity between the Nsukka Igbo and their immediate Nigerian neighbour of Igala is in the weaving traditions. There have been suppositions that Nsukka weaving tradition was a direct import from Igala influence. This is probably because of the similarities in the names of some locally woven fabrics as *ekpoto, oja, and ajiraji*, to mention only a few. The similarity in the names of their material cultures is not enough reason to attribute the weaving traditions of the Nsukka Igbo to Igala influence. The two sub-cultural groups have lived and interacted with each other for centuries. It is therefore not impossible that there have been frequencies of cultural hybridism between the two groups. Igala no doubt may have significantly influenced, and impacted on the lives of, the people but not to the extent of attributing any significant development of the people to the Igala. The westerners always believed in the supremacy of the more centralized societies over the non-centralized ones; to them the latter lacked the ability to generate any form of cultural inspiration. As a result, any development they met in the non-centralized societies was usually attributed to the more centralized ones. That may have been the case of weaving tradition of the Nsukka Igbo; a prejudiced historicization that lacked experiential or empirical substantiation. The Nsukka Igbo, like most preliterate and pre-industrial traditional societies, had no means of documenting their inventions and histories, and therefore, could not
remember how, when and who introduced most age-old crafts in their localities. It is not impossible that the weaving tradition may have originated from the Nsukka Igbo and diffused to their neighbours through bilateral, cross-cultural interactions.

The postulations that there was culture of nudity may not be written off as ahistorical given the historical period to which the people belonged then. They belonged to the period when most preliterate and pre-industrial societies had no technology of textiles, and therefore were literally unclothed. But as people who lived in the terrain where they lived and prone to harsh weather condition, they might have devised a means of covering their body to protect themselves from the unfriendly weather. And as subsistence farmers who domesticated crops and animals as well as hunted wild beasts, it could be possible that they started early to make use of plant materials and animal skins for clothing. They were great hunters who hunted and killed wild beasts such as warthogs, lions, tigers, antelopes, wild cats, and other games and flayed their skins for clothing and other domestic purposes.

The history of dress fashion of any society, period or people is a transient experience; appearing, disappearing and reappearing intermittently over time and space like an ogbanje of the Igbo mythology. A trendy dress fashion in vogue today among a particular society may remain on the stage for a short or long period of time, depending on the value orientation prevalent at the given period which determines its acceptance and sustenance. Some leave the stage never to come back while others make temporary exit only to stage a comeback shortly after.

Notes and References:

2. Literally means ‘the clothes of the bottom of the box’ which simply implies that such clothes were usually kept away inside the ‘cloth box’ until there was a special occasion to attend.

3. *Ogbanje* (in Igbo), *abiku* (in Yoruba), and *dan jawabi*, (in Hausa). *Ogbanje* in the mythologies of these people is a phenomenon which refers to a changeling, a child who is believed to have been sent by the malevolent, evil spirit to torment their victim parents. The child is born, and within a short while dies to be
born again to the same parents. The child comes and goes now and again to the agony of its parents.


9. *Itu-ekwa* in Nsukka Igbo culture was a sort of initiation ceremony where young girls who have come of age were initiated into adulthood and introduced into the act of clothing. This was usually done when the girl was being given out for marriage. Cloth as well as cooking utensils was one of the major and valuable nuptial gifts from her parents especially her mother.

10. *Ukpo nkwu*, a material in the outermost whorl calyx of a flower bud of the palm tree. From the dawn of civilization, man has always been confronted with the problem of covering nakedness. Adam and Eve at the realization of their nakedness after eating the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden immediately went for leaves and covered their nakedness. Hindus epics also have similar accounts of the use of banana leaves for covering nakedness. Similarly, history also has it that the Igbo of which Nsukka Igbo is part used bark cloth (*aji*) for the same purpose. *Ukpo nkwu* was also profusely used for the same purpose among the northern Igbo to which Nsukka belongs.

12. Personal interviews with Eze Nwaoyima (onyishi); Ugwu Ezema (fibre craftsman); Eze Agbedo (farmer); Ugwu Ukwueze (palm wine tapper); and Oyima Omeje (cloth weaver).


14. Ibid. p. 69


19. Oriokpa: This is a variant of Omabe, a popular masquerade in Nsukka Igbo area. Oriokpa is usually clothed in plain drab white cotton cloth known as ekpoto, akparakpara, or akparanogwuere. The trousers are usually knee length. Oriokpa, like the Igele variant, is entirely anthropozoomorphic in morphology. It has a catlike face beautifully, but scantly wrought with black and white threads.


QofO and Ogu in Nkpor Speech Community: A Conceptual Explication

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Abstract:
Worship is an imperative urge in man. Its beginning may be traced back to the basic instinct invoked in man when he came in contact with the power whom he believed to be the determiner of his destiny. It is generally believed in Igbo land and in Nkpor that the universe was created by God. To an Nkpor man, the universe which consists of both visible and invisible, is made and controlled by God; thus the name Chineke - ‘the God that creates’. They believe that (Chi na Eke) this God is the creator of all things and under him come other small gods like Ana – the earth deity, QofO and Ogu to help in the supervision of the universe. Their belief in QofO and Ogu symbols in Nkpor religious beliefs cannot be over emphasized. They are potent tools in the hands of the chief priest and other designated people in maintaining law and other in the Nkpor community. This paper examines the concept of QofO and Ogu and their significance in the control of social, political, religious, and cultural life of Nkpor people, despite the introduction of western civilization by the Europeans.

Introduction:
The Igbo people can be said to be the same because of their belief in qfq and ogu. Uwalaka (1996:4) supporting this claim says that “perhaps one of the most important circumstantial evidences of the homogeneity of all the Igbo people is the general belief and reverence paid to qfq and ogu all through Igboland.” The special significance of qfq and ogu in any Igbo community is that it is the chief dispenser of justice and consequently the chief coercive power which ensures that rules and customs of the village are observed. On the other hand, ogu
has practically no different function from qfq but rather traces, as it were, the footsteps of qfq in its efforts to maintain peace and order; thus in the event of dispute, ogu’s business is to accuse the culprit and charge him with falling short of the expectations of qfq. The significance of qfq and ogu in Nkpor speech community religiously, socially, and politically cannot be over emphasized. Qfq and ogu form the backbone of Nkpor man’s cultural and moral life even in the face of westernization.

About Nkpor Town:
Nkpor is a town located at about six kilometers East of Onitsha with Ogidi to the North, Obosi to the South East and Xmxoji to the East. Nkpor is at the South Western part of Idemili-North local government area of Anambra state of Nigeria. There are five villages in Nkpor, namely Xmxsiome, Isingwu, Xbxba, Amafq and Mgbachx; arranged according to seniority.

Nkpor people believe in the Supreme Being, Chukwu, with minor deities like Ana, and the ancestors as principal officers in charge of the universe. Qfq and ogu are at the centre of Nkpor traditional thought and they help them to maintain justice and fair play in the town.

Qfq in Nkpor

The Nature of Qfq:
Qfq is made from a branch of Detarium Senegalense tree. The qfq tree has small fruits and is usually identified by its compound leaves with seven to ten leaflets, white on the underside. One of the special features of this tree is that its trunks have joints and the branches fall off from the parent trunk when they are fully grown. Uwalaka (1996:3) is also of the same opinion when she says that according to our elders that the “...branches of qfq tree is never plucked and never sown by mortals. It falls off when ripe and gets itself planted without human hands.” Ejizu (1986:32) says that when closely examined, a typical qfq tree shows signs of nodes as though the timber had joints. Actual joining is in fact revealed in the fallen twigs which snap at the joints. The rounded joints could be likened to the end of the long cones of the human skeleton. It is believed by the Igboos that God created this tree to be sacred, and the branch is not cut. The length of qfq is about one foot and five inches thick. It can be smaller or bigger depending on the usage. The appearance is un-attractive and common but the importance lies in its symbolism.
The Meaning of Qfq:

Qfq is a cardinal ritual symbol in Nkpor as it is generally in Igbo traditional religion. According to Onyema (199:21) qfq is a little piece of wood about one foot long. It connects naturally the living with the ancestral fathers. In the words of Edeh (1983:17) qfq is a symbolic power and authority and it is employed as a law and order enforcement agency. Qfq is a type of staff of judgment that the qkpara (first son in the family) holds when arbitrating in disputes in the Xmxnna circle (kindred circle). Horton (1956:43), referring to the Ibagwa Igbo in Nsukka, observes that the qfq is a sort of official stamp, which validates the existence of the cult, social groups and individuals with whom it is associated by linking them to Chukwu, the ultimate source of life. Ejizu (1986:125) notes that “primarily, qfq represents the relationship of man in general to the supernatural order of reality. Hence, it functions principally as the medium of communication with the transcendent.” Onyeocha (1992:22) agrees with Ejizu in saying that “it is with qfq that he approaches and communicates with the ancestors.” Furthermore, he notes that qfq is the sacred symbol of truth, justice, law, and authority among the Igbos. It is used principally in sacrificial rituals during which it is painted with animal blood. In essence, qfq embodies the norm of behaviour which ought to regulate social intercourse.

Qfq is a central part of Igbo traditional thought and cosmology and a symbolic physical presence of the ancestors among the living. The Nkpor man uses qfo as a symbol of justice, righteousness and truth. Not only that, qfo to him symbolizes fair-play, innocence, trust, good luck, peace, equity, sacredness, good moral conduct, good leadership, accountability and honesty. It is generally believed by elders that when an ozo titled man kisses his qfo stick it is a sign of most solemn protestation of the gravity or truthfulness of what he says. Qfo is a staff of authority and religion. It serves as a link between God and man, the living and the ancestors plus the unborn. Qfq establishes the link between the possessor and the spirit world directly and serves as the candidate’s staff of office and authority in the society at large. Qfo performs three functions in Nkpor: social, political and religious functions, but the political and religious functions are most important in that no serious rite or ceremony is performed without making use of qfo. What the Bible is to the Christians, qfo is also to the Nkpor people. Just as the Christians make use of the Bible in taking oaths, in the same way the Nkpor people use qfo in taking oaths. “Whenever an Nkpor adult male in anger says that if he does something wrong his age mates
should break his ọfọ, he has sworn the highest oath and his audience must be very cautious of their next action.”

Even the Europeans who brought Christianity to the Igbo people recognized the sacredness of ọfọ no wonder they allowed the non Christian Igbo in the law courts to make use of ọfọ in oath taking. The poor and the widows take consolation in ọfọ especially in land cases for without the fear of the ọfọ, they will be maltreated by the rich and people in power and from the name such as Qfọhxike – ‘ọfọ is strength’, Qfọmalx – ‘ọfọ knows’, you see that as long as ọfọ is there, there is no fear of maltreatment or intimidation. Nkpor people also use qfq in proverbs like ofọ ka idide ji awa ana – ‘It is with truth and justice that the earthworm burrows the land unhurt.’ Oji ọfọ ga-ana – ‘He who has justice will be set free.’ Oji ọfọ anagh[ atq n’ije – ‘He or she who has justice and truth will be safe in journey.’

Significance of Qfq:

Qfq is the keystone to the religious or social life of the Igbos. Qfq is a means of prayer to the gods. Its other uses include its use every morning at the traditional prayer by heads and elders of families and lineages and on all occasions when religious rites (of whatever rule) including libation are performed. The head of the family strikes his qfq on the ground as he prays to show to mother earth that his hands are clean and that he has no evil plans for anybody. So, “When the truth is difficult to be ascertained, they resort to [gq qfq – calling on the qfq nd[iche (qfq of the ancestors) to remove (wepx) or kill (weed) the culprit”, (Emean 1998:8). Qfq is the medium by which petitions are sent to the ancestors. A man makes protest prayer with qfq, women (who are not dib[as) make their protest prayer while holding in their hand a piece of knotted palm frond. When the Nkpor man makes a bargain, he holds his qfq to show that he is responsible for the outcome of the bargain. Qfq is also considered to be a mediator between the spirits and man. Ejizu (1986:125) notes, “Primarily, qfq represents the relationship of man in the supernatural order of reality. Hence, it functions principally as the medium of communicating with the transcendent.” Onyeocha (1992:26) agrees with Ejizu in saying, “It is with qfq that he approaches and communicates with the ancestors.”

Qfq as a tool of blessing:
Qfq can, when it is asked, confer special blessings on the sons and daughters of the land; since the pre-occupation of qfq is to see to the welfare of its sons and daughters. In the socio-ethical context, the qfq is used for a sacred function in all important meetings of the group, attesting to the truth, punishment of offending members of the group through cursing, denial of rights, ostracizing, and explosion, coronation of Igwes (kings), ndichies, traditional naming ceremony, settlement of disputes. Ejizu (1986:18) supports the above assertion when he says that the use of qfq in all known meetings and in the trial of cases is paramount. In performing rituals, Ejizu (1986:61) says that sacrifices of all descriptions to either the household gods or the deities by cult priests, family heads and others authorized by customs to officiate in such acts of worship are in most cases throughout Igboland offered with the qfq. Furthermore, Ejizu says that qfq is primarily, a religious symbol and that the significance of its involvement in the traditional ritual life of the Igbos derives precisely from its ability to manifest the sacred.

The Qfq Holder:

“The special right to hold qfq falls to the eldest of each extended family unit”, (Uwalaka 1996:5). This is also the case in Nkpor. Women are never qfq holder. Qfq is held by the Diana (a true born member of the family unit, (Uwalaka 1996:5). This is also the case in Nkpor. Women are never qfq holder. An qfq holder cannot be an accomplice in a crime, nor can he harbour a criminal or else qfq will be angry. It is mandatory according to Uwalaka (1996:8) that the qfq holder, the eldest of the family or kindred, should be a man of reputable character.

To qualify as oji qfq, one must be known by the community as a person of probity, one who is impeccable, whose honesty glaringly is beyond dispute, one who is not easily bent to the whims and caprices of the time. Nobody abuses the qfq holder in Nkpor because doing so means abusing the ancestors. The gods are in direct union with the holders and they see to it that justice is maintained, (Onyema 1999:8). In Nkpor, each qfq holder usually attaches some rings, a piece of cloth or any other article by which he can easily recognize his sacred stick. The qfq holder cannot hold the qfq while his father lives. Ejizu (1986:17) affirms this when he says, “A man can have an qfq made and consecrated for him by the Aka ji qfq in the lifetime of his father.”

Qfq as a symbol of Authority:
Qfq has a great influence on the political life of Nkpor people. This is because it is a symbol of authority, which comes from the ancestors and acts as a guarantee of truth, justice, and fair-play. In Nkpor and other parts of Igbo land, qfq is given to leaders as their staff of office. Every leader has the qfq as a symbol to show his power over his subjects. We have the family qfq that is held by the oldest man in the family. We have the clan qfq, held by the leader of the clan. The Igwe, who is the traditional ruler of Nkpor, has his own qfq that is given to him by the kingmakers on the day of his coronation. The possession of qfq by Igbo leaders is very significant; it is mark of respect and authority. The leaders are referred to as Aka ji qfq – ‘The hand that holds the qfq’; and if a leader does not live up to moral expectation, the qfq is taken from him and given to another person that is better than him.

Types of ọfọ:

There are various types of ọfọ and these are discussed below:

Q&q Ana – This is the ọfọ that is dedicated to the mother earth. It is held by the Eze Ana. In Nkpor, the shrine of Ana, called Okwu Ana, is at Xmxsiome village and the ọfọ is placed at this shrine and used when taking oath – [ta ajf Ana – eating the kola nut offered to the mother earth (swearing by Ana). It is also used for any ceremony concerning ala and issues concerning the whole town. The ọfọ is painted by smearing it with the blood of slaughtered animals, nzu – white chalk, wine (during libation), chewed kola nut, and alligator pepper.

Q&q Xmxnna – Every xmxnna has its own ọfọ which is held by the oldest man in an xmxnna. The ọfọ gives him authority to officiate in any function concerning the xmxnna, to break kola nut or pour libation during any xmxnna gathering or festival.

Q&q Ezinaxnq – This is the ọfọ of a family that is inherited by the first son of the family at the death of their father. He uses the ọfọ in offering prayers for the family and making sacrifices.

Q&q Qzq – Before a man is initiated into the Nze na Qzq society, he acquires his personal ọfọ from the Eze Ana. He uses this ọfọ for personal matters and in settling household cases and problems.
Qfq Alxs[ – This type of qfq is jointly prepared by the traditional native doctors and members of the concerned deity. However, the native doctor is the chief artisan of all qfq symbols. It is kept in the deity shrine or any appropriate place.

Qfọ Dib[a – This is the qfọ of the medicine man. He uses it during divinations and in offering prayers and sacrificing to his agwux. Women do not have qfọ except a woman who is a Dib[a (native doctor), who uses her qfọ as male Dib[a does. There are different kinds of qfọ that are minor for example qfọ ije – for travelling; qfọ q b[alx egbu m buo onwe ya – he who wants to kill me should kill himself (boomerang); Qfọ emelx m g[n[ – what did I do, (for innocence); qfọ nwadiana – for grandsons and daughters; qfọ chi – for one’s personal god or luck; qfọ nwata – for innocence in children; qfọ ajadu – for widows; qfọ ogbenye – for the poor; qfq onye qb[a – for visitors; qfọ qmxmx – for procreation; qfọ nwada – for daughters of the family, very much respected and avoided; qfq agadi – for the aged, which are respected and feared.  

It is worthy of note that there are some types of qfq that are negative in use. For instance, in Enugwu-ukwu, they have Qfq-Atx. This type of qfq is used in killing, charming, and harming people. This type of qfq exists in different parts of Igbo land. Example: Qfq Anxnxebe in Nnewi; Oke qfq in Ideatq and Qfq Mxq in Nkpor, held by some dangerous masquerades.

Ogu in Nkpor:

Ogu stands for innocence. Mxnonye (1966:15) defines ogu as “...the moral forces, that potent spur of righteousness which drives the innocent against the aggressor. Onyeqcha (1992:33) explains ogu as “...the solemn utterance one makes, the ideals and principles of good life he invokes are called ogu.” Ogu can also be defined as the body of righteousness, the law of equity, or the sum total of justice, the moral power, bulwark of strength, the invisible moral protective, an antidote or amulet against all forms of evil including those of the spiritual enemy and a breast-plate of righteousness”, (Iwuagwu 1982:14). The above definitions of ogu show that ogu is a religious – cultural symbol of clear conscience, innocence and fair play that produces the moral force or moral power, which drives the innocent against his opponent without being hurt when he is considered right on his side.

Ogu is closely connected with qfọ. It is also a measure of justice and fair-play. The Nkpor people always use Qfọ and Ogu together for
example *eji m ọfo na ogu*. I have *ọfo* (justice) and *ogu* (innocence). According to Uwalaka (1996:16), qfq is given precedence as the first born. Yet whoever holds qfq automatically holds ogu. Onyeocha (1992:34) shows the closeness of ọfo and ogu thus, “Qfo and ogu are so closely bound together that you could hardly talk of one without the other.” Ogu is more of a concept than of a physical object. No wonder, Uwalaka (1996:16) says that it is not established whether the power known as ogu has any visible shape like ọfo or not. But it is represented with palm-frond tendril qmx. Ogu is usually smaller in size than ọfo and in Nkpor, it is made out of ogilisi plant in rare occasions. Ogu symbolizes innocence. It is often placed on the Ikenga. Ikenga like the ọfo is a sacred symbol that represents the genius of a man’s strength and achievement. A typical Ikenga consists of a ram with two horns seated on a stool, carrying a knife in the right hand and a skull in the left. The placement of a knotted qmx, which represents ogu on the Ikenga, immediately conveys a sense of warning to show that the person who placed the ogu is saying that he is innocent and that his hands are clean.

Medicine man uses the stalk of the ogilisi leaf – a sacred plant – as ogu to find out an offender. Ogilisi stalks are given names of the suspects and the medicine man throws the ogu in such a way that from the way the stalks fall on the ground, he picks up the one that represents the offender. Ogu is also used during oath taking and the individual taking the oath points out specific issues involved in the oath to declare his innocence. It is also applied during the *gbanọ* – (covenant) ceremony between individuals and parties.

Ogu can also be prayed with. This is called *tx ogu*. Metuh (1985: 155-156) expresses *tx ogu* in these words: “The Igbo prayer of a persecuted soul. It is offered by a person who is plagued by misfortunes inflicted by a spirit or fellow human being. In the former case, the offender would beg the spirits to leave him alone because he has done nothing wrong. In the later case, the protester prays the spirit to punish his persecutors because he has done them no wrong.” The above situation is seen in Nkpor.

**Ogu as a Symbol of Warning:**

Ogu in Nkpor is sometimes represented with a palm frond tendril that is knotted in the shape of a cross. Edeh (1983:23) supports this assertion when he says that *Qmx ka e ji eme ogu* – “It is with knotted palm frond leaflet that ogu is made.” It serves as a warning for people to keep off, if a woman or any Nkpor man fetches more fire
wood than he/she can carry, he keeps the ogu on top of the remaining ones to warn passers-by that the wood is owned by someone. If anybody sees the ogu on top of the wood, he will not dare to remove the wood because the ogu that is on it has warned him to keep off.

Not only in fire wood, it is also used on other things to show that someone already owns them. If it is a communal land as soon as you put ogu on a part of it, others will keep off from that part of the land and know that someone had already taken that part to cultivate. This means that ogu serves as a peaceful gadget.

In Nkpor as we have already mentioned, the stalk of ogilisi leaf is also used as ogu. If one is quarrelling with somebody, one can give the stalk of ogilisi leaf to an elder relation of that person to give to him. This is to warn him to keep away from you because you do not want his association. Soothsayers also use ogu to find out an offender. If four people, for instance are being suspected of a crime, four ogilisi stalks are taken and given the names of the suspects. Then the soothsayer throws the ogilisi stalks on the ground. The way they fall will help the soothsayer pick out the offender(s). It is also used for finding out the person that reincarnated, *gba Afa Agx*. Names of suspected reincarnates are given to the ogilisi stalks. The medicine man throws them up. The way they fall will help him pick up the person that reincarnated.

The Relationship between Qfq and Ogu:

According to Nwaorgu (2001:210), “Qfq and ogu in conceptual understanding signify truth, justice, purity, and faithfulness in Igbo custom. Just like qfq, ogu is also a messenger to the earth goddess – *Ala, Amadiqha*, and *Ogwugwu* deities. The traditional Igbo people strongly believe in the law of retributive justice and so everybody tries to absolve him or herself from evil doings through the agency of qfq and ogu.

Religious Importance of Qfq and Ogu:

Qfọ is an object of worship. It is used to honour and venerate spiritual beings. Nkpor people believe in the Supreme Being and they express it in their worship by glorifying the source, the sustainer, and the maker of all things. They cannot do this worship of the Supreme God without the use of qfọ, which is at the centre of their religion to show honesty and fair-play. What the Bible is to the Christians in their worship, qfọ is also to Nkpor people in their worship of the Supreme God.
Ọfọ plays a major role in prayer. The father or head of each family says his morning prayer with his ọfọ before starting the day’s work. The morning prayer takes place in his Obi. Before the prayer, a wash hand basin with water is brought to him, he washes his hand and face, takes his ọfọ, Ikenga, kola nut, alligator pepper and nzu (white traditional chalk), arranges them, and starts to pray. He first of all greets Chineke, then the divinities (mmxq d[ be any]) and then the ancestors. After greeting them, he thanks them for their protection and invites them to come and have kola nut. Then, follows petition for help and protection nye any[ ogonogo ndx na arx isi ike – ‘Give us long life and good health.’ He then curses his enemies and those who plan to harm him. O b[alx igbu m, ya gbuo onwe ya – ‘He who wants to kill me should kill himself.’ He concludes his prayer by inviting the supreme God to break the kola nut for him. Chukwu Okike b[a were aka g[ waa ọj[ ka any[ taa4 – ‘God the creator come and break this kola nut for us to eat.’

Ọfọ is also used as a symbol of justice and fair-play. The Nkpor men try as much as possible to be just and fair in their dealings with their fellow men. They see the ọfọ as symbolizing justice and fair-play, which is explained in their proverb egbe belx Ugo belx nke si ibe ya ebena, nku kwaa ya – Let the eagle perch, let the kite perch, whichever says that the other will not perch, let its wing break off. This Igbo proverb points to the concept of peaceful co-existence. Life is a tree on which everyone has the right to perch and should not be monopolized by a particular people. They also say Ome ife jide ọfọ – ‘Let justice prevail in whatever man does.’ They have a lot of proverbs to show their belief in ọfọ as a symbol of justice for example, O megbu nwa ogbenye cheta kwa ọfọ – ‘Let he who maltreats the poor remember ọfọ.’

Ọfọ always makes people to speak the truth even if it means suffering for the truth. Ọfọ is always a symbol of peace and righteousness. It helps the Nkpor man to have trust and confidence in his fellow man and speak the truth always. No wonder ọfọ is used during any serious talk in the traditional community. That explains why ọfọ is used in all customary courts and even in magistrate courts and witnesses always swears by it before tendering their evidence. And if there is any foul-play of injustice, they believe that the spirits and the ancestors will intervene and the person will suffer a serious misfortune.

Ọfọ is a symbol of peace and righteousness. Nkpor people are very peaceful by nature and the ọfọ holder is never aggressive. He sees ọfọ as a way of life for the survival of man. Ọfọ fosters peace and unity.
among the various families or clans for every one tries not to go against the ancestors by ignoring the ọfọ and the fact that the family own one ọfọ acts as a unifying factor and you dare not poison, harm or quarrel with someone with whom you have one ọfọ. For the Nkpor man, ọfọ also stands for righteousness. This explains the reason why men especially titled men, are regarded as righteous for all of them have the ọfọ and in settlement of any dispute, any evidence given by a traditionally titled man is treated as authentic (especially in the olden days).

Every Nkpor man accepts ọfọ as a sacred object that emits power. Whether ọfọ has real power in it or not, is never a matter for argument, because it is a matter of belief and question of belief is based on conviction. They believe that ọfọ has the power to either kill or save as the case may be. They have a lot of proverbs that manifest in one way or the other their belief in the power of qfq and ogu such as Oji ọfọ ga-ana – ‘He who has ọfọ will be free’; Qfọ ka idide ji awa ana – ‘with ọfọ the earthworm burrows the ground’; Oji ọfọ nwe agamniru – ‘He who has ọfọ progresses”; Nwoke s[ na ya ji ọfọ, nwany[ s[ na ji ọfọ, ma ọfọ ma onye ji ya – ‘A man claims that he has the ọfọ and a woman claims that she has the ọfọ, but only ọfọ knows who has it’; Qfọ ka ns[ - ‘ọfọ is greater than poison’; Qfọ d[ ile – ‘ọfọ is powerful’; ọfọ bx ike – ‘ọfọ is strength’; Ogu amana m – ‘Let me not be found guilty by ogu’.

A list of some Nkpor personal names connected with qfq and ogu symbols illustrate the rich conceptualization of qfq and ogu among the Nkpor people. The personal names deriving from the qfq and ogu concepts are at the same time personal affirmation of faith in the symbols. The full meaning and implications like most other Igbo traditional names are discovered in the context of individual experiences which gave birth to them. Example: Qfqegbu – ‘Qfq does not kill’; Qfgeme – ‘One who does things with his qfq’; QfΔkans[ - ‘Qfq is greater than poison’; QfΔma – ‘Qfq knows’; Nwaogu – ‘Son of Ogu’.

Ogu serves a useful purpose in Nkpor traditional society in that it provides an effective means of peaceful settlement of disputes. You do not take action against someone who offended you without first of all sending him an ogu for at least three times, {many ogu – ‘sending him a note of warning, through his relations or close friends.’ Ogu creates an atmosphere for peaceful settlement. At times people abuse the use of ọfọ and ogu by preparing them with charms that can kill the innocent person or a rightful owner of the land. The ordinary ogu and
ọfọ have psychological effect and work on the conscience of Nkpor man, but in some cases some wicked medicine men abuse their use, and use them to kill or disgrace an innocent person.

**Conclusion:**

With the introduction of Christianity and Western culture in Igbo land most of Nkpor traditional religious concepts have lost their strong grip on the people. Many of the youths today do not know what is ọfọ or ogu. Many of the family heads do not care for the family ọfọ any longer. Parents do not give their children names connected with ọfọ or ogu in the name of Christianity.

However, hope is not lost. The new cultural revival being experienced in the town of recent may stop the total collapse of the ancient religious practice of our fore fathers. The elites have mounted a campaign for cultural resurgence. Some are now recognizing the concepts of ọfọ and ogu as the core of Igbo culture, the moral code of Igbo man and the dictate of his conscience.

There is a general belief by the traditionalists in Nkpor and beyond that the new Igbo generation should be taught the traditional Igbo religious link between the Supreme Being – *Chukwu* – the earth-goddess – *Ana, ofo and ogu*, for this will help the Nkpor man to regain his lost identity and preserve the moral code of the society.

**Notes:**

1. Mr. Qnxkwe Okafor, retired farmer, age 78 years.
2. Chief Nwazularx Enekxwa, retired farmer, aged 88 years.
3. Mr. Boniface Ogwugwu, a tipper driver, aged 62 yrs.
4. Chief John Erulu, retired farmer and palm wine taper, aged 87 years.

**References:**


Religion and Violence against the Unborn in Nigeria

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Abstract:
In modern day Nigeria, abortion seems to be more prevalent among young people. This is occasioned by modernity that is violent in the society. This violence could be deciphered in television, pornographic magazines and video clips. It is also provoked by association with a company that is already corrupt. Poverty exacerbates abortion among girls that are greedy and impatient. The methodology employed in plumbing the resources of this topic is analytical. Library sources and internet materials are used in recovering the violence against the unborn. Consequently, oral sources are used in enhancing the quality of the data of this write up. The findings of this paper betray the fact that government agencies, ill informed sex education in schools and modernity are some of the causes of abortion among the youths. The conclusion of the paper is centered on the fact that with proper education and re-orientation among the youths, abortion will be drastically reduced in the Nigerian society.

Introduction:
One of the most pressing moral problems of our day is abortion. It is a worldwide problem and Nigeria is among the nations that are worse hit by it. Both the church and non-Christian organizations have developed a high level interest in the issue, because it involves human lives; and subscription to it or otherwise will determine the fate of the future generation. If voted for, abortion can guarantee the extinction of the human race.

A huge population of Nigeria is Christian and the rest are believed to have been influenced directly or indirectly by the Christian culture (Achunike 2002: 116). As a result, the issue of abortion and its
moral implications will be discussed here from the Christian point of view. The work is aimed at having a critical examination of the sanctity of human life in general and the evil of abortion in particular as it operates in Nigeria.

Christianity has always condemned any act that violates the sacredness of human life and man’s right to life. The church is known for its high reverence for human life and has never supported any form of killing that is aimed at achieving a purpose or which is used as a means to an end. The import of this stand is hinged on one of the interdicts of the Decalogue (Exodus 20:13) which forbids killing. The church stands in defence of this holy injunction and violation of human life through any means, (be it genocide, murder, euthanasia, abortion and even willful suicide), for any reason whatsoever. The stand of the church against killing seems to have little effect on the attitude of some Nigerians towards abortion, which is constantly on the increase and this has prompted the present writers to rise up to the responsibility of writing against it.

The practice of abortion is by no means a new phenomenon in Nigeria, although the main reasons women seek abortion may be changing. Today, such reasons range from the desire to avoid pre-marital births, to control of family size and to space birth in order to protect infant health. This practice exists in spite of the provisions of the Nigerian law which makes it a crime for anybody to perform or obtain an abortion, except to save a woman’s life. Abortion is legally restricted under both the penal and criminal codes which are applied in the northern and southern states, respectively.

Towards a Definition:

The term “abortion” can be used in a variety of ways. According to Laney (1990:205), abortion is the removal of the foetus from the womb prior to the period of viability outside the womb, and this can be “spontaneous” or “induced”. It is “spontaneous” when the foetus is removed without any external intervention but “induced” when there is an external intervention in the reproductive process with a view to terminating the pregnancy. Of these 2 types of abortion, our area of major concern here is the induced type.

Feinberg (1993:50) sees abortion as the forceful termination of the life of a foetus whether for therapeutic, eugenic or elective purposes. While therapeutic abortion is performed to save the mother’s life, a eugenic abortion is done to abort a foetus that has, or is at risk of some physical and/or mental handicap such as Down’s syndrome. An
elective abortion on the other hand is performed for no other reason but the convenience of the parents such as control of family size and financial hardship.

Hornby (1992:2) defines abortion as “the expulsion of the foetus from the womb during the first 28 weeks of pregnancy”. According to Ewelu in Achunike (2002:123),

*Abortion is the premature termination of pregnancy...It is the expulsion of the conceptus (the unborn child) from the womb before it reaches viability, that is, before it can survive outside the womb of the mother.*

Of the two types of abortion, spontaneous and induced abortion, our area of major concern is the induced type. By induced abortion, what is meant is any deliberate act, whether directly or indirectly, that has an adverse effect on the foetus leading to its expulsion, termination or destruction. This could be done through dilation and curettage (D and C), suction, use of saline injection, hysteronomy prostaglandin, kicking of the stomach, starvation or the use of traditional means.

**The Physiology of Human Development:**

Feinberg (1993:53) and Cameroon (1986:71) assert that the physiology of human development exposes the seriousness of abortion. To answer the question whether or not the baby being aborted feels any pain, it has been discovered that certain conditions necessary for the existence of pain are present in the developing foetus (Collins:1984:5). These include:

1. Functioning neurological structures to pains.
2. Overt behaviour expressive of pains.
3. A cause for pain.

Willke (1972:6) also asserts that an eleven-week-old foetus can experience pain and respond to touch, light, heat and noise. Moreover, it has been proved through the use of close-circuit T.V. Cameras that the foetus contorts in a form that is expressive of pain when pricked with a needle. All these instances lead one to conclude that the foetus feels pain if it undergoes an abortion.

**The Morality of Abortion:**

Though in some countries like the USA, abortion is an accepted practice with little debate about its morality, the case is not so in other
countries such as Nigeria. The question of abortion is one of the most morally and socially sensitive issues confronting Nigeria in the 21st century. Today, two prominent groups are poised on either side of the debate as to the morality or otherwise of the practice of abortion. The pro-life advocates are in defence of the right to life of the unborn baby and as such condemn the abortionist as uncaring and unfeeling about the baby’s right to life. They cannot understand why the abortionists are insensitive to the baby’s right to life. To this group, the unborn child is a human being and if there is no right to kill a person after birth, there should equally be no right to kill him before birth. To them abortion is murder.

On the other side, advocates of abortion rights cannot understand why pro-lifers want to abridge a woman’s right to exercise freedom of choice and apparently control what she wants to do with her body. In this vein, they posit that they are not really pro-abortion and are not insensitive to the rights and needs of the developing foetus. However, they feel that a woman’s right to choose what to do with her body must be paramount. They therefore prefer to refer to themselves as “pro-choice” rather than “pro-abortion” or abortionists (Feinberg 1993:56).

In whatever way the advocates of abortion rights may choose to paint the practice as morally right, the present researchers want to disagree with those who support the practice of induced abortion (especially the elective type) as morally wrong. This conclusion is hinged on the following fundamental issues:

i) The Personhood of the Foetus:

The beginning of life is the beginning of personhood but when human life really begins is still not certain. According to Tribe (1990:113), if there is uncertainty as to when life really begins in a foetus then, a foetus that is destroyed prior to its attainment of personhood is of no moral consequence.

However, the findings of Ford (1988:304) challenges seriously the question of the humanlessness of the foetus. According to him, as soon as the sperm penetrates the egg, the egg is activated. There is no question that the new cell is alive. Once the sperm penetrates the egg and fertilizes it, the cells begin to replicate. That is life, and not just any life, but human life! This union has already given rise to a single cell with a set of 23 pairs of maternal and paternal homologous chromosomes, totaling forty-six chromosomes in all. It is a genetically new individual cell. As Ford argues, the above process is completed
approximately 24 hours after fertilization, and this is the beginning of human life in the foetus. Although the foetus at this point is dependent on the mother, he/she is an independent individual. To Feinberg (1978:129), the implications of this for abortion are significant. If one claims that abortion is permissible until there is human life, then, these findings would allow abortion up to approximately 24 hours of sexual intercourse. Even if this is morally right, it is virtually impossible to know that one is pregnant within 24 hours after sexual intercourse, so an abortion would not likely occur during that period, anyway.

However, Gardner (1989:557) opposes the view that an embryo is a person. According to him, the information for the formation of certain human characteristic such as the eye or finger does not exist in the fertilized egg. He argues that a foetus carries no fingerprint; and if something as simple as a fingerprint is not genuinely present in the fertilized egg, how can something as complex and unique as an individual human brain or personality be said to be present from conception?

In our opinion, Gardner’s claim still misses the fundamental point. This is because, even if the embryo lacks the exact characteristic of the developing eye, brains, finger, etc, there can be no question as to whether these eye, brain, etc. will be those of a human being. The genetics of the developing embryo demand that this will be a human being, not a dog or a cat. Moreover, Feinberg (1978:130) has confirmed that if a newly fertilized egg is examined under a microscope, one can determine that the DNA strands are those of human beings. Conclusively therefore, it is overwhelmingly factual that the foetus is human, having life and personhood, and unless there are some overriding reasons for terminating its life, abortion is prima facie wrong.

ii) Injunction of God on Abortion

The bible is replete with the injunction “Thou shall not kill” (Exodus 20:13; Matt. 5:21). If the foetus possesses life that can be terminated through abortion, then the practice is a violation of the commandment of God not to kill. However, such passages as Exodus 21:22-25 is thought by some to support the view that a foetus in the womb is not a person and so carries no serious implication if damaged. According to this passage,

If two men fight and hurt a woman who is pregnant such that the child is aborted, and the mother is unhurt, the men responsible shall be punished as the woman’s
husband wishes by being asked to pay a fine as may be determined by the judges. But if the woman is killed along with the foetus then, the man responsible may pay with his life...

This passage has been variously interpreted. First is the “miscarriage interpretation” which explains the passage as dealing with a case where two men are fighting near a pregnant woman and accidentally strike her so that she miscarries the child. Though she loses the child, she herself sustains no injury. The penalty prescribed by law is a fine as the woman’s husband demands and the court will allow. However, if the mother is injured alongside with the baby, a more severe punishment is commanded: death penalty for the death of the mother. Because the penalty is more severe for the harm done to the mother, it is concluded by the pro-abortion group that scripture makes a distinction between the mother’s personhood and the limited personhood of the foetus.

In our judgment, we believe the passage is a “special case”, thus the above interpretation is incorrect. In fact, it is open to criticism from two perspectives. Even if one assumes that the interpretation is correct, the passage still would not authorize abortion. Rather, the passage should be seen as an exceptionally strong one that stands in defence and protection of both pregnant mothers and unborn children. The passage does not justify abortion of a foetus for several reasons. For one thing, the death that occurs in verse 22 is not intentional but accidental. On the other hand, abortion is an intentional intervention into pregnancy with the express purpose of terminating a life. Second, the fact that a penalty is required at all shows that the killing of the unborn is evil. If the foetus does not matter at all, then God wouldn’t have attached any penalty to its killing. Third, the fact that the death of the foetus does not attract a death penalty is in line with the Mosaic exception of the death penalty in cases of accidental death (Ex. 21:13-14, 20-21; Num. 35:10-34; Deut 19:1-13). Hence, the distinction in the penalties does not necessarily suggest less value of the foetus. This argument is further supported by the provisions of Exodus.21 where a variety of penalties are specified for the killing of different individuals. The Differences in these various cases can hardly be explained in terms of the personhood of the individuals involved. For instance, the one who kills a slave unintentionally escapes without any penalty (Ex. 21:20-21).
However, a more proper interpretation of this passage is as follows. The passage describes a situation where two men are fighting and strike a pregnant woman and she delivers prematurely. If the baby is alive and healthy and the mother is not harmed then, no harm has been done to anyone. Still, the men are to be fined. However, if either the foetus or the mother is harmed, then the law of retaliation (Lex talionis) is to be invoked. According to Feinberg (1993:63), the use of the Hebrew word “yeled” gives credence to this interpretation. The word refers to infants who are recognizable and can exist outside the womb unlike “golem” and “nephel” which are used to express mere miscarriages or the death of an unborn child (Cf Ps 139:16 & Ecc 6:3; Job 3:16; Ps 58:8). Also the use of the verb “yatza” (and her child comes forth) and the pronoun “ason” (them) instead of “her” indicate that the harm that is to be punished is one done to either the mother or the foetus. Moreover, the New Testament uses the Greek word “brephos” to describe both foetus and child (Lk. 1:41).

In sum, this passage shows that God places a very high value on the developing life. The degree of this value lies in the fact that even though the abortion committed here is accidental and unintentional, a death penalty is prescribed for the offence. This is the only place in Scripture where death penalty is prescribed for accidental homicide. The obvious condition of the woman should have been a signal for caution on the part of the fighting men, and when they were negligent, the most severe punishment was required.

Kline (1977:194) rightly observes that although this passage is a special case, it does not downgrade or devalue developing babies or pregnant women. On the contrary, it shows the extreme importance God places on both.

iii) The Church and Abortion

The church is unequivocal in her declaration of abortion as still illegal in line with the injunctions of the bible. She allows no permissiveness or excuses that would lead to the termination of the life of the unborn. Traditionally, Christianity has strongly resisted deliberate destructions or termination of any pregnancy. Tertulian describes abortion as ‘a precipitation of murder’ and he refers to the foetus as “a man who is about to be one”. On his part, Augustine of Hippo took a dualistic approach by declaring that it takes between 60 to 80 days for the foetus to possess a soul. Any abortion committed before this time was a criminal but not a capital offence. This view is now highly discredited.
The stand of the Catholic Church on abortion as partially contained in the Encyclical letter of Pope Paul VI (1970:15) states:

... We are obliged once more to declare that the direct interruption of the generative process already begun and, above all, direct abortion, even for therapeutic reasons are to be absolutely excluded as lawful means of controlling the birth of children.

Another typical example of the catholic influence in the abortion matters in Nigeria is illustrated by Igbo (2002:58):

...during Nigeria’s second Republic, an attempt to legalize abortion, as is the case in many Western countries, failed as a result of intense lobbying by the Catholic Church and other concerned Nigerians who argued that abortion, whether legal or illegal is not different from murder. Indeed, it is argued that legalizing abortion amounts to legalizing murder of defenceless and helpless infants.

However, the rigid “no abortion” policy of the church has been relaxed over the years. The church allows for abortion only under the ethical law of “double effect”. In this case, a procedure intended to save the life of the pregnant woman may result in the death of the foetus, when it becomes practically impossible to save the lives of both the mother and the unborn child. The church operates under the authority of the bible and so uses it as the pivot on which to rotate. The bible has condemned abortion and so it remains condemned by the church.

Abortion in Nigeria:

In a recent survey by Guttmacher, the degree of abortion in Nigeria has reached an alarming stage. It has been discovered that the law preventing abortion in Nigeria has little or no effect on the actual practice. Although penalties exist for both the person that performs an abortion and the one who seeks it, the practice exists on a large scale in most of the private clinics and hospitals (Okonofua, 1996). Archibong (1991:361) asserts that the use of unsafe methods of abortion is still prevalent in the country and this has resulted in severe death consequences for women. Maternal mortality is estimated as 1000 maternal deaths 100,000 live-births in Nigeria, while one in every eight maternal deaths in West Africa is attributed to abortion (UNDP, 1996:154).
In 1996, of the 672 medical facilities used for the research, 225 performed abortions. National projections indicate that at least 186 abortions are done annually per facility on the average. Some facilities perform higher number of abortions. For instance, approximately 135 establishments each perform more than 500 abortions each year in the South, while those in the Northern region perform about 140 abortions annually on the average. Going by this average, it is clear that of every 100 pregnancies in the South, 10 are aborted while 14 out of every 100 pregnancies in the North are victims of abortion.

The reasons for the destruction of foetus in large numbers are not far fetched. They include:

1. Therapeutic purposes
2. Eugenic purposes
3. Elective purposes

1. Therapeutic Purposes:

The Guttmacher survey shows that some of the abortions performed in Nigeria are done to save the lives of the mothers-to-be. Ectopic or tubal pregnancies are examples of cases that may demand the removal of the foetus without which both the mother and the child may die. Here the fertilized egg implants itself in the fallopian tube instead of the uterus. Since the chance of survival for both the foetus and its mother is very slim, the child is usually removed in order to save the mother’s life. However, because of the present state of development in medical field, such abortions are very rare. Even women with heart diseases are no longer at risk during pregnancies due to the development in medicine.

2. Eugenic Purposes:

Some abortions are performed to terminate the life of a foetus that has or is at the risk of some physical and/or mental handicap. Abortions performed for this purpose are many. This is because it is easier now to detect children with deformities during the ante-natal stage. However, with the recent improvement in the medical sciences and the introduction of pre-marital tests and counseling, it is hoped that eugenic abortions will soon witness a gross decline.

3. Elective Purposes:
An elective abortion is one performed for convenience sake (Feinberg 1993:51). In this case, the mother’s life is not threatened and there is no known risk of physical or mental handicap for the child. The reason for the abortion is simply the convenience of the parents.

In Nigeria, most of the abortions performed are on elective grounds. The reasons given for this abortion include the following:

i) To control family size.
ii) To prevent stress (physical/mental) on the part of the parents.
iii) Financial hardship in the family.
iv) Cultural demands for child-spacing in Nigeria.
v) Sex-selection purpose
vi) To prevent pre-marital births.

**Remote Causes of Abortion in Nigeria:**

The introduction of male and female condoms has been identified as one of the major reasons for the present upsurge in sexual promiscuity among young people and its attendant rise in pre-marital pregnancies and subsequent abortions (Okeke, 2005:37). Although condom is acclaimed to be the best form of prevention against sexually transmitted diseases, and pregnancy, its effectiveness is only 84%. Unfortunately, many youths are ill-informed about this gross deficiency and so they indulge in sexual intercourse as an all-time affair, get pregnant indiscriminately and resort to abortion to “rectify” the situation.

In Nigeria, the censorship of video films and magazines is outrageously poor. As a result, the film market is littered with pornographic materials that are sold openly and used both at home and in the public film houses. Even in the television services, pornographic programmes are relayed. Most youths pattern their life styles after these television models thereby heightening promiscuity and illegal pregnancies. Always, they resort to abortion as remedy for their “mistakes”.

Poverty is another factor that is responsible for the high rate of sexual immorality among the youths. The desire to look like their well-to-do counterparts has made many greedy and impatient female youths promiscuous. They succumb to the whims of sugar-daddies by offering them sexual services in exchange for cash. Others have totally gone out of their ways to become full-time commercial sex-workers. These activities increase the rate of pregnancy and the consequent abortions among the youths.
Instead of frowning at indecent dressing and sexual overtures, some liberal Pentecostal churches seem to encourage promiscuity among their members through the introduction of “holy hugging and kissing” in the church. According to Idoko (2008: interview), “this open hugging and kissing in the church is the beginning of worse things that would happen later behind the scene”. It is therefore not surprising that Christians consist of a handsome percentage of those involved in abortion in Nigeria today.

The take-over of mission schools by the government has caused considerable harm to the teaching of morals - moral instructions in schools have waned. In place of the invaluable moral instructions, many schools today are advocating for sex-education or family life education. Unfortunately, the aim of this programme is, more often than not, defeated as the children come off worse than before. The emphasis that is placed on morality by the church in their schools is of a higher degree than what is done by the government. Today, the few schools that are controlled by the church are better in terms of moral conducts than those supervised by the government.

As “reasonable” as they may sound, these elective reasons are not acceptable as cogent reasons for the performance of an abortion. If anything, they show that the abortionist is highly irresponsible.

**Implications of Abortion for Nigeria:**

There are a number of implications for the practice of abortion in Nigeria today; these include health, religious, economic and social-psychological. Abortion, undoubtedly, puts the health and lives of most women in danger. Some people have bled to death as a result of abortion. Many who attend quack “clinics” come out with complications as some of them are infected in one way or the other. Abortionists are often at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS or other venereal diseases. According to McSweeney (1985:99) it has been followed by “higher rates of promiscuity, venereal disease, permanent unintended sterility than ever before”.

Despite the concerted efforts made by the various religious organizations and the denominations to provide their adherents with proper guide on abortion, the people appear to be indifferent to their teachings. Some Christians even insist that any issue bothering on abortion should be left as matter of personal decision. In other words, a member who feels that it is morally right to procure abortion should go ahead and do so, regardless of the stand of the church. This attitude according to Okeke (2005:48) may bring discord and lead to
proliferation of churches. By implication, the head of the church could lose his authority to guide the people in matters concerning fertility and family life generally. Pope John Paul II asserts that abortion or “legal extermination” has the potential of exterminating the church. Children who should be potential members are killed before birth, thereby reducing the future growth of the church both spiritually and in population.

Economically, most abortionists are rendered poorer by the practice. Today, according to Echeofun (2008: interview), it takes about fifteen thousand naira to procure an abortion in a quack “hospital” and approximately ₦40,000 to have it done in a more decent place. Where complications are involved, the amount that it will take to remedy the situation is unimaginable. Where the matter is exposed to the law enforcement agents, a colossal amount of money is spent to either cover up the crime or hire a lawyer to defend the action. Furthermore, the foetus destroyed could be one who has the key to some financial problems of the land. Undoubtedly, some of the aborted children could be doctors, lawyers, engineers, statesmen, politicians, lecturers, etc. who should have contributed to the economic growth of the nation.

Human conscience is created in a way that it feels guilty always when a crime as serious as abortion is committed. Abortionists carry with them the psychological trauma that is attendant to the feeling of guilt. This is especially true when abortion results in permanent sterility. For married people, this could lead to “breakdown of family life in general” (McSweeney 1985:99).

Recommendations:

Given the nature of the problems and also of abortion, it has both immediate and remote causes that need to be dealt with. The following recommendations are suggested as possible remedies to the scourge.

1. Both the government and non-government organizations should continue to intensify efforts on the campaign against abortion.
2. The activities of the Nigerian censors Board should be reviewed; war should be declared on pornographic films, books and magazines.
3. The government of Nigeria should never make the mistake of legalizing abortion in the nation.
4. Churches that are not quite conscious of the dress-code for Christians should wake up to their responsibilities. Members should constantly be reminded of the evil of promiscuity.

5. The government should try as much as possible to involve the church in the administration of the schools, especially in the area of moral instructions. Where possible, schools that were taken over from the Christian missions by the government should be returned to them.

6. The campaign for the use of condom as the solution to STD’s and pregnancy should be dropped in favour of abstinence which has 100% guarantee. In short, the short-comings of the condom should be exposed as much as possible for proper education of the youths.

7. Cases of abortion complications taken to government hospitals should be reported to the law enforcement agencies for proper verification and prosecution of both the “doctor” and the mother.

8. The church should continue to be in the vanguard of the campaign against abortion.

9. The medical personnel’s should live up to expectation by observing the ethics of their profession which ultimately is to save lives.

10. The campaign against poverty should be intensified so as to reduce the poverty level in the nation. It is believed that this will help children from poor homes to be less promiscuous.

11. Employment should be provided for school leavers—especially the females—so as to discourage them from engaging in commercial sex as a means of livelihood.

**Conclusion:**

In assessing the cases for and against abortion we must conclude that abortion is a sin against God and society. As a result we believe that elective abortions in general are immoral. Obviously, due to the limited nature of this write-up, this conclusion does not include cases where the life of either the mother or the child is at risk as in therapeutic or eugenic abortions. From a purely ethical point of view, it is sensible to demand that human life should not be arbitrarily terminated, particularly when less drastic solutions exist. Once it is conceived, the foetus has no other choice but to grow, just as it had no choice in its conception or its black hair or big eye-balls. Hence, the foetus is without recourse and remedy. The same is not true of the
mother, who has at least three alternatives other than abortion. She can exercise the initial will-power by abstaining from sex. She also has the option to use the natural contraceptive device to prevent conception of the so called “unwanted child”. And finally, having given birth to the child, the mother can allow him (the living but unwanted child) to be put up for adoption. Therefore, unlike the child, the mother has a number of alternatives other than abortion which she can resort to.

This makes it clear that it is the foetus who is the innocent victim. It thus lies in the mother, the onus of destroying or preserving the foetus. Who knows, the unwanted child in the womb may be the saviour of the nation, so let’s do everything within our power to preserve his life. Ultimately, every one should have it at the back of his or her mind that the pregnant mother is just God’s steward delegated to care for the foetus and that she is accountable to God as far as the welfare of the foetus is concerned. It is only God (and God alone) who has the prerogative of tampering with human life. Termination of the life of a foetus is the exclusive reserve of God and no other being is allowed to excise that function.

References:


**Internet Material:**

**Oral Interviews:**

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Repositioning Traditional Crafts and Industries for Tourism Development and Promotion in Ukpor, Eastern Nigeria

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Abstract:
Right from time, man has produced and used many materials and other devices to survive from the precarious environment he found himself. Most of these cultural implements were initially geared towards the procurement of food, shelter and protection. Thus, the gradual movement from the use of wooden objects to the production of stone and finally iron and metal objects. This gradual and evolutionary process has been referred to archaeologically as the stone and the iron/metal ages. Consequently, the production and acquisition of these tools enhanced man’s living and gave him an added advantage over the lower primates.

This process continued till date and has been professionally referred to as Arts and Crafts. This entails the production of cultural materials through wood work, ceramics/clay, textile, stone, metals, etc. Presently, workshops both locally and mechanized are set up for this purpose and this arts, which was formally meant for the production of mainly domestic tools and hence, serving domestic purposes is having a dramatic and enthusiastic dimension.

Local crafts and traditional industries apart from playing its initial roles as earlier mentioned now play both aesthetic and tourism roles as they today form part of the tourist potentials, which can be harnessed for tourism development and promotion within the area of study.

It was therefore based on the above issues that the researchers decided to look into the various arts, crafts and traditional industries in Ukpor, Nnewi South Local Government Area of Anambra State,
Nigeria; with the aim of deciphering how the above mentioned can be harnessed for tourism development and promotion in our study area taking into cognizance the place/position of tourism as the second source of the nation’s economic, socio-cultural and political base.

Introduction:
Man from the earliest time, is in constant interaction with both his social and physical environments. He makes use of what the environment in which he finds himself provides to tackle the problem(s) posed by the same environment. In a bid to overcome the adverse effects of man’s physical environment, he sees himself making numerous inventions and discoveries among which are the traditional crafts and industries.

Arts are the manifestation or expression of external and internal realities, feelings and experiences of the people (Onwudufor 1987). Arts is also associated with religion and as a result highly revered. These ideas and beliefs fall in line with those of Ukpor people with regards to their arts. Although, the Igbo traditional arts seem to be abstract along side with the rest of African art forms, nevertheless, they serve aesthetic functions especially in the area of carving. As rightly argued by Mbagwu (1978) “traditional industries and crafts are founded upon the use of natural local resources in the home to produce articles of socio-psychological, aesthetic, religious or economic values to the people”. It is apt to note here that these art objects take mostly natural forms and/or shapes to please the eye of tourist as well as bestowing beauty on the object. In addition, one cannot overlook the tourism functions of these crafts especially in the area under study. Ukpor is a town in the present Nnewi South Local Government Area of Anambra State. Her geographical location and scenery is endowed with natural resources, which provide the raw materials for these crafts.

Previous works on traditional crafts and industries tend to particularize on blacksmithing and wood carving. Not much work has been done in other areas of crafts and industries such as basketting, weaving, etc in Igbo land and more regrettably, none on Ukpor town, which forms a crucial part of the core Igbo area. Among the traditional crafts and industries being practiced by Ukpor people are basketry, weaving of raffia thatch, blacksmithing, carving, raffia palm tapping, among others. The study of these traditional industries and crafts is an interesting one as it highlights the relationship existing between man and his environment as well as its potentials for tourism development and promotion. Regardless of the significant roles and contributions of
these crafts and industries in the past, one cannot overlook the adverse impacts of colonialism and changed value systems on the local crafts and industries. It would be important to observe, however, that some of these local industries have demonstrated adequate resilience and withstood the colonial onslaught on traditional technology. This paper therefore highlight the dynamic relationship between the local crafts and modern values among the Ukpor people; thus, repositioning Ukpor traditional crafts and industries for tourism development and promotion will certainly bring Ukpor town into the national tourism map in particular and the world at large.

This study, which was conducted on traditional crafts and industries in Ukpor will enable us determine their contributory roles to tourism development and promotion. The ultimate aim is to assess their tourism potentials and values.

**Background Information:**

Ukpor is a northern Igbo town located east of the River Niger in Nnewi South Local Government Area of Anambra State of Nigeria. It is about twenty-five kilometers from Onitsha and plays host to the administrative headquarter of Nnewi South local government area. Ukpor lies approximately between latitude 5° and 6° north of the equator and on longitude 7° east of the Greenwich meridian (Adindu 1983).

The town has common boundaries with Nnewi center and Utu on the north, with Ozubulu and Ihembosi on the west, with Okija, Azia and Orsumogbu on the South and with Ebenator and Lilu on the East. These boundaries with other towns are marked by rivers, except perhaps, the boundaries with Utu and Ihembosi in the north and south respectively. The Ulasi river demarcates Ukpor from all her southern neighbours –Okija, Azia and Orsumogbu; the Ofala river separates her from Ebenator and Lilu, while the Ubu river marks the boundaries with Ozubulu and Nnewi centre in the West. It has an annual rainfall of 1,500mm and the rain is usually heaviest in the months of July and September.

Ukpor town consists of thirteen villages and is about five square kilometers in area. The town is broadly divided for convenience into three quarters –Durumaduru, Ana-Ohia and Amaka. Prominent geographical features in Ukpor include the raised upland, valleys, and plains all of which combine to give it a scenic beauty. Viewed from Uhuori on the north, one faces the escarpment of the Ugwu ekwensu (Devil’s hill), Ugwu Ohaba (Ohaba hills), Ugwu Amadim (Amadim
hills), among others. It is appropriate to say that every village in Ukpor has hills and valleys which contains springs which serve as source of water supply to Ukpor people. The notable springs are Ulasi, Ukwaka, Nwankasi and Mmiri-nwoma, among others. Economic trees found in abundance include Oil bean *Pentaclethra macrophylla*, Oil palm *Elaeis guineensis*, Raphia palm *Raphia vinifera*, ‘Udara’ (native apple) *Chrysophyllum albidum*, Native mango *Irvingia gabonensis*, among others. Thick forests still exist virtually in all the villages and are locally referred to as ‘Agbo’. The high degree of superstition attached to these forests has led to their preservation till date. It is pertinent to note that these forests provide the raw materials for traditional crafts and industries in Ukpor. The Ukpor people are predominantly farmers and artisans/crafts men. With the influence of modernization, many of them have taken to white-cola jobs and inteterminate trading activities.

**Local Crafts and Traditional Industries in Ukpor and Their Mode of Production**

**Blacksmithing:**

There had been many controversies with regards to the origin of blacksmithing in Ukpor. Oral tradition holds that blacksmithing is synonymous with early farming practices in Ukpor. Blacksmiths in Ukpor are of the view that Ukpor people had the art as early as their origin. They later concluded by saying that the main source of blacksmithing in Ukpor could be sought in Nnewi town. This implies that blacksmithing in Ukpor diffused from Nnewi, an act Nnewi people believed to have learnt from Awka. However, the two views are not contradictory if one considers the propinquity of Ukpor to Nnewi town which proves that the knowledge could have been learnt by Ukpor people as soon as the Otolo people settled at Nnewi. Also Awka and Nnewi people were said to have taught Ukpor people the art. They took Ukpor people as apprentice when they had mastered the skills, they (Ukpor people) could continue with the craft. This later view was the view of mainly Ukpor youths. It was also observed that each blacksmith claims that his father told him that their forefathers practiced blacksmith. These early blacksmiths were known to have secured iron (bloom) for smithing from the local smelting area which Basden (1966) argued to be in Agulu-Umana (old Udi Division), a town very close to Awka. However, the present day blacksmiths secure iron scraps from either Onitsha or Awka markets.
In Ukpor, blacksmithing can be practiced by any person; however, there are people whom the skill is believed to run in their family lines. Most blacksmiths in our area of study form guilds and they are highly regarded in the community as they are the main source of the tools for agricultural and other domestic activities. Among the raw materials and tools used by the blacksmiths in the production of their products are: charcoal, various sizes of hammering tools known as ‘Otutu’, small axe ‘Anyu nka’, a big tong – Mkpa, an anvil – Oshiama, a chisel – Akuko oyighoyi, drilling nails – Arala, a pair of bellows – eko and the tuyere clay nuzzle – ‘Ulo eko’ through which air is blown into the smithing chamber.

Among the product of the blacksmith prior to the coming of the white man in our study area are: tools for agricultural, domestic and defensive purposes. Some of these tools according to Okpoko (1987) served also social, religious and ritual functions. Agricultural implements such as hoes of different sizes, dibble – ngwu ana and matchet – Mma-oge, axe – Anyu ike, kitchen knives – Mma ekwu etc. Socio-religious implements include iron staff – ‘Ngwu ozo’, charming hook – ‘Aba’, metal gong – Ogene, cannons – mpo na-ala and various rings – Ola, mgba aka or ona akpa. A sharp instrument (Aguba) used for facial scarification – Igbu ichi are also produced by the blacksmiths. The hunting tools and defensive tools include the rafle gun – Egbe ntu, traps – Onya igwe and iron happons.

Carvers and Carved Objects:

The art of wood carving in Ukpor is an old tradition whose origin cannot be clearly traced now by the present generation. The living people believed that the art is usually transferred from father to son in succession. Ukpor just like Nnewi and Awka people had two levels of carving activities. These are individual carvers and a guild of wood carvers. According to an informant – Sunday Oragwa, the guild of wood carvers in Nnewi and Awka which Ukpor indigenous carvers belonged to has since seized to exist following the Nigerian Civil War when fire razed this institution. Since after that period, the craft of carving has reduced to carpentry work as some of the members of the former guild now resorted to merging their artistic ingenuity with carpentry. Nevertheless, the individual carvers, especially those carving for ritual functions still retain their craft since there has not been any alternative for the work they produced unlike the guild of wood carvers whose works have been overtaken by the carpenters.
The guild of wood carvers at that period, produced objects which served socio-political, domestic and aesthetic functions. Among the products of these carvers were the titled men’s stools – *Oche ozo*, the wooden staff – *Mpo* which is usually profusely decorated; different types of wooden bowls named according to the functions which they served; thus, we have food bowl – *Okwa nni*, meat bowl – *Okwa anu*, kolanut bowl – *Okwa oji*; they also carved different doors and panels used in adorning the compounds of titled men. These doors, panels and stools used exclusively by the titled men served as ways of exhibiting their affluence. The carvers in turn were very important at the said period because without them, no other person is allowed to execute their work. Other items carved by the carvers are giant drum – *Nnukwu ekwe*, ritual objects etc. The individual carvers unlike the guild, focused on producing purely ritual objects. These ritual objects could be divided into two types for the sake of clarity. They include: ancestral figures and *agwu* figures. Ancestral figures included three-dimensional pieces whose heights, from personal observations, range from a meter to two meters. They are predominantly slim except for a few. These objects have names attached to them and they are *Ukuke ichie*, *Okpensi ichie*, *Ikenga ichie*, among others. These objects are kept in a family’s homestead – *Obi* and they are believed to be representatives of the dead male members of the family and their *Ikenga* – symbol of strength and achievement.

The second type is *Agwu* figures which are usually miniature in size. Their sizes range from 3 inches to 6 inches in height and as others, they are 3 dimensional. Among them are *Oke agwu*, *Okpensi*, * Ezumezu agwu* – four headed, *Udene agwu* (made to resemble a vulture), *Iru agwu*, *Ulili agwu* – this particular one is the errand spirit. The above named symbols generally are divination figures. In addition to these objects, the carvers also produced few utility and status symbol objects. Among them are *Okwa nni* – food bowl used in serving food to the ancestral figures (*Ndi ichie*) and also used by the oldest man who maintains the *Ndi ichie* shrine. *Okwa anu* – meat bowl are also produced. Other ancestral figures like *Agwu* are carved with a special plant – *Ogilisi* plant (*New-bouldia laevis*). This plant according to the ritual carver is the only plant that proves active in the functions, which these objects are meant to perform. Apart from the afore-mentioned objects from Ukpor, other items like carved doors, carved stools, carved panels and doors, tools, wooden adze heads are also produced.

The guild of carvers, unlike the individual early carvers had wider range of tools which were mostly carpenter’s tools; examples are
chisels, gouges and saws which served different functions. Among the guild, eminence was achieved through organized team work. This was made possible due to respect for age and achievement, which the Igbo people were known for. Thus, the elderly members of the guild performed selected tasks such as the main carving of patterns on already worked materials and in addition they gave expert advice. This shows that there was division of labour among them.

**Basketry and Weaving:**

The traditional Ukpor craftsmen and women engage in the art of basketry and weaving of raffia palm thatch which was the only roofing material available to them in the ancient times. The above mentioned crafts especially basketry gives them the avenue to express their individual creativity.

Uruabia Okafor, our informant, pointed out that these crafts are indigenous to the people. She claimed that the people have been familiar with the craft ever since they were known and have never secured their local roofing thatch or baskets from outside. The people of Ukpor produce local roofing sheet called ‘Akirika’ or ‘Akanye’, and baskets generally known as ‘Nkata/Nkita/Akpara’, Ngiga, Ukpa and Nkata ukwa.

**Harnessing the Potentials of Local Crafts and Traditional Industries for Tourism Development and Promotion:**

It is a truism that Ukpor local crafts and traditional industries rest solely on the abundance of natural resources within the town. It is also true that local crafts and traditional industries are an important element of the people’s economy; it is a clear cut fact that traditional crafts are already a strong factor in local economies and that these activities can and should be strengthened as they hold the potential to develop tourism and create jobs for Ukpor people. It is therefore one of the aims of this paper to advance a cross-cultural understanding in a diverse society through the identification, documentation, preservation, and presentation of the local crafts and traditional industries as an aspect of the cultural heritage of Ukpor people.

Local crafts and traditional industries are integral part of Ukpor culture depicting the town’s indigenous customs and traditions in a meaningful and colourful way. The range and number of local crafts and traditional industries reflect the rich diversity that exists within the town and can provide tourists with a unique opportunity to sample and flavour Ukpor culture in some of its purest forms. However, in spite of
possessing a variety of tourist attractions such as wildlife, scenic beauty, exotic local crafts, traditional industries and festivals, the town has not been able to accelerate the pace of tourism in comparison to other towns within the state. While other local governments made successful efforts in developing tourism within their areas of jurisdiction, the relative inability of the Nnewi South local government area to harness and develop full tourist potentials of Ukpor people may be attributed to a combination of factors such as lack of effective policies, inadequate infrastructure, ineffective marketing and lack of decent facilities for the tourists.

It is our contention therefore that for the local crafts and traditional industries of our study area to be properly harnessed for tourism development and promotion, the following measures should be undertaken: firstly, the government in its three tier levels should give priority attention to the development of local crafts and traditional industries by creating the enabling environment for the growth of such; for instance, the training of artisans and provision of funds for the procurement of certain tools and equipment necessary for that. Secondly, through the conservation of Ukpor environment for sustainable tourism development. This could be done by providing free, conducive and enabling environment as no tourist would like to visit a dirty, poorly organized, insecure and unsafe environment. The environmental impact of tourism such as the conservation of the physical environment of historical areas, safety and security of tourists and properly conducted environmental impact assessment/carrying capacity of destination area must be carried out. By conducting the environmental impact assessment of tourism on the environment, it would help in minimizing the negative impact of tourism on the physical and social environment. Thus, it is our contention here too, that the development of local crafts and traditional industries should be preceded by an assessment of its associated and potential impact on the environment (pollution, deforestation etc). There should be a master plan incorporating appropriate mitigation measures for the identified negative impacts.

Other cultural activities that can be harnessed along side with local crafts and traditional industries in Ukpor are entertainment activities. Entertainment on its own is one of the key tourism products and it plays a strategic role in defining the overall tourism offer to international, regional, and domestic tourists. Among these entertainments that can enriched tourism in Ukpor when harnessed are traditional dancing with its distinctive style, colour and vitality which
reflects the diversity and depth of Ukpor culture with many villages having their own individual dances. Such dances include Akwunechenyi (in Agwuria village), Egwu-agu (in Umudara village) and Odejimjin (in Mputu village). Cultural troupes from their performances have a high level of international suitability. Other entertainment unit of the culture of Ukpor people is masquerades’ dance. Such masquerades include Ayaka in Uboma village, Odogwu in Umuohama, Okpata in Ndakwu etc. Furthermore, traditional Ukpor festivals which are very enjoyable and entertaining can also be harnessed alongside with local crafts and traditional industries. Ukpor day (29th December), Emenahi day (30th December) etc are among the Ukpor traditional festivals.

Recommendations:
Having gone through the above discuss, we therefore recommend that:

1. Governments at all levels should recognize the economic and cultural roles of local crafts and traditional industries in local, state and national development and should provide adequate resources for their identification, preservation, development and promotion.
2. The Ukpor people, local and state governments should recognize the fact that crafts are valuable material heritages, which form a tangible part of historical and contemporary culture.
3. The State Tourism Board should foster the preservation and development of craft skills and document the indigenous technologies responsible for the creation.
4. That Nigeria legislelative arm of government should strengthen existing laws on and/or create legislation and regulation guiding craft villages, craft shops and develop crafts as small scale industries and make appropriate laws for ensuring the protection of traditional industries.
5. And finally, that tourism stakeholders should promote meaningful collaboration of the different sectors (culture, industry, commerce and education) for most advantageous results.

Conclusion:
In Ukpor, traditional crafts, whether for utilitarian or artistic purposes represent a very valuable form of cultural expression a “capital of self confidence”, which is especially important for the town in particular, the state and the nation at large. It is also very important
for a developing country like Nigeria to re-emphasize the values of local crafts and traditional industries where the quality of life is often threatened by excessive industrial standardization. According to Kreidi (2006) “crafts people do not simply conserve the cultural heritage, but also enrich and adapt this patrimony for contemporary needs of the society”.

This paper therefore argues that for local crafts and traditional industries to form part of sustainable development, it must be harnessed in such a way that it meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future; thus, sustainable tourism is really an issue of how best to encourage tourism while minimizing its costs. When achieved, Ukpor tourism will then lead to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be filled while maintaining cultural integrity, essentials of ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems. Above all, preserving cultural and natural heritage making cultures and civilizations better known, improving daily living conditions and reducing poverty is what gives meaning to the sustainability of tourism development.

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The Influence of Leadership Styles on the Communication Behaviour of Workers: A Study of Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc, Nigeria

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Abstract:
The study set out to investigate the extent of influence leadership styles have on the communication behaviour of staff of Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc. In the pursuit of this goal, six (6) research questions were raised, in addition to two hypotheses. The survey research technique was employed with the questionnaire and the interview as primary and secondary instruments respectively. The questionnaire was designed for two sets of respondents in the population. The sets were for the management and non-management staff. Each of the sets contained nineteen (19) core issues related items, excluding three (3) items on the demographics of the subject. Both sets were also structured into five (5) parts. Part 1 contained questions on the demographics. Part 2 contained six (6) questions on the task related activities of Leadership. Part 3 contained six (6) questions on the people/relationship related tasks of leadership. Part 4 contained three (3) questions on leadership styles and part 5 contained four (4) questions on communication behaviour resulting from the leaderships tasks in parts 2, 3 and 4. All items were set in the close-ended form.
With particular use of the Likert’s five (5) point scale in parts 2 – 5. The interview instrument contained three questions, with the first two questions meant to establish the interviewee’s experiential background in the establishment. The third question focused on the structure and responsibilities of persons occupying the various offices. A total of 624 subjects formed the population as well as census sample. Data were analysed using simple percentages while the hypotheses were tested for significance in perceptions, using the chi-square statistical measure at .05 level of confidence and at 4 degrees of freedom. Findings from the study show that; the leadership styles of leaders in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc have a significant positive influence on the use of communication behaviour by workers of the organization; that the leaders (management) perception of their styles of leadership significantly differ from the subordinates (non-management) perception of their leaders style of leadership. The study concluded that leadership and communication are mutually influential in determining the direction and extent of task and people’s activities that lead to organizational goals. The study recommended, among others that; subordinates should be effectively used as complementary corporate mirrors by leaders of organization and; charismatic leadership traits should be encouraged to boost some level mentoring in organizations.

Introduction:

Organizations are settings created by persons to drive people towards the achievement of corporate goals, and by extension, satisfy individual aspirations and visions. In achieving this, organizations rely on such elements as messages, networks, interrelationships and above all, people. The people in the organization, therefore, become the dependent factor upon which all other factors are hinged. No wonder then that Goldhaber (1990) sees an organization communication as a network of interdependent relationships.

The people in organizations carry out functions in different capacities defined by the organizational structure and goals of the system concerned. While some people serve as managers moderating conceptual skills over technical skills, others serve as supervisors and then technicians. In all of these roles, people find themselves exercising leadership roles, which sometimes become difficult to distinguish from managerial role. As Mchanne and Glinow (2000:434) note, leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth. While some people lay claim to the
fact that they cannot define leadership but they know it when they see it, others argue that leaders are not people in specific positions, rather, leaders are defined by the people they serve. Fafunwa (2007:25) speaking through a reporter states that:

* A leader is not necessarily the man physically leading others, of course, leadership must have followership, but a leader is not necessarily the best man in the lot. A leader helps others to do the right thing. He guides others to the right path.

Fafunwa's position is corroborated by Miller, Ket de Vries and Toulouse (1982) when they stress that effective leaders help groups of people define their goals and find ways to achieve them. Cautiously therefore, Mcshanne and Glinow define leadership as the process of influencing people and providing an environment for them to achieve team and organizational objectives. The process itself manifests in different perspectives notably among such being: competency, behavioural, contingency, transformational and romantic".

The competency perspectives identifies the characteristics of effective leaders. Recent writing suggests that leaders have drive, leadership motivation, integrity, self-confidence, above-average intelligence, knowledge of the business, and high emotional intelligence. Kirkpatrick and Lock (1991), Morrison and Black (1998).

The behavioural perspective of leadership identifies two clusters of leader behaviour: people oriented and task oriented. People-oriented behaviours include showing mutual trust and respect for subordinates, demonstrating a genuine concern for their needs, and having a desire to look out for their welfare. Task-oriented behaviours include assigning employees to specific tasks, clarifying their work duties and procedures, ensuring that they follow company or organisational rules, and pushing them to reach their performance capacity. The "hi-hi" leadership hypothesis states that the most effective leaders exhibit high levels of both types of behaviours, but this hypothesis has since been cast into doubt.

The contingency perspective of leadership is of the view that effective leaders diagnose the situation and adapt their style to fit that situation. The path goal model is the prominent contingency theory that identifies four leadership styles - directives, supportive, participative and achievement oriented-and several contingencies
relating to the characteristics of the employee and of the situation. A recent extension of path goal theory adds more leadership styles and moves the model from a dyadic set up to a team and organizational level, Mchanne and Glinow (2000).

Two other contingency leadership theories include the 'situational leadership model' and Fiedler's Contingency theory'. A lasting element for Fiedler's theory is that leaders have natural styles and, consequently, companies need to change the leader's environment to suit his or her style. Leadership substitutes identify contingencies that either limit the leader's ability to influence subordinates or make that particular leadership style unnecessary. This idea will become more important as organizations remove supervisor and shift toward team-based structures, House (199b).

Transformational leaders create a strategic vision, communicate that vision through framing and use of metaphors, model the vision by "walking the talk" and acting consistently, and build commitment towards the vision. This contrasts with transactional leadership, which link job performance to valued rewards and ensures that employees have the resources needed to get the job done. The contingency and behavioural perspectives adopt' the transactional view of leadership.

According to the romance perspective, people inflate the importance of leadership through attribution, stereotyping, and a fundamental need for human control, Robbins (2006). Regardless of the leadership style that persons may choose to adopt or identify with, the fact still remains that all the leadership perspectives have far reaching communication implications in the general climate of organizational behaviour. While some leadership styles may allow for a high flow of information across networks of messages, others restrict the volume of flow, the pattern of flow and the content of flow. For now, the kind of leadership style that allows a wider ambience of flow and the one that restricts the flow pattern appears quite uncertain. It is therefore against this background of uncertainty that the concern in this study is established, and the consideration of Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc expedient.

Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc is a subsidiary of the Union Bank of Nigeria Plc. By virtue of this, description the perceptions of Union Bank of Nigeria Plc, in terms of operational index, quality of service, and standards of corporate culture, rub perhaps inadvertently, on Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc. For instance, while the Union Bank of Nigeria Plc had before now
prided itself with such qualifiers as big, strong and reliable, banking institution, recent developments in the banking subsector of the economy have raised doubts about the tenacity of such claims. Besides, the dynamics of the financial business, mostly pioneered by the operational mechanics of what is now called the ‘the new generation' investment and financial institutions, have further challenged the reality of Union group claims in business, especially today that the stigma of ‘Old generation' phrase cannot be denied of the Union group. Whereas, several trends in business, some external and other internal, may be responsible for these observed patterns of corporate operations of the Union group, it still remains uncertain whether or not leadership styles may have significantly contributed to these observed trends. Consequently, such a question as: what leadership styles in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc elicit what communication behaviour among members of the corporate system becomes pertinent. This study therefore is concerned with unraveling the extent to which leadership styles influence the communication behaviour (message content, direction/volume of flow, network of flow interrelationship dynamics) of workers in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc.

This study sought to achieve the following objectives:

1. To identify the leadership structure and leaders in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc.
2. To ascertain the leaders perception of their leadership styles in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc.
3. To compare leaders perception of their leadership styles with the follower's perception of the leadership styles of their leaders.
4. To assess the influence of leadership styles on the communications behaviour of people in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc.
5. To assess the influence of leadership styles on the network of communication structures / patterns in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc.
6. To assess the influence of leadership style on the volume/frequency of communications in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc.

Research Hypotheses:
The following hypotheses were tested.

**Ho:** Leaders (management) perceptions of their leadership styles and the subordinates (followers) perception of their leaders leadership styles do not significantly differ.

**H1:** The style of leadership used by leaders have significant positive influence on the communication behaviour (content, network, volume) of staff in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc.

**Delimitations of the Study:**
This study acknowledged the myriad perspectives of leadership styles in existence, but the study did consider, as paramount, perspectives that emphasize people and task orientations. This is not to say that managers of both perspectives were totally incompatible. In terms of coverage, the Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc in Nigeria was covered. Other Union subsidiaries or adjuncts did not form part of the study's scope. Besides, only staff of Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc, and not customers were considered in this study.

However, it was assumed that this purposeful delineation of boundaries in the study did not adversely affect with the findings and conclusions of this study.

**Theoretical Framework**

**Path-Goal Theory:**
The contingency theory is based on the premise that appropriate leadership style depends on the situation. Martin Evans (1970) and Robert House (1974) pioneered the development of path-goal theory of leadership. The thesis of the theory is that;

*Effective leaders influence employee satisfaction and performance by making their need satisfaction contingent on effective performance. Thus, leaders strengthen the performance to outcomes by ensuring that employees who perform their jobs well have a higher degree of need fulfillment than employees who perform poorly. ... by providing the information, support and other resources necessary to help employees complete their task (Mcshanne and Glinow 2000).*
In essence therefore, the path-goal theory maintains that employees productivity can be positively or negatively influenced when the key contingencies of leaders behaviours, employees skills and experiences, environmental variables and leaders effectiveness are properly mixed to achieve desired goals. With particular reference to the leaders behaviour, a leader would be perceived to be transformational, charismatic or transactional when an appropriate combination of the directive (task oriented), supportive (human relations) and participative (employee involvement and team dynamic principles are generated to bring about peak performance. The desired interplay of the contingency factors also has far reaching implications for the kind of communication climate existing in an organization. A mixture that provides for supportive and open climate would be more desirable than a mixture that produces defensive communication climate.

Findings and Discussion

Data Presentation and Analysis
Data from Questionnaire Instrument

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>0–5 years</th>
<th>6–10 years</th>
<th>11–15 years</th>
<th>16–above</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male No</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>(32)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female No</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>(43)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table one displays data on both the gender distribution of respondents as well as their years of service in the organization studied. Analysis indicates that 80% of the respondents were of the male gender, while the outstanding 20% distributes captures the distribution of the female gender.

From the total distribution of respondents by gender, 43% of them have been in the employ of the organization between 0 – 5 years. This was followed by respondents with 11 – 15 years experience, thus, leaving the remaining 8% responses to those with 16 years and above experience in the employ of the organization. It may be safe to infer
that the obvious disparity in the distributions by gender, could by attributed to the male dominant socio-cultural philosophy of the people. By this, the female folks are not expected to abandon or distract themselves from the cultural system’s designed role of home making, to engage in corporate affairs, let alone leadership roles outside the confines of home tendering and nurturings.

Table Two: Leaders’ Perception of their task orientations in Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table presents data on what leaders, by virtue of their organizational structuring, perceive to be indicative of their task orientations in leading. Analysis show that 80% of the subjects ‘strongly agree’ that they explain and clarify performance task to those they lead. The remaining 20% responses simply “agree” to the same terms.

On the need to clarify the means to reach such performance task, 50% respondents, ‘strongly agree’ and another 50% simply ‘agree’ that they clarify such terms while leading.

Analysis of item three in the table further shows that 62% of the respondents ‘agree’ to providing tools necessary for the led to reach their set targets of performance. 48% “strongly agree” to the same terms.
On the task of explaining the criteria or standards of judging the performance of subordinates, in item number four (4), 52% ‘strongly agree’ to do the explanation while 28% simply ‘agree’ to the same terms. However, 10% of the respondents ‘disagree’ over explaining the standards of judging the performance, in the same manner that 10% of the respondents claim to be neutral.

Item five (5) on the table sought to generate opinions on whether or not leaders work late, and stay till the close of work officially, in order to reach set target. Analysis reveals that 56% of the respondents ‘agree’ they work late, and 32% ‘strongly agree’ they also work late. 12% of the respondents were neutral in the opinion on their subject.

On whether subjects have confidence in the task and responsibilities assigned to them as leaders, 68% of them ‘strongly’ agree to that fact, 24% only ‘agree’ and 8% claim to be neutral on the item.

Table 3: Leaders’ Perception of their people/human orientations in Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>(50%)</td>
<td>(41%)</td>
<td>(9%)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table three displays data on what leaders perceive to be their opinions on the nature of relationship with the people they work with and at the same time lead. Analysis shows in item number seven (7) reveals that 40% of the respondents ‘strongly’ agree, and another 40%
also simply ‘agree’ that they could be described as ‘friendly and approachable’. 20% of the respondents were uncertain about the perception and to choose to be neutral on their opinions. On whether respondents speak and listen to themselves and their subordinates, analysis show that 50% ‘agree’ to the fact, 30% ‘strongly’ agree and 20% were neutral. On whether or not, respondents show concern towards the needs and dispositions of subordinates while striving to attain set target, analysis shows that 64% agree ‘strongly’ to that fact while 46% of them only agree.

On whether or not, leaders respect their own opinions even when they may not be bound by them, our data show that 68% of them strongly ‘agree’, 30% then simply agree, and 3% were neutral.

Respondents were further asked to disclose their perceptions on the level of encouragement they extend to subordinates to attain set targets of performance. Analysis shows that 64% of subjects simply agree, 26% of them ‘strongly agree ‘and 10% were neutral in their opinions.

Further analysis on whether leaders welcome suggestions and consultations before taking decisions, reveals that 72% of them ‘strongly’ agree while 28% of them simply agree to that position.

Table 4: Leaders’ Perception of their Leadership styles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>No %</td>
<td>49 (33)</td>
<td>92 (61)</td>
<td>9 (6)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No %</td>
<td>109 (73)</td>
<td>41 (27)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>No %</td>
<td>99 (66)</td>
<td>39 (26)</td>
<td>12 (8)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>No %</td>
<td>257 (57%)</td>
<td>172 (38%)</td>
<td>21 (5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table four (4) sought to show what leaders perceive of their leadership styles. Analysis shows that 61% of the leaders simply ‘agree’ to having transactional leadership attributes while 33% ‘strongly’ agree to have transactional leadership attributes. However, 9% of the respondents chose to be neutral on the item.

Further analysis on Transformational leadership style shows that 73% ‘strongly’ agree, while 27% simply ‘agree’ they were fit to be described as transformational leaders.
On the leaders’ perception of their ‘charismatic’ attributes, 66% ‘strongly’ agree they were charismatic, 26% simply agree with that position, and 8% were neutral.

Table 5: Leaders’ Perception of their Leadership influence on communication behaviour (content, network/patterns, frequency/volumes)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 presents data on leadership perception of the impact of their leadership style on the communication behaviour of people within their organizational system. Analysis indicates that 52% of leaders ‘strongly’ agree and 48% ‘simply’ agree that their leadership style encourages them to freely speak and write on some issues. The emphasis on ‘some’ issues was to show that not all issues may need writing. Some may need speaking. Depending on the content of what needs to be communicated, the perceive appropriateness of the communication form would suffice.

On whether leadership style influences communication patterns/network, analysis shows in item number 2, in the table, that 83% of the respondents ‘strongly’ agree. 12% of the respondents were neutral while 3% and 2% of them ‘strongly’ disagree and simply ‘disagree’ respectively.

On whether leadership styles have any influence on their use of informal channel or pattern of communication, 37% were neutral, 32% simply ‘agree’, 21% ‘strongly’ agree and 10% ‘just disagreed’.

On whether leadership styles influence the volume and frequency of communication, 44% strongly agree, 26% simply disagree, 22% respondents were neutral while 8% of them showed strong disagreement.
Data from Non-Management Staff:

Table 6: Distribution of Respondents by Gender and Years of Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>0–5 years</th>
<th>6–10 years</th>
<th>11–15 years</th>
<th>16–above</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No %</td>
<td>147 (31)</td>
<td>81 (17)</td>
<td>52 (11)</td>
<td>38 (8)</td>
<td>318 (67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No %</td>
<td>66 (14)</td>
<td>43 (9)</td>
<td>28 (6)</td>
<td>19 (4)</td>
<td>156 (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>213 (45)</td>
<td>124 (26)</td>
<td>80 (17)</td>
<td>57 (12)</td>
<td>474 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 above, captures the analysed data on the gender distribution and years of experience of non-management staff of the organization studied.

From a total 474 respondents 67% were males and 33% were females. Again, the variation can only be attributed to the fact that the men folk are by nature in Nigeria saddled with the responsibility of fending for the rest of dependant. Thus, long and strenuous working hours typical of such organization as the one under study showcase certainly interfere with the society ascribed roles of the female folk in home making.

Further analysis of the distribution shows that 45% of the respondents had spent at least 5 years in the service of the organization, 26% of them claim to have serviced the organization between six (6) to ten (10) years, 17% claimed to have been with the organization between 11 – 15 years, and 12% had been in the same system for 16 years and above.

Table 7: Respondents Perception of the task orientations of their Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

184
Table 7 displays data of non-management staff perceptions of the task orientation elements of their leaders.

Analysis shows that 34% of the subjects agree their leaders explain and clarify performance targets; 33 percent could neither agree nor disagree, and 24% strongly agree to the proposition in item 1.

On leaders clarification of the means to reach subordinates performance task, 66% agrees with the statement, 27% are uncertain about their agreement and 7% strongly agree with the statement. On leaders provision of the tools for subjects to achieve their set targets, 74% merely agree, 12% were neutral on their perception of the statement, 8% outrightly disagree and 6% strongly agrees with the statement in the item 3. On leaders explanation of the criteria/standards of judging performance, 77% simply agree, 12% were neutral about the statement, 8% merely disagree and 6% strongly agree.

On leaders’ disposition to work till late in order to achieve set target, 48% respondents agree they do. 24% were uncertain, 22 outrightly disagree and 6% strongly agree with the statement in item 5. On whether leaders display confidence in the task and responsibility assigned to respondents, 38% strongly agree and 41% merely agrees. However, 21% strongly disagree with the same statement.

Table 8: Respondents Perception of their human relations (peoples) orientation of their Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>SD</th>
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</table>
Table 8 shows the distribution of subject’s perception of the peoples (human relation) orientations of their leaders. 537 of subjects agreed that their leaders were friendly and approachable. 41% neither agreed nor disagreed on the issue. 6% however had strong agreement towards their leaders friendly and approachable disposition.

On whether their leaders speak and listen to them irrespective of the positive or negative disposition of the leader at the point in time, analysis further shows that 55% agreed with the statement. 11% had strong agreement and 16% were neutral.

Further probings on whether leaders show concern about subject’s needs and dispositions, analysis shows that 62% agreed with the statement, 12% had strong agreement, 20% were neutral and 6% simply disagreed with the statement.

On the statement about leaders respect for subject’s opinions, irrespective of whether or not they are binding on them, analysis equally shows that 58% were in agreement. 23% however showed strong agreement and 19% chose to be neutral on the issue.

On the issue of leaders encouraging subjects to attain their set goals, the analysed data indicate that 6% showed strong agreement, 48% merely agreed, 23% were neutral, 14 simply disagreed and 8% strongly disagreed.

Subjects’ perception of their leaders welcoming of suggestions and consultation before decisions are taken, shows that 54% were in agreement, 2% were in strong agreement, 26% neutral and 18% disagreement with the statement.

**Table 9: Respondents Perception of their Superior’s Leadership Styles**
Table 9 indicates the data pertaining to respondents perception of the styles of leadership their superiors behaviour and activities fall into. Analysis shows that 38% of the respondents agree that their leaders are transactional i.e. can manage resources to achieve organizational goals. 26% of them have strong agreement with the same opinion. 16% of them were neutral in their opinion while 10% each disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively with the fact that their leaders were transactional.

On the transformal qualities of leaders, 42% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 28% strongly agreed, 18% disagreed, 10% were neutral and 2% strongly disagreed with the statement.

Further responding to the charismatic orientations of leadership qualities, 52% of the respondents agreed with the statement in item 3, 23% of them however disagreed, 13% strongly agreed and 12% were neutral.

Table 10: Respondents opinions on the influence of leadership on Communication the behavior of leaders.

<table>
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<tr>
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Table 10 provides data on respondents opinions on the influence of leadership on the communication behaviour of leaders. On the issue of whether or not the leadership styles of leaders encourage their (respondents) to speak and write freely on issues that are important to the job, 44% agreed with the statement, 33% indicated strong agreement, 21% were neutral on the issue while 2% disagreed with the statement.

On whether the leadership styles of their superiors make them use formal channels (vertical top-bottom and bottom-top) to communicate, 44% indicated strong agreement; 18% merely agreed and 38% disagreed with the statement.

Still responding to the issue of leadership style’s influence on the communication behaviour, and this time, on the leaders use of informal channels, analysis shows that 42% of them were neither in agreement nor disagreed with the statement, 38% however disagreed, 15% merely agreed, while 5% indicated strong agreement with the statement.

Further probings on whether the leadership styles increase the frequency or volume of communication, 62% of them agreed in the affirmative, 35% indicated strongly agreement while 3% were undecided about the statement.

### Data from Interview Instrument:

He respondent said he has put in thirteen years in the service of Union Homes Savings and Loans. He added that, before his current engagement in the service of the Union Homes, he had been a staff of the Union Bank for about ten years.

On the leadership structure of the organization, the respondent said the chairman of the board heads the entire organization, with the managing director reporting to the chairman, and the Executive Director (Banking and Corporate Resources) reporting to the Managing Director and, the Executive director (Mortgage Operations and projects) reporting to the Banking and Corporate resources executive

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Research Question 1:  
What leadership structure exists in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc.

The answer to this question is provided by the responses of the subject interviewed. Findings show that Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc. has an organizational structure that provides for leadership growth and development. The organogram places the submanager as the least amongst the leaders and then gradually introduces steps of leadership up the ladder, graduating from a sub manager to assistant manager, deputy manager, manager senior manager, principal manager, AGM, DGM, and GM Executive Directors before becoming the Managing Director.

Research Question II:  
What leadership styles do leaders in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc. Perceive they practice?

The answer to this question is provided by the analysed data in tables 4, 3, and 2 of this chapter. Findings from the study clearly indicate that leaders in the Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc perceive their leadership styles to be clearly transformational (100%) transactional (94%) and charismatic (92%).
In essence, therefore, the three leadership styles were dominant in the perception of leaders of the UHSL. This finding is not unusual as many researchers have earlier asserted that leadership styles are nonetheless watertight, (Mcshanne and Glinow, 2000).

What may however create semblance of differences depends on what attributes or orientations such leadership styles are perceived to have. Notable authorities in leadership discourses like Blake and Melanse (1991), House (1996), Robbins (2006) have noted that leaders are usually rated or perceived to be authority power or task oriented or people or relationship oriented. While the former puts emphasis on productivity based on the direct principles of power and authority. The later, places emphasis on employee satisfaction and performance, contingent on providing information, support and other resources necessary to help employees complete their task. This invariably is the mainstay of path-goal leadership theory. House and Mitchell (1974). Thus, even when leaders of the UHSL here perceived their leadership styles to include the three mentioned earlier, they (leaders) also perceive their orientations to be more task related (93%) than people related (91%). By this finding, Mcshanne and Glinow's (2000) reference to House' (1996) categorization of leadership styles is ascertained here. The reliance on more of task related orientation corroborates, the Directive and Achievement based styles. While the remaining people related styles of supportiveness and participation are subsumed in the task focus of leadership in the organization studied.

By further implications, the findings partially tally with early foundational leadership research efforts of the Ohio State School that produced the leadership Grid generally referred as the "High-High" leaders. And, contingent on the submissions of University of Michigan studies Moorhead and Griffin (1999) and (Robbin, 2006) the findings of this study generally align with the production oriented, label of the researchers as opposed to the 'employee oriented' label.

On the whole, it is adducable here that irrespective of the three broad leadership styles of (1) Transactional (2) Transformational and
(3) Charismatic, the leadership orientations of leaders in Union Home Savings and Loans were more task oriented, achievement and directive loaded, mainly people oriented, participative and employee supportive.

**Research Question Three:**

To what extent do subordinates (non management) perception of the leadership styles of their leaders compare with leaders (management) perception of their own leadership styles?

The answer to this question is provided by the analysed data in tables 4 and 8 of the management and non-management staff responses respectively. Findings from the tables generally show that the management staff of Union Homes Savings and Loans have more positive perception of their leadership styles (95%) compared to the non management staff's positive perception (66%) of their leaders.

![Comparative display of management and non-management perceptions of leadership styles.](image)

More specifically, the management or leaders perceptions of their leadership styles as being transactional, transformational and charismatic outweighs those of their subordinates. The findings actually become more distinctive when no leader disagreed, either strongly or nominally to the traits of the three kinds of leadership styles measured. In addition, the percentage of leaders who claim not to agree or disagree with the tilt of leadership styles outweighs those of the led (subordinates). Given that perception, it is practically plausible from the receivers end of the percept, that is,
audience or receiver based, it thus implies that the subordinates, who feel the run of leadership should be more believable than the leaders. As Meshanne and Glinow (2000), in their explanation of the path-goal theory assert, leaders drive to ensure and provide for the need fulfillment of their employees is basic to the expected outcome of performance. Thus, if subordinates say that their leaders are more transformational, transactional and charismatic, the tendency is that such perceptions would be more descriptive of the reality than the reverse. However, the fact that both leaders and the led’s perceptions are positive, go to explain and clarify further that, some form of convergence exists in the relationship between the two key human structurings in the organization.

Research Question Four:
To what extent do the existing leadership styles (management) influence the communication behaviour of peoples in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc?

The answer to this question is made possible through the analysed data found in 5(a) and 10(a) of the management and non-management sets of the questionnaire. Communication behaviour in this context was interpreted as activities manifest in the use of the expressive (speaking and writing) and receptive (listening and reading) skills. Findings generally show that the leadership styles perceived by workers of Union Homes Savings and Loans have a positive influence in the communication behaviour within the system. As the figure 4.4 shows below, the management responses were 100% positive compared to the 77% responses by non-management responses to the question.
Subjects perceptions of leadership influence on communication behaviour

Research Question Five:
To what extent do the existing leadership styles influence the communication patterns in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc?

The answer to this question is still provided by the analysed data in tables 5(b) and 10(b). The question was meant to test whether or not communication is encouraged from the top to the bottom, bottom to the top and even laterally (formal channels). Findings generally indicate that respondents agreed that the leadership styles used in the system positively encouraged the use of formal communication channels in the system. The agreement was more significant on the side of management with 83% responses than the non-management with 62% response.
Subjects’ perceptions of leadership influence on communication patterns

There is no doubt that the marginal difference in the agreement, though positive, may not be unconnected with the long established rule of management procedures, which specifies that task related issues be channeled through formal patterns of organizational structuring. Robbins (2006), Kreitner and Kinicki (2004). That the non-management staff responses support the leaders of the communication.

That the non-management views are supportive to their leaders because the non management staff have a positive tilt of opinion towards the leaders responses also goes to give credence to the management good sense of initiatives. This fact is further confirmed in the non management staff disagreement with the fact that the existing leadership styles encourage the use of informal patterns of communication even when the management agree that the use informal communication patterns in the system was positively encouraged.

Research Question Six:
To what extent do the existing leadership styles influence the volume/frequency of communication in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc

The answer to this question was anchored by the analysed data in tables 5 (c) and 10(c). Findings clearly show that leadership styles have positive influence on the volume and frequency of communication in the organization studied. While the management staffs were in agreement with the positive influence with 70% responses, the non-management staff agreed with 97% responses.
Leadership styles influence the volume/frequency of communication

The percentage of neutrality of agreement for both cadres of staff stood minimally at 25% (percent) while there was a zero disagreement from all respondents.

4.3.7 Hypotheses Testing

**Ho:** Leaders (management) perceptions of their leadership styles and the subordinates (followers) perception of their leaders leadership styles do not significantly differ.

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Degree of freedom df = 5 – 1 = 4
Level of significant = .05
Critical value from table = 9.49
Findings and Interpretation:

The critical value of 9.49 is less than the calculated values for each of the questions that tested perceptions of both the leaders and subordinates towards leadership styles. By this results, the hypothesis is rejected in favour of the alternative. This means that leaders (management) perception of their leadership styles and subordinates (non-management) perception of their leaders leadership styles significantly differs.

Hypothesis II:

The style of leadership used by leaders have significant positive influence on the communication behaviour of staff in Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc

Non Management Perceptions of leadership style influences on communication behaviour.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>QUESTIONS ITEM</th>
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| 17             | SA   | 104      | 94.8     | 9.2 | 84.64   | .89      |
|                | A    | 85       | 94.8     | 9.3 | 96.04   | 1.01     |
|                | N    | 104      | 94.8     | 9.2 | 84.64   | .89      |
|                | D    | 181      | 94.8     | 86.2| 7430.44 | 78.38    |
|                | SD   | 0        | 94.8     | -94.8| 189    | 94.80    |
|                | TOTAL| 474      | 474      | 0   | 7884.76 | 175.97   |

| 18             | SA   | 23       | 94.8     | -71.8| 143.6   | 54.38    |
|                | A    | 71       | 94.8     | -23.8| 74.6    | 6.98     |
|                | N    | 199      | 94.8     | 104.2| 10857.6 | 114.53   |
Degree of freedom \( df \) \( 5 - 1 = 4 \)
Level of significant \( = .05 \)
Critical value from table \( = 9.49 \)

**Findings and Interpretations:**

The critical value of (9.49) is less than the calculated values of subordinates opinions on the influence of leadership styles on communication behaviour of subjects.

Thus, hypothesis II is upheld that is, the style of leadership used by leaders have significant positive influence on the communication behaviour of staff of Union Homes Savings and Loans Plc. The affirmative position of this hypothesis goes to support Mcshanne and Glinow's citation of Crenshaw and Lords (1987) submissions that leadership is a perception of followers as much as the actual behaviour and characteristics of people calling themselves leaders.

**Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations:**
The purpose of this study was to assess the extent to which the leadership styles in Unions Homes Savings and Loans Plc influence the communication behaviour of workers in the organization. This direction, undoubtedly arose because of the prided leadership status of the Union conglomerate in the financial sector of the Nigerian economy. Consequently, five objectives which gave essence to five research questions were raised, in addition to two hypotheses.
Summary of the Major Findings:
Based on the analyzed and discussed data in the study, the major findings are summarized below.

- Those Leaders in Union Saving and Loans Plc have a high and positive perception of themselves as task oriented than people oriented.
- That subordinate perception of their leaders task and people orientation are not as high as their leaders perception of themselves, but the perception still remains optimally positive.
- That subordinate perceives their leaders more as transactional and transformational leaders than charismatic leaders.
- That the leadership styles of leaders in Union Home Saving and Loans Plc have a significant positive influence on the use of communication skills by workers in the organization.
- That the leadership styles of leaders in Unions Homes Savings and Loans Plc have a significant positive influence on the flow pattern of information in the organization.
- That the leadership styles of leaders in Union Homes Saving and Loans Plc have significant positive influence on the volume and frequency of communication in the organization, especially as the task orientation of the leadership demands that information be passed, monitored and seen to be effectively utilized for organizational goals.
- That leaders perception of their leadership styles significantly differ from the subordinates perception of the styles of leadership used by their leaders.

Conclusion:
It could be recalled that some presumptions prompted the need to conduct this study. One of such was that the prided and unique identity of the Union consortium, symbolized in the qualifier "BIG, STRONG and RELIABLE" may have been made possible by the institution's quantitative leadership over the years. But following the changing levels in the banking industry, leaday to the polarized conception of the `old' and `new' generation banks, the prided leadership strength and identity of Union Homes Saving and Loans Plc appeared to have been threatened.

It was also possible to presume that the impressive leadership recorded by the Union consortium, may not have gone unnoticed without good and positive communication influence. Thus, if the
prided leadership identity of Union consortium, exemplified in the Union Homes and Saving Loans Plc, appeared threatened and challenged, then the findings of this study have not only led to the conclusions that leadership styles have significant positive influence on the communication behaviour, but that, the direction and the extent of influence is contingent on the proper mixed of the task oriented and people oriented activities. In the case of this study, the directions of influence was positive and the extent of influence significant, especially, as openness and supportiveness are implied in the communication behaviour of employees of the organization under study.

**Recommendations:**

Based on the findings and conclusions in this study, the following recommendations are proposed.

1. Those leaders in Union Homes Saving and Loans Plc should encourage the use of informal channels as part of their communication behaviours. This is recommended in the believe that such informal channels may bring about information, to authorities that may serves as early warning alarm (whistle-blocking) system in the organization.

2. That, in line with the recommendations on the use of informal channels, the leaders in Union Homes Saving and Loans Plc should step up effort to make themselves more people oriented, balancing their task oriented efforts. This action calls for leaders to be friendly and appreciative, show concern about non task dispositions and needs of worker, appreciate the opinions of subordinates as well as welcome suggestions and consultations even if they may not be initially binding on the leaders.

3. That leaders in the Union Home Saving and Loans Plc, should cultivate the attitude of using their subordinates as additional corporate mirrors. This will help leaders be more responsive to those they lead. This is coming against the findings that leaders scored themselves very high in virtually all the variables that demand their responses.
4. That leaders in Union Home Saving and Loans Plc should strive to attract the charismatic leadership posture as such trait would boost subordinates confidence in appreciating the "mentoring" concept of organizational personality valves, and even culture.

5. It also recommended that further studies should be conducted in other institutions like the Universities where good character and professional virtues are evolved, nurtured, promoted and projected to a large society.

References:


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**The Nigerian State and Crisis of Democratic Governance (1960-2007)**

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**Abstract:**
The main thrust of this paper is an analysis of the concept of state generally and a historical prognosis on the dynamics of the post colonial state system of Nigeria. It additionally discusses the role of the Nigerian state in the implementation of basic democratic configurations in the governance theatrics of Nigeria. The paper’s postulation is that, in the
context of effective democratization of the polity in Nigeria, the Nigerian state has not achieved the objective conditions for democratic governance, leading to citizen’s political deprivation.

**Key Words:** Nigerian State, Crisis of Democratic Governance, Political Instability in Nigeria, Democratic Elections in Nigeria.

**Introduction:**

The state as a political phenomenon is analyzed by various scholars Abraham (2008) Okowa (2008) Ekpebu (2008) as that political mechanism organized for implementing law and order and for ensuring the development of its people within the context of a given territory. In order words, the state Abraham (2008) is established to serve certain utilitarian purposes in the service of the citizens under its jurisdiction. On this particularly, Pam Sha (2005:59) has opined that the state is:

*Established to execute and sustain its fundamental inherent and constitutional responsibilities of ensuring a secured people and territory for sustainable development within a regulated society... It is thus related with governmental performances, particularly, the magnitude, scope and scale of political and governmental performances and the conditions that affect such performance.*

One of the major political and governmental performances expected of modern states as the Nigerian state is enhanced citizenship and increasing democratization. This aspect of the state functions has been adumbrated upon by Jessop (1990) when he avers that, the proper object of our study of states is not the state itself, but state projects which are those political undertaking which have as their intended outcome “state effects”.

One of the state affects of modern state’s operations is that these states have broadly embarked upon representative democratic forms of society as a matter of importance. This feature of modern states, explains why states like the Nigerian state have evolved democratic phenomenon such as representative democratic institutions (parliaments, democratic presidential systems and other elements of democratic governance at both state and local levels), along with certain civil and economic rights and privileges as enshrined in the country’s constitution.
Accordingly, Bobbio (1986:66) has indicated that most modern states, like the Nigerian state define the political element of their democratization to include the following political condition:

- All citizens who have reached legal age, without regard to race, religion, economic status, sex, etc. must enjoy political rights, i.e. the right to express their own opinion through their vote and/or to elect those who express it for them.
- The vote of all citizens must have equal weight.
- All citizens enjoying political rights must be free to vote according to their own opinion, formed as freely as possible, i.e. in a free contest between organized political groups competing among themselves so as to aggregate demands and transform them into collective deliberations.
- They must also be free in the sense that they must be in a position of having real alternatives, i.e. of choosing between different solutions.
- Whether for collective deliberations or for the election of representatives, the principle of numerical majority holds-even though different forms of majority rule can be established (relative, absolute, qualified), under certain circumstances established in advance.
- No decision taken by a majority must limit minority rights, especially the right to become eventually, under normal condition, a majority.

From the above cluster of democratic rules expected to be accomplished by states as the Nigerian state, there have arisen debate among social analysts Ake (1973) Duru (2003) and Ezeani (2004) as to whether the Nigerian state has succeeded in establishing effective democratic governance in Nigeria. While some of these authors have averred that the Nigerian state is significantly consolidating democratic governance, a lot of others are of the opinion, that the Nigerian state is still a feudal state system, circumscribing democratic governance.

On the feudalistic oligarchy of the Nigerian state and its implication on effective democratization in Nigeria, Okowa (1997:56) has vehemently mused that:

*The Nigerian state is fundamentally a feudal system. It is true that the British introduced capitalism and liberal democracy in the course of their imperialism. However, the fundamental values remain feudal. Social orientation remains feudal. Social propensities are still*
feudal. Liberal democratic values are yet to develop. The institution of liberal democracy is, therefore, to the extent that, it appears to exist, no more than a fraudulent pretence and a defensive front. This is the crux of the matter.

It is against the above stipulated problems of fraudulent democratization as executed by the Nigerian state that this study intends to explore closely the subject matter by addressing itself to answering the following research questions: What are the various theoretical underpinning attempting a vivid elucidation of the concept of state and democratic governance as it borders on the subject matter? What are the historical and contemporary features of the Nigerian post colonial state? Have the Nigerian state been embroiled in political instability that have engendered an orchestra of democratic misgovernance? Have the Nigerian state been able to conduct a credible democratic election that is free and fair. What panacea could be proffered as a way out of the political crisis experienced by the Nigerian state in evolving an effective democratic government?

The answers to the above stated questions and many more will form the objectives of this study. It is now to the conceptual discourse section of the study, that focus will be turned to.

**Conceptual Discourse**

**Democratic Governance:**

The concept of democratic governance stems from the underlying variables of democracy and government. The two concepts borders on the issue of the necessary factors that must be put in place in attempt to ensure that societies within the governance context attain good lives through their governance structures. In other words, democratic governance can not be conceived outside the boundaries of the transformation of the reality of people’s life through effective and strategic representation in governance into positive decisions that advance humanity.

From the United Nation’s (1948 & 2001) point of view, it has been observed through the universal declaration of human rights and other declarations that democracy and its concomitant governance structures involves that, the will of the people shall be the basis of authority of government. It guarantees that every citizen enjoys the
right to effective political participation, which implies that democratic governance is not attainable until civil and political rights of individuals, constitute the conduct of public affairs.

The democratic governance dynamics also should involved the fact that the people’s participating right and freedoms are to be effectively guaranteed and jealously protected. A significant element of democratic governance is expected to ensure governance mechanisms that are transparent, accountable, respect for pluralistic ideas, promotion of gender and social equality, freedom of choice, associations, movement, worship, speech etc. From World Bank (1999) and UNDP (1997) perspectives, democratic governance envisages the exercise of political authority in terms of the use of public resources to attend to society’s problems and affairs which include political governance, economic governance and social governance.

For the purposes of this inquiry however, democratic governance involves the relationship between the state governance structures and the society in which necessary norms, values, procedures and institutions are adopted, that emphasizes free and equitable opportunities for all citizens, to contribute to societal growth, empowerment and administration. In its implementation, it is expected to revolve around variables denoting the guaranteeing of people’s socio-economic and political rights, avoidance of corruption and protection of minority and majority rights. All these are within the dictates of responsive and inclusive governance, devoid of poverty squalor in society. This concept of democratic governances advocated by this study tallies with non-bourgeois democratism in which Lenin Says:

\[\text{At all costs we must break the old, absurd, savage, despicable and disgusting prejudice that only the so-called “upper classes” only the rich, and those who have gone through the school of rich, are capable of administering the state and directing the organizational development of ...society.}\]

For Lawan (2008) democratic governance in Nigeria (especially during the Obasanjo’s administration 1999-2007) has not achieved the objectives of it tenets. Some of the areas that the Obasanjo administration has not achieve the objectives of democratic governance borders on the following:

- Inability to implement good social policy bordering on support for social infrastructural development and evolvement of people
friendly policies. This has created inequality among the various social classes in Nigeria given rise to unemployment, poverty and disease among the Nigerian masses.

- Poor transparency and accountability administration. This is demonstrated in accountability and transparency governance posturing appearing in more of official propaganda than in reality. This has given rise to massive corruption in government which was very visible during the Obasanjo years in office.

- Failure to adhere to rule of law. The federal government in Nigeria between 1999-2007 was allergic to issues of rule of law and its procedures. There was open disregard for judgments that emanated from Nigerian Court of law given rise to illegality in government and trampling on human and civil rights of the citizens.

- Poor consensus building strategies. One major aspect of democratic governance is the adoption of popular participation in the implementation of governmental policies. The Obasanjo government 1999-2007 disregarded the implementation of this popular participation taking unilateral decisions on such critical policies like the conceding of the Nigerian Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon.

**State:** The concept of state has a very long history with the word “state” being a derivative of the Latin word *stare* and *status* connoting standing position or condition. According to Andrew (2004:39) the use of the word status refers to the context of the ruler possessing stability or variables necessitating stability. Status then is achieved through profession, family, sex and most importantly property. Continuing, he equally traced the concept from the French vocabulary “*estat.*” from where the English word “state” and “estate” were conceived. The “estate of the realm” which denotes citizens with rank, property and good social standing are predominantly the custodian of the highest public authority and power, ensuring societal order and welfare.

In the course of the history and practice of “statism” in social parlance, social scientists have noted commonality of features and characteristics associated with the nature of the state. Commenting further on this, Christopher (2006:6) and Andrew (2004:40) discussed these intrinsic forms in details. According to them, the state has geographically demarcated territory with its own citizen. It lay claims to authority over these citizens and groups within its sphere of jurisdiction and embodies more comprehensive aims than other
associations under it. The state’s authority is accepted as legally binding and its laws are procedural rules that are generally recognized above all other rules. The state operates through impersonal power and trained bureaucracies and embodies the use of maximal control of resources and force within its area of control. However, the states’ monopoly of control is not consistently based on forced since most states make attempt to lay claim to legitimacy from its citizens. The state is seen as the custodian of sovereignty within its area of control and externally as an equal member of the international comity of states. Finally, to be a member of a state, involves specific civil disposition which involve public power play, distinct from the rulers and the subjects.

It is the consensus view of scholars from diverse ideological callings, that it is important for the state to maintain peace, order and harmony in society. Collaborating on this, Hobbes (1968:186) regarded as one of the first theorist of modern state, argued that it is, in the best interest of individuals to surrender most of their natural liberties to the public sovereign or the great Leviathan. This will assist them to avoid war of all, against all in which life would be solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. In the same vain, Weber (1978a:54) postulated that the modern state is:

*A compulsory political organization with continuous operations, insofar as its administrative staff successfully upholds the claims to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order.*

However, the Marxist theory of the nature of state is that, in as much as it concurs with the phenomenon of the state being the great Leviathan, it argues that, resolution of these conflicts and oppositions are executed in the context of class relations, with one social class dominating other classes. Social classes as conceptualized by one of the leading Marxist proponent, Lenin (1960:45) states that:

*Classes, are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in the historically determined system of social production, by their relations to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour, and, consequently, by the dimension of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labour of*
another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy.

From the above definition, it can be proposed that, one major dimension of class identification is the group one belongs to. The appropriator or the appropriated, or in other words, the exploiter or the exploited. While the appropriators transforms into the propertied social rank called the bourgeoisie and engages in process of social exploitation, the exploited constitute themselves into the subordinate class experiencing all forms of social domination most especially rulership or governance from the bourgeoisie.

Explaining the above class relation further Nicos Poulantzas (1936-1979), following the insights of Gramsci (1891-1937) developed the Marxist theory of “relationship between politics, classes and state power”. The state is in the analysis, conceptualized by Ibeanu (1988) as an absolute manifestation of bourgeoisie political domination of other classes, demonstrated in various forms.

One of the forms is the governmental apparatus- the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. Another form is the coercive apparatus consisting of the system of norms, values, mores and belief system acceptable to the dominant class in a given epoch. Ibeanu concluded that most of these forms of bourgeoisie subjugation in the form of state are carried out by its extensive bureaucracy.

In concluding this thesis on the nature and features of the states, we stress once again that state features cannot be conceptualized outside their historical context. But whatever historical period that is at stake, this paper align itself with Igwe (2002:416) that defined the state as a “creature of the basis, and most decisive element of the superstructure of society, with class and politics among its major attributes, and government its primary agency”.

However, Ake (1976) stressed that in the analysis of state, it is recommended that, it should not be understood in abstract definitions. He asserted that unlike Igwe’s abstract conceptualization, the definition have to be given concreteness, by locating them in particular socio-economic formations. It is now to the historical specifically of the post colonial state of Nigeria, and its dynamic effects on democratization, that this paper henceforth preoccupies itself with.

The Nigerian Post Colonial State:

The Nigeria post colonial state is a direct product of the colonial state of Nigeria that was established in 1900. It originated as a result of
the intense trading competition in the West African sub region between several European countries especially Britain, Germany and French mercantile companies. The arrow-head of Britain’s trading activities in the region was the Royal Niger Company (RNC) charted in 1886 as an amalgam of smaller British trading companies, with the objectives of minimizing the cut-throat competition among British companies. With these mergers, Britain’s RNC out-competited other European treading agencies in the lower Niger areas, and constituted itself into a kind of proto-colonial state. Explaining this empowerment further, Obaro (1977:33) stated that:

*The obtaining of a charter meant that the company was not just a trading concern: it had conferred on it, certain powers of government and law making, as well as powers to raise and maintain an armed force for the effective pursuit of its trade as well as for the maintenance of law and order. The appearance on the scene, of the Royal Niger Company, was to have momentous consequences for the Southern Nigeria.*

As above predicted, the consequences of this royal Niger activities gave rise to the imposition of the colonial state of Nigeria in 1914 by Lord Lugard. The interest of the colonial state was essentially to maintain order and stability and pursuit of policies, which served more the interest of foreign companies and Britain, than on developing the primary interest of the Africans. (Eme Ekekwe 1986:26).

The emergent ruling class in the post colonial state that started after independence of 1960 resulted from elements of local bourgeoisie that got their capital from compradorial and commercial activities, mainly distributive trading. Also, another group of petty bourgeoisie emerged from those employed in the expanding bureaucracy of both foreign companies and the colonial administration. From this class emerged professionals like doctors, lawyers and highly educated elites that later turned into elements of political leaders that took over power from the colonialist after independence, constituting themselves into the post colonial ruling elites and its state correlates. Though, these educated elites and their petty bourgeoisie collaborators are in the minority, they assumed that they were qualified by natural rights to assume state power and governance (Awo 1947:64).

In further defense of the inevitability of their ruler ship over others, Awo (1947:63) noted:
It must be realized now and for all times that these articulate minorities are destined to rule the country. It is their heritage. It is they, who must be trained in the art of government so as to enable them to take over complete control of the affairs of their country. Their regime may be delayed, but it cannot be precluded.

And to scorn the political ineptitude and naivety of the broad masses of Nigerians outside their petty bourgeoisie class, he stated; They are ignorant and will not be bothered by politics. Their sole preoccupation is the search for food, clothing and shelter of a wretched type. To them, it does not seem to matter who rules the country, so long as in the process, they are allowed to live their lives in peace and crude comfort. If they bestir themselves at all, as they do occasionally, it is because they have been, unduly oppressed by a tribal chieftain or outraged by the blunders of an administrative officer (Awo 1947:31).

In similar views, Azikwe (1968:312-13) collaborated Awo’s postulations that such educated Africans are “mentally emancipated and politically resurgent” while their peasant counterparts were men and women who did not survive the Darwinian struggle.

Social science researchers have contributed immense ideas on the nature of this emerged post colonial ruling elites and the post colonial state. Ake’s contribution (1981:128) agued that what African state formations had at the independence era was a state which was (a) particularly developed i.e. the apparetnuses of the state were developed more than the society it is controlling (2) the state were involved in class struggle instead of rising above it. Explaining in details, he avers that, even though these two characteristics of the post colonial state were also features of the colonial state, the emerging indigenous bourgeoisie who lacked secure material base, used their new political power for capital accumulation. The consequences of this phenomenon in the political realities of the post colonial states in Africa, is the colossal bitter struggle to gain control of the government as a formal access to state power.

This struggle results in the social scenario where “those in office do all they can to perpetuate their hold on it, while those out of office do all thy can to get in. In the course of this political
contestation, the picture of the post colonial state in Africa as stated by Ake (1981:12) becomes that:

*The boundary between the state, government and the ruling class is very blurred; a government tangentially used by the hegemonic faction of the bourgeoisie to manipulate state power, a state with limited potential for mediating the class struggle, and endemic political instability arising from too high a premium on political power.*

Consequent on the aforementioned endemic political instability and too high a premium on political power in the post colonial Nigerian state are these questions: What nature of political instability and crisis are generated by this type of state system in Nigeria? How does the high premium placed on political power acquisition and perpetuation by the operators of the state shortchange the broad masses of Nigerians in getting their democratic dividends? Are there free and fair elections in the Nigerian state by which the Nigerian citizens freely give their consent to their representatives? And finally, what is the way forward in attempting to wriggle ourselves out of this discomforting statuesque? Are there prospects? The answers to these questions will form the crux of the next and last segment of this paper.

**The State and Political Instability in Nigeria:**

The polity in Nigeria since independence is characterized, by instability that have reached a democratic crises pitch. The parliamentary system of governance that was inaugurated immediately after the British Union jack was lowered, become enmeshed in political crisis caused by ruling class leadership tussle. According to Ake (1973:358), Ake (1991) and Ake (1992), each contender for power whether at national or regional level was desperate to retain or gain office. Those who were in office used their power with little or no restraint, to maintain their privilege and to repress those out of power, who want to replace them, and all these without minding the rules of the game. This lead to the quick termination of the Tafawa Belewa led administration by the military coup d’ etat of major Nzeogwu and his cohorts in January 1966. In advancing reason for their overthrow of government Nzeogu and his group blamed excessive political and economic corruption. He stated this specifically in the following terms:

“Our enemies are the political profiteers, soldiers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand
ten percent, those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers and V.I.Ps of waste; the tribalists, the nepotists, those that make the country look big for nothing before international circles, those that has corrupted our society and put the Nigeria political calendar back by their words and deeds”.

Though General Aguiyi Ironsi came to power through this coup d’etat, his regime was abruptly ended within six months of its inception, by another counter coup d’etat, that brought Yakubu Gowon into ruler ship in the country.

Gowon’s regime, which lasted from 1966-1975 was a continuation of the same political intra-class struggle among the ruling class. The consequence of this was the three years civil war that cost the country several million of lives especially among the South Eastern region of Nigeria. At the end of the war, the Federal Government of Nigeria declared the war no victor, no vanquished even though the ruling class of the Igbo ethnic group is till today, outside the core power circle in the country.

General Murtala Mohammed overthrew Gowon’s regime in 1975 but barely six months after, was he murdered in an unsuccessful coup. This brought in General Olusegun Obasanjo who lead Nigeria till 1979 and returned the country to democracy.

In all these frequent political changes with its associated crisis, one would wonder whether something is wrong with the Nigerian masses. As in an answer to the question, Achebe (1983:1) opines that: 

_There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or water nor air or anything else. The trouble with Nigeria is simply or squarely a failure of leadership._

The presidential elections of 1979, which brought in Alhaji Shehu Shagari to power, were not without the same intra-class bourgeoisie struggles. The climax of this was the overthrow of this regime by General Buhari in 1983, who also was overthrown, by General Babangida by 1984. General Babangida’s regime hegemonised Nigerians for eight years, with his “maradonic” democratic transition programmes, that ended up in the annulment of the June 12 1993 presidential election, in which M. K.O Abiola won.

As a result of public outcry over the cancellation of the June 12 presidential election, and the associated intensive pressure from other
members of the Nigerian state and the international community, Babangida “stepped aside” which resulted in the formation of Ernest Shonekan’s interim government that was removed by Sanni Abacha in 1995. General Sanni Abacha’s regime, that was judged the most autocratic government since the history of Nigeria, traumatized and brutalized Nigerians in the course of his administration. While many Nigerians were killed, others went into self exile and this power play continued until he died in office in 1998.

General Abdulsalami Abubakar took over power from 1998, and returned Nigeria once more to democracy in 1999. In the same year, President Olusegun Obasanjo emerged as the winner of the presidential election of that year under the umbrella party of People Democratic Party. In 2003, Obasanjo recontested for his second tenure in office, and won but failed in his attempt to amend the constitution in 2005/2006, that would have allowed him contest for a third tenure in office.

From the above summarized history of leadership changes at the federal level since independence, one can actually glean that, within a period of 40 years, Nigeria has had about thirteen leaders in row. These constant political changes in leadership has not demonstrated to positively benefit the masses of Nigeria, but a demonstration of squabbles for power among the bourgeoisie class for primitive accumulation of the resources of Nigeria.

The Nigerian State and Conduct of Democratic Elections in Nigeria:

Democratic practice and the need for the conduct of regular free and fair election are so intertwined that one can hardly be discussed without the other. Nwankwo (2006:181) avers that since democracy is defined as contestation that is open to participation, election is the core value of democratic process. In his further defense of the significance of democratic elections as formalized in the voting process, Sartori (1987:86) solidly supported Nwankwo by asserting that:

> It is the only form of democratic political participation in which over 50% of adult populace usually takes part. Above all, election embodies the two criteria of participation and contestation, so that the democratic process can be considered to be indeed encapsulated in elections.
However, Nwankwo (2006:182) qualified the nature of elections expected of democratic norms, by emphasizing that, the defining characteristics of democratic elections, are their freeness and fairness and therefore, political systems are only seen as democratic, to the extent that political authority, is determined through open, free, fair and competitive elections. And to the extent that these qualities are lacking in democratic elections, to that extent, it leads to political crises in society, resulting in poor democratic governability.

From the above discussion, it is pertinent to ask these questions. To what extent have the Nigerian state conducted free, fair, open and competitive election? Are the elections conducted in such procedures are to encourage ordinary citizens outside the bourgeoisie class to participate? What have been the implications of non compliance with these free and fair tenets of Nigerian elections if any?

Elections in Nigeria started in 1923, and have continued till the last election of April 2007. From the study of political elections in Nigeria, it is generally accepted that elections in Nigeria have always fallen short of expectations of free, fair, open and competitive requirements. Ezeani (2004:144) amply supported this notion when he opined that:

Regrettably, the history of elections in Nigeria has shown that Nigerians cannot rely on them as veritable means of installing the kind of leaders they want and by implication in changing the material conditions of their existence. This is because elections in Nigeria have been marred by the ugly incidents of electoral malpractice.

In further collaboration with the above views, Obadene O. (1981:3) in his study of elections in Nigeria from 1959-1979, averred that the highly emotional and vindictive features of Nigerian politics traces its origin to the pre-independence era, which revolved around grafted ethnic opportunism, and the bourgeois class use of their intellectually and socially backward followers, as cannon fodders in the politician’s bizarre and desperate struggle to capture power, and have the lion share of what they saw as the national cake. This phenomenon was operationalized in the first federal elections of December 31st 1964 which “provoked destabilizing rancor and acrimony, boycotted by United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA), and was massively rigged by all the parties that participated in the election. This resulted in national widespread rioting, looting and arson, and persistent regime of
terror, causing the army to topple the civilian government and the eventuality of civil war of 1967-70.

The 1979 elections, which signed the demise of 13 years of military rule, also witnessed controversial FEDECO announced results, leading to “distracting litigations, acrimony” and political bickering among the parties. The 1983 election were even worse off, in terms of electoral malpractice. Chief Obafemi Awolowo, one of the presidential candidates as quoted in Vaughan and J. Ihonvbere (1985) protested the electoral fraud of the 1983 elections stating that:

“There are rigging in the 1983 election ... This time ... the rigging was so massive; it would have taken a month just to prepare the case; to collect the facts and figures”.

Confirming the opinion of chief Awolowo, the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLG) according to (Vaughan and Ihonvbere 1985) agreed that, the 1983 election were seriously rigged averring that:

“We know what democracy means. It goes beyond voting and campaigns. The 1983 elections were badly done. Only a fool will say we had an election. The ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN) employed Gestapo and mafia tactics to win its landslide victory.

The 1993, 1999 and 2003 elections according to Ushie (2005:179) were mostly problematic in scope and content. For instance, the 1993 electoral fraud started right from the party primaries that were conducted September 14th, 19th and 26th of 1992 in preparation for the 1993 polls. In an 18 page report, on electoral frauds committed by the political parties during these party primaries, a total of thirteen electoral sins were identified. This report, submitted to Babangida’s AFRC consisted of use of wealth by aspirants to buy votes or achieve undue advantages; threats and intimidation; favourtism on the part of party executive committees; and use of state government machinery by some governors in favour of some aspirants; falsification of figures and allocation of votes where elections did not take place; non-serialization of accreditation slips; late arrival of pre-accreditation material; non conduct of primary election as scheduled, and arbitrary cancellation of results by returning officers, to favour candidates. There are mutilation of election results; issuance of fake accreditation slip and voting by non-accredited persons; as well as voting by under-aged and nonparty members. Apart from the above electoral frauds at the party primaries,
the 1993 elections itself was later cancelled by Babangida, after wasting the Nations time and resources, organizing the longest and most expensive political transition programme, which by August 27, 1993 had gulped over ₦30 billion.

During the 1999 election, Ushie (2005:180) had reports of continuation of this electoral fraud and manipulation at intra-party level. The tactics this time was the practice of monumental monetization of party position by means of high level charges against candidates wishing to contest election. He states that:

*Candidates who cannot pay the bidding of the party hierarchy were left out of the race. In this case, suitable candidates who should have better represented the interest of the rural people are left out for candidates who can pay the piper ... Causing decay of democracy at the grass root.*

In summing up the vicissitudes of electoral malpractice impinging on expected free, fair and open elections in Nigeria, especially from the second Republic till 2007 elections, it is our submission here as Ushie (2005:179) also did agree, that our elections have never attained that electoral standard of freeness and fairness. In general, the various elections are characterized by: Ushie (2005)

- Illegal compilation of separate voter’s lists;
- Abuse of the revision exercise
- Illegal printing of voters cards
- Illegal possession of ballot boxes,
- Stuffing of ballot boxes with ballot papers and falsification of election results
- Thumb-printing of ballot papers in advance
- Voting by under-aged children
- Illegal printing of result returning forms
- Deliberate refusal to supply election materials
- Announcing results where no election were held
- Unauthorized announcement of election results and harassment of candidates, agents and voters.
- Changes in list of electoral officers
- Box shifting and inflation of figures and
- Thuggry, resulting to obstruction of normal processes of election by violent means by stakeholders and their agents etc.

**Recommendations:**
The details of above analysis on the issue of fraudulent electoral process and other political crisis in Nigeria, caused by the mis-governance of the Nigerian state, have shown that the Nigerian state is demonstrating the phenomenon of a lame leviathan paradox, in the exercise of its societal democratization functions. Therefore, to tackle the aforementioned crisis of democratic governance in Nigeria by the exploitative and oppressive nature of the Nigerian post colonial state, the following are recommended:

a. That the Nigerian state and society should be sufficiently democratized to ensure massive participation in politics, ensuring the sovereignty of popular will in governance, thereby ending democratic crisis.

b. That the concept of democratic dividends should be operationalized beyond mere electoral voting, formation of the government and legislation of laws and enforcement. It should involve development of the entire country, consisting of improving the quality of food, water and health services, the processes of government and administration, equity and concern for the less fortunate and the poor, ecological sustainability and overall improvement in moral standards etc.

c. That the practice of primitive accumulation in the form of corruption, by the bourgeoisie class of the Nigerian state, should be cured. This could be done by instilling transparency in governance and sanctioning culprits to long term imprisonment, including the confiscation of the primitively accumulated wealth.

d. That the need for strong, articulate, proactive and well informed civil society be stressed as a matter of urgency. This suggested civil society mechanism, should be prepared at anytime, to tackle the hegemonising features of the Nigerian state, and it apparatuses, for purposes of mental, political, and economic liberation of the down-trodden, and general socio-economic development.

Conclusion:

This paper has been an attempt to critically examine the role of the Nigerian state, in the implementation of basic democratic configurations that will enhance the material and political aspirations and development of the Nigerian masses. The paper featured discussion on the nature and definitions of the concepts of the state, and narrowed the conceptualization down to the essential features of the present
Nigerian post-colonial state, stressing mainly on the bourgeoisie class character of it, and its implications on democratic governability in Nigeria. The paper further discovered that, the cut-throat intra class bourgeoisie political squabbles for political office and its concomitant objectives of primitive accumulation has so far generated democratic crisis in Nigerian political scene, since independence of 1960, leading to political instability and monumental corruption in the society. This has caused massive political disenfranchisement and deprivation of political rights, political domination, dehumanization, poverty, diseases and societal underdevelopment. It finally discovered that, the same Nigeria state member’s clash over political power contest has become obstacle to free, fair and competitive election in Nigeria, thereby subverting the democratic process, rendering the electorates irrelevant in democratization and engendering political “misrepresentation” of the people. It is the postulation of the study that urgent attention should be directed at alleviating these governance and democratic impasse for socio-economic development to emerge in Nigeria.

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The Pragmatics of Tiv Verbal Insults

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Abstract: 
Insults exist in every culture and serve a variety of purposes. They may shock, entertain, or amuse. They are a perennial product and indicator of human conflict. Like other forms of speech, insults are a product of the society in which they are constructed and used. Thus, they serve as a rich resource for understanding the complexities of the social
contexts in which their speakers construct and use language. This paper addresses the pragmatic import of Tiv verbal insults. It takes the view that often, what hurts is not the lexicalization or mere verbalization of the expression that is termed insulting. Rather, it is the societal stigmatization of the expression, along with the speaker’s and the victim’s psychological orientation to it, that puts the bite in the insult. The paper agrees with Garrioch (1987:104) that “words spoken in private may be acceptable, whereas the same words used between the same people, but publicly, become insulting.” In other words, the social context of performance is a crucial factor in evaluating insults. The main argument then is that, given the lexical meaning of most Tiv verbal insults, it is clear that what makes them insults is not their lexical or semantic import per se, but their pragmatic force, which force is occasioned by the performance of the insults. It examines three main types of insults in Tiv. These are performative insults, assertive insults, and evaluative insults. Some of these are extant, and others are contemporary. These classifications are only meant to serve as a guide in the analysis, they are not meant to be discrete paradigms. The essay is based on data collected mainly at two locations at Zaki-Biam in Benue State over a period of three months in 2004. The sites are the Zaki-Biam main Motor Park, and a popular pub in the same town.

1.0 Introduction – The Tiv People:
The Tiv are one of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria. Some sources list them as the seventh largest ethnic group in Nigeria. One source (ISHR West Africa Committee. February 3, 2005. http://www.ishr.org/sections-groups/wac/tiv.htm#wac) even lists them as the fourth after Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo. Tiv country is an undulating plain sweeping down from the peak of the Koloishe Mountain near Obudu, just south of Tiv country, to the broad basin of the Benue. The Tiv inhabit what is today known as the Middle Benue Region, an area stretching from about 6° 30' N to 8° 10' N latitudes, and 8° to 10° E longitude. (Rubingh 1965; Bohannan, Paul and Laura 1968; Tseror 2002) From the 1600s they have lived in the Benue valley and in surrounding areas that now comprise four of Nigeria’s 36 states namely: Cross River, Kogi, Nasarawa, and Taraba.

Tiv population figures remain provisional and often controversial (as are the national figures). Some have estimated their population as slightly above 2 million (Tseror 2002), but more recent estimates place the Tiv population at 8 million (ISHR West Africa

1.1 The Tiv Language:
The Tiv language is classified as part of the Bantu group. It is often described as Tiv-Bantu, within the sub-group of the Bantoid branch of the Benue-Congo subdivision of the Niger-Congo. (Malherbe 1931; Abraham 1940; Guthrie 1962; Voegelin and Voegelin 1977; Pulleyblank 1988) This classification has remained largely unquestioned, uncontested and unchallenged in linguistic literature.

2.0 The Performative Impact of Tiv Insults:
Clark observes that “when people talk face to face, they rely not only on speech, but on gesture—manual, facial, ocular, postural, and vocal gestures” (379). Many Tiv verbal insults are of the performative type. Their meaning is fully realized only when the one addressed both hears the insult and sees the accompanying gestural signal. Most of such performative insults are descriptive in nature and relate to the shape, size, or strength of various body parts. It could be the head, the eyes, the mouth, the legs, or the anus. Of these, the anus appears to be the commonest target of performative insults in Tiv. Tswar fitii (literally tiny anus hole) Tswar feng (large anus hole) Tswar tusuu (protruded anus hole) Ikpongu tswar (stuffed anus hole) Tswar wou (your anus) Kape ú lu tswar je ne (this is how your anus is, or your anus is like this, usually accompanied by a descriptive gesture with the hand to indicate the size or shape claimed) Jen tswar (your anus is like a ball) Ambi ken tswar (you have faeces in your anus) Aniwa tswar (dog +diminutive anus=something like, you are a small dog, and you are nothing but anus: hardly makes sense outside of this specified performative environment.)

The Tiv language has two words for the buttocks, each of which when used in context, can be understood to refer to the anus. The first, ityô, is unbiased, colourless and is simply considered as a biological word describing a body part. It is not branded, so it seldom forms part of Tiv insults that describe this body part. The second word is tswar, and is considered vulgar and improper in decent talk. It is this stigma that makes it attractive for use in insults. All the tswar-related insults appear merely descriptive, except the expression, kape u lu tswar je ne (your anus is like this, or this is how your anus is) which is explicitly demonstrative. However, irrespective of the lexical particularities of the
specific *tswar*-based insult, each is usually accompanied by a demonstrative signal, is indexed by the speaker’s show of the right (or sometimes the left) hand, with the fingers wide open and facing the direction of the one addressed. Clark (2006) calls this type of gesture a collateral signal. According to him, “speakers . . . use gestures for collateral signals, performing them at the same time as, or in parallel with, the primary utterances. In this case, gesture and speech are concurrent, even coordinated” (380).

Admittedly, insults targeted at the human anatomy, whether of the addressee or of that one’s kit and kin, would appropriately be offensive because most parts of the human anatomy are considered taboo words in Tiv. However, looking at the lexical load signalled by Tiv insults in general, it is not clear what specifically they contain that could offend, since such insults as *tswar wou*, (your anus) *aniwa tswar* (dog +diminutive anus=something like, you are a small dog, and you are nothing but anus) etc., are structurally and semantically incomplete. They are not even premised on any ellipsis based on linguistic context, or any recoverable phoric reference. However, in the case of performative insults, it is their iconic signification that conveys the load, which is interpretable as objectionable, and sometimes even sanctionable as an insult. Schegloff (1984) and McNeill (1992) explain that such iconic or indicative gestures deal with issues of performance. Because their potency lies in the performance potential, they lose their force if uttered in absentia, that is, if they have to be conveyed to the addressee by means of reported speech, except of course if the one reporting performatively impersonates the speaker, or in the words of Tannen (1989) ‘reconstructs’ it. She argues that “both the meanings of words and the combinations into which we can put them are given to us by previous speakers, tracts of whose voices and contexts cling inevitably to them” (100). Indeed, there is a dynamic relationship between reported speech and the reported context; the meaning of the reported speech is inevitably transformed by the reporting context. And because Tiv insults are demonstrative, their performance has the same effect on a sightless victim as it has on one who has the privilege of sight. But if insults were insulting merely on account of what they said, why would a blind person take umbrage at the utterance of a visual demonstrative insult such as *tswar wou nahan* (your anus [is] like this)? Evidently, the insult in this case, seems to lie in the performative force of the utterance and in prior discourses that have culturally framed it, not in its lexical or semantic content.
The pattern of insults in a language may suggest the cultural values of its speakers. They also indicate what is considered as muted, unmentionable or taboo. For instance, whereas Hausa insults are routinely directed at the anatomical features of addressees as well as those of their parents, similar insults are rare in Tiv. One of the commonest Hausa insults relate to a threat by the speaker to “eat up the penis of the addressee or his father’s.” It is rendered in various forms: Ka ci bura ubanka (you have eaten your father’s penis) Za ka ci bura ubanka (you will eat your father’s penis). Za in ci bura ubanka (I will eat the penis of your father) or simply ubanka (your father’s [own]).

3.0 Evaluative Insults:
In Tiv, such insults as are directed at the anatomical features of victim’s parents are rare, as mention of such anatomical features is considered taboo. But there are insults of an evaluative or comparative kind, and these often involve the parents of the addressee. The typical pattern of these insults is “Your X is like Y.” Again, these focus mainly on body shape, size, texture, or parts thereof. Some of these are mild, others even humorous and meant to amuse. But quite a few can be termed serious. Animals, reptiles, and even inanimate objects are prime candidates of prejudicial association in insults of a comparative or evaluative kind. The simile-type insults include:

*Ityough kpetee er kapu/kwese*
(your head is like a calabash)

*Ityough gbôndôô er orvanny a kou igyô*
(your head is like a visitor’s when [the visitor] is greedily eating a meal of caterpillar).

*A tiligh ityough er iniun gbev*
(the shape of your head is like the virgin of the bird called gbev)

*A tsaa am ato er ikyatu fa iyou*
(your ears are spread like a wily monkey’s when it discovers a honeycomb).

*A hoo ityough er ú nyer zwa*
(your head is long like you live in a hole).

Here again, the insults seem to find their force, not in what is said, since in many cases, what is said makes no rational sense whatsoever. Rather, their potency seems to lie in the very fact that they are said, also in who, where and when they are said, as well as how they are
said. This is the contextual view, as advanced by Leech (1983), according to which, context includes “relevant aspects of the physical or social setting of an utterance” (13). It includes any background knowledge assumed to be shared by s and h and which contributes to h’s interpretation of what s means by a given utterance. Why this is so is explained by relevance theory (RT). This holds that

*we home in on an interpretation which is relevant to the occasion when we conjoin what is actually said in the text with existing assumptions in the context and draw a meaning from the conjunction, a contextual effect, which could not be inferred from either text or context on their own (45).*

The use of content-empty adjectives along with disparaging nouns to serve as comparative or evaluative insults is consistent with the pattern of Tiv speech. Much of the language is comparative. Moreover, insult-making adjectives such as *kpetee* (in ityough kpetee), *gbôndôô, tiligh* (in tiligh ityough) *hoo* (in hoo ityough), defy any precise translation into English. And even in Tiv, all they manage to convey is an imprecise image, sometimes vaguely onomatopoetic. Widdowson (2004) puts this in perspective when he says that “meaning is a function of the interaction of code and context so that the significance of what people say transcends the signification of the words they use to say it” (45).

In Tiv, insults that extend to the addressee’s parents or that one’s agnatic line are viewed as serious, even if their pragmatic force is mild. But they can also be viewed as a complement, depending on the other relevant factors (such as who said it, where, when and why). Thus an insult such as *ú vihi ka* (roughly: you are ugly so, or see how ugly you are) can be considered mild, but sanctionable. On the other hand, its comparative form can be complementary; especially if the addressee’s maternal agnatic clan is the basis of comparison. Thus, *ú vihi ka er mba igba youwe* (you are as ugly as your mother’s relatives). This may sound odd, but viewed within the Tiv social context it is consistent with cultural norms. In Tiv, the family or even clan of a person’s mother is a source of pride to him. Thus, such forms of association or comparison with the mother’s family line as above can only be viewed in positive light and thus as a complement. The only exception would be if the family line of the addressee has become famous for something evil or shameful (such as armed theft, armed robbery).
Another set of Tiv verbal insults are those that, according to Bolinger (1980) hide the bias in a noun, and thus make them more potent. Bolinger argues that

the main power of the noun is that it objectifies in a way the adjective cannot. A quality may come and go. If we are disappointed at Jane’s lack of appreciation we can call her ungrateful, or solidify it a step further and call her an ungrateful person. But if we call her an ingrate we put the brand on her: the noun implies that the world puts people like this in a class by themselves (79).

Some Tiv verbal insults do not consist of explicit comparisons in the shape of a simile, rather, they “objectify” the one referenced, thus branding him. These types of insults are quite potent but not many in the language. The biased nouns that carry heavier load are most visible with names of animals. Aniwa (diminutive+dog) Anigyo (diminutive+pig) Anbagu (diminutive+monkey), anjóugh (diminutive+spirit belonging to the Mbatsav). Calling someone a dog is considered very offensive in Tiv, but it is not clear what quality of a dog is referenced in the insult. The others are more predictable. If one is called a pig, what is meant is that such a person is dirty. Thus it is the porcine sanitary habits that are targeted. Similarly, the monkey may denote many things, but used as an insult, the connotation is that the one addressed is ugly, because in Tiv worldview, the monkey is considered to be an ugly creature. All four insults have something else in common; they are accompanied by diminutives as prefixes. Thus, the interpretation is not that the addressee is a dog, a pig, or a monkey, but that he/she is a small dog, pig or monkey. When used in insults, this diminutive does not refer to the infant class of the species named (so anigyo=small pig for example, is not piglet as in baby pig); it is used as a downtoner to further intensify the diminishing value of the addressee in the eyes of the speaker.

Bolinger observes that in the English language, the noun Jew has been degraded to the extent that speakers often rephrase a sentence to use Jewish instead. It is as if, being the sign of a ‘quality,’ the adjective makes it possible for one to be, say, ‘just a little bit Jewish,’ whereas a Jew has to go all the way. In Tiv, when speakers really want to be insulting, they produce disparaging nouns, using diminutives. Thus orukpar (a man from the part of Tivland so named) becomes anwanukpar (an is a diminutive prefix that serves as a downtoner). Similarly, Origbo (an Igboman) becomes anorigbo or anwanigbo.
Thus, whether we take the rather strong view of the British statesman and writer Lord Chesterfield (1694-1775) that “an injury is much sooner forgotten than an insult,” or a more liberal view captured in an anonymous Bemba proverb, that “insults do not cause a sore,” one thing we cannot deny is that they provide a rich resource for gaining insight into a people’s social function of language. And in this case they also help us to understand better the cultural norms of the Tiv people.

4.0 Discussion:

It is easy to focus on the performative force of insults when we take the Speech Acts theory as propounded by J.L. Austin (1962) and developed by J. R. Searle (1969). According to this view, when you say something you are doing something: thus talking is action on several levels. These acts of ‘doing’ which are achieved through the act of ‘saying’ are called illocutionary acts. According to Austin, and as elaborated by Searle, illocutionary acts are divisible into locutions, illocutions and perlocutions. Sadock (2006) explains the three components of illocutionary acts, as stated below:

**Locutionary Acts:**

These are acts **of** speaking, acts involved in the construction of speech, such as uttering certain sounds or making certain marks, using particular words and using them in conformity with the grammatical rules of a particular language and with certain senses and certain references as determined by the rules of the language from which they are drawn.

**Illocutionary Acts:**

Are acts done **in** speaking (hence illocutionary), including and especially that sort of act that is the apparent purpose for using a performative sentence: christening, marrying, and so forth. Acts of stating or asserting, which are presumably illocutionary acts, are characteristic of the use of canonical constatives, and such sentences are, by assumption, not performatives. Furthermore, acts of ordering or requesting are typically accomplished by using imperative sentences, and acts of asking whether something is the case are properly accomplished by using interrogative sentences. The conclusion, according to Austin, is that the locutionary aspect of speaking is what
we attend to most in the case of constatives, while in the case of the standard examples of performative sentences we attend as much as possible to the illocution.

**Perlocutionary Acts:**

This is a consequence or by-product of speaking, whether intended or not. As the name is designed to suggest, perlocutions are acts performed by speaking. They consist in the production of effects upon the thoughts, feelings, or actions of the addressee(s), speaker, or other parties, such as causing people to refer to a certain ship as the Joseph Stalin, producing the belief that Sam and Mary should be considered man and wife, convincing an addressee of the truth of a statement, causing an addressee to feel a requirement to do something, and so on (54-55).

These three acts are further divided into a five-way taxonomy of illocutionary acts. Austin believed that illocutionary acts could always be made explicit through the use of performative sentences; hence a taxonomy of illocutionary acts could be couched in terms of an analysis of the various potentially performative verbs of English. The five classes are as follows:

1. **Verdictives:** these acts consist of delivering a finding, e.g., *acquit, hold* (as a matter of law), *read something as*, etc.
2. **Exercitives:** these are acts of giving a decision for or against a course of action, e.g., *appoint, dismiss, order, sentence*, etc.
3. **Commissives:** acts whose point is to commit the speaker to a course of action, e.g., *contract, give one’s word, declare one’s intention*, etc.
4. **Behavitives:** these are expressions of attitudes toward the conduct, fortunes, or attitudes of others, e.g., *apologize, thank, congratulate, welcome*, etc.
5. **Expositives:** acts of expounding of views, conducting of arguments, and clarifying, e.g., *deny, inform, concede, refer*, etc.

Of the five classes, it would appear that performative insults of the type discussed here belong to the class of expositives. They are assertions implicating the addressee to a view held of that one or his associate as held by the speaker.

This means that we interpret indirect speech acts with reference to the situations in which utterances are made. The interlocutors (the speaker and the addressee) must share certain conventions, called
“felicity conditions” for the utterance to be potent, or to be “felicitous.” In other words, both speaker and addressee must share similar linguistic and cultural conventions relevant to the interpretation of the utterance and must share the same or similar beliefs about the thing(s) expressed. For example, if we know that a person does not really want us to disappear forever, we do not interpret the expletive “Oh, get lost!” as an actual request. Thus, expressions such as “get lost” may, appropriately contextualized, be termed formulaic insults. Such formulaic insults may, in certain cultures even be achieved through silence, for as the Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw once said, “Silence is the most perfect expression of scorn.” This view is strengthened by another expression, an anonymous Egyptian proverb: “Silence is the best answer to the stupid.” Looked at in the proper perspective then, it means that insults can be contextually insinuated by silence and other non-verbal means. But these other means are not significant to our present discussion. Besides, it is difficult to evaluate when silence is meant to insult and not to show respect. Also, how silences are interpreted would differ from culture to culture. Even in Tiv culture, each occasion of silence would have to be analyzed on its own merits. It will not be possible to make a general classificatory statement to the effect that this or that form of silence is necessarily insulting. What cannot be denied is that insults can be signalled in forms other than those involving verbal accompaniment, whether that verbal accompaniment is overt or elliptical. But that is a subject for another study. This paper concerns itself only with such insults that may be termed verbal (for a fuller discussion on silences, see Dooga, J.T. (2008) “Grammaticalizing Silence” in Bayero Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies Vol. 1 Number 1 December 2008. Duze M.C. et al. (eds) pp. 123-133).

Humour is often linked to insults, it being a milder form of insults. Humour apparently developed as a result of the need to be polite, which sometimes includes obliquity in order not to cause offence or to threaten the face of interlocutors in discourse. It is possible therefore to link the pragmatic and discoursal principles of politeness and face acts in part, to the need to avoid sounding insulting. According to Johnstone (2002) “politeness is one of the main reasons for which people are often indirect, not saying what they mean but implying it in more conventional (or sometimes novel) ways” (125). In the majority of man’s linguistic interactions, effort is made to be polite, or put differently, to observe the rules of politeness, which according to Lakoff (1973; 1974b) include Formality (Distance), Hesitancy
(Deference) and Equality (Camaraderie). Negative face occurs when a speaker uses a negative politeness strategy. Along the descending scale of the politeness spectrum, the closest to an insult is the “bald on-record” strategy. In this strategy, the speaker makes no effort to mitigate his/dispreferred action in any way, does not attempt to cushion the effect of his/her disaffiliative action on the hearer’s face. Direct Tiv verbal insults use this strategy too.

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The English Language and Rural Women Participation in Governance: Implication for Attainment of the Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria

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Abstract:
There have been a lot of speculations that the English language is elitist; that rural dwellers do not participate actively in government, and that women in the rural areas do not have equal opportunity in governance with men. Different governments- nationally and internationally- have mapped out some programmes and strategies towards eliminating the divide that exists between men and women participation in governance and national development. These programs
of which MDG is one are all in recognition of the backwardness of females in self and societal development and the fact that the female gender seems to have resigned their fate to living in the shadows of men in matters that is the prerogative of both men and women. The fact that these programmes appears not to be achieving their expected goals at the intended speed has compelled the writers to look into the issues that could be a clog in the wheel of progress of the nation in achieving the MDG. After critical examination of the role of the English language in Nigeria as the lingua franca, the writers discovered that linguistic problems are the predominant of the problems affecting governance and development in Nigeria. This paper therefore, examines these linguistic matters and seeks to provide answers to the related questions: What constitutes good governance? How has the government been able to communicate with people in the rural areas? How have the people in the rural areas been able to express themselves actively in governance through the English language? What are the linguistic factors militating against the effective participation of rural women in governance? The authors also wish to provide recommendations to the possible solution to English language barriers among women participation in government in the rural areas.

Introduction:

Governance has been seen as an activity that involves definition of expectations, control, direction, regulation, verification, management and leadership of the public affairs of a country, society or organization. Igwe (2008:31) defines governance as “a social contract not just between the government and the governed but more especially between the people themselves for an effective individual and collective self-empowerment for the good of all.”. Beal (1996:4) perceives governance as a bottom-up decision making involving all people at every level of government and non government organizations. From these definitions it can be inferred that governance is a communal affair in which every member of the human population is a stakeholder. An effective government takes care of the socio-economic needs of its people. It provides good health services, education, food, social amenities such as good roads for proper connectivity, industries to take care of its work force, and opportunities for harnessing the natural resources within its land for the benefit of its citizens. It maintains peace and order and safeguards the lives and property of its people. It also maintains diplomatic relationship with other people from other
nations and races. Good governance involves legitimacy, competence, respect of law, protection of human rights and accountability. Good governance is expected to device several means of eradicating hunger and poverty, illiteracy, diseases, unemployment, fear, racism, nepotism, tribalism, corruption, conflicts and gender inequality and institute their antonyms in its society for the development of its people. Unfortunately, most governments, particularly of the developing nations of the world are far from attaining these expectations of good governance and thus are at different levels of national development. For instance vanguard newspaper of January 1, 2000, listed Nigeria as the 12th poorest country in the world with the position of 146th out of 174 in the Human Development Index. It was also quoted to have 112 per 1,000 (live births) infant mortality while 50% of the population has access to clean water and 40% has access to [inconsistent] electricity. It states that 60% of rural dwellers and close to 48% of urban dwellers live in poverty. The fact that many African countries are still floundering in providing its citizens with better life after long sufferings of pre and post colonialism perhaps up to millennium year, may have informed the world leaders to come together at the United Nations Headquarters in New York in September 2000 to adopt the United Nations Millennium Declaration, committing their nations to a new global partnership captured in 8 goals, and called the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), which all the developing nations, including Nigeria, must strive to attain by the year 2015. These goals are:

a. 50% reduction in poverty and hunger
b. universal primary education,
c. promotion of gender equity and women empowerment
d. reduction of child mortality by two-thirds,
e. promotion of maternal health and family life by three-quarters,
f. reversal of the spread of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other disease
g. Promotion of global environmental sustainability
h. Development of partnership with global community.

It is evident that most of these goals concern women either directly or indirectly. In other words, women are expected to play major roles in good governance and thus sustainable development of any nation. Unfortunately, at each of the levels of governance in Nigeria - federal, the state and the local government- there is a marginal gender inequity in favour of males. This is in spite of the fact that women, particularly the rural ones, are the backbone of the national
economy (Momsen, 1993). Even though many authorities attempted to have explored the reasons for the low participation of rural women in governance in Africa with a view to redressing the situation, there appears to be no visible change in the level of their participation in governance. Of the several factors examined none, known to these writers, has tried to find out the role the English language, as the official means of communication in Nigeria, plays in the exclusion of the rural female gender from active participation in governance in Nigeria. This underscores the justification of this paper to find out the role of the English language in the exclusion of women from participating in governance. Specifically, this paper focuses on:

1. The roles of rural Women in national development;
2. Programmes for Rural Women Participation in Governance
3. Exclusion of Rural Women in Governance
4. English language and the role of rural women in Governance

The Roles of Rural Women in National Development:

In Nigeria, women’s population is more than half of that of men and a greater number of the population is concentrated in the rural areas. This situation is similar in most developing nations of the world (Cartledge, 1995). This implies that rural women are expected to play major roles in national development. This is buttressed by the focus on women in almost all the 8 goals of the MDG. Specifically, promotion of gender equity and women empowerment, reduction of child mortality by two-thirds, promotion of maternal health and family life by three-quarters, reversal of the spread of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other disease which are numbers 3, 4, 5, and 6 goals respectively refer directly to women. Even though the foci of numbers 1,2,7 and 8 of the MDG which respectively are 50% reduction in poverty and hunger, universal primary education, promotion of global environmental sustainability, and development of partnership with global community concern the male gender, women are known to be more involved.

The implication of the foregoing is that the roles of rural women in national development are monumental. National development starts from the family (MDG 1). Women are child bearers and child trainers (MDG 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6). Nature has made it that the child’s first contact is with the mother. From infancy, the mother nurtures the child and inculcates the right values in him/her. She exposes the child to the cultural ways of life of the society and helps him/her to acquire the right skills necessary for adjustment in the society. In other words,
women play the most active role in the primary socialization of the human society without which the secondary and even the tertiary socializations are meaningless. Thus Kongolo and Bamgose, (2002) observed that women have the cardinal roles of nurturing, bringing up, socializing and educating children. These enviable roles of women may have necessitated Adaralegbe, (1976) to say, “If you educate a man, you are educating an individual; but educate a woman and you are educating a family, a nation.”

In addition to women’s role as character molders of the human society, they are also known to be more actively involved in agricultural civil service work, work with voluntary agencies and also trade. In fact, according to the Hunger Project (1999) rural women produce almost 80% of the food consumed in most of Africa’s rural areas. Many engage in trade intensively and extensively. Rural women in the villages act as midwives, nurses, and doctors. They engage in farm stock trades and also try to save money through meetings and thrifts. They resolve disputes among their kindred and protect the downtrodden by standing by the right side of judgments.

It is thus an indisputable fact that the role of women, particularly the rural ones in national development is indispensable and as such adequate provisions to encourage and promote rural women play these roles in governance must be provided in any country’s policy and programmes if such nation is to attain sustainable national development.

Programmes for Rural Women Participation in Governance:
Perhaps, in recognition of the crucial role of rural African women in governance and development, the governments have made attempts to include them in its programmes. Some of the programmes are:

i. The 2000 United Nations development Fund for Women,

ii. The 1995 Beinging declaration, and

iii. The 1995 Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women held in Kenya (UNIFEM, In Kongolo and Bamgose, 2002).

These were aimed at promoting women’s economic independence by each member state It has been noted however that although these movements have recorded achievements in the creation of awareness of the problems facing women, not much in terms of development priorities for rural women has been realized (UNIFEM, 2000).
In an attempt to include rural women in governance in Nigeria and better their lives, Mrs Miriam Babangida, the wife of the ex-president of Nigeria, in 1987, introduced the programme she named BETTER LIFE FOR RURAL WOMEN (Babangida, 1991). The objectives of the programme are:

- To stimulate women and motivate women in rural areas towards achieving a better and higher standard of living as well as to sensitize the general populace to the plight of rural women.
- To educate women on simple hygiene, family planning, the importance of child care and increase literacy.
- To mobilize women for concrete activities towards achieving specific objectives including seeking leadership roles in all spheres of national life.
- To bring women together and closer for a better understanding and resolution of their problems through collective action.
- To raise the social consciousness of women about their rights as well as, social, political and economic responsibilities.
- To encourage recreation.

The impact of the programme was the creation of awareness of the extent of neglect and marginalization of rural women. Fai (1991), however, observed that the typical rural women had not actually been participating in the programme which had been apparently hijacked by few feminine elites. This, perhaps, informed the subsequent conclusion by Monk and Mkomsen opinion (1994) that the programme, could not address the ways in which policies and programmes have increased women’s workloads while reducing their status.

In 1993 Mrs. Miriam Abacha, towing the line of her predecessor also introduced a programme which was intended to help rural women participate in governance for the development of the nation. This programme she called FAMILY SUPPORT (Abacha, 1993). The programme’s philosophy was hinged on the belief that the family is the basic root of the society and that the society can be developed better by, first developing the family. However, Strumgurist (1988) expressed skepticism on most of the programmes designed to alleviate the status of rural women for in his view, “such programmes perpetuate stereotypes of women providing a combination of skill on reproduction, production and emancipation that do not alleviate the hardships faced by rural women”.

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It is therefore evident from these that most of the provisions for encouragement of rural women participation in governance and national development have not been able to achieve the desired outcome. This therefore suggests that there are other issues to be considered in the bid to encourage and motivate participation of rural women in governance besides the enactment of policies and formulation of women programmes.

Exclusion of Rural Women in Governance:

The contributions of rural women in governance in Africa and specifically in Nigeria have been quite minimal. This situation is not far from the fact that there is less attention paid to the rural area than the urban area. Kongolo and Bamgose (2002) in their study on participation of rural women in development reported:

Most women in rural areas are illiterates. They lack initiatives, innovations and self-reliance attitudes. Women in rural areas are isolated, confined and marginalized through the non-interactive government policies on the rural areas. These symptoms reflect a lack of structured development strategy to create needed opportunities in these areas. This, according to Hunger Project (2000), is due to the overwhelming evidence of development policies and projects formulated that bypass the involvement of rural women in most African countries.

In Nigerian, little attention is paid to the contributions of women to national development. A great number of them are illiterates. They cannot understand or speak the English language. They can neither read nor write in English which is the language of governance. For this reason, the English language excludes them from participating actively in the affairs of national development and governance. They are alienated from making or interpreting government policies they cannot read nor understand the English. The benefits of basic education, which according to F.M.E. (2000), “is equipping the individual to live a meaningful and fulfilling lives contribute to the development of the society, derive maximum social, economic and cultural benefits from the society and discharge their civil obligation competently” are lost on them. This problem is not far removed from the language stipulations of the National Language Policy on Education in Nigeria.

The national language policy in Nigeria promotes the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction at the early stage of primary schooling and English at the later primary, secondary and tertiary
institutions. In addition to this, it also promotes multilingualism in Nigeria educational system.

This policy arises from the problem posed by the diverse linguistic nature of the Nigerian society. Nigeria has over 450 languages that are mutually unintelligible (Adegbija 2004). This multilingual nature of Nigeria necessitated the adoption of English language, a legacy left to them by the British colonial masters, as the official language of the country. Thus all documentation, trade, media, education, and governmental businesses are carried out in the English language. Specifically, the 1979 and 1989 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Section 51 ) states that the business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English, and in Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba where adequate arrangement have been made thereof. It went further to say that at the State level, the business of a House of Assembly shall be conducted in English but the House may, in addition to English, conduct the business of the House in one or more other languages spoken in the state as the case may be (Section 91 ). By this declaration the Federal Government has automatically made the act of governance elitist, to such a degree that those who have no command of the English language cannot participate in discussions on matters that affect their lives. This is because we are yet to see a situation where the National Assembly or a House of Assembly has resolved their linguistic differences well enough to conduct the business of the nation or the states in an of the indigenous languages. The status of the English language in the lives of Nigerians then, makes it a must-learn, a must-write and a must speak among the citizens.

Some writers have noted the exclusionary role of the English language in Nigeria. Agbedo (1998) notes that the English language is being used by the minority ruling class to exclude the majority of Nigerians from participating in the socio-economic and political dispensation of the nation. It should be worthy to note that these minority ruling class are basically made up of men with one or two elitist women dotting the scene. In recognition of this, Ezejiakor (2007:7) concludes that although Nigeria has English as its official language, the English language is not playing its role effectively in increasing the Nigerian rural women’s awareness on government set objectives.

**English Language and the Role of Rural Women in Governance:**

The English language is a legacy left behind by the British colonial masters who ruled Nigeria from 1860 to 1960. It was the
means of communication between the colonial masters and the local people. It was therefore, a language of exclusion since the locals could understand neither their rulers nor their representatives. The drama “Ichoku” which aired in the National Television Authority captures vividly, the kaleidoscope of events that transpired between the colonial administrators and the indigenous people as a result of language and information barrier.

When schools were established, by the missionaries, English became the language of instruction. From thenceforth, English began to develop and assume a colossal importance in Nigeria, not only as a medium of instruction in schools but as a language of unification among the multiple ethnic languages in Nigeria. The many factors that contribute to the learning and acquisition of the English language such as qualified English language teachers, instructional materials, and electricity to power electrically controlled equipment for language learning like televisions, radio, language laboratories, multi-media, projectors, and computers, availability of the spoken mediums and availability of printed materials in English in the form of books, newspapers, magazines and gazettes are absent in the rural areas and therefore, make it impossible for the women to acquire the language.

The language of communication is of paramount importance in human interactions. According to Nwosu (1992:208), no society exists without adequate communication. It is pivotal in social interaction. For communication in any relationship to be effective there has to be mutual intelligibility. It follows from this that Governance, which involves interactions among human beings (i.e. between the government and the governed) and language need each other for mutual regeneration. Language as a medium of communication is of primary importance in governance. Information dispensation and information sharing have major roles to play in governance.. Political processes involve elections and debates between and among candidates. The masses are able to judge and make decisions by listening critically to candidates’ arguments and the ways they react to arguments and criticisms (Kooiman, 2002). Listening skills as attributes of language help citizens to grasp and evaluate opposing points of view on issues such as abortion, environmental policies, and health-care reform. To be a good community member, one needs skills in expressing one’s point of view and responding to those of others. In a pluralistic society such as ours, people who differ from each other interact, and there is the need for each group to understand and work with each other. Both civic and social life depends on one’s ability to listen thoughtfully to a range
of perspectives and to communicate in a variety of ways (Kongolo and Bamgose, 2002). Communication between two or more people entails a mutual interpretation of the symbols of coding and an ability to unravel the codes and infer meanings out of them. Communication is only functional when the speaker and the hearer can listen, interpret and understand one another effectively. It can therefore, be seen that language and governance are interwoven and intertwined for one cannot exist without the other.

The Nigerian government and the rural women cannot communicate effectively with each other because of the latter’s deficiency in English Language which is the language of the former. Therefore, there is generally a very high positive correlation between the levels of a country’s official language acquired by the governed and the extent of the role of the latter in governance. In other words, the higher the level of official language acquired by the governed, the higher their role in governance and vice versa. Thus, as the evidences abound that Nigerian rural women acquire very low level of the English Language which is the nations official language, their level of involvement in governance is correspondingly low.

Conclusion:

Several programmes and policies have been evolved which were aimed at empowering the female gender, particularly the rural women, who constitute more than 50% of the entire population to participate actively in governance and sustainable development of nations. The most current and comprehensive of is the United Nations MDG goal. Almost all of these earlier programmes could not achieve the desired targets in Nigeria because the critical roles of English Language among rural women in governance appear to have been ignored in the designing and implementation of these programmes and policies.

The current MDG goals are laudable as they are targeted at empowering the women to play the expected roles in governance and sustainable national development. However, for it to achieve the desired goals, workable strategies must first be evolved at facilitating the rural women’s free access to opportunities for acquiring Basic English Language Proficiency.

Recommendation:

The recommendations for closing the evident gender gap against rural women towards empowering them to play active role in
governance is first to provide them with free access to basic education through which they would acquire basic literacy skills through English Language which is the official means of communication needed for active participation in governance in Nigeria. This is the target of the number 2 goal of the MDG (attainment 50% of universal primary education) of which the government of Nigeria is pursing via the Universal Basic Education (UBE) Programme. For meaningful implementation of the UBE towards empowering the rural women, the following strategies should be adopted to encourage girl child enrolment in schools and promote their achievement in schools:

i. massive sensitization through various types of media on the crucial need of girl-child education

ii. provision of all the relevant school facilities in the rural area which should be comparable to those schools in the urban area

iii. discouraging early marriage of teenage girls through creation of awareness on the associated dangers

iv. institutionalizing special scholarships for girls education

For the adult rural women, non-formal adult literacy centers should be established in each community which should not only be made free to the women but should involve added monetary incentives for the students so as to promote enrollment and participation in the programme.

The main factors that reduce the general potentials of rural women towards active participation in governance is poverty, occasioned by the fact that they shoulder the bulk of the family responsibilities and socio-cultural beliefs that the woman’s role is in the kitchen. While poverty reduction is the target of the goal 1 of the MDG, the second class position accorded women by cultural beliefs is addressed in number 3 of the MDG (promotion of gender equity and women empowerment). Even though the Nigerian government, in principle has an agency aimed at poverty reduction, the activities of this agency are not directed at the actual-poor i.e. the rural women rather focus is on the elites who have access and connections to government. For Poverty Alleviation programmes to achieve the desired intention, the attention of the proponents should be redirected to the actual rural women who constitute the actual poor. One suggestion towards actualizing this is to entrust the responsibility programme to the Ministry of women affairs that should have a valid mechanism of identifying the actual poor in each of the communities.
The problem of socio-cultural beliefs against women that appear to have created a sense of weaker sex in them thereby, discouraging them from playing certain governance-related roles should be addressed through creating awareness of the benefits of rural women participation governance. This can be done through. Radio and television programmes, use of jingles, drama, films, cinemas, churches, workshops, seminars, symposiums, etc. Through these means, women personalities in Nigeria such as Okonjo Iwella, Oby Ezekwesili, Prof Alele Williams etc and women from other countries like Mrs Indira Ghandi of India and Mrs Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the present President of Liberia, should be cited as examples to show them that some women have even higher potentials than most men.

In order to reduce the workload of women so as to provide them time and opportunities to play active role in governance, special and workable health and maternal care, should be provided to them as contained in MDG goals 4 and 6. Similarly, as the major producers of staple foods, gender appropriate agro-technologies should be made accessible to them at affordable prices. Government should use extension agents to educate them on new and easier methods of agricultural practices like the use of fertilizers and its application for greater yield.

Elaborate and extensive awareness should be created among the rural women folk of their potentials and the need to harness them for good governance and realization of the Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria for as the saying goes, “What a man can do, a woman can even do better.”

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Language: The Locus of Parallel Disciplines

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Abstract:
Creativeness and description constitute a natural sequence which finds expression in language. While the former is unconscious, the latter is deliberate. This paper examines the relationship between the unconscious resort, by the literary writer, to his latent knowledge of phonology and the wilful art of phonological descriptions.

Preambles:
Euclidean geometry evolved around the concept of axioms. Thus known as the axiomatic construction, it “furnishes the proof of a statement in terms of logical derivations from the axioms alone” (Reichenbach (1958)). It was a closed and complete system,
characterized by its ability to reduce knowledge to a precise thesis. The search for knowledge could have ended with the Euclidean formulations because they contain a statement about infinity. But the development later of non-Euclidean geometry which uses the axiomatic construction as an instrument of discovery reversed the situation by demystifying or denying the article of infinity, with which the Euclidean geometry is identified, thus paving the way for modern philosophical thinking. Philosophy touches the mind in reasoning, changes the mind in its logic and directs the mind in thinking.

The provision by the non-Euclidean geometry will be used as basis for the discussion here. In this paper, there is therefore a deliberate resort to the use of “parallels”, a qualitative term which can be associated with any entity – idea, object, opinion, notion, lines, disciplines, etc., rather than in its strict geometric sense. In other words, this resort to the use of geometrical forms for this study is rather only for illustrative purposes.

Both the Euclidean and non-Euclidean geometries seem to agree on the non-convergence of parallels but have divergent opinions about their infinite nature. The quarrel about the infinite nature of parallels may have emanated from the fact that nothing on its own is totally independent. So-called independent countries still depend, in one way or the other, on other countries for one thing or the other. It may also have come from the fact that something must happen so that other things either happen or are prevented from happening – call it the cause and effect theory. Otherwise, the world would be a drab; nothing happens; the air is till; rivers are stagnant; life itself is at a stand-still; there will be no development… Newton’s apple will not fall, etc.

There is no need to think that we are about to propound another theory of parallels; neither are we trying to say that parallels do not exist. Rather by this, we seem to agree with the non-Euclideanists that, whether they be lines imaginary or visual, whether they be disciplines or notions, parallels necessarily depend on something else in order to be what they are or what they appear to be. They are thus the parallel lines which I may chose to draw on paper or on the ground, etc. (or parallel non-agreeing lines of thought held by two or more people…), depending on me, my pen and on my paper. If my hand is shaky, thereby preventing my pen from making straight lines, or my paper is not smooth enough, or if I do not want to draw parallels at all, we cannot have parallels. In this way, and like the non-Euclideanists, we see parallels as such only as long as we take them to be so. At the same time, we only see them as not being so depending on visualisation. In
other words, the big question mark on their infinite nature remains conspicuous. This lends itself to a suspicion that the monopoly of the infinity of parallels can be revisited. Therefore for the world to move, for there to be development..., there must be, somewhere along the line, an intervention, an intrusion, an interposition of something to bring about a destabilisation to enable something else to happen. That we cannot yet appropriately identify what that intervention is and locate the point of intervention does not mean that what we visualise as parallels are infinitely so.

**The Convergence of Parallels:**

Physics provides a good number of instances where parallel rays of light converge, the most intriguing being those demonstrated with a convex lens, a parabolic shaped mirror, the human eye and the pin-hole camera. What these examples do not seem to be specific about is what happens after F, the focus of these rays.

**Fig (a):**

Convex Lens

A

\[ x \]

\[ y \]

F

Z

B

F = Focus of all rays.

**Fig. (b):**

Parabolic Shaped mirror

A

\[ x \]

\[ y \]

F

Z

B

Adapted from Emeka E. Ike (2003).

In figures (a) ad (b) above, AB causes parallel rays to converge at F and all culminate in Z. Z is therefore a factor of x, y... convergence.
One may question the necessity for this reiteration of already existing facts. How else is knowledge, indeed the world organised if not by the simple procedure from known to the unknown?

**The Disciplines-Phonology and Literature:**

Knowledge is unquantifiable. Likewise, the individual disciplines of knowledge are not quantifiable. Assuming the former assertion to be an axiom upon which the later is built, it will make no difference if we say that the individual disciplines of knowledge are of equal magnitude. This thesis and anti-thesis syndrome which sounds like saying: X is… and X is not… seems to be in line with the central thesis of the axiom of parallels and non-Euclidean geometry (Hans Reichenbach (1958)). With it as basis, we shall attempt, in what follows, to examine the relationship between phonology and literature or creative writing.

Phonology and creative writing (Literature) are seen here as parallels of equal magnitude. While the former is a deliberate and conscious undertaking, the later is an unconscious utilisation (through the game of manipulation) of the former’s findings (Ada Ugah (1990)). Motivated by the pulsion/drive to communicate, to interact and to exchange ideas and concepts, both converge at a locus (F) – language, their common channel of experience. Having found this weapon, the creative writer is, thus, equipped for the conquest of the universe if he is sufficiently motivated. We can therefore see that (F) is not an end result, but the very beginning of the search for knowledge, the end of creation and the beginning of recreation.

**From Phonology to Literature:**

What transformational processes do sounds undergo to make them literature? This question borders on what happens at the confluence (F) of creation and recreation.

Isolated sounds, which phonology aims at describing, do not constitute language on their own. A language is born through the structuring of elemental components of sounds into a systematic entity, according to a specified pattern. Equipped with these entities and with the rules governing their coinage into meaningful strings, the creative writer is thus fired by an image which he regards as his lamp, his guide, his inspiration, his primary vision.

Writing is one of the most rigorous tasks, the most painstaking, the most involving human endeavour if it is to be carried out effectively. A well constructed line or piece is a mirror through which
the writer visualises an image, his universe, his environment and it is also the picture which the audience has of the writer himself. Composition, therefore, is a rebellious selective manipulation of built-up entities which fit into a specific imagined context. Therefore cognizance of these discrete sound units in a purely phonological sense is not necessarily a prerequisite for writing. The creative writer’s job actually begins where the phonologist’s stops. What brings them together is in the realm of language, the locus of their parallel disciplines.

In accordance with Umezinwa (1990), we shall attempt an illustration of the unconscious application of phonological findings to creative writing, with Ada Ugah’s symbolism in The Ballads of the Unknown Soldier. A cursory look at this 117-page novel in ballads reveals two major themes or concepts.

On the one hand, the theme of Hero is camouflaged in what may be regarded phonologically as its pertinent traits or literally as the sub-themes-fame, fiery, force. In characterising the hero and the unknown soldier, the writer resorts to the use of the following forms whose phonological implications he may not have been aware of:

- Calabar, calabashes
- Gallantry
- Baobab gift
- Twisting
- Comrades
- Bury
- Turn day to darkness
- Guns
- battle (battle line, battle dress)
- combat
- parade
- beat (a retreat)
- gallons (of hot slimy saliva)
- gape
- pregnant cows
- groped and grabbed
- bulldozers, etc.

Each of these forms commences with stop consonants or occlusive or yet in certain phonological quarters, plosives, signifying some exertion of force or energy in their articulation. Also in the chapter entitled “Ballad of the Fortune Teller”, the element of fear is identified with the use of words with similar initial articulation – cowries, black, blow bugles, darkness, crucible (of new climes) tormented, grief etc.

On the other hand, the theme of the countryside, characterisable with the traits serenity, souvenir and syndrome, is exemplified in the ballads with soft initial sounding coinage among which are:
Sunshine, shades, landscape lined, singing serenity, splendour, aroma, yearning, longing, harmony, velveteen, azure skyline, verdure, etc. Nature goes with beauty, peace, harmony and smoothness. Natural beauty can be seen in the use of the relatively soft articulating sounds at the initials of the above words.

In Ugah’s *In the Beginning*, Albert and Benjamin are names alien to the Igbo traditional culture, which is the setting of this book. While names like the above in the Western culture admit consonant clusters and closed syllables, Igbo names never signal any instances of such occurrences. These names are, therefore, foreign in the sense that, first of all, consonant clusters are nowhere attested in Igbo culture. Secondly, their syllabic patterns are contradictory to the Igbo phonological structure. This is probably the reason why the writer dissociates Achebe, the traditionalist we know, from Albert. This may also be the reason why Benjamin (the driver) was painted with an image of the intruder, the distracter and the alien. Howbeit, Albert and Achebe on the one hand and Benjamin and Agunkwandu on the other constitute parallels of equal magnitude, which only find their locus in Ugah’s novel or language.

**Conclusion:**

This study which embraces a little of a number of areas, may cause concern in the minds of many. As can be seen from its presentation, it is neither a pure linguistic analysis nor a pure mathematical deliberation, neither a pure literary analysis nor a pure philosophical conjecture. This may be as a result of our belief in the destabilisation of the mind prior to its introduction to a new concept. If this procedure meets a consensus, our resort to a mathematical-cum-philosophical treatment serves to loosen the ground for the phonoliterary study, a relationship which it aims at establishing.

The locus (language) of these two parallel disciplines finds utilisation in a wide range of disciplines. Even within the same discipline, we have a network of smaller or sub-disciplines whose existence has been made possible because of the possession of language.

Again, mere possession of language without being aware of its capabilities serves a very narrow purpose. During the last few decades, emphasis was placed on language performance. Whoever spoke and wrote good grammar could pass for everything. That was an epoch comparable to the axiomatic era when “… unless one was a sceptic, one was content with the fact that certain assumption had to be believed
axiomatically…”, Reichenbach, H. (1958). But in recent times, our awareness of the implications of possessing a language has resulted in diversified preoccupations.

Therefore Z is a factor which results from the convergence of X and Y in F. Z can generate Z₁, Z₂, Z₃ — Zₙ depending on motivation.

References:


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Abstract:
The objective of this paper is to suggest a long lasting and an amicable non-violent conflict resolution methods (beyond mere granting of amnesty to the militant youths) that would be capable of ending the protracted Niger Delta crises and by so doing enhance the process of democratic governance in Nigeria. The paper has consequently highlighted the dangerous consequences of the protracted conflict in the region especially with respect to Nigeria’s nascent democracy. As a lasting solution to this socio-political log-jam, this paper has recommended four principal methods of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) Strategies. These special conciliation techniques include;
negotiation, mediation, arbitration and restitution. In the opinion of this paper, a careful manipulation of these strategies is capable of unraveling the systematic and professional ways through which carefully designed policies can create fresh and long lasting opportunities that can promote a sustainable and creative joint problem solving culture as well as the necessary supervision and facilitation of neutral good agreement between conflicting interest groups in the Niger Delta region. These opportunities are expected to consider the needs of the various stake holders in the conflict with special reference to those of the restive militants.

Introduction:

The protracted Niger Delta crisis has no doubt posed a serious challenge to the process of democratization in Nigeria. This endemic crisis therefore raises serious doubt about the quality of political governance in the African continent. Conflict has been universally acknowledged as an inevitable social evil that can inspire and engender positive and negative social transformations. Since individuals and groups often possess different ideas and interests, social conflicts are bound to occur. It is in this respect that Diller (1997:6) has defined conflict as any form of confrontation between two or more parties resulting from a situation where the contending parties have incompatible goals.

Similarly, Maoz (1982) had defined social conflict as a state of incompatibility among values, where the achievement of one value can be realized only at the expense of some other values. He further observed that the complexity of conflict is predicated on the fact that it may arise between different single organisms pursuing multiple goals as well as between multiple organisms striving at incompatible goals (1982:12). Other definitions of conflict by Coser (1956), Deutsch (1973), Hocker and Wilmot (1985), Pruitt and Rubin (1986), Conrad (1991) and Folger, Poole and Stutman (1997) have all shown that social conflict involves communicative interactions among people that have divergent goals and interests which among other issues are often predicated on competition over scarce resources.

From the foregoing, it has become crystal clear that in order to resolve any social conflict, including that of the Niger Delta, an adequate peace environment must be established. Miller and King
(2003) have defined peace as a political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices and norms. In a broader perspective, Best (2006) has defined peace generally as the absence of war, fear, conflict, anxiety, suffering and violence and the presence of an environment that encourages mutual coexistence. These peaceful social conditions have for decades eluded the people of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria.

It is indeed sad to observe that the African continent which has already been devastated by poverty and diseases is further presently gasping painfully under the heavy yoke of internally generated social conflicts. Best (2006:16) has lamented that despite the efforts by the international community and African regional intergovernmental collective security organizations to maintain peace and security in Africa, and to manage/resolve conflicts and build the peace, the continent still lacks the ‘depth of relevant knowledge’, sustained capacity and critical mass of expertise for conflict prevention, management, resolution and peace building. The above observation by Best suggests that appropriate methods of conflict resolution are not often applied in the resolution of most social conflicts in Africa.

For many decades now, the Niger Delta region of Nigeria has not known peace. The Niger Delta crisis has actually resulted in the perpetration of violence which has inevitably taken different forms. These include aggression and criminal attacks on oil companies and their staff, terrorism and kidnapping which has inevitably spread to other parts of the country. Some other fall outs of the crisis also include vicious forms of local gang warfare especially between the restive youths and federal government soldiers. The criminal exploitation of this region in the form of oil exploration by the federal government and multinational companies has also led to structural poverty and underdevelopment which in turn have deprived the people in this region of their basic human rights. This undesirable social situation has condemned thousands of people to hunger, diseases, illiteracy, unemployment, alienation and in deed National underdevelopment. These factors are potent breeding ground for conflict not only in the Niger Delta but in Nigeria as a whole. It is obvious that these conditions can undoubtedly derail the current democratic experiment in Nigeria if long lasting peace resolution measures beyond mere granting of amnesty to militants are not urgently adopted.

From the foregoing, it is evident that the Niger Delta conflict has its roots in the increasing demands of the people of Niger Delta to control the mineral oil resources produced in their various
communities. This agitation has further been exacerbated by the apparent environmental decimation which the oil producing communities have been subjected to as a result of oil production. There is therefore among the people of Niger Delta a wide spread feeling of marginalization and indeed deprivation of a just share of the gains accruing from the export of crude oil. This apparent feeling of exclusion and neglect especially with respect to issues of development has strained the relationship between the various stake holders in oil production in Nigeria. It is evident that the relationship between oil producing communities, multinational oil companies and the federal government of Nigeria has not been cordial for some decades now.

Among the various methods of conflict resolution, management or prevention, it is the confidence building approach that recommends the propagation of the culture and techniques of the Alternative Dispute Resolution strategy (ADR) which holds the greatest promise. The strategy recommended by this paper therefore involves four principal and inter-related conciliation techniques of negotiation, mediation, arbitration and restitution. This strategy has advantage over other reactive and often violent and expensive methods which include the use of force through deployment of forces for peace keeping and protracted court adjudication processes. It is hoped that the Alternative Dispute Resolution strategy would be capable of amicably resolving the Niger Delta crisis which has so far constituted a thorn in the body polity of the Nigerian nation. The successful resolution of the Niger Delta crisis has therefore great implication for Democracy in Nigeria and indeed for good governance in Africa.

**Theoretical Exploration:**

Scholars interested in conflict and peace studies have explored a wide range of social conflict theories. Prominent among these are; economic, biological, realist, frustration-aggression, physiological, structural, psycho-cultural, human needs, systemic and relational theories. Each of these theories has attempted to provide a peculiar frame work for the necessary understanding of the causes and conditions that often engender social conflicts including some times the conditions that facilitate the resolution of such disagreements. Although at a glance, each of these theories would seem to be relevant for this study, their critical examination will however reveal that the structural conflict theory provides the best theoretical frame work for the Niger Delta crisis.
Although Ademola has argued that the structural conflict theory has two dimensions which include both the radical structural and the liberal structural perspectives, he had noted that the main argument of this theory is that conflict is built into the particular ways societies are structured and organized (Ademola, 2006:41). The perspective of structural conflict theory therefore acknowledges the contributions of social problems such as exploitation, injustice, inequality, poverty, diseases and a host of other societal problems in the creation and perpetration of social conflicts. Structural conflict theorists therefore emphasize the unjust nature of human societies especially as it concerns the exploitation of groups and individuals in the processes of interpersonal and inter-group relationships.

The relevance of the structural conflict theory to this study is therefore predicated on the notion of resource control which implies exploitation in the Nigerian context and which is perhaps one of the most contested national issues in Nigeria today. Although the definition of resource control has become controversial and almost elusive, Nkwachukwu (2004:14) has noted that the general notion is that the concept represents the feeling of some Nigerians, especially the people of Niger Delta, that without a restructuring of the Nigerian society, economy, and polity to allow people opportunity to control resources located in their communities, the Nigerian state has little chance of survival. Evidence in the Niger Delta has conspicuously demonstrated that there is high tendency for powerless young men without education, jobs and indeed other means of survival to constitute serious threat and menace to societal peace and development in the area in particular and in Nigeria as a whole. It is for instance an open secret that the present brand of kidnapping (for ransom) which has become a lucrative crime in Nigeria has its origin in the Niger Delta region.

The Relevance of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) strategy in the Niger Delta crisis:

Bolarinwa (2006) has defined Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) strategy as the various dispute management techniques, which denounce the gamut of traditional adversarial processes and allows the introduction of a neutral third party intervention. Similarly, Best (2006) has noted that the idea of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) is about the search for, and application of ‘non-conventional peaceful methods of settling disputes and resolving conflict situations using the least expensive methods and ways that satisfy the parties as well as
ways that preserve relationships after a settlement might have been reached’.

As a viable mechanism for peace and conflict management, this approach has essential benefits which are most appropriate for the resolution of the Niger Delta crises. Specifically, Bolarinwa (2006:39-49) has outlined the forms and strategies of (ADR) as essentially constituting among others the processes of negotiation, mediation and arbitration. The significance of restitution as a conflict resolution technique in traditional Nigerian societies has also made it inevitable for us to recommend its use in the context of the Niger Delta crisis. For purposes of clear analysis especially with reference to the context of this study, we shall now examine in detail, these four principal methods of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR).

(i) **Negotiation:**

Negotiation involves the process of conflict analysis which requires a careful examination and understanding of the root causes, dynamics and issues that are fundamental in a particular conflict situation. Specifically, Pruitt (1981: xi-xii) as cited by Bolarinwa (2006) has defined negotiation as a form of decision making in which two or more parties talk with one another in an effort to resolve their opposing interest – a process by which a joint decision is made by two or more parties. Following from this perspective, negotiation implies the sharing of ideas, information and various options that are necessary for achieving an acceptable mutual agreement between conflicting parties. This method of conflict resolution is appropriate in the Niger Delta situation in which the conflicting parties constitute four different entities – the Federal government of Nigeria, the various states in the region and of course the multinational oil companies operating in the area. The views and feelings of the Niger Delta peoples and the various stakeholders outlined above can best be explored in a conducive peace environment which can be provided by the process of negotiation. Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (1999:21) have also defined negotiation as a structured process of dialogue between conflicting parties about issues in which their opinions differ. Best (2006:106) has however identified two types of negotiation. These according to him include positional and collaborative negotiations. While the positional negotiation is based on the aggressive pursuit of interest by parties, and is typically adversarial and competitive, Best has noted that collaborative or constructive negotiation (which we advocate in this study) on the other hand is a process where parties try to educate each
other about their needs and concerns, and therefore involves a search by both parties for the ways to solve their problems in ways that the interests and fears of both or all parties are met.

As a universal principle of conflict resolution, constructive negotiation had provided a veritable avenue for social stability even in the African traditional context. In the context of this study therefore, the cultural values of the peoples of the Niger Delta region must be respected within the rubrics of constructive negotiation. A major advantage of collaborative negotiation especially in the Niger Delta context is that it can employ the strategy of integrative or problem solving bargaining which creates avenues for conflicting parties to explore possibilities through their collaborative efforts to achieve a win-win situation where both parties can agree to give premium on their respective interests without any unnecessary compromise (Bolarinwa, 2006:42). The goal of negotiation is therefore to reach joint agreement through joint decision making between parties in a conflict situation as is the case in Niger Delta region.

(ii) Mediation:

Miller (2002:23) has defined mediation as the voluntary, informal, non-binding process undertaken by an external party that fosters the settlement of differences or demands between directly contesting parties. Best (2006) has also described mediation as a voluntary process in which assistance is provided by a third party especially where the parties to a conflict admit that they have a problem which they are both committed to solving, but in which the mediator manages a negotiation process, but does not impose a solution on the parties. The role of mediation according to Best is therefore to create the enabling environment for the parties to carry out dialogue sessions leading to the resolution of pending conflicts. The mediator or facilitator thus uses effective communication process to draw the attention of conflicting parties to neglected points and consequently becomes a confidant and a reconciler to the various parties in the conflict. Essentially, the mediator according to Best, needs to be objective, neutral, balanced, supportive, non-judgmental, astute and above all tries to drive the parties towards win-win as opposed to win-lose outcome (Best 2006:108). Although mediation is not a popular method of conflict resolution in the African context and thus is generally less important than arbitration, its excessive reliance on the neutral role of the mediator can be effectively explored in the Niger Delta situation.
(iii) Arbitration:

Moore (1996:9) has defined Arbitration as a voluntary process in which people in conflict request the assistance of impartial and neutral third party to make decision for them regarding contested issues. In his own classic contribution, Albert has observed that as a process, Arbitration is resorted to when past efforts to reach a common ground by the disputants proved abortive though both of them want the conflict to be resolved quickly, under this process, the third party with formal mandate, and upon the invitation of the disputing parties, hears the issues in the conflict and discusses them with each side in a formal, legal setting. The arbitrator conducts himself, more or less, like a judge. His decisions have legal backing and must be respected by the parties once taken (Albert, 2001:34-35).

Arbitration has been and indeed is still a veritable instrument of conflict resolution in the African context. The significant role of arbitration in the African context is usually performed with special reference to the positions of power or authority which the arbitrators occupy. Thus, Best (2006:109) has noted that Arbitrators in the African context could be traditional leaders in the family, clan, village, community, ethnic group etc.

Uchendu (1965:43) had for instance observed that among the Igbo of south east Nigeria, whose constitution has no provision for specialized courts, the injured party takes the initiative of either appealing to the head of the compound of the offender or to a body of arbitrators. Although there may be different channels through which arbitration could be realized in the African context, the procedure is similar. Generally, Best (2006) has noted that the conflicting parties and their witnesses may be listened to, and then a decision is made about who is right and who is wrong, after which the next step on what to be done is taken. It is significant to observe that there is usually a strong desire to achieve justice and fair play through the process of arbitration in the African context. Since traditional institutions of authority are accorded great respect in Nigerian society, this paper is strongly advocating for the use of prominent traditional rulers as arbitrators in the resolution of the Niger Delta conflict.

(iv) Restitution

Another important way of resolving the Niger Delta crisis is by considering the option of restitution. Ugwuoke (2005:11) has defined restitution as the restoration of lost property or financial compensation
for loss of property or for harm done to the victim of a crime. A proper understanding of the significance of restitution as a conflict resolution mechanism especially in the context of the Niger Delta crisis requires a radical theoretical shift from the traditional conceptualization of the nature of the crisis. In this context, the prolonged exploitation of the Niger Delta people through exploration of oil in the region with all its attendant and devastating consequences is in the context of this study considered as a criminal act which has been perpetrated by both the federal government of Nigeria and the various multinational oil companies operating in the area. Thus, from this perspective, the people of the Niger Delta region are considered as victims in the same way as any other crime victims. This alternative radical theoretical conceptualization of the Niger Delta crisis can best be explained with reference to the consequences of oil exploration in the area.

Nkwachukwu (2004:15-17) has summarized the enormous effects of the criminal exploitation emanating from oil exploration in the Niger Delta to include; pollution arising from oil spillage and problems of gas flaring, toxic waste and those of erosion as a result of badly constructed canals and causeways built to facilitate the activities of the oil companies. The damaging consequences of oil exploration in the Niger Delta have according to Nkwachukwu resulted in the destruction of wildlife, farmlands, forests, aquifers and human lives. These wanton deprivations and exploitations are indeed criminal and the people of Niger Delta deserve restitution since the socio-economic situation in the area has continued to degenerate beyond reasonable proportions. The kind of restitution that is advocated for in this paper is however different from the individualized and haphazard form of compensation which the federal government has so far administered in the Niger Delta area and which has failed to satisfy the needs of the people. Restitution in the context of this paper therefore seeks to achieve the primary purpose of reconciling the various conflicting parties in the Niger Delta region. This is in consonance with the idea of restitution in the traditional African context. Ugwuoke (2005) had observed that restitution was a significant method of dispute resolution in traditional Nigerian societies. Davidson (1992) had also noted that the principle of leveling compensation (restitution) was a norm of African judicial practice which applied to all situations of imbalance caused by infringements of a given community’s rule of law. The advantage of restitution as a conflict resolution strategy therefore lies in the fact that it is socially constructive. In addition, restitution is implicitly reparative and restorative and as such can actually change the
situation in the Niger Delta by ensuring that both the offenders i.e the Federal government and the oil companies on one hand, and the victims i.e the people of Niger Delta on the other hand are relieved from their guilt and anxiety respectively. A comprehensive restitution package for the people of Niger Delta is therefore capable of ensuring a lasting peace in the area since this could provide relief for many years of bottled anger, grudges and misgivings predicated on a feeling of injustice and inequity.

**Conclusion:**

From the foregoing, it has become evident that traditional conciliation methods could be explored in the resolution of the Niger Delta crisis. A one time chairman of the defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU), president Muhammad Hosni Mubarak of Egypt had remarked that ‘Africans possess both the will and the capacity to settle whatever disputes through conciliation; guided by the spirit of African unity and our real commitment to the oneness of our interests and destiny’ (United Nations, 1991). Evidence has shown that the artificial method recently adopted by the Yar’Adua administration which involved granting of amnesty to the restive youths lacks the kind of sincere commitment that president Muarak was recommending for African leaders. It must be emphasized as we have noted earlier that these four methods of reconciliation discussed in this paper i.e negotiation, mediation, arbitration and restitution are greatly interwoven and can therefore hardly be separated in real life situation. They have however been discussed separately here only for analytical purposes. Alternative dispute resolution strategies (ADR) as discussed in this paper are considered appropriate for the resolution of the problem of injustice which Obasanjo (1988) has described as a bane to security and development in Nigeria in general and particularly in the Niger Delta context. An effective resolution of this protracted crisis should not be predicated on artificial political measures but must address the problem of injustice which in the context of this paper has been acknowledged as the off-shoot of structural poverty, youth restiveness and crime not only in the crisis thorn Niger Delta region, but in Nigeria as a whole. This author therefore contends that unless the fundamental peace resolution initiatives discussed in this paper are taken seriously, the Niger Delta crisis will continue to pose serious challenges to the process of democratization and good governance in Nigeria.
References:


Aspect of the Grammar of the So Called Wh-Words in Èchiè

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Abstract:
The grammar of wh-words is common in the literature. One may hold that its popularity may be due to its valence and linguistic versatility in language discourses. A point of interest in the literature has been the syntactic position of the wh-words in sentences. Opinions are divided on the syntactic position of the wh-words in clauses. Some scholars hold that the occurrences or the syntactic positions of the words in clauses is usually at the discretion of the users; while others hold that for adequate communicative potency, the wh-words occur in specified positions. In this paper, we uphold that the syntactic position of the wh-words in clauses is largely language specific. The words can be based generated in a particular slot in the clause, in which case, it is said to be in-situ; it can also occur in a non-in-situ position in which case, it is
said to be product of transformational displacement. To descriptively x-ray or get at the thrust of our concern, we divided this paper into two sections. Section one which is called Set-A-type, discusses the syntactic in-situ position of the wh-words. In this occurrence, the wh-words that occur at both subject and predicate in situ are defined; those that can only occur at predicate in situ are also shown. Section two which we tagged Set-B-type, discusses the syntactic non-in situ occurrence of the wh-words. This section explains the circumstances for the occurrence and also some grammatical nuances that follow the occurrence.

Introduction:

The grammar of the wh-words abounds in the literature. The pragmatic nature of the words according to Nwala (2004:185) has been the cause of its common place in the literature. Another reason for the commonness of the wh-words noted by Nwala (2000:118) is their prominence in communicative discourse, especially as they are dynamically used in interrogations.

It seems to be a universally accepted opinion that every language has forms of wh-words since speakers or language users usually get involved in speech act discourse. The use of these words in question formation follows a set of optional and obligatory rules in lects such as Igbo, French, English etc. In these languages, the wh-words may occur sentence finally or internally, or both, depending on the grammar of the language.

Èchiè belongs to the French type languages where the wh-words can occur in dual positions in the surface structure: sentence finally and internally, unlike English type languages where the wh-words can only occur sentence internally (perhaps except in echo questions), (Radford 1988).

The wh-words in Èchiè are:

i. Ònye who
    ii. Be ole where
    iii. Mgbè òle when
    iv. Kè òle which
    v. Kwụ ole how
    vi. Nni what
    vii. Ndii where/what/which/how
    viii. Èle how many
2.0 SET-A-TYPE: Subject and Predicate IN-SITU:

1. Ònye jhèrè ornù?
   (Who pst go farm)
   Who went to the farm?

2. Île dhàrà́ ñ àláá?
   (How many pst fall on the ground)
   How many fell on the ground?

3. Nni kùrù Àmàdí
   (What pst hit Àmàdí)
   What hit Àmàdí?

4. I gwàrà ònye?
   (You pst tell who)
   Who did you tell?

5. Ò wèrè ìle?
   (He pst take how many)
   How many did he take?

6. Ò mèrnè nni
   (He pst do what)
   What did he do?

Sentences 1-6 clearly show the use of the wh-words: Ònye, île and nni in interrogative sentences. Whereas in 1-3, the words are at their subject in-situ, in 4-6, they are at their predicative in-situ. At these positions, the words are base generated. The sentences are grammatical and acceptable.

2.1 SET-A-TYPE: Predicate IN-SITU:

7. Nù gàrà kwu ole?
   (you pst go how)
   How did you go?

8. Nù mèrnè kè ôle?
   (you pst go what)

9. I jhèrè mgbè ôle?
   (You pst go when)
   When did you go?

10. Nù jhèrè be ole
    (You pst go where)
    Where did you go?
Kwu ole, mgbè òle, kè òle and be òle in sentences 7-10 are at their subject in-situ, they are base generated at these positions. This set of wh-words in Èchiè belongs to another class; they do not occur subject in-situ. Why these words cannot be base generated at the subject slot like ònye, ile and mni is not yet known. Ndimele’s (1991) argument that ònye, mni and ile are able to occur subject in-situ due to their inherent thematic properties which see them bearing either an Agent or thematic role is not explanatorily adequate. Whether an item inherently contains an Agent or thematic role or is assigned such role by another say, the verb, does not make much difference. Thematic roles are not base generated, they are products of the logical form, agreed to be assigned after the collapse of the Standard Theory (ST), and the Extended Standard Theory (EST) at the surface level of the grammar.

Each of the wh-words kwu òle, be òle, kè òle, and mgbè òle is historically a command word made up of what we may call a question ‘trigger’ and a question ‘extender’. Be-, be-, kwu and mgbè are question ‘initiators’ or ‘triggers’, which inherently contain attributes of interrogation. Òle is an interrogative ‘extender’ or a help mate of the interrogative triggers. The syntactic status or nature of òle suggest that historically, it used to be an interrogative word but lost its full qualities in course of time. This shows why it can as well collocate with other wh-words such as ndii and ònye apart from its compounding counterparts:

11. Ndii òle biàrà?
   (Which which pst come)
   Which people came?
   Who came?

12. Onye òle gwàrà gi
    (who which pst tell you)
    Who told you?

The words be-, ke-, and mgbè as we said earlier contain interrogative attributes but lack syntactic and semantic wholeness. To achieve deserved grammatical adequacy especially at the logical form, the ‘extender’ òle has to cliticize onto each of the question triggers. This argument seems a better reason why kwu-òle, be òle, kè òle and mgbè òle do not occur subject in-situ and therefore do not inherently bear Agent or theme roles in line with Ndimele (1991) position.

Kwu-òle, mgbè òle, be òle and kè òle syntactically contract with ndii. Whereas the former are base generated at the predicate, the
latter can only be base generated at the subject. In fact, the syntax of \textit{ndii} is completely different from the other Êchiè wh-words. \textit{Ndii} is the only wh-word of the lect that must collocate with another wh-words or a question ‘extenders’ or ‘triggers’ such as \textit{öneye}, \textit{ôle}, \textit{ile}, \textit{mgbè nne}, etc.

13. Ndii Ònye o bù?  
(Who who he be)  
Who is he?  
Who is that?

14. Ndii Òle biàrà?  
(Who which pst come)  
Which people came?  
Who came?

15. Ndii hne mèrnè ni?  
(What thing pst happen what)  
What happened?

Sentences 13-15 validate our opinion about \textit{ndii}. In each of the sentences, \textit{ndii} is a form of focus marker and occupies the pre-subject position. This explains why all the wh-words in Êchiè save \textit{ndii} occur with the focus marker \textit{O bu} ‘it is’.

2.2 SET – B – TYPE: Secondary Position:

16. Île, bù hne, o wèèrè t?  
(How be thing he pst take)  
How many did he take?

17. Be olei, bù be, o jhèrè t?  
(Where be where he pst go)  
Where did he go?

18. Ndii hne, o gwàrà gi t?  
(What thing he pst tell you)  
What did he tell you?

19. Mgbè Òlei, bù mgbè, o mèrnè t?  
(When be when he pst happen)  
When did it happen

20. Nni, bù hne, o gwàrà gi t?  
(What be thing he pst tell you)  
What did he tell you?

21. Kè Òlei, bù kè o mèrnè t?
(Which be which he pst do)
Which did he do?
22. Ônye₁, bù onye, I gwàrà tì?
(Who be who pst tell)
Who did you tell?
23. Kwu ole₁ bù kwu, o dì tì?
(How be how he be)
How is he?

The set shows the wh-words in alien positions. The words are in these positions via transformational rules. Their movements necessitated the manifestation of trace with phonetic shapes and those without phonetic shapes. The moved items which now occupy the subject positions are internally generated; their movements were cyclic or successive in obedience to bounding rule (see Chomsky 1980, 1981, 1982 Radford 1988 and Haegeman 1991).

In sentences 16, 18 and 20, the wh-words ile, ndii and nni left at their first landing sites yielding to the emergence of the trace, hne, which in the parlance of GB is called a variable. Morphologically, hne is a free lexis in the lect with polysemous semantic reference. It could mean ‘something’ or ‘what’. Why hne is not recognized as one of the wh-words in the lect is still a matter of debate.

Our opinion about hne is that its inability to collocate contiguously with the focus marker, o bu ‘is it’, freely without the wh-words ile, ôle, nni and ônye and its parallel behaviour with the traces of other wh-words suggest that it is not semantically and syntactically a full fledged wh-word. In the sentences under investigation, the wh-words, their variables, hne and traces, tì, observe all the syntactic and semantic principles of the GB grammar.

Sentences 17, 19, 21 and 22 depict same transformational output save in the variable (or the trace with a phonetic shape). The sentences are complex like those of 1, 3 and 5. The traces or variables of these sentences are reductions or are parts of the wh-words. The traces or variables are be, mgbè, kè and kwu. The grammatical appearance of these words as traces suggests first and foremost that the wh-words be ole, mgbè ôle, kè ôle and kwu ole are not originally words in the lexicon but are derived through historical contact with other languages.

Apart from the fact that in the constructions under investigation kè, mgbè, be and kwu are traces, they are also described at least in this
paper as question triggers like hne in sentences 16, 18, and 20. Each of these words or traces inherently contains attributes of interrogation. The concatenation of the interrogative triggers kè, be, mgbè, and kwu with the interrogative extender òle make the triggers and extenders to function fully as wh-words in the lect.

The wh-word ònye in sentence 22 is somewhat different from the other examples. Ònye functions dually in the sentence. It is a wh-word and at the same a variable. The trace or variable ònye is of the same syntactic and semantic status as hne, kè, kwu, mgbè, and be in the constructions above. The wh-word ònye is the only wh-word in Èchiè that can subcategorize or select + human features. This ‘elitist’ status of ònye perhaps may be the reason why its trace or variable in the construction above is different from others.

**Conclusion:**

Thus far, we have been investigating aspects of the syntactic and semantic behaviour of the wh-words in Èchiè. We noted morphologically the number of the wh-words in the lect; their base generated instances and their surface level realization. The wh-words ònye, île, nni and ndii are the only subgroup that can occur sentence initially. Ndii in addition always collocates with either another wh-word or with an interrogative trigger hne. The wh-words ònye, île and nni are syntactically able to occur sentence finally at the base of the grammar.

The wh-words kwu òle, mgbè òle, kè òle and be òle only occur sentence finally at the base; their occurrence sentence initially is always as a result of transformation. In the movement of the words to the sentence initial position, the principle of subjacency or cyclic movement is always adhered to. Again, the movement or dislocation of every wh-word to the sentence initial position warrants the realization of a complex sentence and the emergence of a trace with a phonetic shape.

The paper clearly pinpoints the divergence of ònye which is purely a human interrogative sheds or reduces its status to its like in cases of movement or complex wh-word questions realization, while ndii which does not occur sentence finally at the surface level needs or requires another wh-word or an interrogative trigger in every circumstance.

One may ask, what is the cause of the rekindled interest in the syntax of the wh-words since a lot has been said about it in the literature? Our answer is that this study has revealed among other things the distinction and peculiarity of the wh-words in the Èchiè lect.
References:


The Legacy Of Women Empowerment In Nigeria

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Abstract:
Gender discrimination has caused an untold harm to almost every fact of our existence as a nation, the seeming insurmountable problem, which poses as a very hard nut to crack, is what I intend to address in this paper. The problems caused by different gender bias and prejudice, otherwise called, gender chauvinism, are such that many people tend not to reason, before taking sides to their own gender, this, is found in the social, political, economic, religious and cultural spheres. The males feel that their birthright is to dominate the opposite sex, while the women feel that, for too long. They have been subordinated and subjugated by the hale folk, they therefore want their voice to be heard, hence, the women empowerment, women education, women liberation and even women domination as some people put it. This precarious situation came into being, since human beings seem to
have forgotten their natural and God given roles in the society. Postmodernism and the eradication or reduction of ignorance and illiteracy on the side of the women have played a part in bringing the female folk to the level which they are today, and also promises to advance them further. I shall in this paper examine the different positions of the two groups, the masculine and the feminine gender. And then conclude that no gender is insignificant and therefore none should be looked down upon since we claim to have a society that is egalitarian in nature.

Introduction:

The Nigerian society and indeed the African society in general, has been that of patriarchy in nature, the culture is a masculine culture, history is also male based it is often said that we are in men’s world, historians say that it is the history of men that they tell (his-story) women are meant to be seen and not to be heard. Their God-given ability begins with child bearing and ends in the kitchen. This patriarchy structure of the traditional society in Nigeria has for too long, left the women un-empowered, and the men empowered, superficially. Virtually, every man in Nigeria age and social status not withstanding sees himself as superior to every women within and around his enclave.

In Nigeria, there are clearly spelt out roles according to sex or gender, the ethics of the society excuses the males in some traditional societies while the women are not excluded by any means. An example is that a married man can have a sexual relationship with another lady or widow as the case may be, where the married woman is forbidden from any such sexual freedom. In some places within the country, the man determines who sleeps with his wife as a sex partner, he could offer her to his male friend for sexual activities, and the woman’s opinion or consent is not sought for more often. the women in some other countries are beginning to be conscious of the fact that they are been subjugated and dominated unnecessarily, and contrary to their will and development. Men naturally do not participate in domestic chores, such as cooking, rearing of children, and the rest, these are considered to be the exclusive preserve of the women, who traditionally are meant to be house wives, but this does not in any way exclude them from the farm work which is the source of income and feeding for the African man. Men are grouped as the strong, courageous, self confident and
able to withstand the external attack or aggression on the family, while the women whom the bible calls the weaker sex are seen and considered to be the opposite of what the men are.

According to Aweda, Women oversee the domestic chores; they kept houses, processed and cooked all foods. They also help in the planting and harvesting of food crops and cash crops. They were primarily responsible for the bearing and rearing of children from birth on; men were only called upon to assist when extra ordinary discipline was considered necessary especially for the boys1.

Aina on his own commented on the women domination and subjugation as follows:

*It is a system of social stratification and differentiation on the basis of sex, which provides material advantages to males while simultaneously placing severe constraints on the roles and activities of females. There are clearly defined sex roles, while various taboos ensure conformity with specified gender roles*2.

Women Empowerment Defined:

Women empowerment can be defined in many ways by different scholars, but the conception of women empowerment here, bothers on the upliftment of the female gender, to at least, be near the status of their male counterparts if not be at par with that. This upliftment has to be all inclusive, social, economical, religious, political and other wise. That is what we mean by gender equity.

Women empowerment is the development of mental and physical capacity, power or skills in women for them to operate meaningfully in their social milieu, thereby experiencing a more favourable level of social recognition and subsequently enhance their economic status3.

She viewed education as the bedrock of women empowerment, whether formal or informal education; it empowered the women to a very large extent. Women empowerment is all about women liberation, which has become a movement among the women and some concerned men, who feel that sexual equality in the areas of gender roles and responsibilities is a tool towards curbing the problems we face as a country, which range from political instability, economic down turn, academic backwardness, and all the like. Their main argument is that the women are not given a breathing space both in the home and elsewhere to express themselves like the men who are always free to do
so. The women are often loaded with family duties and responsibilities, which includes child bearing and rearing and they are also expected to pursue a career with men. This no doubt makes them look as though they are less than the men in intelligence and dexterity, largely because, their family roles do not allow them enough time and energy to give their careers what it needs, like the men who put all their time and energy to their different chosen careers.

Women empowerment connotes the removal of all vestiges of oppression by the men folk, who are the legislators of customs which in Nigeria does not favour the women. It is the presumption that there aught to be equality among the sexes. Harriet Taylor terms it, the vindication of the womanhood which is aimed at the removal of what she called the flagrant injustice on the side of the women, she said that, 

...far from being expedient, we are firmly convinced that the division of mankind into two castes, one born to rule over the other, is in this case, as in all cases, an unqualified mischief, a source of perversion and demoralization both to favoured class and to those at whose expense they are favoured.

History of Women Empowerment:

The liberation of women from where the patriarchal society of men kept them is what has become a movement over the years, this movement is called Feminism. It was first given a consideration in the eighteenth centuries by some women scholars, who became radical and pragmatic in their thoughts, prominent among them, was the grand mother of Feminist thought, called Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797). Her family background, which was not favourable to the women and ladies, made her venture into the quest for the vindication of womanhood, “her father was an unsuccessful gentleman farmer who squandered. The family’s assets and took out his frustrations on her wife and children. While still quite a young woman, Wollstonecraft struck out on her own to London to become a writer.

Mary Wollstonecraft who wrote in response to the domestic violence, that was meted on her mother and sisters, became popular after publishing her work, “a vindication of the rights of woman’ she practically contended with Rousseau’s conception of womanhood, for he saw the women as people who are made only to satisfy and please the men, he said,

To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them to educate us when young and take care of us when grown up, to advise,
to console us, to render our lives easily and agreeable. These are the duties of women at all times, and what they should be taught in their infancy.$^6$

Wollstonecraft argument against Rousseau’s position on women was presented in three forms. One; her first argument was that if the women are only educated to be the ornaments to, and play things of, men, it would have bad consequences on the society, since the women are understood by the men to be silly, and vain creatures, they would only produce fools if allowed to bring up the family, she said that they would become ‘mere propagators of fools’ and off course, this will be harmful to the society. Two; she presented another argument that this formular of making the women an ornament, would have bad consequences on the woman themselves. She said that the beauty of women will fade one day and their husband, will get bored and distracted, and then the women will have bitterness and sorrows as their company, since love would have become jealousy or vanity, unless they have an inner resources on which their men would fall back on, on this she advocated that the women be trained and equipped with these inner resourcefulness. Three, here she argued that the women were capable of attaining the masculine virtues of wisdom and rationality, if the society would allow them to have those virtues cultivated in them.

“She suggested that women have no other ambition than to inflame passions will have no real strength of character, no true moral virtues and no inner resources”.$^7$

Another person who joined the feminist battle for recognition and vindication of the right of women is Doyle Wheeler (1765-1833). She co-authored an essay titled. “The Appeal of one half of the Human Race, Women, against the pretensions of the other half, man, to restrain them in political, and thence in civil and domestic, slavery.” With William Thompson (1775-1833). This essay was published in the year 1825, in it, they argued that the denial of the right of women is contrary to the society’s interest in general as thorough going utilitarian, they also argued that this denial of the women’s right is in consistent with the greatest happiness of the greatness number of people, they saw it as unjust and advocated for equal rights among the sexes.

Harriet Taylor (1807-1858) joined in the advocacy for women empowerment with her man friend. John start mill. “Taylor also thought that the non-physiological differences between men and
women were socially constructed, to the detriment of woman and of society in general”.

She saw as unjust the imposition of the payment of taxes on women, since they were not allowed to vote, let alone be voted for, in the government that spent their money that is the tax, they paid.

These agitations of women in the defence of their right, gave birth to the laws which allowed women’s property rights and the right to vote, in the year 1920, they secured the right to vote in the United States of America few decades later, another wave in the empowerment of womanhood, emerged. In 1949 when the book “The second sex” was published by Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986). This woman who doubled as a philosopher and a novelist, was of the continental tradition that means that she came from elsewhere in Europe apart from England. She was of existentialism and phenomenology. She drifted from the public world of laws, rights and educational opportunities and focused on the cultural mechanisms of oppression which left women in the role of “other” to man’s “self”. She was an advocate of self-re-creation, according to her,

No matter that we may be controlled by our own internal psychodynamics or by the forces of economic history; ultimately, we can always “transcend our own immanence,” create ourselves a new, and overcome the strait jackets of history and culture.

For Simone de Beauvoir, “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman.” The category of womanhood is imposed by localisaiton”

Another woman advocate of women empowerment/feminists, born into a working class family in Toledo, Ohio, in 1934. Her parents were divorced when she was much younger, and she spent much of her youth and adolescence in penury, she was also saddled with the responsibility of caring for her emotionally unstable mother. She upon graduation from smith college in 1956, became a journalist. She gained prominence in the 1960s, when she became an activist in feminism, and also helped to found the Ms. Magazine, which x-rayed women issues in America. She wrote many papers on the women issues, with special interest on the male domination of their female counterparts according to her,

Women in their late teens and early twenties are the peak of their social power; still very sexually desirable, still full of potential as wives and child bearers. As women age, however, they lose this social power as
their attractiveness fades, and this loss can be a very radicalizing experience – particularly when their gray-haired male contemporaries are still being called distinguished, instead of haggard.\(^{11}\)

**Gender Dominance in Nigeria:**

Among the different tribes and ethnic groups in the country, there is a general understanding that one gender is accepted more than the other, and as a result, if takes precedence over and above the other, the masculine gender, more often that not, dominates the female. The traditional and also the religious notion, is that the male gender is superior to that of the female “the superiority often exhibited by the male gender has put the female gender in a struggling situation in a bid to free her from the shackles of domination.\(^{12}\)

Men in Nigeria do not believe that it is possible for them to cook while they have wives others see it as a sacrilege for a man to wash his wife’s cloths, or the dishes that are used in the home. These domestic works are left at the mercy of the women, including the upbringing of the children though this offers the women an ample opportunity to also exercise some amount of dominance over men, no matter how small they dominate over the man or boys while they are still young, for it is a known fact that the women control their children when they are young than the men do, most of the time, the tendency is there for a man to be groomed in the way of womanhood, this is why it is often said that, “the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world”.

Women also dominate their husbands over food preparation, cooking and display, it is not strange to found out that same men who like food so much, or put another way, the men whose stomach control, are also being controlled by their wives, who are in charge of the kitchens and the dinning rooms *ab-initio*.

Another area of female dominance is through their womb, which the men do not have but need very seriously, to show off that they are real men, Chinweizu on this said that,

> Confronted with her monopoly over the womb, the man is obliged to be her slave, if that is the price she demands;...in anticipation of the bride’s demands and her monopolistic veto powers, a man is trained to seek adventure and win the world, by laying the body at her feet, he can avoid her withering scorn and rejection...man is obliged to surrender has liberty and
his earnings when he mates...the quest for a fruitful womb dominates the male’s behaviour. Its consequences have been known to alter the settled course of history...O womb your power is great! You are the biological foundation, the taproot of female power. As the goal net into which a man must shoot if he is to procreate, you are the part of a woman for which he will pay almost any price. And because you are priceless to him, you hold power over him, like a fabulous gold seem which rules a prospector’s life.\(^\text{13}\)

**Women Empowerment in Nigeria:**

The voices of the women in Nigeria are beginning to be heard, the women themselves have started to change the civil society in Nigeria they are not only allowed to vote in elections, but are now being voted for, they now secure some important appointive offices in the governments, they are no longer seen but not heard from, there are very many women among the different executive cadres in the country. The women leaders have achieved a lot and should be applauded some organized women organizations governmental and non governmental alike are now representing the interest of the famine gender. The National Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ), and other organizations, such at that for women lawyers, are now playing a lead role in the empowerment of the women in Nigeria. The women are on a daily basis, via the media houses encouraged to join the process of bringing out political leaders in the country, that is politics. They now join political parties and run for political offices like never before. The Nigerian women who wallowed in poverty, Illiteracy, and lack of access to good health now have a place in care giving, that is access to good health, they are everywhere in UNICEF, WHO, PATHS etc. They are now educated like men, if not more than the men. The D & G project, the Democracy and Governance, has elevated the women a lot in the country, the main objective of the Democracy and governance is to make sure that the women are trained as to participate more actively in political life, and to place issues such as access to health care, clean water, children’s education and the creation and enforcement of gender – balanced laws on the national political agenda. Democracy and governance is using about thirty one (31) non-governmental organizations throughout the country to achieved their set objectives. Center for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) and John Hopkins University Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS)
are their major back bones in the world of NGO’s these non-governmental organizations include women lawyers, women journalists, market women groups, women’s religious organizations, youth advocacy groups and some other theatre troupes.

The women’s political empowerment, their fundamental human rights and civic responsibility and democratic participation are the primary focus of the Democracy and governance project.

Nigerian women and indeed some of the men who are concerned, are bent on ensuring the empowerment of the women in the country, because, the country stands to gain a lot from so doing, in our political life as a nation, we have indeed tried men, who have failed us severally, in the religious sphere, and also in the cultural and economic spheres, we need to try the women. The few women who have been tested in the political spheres, have also been approved, the likes of Professor Dora, Akunyili of (NAFDAC), Prof. Ndi Okereke OnyLuke of, the stock exchange, the first woman governor in Nigeria, Dame Virgy Etiaba, Dr. Mrs. Ngozi Okonjo Iwuala, and a lot more have brought a face lift on the cast down face of Nigerian polity. Besides all these political upliftment in the country, it is a known fact that it is unethical to subjugate one gender to the other, John Stuart Mill, the English utilitarian

Philosopher, commented on the subjection of women as follows:

*That the principle which regulates the existing social relation between the two sexes – the legal subordination of one sex to the other – is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrance to human improvement: and that it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other*.14

The subjection of women by men or by the women themselves is based on the selfish interest of the people who subject the other, according to the mother of modern feminism, the French existentialist, Simone de Beauvoir, the objectification of women denies their transcendence and fulfillment, it rather makes them dependent on man and objects of doom.

Now, what peculiarly signalizes the situation of woman is that – a free and autonomous being like all human creatures – nevertheless finds herself living in a world where men compel her to assume the status of the other. They propose to stabilize her as object and to doom
her to immanence since her transcendence is to be overshadowed and forever transcended by another ego (conscience) which is essential and sovereign. The drama of woman lies in this conflict between the fundamental aspirations of very subject (ego) – who always regards the self as the essential – and the compulsion of a situation in which she is the inessential. How can a human being in woman’s situation attain fulfillment? What roads are open to her? Which are blocked? How can independence be recovered in a state of dependency? What circumstances limit woman’s liberty and how can they be overcome?15

**Men’s Argument against Women Empowerment:**

It is socially, economically, politically and religiously obvious that in Nigeria, we are in the men’s world, the different societies have one form of male dominance over the women or the other. We shall examine these areas of dominance by men and their arguments briefly.

From the Religious arena, women are impoverished as the men argue that they were the first to be created by God, that it is only a single rib of the man that formed the woman, and so, she must be under the man, since she came from the rib bone from under his arm they say that the women are help mates only, they are not equal to men. In some religious organizations they were not allowed to became priests, prophets etc. In the traditional shrines, females like males are allowed to serve as men, but the case is not the same with the Christian and Islamic religions, especially in the Christian orthodox setting. Christian men are fund of quoting some areas in the Holy Bible like, “Wives, be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord”. Ephesians 5:22.

Politically, the woman are still dwarfs in Nigeria, it is even better now that they are allowed to near the political terrain, years or decades ago, it was like a taboo, for a woman to be partisan or active in Nigerian politics, it was seen to be men’s exclusive preserve, any woman who ventured into politics was seen as a prostitute and called many names, some were sacked or divorced by their husbands who often accused them of infidelity in marriage.

Economically they were best suited for idleness or as house wives, they were not allowed to pursue any career, in the first place, they did not go to school, that is they were not educated as to get them qualified for career jobs. Those who ventured into business were not big business women, but petty traders, women were not even owning bank accounts by their husbands, but to day the story is different, as
women are now among the billionaires and multinationals, some of them are bank owners and chairpersons.

Women were nothing or almost nothing culturally, they were not allowed to break collar nuts, they were subjected to nothingness when their husbands died, the irony of this is that most of the time, if not all the time, it was their fellow women who meted out these inhuman treatments on the widows, they were forced to sleep with their late husbands, sit on the floor, cut their hairs, in some places, drink the water with which their late husbands were bathed they were not considered heirs to their late husbands especially when the woman has got no male issue. The topmost argument passed by the men is that the women are like slaves to men as they were bought (married with money). It is therefore advocated that the dowries that are paid by men during marriages be made to be anything else apart from money, in some places in the south east geographical location, Igbo extraction. The in-laws bargain over the bride price or dowry, this should not be the case for a human being. It should have been the best if two persons who love themselves, decide to get married, they will just inform their parents, and celebrate the marriage in a neutral place, such as the church for the Christians or the court of law as they may deem fit. Not in the home of the bride where the in laws see themselves as the buyer and the parents of the girls as the sellers.

The women have some answers to these arguments from men. They say that what a man can do a woman can do it and even better. The women now become priests and Bishops in the Anglican church overseas and even in the Pentecostal churches in Nigeria, the Roman Catholic church has women as Reverend sisters and mothers and Methodist church has Deaconesses, the Presbyterians have no gender discrimination in their ministry. It is true that men said that God in his manifestation dealt with men first at creation, as he created Adam first, but the women say that the Salvation plan for the world would not have been anything near possible, if not through the use of woman, that is the virgin birth of Jesus Christ. The women claim to be closer to God since they were the first to see that Christ had resurrected.

Some women have even gone too far in their quest for recognition and inclusion some say that the Bible is male biased, that the gender ascribed to God is male, instead of female, they would have preferred female or at most that the Bible would have addressed God with the pronoun she, or he/she instead of attributing a masculine gender to God professor Virginia Mullencott of the William Patterson
college in New Jersey, was pictured on May 22, 1984 by the Gospel Herald, making a case for a feminine God.

Ms. Mullencott has a new revelation of God as a female. She said, ‘God is our mother eagle, and we can put our trust in her’ She believes that the bible authors added many of their own ideas and cultural hang-ups…Ms. Mullencott taught that the church leaders are exploiting and oppressing the women, but the time is ripe for the women to grab the power. She said: ‘these references to God as female as well as male, also remind women to get busy and take on whatever spiritual leadership roles they may be gifted towards’

Julian of Norwich (1342-1414) said that, God is both male and female, she called God, “Christ, our mother” and “God, our father” in her own understanding, God was both male and female, because He plays the roles of a father and a mother, God according to her made us and nurtures us through the hard times.

The Legacy of Women Empowerment in Nigeria:

There is a remarkable change in the women’s world now, more than ever, the Nigeria woman is now standing up to be counted among the women of the developed worlds. There is an increase in knowledge of their fundamental human rights. The women professionals are not relenting in there struggle to see that these rights are respected, they are not very familiar with the political environment, and also have enough knowledge of the ways to ensure the practice of democracy in its true sense. There is now an increase in the men’s positive attitudes towards women’s political empowerment, which include participation in decision-making right from their homes to the community and to the government. Men now have no choice, than to cultivate a positive attitude toward women’s economic and cultural empowerment both in the family and in the society in general.

The non-governmental organizations so headed by the women who know their onions have done a lot in changing the society drastically from the men’s gender chauvinism to something very close to the women’s. Some men are now afraid of being ruled and dominated entirely by the women. When ever the men hear of gender sensitivity, Beijing conference, or (D&G) Democracy and governance, they get startled because they need no prophet to tell them that the whole essence of this agitations are to retrieve some powers from the men if not all of them. Many non-governmental organizations are now springing up, their executive members have become involved in decision-making and have also decided to probe the men who are more
often than not the executive officers in the government. They require accountability from them, through different litigations and campaigns against bad governance. Women now make litigation against sexual harassment (rape) wicked widowhood practices in Nigeria. The widows now inherit their husband’s properties. The widowhood mourning periods are being reduced with moderation in their treatment as widows. There is an increase in the participation of women in politics and academics.

More legislative and political empowerment for the Nigeria women are in place, these are very much welcome developments, as they are not the only beneficiaries to that. The positive contributions of women who have been at the background for too long cannot but be for the betterment of the society in general, though when viewed at face value their struggle portrays that for only the women.

The political empowerment of women has been greatly enhanced in the country, they are now occupying positions of interest in the country, this to a very large extent will be credited to the education of women. Though they cannot be said to have arrived in the political terrain, this is because the different political offices they occupy, portrays inequality, when compared with their population in the country.

One of the greatest legacies of the feminist movements, which are all geared towards the empowerment of women is their literacy struggle Eboh noted that “women are no more greatly disadvantaged educationally in the sense that families do not any more think that education is the prerogative of male children only”\(^\text{18}\).

Needless to say the obvious, that women now dominate the schools and educational institutions in Nigeria, especially the Igbo land where the men have resorted to trade and other business ventures that they think will fetch them more money than through education and civil service.

Women empowerment has drastically curved the menace of child marriage or early marriage among the women. The feminist agitation has achieved this feat and the entire society enjoys it. before now, in Igbo land, a woman was encouraged to procreate as many as ten children, after which her husband will kill a goat for her, called (Ewu ukwu) this is a form of deceit in itself, since this little encouragement of goat, made some women to go through the ordeals of pregnancy and child birth, for up to ten times only to enrich the men, who own the farms that require more hands for maximum output, the
reverse is the case today, as the women now live longer and healthier, do to fewer number of children they now produce.

The physical and mental torture on the women whose husbands happen to die before them, are now becoming a thing of the past in many states of the federation, those who still have in mind to perpetrate these evils are now on the hide out. The dehumanizing and oppressive social structures on the widows have been clamped down on by the different feminist organizations. To the extent that widows now have their freedom and dignity as human beings, which they are.

The different women empowerment based organizations have achieved results in the country, through their workshops and other awareness campaign, which they carry out via the media houses. The traditional conception of womanhood has been challenged drastically and new perspectives have been provided on issues like marriage rape sexual exploitation and motherhood. The culturally accepted values of subordination of women to the men, which makes them the inferior gender, has been done away with to a very large extent.

Conclusion:

The women no doubt, are no second class citizens, armed with the requisite information and socio political and economic powers, they will do wonders, in fact, you will find out that some women are rationally, cognitively and politically better than the men. What Nigeria needs today is a reorientation of values, especially in the political sector and among men, irrespective of their social standing, political wit, and economic muscles, the women should be given a chance to contribute in the affairs of the nation, not necessarily by a quota system. We should close our ears to the voices of the gender chauvinists, and encourage gender inclusion through education, enlightenment, awareness and consciousness of the genders, not just one. It is obvious, that the woman alone cannot achieve these desires of emancipating the womanhood, there is therefore the need for men to follow suit in the battle against gender oppression and domination, Eboh on this noted that “it is a battle to be fought by all and sundry…That women alone cannot save themselves from the ‘dark’ sides of African culture…”

We attempted to show in this paper that it is not a crime to be a woman, and so the women should not be treated with disrespect. That the human rights of the women should be respected and honoured, Eboh quoting Oduoye stated that,

By nature we are male and female, there is no intrinsic hierarchy here. The culturally defined duties and
attributes we call gender are ourselves finite beings we cannot arrogate to ourselves the right to create absolute structures and systems. History and experience show this clearly. What we call women’s place in one human culture is also men’s work in another. What is women’s work in one age becomes men’s work in another. There is nothing permanent about human beings cultural defined\textsuperscript{20}. 
Notes:

5. Noel and Bruder, 2001 p. 389
7. Noel and Bruder, 2001 p. 390
8. Noel and Bruder, 2001 p. 391
10. Noel and Bruder, 2001 p. 392
11. Noel and Bruder, 2001 p. 395
19. Eboh 2003 p. 135
Religious Experience of Materialism in Contemporary Nigerian Society

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Introduction:

Materialism has long been accustomed to onslaught proceeding from those who oppose the over acquisition of material wealth at the expense of others. It has been treated as an enemy by the church, the moralists and those who want to maintain status quo. Today, with the astronomical increase of bribery and corruption, the indictment proceedings from those who want immediate social change in Nigeria affected have increased their agitation. It is well known that everything for which materialists acquire is put in peril in time of war or natural disaster in the World, crisis, its ideals and glory are equally challenged and engulfed, common believe is that materialism flourishes only in times of fair social weather.

It is important to disabuse the minds of our readers who may thing that the term as used in this essay refers to the philosophical concept, which sees the entire universe, man inclusive as a material. On the contrary the term is used to refer to material wealth.

The main thrust of this short essay is to examine how materialism has affected the religious and the social life of the Nigerians. The paper will also discuss the positive and negative effects of materialism on the people and on the development of Nigeria. This paper was informed by the general religious apathy and the desire of almost every Nigerian to amass material wealth at all cost without due consideration for the welfare of the less privileged in the society.

Nigerians have become very materialistic to the extent that the Church or Mosque is not an exception in Nigeria today family survival depends largely on the amount of material wealth at the disposal of parents. The needed pleasure and sensuality in the family can hardly be found in a poor family. Consequently, most Nigerians in the present century are working hard to grab the National cake, Christians and Muslims alike.
**Typology of Materialism:**

Thomas Aquinas (1982, 264) asserted that the greatest human good is happiness, the end to which all others are subordinate. He opines that it would be pernicious to a degree, if happiness were a matter of good luck, for that would mean that all other goods would be even more fortuitous, therefore, any attempt to lead a good life would go by the board. According to Aquinas (1982:265) wealth which is the source of happiness, are basically two types – natural and artificial. Natural wealth, according to him are namely: food, drink, clothing, shelter and supplies of natural needs. The Artificial Wealth is ‘money’ which was created to facilitate exchange of goods and services. We also have the mineral wealth.

Natural wealth was created to support human nature, therefore, it cannot be ultimate because it is subservient to man himself. On the other hand artificial wealth has its last end, as it is only a means to natural wealth. From the mineral wealth man creates artificial wealth. Aquinas (1982:153) maintains that these can also be referred to as material substance.

**Morality in Materialism:**

Materialism in the ethical context presupposes freedom to accumulate great material substance in the right and honourable way guided by Christian morality. Agha, (2003:40) quips that morality is an integral part of religion because both of them emphasize human personality in its relationships and both are concerned with conduct. Fagothey (1953,341) sees morality as that quality in human acts which is called “right” or “wrong” “good” or “evil”. It is a term used to refer to the goodness or badness of a human act without specifying which (Agha, 2003:40-41). Titus, (1957:181) Claims that:

*Human conduct creates baffling problems because it is deceptive when least expected and yet it can lead men on to clear conviction as to what is right and what is wrong. What actions constitute standard of moral judgment to which human conduct must conform so as to be regarded as right or wrong? In the general sense, the word right implies conformity to Custom, Law, Conscience and some external authority.*
The passage is contending that the ownership of material wealth can only be regarded as right if the acquisition conforms to the norms of the society by which the action is judged. Fagothy (1953:62) quips that pleasure is the purpose of life, and that both sensuous and intellectual pleasure combined together may not give the type of pleasure that material substance will give. Material wealth and the love for it may serve as a double-edged sword. Materialism can be the source of power and the source of fear. It can as well corrupt a person absolutely.

The experience of materialism should be guided by the principle of morality because it could have great affect on the political, religious, and social life of an individual positively or negatively. Aristotle asserted equivocally that property should be privately owned but its use should be common. However, if the use of wealth becomes common, then the enjoyment of a family wealth will disappear. Yet there are some materialists who refuse their family the enjoyment of their great wealth. Such attitude will be morally wrong.

**Wealth in Religious Life:**

There is the difference between an interior and exterior things according to their nature and utilization. Aquinas (1951:343) quips that:

> My own explanation begins by drawing a distinction between and exterior thing considered in its nature and in utilization. In its nature as subject to the will of God, whose nod all things obey, it does not fall under human power. But for its utilization, man has natural ownership of external things, because through his reason and will he can employ them for human benefit. They were made on his behalf.

However, the scripture states that God created everything and subjected all things under man’s feet (Ps. VII:8). The implication of this is that religiously man has the right to acquire material wealth judiciously. Man was given natural dominion over material goods. In any case we must be aware that they do not belong to us exclusively by origin, but that we have received them from God. One day we will be required to give an account of our stewardship on earth to the creator.
Jesus Christ dwelt extensively on the evils of material wealth but he did not condemn the possession of property nor did he denounce the possession of goods or money. However, he implicitly spoke against the deceitfulness of people (Matt. 12:22). He strictly warned against covetousness (LK.12:13-15) and he specifically pointed out the danger of accumulating material treasures (Matt. 6:9). After pointing out the impossibility of serving God and Mammon (Matt. 6:24) he went on to teach that a man’s life does not consist in the abundance of the things which he possesses (LK.12:15) His parables suggest that man has the right and responsibility to hold and administer wealth (Matt. 5:14; LK. 19:12; 16:1) Christ emphasized that it must not be acquired at the expense of others. The poor are always at our doorsteps knocking for help. Material wealth acquired through bribery and corruption is an ill-gotten wealth.

A person who appropriates material wealth through honest means may be said to be virtuous but to appropriate what belongs to the public or group of people or an individual through dubious means is vice. This has become the practice in Nigeria today. This paper is making a passionate appeal to all who are involved in the act to desist. One may still experience materialism in ones life without being involved in malpractices.

The desire for material substance is the root of all evil things in our society including sudden deaths and the frequent plane crash in Nigeria. The inordinate ambition to acquire money by all means is the bane to national development and peace in Nigeria. People tend to emphasize materialism at the expense of spirituality. Hobbes claims that there could be a right to material wealth only if it was acquired according to the stipulations of the law (Samuel, 1996:2820. But Locke (1966:282) maintain that “the right to private property precedes the civil law, for it is grounded in natural moral law”. There is absolutely nothing wrong in a person having the experience of materialism.

Agha (2004:16) opins that the acquisition of material wealth requires ethics of responsibility, which is theocentric, in which the self and community are dominated by the action of God. Keeling (1977:45) asserts that:

*We are responsible for our action in the dynamic sense that we can over come both the external pressures of society and environment and the internal pressures of genetics and psychology and begins to act by the power*
of God in us, as people who have nothing to fear and noting to lose

The experience of materialism is a personal responsibility that is much concerned with our past actions and the present acts. The ethical problem of material wealth is not on the acquisition of it, but on the wrong means of acquiring it and it is being used to oppress the poor and to corrupt the society. The real value of material wealth lies on its distribution for the economic and social well-being of the less privileged in the society. Adams, (1925:138) postulates that good work efficiently and successfully accomplished brings with it feelings of satisfaction and happiness. From common experience in social life, it is those who give their material wealth for the good of others that never lack. They receive more blessings from God because they contribute to human and community development.

The Church and the Mosque no longer play the prophetic role of condemning ill-gotten materialism. Their leaders have become deeply involved in the acquisition of wealth. Some have single handedly built Universities and Schools. Some sing the praise of those who cheated to get into the office for material benefits. Makinde (2004:3) asserted that:

...If you want to be a cool millionaire establishes a church, deceive with miracles and signs and preach prosperity. Hence the Denominational prostitutes are but rolling stones that gather no moss.

The desire for prosperity and material wealth has the most common incentive for the proliferation of Churches in Nigeria.

A Sociologist, Peter Berges (1967:375) lamented that the only important sphere of influence religion retains today is within the family-that is on a personal level. Materialism has been the major cause of religious apathy. The quest for great material substance has led to the establishment religious service in every garage and in every available classroom in Schools. Religion is no longer seen as the moral cohesive force in our modern Nigerian societies. Materialism has taken the upper hand. Statism, secularism and political ideologies, rather than religion have become the major sources of crisis and division.
Material Wealth and Politics:

In the Nigerian society today materialism and politics have become synonymous so much that only those who are rich run for political position because they can afford to bribe their way through. The major political objective now is no longer to develop the Nation or Society but to accumulate wealth for themselves and their unborn generations. This has informed the mad rush into politics at all cost including human lives. In the political life of a nation materialism arises out of the notion that those who have experienced material wealth are equal in all respects, but are unequal absolutely in property ownership.

In the present democracy social efficiency is not measured by output as an ideal. John Dewey (1966:122) opins that:

*When social efficiency as measured by product or output is urged as an ideal in a would be democratic society; it means that the depreciation estimate of the masses characteristic of an aristocratic community is accepted and carried over. But if democracy has a moral and ideal meaning, it is that a social return be demanded from all and that opportunity for development of destructive capacities be afforded all.*

The measure of efficiency is not always a part of the process of democratic experience in Nigeria. Rather it is measured by tangible external products and by the achievement of a distinctively valuable experience. This is why the Nigerian democratic process has become materialistic. The ultimate result is that all who have participated in the Nigerian democracy have experienced materialism in their family life. Chuta laments that:

*The sad thing about the materialist in Nigeria is that he is highly admired and then revered by the majority of the people. That is what makes him thrive in the society. As long as he gives money to people to support project in the community and at times, the Church, no one appears to be concerned about how he makes his money.*

The experience of great material wealth may in many cases lead to lack of patriotism if the wealth was acquired at the expense of the nation’s economy.
Materialism and corruption:

Corruption is one of the major obstacles to Nation building. It is one of the aggravating and disastrous problems in Nigeria. The BBC English Dictionary (1992:254) quips that corruption in any form entails dishonesty, something that is illegal and morally wrong. Obasanjo (1980:15) claims that it is the general public that is more often than not the victim and that successful prosecution of the offenders is usually problematic.

The desire for excessive material wealth breeds bribery and corruption, which are the most endemic disease to national development and survival. It has eaten deep into the marrow of both public officers, civil servants, politicians and even some Church leaders. It is now difficult to know who to trust in our society. The main instruments of development are depleted by evasion, which leaves the state treasury empty. The allotments from the treasury are eroded by the corruption of project administration at every level. Contracts are never executed because the money is embezzled and shared. V.I. Okeke (2002:128) lamented that:

*The problem of corruption among developing nations particularly Nigeria has reached epidemic proportions and it appears to be defying solution. Corruption in Nigeria has long been recognized as a very serious national malaise.*

Corruption in Nigeria is cancerous. A flood of resources put into the pipeline at one end come out from the other end reduced to a trickle or even swindled. Some times corruption takes the form of “Legitimate” expenditures, such as bullet proof cars, building estates in every capital city, new road construction, you name them. The abysmal poverty of the masses contrasts sharply with the astronomic material wealth of a handful of politicians, landlords, businessmen and other tycoons. The stratification in the wealth in Nigeria is much sharper than in the developed nations. Corruption breeds poverty, which gives birth to strife and rancor. No wonder St Augustine of Hippo (1917-1920) affirms that when Government becomes corrupt rebellion may be ethically obligatory.
Materialism in Social Life:

Today in Nigeria materialism is experienced in an invigorating social atmosphere. This has resulted into a new definition of the meaning of wealth as when some politicians say that it is an “end to life” instead of a means to an end. Many Nigerians claim that material wealth is an expression of good life. No wonder some people have used either their parents, or loved ones, or children for money rituals. There is an urgent need for Nigerians to re-evaluate their ancient philosophy that would discern “the germ of materialism imbedded in it”, so as to help the nation “out of the various circles of decaying spiritualism. According Scott, (1963:22-23) Nigerians have to indicate “the way to achieve real spiritual freedom offered by the material philosophy”. Certainly, a new material factors and conceptions have the human society. It is the source of power in Nigeria. Those who are materially blessed see themselves as the Lords in the society even those who acquired their wealth through fraudulent means are proud of their wealth. Materialism has ruined the political process in Nigeria. Wealth is the sources of corruption. The love and desire for materialism has contributed in no small way, to moral deficiency, virtue and human dignity have been shun and thrown overboard.

The divine right permits every individual to inherit material goods from parents. The desire to get rich overnight force some people to steal, embezzle public funds indulge in human sacrifice and to kill others. It is the source of evil in the society. The desire to acquire great wealth is one of the causes of proliferation of churches in Nigeria. It is a source of pleasure and respect.

Summary and Conclusion:

We are in agreement with both Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas that there is nothing wrong in amassing wealth beyond ones immediate need in the right way. We are God’s stewards on earth, therefore we must not worship material goods as our god. The desire to amass wealth compels people to be involved in robbery, killing and embezzlement of public funds. It can force a person to become a member of a social group otherwise barred to him. The desire for great wealth may drive a person to excessive influence over political decisions or assume corresponding great responsibility for serving the common good. Dubious means and unlawful means of acquiring great wealth in order to meet the needs of the family will bring disgrace to the family and posterity.
The experience of materialism has led men of God to become worldly. Some religious leaders use diabolical means to convert people. Prosperity Sermons have become daily sermon and others have become self-made priests. The Church has become the richest gold mine industry in Nigeria today. Religion seems to have lost its control of social vices through the threat of supernatural punishment. Morality is at the lowest ebb. All are the attempt to experience materialism.

Reference:


Obasanjo O.(1980) “Corruption, Democracy and Human Right” Lecture delivered as the Chairman of African Leadership Forum


Factors Affecting Voting Behaviour in Nigeria
Electoral System: Realities or Illusion?

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Abstract:
Election has become the most acceptable means of changing leadership in any given political system. There are elements that make electorates vote or not to vote in an election. These elements are different and dependent on the socio-cultural, economic, and political background of the nation and voters at one point or the other. In Nigeria, this is rampant, not necessarily because the electorates are apolitical, but the circumstances and the ways in which the context are fixed, forced them to accommodate other considerations. The study uses the existing literature, observation and opinion poll to gather data, and found that, it is the voting behaviours of the electorates that builds or mars the elections to produce credible or unacceptable candidates; Due to the voter’s poverty level, ethnicity and religious inclinations, voting pattern runs inline in order to satisfy those religious/ethnic interest and personal immediate economic needs. They accept gratification from politicians to vote for them even when they knew that such persons are not credible. The study recommends a total overhaul of the electoral system; education/creation of awareness to the Nigerian citizens, and to make the elective positions less lucrative and attractive than what is currently obtainable. In this way, those negative factors that influence the voting pattern in Nigeria can be controlled.

Introduction:
Since the world began and in all democratic nations, elections have become the most acceptable means of changing leadership in any given political system. History has shown that it is usually difficult to hold elections that are completely free and fair, (Yusuf, 2008:1). The
problem might be due to the socio-cultural issues operating in the environment at a given period of time. These issues are not limited to developing nations only but the developed and advanced nations of the world are also affected.

The elements that make people vote or not to vote in an elections are different and dependent on one’s socio-cultural background. The nature of Nigerian states, for instance, with the attendant multi-ethnic nationalism and varied religious inclinations has even made the voting, elections and electoral system more problematic. The way and manner citizens vote and take electoral issues in Nigeria and some developing countries do not qualify it to be called elections, (Okocha, 2009).

There are a number of considerations a voter has in voting at any electoral issue. No matter how democratic the person might, there is always the impulse to vote for one out of the number contesting for such a position. Even the so called ‘parochial’ think and make decisions before they cast their vote. They are always conscious of the importance of their votes in order to make an informed decision. There always has been some gruesome election battle in order to substantiate the considerations, (Dewa, 2009:2).

Concerning voting in general, it is pertinent to note that the heart of election is voting on the day of election by registered voters. Without voting, the term- election – is meaningless. Nnoli (2003:227-228), states: 

*The voting process raises a lot of issues that bother on the fairness and freeness of the elections. Most electoral malpractices occur during voting. They include impersonation, voting by unregistered persons, multiple voting, possession of unauthorized voters’ cards, alteration of voters’ cards, unlawful possession of ballot papers, unlawful possession of ballots boxes and disorderly behavior at polling stations, etc.*

It is the voting behaviours of the electorates that builds or mars the elections to produce credible or unacceptable candidates. In Nigeria, this is rampant not necessarily because the electorates are apolitical, but because the circumstances and the crude ways in which the context were fixed, forced them to consider other reasons.

It is our interest in this study to identify those factors that affect voting behaviour in Nigeria electoral system in order to determine whether those factors are realities or illusions as well recommend ways
of curbing them. The paper has the following sub-headings: Conceptual Clarification, Theoretical Framework, Factors Affecting Voting Behavior, The Impact of Ethnicity, Religion and Poverty/Economic factors in voting behaviours in Nigeria (Real or imagined?), Ways forward and Conclusion.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Voting Behaviour:
Voting behavior is derived from political behavior and Political behavior is not a new field in political science. Rather, it is a new approach to the study of political psychology. According to Anifowose (1999), political behavior refers to a particular approach, and set of methods for the study of human behavior in politics.

Voting behavior is the result of the total impact on voters by a number of forces operating in the society which the voters form a part. In voting behavior, we talk of why voters vote the way they do. No voter has ever voted without being influenced by one force or another. These forces include: personal identification of the individual voter with one of the political parties, candidates or major issues of the day and a sense of civic obligation to vote in conformity with the group interest, etc.

Electoral System:
A renowned political scientist, Nnoli (2003:230) defines electoral system “as a complex of rules and regulations that govern the selection of office holders in an organization”. Electoral system, he continued,

has an important effect not only on those who are recruited/elected into political offices but also may be significant in deciding the persons or political parties that can form a government..... Similarly, it affects the turnout of voters in an election, the kind and intensity of ideological preferences exhibited during the election, and the legitimacy of the resultant government.

Electoral System is seen as a method and rules of counting votes to determine the outcome of elections. Winners may be determined by a plurality, a majority (more than 50% of the vote), an extraordinary majority (a percentage of the vote greater than 50%), or unanimity, (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2010).
The choice of electoral system is one of the most important institutional decisions for any democracy. Electoral systems define and structure the rules of the political game; they help determine who is elected, how a campaign is done, the role of political parties, and most importantly, who governs. Furthermore, the choice of an electoral system can help to "engineer" specific outcomes, such as to encourage cooperation and accommodation in a divided society. Historically, however, it is rare for electoral systems to be chosen or carefully designed for the particular historical and social conditions of a country. In some cases, the choice has reflected the impact of colonialism and in others, the influence of neighbouring systems (IDEA, 2010)

Theoretical Considerations:

The Theory of Political Behaviour, is an aspect of political science, that attempts to quantify and explain the influences that define a person's political views, ideology, and levels of political participation. Theorists who have had an influence on this field include Karl Deutsch and Theodor Adorno. There are three main sources of influence that shape political orientation and create long-term effects. Generally, the primary influence originates from the family. Children will often adopt their parents' ideological values. Some theorists have argued that the family tends to be the strongest and most influential force which exists over the lifetime. One essay has credited the majority of the student activism of the 1930s to the influence of parents, (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/theories_of_political_behavior).

Peers also affect political orientation. Friends often, but not necessarily, have the advantage of being part of the same generation, which collectively develops a unique set of societal issues; Eric L. Bey has argued that "socialization is the process through which individuals acquire knowledge, habits, and value orientations that will be useful in future. The ability to relate on this common level is where the means to shape ideological growth lies" (Dey, 1997).

Finally, some political scientists have been interested in many studies designed to analyze the relation between the behavior of social groups and the political outcomes. Some of the social groups included in their studies have been age demographics, gender, religion and ethnic groups. For example, in U.S. politics, the effect of ethnic groups and gender has a great influence on the political outcomes.

In Nigeria, peoples voting pattern are influenced by their religion, ethnic lopsidedness or poverty/economic factors. In this principle, the choice to vote a particular person may be directed by ones
parent, ideological belief, religious belief, political feelings or hunger. It is well believed that the political behavior approach suits this paper as it tries to link us to the truth of why people vote the way they do. Even when the individual does not want to indulge in those behaviours as we have explained, the hunger, ethnic mafias and the religious leaders will coercively enforce him/her to do so.

**Factors that Affect Voting Behavior:**

There are many factors that could influence who a voter casts his vote for in an election. According to Akpakipan (2009), some of the factors are:

1. Level of one’s education
2. Membership of Organizations
3. Sex
4. Religion
5. Tradition
6. Social Class
7. Ideological learning
8. Position on Ideological Divide
9. Party Image
10. Issues, Programmes and Policy Statements
11. Identification with Party
12. Candidate Orientation
13. The Principle of Embourgeoisement
14. Economic factor/Poverty
15. Promise of Political Patronage
16. Provision of Amenities
17. Force of Relationship
18. Location within the Geo-Politics
19. Ethnicity and language.

The unending list of factors, which influence peoples’ voting behaviours in Nigeria electoral system, is outlined above. In this paper, we shall focus on “Ethnicity, Religion and Economic/ Poverty” as factors affecting voting behavior.

**Ethnicity**

Since the earliest times, ethnicity has been viewed in terms of a group setting associated with the idea of nationhood. Indeed, according to Peterson, Novak and Gleason (1982:1), the word “ethnic” is derived from the Greek word ethnos, which means nation or race. Thompson
(2000:58) defines an ethnic group as “… a community of people who have the conviction that they have a common identity and common fate based on issues of origin, kingship, ties, traditions, cultural uniqueness, a shared history and possibly a shared language”. Toland (1993:3) agrees with Thomson in her conception of an ethnic group, but takes it a step further by adding a sense of belonging on the individual level. According to him, “ethnicity is the sense of people-hood held by members of a group sharing a common culture and history within a society”. These two views are shared by Diamond and Platter (1994: xvii), who regard ethnicity “…as a highly inclusive (and relatively large scale) group identity based on some notion of common origin, recruited primarily from kinship, and typically manifesting some measure of cultural distinctiveness. So conceived, ethnicity easily embraces groups differentiated by colour, language and religion; it covers ‘tribes’, ‘races’, ‘nationalities’ and ‘castes’”. An ethnic group according to Justice and Michaels (1998:230), is defined as an informal interest group whose members are different from members of other groups within the same society owing to the fact that they share compulsory institutions like kinship, religion, economic system and also have the capacity to freely communicate among themselves. The features of an ethnic group are: “A people with set biological and sociological traits, an identifiable subculture, conscious of being a people (brothers), conscious of their membership and often share the same language and religion…. Ethnicity is a “social phenomenon associated with interactions among members of different ethnic groups” (Nnoli, 1980:5). Ethnicity is behavioral in form and conflictual in content. “Ethnicity, focuses on sentiments of origin and decent, rather than the geographical considerations of a state”, (Thomson, 2000:58).

The Impact of Ethnicity as a Factor in Voting Behavior in Nigeria:
Nigeria is located in West Africa and is, with about 140 million inhabitants, consisting of more than 300 linguistic groups. Nigeria is the most populous nation in the continent, (Kurfi, 1983:1). As a political entity, Nigeria was created in 1914 - a multi-ethnic nation consisting of the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and the Igbo, who comprise roughly 28%, 20% and 17% of the population respectively (Falola 1999:5). Although these groups interacted with one another before the colonial era, they were not primordially societies, and the artificiality of the British-drawn boundaries contributed to the ‘social construction’ of
these ethnic groups, so much so that “…the creation of these ‘tribes’ is closely linked to the British colonial rule” (Thomson 2000:66).

Each of these groups occupy’s a distinct geographical region that closely resembles the administrative boundaries of the colonial period. The Northern region is dominated by the Hausa-Fulani, the Western region dominated by the Yoruba, and Eastern region, mainly populated by the Igbo, (Falola 1999:68; Thomson 2000:66). Given this distinct regional administrative pattern, it was only natural that ethnic groups would developed within, and identify with, these separate regions, as this was a regional way to lobby the colonial authorities for resources.

It is believed that ethnicity was not a vital factor in voting behavior in Nigeria before the Richard’s constitution of 1946. This was the constitution that introduced regionalism into Nigerian politics which is believed to have led to the emergence and development of regional/ethnic politics in Nigeria (Obiajulu and Obi, 2003:101).

There was emergence of political parties and unionism in the country. The NCNC was formed in 1944 as a nationalist party without any sectional interest. It was later regionised to East led by Dr. Azikiwe. However, the other two major parties, the Action Group and the Northern Peoples Congress were formed from socio-political organizations. The Action Group (A.G) was formed in 1948 as a western regional political organization from Egbe Omo Oduduwa, a Yoruba socio-cultural organization while the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) was formed in 1951 from the Jamiiyar Mutanen Arewa.

These political parties started what seemed to be an ethnically minded service. Each of them (AG and NPC) came from ethnic background fronted by issues and ideas that only concerned them but repugnant to others. For instance, when Chief Enahoro moved a motion for independence in 1956, the Northerners refused to support this motion, insisting that Nigeria was not ready for self rule yet. This was because the Northerners did not have enough qualified people to take up administrative positions in the North and they were also afraid of Southern domination (East and West). Political and leadership tussle started gripping the country. In Awolowo’s opinion expressed in his book *The Path to Freedom for Nigeria* it would be necessary for a nationalist party in Nigeria to gain power in one region first before expanding into the rest of Nigeria. The West in the NCNC soon aligned themselves to AG. The cross-carpeting in the western house made Zik to return to the East and asked Eyo Ita to resign. A statement was
attributed to Azikiwe that “the God of Africa has created the Ibo nation to lead the children of Africa from the bondage of ages” (Ogunba, 1997:39). All these led to an atmosphere of distrust among the various ethnic groups and set the tone for the emergence of ethnic politics and ethnicity becoming a key factor in voting behavior in Nigeria up to the 1993 elections.

Paul R. Brass argues “… ethnicity and nationalism are not ‘givens’, but are social and political constructions. They are the creations of elite, who draw upon, distort and sometimes fabricate materials from the cultures of the groups they wish to represent in order to protect their well-being or existence or to gain political and economic advantage for their groups as well as for themselves…” (Kruger 1993:11).

Ethnicity created bitter rivalry among the regions. Chief Eyo instigated the ACB crisis against Zik probably for being asked to resign to allow Zik form government in the East. The NCNC which was hitherto a nationalist party had to take its base in the East where its leader hailed from. The result of elections became ethnically influenced with the NCNC always winning in the East, the A.G in the West and NPC in the North. This is shown by the following election results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Party/Independent</th>
<th>Eastern Region</th>
<th>Northern Region</th>
<th>Western Region</th>
<th>Lagos</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.G</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.C.N.C</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.P.C</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.N.I.P</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.C.L.P</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO INFORMATION</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Political Affiliation of Members Elected in the 1954 Federal elections into the House of Representatives
The political parties have their largest votes from their ethnic area as we can see from the above table during the 1954 elections in Nigeria.

### Table 2. The Result of the 1959 Federal Elections into the House of Representatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political party/Independent</th>
<th>Eastern Region</th>
<th>Northern Region</th>
<th>Western Region</th>
<th>Lagos</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.G</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCNC</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEPU</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>73</strong></td>
<td><strong>174</strong></td>
<td><strong>62</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>312</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This trend continued and reflected in the 1959 as we can see above. In 1979, one of the criteria used by FEDECO in the registration of political parties was “having membership in at least two-thirds of the states of the federation. The idea was to ensure that political parties that emerged this time were national in character”, (Onu and Momoh, 2005:123). In spite of this, the political parties that emerged were reincarnations of the old parties and essentially led by the same old politicians. The voting was still influenced by ethnicity with the East voting for NPP, West for UPN and the North for NPN. This is shown in the election results below:

### Table 3. 1979 General Elections Results: Winning Parties by States.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>HOUSE OF REPS</th>
<th>SENATE</th>
<th>STATE ASSEMBLY</th>
<th>STATE GOVERNOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ANAMBRA</td>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>NPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BAUCHI</td>
<td>NPN</td>
<td>NPN</td>
<td>NPN</td>
<td>NPN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>BENDEL</td>
<td>UPN</td>
<td>UPN</td>
<td>UPN</td>
<td>UPN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>BENUE</td>
<td>NPN</td>
<td>NPN</td>
<td>NPN</td>
<td>NPN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>BORNO</td>
<td>GNPP</td>
<td>GNPP</td>
<td>GNPP</td>
<td>GNPP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Campaigns became structured on ethnic lines rather than on issues and ideology. This is seen clearly in a statement in the Daily Star Newspaper of August 8, 1979 which reads, ‘‘The Yorubas are no fools to have voted for Awolowo. The Kanuris are no fools to have voted for Waziri. The Kano People are no fools to have voted for Aminu Kano. The Anambra and Imo states should be wise enough to vote en masse for Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (Onu and Momoh, 2003:126). In 1983, ethnicity was still a key factor. According to Uba (1989:72) quoted in Onu and Momoh (2005:126), the leaders of the major political parties were known to have made slips during the campaigns by calling their parties by the name of their former parties in the first republic. The election results show this clearly;


Table 4: 1983 General Election Results: Federal House of Representatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>NPN</th>
<th>UPN</th>
<th>NPP</th>
<th>PRP</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANAMBRA</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAUCHI</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENDEL</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENU</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BORNO</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CROSS</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above table speaks for itself. We must note that the issue before us have caused damages to political, economical and social development of the country. Still the struggle continues not bearing in mind the events of the past. Just about two weeks ago, the network news proclaimed that the Northern presidential aspirants in PDP have reached a consensus to get one candidate run for the PDP presidential primary. The quest to leadership at this point is not that the president is from another party, but that the president is not from the north. What an illusion.

**Religious Factor:**

At this point, we hear of Christian/Muslim or Muslim/Christian ticket. This is common where we have two positions running concurrently such as those of President and Vice President, Governor and Deputy Governor. Voting of candidate had always been considered on religious basis. Citizens vote candidates of the same religion more than others. This practice is evident in the leadership of the nation as narrated by Ayantayo, (2009) below:

1. Nnamdi Azikiwe/Tafawa Balewa (Christian/Muslim) 1960–1966
2. Shehu Shagari/Alex Ekwueme (Muslim/Christian) 1979–1983
3. Buhari/Idiagbon (Muslim/Muslim) 1983–1985
5. Shonekan/Abacha (Christian/Muslim) 1993–1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RIVER</th>
<th>IMO</th>
<th>KADUNA</th>
<th>KANO</th>
<th>KWARA</th>
<th>LAGOS</th>
<th>NIGER</th>
<th>OGO</th>
<th>ONDO</th>
<th>OYO</th>
<th>PLATEAU</th>
<th>RIVERS</th>
<th>SOKOTO</th>
<th>ABUJA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GONGOLA</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMO</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KADUNA</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KANO</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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Source: Onu and Momoh, (2005:126) and Nworah, et al. (2007)
8. Obasanjo/Atiku (Christian / Muslim) 1999–2007
10. Jonathan/Sambo (Christian/Muslim) 2010-date

Right from the first republic till now, consideration on religious background of the contestant had been there. There is always the fear of fully implementing the Islamization law if Moslems are voted as president and vice-president. The first time Nigeria’s name entered into the register of OIC (Organization of Islamic Countries) was during the Buhari/Idiagbon (Muslim/Muslim) 1983 – 1985 government. If not because of the vehement oppositions at that time, Nigeria would have had the full course of Islamic law operative in the country.

The Christians would want a the Christian voted while Muslims would want the Muslim voted. Religious preferences in the past presidential elections have not only shrouded the best Nigeria would have had, but also denied the country the opportunity of witnessing vibrant leadership that would have turned the turn the nation around for good, (Forster 2008). The conquest in the 21St century will only be possible if the country pursues objectivity rather than Prebendalism which has not produced any meaningful progress in any nation.

Religion has a strong history of influence over voting pattern. According to Verdenhalven, (2007), the vast majority of Catholics in Germany were located in the south and in the west, whereas the Protestant part of the population lived in the north and east of the country. The practice in this country is that of separatist, where each sect votes for people in their midst rather than the others even if they are better candidates. In our local areas, at periods of electioneering campaign, we hear this from Priests during church announcement that members should vote our own brothers/sisters simply because they are our members. In largely religious countries, Christianity was seen as a main factor of the people’s voting pattern, whereas ethnicity was seen as the Media / Persian law which cannot meet in harmony, except with clubs and gun powder.

Poverty/Economic Factor:

There is a major challenge in the area of poverty as it concerns the attitudinal changes among the Nigerian citizens. According to Ekpu (2010:38). More than 70% of the population is estimated to live below poverty line. The United Nations report of Nigeria’s Human Poverty Index (HPI) is 41.6 percent, thus placing Nigeria among the 25 poorest nations in the world. Due to the poor state of most Nigerians, especially
at the grassroots, they accept anything from anybody who asks for their vote. In an opinion poll conducted while gathering the data for this study at Umuokparaluwe Umuduru in Isiala Mbano Local Government Area of Imo State, it was revealed that due to abject poverty among the citizens and the inability of the government to come to see to the welfare of the people, they accept money, cups of rice or beans, wrapper, salt, etc. from any politician who comes for their votes. According to Eze, (2010) “We have no option, at least, we will be able to take care of that day’s meal with the token given to us, conscience notwithstanding.”. This statement supports the wise saying accredited to Chief Emeka Odimegwu Ojukwu in a Network News, that:

A hungry man is an angry man, an angry man is an unreasonable man, and an unreasonable man is a violent man. It does appear that a hungry person does not reason properly to consider what is right or wrong. He is unreasonable, and could be violent due to hunger, except whatever will fill his/her stomach is at hand.

Pocketbook voting is another problem. Pocketbook voting is a political concept that sees voters casting their votes based on how they perceive their personal economic circumstances. Essentially, pocketbook voting is what researchers term a "selfish" factor, (Hawk, 2010:1). Rather than vote for the common good, people vote on the belief that the person for whom they are voting will help their personal economic situation.

Political behaviour as a framework is best use to analyse the ethnicity, religion and poverty/economic as factors affecting voting behavior in Nigerian electoral system due to its ability to exposing human’s prebendalism as it relates to attitude in ones voting convictions and voting behaviour. The study has shown that the three concepts also inhibited the inability of the nation electing credible leaders at the end of every election. The voter’s motivation is against the purpose of election according to Yusuf (2008:1), Election has become the most acceptable means of changing leadership in any given political system.

Ways Forward and Conclusion:

In 1993 Presidential Elections, ethnicity played a less important role in the voting behavior as the winner of the annulled election Chief M.K.O Abiola was voted for, not just by people from his ethnic group but also by people from other ethnic groups. The Alliance for Democracy, (AD) which was dubbed “the Yoruba Party” in 1999, has since 2003 been losing elections in most of the Yoruba states. This
marked a change in what had previously been the trend. With this development, it is believed that Nigerians are now realizing the disadvantages of voting based on ethnic sentiments and religious inclinations. Paradoxically, the truth is that the trend is now re-introduced with President Jonathan’s declaration to run for the 2011 presidency under the platform of PDP. The North has arisen to demand for the seat because the zoning rule policy in PDP gave them the mandate but the South said that the zoning should be ignored. Under this pretence, the North reached a consensus to produce one capable candidate to contest against Jonathan during the party primary. Where the president comes from is the matter at stake and not the party that wins the election. This is in conformity with the theory of Political Behaviour explained above. However, it is not out of place for people to return to ethnic motivated voting behavior if the ethnic motivated voting is being marginalized in government (Nworah et al, 2007: 15).

To seriously address this problem in Nigeria, the need for electoral reform should be seen as an innovation that would bring better things to Nigeria electoral system. All the while the voting behaviors have been a concept set by the ethnic regions and the religious sect to usurp powers and control the economic, social, and political life of the great country, Nigeria. Hunger or poverty/economic considerations have been described as the most fundamental factor that compels the citizens to cast their vote for those who give them gratifications. But the ideal situations are being looked for in future elections in Nigeria.

At this point, the paper calls for the rebranding of the electoral system and voting behavior of the Nigerian electorate system to meet the challenges of the new ‘World Order’ and civic responsibilities. From historical records, it can be deduced that the electoral system in Nigeria has a lot of lapses which make it possible for political leaders to rig elections, while voters rely on their ethnic loyalty, religious masters and the power of gratification to cast their votes not minding the person’s credibility. This proposition was confirmed by the court of Appeal sitting in a recent election petition matter which described the Nigerian electoral Act 2006 as an Election Rigging Manual, (Abubakar, 2007).

REFERENCES:


