A national communication model to promote interethnic understanding in a developing country.

Uchechukwu. Ebere

University of Windsor

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A NATIONAL COMMUNICATION MODEL TO PROMOTE INTERETHNIC UNDERSTANDING IN A DEVELOPING COUNTRY

by

Uchechukwu Ebere

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at The University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1978
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PREFACE

One of the most important developments of the twentieth century has been the creation of dozens of new nations the world over. These nations are faced with the problem of having to contend with ethnic diversity, tribalism, prejudice and discrimination of various kinds, coupled with the problem of unequal socio-economic development within their countries—often the result of colonialism.

From the period of slavery through the British colonial period to the final political-commercial amalgamation in 1914 of people of different cultural backgrounds into one accidental geographical area called Nigeria, there has been little done in a systematic way to re-socialize Nigerians to the advantages and disadvantages of cultural pluralism. To a certain extent, Nigerians are aliens within their own country, since they lack sufficient historical knowledge of the origins of values, norms, and various institutional practices of other ethnic groups other than their own. There is at least an apathy towards other groups and at worst an antagonism. There has been much contact over a long period of time but it has not led to a diminishment of tension. "Colonialism imposed a union upon three diverse groups but it did not lead to an integration. Each group holds its own religion, its own language, ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market place." (Furnival, 1948: 304).

These differences have for decades forced Nigerians into inter-ethnic conflicts that culminated in the civil war of 1967-1970--
historically known as the Nigerian/Biafra War: a phenomenon which
the writer refers to as the explosion of the colonial social time
bomb. Three major Nigerian ethnic groups are examined in this study:
Hausa/Fulani of Northern Nigeria, the Ibos of Eastern Nigeria, and the
Yorubas of Western Nigeria.

The immediate aim of this study is an attempt to explore the
possibilities of how a national communication structure can be
designed that incorporates the "grass roots" or village dwellers
who make up more than 70% of Nigeria's population, and at the same time
make use of modern mass media technologies of communication.

The purpose of the structure would be the reduction of ethnic
group conflict and the promotion of intergroup interaction and
cooperativeness. What would be communicated would be superordinate
goals. Superordinate goals are those which are compelling and highly
appealing to members of two or more groups in conflict but which
cannot be attained by the resources and energies of either one separately.
In effect, they are goals attained only when both groups work together
(Sherif, et al., 1958: 350). This particular study is directed towards
inter-ethnic cooperation and exchange.

No doubt the Hausa/Fulani of Northern Nigeria understand that
the Southerners, Ibos and Yorubas are far ahead in the acquisition of
Western education, the political and economic base on which the
Federal Republic of Nigeria is run. Their knowledge and expression
of frustration is not sufficient to make obvious historical processes
that produced such a gap. A wider historical and sociological elaboration

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is needed to explore and make manifest these differences in indigenous institutional practices responsible for most ethnic conflict and misunderstanding as experienced by Nigerians. These sociological elaborations will serve as an informational medium for understanding what it means to be a Nigerian, and may help reduce ethnic fears, superstititions and uncertainties. The same argument is applicable to southern ethnic groups, Ibos and Yorubas. Each group lacks real knowledge about the others.

The proposal which this study is aimed at does not concern the writer alone. Other Nigeria institutions both government and private individuals are seeking for ways and means of achieving national unity, much more so since the Civil War. For example, during the civil war the quest for unity was expressed in different ways, but the one that impressed the writer the most was the slogan by the Federal Government propaganda machinery— "To keep Nigeria One is a Task That Must be Accomplished." The context (Nigerian Civil War) within which the above slogan was used was an evolutionary necessity for a growing nation with such cultural diversity and colonial legacy, though costly in human lives and hard earned economic resources. At any rate, the slogan did emphasize the need for national unity. At the same time it will be appropriate to mention that much as the slogan was good in promoting or emphasizing national unity, it was an innovation born out of necessity or emergency and should be seen objectively with a broad and open mind as an inspiration for more collective drive towards that golden objective, a truly unified Nigeria.
Also other innovations, social, scientific and cultural which were developed during those periods of survival when the minds of men, women and children of all ages and categories stretched their imaginations almost beyond their mental limits in producing their best in their various fields of endeavour, should be tapped or re-discovered for the good of the nation for they are all positive consequences of conflict.

Emphasis on unity was not limited to slogans during the Civil War, it has always dominated the length and breadth of the speeches of various leaders both in the failed first republic and currently under the military rule.

In their separate addresses to the nation, the late General Murtala Muhammed, then head of state of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the present head of state, Lt. General Olusegwu Obasajo, stressed the importance of unity:

...the motto of the Republic should be Unity, and Faith, Peace and Progress, and accordingly national integration should be actively encouraged whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, religion, sex, status, ethnic or linguistic associations shall be prohibited...among other things...to establish a lasting basis for unity, equality and justice and maximum happiness possible for the generality of the 75 million odd Nigerian population consistent with our national resources. (Nigeria Today, No. 8, June, 1977: 7-9).

While noting and appreciating these positive moves and statements, the writer feels that the attempts have not been vigorously pursued and less fruitful in incorporating the "grass roots" of the society or village dwellers so that they can understand and to a larger extent determine their local destinies and the control of their local...
environment. If the villager can lead a more participatory life through interaction with authorities, communities and uncertainties will be reduced on the local and national levels, thereby promoting inter-ethnic understanding and national unity. It is the rural dwellers that suffer most in peace and war, therefore, any national program based on any sort of equity must include them. Population wise, they carry the society; without them there will probably be no elections, no food production and no one to govern. The fostering of cooperation is an essential foundation stone of the nation that wishes to survive.

This study would, I hope, stimulate further the efforts of Nigerian authorities and help in their implementing programs that would encourage and incorporate superordinate goals at the "grass roots" level, thereby establishing both vertical and horizontal communication and interpersonal cooperativeness that would reduce ethnic misunderstanding and, above all, link the federal leaders with the people in the villages, closing the gap in the long run between urban dwellers and rural dwellers.

Books, magazines, newspapers, periodicals, government publications were the sources of this study, including formal and informal discussions with some Nigerians from different ethnic groups both in Windsor and elsewhere.

The study was made possible by the help of many people. To Dr. Jack Ferguson, Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, under whose chairmanship and relentless cooperation
supervision this study was made possible, I am deeply indebted to.
The constructive criticism and insightful suggestions about the study
at all stages of its development further clarified my ideas and
thinking on various issues.

I am also grateful to Dr. Walter Romanow, Director of Graduate
Studies of the Department of Communication Studies who academically
gave me the first inkling of what mass communication is all about,
and has continued since in rendering advice academically; and to
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for his careful and helpful reading of the manuscript; and above all
his cooperation during the academic year 1976-1978 when I assisted
him as a teaching assistant, an experience I enjoyed and learned a
great deal from.

To Professor O. Osunkoya of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria,
who gave much of his time in collecting materials that were helpful
in this study, and his regular inspiring correspondence which fired
me with more courage when the going was rough, I acknowledge my
deepest gratitude.

To the memory of members of my family: my father, Mazi Ukomadu
T. Ebere, who passed away during the Civil War; my beloved mother,
Mrs. Danga S. Ebere and sister Chiehigiura A. Ebere who have also
passed away to greater light, the love and life we shared is still
burning fresh in my spirit, and shall continue till I rest my bones
with you all.

To the memory of a good friend, Tony O. Berkeley, with whom
I shared good times, I am still meeting with the objective we set for
ourselves.
My loving gratitude goes to my most understanding wife, Uchenna C. Ebere, who assisted me in several ways throughout this study. I owe her a million thanks.

Finally, to Ms. Mary Anne Martin, who typed this thesis, I say a sincere thank you, and to all who assisted me without knowing it, I also say thank you sincerely.
The purpose of the study is to develop a sociological model for the reduction of ethnic antagonism in a pluralistic society, namely, that of Nigeria. Such innovation has frequently been imposed from outside a society, and the consequences of this method are examined as well as other viable alternatives utilizing mass communication.

The study starts with a brief general review of the historical background of the indigenous institutional practices and structure of the three major ethnic groups of Nigeria: the Ibos, Hausa/Fulani, and the Yorubas who have been engulfed in conflict of various degrees that culminated in the Civil War of 1967-1970, six years after obtaining political independence from Britain—the colonial authority that amalgamated these separate groups into one geographical unit in 1914. It describes the influence of colonization on these groups and their various institutional practices, and indicates that with the introduction of a modern political system by the colonial authority there emerged three distinct political orders: (1) the Hausa/Fulani autocratic and conservative Islamic structure, (2) the Yoruba constitutional monarchy and (3) the Ibo egalitarian order. The Hausa/Fulani political structure was also identified as a closed system since social mobility was based on clientage dominated by the Fulani royal lineage. The Ibo political structure was identified as open because the absence of any hereditary royal lineage allowed individuals many opportunities for social mobility. The Yoruba system was identified as both closed and open since individuals outside the royal lineage could achieve social mobility.
In order to establish the basis of the conflict that exist between these groups a theoretical sequence for the development of racism follows Vander Zanden (1972) in examining the Nigerian situation: contact, social visibility, categorization and unequal power were all identified as stages in the pattern of racism, in this instance Tribalism. As a follow-up, an experiment conducted by Sherif, et al. (1960) is examined. It was indicated in the intergroup experiment that group conflict could be reduced by the introduction of a series of superordinate goals; goals which were highly appealing to members of two or more conflicting groups, but which could not be attained by the resources and energies of either one separately. The analysis indicates that superordinate goals act as a communication facilitator, since they impel antagonistic groups towards achieving a common goal, thereby increasing inter-group interaction through exchange of information and ideas. In other words, superordinate goals elicit interpersonal cooperation or communication. The analysis also indicates that mass communication under certain circumstances does not lead to the reduction of intergroup tension, but that face-to-face or interpersonal communication, especially in a traditional society, may lead to attitude change and that mass media in this instance, acts as a supplement instead of the only source of innovation.

The study concludes by discussing how local leaders can be coopted by an agency trying to introduce cultural programs that will serve as superordinate goals, and how their cooptation would influence the "grass roots" of the society, or the village dwellers, thereby
giving rise to general participation in the decision making processes. The aim is to close the communication gap between rural leaders and at the same time, encourage inter-village, state, and organizational exchange of ideas and information, with the sole purpose of promoting intergroup communication, cooperation and interaction.
Main Cultural Groups

Nigeria

City

House majority in Northern Region

Ibo majority in Eastern Region

Yoruba majority in Western Region

Ede majority in Mid West Region
CHAPTER 1

VARIATIONS IN SOCIO-CULTURAL INDIGENOUS INSTITUTIONS IN NIGERIA

This study will proceed by briefly examining a few aspects of Nigerian society, and how the geographical settings influenced migration patterns and the development of indigenous social structures.

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is the largest geographical unit on the west coast of Africa. It is bounded on the east by the Republic of Cameroun, on the west by the Republic of Benin, on the north by Niger Republic, and on the south by the Gulf of Guinea, which empties itself into the Atlantic Ocean. It has a land area of 356,669 square miles, with a population of 55-60 million people according to Nigerian census of 1973. This area is the most densely populated in Africa.

Nigerian climate, natural resources and vegetation vary from one area to another. Geographers distinguish between three principal zones of vegetations: the swamp forest of the coastal belt, the high forest of the humid south, and the savanna of the sub-humid Middle Belt and north. While the south provides for high forest with an average rain fall of 70-100 inches per year, the northern region is characteristically open grass land with a yearly rain fall of 25-35 inches.

Nigerians speak about 248 distinct languages, but major ethnic groups languages dominate; that is the language of major
tribes is often widely spoken where a number of other ethnic groups form a geographical unit. The English language, inherited from the colonial era, is the official and commercial language and is widely understood in the larger towns. Literacy and educational levels will be more fully discussed later.

1. **Major Ethnic Groups**

Nigeria's major ethnic groups can be divided into two parts. The major ethnic groups that concern this study, and minor ethnic groups that live alongside them (see Table 1).

Politically, northern Nigeria is made up of Hausa/Fulani as the dominant group (Figure 1). Yorubas within western Nigeria are dominant both in language and political system, with the Ijawas as a minority. Ibos within the eastern region of Nigeria constitutes the dominant group, while Ibibios are in minority. The many other ethnic minorities are not of direct concern to the study.

**Major Geographical Features of Nigeria are:**

1. a. The Savanna area, or grassland-desert, characteristics of Northern Nigeria inhabited by the Hausa/Fulani.
   
b. Tropical forest of the deep south mostly inhabited by Ibos.
   
c. The lower Savanna and moderate high forest of western Nigeria, inhabited mostly by Yorubas.

2. The two most important rivers of Nigeria:
   
a. River Niger
   
b. River Benue
### TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN NIGERIA*

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<th>Minor Groups</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Region</td>
<td>Fulani</td>
<td>4,784,366</td>
<td>Kanuri</td>
<td>2,259,091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>11,652,745</td>
<td>Tiv</td>
<td>1,393,649</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern Region</td>
<td>Ibo</td>
<td>9,246,388</td>
<td>Ibibio</td>
<td>2,006,486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Region</td>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>11,320,509</td>
<td>Ijaw</td>
<td>1,008,885</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The geographical characteristics of most of northern Nigeria facilitated easier migration of people, individually and collectively. Being mostly grassland, massive migration or conquest of smaller or less organized areas by larger or stronger well-organized areas seemed much easier. It also facilitated the use of horses, camels as a faster means of transportation. Before the arrival of Europeans, trading of various categories, including slave trading, was being carried out by means of caravans across desert or northern Nigeria between Hausa/Fulani and north African nations particularly by Arabs who were equally involved in slave dealings. Hundreds of miles can be covered quite easily with little difficulty. The conquest of the Hausas by Fulani in the early 18th century and the vast area of land conquered is indicative of the ease with which migration and other forms of communications took place in northern Nigeria. Subsequent conquest of northern Nigeria Fulani emirates or states by the British colonial military commander Captain Lugard is also indicative of the easier communication pattern in northern Nigeria. Geographically, the characteristics of this area made it easier for large and distant ruling families to be established. For instance the Sultan of Sokoto, the traditional ruler and leader of Hausa/Fulani emirates (kingdoms) resides and governs from Sokoto a distance well over 600 miles from the furthest part of Nigeria under his control (see Figure 2, Sokoto to Makurdi). Visibility during local inter-tribal wars and slave raiding was much greater because the area is almost void of thick forest of
southern Nigeria, the area occupied by the Ibos and other minorities.

On the other hand, the Ibos of the deep south had much greater communication problems. Conquest by large families or stronger tribes was made almost impossible by a yearly heavy rain fall of about 70-100 inches and thick by inhospitable forest infested with different kinds of insects. The implication is that massive migration within or from outside was difficult, hence people were forced to establish in smaller units primarily of the immediate family, or take refuge and protection in times of war or slave raiding from nearby lineage or clan members. In consequence of this geographical barrier the Ibos developed village units based on the extended family as their only governing body. Being family-oriented, participation by all members assumed the shape of their political structure. This structure and extended family system was carried along as they expanded or migrated within the area. The common characteristics of all Ibo political structures indicate a common origin and migration pattern throughout southern Nigeria.

The use of horses and camels, which are not found in Ibo land, would have been made impossible because of thick forest and lack of large roads. In those days all paths led to the immediate family or village sites and where mostly paths cut through the bush. Human communication was not that easy, migration was gradual, and as mentioned earlier, large families could not invade successfully and maintain control of areas hidden away by thick forest, hence
the Ibos had no central political structure. A common saying among the Ibo might confirm this approach or segmented nature of Ibo political systems. "Onye Igbo ewegi eze." which means that an Ibo has no king. In short, every family is a kingdom to its members. Coleman emphasized this point by stating:

The challenge of the forest...contributed to the intensely local character of agriculture and political organization in southern Nigeria. Farming was an enterprise for family groups because communal effort was needed to clear the forest...In the forest belt, political units were small and dispersed, and...were based on the extended family or class. There were no wheels and large roads simply because the forest and tsetse fly defined their use...and constituted obvious resistance that prevented intercourse...By contrast, in northern Nigeria, where there is no forest and where cattle and horses can be used the traditional units are larger... (1963, p. 13).*

The Yorubas who share geographically high forest and low grass land regions, depending on their residence, developed a sociopolitical system that includes large dominant families with autonomous local kingdoms and chiefs. These autonomous areas to a large extent determine the range of power of the distant ruler, and the regularity with which Yorubas fought among themselves historically must have been facilitated in some areas and impeded in another, particularly areas that border northern Nigeria which are geographically of low Savanna. The geographical distribution of Savanna and high forest in western Nigeria, limited migration in areas that border southern Nigeria,

*It will be appropriate to note here that modern medical and public health facilities have to a large degree eliminated the problems of tsetse flies and other insects considered harmful.
NIGERIA'S NEW STATE STRUCTURE

Figure 2
inhabited by the Ibos, while areas that border northern Nigeria facilitated migration and conquest, possibly by the Hausa/Fulani.

The second important geographical characteristics of Nigeria as mentioned above, are the two rivers, Benue and Niger. These rivers "naturally" divided Nigeria into three unequal parts in land mass, hence the population differences between eastern, western and northern Nigeria. This natural division provided a convenient but artificial administrative boundary for the colonial regime of Britain. It was artificial because it did not take into serious consideration minority cultural and linguistic areas, within the three major regions. This artificiality of boundaries from then on plunged Nigerians into political conflicts of different types based on the problems of minority group agitations for recognition and equal acceptance into the larger stream of Nigeria economic and political life. In 1968, and "finally" 1976, a total of 19 states were carved out of the three major regions, in answer partially to the Nigerian problem, including minority problems. But these states as shown in Figure 2, are linguistically dominated by the three major ethnic groups, Ibo, Hausa/Fulani, and Yoruba. Viewed critically, it is a geographical expression for administrative convenience, the only difference from colonial division is the recognition of the importance of minority areas and the important part they will play for the stability of the nation. The survival of these states and their economic stability constitutes a major testing ground for present and future Nigerian leaders, and history will record their
performance. If the consequences both immediate and future are recognized fully, bearing in mind the stage in which Nigeria is politically and otherwise, one can claim that a cultural "gold mine" has been struck, but, if taken for granted or mismanaged only history can tell whether it is really a gold mine or "social time bomb." I subscribe to the "gold mine" concept and this is why I am engaged in this study in order to contribute and make it a stable and lasting reality.

I have used the above few pages to indicate briefly how geographical settings seemed to have produced different migrational patterns and subsequent development of different socio-political systems between Nigeria's three major ethnic groups. The grassland area of northern Nigeria and the neighbouring western region made possible the development of large families or political systems, through conquest or massive migration as was the case with Fulanis into Hausa land from Sudan. The high thick forest of southern Nigeria reduced massive migration and isolated the Ibos from invasion within and without thereby giving rise to segmented political systems based on extended family, village or clan. Therefore in the absence of free migration, made difficult by these variables, geographical settings, and the Niger and Benue rivers, these ethnic groups developed differently until they were forced to mix by colonial authority in the 19th century forming what is currently known as Nigeria. Some aspects of these indigenous institutions will constitute our next discussion.
2. Various Indigenous Institutions

The concept of institutions is one of the most important in the entire field of sociology. Unfortunately, however, it is a concept that has been burdened by ambiguity and that has received inconsistent articulation and definition in the sociological literature. (Bierstedt, 1963, p. 340)

Institutional differences constitute a major segment of this study as they apply to Nigeria. As mentioned earlier only a few of the major institutions of Nigeria will be discussed; the exclusion of others does not suggest negligence of their importance. While this exclusion is a limitation, it is not detrimental to the major purpose of this study.

The aim of this study is to survey these indigenous institutions, their differences in values and examine their interaction. It will be appropriate to mention here that these institutions about to be surveyed are very much older than the modern political concept of Nigeria, hence their impact on members of each group is far reaching and requires a sympathetic insight and criticism.

Before surveying these institutions it will be necessary to review a few definitions of the term institution that satisfied this study. Coley (1938) and MacIver (1949) respectively define institutions as:

--- Complex integrated organization of collective behaviour established in the social heritage and meeting some persistent need or want. (Cooley, 1938: 402)

--- An institution is an (organization) or organized way of doing something...a formal, recognized, established and stabilized way of pursuing some activity in society. (MacIver, 1949: 17, 18).
These definitions meet the demand of our discussion in that they recognize and emphasize that institutions involve the organized, established, formalized and complex organization of collective human behaviour which, above all, meet some persistent need or want. These institutions are educational, religious, family, political, and economic and constitute societal needs and wants. These needs and wants are reinforced or satisfied through shared institutionalized values, norms, ideas, and ways of seeing life in general. Such institutions stand in the forefront of any analysis or survey of a people's culture, and these institutions embody these values, ideas and norms found in Nigeria's three major ethnic groups.

(a) The Yoruba Indigenous Political System

Tribal legends ascribe the origin of the Yoruba to a deity Oduduwa, who is said to have reigned at Ife, where he created the earth and its inhabitants. Oduduwa the legend continues, had seven sons, who ruled different chiefdoms. The principal royal dynasty or lineage, hence forth were selected from Oduduwa's family. Both major and minor kings among Yorubas are carefully selected from this lineage. Oba is the term for kings, though their power and category differ. The Oni of Ife is regarded as the most sacred of these and is clothed with dignity and divinity through secrecy of rituals involving other dieties or gods.

The Yorubas for several historical reasons, such as an earlier development of a wide range of governing machinery, their coastal situation, exposure and contact with other societies including
western Europeans, established urban areas and kingdoms sophisticated enough for collection of taxes or royal dues, and are regarded as the most urbanized dwellers of Nigeria.

Centralized authority of the Oni of Ife and his Oba (satellite states) is a common characteristic or Yoruba socio-economic and political organization. Power structure consists of Council of Chiefs mostly from the hereditary royal lineage, and representatives of major groups which also make up the decision making parts of government. Tradition restricts kings from venturing outside their kingdoms unless on a very special occasion. This restriction of movement increased the mystery surrounding the royalty and increased the power and control over the masses. The maintenance of this myth and social control is further reinforced by emphasis on obedience to kings and representatives of satellite states, which also indirectly perpetuated the supremacy of the royal lineage at least in the eyes of the commoner.

Yoruba monarchy was far from autocratic, being rather lightly superimposed on a social structure which contained strong and independent grouping organized on the basis of lineage, territory and associational (that is age, religious, occupational) ties. For the most part these groupings select their own leaders, who acted as a check on the central authority of the king as a means for [achieving] the development of a popular consensus on issues before decision making. Thus the Yoruba political system despite its hierarchical form, was not an authoritarian one in which command flowed from king down the ranks of obedient office holders; instead, power was dispersed among partly self-governing segments with relatively little concentration at the centre. (Levine, 1971: 187)
Yoruba social system is stratified in such a manner that those of the royal lineage (both kings and chiefs representing different lineages) remain at the top of the pyramid and are ascribed positions. Commoners, who are not members of the royal lineage, occupy the bottom of the pyramid, but are allowed to seek social mobility either in politics or the acquisition of wealth and higher knowledge outside the royal lineage. However, the commoners must observe their duty to their kings in cash and kind. Political threat (competition) from a commoner to the aristocracy is frowned on, or never considered.

Yoruba political institution with the kings and counter-checks and balances forms a constitutional monarchy. For instance the Alfin of Oyo (King) can be deposed by his council of chiefs should he neglect his duties, slight the council of chiefs, betray his confidence and authority, or if he becomes despotic. In the older days, a despotic king was usually asked to resign his office through a gift of a basket full of parrot eggs, or any other suitable symbol, and resignation was usually through exile or through death by taking poison.

The Yoruba political system, therefore, can be said to be both closed and open, in that one may find a centralized authority operating in a coercive manner over groups of people especially commoners, but at the same time allowing for individual mobility and initiative outside the nobility or ruling class. But, respect for royalty is an essential ingredient for other participation within the community manifested through categories of prostration.
(b) The Ibo Indigenous Political System.

The Ibo occupy the deep southeastern part of Nigeria situated within the tropical rain forest of this geographical area and are predominantly sedentary agricultural people.

The origin of the Ibos is still speculative among historians. According to Talbot, Ibos migrated from somewhere in the north between AD 1300 and 1400 and pushed towards the sea. Most Ibo land is located inland from the coast. Several historians, including current African writers, argue that the Ibos claim is correct that they have always lived within their geographical area or boundaries and migration has been within Ibo land and not from without. This argument is confirmed by research conducted by Ischie (1973) and Nwabara, et al. (1974).

This same view is shared by two other notable writers, Jones and Muhall, who emphasized that:

The Ibo people have no tradition of migration from other parts of Africa and appear to have settled in the densely populated parts of Nriawka and Isunoma areas for a long period and have spread from there, their main expansion being southwards. (Jones & Muhall in Nwabara, et al., 1974: 133-139).

This apparent lack of migration would seem to confirm my earlier argument that the geographical nature of the area occupied by Ibos impeded communication and massive migration, which could have instigated conquest by one group or the other.

The Ibo political system, in the absence of any central authoritative power, remained within the family or village level.
Village government allows for general participation of representatives of different age grades in the decision making process. This direct participatory system accommodates lineages, organizations, such as Dibias (native doctors), cults, age grades, and different fraternities.

Participatory style of political organization diffuses and disperses power as far as possible. Though wisdom which comes with age constitutes an asset, much as the system emphasizes individual participation and initiative for the good of Umunna (Community) an elderly person quickly relinquishes his position when challenged by a younger member of the community, who appears more promising in decision making and leadership.

The age grade which is an important element of Ibo political structure allows for an atmosphere of interaction and participation with elderly people, not just to sit and obey imposed rules and regulations, but to effect it by asking questions and this constitutes learning process as participates moves to higher positions, where greater demands are put on them.

Through the acting out of various roles on members of age grades other than his own, the individual develops a general predisposition towards acceptance and exercise of authority, and the different role allocation on the basis of age (and the concomitant differential age definitions) facilitates this development by sharpening and focusing differences of authority on the differences in life span and societal experience. (Eisenstadt, 1964: 29).
This exposure sharpens the minds of the young and exposes them to the intricacies of leadership and above all exposes or initiates them to the biographies of the elderly and group leadership.

As several writers in African culture have indicated about the Ibo of Nigeria, great stress has been made on the importance of the village assembly which constitutes a birth right for every Ibo (Uchendu, 1965; Green, 1964). It is within the village assembly, which is virtually open to all free born, that a man finds pleasure in exhibiting his ego, talent, and interest in community or village life. Any attempt overtly or covertly to remove him or deny him full participation is vigorously resisted, unless it has been unanimously agreed by the village assembly and all age grade that his participation endangers the stability of the village. Oha in such a case, decides what should be done, and this is called the rule of Ohacracy (Njaka, 1976). Oha in Ibo means everyone participating or democracy. Ohacracy emphasize strongly the importance of the community and individual responsibility.

In all that has been said about the Ibos political culture, Ottenberg described it most accurately:

The Ibos are a highly individualistic people. While a man is dependent on his family lineage and residential grouping for support and backing, strong emphasis is placed on his ability to make his own way in the world. The son of a prominent politician or village head has a head start over other men in the community, but he must validate this by his own abilities. While seniority in age is an asset in secular leadership, personal qualities are also important. A secular leader
must be aggressive, skilled in oratory, and able to cite past history and precedents. A man gains prestige by accumulating the capital required to join title societies and perform other ceremonies. Much of the capital necessary for these activities is acquired through skill in farming and ability to acquire loans. Successful farming is a matter not merely of diligently using the proper agricultural techniques, but often of a person's ability to obtain the use of the land resources of his friends, conjugal relations and his unilinear groups. The possibilities of enhancing status and prestige are open to virtually all individuals, except descendants of certain types of slaves and not restricted to members of a particular group... Ibo society is thus in a sense an "open" society in which position of prestige, authority and leadership are largely open. (1948: 136-137).

(c) The Hausa/Fulani Indigenous Political System

The above term Hausa/Fulani derived its meaning or origin from a historical event which took place in Hausa territory between 1804 and 1810, when Fulanis of Sudanese origin, who have been migrating into the Hausa or Habe kingdoms for centuries, with their Arabic knowledge and Islamic faith, organized and conquered the Hausa kings in a religious war called a Jihad or "holy" war. The Fulanis were led by a Fulani scholar and an advisor to the Hausa king, who disagreed with the despotic King in matters affecting relaxed observance of Islamic laws. Uthman don Fodio was the Fulani leader and scholar who championed the revolution and is still remembered today for his historic movement. After the conquest, Uthman don Fodio established the Fulani royal family, throughout the Hausa land, with Islamism entrenched as both religious dogma and political culture. The system was autocratic in its pursuit
religious purification of the less organized Hausas who were in their own Animistic belief purified.

This autocratic Fulani monarch quickly established a political system rigidly based on a master-servant relationship. The Hausas were the conquered group and were subordinated in political and religious affairs.

The Sultan of Sokoto, in whom religious and political power resided, appointed and deposed office holders at will irrespective of status or lineage. Command unquestionably flowed from top to bottom, so to its power, authority, economic and social mobility. The social system recognizes and emphasizes social stratification and mobility as follows: The Fulani from the royal lineage are given priority positions, seconded by Hausas whose ancestors were of the previous royal lineage; but any official position given to a Hausa must not be that reserved for the royal lineage. Though Hausa occupied few high offices, they were either forced out of office as Fulanis expanded in numerical strength and power, hence, any higher position held by a Hausa assumed a temporary or contractual position. At the bottom of the pyramid were the commoners called Talakawa and the slaves.

Irrespective of the autocratic and feudalistic character of this political system, another important aspects of it is the well organized and enforced clientage system designed to perpetuate the hierarchy of the royal lineage. The clientage system is one in which an obedient follower serves a superior in administrative and political office with the hope of being recommended for higher
office by his superior provided he displays vivid and excellent subordination behavior as well as a reduced individual initiative that will benefit his superior. Above all he must have a sensitivity to the demands of his superior. In short, it was a training ground for early subordination behaviour, which filtered down through all segments of the society to the immediate family unit. This clientage system was the core of Hausa/Fulani political system and social relations. Smith described the clientage system as follows:

Between top officials and their subordinate title holders, between ordinary office holders and their agents and community chiefs, between ordinary non-office holding men, between wealthy merchants and the chiefs, and between women...at the top of this pyramid is the Emir...the constitutive principles of the emirate, and this being the case, its official hierarchy administrative structure is parallel and combined with a hierarchy of unofficial clientage...Throughout this system the greatest administrative sin was the sin of omission, the failure to execute promptly the order of one's immediate superior...through loyalty and obedience. In such a system the commoner without a patron is not merely a deviant but a rebel, since he admits of no personal allegiance; and such an individual occupies a disadvantageous position in this society. (1965: 245).

The implication of this clientage system is emphasis on obedience and reduced individual initiative and aspiration. It is interesting to note that in Hausa/Fulani society, political office is the most important means of acquiring wealth and higher social mobility. This one-way traffic means a rigidity to the clientage system which is governed by religious laws and crowned by emphasis on submission to authority and sensitivity to the demands of those at the top and in most cases the Fulani royalty or aristocracy or
very loyal Hausas. All these requirements are neatly tied to a
conformity to Islamic prescription.

In conclusion, while the Ibo political system emphasizes individual-
ism and initiative in political and economic spheres of life, the
Hausa society emphasizes subordination, obedience and reduced
individual initiative or competition. The Yoruba society on the
other hand, emphasizes obedience to an authority not as rigid as the
Hausas, and encourages individual initiative and mobility outside
the royal lineage similar to the Ibo.

One can then conclude that within the Hausa society, where
politics is rigidly tied to religion, and political-social mobility
tied to the clientage system, the social system or structure assumes
the shape of a closed system for the masses. Deviation from religious
principles means deviation from both political and socially accepted
or enforced principles as dictated and interpreted by the royalty

Damachi, emphasized this very issue by stating:

While there are certainly individuals with
'acquisitive drive' or a need for achievement
among the Hausas (for instance among the
merchants), achievement is not generally re-
cognized and sanctioned social value. In
Hausa society important values are loyalty,
obedience, servility, sensitivity to the
demands of those in authority; and respect

The Yoruba society, though monarchial in structure, is less au-
cratic than the Hausa for it encourages individual initiative and enter-
prise outside the royalty. Politics is not tied rigidly to religion,
hence deviation is non-consequential and the system can be called both an open and closed society.

(d) Family and Socialization

The core of a culture is its institutional system. Each institution involves a form of activity grouping, rules, ideas, and values. (Smith, 1960: 767).

The previous discussion centered on a political survey of the three major ethnic groups of Nigeria. There we saw different values, ideas; and methods of representation. A discussion of the family institution is also crucial because it imparts to each new generation, norms, values and ideas stipulated by the larger society.

The functions of the family are almost universal, though there are differences depending on social norms, values, and other institutional expectations. Since the advent of the industrial revolution in the second half of the 18th century, rapid changes have been taking place within the family institution, but most traditional societies like Nigeria, especially rural areas, appear to respond more to traditional demands. Leslie identified seven functions of the family, but we are concerned primarily with three of them:

- Provision for the socialization of new members of the society (children in this case); provision for the maintenance of order...and maintenance of motivation for individual and group survival. (Leslie, 1967: 21).

As the definition indicates, socialization and the maintenance of group survival become an important aspect of the family. Socialization does not end with children, it is a life long process as members of the society continue to acquire new knowledge as they
grow older.

Socialization is complex and multidisciplinary, hence can be defined from different perspectives depending on the issue under analysis. The term socialization as defined by Goode, will be cited:

Socialization refers to all the processes by which any one from infancy to old age... acquires her or his social skills, roles, norms, and values, and personality. (Goode, 1977: 67)

These essential tasks or processes as performed by the family through socialization are not performed in a social vacuum. They are inter-mingled with other institutions, such as political, religious, economic, and educational, an indication that socialization is multidisciplinary and goes beyond infancy as Goode indicated above.

Family as an institution therefore stands prominent among other institutions, because it serves as the "welcoming port" of new arrivals through different units of family within any community. The family, therefore, can be regarded as the prime custodian responsible for early transmission of values, norms, and ideas, stipulated by a larger society for the maintenance of the social system.

(e) Hausa/Fulani Family and Socialization Process.

With the overthrow of the Hausa kingdom a Fulani autocratic social structure and political system was imposed on the entire Hausa people. To crown it all, an organized, sometimes autocratic Islamic faith and dogma was equally imposed, sometimes with force,
on the Hausas as the Jihad or "holy" religious war of 1804-1810 indicated.

Politically there was the need for control, in order to check and avoid future Hausa counter attack or revolutionary movements, hence respect for authority was rigidly emphasized and entrenched into the code of conduct. The introduction of an organized Islamic religion which demanded obedience, respect and submission to Allah, through his earthly representatives in the persons of Muhammed the prophet, Sultans, Emirs, Mallams and other religious leaders, who were in most cases of the royal lineage, automatically transferred power and authority to these representatives. To solidify the master-servant social relationship which was to be used as a socialization process, from infancy to childhood the society was symbolically stratified into two distinct classes, the Talakawas or Commoners of slave origin mostly Hausa, and the Sarakuna, or ruling class mostly of Fulani origin. Therefore, submission to authority assumed a priority position in child socialization process, while the clientage system which also advocates submission to authority and superiority, acted as a carry over or secondary socialization for adults in their pursuit of political and social mobility. (Berger & Luckman, 1967: 129-147).

Much as the social structure emphasizes the ruled and the ruler, conquered and victor, through several methods as mentioned above, early child training was aimed at dependency habits. Children are trained to recognize the symbolic meaning of Talakawa and
Sarakuna, that is, the difference between the royal and aristocratic lineages and commoners, and were expected to internalize these symbols and their meanings. Socialization from childhood to adult life recognized the power and authority vested in the royal lineage, clothed in religious rituals which conjured high degrees of fear and respect from the commoners. Parents socialized their children to realize the importance of survival through submission and the limits of their religious political and other social aspirations or mobility, and what it meant to be born Hausa, Fulani, Tiv, etc, etc.

Several writers have emphasized this aspect of Hausa/Fulani social values but especially Damachi and Eleazu:

An important aspect of any social system is the system of values incorporated in it and internalized by incumbents of the position in the status system...In Hausa society important values are loyalty, obedience, severity, sensitivity to the demands of those in authority, and respect for tradition. Hausa society trains its members in the habit of subordination... (Damachi, 1973: 65).

These core values are far reaching in their consequences when viewed sympathetically from different societal perspectives, especially when people from different cultural backgrounds for one reason or another find themselves forced to function under one political umbrella as is the case with Nigeria today.

In a study conducted by Cohen, in Bornu, northern Nigeria, as quoted by Eleazu, important socialization values of the Hausa were described as follows:

In traditional Islamic thought, people are conceived as of being in need of the hierarchial-ordering of authority roles because without rulers men would not cooperate
within a society. So from early childhood it is drummed into the child that obedience to the power-that-be is the first duty of a person... The most highly valued and most important behaviour known to the Kanuri of Bornu is obedience to authority. It is emphasized over and over again in child rearing, in household, in daily behaviour and in metaphor... It is the most important judgement made of him which he must also make of others. (Eleazu, 1977: 55).

Because this study is not designed to pass judgement but to describe what is, it will not be improper to stress that there is nothing "wrong" in child socialization or a social system that rigidly emphasizes obedience. But, when socialization becomes an unqualified obedience based on the conquered and the victor, and flows uninterruptedly from top to bottom, and from one group to another; its meaning then begs for a vigorous sympathetic and in-depth re-examination or redefinition.

(f) Ibo Family and Socialization Process.

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the Ibo social system is based on village level participation, where members of different age grades assemble to discuss community issues and problems. This general assembly does not exclude children. Really, in most cases, parents go to these assemblies with their children, irrespective of sex, but in most cases with male children. This indicates that the Ibo child participates early in two worlds, his childhood world and the adult world constituting an early socialization process (Uchendu, 1965).

The age grade system of decision making also socializes people to participate in community affairs and interact with elderly people in positions of authority.
Because of the openness of this society, people are socialized to be prepared to assume independent responsibility in all their endeavours. Families as early as possible emphasize the necessity for individual initiative and higher aspiration, believing that the world is open for social mobility based on achievement.

Respect for elders is a universal norm and Ibos no matter what their emphasis on individual initiative place a high premium on respect for elders. This respect, however, is based on the principles of cooperation and competition, not respect or obedience arbitrarily required or imposed from above. Lack of a hereditary monarchy has emphasized the autonomy of the village or family. Being an "open" society, participation of children is emphasized in the socialization process; they are not excluded from the adult world as Uchendu emphasized:

Igbo children take an active part in their parents social and economic activities. They are literally everywhere. They are taken to the market, to the family or village tribunal, to funerals, to a feast, to farm and to religious ceremonies, they help entertain their parents' guests. There are no children's parties which they are encouraged to dominate, nor are there parents' parties from which they are excluded. If there is a social or ritual ceremony going on in an Ibo village, everybody is welcome. (Uchendu, 1965: 61).

Within the Ibo social system competition is a way of life. I have stressed these child rearing practices in detail because of the consequences it has when people from societies without formalized autocratic central government interact with those who were socialized otherwise. Misunderstanding of different types erupt, hence the necessity for a communication structure designed to encourage a
realistic group interaction and knowledge of each other's socialization processes. Uchendu stressed further:

The village center as well as the center for each lineage segment...is the hub of life's social activities. It is the place where most children receive much of their informal education, meet with their age grade, try their strength in wrestling and the inevitable intra-lineage contest and mock fights. Such activities make social life competitive... Learning the Igbo way involves constant adjustment to competitive situations...the play group, the age grade and the wider Igbo society are extremely competitive... But all share one characteristic: an emphasis on open competition and a differential reward for the winner and the loser. (Uchendu, 1965: 62-63).

Those are major values acquired by Ibos through the socialization process which they carry with them as they migrate into other parts of the world and other regions of Nigeria.

(g) Yoruba Family and Socialization Process.

The political system of Yoruba society emphasizes seniority in all walks of life, hence seniority is emphasized in child rearing practice. In most segments of the society and particularly in the rural areas, seniority continues to be the basic factor in the socialization of children.

Symbolically, emphasis on seniority is manifested by different categories of prostrating, symbolizing respect for elders. Even educated Yorubas city dwellers follow the tradition or practice or prostration. But this symbolic form of showing respect does not prevent an average person from withdrawing or defending his individual right should an elderly person take undue advantage of his or her traditional privileges. Although the society is
basically monarchial with hereditary lineages, it emphasizes individualism, while emphasis on seniority acts as a check on extreme individualistic initiatives.

Good or strong leadership is not dwarfed by this seniority emphasis within and outside the royal lineage. In his analysis of the social psychology of the Yorubas, Fadipe, stressed that:

Leadership hinges largely upon insight into practical problems, mainly the settlement of disputes, the assertion of authority, and the maintenance of internal and external order. The qualities that count for leadership are tact, patience, impartiality, persuasiveness... openhandedness, but authority upon which leadership rests is itself based largely upon the custom of seniority rule. (Fadipe, 1970: 307).

Generally, a polygamous marital system is practiced throughout Nigeria but is institutionalized among northern Muslims as Islamic religion allows a man to marry up to four wives. Monogamy on the other hand is commonly practiced in the south, a practice mostly influenced recently by Christian faith and economic realities.

The socialization of women in northern Nigeria places much emphasis on the domination of the male with almost total exclusion of women from social-political activities. The exclusion of women, mostly wives, is known as "Purdah" in which they are expected to remain in their quarters at all times, unseen by any man but their husband, except in very special circumstances (Feinstein, 1976). But in southern Nigeria, women are not secluded; instead they play active roles in community activities including market politics. In the North, buying and selling are activities of males in the majority of cases.
(h) Religious Differences.

Before the invasion of Hausaland and subsequently the conquest by the Fulanis, most of Hausaland was dominated religiously by belief in supernatural powers or beings. Much of these cults were not organized and were not clothed with dogmas; they were regarded as "pagan" or animistic. If they were organized and claimed, as other religious groups did, that God spoke through a self-proclaimed prophet, the religious history of Nigeria today dominated by two imported religions, Christianity and Islam, would have been very different.

Much as those native religions were not organized, they were overrun quickly by better organized groups, hence Nigerians share the religious faiths of Christianity and Islam. There are also many other minority religious groups in Nigeria.

There are today in Nigeria over 19 million Christians, 26 million Moslems and 10 million people with other religious affiliations. The distribution of ethnic groups and their religious affiliations, according to a Nigeria census of 1963 is shown in Table 2.

Dividing Nigeria religiously into two sections south and north, it can be seen that the Islamic religion dominates northern Nigeria, while Christianity dominates southern Nigeria. These religious distributions to a large extent influence social values held sacred among adherents of these religions. This constitutes value differences which are emotionally loaded, hence a social
### TABLE 2
RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION OF NIGERIA*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>Christians</th>
<th>Moslems</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Northern</td>
<td>3,891,437</td>
<td>21,386,450</td>
<td>5,540,733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauchi, Benue</td>
<td>3,891,437</td>
<td>21,386,450</td>
<td>5,540,733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gongola, Kaduna, Kwara, Niger, Plateau, and Sokoto</td>
<td>21,386,450</td>
<td>5,540,733</td>
<td>3,891,437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Western</td>
<td>6,742,084</td>
<td>4,859,882</td>
<td>1,854,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogun, Ondo, Oyo, Bendel, and Lagos</td>
<td>6,742,084</td>
<td>4,859,882</td>
<td>1,854,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Eastern</td>
<td>9,573,622</td>
<td>29,964</td>
<td>2,790,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anambra, Cross River, Imo, and Rivers</td>
<td>9,573,622</td>
<td>29,964</td>
<td>2,790,876</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from Nigeria Handbook, 1977*
force to be reckoned with. Problems associated with these institutional differences will be fully discussed in the next chapter.

In most traditional societies, such as Nigeria, religion is emotionally loaded and crucial both for the individual and community for it maintains the society by providing a common identity and cohesion in norms and values that to a large extent govern people's behaviour. Durkheim stressed:

...religion far from ignoring the real society and making an abstraction of it, is in its image; it reflects all aspects, even the most vulgar and most repulsive. Religious forces are therefore human forces, moral forces. (Durkheim, 1954: 417-427)

With the overthrow of the Hausa kings by the Fulanis, Islam was imposed on all Hausas. From then onwards northern Nigeria became predominantly Muslim, with a few tribal units who resisted the Islamic "holy" war. Northern Nigeria was then declared "holy north" and holiness that was far reaching emotionally and psychologically. It is not holiness on paper, but holiness pursued with vigour and where necessary, with brute force on those typified as "pagans".

On the other side of the coin, southern Nigeria (Ibos and Yorubas) shared the religious faiths of Christianity and Islam. Christianity arrived with the European colonialization. Though open brute force was not used, a more sophisticated technique, mostly psychological both overt and covert, was used to gain converts among the so-called "pagans" and conversion to Christianity became a weapon so that converts were encouraged to isolate non-converts:
Christinaity reduced the custom of sacrifice and cut down the number of occasions when kin would assemble to re-establish their religious unity and influence over the young. Since usually only part of any tribe became Christian, religious belief frequently divided kin apart from one another, again reducing the unity of custom and social sanction. (Goode, 1970: 173).

It is important to note here that these two imported religions have for centuries battled in other areas of the world for dominance, but Nigeria offered, fortunately or unfortunately, a common and lasting battle ground for both. Historically, they are entrenched in competition for converts. Apart from an earlier drive to put a stop to slavery where missionaries played a major role in Nigeria, Coleman stressed:

Another consideration that sharpened missionary interest in Nigeria was apprehension regarding the spread of Islam. The Lucknow missionary conference held in Edinburgh resolved that the whole strategy of Christian missions in Africa should be viewed in relation to Islam...and provide a strong chain of mission stations across Africa. The strongest line of which shall be at those points where Moslem advance is most active. (Coleman, 1963: 93).

At this time northern Nigeria had been completely Islamized, but steady and vigorous attempts were being made to spread the Islamic faith beyond the northern territory, towards the southwestern part of Yoruba territory. The successful Islamization of Ilorin, a border town between western region and northern region, is a typical example of such moves. (See Figure 1, p. 7). Ilorin until recently, anyway, has been a controversial area between northerners and westerners. It is now included among northern states, but Yorubas consider it their land.
After the conquest of Moslem leaders by the British, Fulani leaders and emirs requested above all in the treaties signed to formalize the conquest, the exclusion of Christian missionaries from northern Nigeria, a request which was ironically granted because of economic and administrative reasons. Suspicion and fear that grew out of these apprehensions will be discussed in the next chapter. Both religions emphasized life after death, but Islam seemed to emphasize this more, almost to the point of institutionalizing it (Damachi, 1973).

With the exception of religious differences, this section has been used to show the pre-colonial era with regards to geographical settings and migrational patterns of the three major ethnic groups and their subsequent development of different indigenous institutions.

It has been necessary to use this approach because these institutions are older than the colonial era which amalgamated them, irrespective of their deep allegiance to their past socialization.
CHAPTER 2

EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON INDIGENOUS INSTITUTIONS

In the previous chapter historical differences were briefly described in terms of regions, institutional practices and socialization processes of the three major ethnic groups under examination. This chapter will consider how these ethnic groups were forcibly assembled through colonization into one large geographical entity called Nigeria, irrespective of their institutional differences and cultural diversities.

As these groups were forcibly assembled into one geographic unit they had one possible alternative, that was to maintain their indigenous institutions in the new colonial social structure and this new colonial social structure was by definition a pluralistic society.

Pluralism, like most terms used within the academic disciplines of social sciences, is burdened with diversified definitions, meanings, interpretations or methods of analysis, depending mostly on one's perspective or area of interest. Therefore, to simplify issues, pluralism as defined by Smith, will be used:

"Pluralism is a condition in which members of a common society are internally distinguished by fundamental differences in their institutional practices." (Smith, 1969: 27).

We identified the Hausa/Fulani society as a political autocratic royalty, based on Islamic religion, and family socialization processes emphasizing obedience, submission to authority, especially to people from the royal lineage, and a social relation for economic and political
mobility based on Islamic prescriptions and the clientage system. This society was regarded as a closed society for the Talakawa or Commoner.

Secondly, we identified the Yoruba society as a constitutional monarchy emphasizing the values of age seniority as a major aspect of their family and other socialization processes, plus obedience to the authority of the royal lineage, like the Hausa/Fulani, but less autocratic, by virtue of the fact that social, economic, and political mobility are allowed for commoners and this encouraged individual initiative and private enterprise. This society we identified as both open and closed.

Thirdly, we identified the Ibo society, which is equalitarian and emphasizes in all its institutional practices and socialization processes the values of the individual initiative and enterprise, but not at the expense of his community. This was identified as an "open" society.

It will not be inappropriate to suggest that with these cultural differences existing between these ethnic groups, what is symbolically familiar and of deep emotional attachment or concern to a Yoruba, or Hausa/Fulani, might appear trivial to an Ibo, and vice-versa, leading to inter-ethnic misunderstandings, a breakdown in communication and possibly conflict because of a lack of knowledge of the true institutional meaning of the others values and socialization processes.

The writer feels that it is necessary at this stage of Nigeria's developmental process to design a national communication structure that will encourage effective participation and cooperation especially at the grass roots or village level, between different ethnic groups.
This is a necessary first step towards better understanding and tolerance of each other's institutional practices and a move towards national integration. This aspect of nation building was not encouraged during the colonial era as we shall soon discover in this chapter and has not been systematically and vigorously pursued since then.

(1) Colonial Era

Nigeria as a political entity is a recent invention as are most African nations. This recency or "invention" is not attributed to its indigenous political system as are most African nations: Nigeria is, rather, of a modern political entity developed by British Colonial authority in the early 19th century, through the commercial and artificial amalgamation of different indigenous political structures.

Nigeria was founded in four stages. The first stage commenced with trading between European and Africans in various commodities initially between the Portuguese and Benin Kings. Then followed slave trading, a very culturally and psychologically devastating means of international trading, where human beings were converted into goods for export. Several writers have historically shown how slavery expanded contact between Europe and Africa, and developed an exploration interest that led to a subsequent founding of various modern African states. After the slave trade came the industrial revolution which created new demands for the commercial production of goods and materials. Raw materials were desperately needed, including oil for the production of soap, which led to massive consumption of palm oil found in the coastal area of southern Nigeria, for the production of various detergent by-products and of margarine.
Changes in commercial demand required changes in commodities grown. Table 3 demonstrates the growth of selected commodities.

The quest by various British trading companies headed by Goldie and Holt, and The Royal Niger Company and John Holt Company, respectively demanded that business which was in the hands of African (Nigerian) middle men be made available to them, and these companies moved vigorously to squeeze them out. This idea of companies acquiring the middle man position met with local resistance, in persons like Jaja of Opobo and various others, who were finally put out of action and exiled. It was this struggle for hinterland trading that brought in British military personnel who were already combatting slave trading in other parts of the country.

Finally, political and military emissaries included Lugard, a British military explorer or "Ambassador of Conquest" who was seconded to assist Goldie and his trading firm. Lugard with the help of his Maxim guns commenced the pacification and conquest of all local business men, and finally local middle men throughout Nigeria were brought under the control of British firms.

Nigeria middle men both in legitimate trading and slave trading were replaced, as Goldie, and his Royal African Company called the commercial, political and administrative tune. This British control affected local business expansion until independence was attained on October 1st, 1960, because European and British firms monopolized all trading and banking enterprise.

An important term worth mentioning is amalgamation. After the elimination of African middle men, the struggle for monopoly erupted.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periods</th>
<th>Palm Products</th>
<th>Ground Nuts/ Peanuts</th>
<th>Cocoa</th>
<th>Cotton</th>
<th>Value of Export in Millions of Tons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1901</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-1921</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>103.6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>81.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>121.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>120.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>104.7</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>125.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from Coleman, 1963.
between British firms. In order to correct this threatening situation, Goldie, in 1879 suggested the amalgamation of European or British firms throughout Nigeria for their commercial survival (Coleman, 1963). Amalgamation therefore was not meant to merge ethnic groups and their differences, but to merge or amalgamate British Companies. Goldie and others were businessmen and not religious humanitarians or philanthropists.

This amalgamation issue is stressed here because of its importance to this study, since what was amalgamated were British firms and not Nigerian:

...for they mix but do not combine... As individuals they meet, but only in the market place, in buying and selling... Exonomic symbiosis and mutual avoidance, cultural diversity and social cleavages, characterize the social bases of the plural society. (Furnival, 1948: 304).

True amalgamation means an economic symbiosis for Nigeria's major ethnic groups and people. Social symbiosis through mutual understanding of each other's customs and their meanings, and an unimposed economic amalgamation is what Nigerians should strive for, or need, and what this study is about.

With the monopoly of trading gained, and facing competition for territory in Africa between the European nations, the British had to protect their international prestige by involving themselves in the acquisition of more colonies in Africa, because the more area acquired the more a country's international and local survival and power was assured. It was an empire-building era.

After the monopoly of trade was strategically acquired within an undetermined geographical area, the British government moved arbitrarily to partition Nigeria into three regions called protectorates.
First Lagos area was annexed and called a protectorate of the crown colony in 1862. This area included the Yoruba and Lagos coastal areas. In 1899 the northern area was declared the northern protectorate, which included all Hausa/Fulani territory extending as far south as the Tiv area. Finally, in 1885 the southern coastal area was declared the Oil Rivers protectorate, which included the Ibo and other minority groups. It will be necessary to mention that the purpose of the Protectorate structure was to protect British areas and commercial interest including their inhabitants, the colonized, from German or French expansionism. This meant also the flying of the Union Jack high enough at strategic points to scare away French and German traders or explorers, signifying the final conquest of Nigeria and the birth of British colonial era in Nigeria.

(2) Protectorates and Separate Development

By 1900 British had three protectorates administered separately. Later Lagos colony or Protectorate was administratively joined with the Oil River Protectorate to form the southern protectorates. But they were still separately administered. Northern protectorate was almost completely isolated from the southern protectorates. These protectorates continued in their separate ways both in their indigenous practices with few modifications, because of British cultural influences, until 1914 when both the southern and northern protectorates were partially amalgamated. Amalgamation at this stage was the official recognition of these three protectorates as one economic and political colony of Britain, but their separate administrative patterns were
maintained through indirect rule. 1914 also marked the appointment of Lugard as the first Governor General of Nigeria.

An important aspect of these separate developmental patterns was the influence of British missionaries. British expansionism was not limited to commerce or politics for religious expansion through evangelism was a major part of expansionist policy. Hence missionary work boomed and missionaries joined their fellow merchants as religious salesman and women. Most probably following the doctrine of Christ, who said to his disciplines "Follow me and I will make you fishers of men" (Matthew 4:19). Missionaries came to "fish for Nigeria" as modern disciplines of Christ.

The influence of missionary work brought with it a direct impact of western education on people of the southern protectorates who welcomed the missionaries but was excluded from the northern protectorate at the demand of the northern Emirs in an agreement signed with Lugard:

In the treaties with the northern Emirs formalizing the conquest, the British agreed to keep Christian missionaries out of the Muslim north. Later, it was an important feature of the British policy to preserve the Muslim North in its Islamic purity by excluding Christian missionaries and thereby in practice to restrict education to that provided by the Koran School excluding western education. (Stokke, 1970: 18).

The above treaty excluding Christian missionaries was in response to Lugard's strategy of separate development through indirect rule.

(3) Indirect Rule

This administrative strategy was a convenient governing method for British administrators initiated by Lugard, through which each
region or protectorate was governed with traditional rulers in apparent control, while British authorities assumed absolute or overall power behind the traditional rulers.

Indirect rule functioned smoothly in the northern Nigeria Emirates where an already autocratic and regimented political structure existed. So Lugard had no problems there in tax collection, which the Emirs had done for centuries. But it was difficult to implement among Ibos who were segmented and lacked any central authority that imposes taxes on people.

...attributes of chieftainship which is found in some parts of Africa is here lacking, as it is its converse, the right to levy tribute. There is no individual to whom tribute is paid by the village or for whom work must be done. Any such conception, so far as one can see is foreign to the minds of the people. It is therefore no surprise that the introduction of taxation by British Government in 1927 came as a shock to the Ibo people, and has never been understood. (Green, 1964: 36-37).

This taxation problem or difficulty led to the establishment of a direct European administrator in the Ibo territory. Also, attempts to appoint local chiefs met with resistance. Among the Yorubas it did not run that smoothly but the influence of the monarch made matters a little easier. An important aspect of this indirect rule system was the consolidation of separate development patterns, irrespective of their existence in one political entity. The Emirs used that period, with the aid of British officers who needed a smooth running tax collection system, to consolidate their rule over the Hausas.
These protectorates continued in their separate administrative environments—especially in the northern protectorate which was isolated from the southern protectorate until 1946, at that time, without consultation converted into regions and were asked to participate in central government about which they knew nothing.

In as much as northern members were not included, jurisdiction of the council was linked to the colony and the southern provinces. For a period of twenty two years...northern and southern provinces were linked tenously in law and through the person of the Governor; their distinct political identities were preserved by the maintenance of separate administrative establishment. The constitution of 1946 was promulgated by Colonial Government without consultation...and converted the northern, eastern and western provinces into government regions. For the first time an all Nigerian legislative council was formed. (Sklar, 1963: 18).

The important aspect of this strategy of separate administrative pattern is the continuous isolation of people who are supposed to cooperate with each other. Secondly, the fact that a constitution was promulgated without consulting them, but expected them to assume regional government status and positions in the federal legislature, was an open invitation to misunderstanding and conflicts.

With the emergence of regional government came political parties hurriedly organized by people whose political systems differed radically, and from the modern politics which they were expected to practice. They had no alternative other than to transfer their indigenous methods of governing into the new arena. Hence there appeared three political orders: Islamic authoritarianism and conservationism, constitutional monarchy, and an egalitarian order,
all coming to life in a few months or years to practice what had taken Britain more than four hundred years to develop and mature in a tradition. In short, it was British habit into which they were politically plunged.

To make matters worse or more difficult, most of the political parties formed were ethnically based. The Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.) was headed and dominated by Hausa/Fulani. The Action Group (A.G.) was headed and dominated by the Yorubas. The National Council of the Nigerians Citizens was headed by an Ibo and dominated by Ibos. There was minority carpet crossing depending on which among the three major parties offered attractive positions.

The struggle for political domination, coupled with fear of tribal domination, raged for years, and the political atmosphere was charged and electrified until January 15, 1966 when six years after Independence the Colonial socioeconomic and political time bomb when off in a military take over. Circumstances surrounding the take over plus sentiments of tribalism, led to a counter movement and finally to civil war in 1967-1970 (Brothers War).

I have used these few pages to show how the nation Nigeria came to be, and how various ethnic groups were forcefully lumped together into nationhood, sometimes for administrative convenience, other times for political and economic convenience. I have tried to show how they were administered separately until 1947, when they were required to participate in federal government after almost 40 years of no real interaction or common political culture, utilizing
hurriedly ethnic political parties as a platform for governing. But lack of knowledge of the origin and principles that govern modern politics which they were asked to practice, forced them to equate the British political systems with indigenous African system, which left them in confusion and disarray, culminating in inter-ethnic antagonism and misunderstanding. In short, politicians of Nigeria's first Republic, and even more now, have always displayed in their approach to common national problems, characteristics that indicate lack of knowledge of each other. As these ethnic groups continue to live in an isolated environment about cultures of other members, inter-ethnic misunderstandings continue to persist. Educational unevenness (which has not been discussed here) contributes even more to the gap in administrative, technical and professional training between these groups.

(4) Educational Differences

With the overthrow of the Hausa or Habe Kingdom, by the Fulani in the 18th century, organized Islamic religion and knowledge in the Arabic language and writing, which had been filtering down among the Hausas for over four centuries were rigidly imposed on the entire Hausa people. Excellence in the knowledge of the Koran determined social acceptance and political mobility. Since there were no other competing national languages, the Arabic language and Hausa flourished as the official and commercial language and everyday means of communication.
With the conquering of the Fulani royalty by Britain through Lugard and his infantrymen, the English language was demanded as the official language and means of communication. But as mentioned earlier, with the signing of the treaties banning Christian missionaries, Muslim purity was maintained and the Arabic language continued to be the official language among the Hausa/Fulani people. The use of Arabic and Hausa were further solidified with the introduction of indirect rule.

Ironically, while the Emirs excluded Christian missionaries and western education from the north, they recognized it as an enlightening weapon should it get into the hands of the conquered Hausa masses. To protect their interest and perpetuate their academic dominance, they quickly established private schools for the education of their children preparing them for leadership in the new arena.

Very few people went through the schooling process [Western education] in the north of Nigeria in the 1930's. Such education was generally restricted to the children of the royalty and occasionally extended to those of the aristocracy and related malams [Malams is the title of respect for Muslim religious or secular teacher or scholar]. Katsina College which opened in 1922...and transformed into Kaduna College in 1936 was the only secondary school in all of northern Nigeria... The original concept of this school...was that of training ground for princes. (Feinstein, 1973: 50).

The refusal to build public schools left power and authority in the hands of the royalty who could afford the private schools they owned and operated. Britains were recruited or employed as
advisers and teachers in these schools, and I presume some of them were Christians. This strategy also indicates that the power structure, which emphasized subordination and master-slave relationship, was very much in effect even during the colonial era. Hence the masses were completely left to rot in ignorance, superstition and fear, future pawns for ethnic instigated conflict. As an ignorant people, coupled with the fact that they were a conquered people, their chances were doubled of being manipulated for ethnic jealousies by the elites.

In the same vein of thought in his research in education in northern Nigeria, Williams emphasized:

The Emirs were frankly suspicious of western education. They could see no necessity for the new education which, to the old ways of life, was not only unnecessary, but in their view dangerous. The Emirs were right, but the threat that western education poses to the old ways of life must be risked, if recent expectation for national development are to be realized. (Williams, 1959: 7).

The Emirs took the risk by educating themselves and their children and not the masses. It was a risk, because while acquiring this new knowledge—often tied to Christianity, they had to screen carefully its contents to make sure it did not overshadow the Islamic teaching.

On the other side of the colonial administrative coin, Ibos, Yorubas and various other minority ethnic groups, including the Tivs of the southern part of the northern region who vehemently resisted Hausa/Fulani expansion and domination, welcomed Christianity and western education. The Ibos and the Yorubas were more influenced
by Christianity and western education than were the other ethnic groups. The acceptance of this new knowledge exposed these groups to western administrative and occupational practice and gave them a head start over Hausas who were administratively and educationally isolated. While the rest of southern Nigeria was excelling at Western education in English, the Hausa/Fulani were excelling in Arabic and Koranic knowledge.

For the above reason, Hausa/Fulani did not participate actively in the early years of the nationalist movement against colonial government, a fact that gave the south a political head start:

Following British conquest, the Ibo quickly recognized the superior authority and influence of the new ruler, and though they objected to it, they did not completely reject it. Rather, the acquisition of this power and authority became one of their important goals. The task was not merely to control the British influence but to capture it. Education was quickly seen as an avenue to white-collar jobs with government, posts in the native authority system, and positions in the British administration itself. (Ottenberg, 1956: 137).

Ottenberg was right in his insight, but it does not represent Ibos alone as far as the acquisition of western education and the realization of its importance to the new system were concerned. The Yorubas were ahead of most Nigeria. Ibos had to struggle harder to catch up with the Yorubas, or surpass them. But both ethnic groups appreciated the new knowledge because their political or social structure encouraged individual initiative, mobility and expertise. Social mobility outside the Yoruba monarchy or royal lineage was open to commoners hence doctors and lawyers were produced early in
20's. The Ibo society was open to all, hence they were able to openly
compete individually in various occupations (see Table 4).

Educational uneveness invariably leads to occupational unevenness.
The social structure of the Ibos made it possible for them to catch
up with the Yorubas while that of Hausas restricted their social
mobility. Most probably, the opposite would have been the case with
the Hausa had their social structure permitted mass mobility as was
the case with the Ibos, or mobility for commoners as the Yoruba system
allowed. But the Hausa system was completely closed to the masses
or Talakawa (Commoners).

Educational uneveness constitutes a major problem of
Nigeria today and is emphasized here because of its importance: if
these ethnic groups are going to find greater ethnic understanding,
more educational homogeneity may be required.

Tables 5, 6, and 7 show the trend of educational unevenness
in Nigeria from 1906 to 1976 for elementary and secondary schools.
The proportion in elementary and secondary schools in the different
regions can be seen in Tables 5 and 6, and it can be seen that the
north lags behind the others yet has almost three times the
population of the south.

The figures from the tables indicate the unevenness in educa-
tional enrollment in different regions especially between southern
and northern Nigeria, hence Eke, emphasized;

So wide is the gap that roughly speaking for
every child in a primary school in northern
states there are four in the southern state;
for every boy or girl in a secondary school
TABLE 4
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF NIGERIANS IN KEY POSITIONAL GROUPS IN EARLY 1920's AND 50's *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Early 1920's</th>
<th>Early 1950's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barrister</td>
<td>12 Yoruba 15</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Native Foreigners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians</td>
<td>8 Yoruba</td>
<td>76 Yorubas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
<td>49 Ibos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Hausa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34 others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 Native Foreigners</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Adapted from Coleman, 1963.

Note: Native Foreigners are slaves who returned to Nigeria after the end of slavery.

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in the north, there are five in the south. And for every student in a post-secondary institution in the north there are six in the south. Yet the six northern states shared between them more than half the country's population. For the six northern states, Kwarâ and Benue-Plateau approach the standards of the southern states, while there was grave imbalance inside three of the other four states themselves, with the most northerly area including Sokoto being the most backward (see Figure 2). It will be many years before UPE [Universal Primary Education] "works through" to produce in the states now most backward in education graduates and professional people in numbers in line with those in other states. Nor can it easily be ensured that inside individual states, differences in educational level between different areas do not for some years lead to allegations of "domination" by better educated areas. (West Africa, No. 3140, 12th September, 1977: 1875-1877).
TABLE 5
DIFFERENTIAL DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN NIGERIA*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Southern Nigeria</th>
<th>Northern Nigeria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Eastern and Western Region)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schools Attendance</td>
<td>Schools Attendance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>3,828</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>3,533</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>4,984</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>13,473</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from Coleman, 1963.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Primary School Enrollment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Secondary School Enrollment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North (Hausa/Fulani)</td>
<td>410,706</td>
<td>29,908,560</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>9,881</td>
<td>29,908,560</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West (Yoruba)</td>
<td>1,099,418</td>
<td>13,468,933</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>30,630</td>
<td>13,468,933</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East (Ibò)</td>
<td>1,278,706</td>
<td>12,394,463</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39,938</td>
<td>12,394,463</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,788,830</strong></td>
<td><strong>55,771,956</strong></td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td><strong>80,449</strong></td>
<td><strong>55,771,956</strong></td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from Hazelwood, 1967 and Nigerian Year Book, 1974.*
**TABLE 7**

**ENROLLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS BETWEEN THE REGION IN 1972**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Primary School Enrollment</th>
<th>Population in Millions</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North (Hausa/Fulani)</td>
<td>853,000</td>
<td>49.20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West (Yoruba)</td>
<td>1,454,000</td>
<td>14.90</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East (Ibo)</td>
<td>2,481,000</td>
<td>13.80</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,789,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>77.90</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from African Contemporary Records Annual Survey and Document, 1975-76.*
CHAPTER 3

COMPETITION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS

No treatment of minority relations would be complete without a consideration of race. Ignorance, superstition, and prejudice... have surrounded the matter for generations. (Vander Zanden, 1972: 30).

In the same vein this writer stresses no analysis of Nigeria's inter-ethnic relations would be complete without a consideration of ethnicism or tribalism. Throughout this study the term ethnic group has been used to describe the major tribes of Nigeria.

Nigeria's greatest need is as described by Schwartz:

The history of Nigeria has just begun. The history of her tribes goes back as far as man remembers. Her greatest need is that the different tribes become but strands woven into the web of her national history; her greatest danger is that tribal jealousies will explode and cut the ties that hold the nation together. (Schwartz, 1965: 1)

Vander Zanden's (1972) theoretical explanation of the emergence of racism is a useful model for the understanding of the increase of ethnic antagonism in Nigeria. He proposes firstly that there must be contact between the different groups. Secondly he proposes that there must be a ready identification of cultural and physical differences between the groups so that there is social visibility and a possibility of categorization of each of the groups as being different, a concept similar to the in-group, out-group dichotomization. Given such a situation, ethnocentrism will intensify. What is probably at the heart of his theoretical formulation is the proposal that competition will occur between the two groups for scarce and
indivisible resources, both of material and intangible kinds.

Allied to the concept of competition will be the situation of unequal power--most usually one group is dominant over the other in economic or political terms.

If migration were not a common practice, if people were content to live among their own kind in communities that were more or less isolated from one another...racial and ethnic prejudice would be virtually unknown. (Vander Zanden, 1972: 62).

Much as Vander Zenden is correct in his statements, before applying his theoretical sequence of racism to Nigeria's situation it will be necessary to elaborate further. Before individuals or groups migrate something important has taken place in their lives. Before migration people have already acquired cultural traits as a blueprint of their personalities. Also, the foreign societies these migrants are entering also have an established cultural blueprint by which they interpret their world. Hence migration involves cultural interaction. For example, Ibos, migrating to Hausa/Fulani or Yoruba territory and vice versa, carry with them their separate institutional practices which codify their culture.

(1) Contact, Social Visibility and Categorization

Before major contact was made between Europeans and the various peoples of Nigeria, each tribe or ethnic group, especially the three major tribes, developed their cultures in relative isolation. With the imposition of colonialism and subsequent commercial exploitation of these tribes, people from these isolated regions began to migrate freely from one region to another thereby establishing cultural contact.
on a larger scale. As Ibos, Yorubas, Hausa/Fulani migrated they carried with them their invisible cultural blueprints which included their language, institutional norms, and ways of thinking. With contact made and social visibility established, from then on the outcome depended on the other social variables, that impinge on these blueprints.

It is necessary to mention that before and after the political amalgamation, Lagos in the western region and Kano in the northern region were major urban trading centres. Kaduna in the northern region was also an important city. During the colonial era these major cities, particularly Lagos and Kano, became administrative headquarters. Hence most migrants from the south, east and north concentrated in these cities. It turned out that the Ibos who lacked big cities then, were forced to migrate to urban areas as indicated above for economic reasons. Ibos migrated the most and the Hausa/Fulani migrated the least.

As a consequence of their migration to the north, Ibos most probably saw Hausa/Fulani for the first time in large flowing gowns and matching caps, prostrating themselves before certain members of their society, who were to be either traditional leaders or elders. They must have observed the social distance between these groups categorized as Galakwas and Sarauta the commoners of slave origin and members of the royal lineage, who were most of the time in flowing white robes with umbrellas held over their heads and riding on horses. The Hausa/Fulani must have been puzzled at the Ibos custom of greeting which was mostly verbal.
Ibos must have been shocked at seeing Hausa/Fulani women with rings on their noses instead of ears, with some women covering their faces as was the custom of married women. The sight of horses must have astonished some Ibos, who were not familiar with such domesticated animals. Members of the Tiv region who are unusually tall and huge were categorized by the Ibos as "Gwodo-Gwodo" meaning people who were extremely tall and bending over. Northerners categorized Ibos as Nyamiri, a corruption of Ibo word Nyam miri meaning give me water, a common statement by Ibos who first communicated with the Hausa in the Ibo language. Nyamiri, the term used to categorize Ibos, was converted into a derogatory stereotype with changes in social relation mostly negative in nature. Begging is almost institutionalized among the Hausa/Fulani. It provides a means whereby the wealthy showed their kindness and superiority to the poor. Much as it was encouraged by the leaders, most Hausa commoners turned professional and congregated around rich men in large cities. This norm must have surprised the southerners whose social institutions encouraged individual initiative. The Hausa considered southerners as unkind for not recognizing this norm and participating in it. Professional begging instilled a negative perception of the Hausa in the minds of the southerners. This norm was not restricted to the northern region, Hausas migrated with it; and many southerners began to categorize the Hausas as beggars.

Contact between the Ibos and Yorubas must have taken the same pattern of shock as the Yorubas show respect through prostrating to
elders and members of the royal lineage. As the Ibos were the last to be deeply influenced by any foreign culture they appeared strange to educated and urbanized Yoruba Lagos dwellers, whom some of them served or worked for, and they became categorized as Bushmen. They must have displayed all the characteristics of "Johnny Just Come" a common term or saying by urban dwellers of village of rural migrants who have just arrived in town.

Earlier contacts were relatively calm as groups interacted while observing and learning the dominant language, but strangeness was the order of the day. Southerners were categorized as strangers in northern cities.

Within northern Nigeria strangers quarters were developed and were known as Sabon-Gari principally developed for living quarters for non-Moslem people. Sabon-Gari and the ideas behind it led to ethnocentrism and segregation and later to religious and economic competition between south and north.

This phenomenon has resulted in the virtual segregation of urban communities according to ethnic identity. And in the particular case of Ibo migrants in northern Nigeria, this phenomena has given rise to what is called in Hausa, Sabon-Gari, meaning "strangers" quarters. In a sense this might be more appropriately characterized as an ethnic ghetto. In this particular case the situation has developed in part from the attitude of the local Hausa inhabitants who do not wish to mingle closely with the non-Moslem infidels, and partly the making of the proud Ibo settlers who on the other hand, do not particularly relish possible 'contamination' by the despicable Hausa. In other words, it is a case of mutually convenient segregation systems. (Onwubu, 1970: 66-71).
Though other ethnic groups occupied Sabon-Gari, the larger and dominant Ibo population made it appear like an exclusively Ibo quarters (see Table 8). The establishment of Sabon-Gari was the beginning of tribal antagonism between southern and northern Nigerians.

With the establishment of strangers quarters dominated by Ibos it was necessary to open up Christian missionary schools and churches. Business of various types were also started and their rapid growth including the yearly graduation of elementary and secondary school children posed competition to the Hausa/Fulani in all walks of life. With time each tribe developed pride in its institutional practices. The exclusion of Christian missionaries earlier in the history of northern region limited the practice of Christianity among the minorities and exaggerated the negative meaning attached to Christianity and whoever practiced it. With time southerners with Ibos in the lead, also acquired more education which increased their domination of colonial administrative offices and places like hospitals, railways, government offices. At the same time Hausa/Fulani were busy excelling in Koranic education while the entire nation was run on a western educational model. The northerners categorized their region as "Holy North." On the other hand, Christians with their newly acquired education and growing modern business enterprise looked at the Hausa/Fulani as backward, unenterprising and feudalistic, crowned by the fact that after a few years the volume of trade and various business within Sabon-Gari markets was gradually and noticeably overtaking the Kano City market. This
### TABLE 3
SABON-GARI ETHNIC COMPOSITION IN KANO 1954-55

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Classification</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibo</td>
<td>3,670</td>
<td>3,758</td>
<td>2,844</td>
<td>2,496</td>
<td>12,770</td>
<td>59.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>1,484</td>
<td>1,710</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>4,174</td>
<td>23.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urhobo &amp; Itsekiri</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>4.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efik &amp; Ibibio</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>4.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast, Togo &amp; Dahomey</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa/Fulani</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroanian</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indians</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adopted from Melson and Wolpe, 1971.*
competition threatened the prestige and power of the Emirs, and other Hausa/Fulani merchants.

The table on the next page indicates that most of the consumer needs could be filled in the Sabo-Gari market which meant a higher economic turnover for traders within strangers quarters. Segregation between southerners and northerners was based on religious, educational, and housing factors. But both groups traded together on competitive terms; although southerners were freer in going across cities to buy new products.

Ibos in the Sabo-Gari market became a dominant minority group and a threat to the emirs and other Hausa/Fulani merchants who could not catch up with their progressive, aggressive competition, a situation that earned the Ibos the stereotype of "money grabbers" or "money worshippers." Their god is money, said Hausas (Markovitz, 1970: 249).

Within the western region, Lagos which was the seat of the southern protectorate and in a sense the hub of Nigeria's political and commercial activities, was dominated by the Yorubas. As Ibos in their own territory and all over Nigeria, enthusiastically embraced western education and Christianity, they began to catch up with the Yorubas, who looked down on them as uneducated bushmen. When in 1935, the first Ibo Doctor, Francis Ibiam, who later became Governor of the eastern region, returned to Nigeria, he described the position of the Ibos:

Brethren, this is the day and hour when the Ibos of Nigeria should rally together...and sink all differences geographical, lingual, intellectual, moral and religious, and unite under the banner of our great objective— the tribal unity,
### TABLE 9
DISTRIBUTION OF STALLS IN CITY AND SABON-GARI MARKETS: 1965*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Stock</th>
<th>Sabon-Gari Market Stalls</th>
<th>City Market Stalls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food (Local)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food (Canned)</td>
<td>1,457</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot wear</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spare Parts</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tires and Tubes</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,951</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,164</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from Melson and Wolpe, 1971.
cooperation and progress of all the Ibos... Education is the only real agent that will give birth to dying embers of the Ibo national zeal... It will be the means to free the Ibo from the throes of both mental and moral thralldom and I see no better place to start the work... than Lagos. (Melson & Wolpe, 1971: 76).

The subsequent return of Azikie to Nigeria in 1939 after studying in the United States, and who later became the first indigenous Governor General of Nigeria, pushed further the doctrine of Ibo emancipation and participation in the nationalist movement against colonialism. Ibos unanimously launched an Ibo union in Lagos, opened up private businesses cooperatives and schools. This Ibo union automatically took a national flavour and zeal. Within a short span of time, Yoruba leadership and domination in the nationalist movement was threatened and subsequently taken over by Azikie. At the same time with the same burning zeal to remove this label of uneducated bushmen, more educational, and professional positions were attained, and the gap closed between Ibos and Yorubas by the early 1950's (see Table 4), a phenomenon which Coleman (1963) called the Ibo awakening. This awakening was an answer to several discriminatory practices which the Ibos encountered in Lagos:

Since most non-Yoruba residents in Lagos suffered various forms of discrimination, particularly in regards to housing, it is not unlikely that this Ibo drive for unity stemmed in part from a real common grievance. (Melson & Wolpe, 1971: 79).

This Ibo awakening aroused tribal jealousies among some Yorubas who perceived Ibo leadership as a threat to their territory. Their long established privileged position was now questioned, and as a people they had to do something.
On the basis of those tribal unions formed by Ibos to catch up with Yorubas, the Yorubas headed by Awalowo, who later became Premier of Western Nigeria or region, rallied to meet the challenge posed by the Ibos in Lagos. As a consequence the Yoruba tribal union was effectively launched and named *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* which translated means, the society of the Decendants of Oduduwa, who as stated earlier in Chapter two was the mythical founder of the Yoruba people. Their objectives were as emphasized by their leader Awolowa:

...to plan for the improvement of educational facilities...especially by means of scholarship awards by the society for the pursuit of secondary and university education by Yoruba boys and girls...to accelerate the emergence of a virile modernized and efficient Yoruba state with its own individuality within the Federal state of Nigeria...and to unite the various clans and...in Yoruba land and generally create an activity to foster the idea of a single nationalism throughout Yoruba land...We were bunched together by the British who named us Nigerians. We never knew the Ibos, but since we came to know we have tried to be friendly and neighborly. Then came the arch devil to sow the seed of distrust and hatred... We have tolerated enough from a class of Ibos and addle brained Yorubas who have mortgaged their thinking cap to Azikiew and his hirlings... (Coleman, 1963: 344-346).

Most probably it is easier to tolerate people on an unequal basis than on an equal basis, which might be how Awolowo and some other Yorubas felt with the balance of power and privileges held by the Ibo leaders in Lagos. Above all Azikiew and other educated Ibos presented a model for Ibos around Lagos that the category of bushmen could be conquered and permanently erased. It was an ego boost for the less educated who were serving Yorubas in Lagos in various categories since their arrival from Ibo territory.
It will be necessary to mention here that the "addled-brained Yorubas" referred to above were those who did not identify with Egbe Omo Odudua society or Awolowo himself who happened to be an Ijebu man. Decades of inter-tribal and clan wars among the Yorubas which they carried over into modern political arena or politics exposed them to a point where contending ethnic groups could exploit their quarrels.

For example, the loss of Ilorin which was a Yoruba territory to the Hausa/Fulani invader in their early history was due to an inter-tribal war that weakened their resistance. Probably the ultimate destruction of Oyo Kingdom was an outcome of Yoruba inter-tribal war.

(2) Competition on the National Level

With the balance of power achieved by the Ibos in Lagos, which was the hub of the political machinery, tribal jealousies, economic and political competition intensified. The struggle for leadership in the nationalist movement increased.

The Hausa/Fulani up to this point, had not been effectively participating in the nationalist movement and the struggle for power because of their aloofness towards the concept of Nigeria. Also the majority of Hausa/Fulani masses were held back by the authoritarian Fulani government which excluded them from the acquisition of western education on which the rest of the nation was operating. This aloofness was reinforced by the colonial separatist developmental pattern and the system of indirect rule mentioned earlier. Nationally, the southerners took the Hausa/Fulani for granted and looked down on them, thinking that the power struggle on this level would not interest.
them. This idea of northern backwardness was superficially confirmed by southern leaders when, in 1953, suggestions for self-government were raised, a suggestion which the Hausa/Fulani leaders objected to by saying that they were not yet ready for self-government or to govern themselves. Within this new system, they were placed in a more educational, economic and political, disadvantageous position. This objection brought a rain of derogatory name-calling from southerners, especially the southern owned press. Hausa/Fulani felt they were pushed or coerced into a trap, considering their economic and educational weak situation. Secessions had on several occasions seemed an attractive option. But after analyzing the economic realities of their surviving as a separate political entity, which seemed impossible, because all sea routes through which to export their goods were all based within southern regions, they were forced to remain in Nigeria to struggle for survival and recognition with whatever weapon was available to them.

In summary, southerners despised northerners much as northerners did because of economic, educational and religious reasons. The fact that the northerners were taken for granted and despised, forced one of their local editors to openly challenge the southerners:

We despise each other...we call each other ignorant, the south is proud of western knowledge and culture we are proud of eastern culture...southern press ridiculed the Hausa and made disrespectful attacks on Emirs...southern clerks in the north discriminate against northerners in government offices...and commercial firms. (Coleman, 1963: 360).
So far we have seen how cultural contact by different ethnic groups or tribes with the introduction of economic, political, educational and religious variables have given rise to ethnic categorization, ethnocentrism, segregation, prejudice, jealousies and claims of discrimination. We have also noticed that at each stage of negative cultural contact, each group appears to have been battling either to equalize power or maintain it, some have out of frustration, considered pulling out of the federation as ethnic antagonism intensified.

In conclusion, and following the theory of the production of racism or tribalism as proposed by Vander Zanden (1972), it will be necessary to see how unequal power in Nigeria on the national level led to increased tribalism.

(3) Unequal Power

A racial or ethnic group that commands a disproportionate advantage over another group in access to wealth, power and/or status evolve and employs prejudice and discrimination as an instrument for defending its position or privilege and advantage... dominant group comes to view itself as being entitled to certain rights and privileges. This includes jobs, occupation, territory, profession...institutions. (Vander Zenden, 1972: 90).

Competition on both federal and regional levels has been rigidly entrenched and discriminatory practices used to gain power or maintain it. So far we have noticed claims and counter claims of various types exemplifying tribalism. Unequal distribution of power constitutes the core of this.

Power here can be represented as the acquisition of western education, population size, material wealth and political clout. These
elements of power are clearly unequally distributed in Nigeria.

Educationally, both on the national and regional levels, southerners are better equipped to participate effectively in modern politics. Educational power also leads to professional and other administrative power and privileges. In material wealth and power, southerners were richer on the average than Hausa/Fulani. Much as the political institutions of southerners encouraged individual initiative and enterprise, members of these groups were earlier exposed to the norms or values towards the accumulation of wealth and material goods. Within the northern region, the industrious enterprising southerners expanded their business ventures within Sabon-Gari market to a point where major international business transactions were carried out, hence the local Hausa/Fulani market within the walled Kano City was gradually dying economically. The prosperous nature of Sabon-Gari markets made southern traders especially the Ibos, wealthier than an average Hausa/Fulani, traditional leader. Therefore within the northern region and outside it, southerners commanded more economic power. To show the extent that Sabon-Gari's prosperity threatened the economic power and prestige of northern leaders and merchants, as soon as the atmosphere was charged enough in the northern region leading to mass killings of people, the Sabon-Gari market was the first large commercial installation to be burnt down and looted. The Hausa/Fulani clientage system encouraged servitude, so that some rich Hausas could have dozens of men and their families working under them, sometimes depending on being given their daily bread.
as payment for their services. The wealth of southerners within the northern region frightened the Hausa/Fulani traditional leaders who interpreted it as a move to eventual political power and domination within the northern territory.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter two, each region had an almost exclusive political control over its territory. Much as the Nigerian political system was based on a federation of different autonomous regions with representation in Lagos, the major political and economic battle was shifted to those who would control the Federal political machinery. Above all, colonial authority had already set the pattern or model that no matter how autonomous these regions were, whoever controlled power at the center automatically determined the social, economic and political destinies of the rest.

Therefore, each tribe and their political parties considered it their God given privilege, irrespective of any weakness, economic or otherwise, to dominate the federal capital. Southerners feared or were afraid that should the Hausa/Fulani political parties win the federal election, feudalism and an autocratic, conservative system would be imposed on them. Above all the Hausa/Fulani were less educated and were regarded by the others as backward people. On the other hand, the northern Emirs were afraid that southern regions could combine to form a coalition government. The northerners had an additional problem that any attempt to pull out of the federation meant economic suicide, because as mentioned earlier, all sea routes were within the southern region. This is no longer the
age when northern exports can be transported on horses and camels across the Sahara. They need the seaport for the export of their huge peanut, hides and skin products, and importation of huge industrial and agricultural machinery. In all it was a battle to the finish for survival by the tribes. In short, to survive as a tribe was equated with the ability to dominate major economic and political sources nationally.

Nigeria's dominant political leaders, before and immediately after the attainment of independence, were eager to control and monopolize machinery of the central or federal government that they encouraged rivalries which had the effect of playing off one ethnic groups against another. Moreover, in their bid to assume or retain power, these same leaders winked at corruption, recklessness, victimization, and other malpractices, which embittered their opponents to the extent of threatening revenge or secession. (Tamuno, 1970: 572).

Within this period tribal competition shifted and newer stereotypes were developed to discredit each contending region. For example, the Yorubas opened attack on any one who was not from their tribe by calling them Kobokobo, meaning cannibals. Ibos, derogatorily stereotyped Hausas as born beggers, or Ezegworo, meaning people with brownish, dirty teeth. This stereotype originated from the custom among Hausas who are constantly chewing Kola nut, as the acid or liquid from this nut colours their teeth. Eze, means teeth in Ibo language and gworro is the name for Kola nut. The Hausas stereotyped Ibos as money worshippers and Nyamiri was derogatorily used. The Ibos stereotyped the Yorubas Ndi Ngbati Ngbati because Ibos phonetic comprehension of Yoruba language sounded as above.

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Ndi means people in Ibo language. Several derogatory stereotypes were used between the three major ethnic groups to discredit each other and within these major tribes there were other various stereotypes used. Therefore as conflicts raged between the major tribes, minority ethnic groups had their own problems and stereotypes.

In the 1959 election, prior to independence, the northern region won the majority of representations to the Federal House of Representatives or Government, hence they were in a position to form the Government and appoint the Prime Minister with executive and ministerial powers. It is necessary to mention here that the Hausa/Fulanis were able to win a majority for various reasons which does not concern this study, but the major factor as far as this study is concerned was their population "power." As mentioned earlier, northern Nigeria commanded two-thirds of Nigeria's population (see Table 6). This is a form of unequal distribution of power which the federal system encouraged and was exploited by the northern leaders to compensate for their disadvantageous position in education and material wealth.

While the Hausa did not win a majority throughout the federation, their numerical strength as mentioned above, gave them more representation, or representatives. They were forced, however, to form a Coalition Government, by coopting one of the southern parties headed by an Ibo and a Yoruba, Dr. Azikiewe and Chief Awolowo, respectively. The Hausa/Fulani decided to form the Government with N.C.N.C. (National Council of Nigerian Citizens) dominated by Ibos. A.G. (Action Group)

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headed by Chief Awolowo and dominated by Yorubas became the Opposition Party in the Federal Government; and ethnic or tribal conflict intensified almost beyond control.

Earlier southern political parties resented the idea of being ruled or about to be ruled by a less educated ethnic group, but when the coalition was formed, southerners were divided amongst themselves.

The aftermath of all this was discrimination of various types plus further regionalization where each region hired only those from their area irrespective of merit or efficiency which eventually meant tribalism or racism.

It was this atmosphere of regional and national prejudice, competition, segregation and discrimination of various types which were dominant at pre-independence and post-independence periods that created confusion in subsequent federal elections and important issues which exploded into the military take over and the birth of the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970.

(4) Conditions for Cooperation.

The previous discussion has indicated that intense competition exists between the various ethnic groups in Nigeria and that there is very little intergroup cooperation. History has witnessed that any nation that wishes to persist over time must have a minimum of cooperation between its different ethnic groups. But the question arises about the condition under which cooperation can take place between mutually antagonistic groups of people.

Experimental evidence can be found in Sherif, et al. (1961) study of intergroup conflict and cooperation in a youth camp in Oklahoma.
This experiment has been chosen as it typifies an experiment conducted in what has been called a natural setting, instead of the usual laboratory situation where participation is limited and short lived. Throughout the experiment, the participants perceived their pleasure or frustration as being caused by their groups' activities, and they blamed the out-group increasingly for frustration. They did not perceive that the researchers or participant observers were responsible for injecting conflict into the group activities. Such in-group/out-group perception is a common occurrence in every-day life, where groups blame, fight and stereotype the other instead of examining the social variables impinging on their situation.

(a) **Experimental Procedure**

The experiment proceeded by a careful selection of 22 eleven-year-old boys, from stable, white middle class families. Psychologically, they were also screened for previous delinquent behaviour and their performances in their various school activities was above average. In short, they were homogeneous in terms of sociocultural, economic and educational backgrounds. The above screening procedure which lasted over a considerable length of time, was to make sure that frustration carried over either from a home or school environment was not transferred into the experimental situation. They also ensured that the boys had not known each other before coming to camp.

The experiment proceeded further by dividing the boys into two equal groups. Each group was given a camp located in an isolated area and were-separated from the other group for the first seven or
eight days. The strategy for separate camping areas was to allow the formation of in-group structure. Within this formative period, separate group norms, ideas, sanctions and a hierarchy were established. Leaders and followers and higher and lower status members were identified. This was accomplished through various activities that required leadership and other group characteristics to emerge. Play grounds and camp areas became privileged territories with signs all over stating "Keep off" or "Out of bounds." Each group acquired names for identification, respectively, Eagles and Rattlers. T-shirts were designed for further identification. Flags were created as a reflection of group pride.

At the end of the eighth day both groups were gradually introduced to each other. This was followed with the announcement of a tournament. The Experiment was divided into three parts: in the first stage a series of competitive games were organized ranging from baseball to tug-of-war. The second stage constituted a series of contact situations following the development of antagonistic out-group attitudes. The third stage constituted the introduction of a series of superordinate goals to facilitate between-group interaction.

As the tournaments were being arranged, a series of enticing rewards and trophies were shown to both groups and this increased their desire to compete for these scarce resources. These tournaments were arranged and introduced in such a manner that competition between both groups was intensified, hence the success of one group was perceived as the failure of the other group. A fight to the finish became the code of conduct between the Rattlers and Eagles.
(b) Competition With Minimum Contact

As the experiment proceeded in the first stage, different types of competitive games were arranged. Initially both groups tried to maintain a spirit of good sportsmanship by congratulating or shaking hands with the defeated group. But as competition intensified with time, this spirit of good sportsmanship gradually disappeared and was replaced by stereotyped behavior and various other negative attitudes.

Increased competition resulted in increased group solidarity and a higher rating for in-group member and a lower rating for out-group members. Negative attitudes and stereotypes were openly displayed at each competition. The Rattlers stereotyped the Eagles as "Dirty Bums," while the Eagles stereotyped the Rattlers as "Sissies" and "Babies."

Hostility climaxed to a point where one group burned the flags of the other after a defeat at games. Retaliatory measures of different degrees were taken including night raiding of one camp by the other. Territorial claims intensified with increased competition and hostility between the groups. Structural changes took place within both groups as leaders were deposed for not acting boldly against the other group. Competition and hostility was so intense that at a certain stage both groups decided not to have anything to do with the other group no matter what the trophy or reward might be. In short, hatred and discrimination became the order of the day. Some group members were frustrated to the point that they wept when their group was defeated, others decided to return home. It was this critical
point that the experimenters decided to switch to stage two—the
contact situation—in order to reduce group hostility.

(c) Contact Without Competition

Seven well-planned and supposedly pleasing contact situations
were introduced, like eating in the same dining room, attending movies
together, and watching fireworks. But the results were disappointing.
While these contact situations were in themselves gratifying to each
individual member they were used also as opportunities for renewed
out-group name-calling. In the dining room, food and plates were
converted into weapons. To crown it all, the researchers deliberately
arranged the seating position to facilitate group mingling, but in-group
members bunched together ignoring the seating arrangement. To make
the other group member appear inferior, a "Ladies First" rule was
adopted when an out-group member entered either the movie hall or
dining room. By referring to the out-group as "Ladies" the in-group
showed hostility which they couldn't express physically. An important
finding of these contact situations was that instead of bringing
the in-group and out-group together it increased their social distance
with increased in-group solidarity. This confirms what Allport (1958:
251, 252) suggested when he proposed that increased contact with an
out-group member can strengthen a negative attitude towards him.

Discovering that these contact situations which were supposed
to be gratifying to both groups, did not lead to a reduction in
hostility the Rattlers participant observer was forced to record in
his report book that:
It was apparent by this time that mere contact between the groups without the introduction of superordinate goals was going to be insufficient to reduce negative relationship between the groups. (Sherif, et al., 1961: 158).

(d) Introducing Superordinate Goals

Mere contact did not reduce tension, nor did it reduce the already entrenched hostility. It was decided therefore, that tension might be reduced with the introduction of an interaction situation involving common superordinate goals instead of a situation involving only contact.

Superordinate goals are goals which are compelling and highly appealing to members of two or more groups in conflict but which cannot be attained by the resources and energies of the groups separately... In effect, they are goals attained only when groups pull together. (Sherif, & Sherif, 1958: 349-350).

As stated earlier, a mere contact situation between antagonistic groups led to increased hostility and tension. In order to reduce group tension and encourage between group interaction, superordinate goals have to be introduced. As in both the conflict and the contact stages, superordinate goals were introduced in several steps and were varied in nature.

(e) First Drinking Water Problem

In order to encourage intergroup interaction and cooperation under a state of common deprivation, the experimenters deliberately cut off the valve inside the main tank or reservoir responsible for supplying water to both camps. This was done when both groups were very thirsty. The seriousness of the water problem forced both groups into discussing how to get the water supply flowing. The experimenters stimulated their interest further by announcing that
from all indications it seemed that the tank could be repaired but would require about 25 to 26 helpers. Since the two groups totalled 22, this meant that both groups had to work together. This strategy of over estimating the hands needed was used for various other tasks.

Volunteers, leaders, in short, members of both groups got involved in a series of serious exchange of ideas and information as to how to get the tank working again. Both groups individually and collectively took turns in trying to locate the problem with the shut off valve. Cooperation increased with the thirst for water. Interaction went on for about 15 minutes to an hour, finally the water supply was restored. For the first time Rattlers and Eagles embraced and congratulated each other. Neither group worried who drank the water first. For the first time, they called each other by their names instead of using negative labels.

Though this superordinate goal produced joint action and cooperativeness, it did not wipe out negative attitudes towards the out-group, but they were not as intense as before the imposition of the superordinate goal. Much as the aim of the experiment was to reduce intergroup tension to the bare minimum, it was necessary to introduce a series of diversified superordinate goals in order to record behaviour under various cooperative environments.

It is important to note that when the Rattlers and Eagles called each other by their real names this indicated two major changes. First, they have perceived that the use of former group labels might be considered offensive and disruptive towards attaining the goal. Second, through individual participation and exhibition of
skills unknown to each other, they learned the importance of treating people individually instead of by group stereotypes which drowns individuals' characteristics in the sea of their group identity.

(f) The Problem of Securing a Movie

As a follow-up to stimulate more between group interaction or transactions, a new but different superordinate goal was introduced. A movie found to be a favourite for boys of that age group was to be procured and shown. Superordinate goals must not be haphazardly introduced, for the audience concerned must be considered and the innovation must satisfy group needs.

The films, "Treasure Island" or "Kidnapped" were considered a high appeal and would appeal to the boys. Both groups were assembled and the plan for showing a movie was communicated to them. The names of the feature movies brought happy yelling from both groups, and there was clapping of hands and harmonious exchange of smiles with hands flying in the air. The problem was that only one movie could be made available. This strategy was introduced to encourage more between-group interaction and exchange of intimate ideas. A Rattler member suggested that a general vote be taken in both groups in which film should be selected. The voting-period introduced more exchange of ideas from members of both groups. Finally after detailed discussions, "Treasure Island" was selected by a majority.

There was another problem introduced to stimulate further interaction and exchange of ideas and information. The researcher
announced to their greatest surprise, after "Treasure Island" had been selected, that the camp could not obtain the movie because of lack of sufficient funds, that they need about fifteen dollars more to get the film. With their collective hopes and joint aspirations raised to a peak, procuring the film became an important issue of concern to both groups and a sense of common deprivation was experienced by the members of both groups. More discussion took place between both groups on how to finance this project. Suggestions were made about how much each person could contribute to make up the fifteen dollars. Finally after much discussion with regard to the equitable distribution of the financial burden, the fifteen dollars was raised and the movie obtained. The choice of the film, the processes of interpersonal communication and the efforts to obtain it, tended to reinforce the importance of the superordinates goal and forced both Rattlers and Eagles to effectively interact cooperatively, to meet a common challenge and overcome it. If previously antagonistic groups can handle financial issues or problems without splitting, it surely indicates an improvement in their relationship, as the procuring of this movie has shown.

The movie was not shown immediately. In order to measure the effect of the cooperative interaction and discussions that followed the selection and financial contribution, both groups were brought together for supper in a common dining room. It was observed that bickering and negative attitudes were fading away and there was no objection raised to eating together. During supper, plates and food were not thrown about as was the case during the early contact situation.

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when there was no superordinate goal. After supper, the movie was shown and seating arrangements observed. It was seen that though in-group bunching occurred among a few members, the majority cared less where or with whom they sat. The movie was the goal and they all enjoyed it and departed without fighting.

The experiment had shown that series of competitive situations produced conflict, negative attitudes, and stereotypes in stage one, and a series of contact situations in stage two produced more conflict and heightened negative attitudes.

(g) Tent Pitching

This superordinate goal was introduced to encourage both groups to experience extensive interdependency in order to satisfy their needs.

Rattlers and Eagles were out camping. Before their departure the experimenter mixed up their tent equipment so that both groups would experience a lack of tools during tent pitching which would force them to depend on the other group for their tents to be erected.

The first night was fast approaching and each group was asked to set up their tents and prepare for sleep. As the tent pitching exercise commenced, each group discovered that something (tools) was missing and could only be obtained from the other group. This dependency stimulated an exchange of information on how to use new tools, and the borrowing of tools. This cooperative interdependency lasted for about an hour and each group throughout this period experienced deprivation and need which could only be satisfied by depending on the other group. This atmosphere of prolonged dependency
increased cooperativeness between both groups and there was no fighting or negative name-calling. Instead, after their tents were erected, each group member thanked the other for being very helpful in pitching their tents.

In summary, these experiments showed that when groups who were not familiar with each other came into contact and were faced with a series of competitive situations for scarce resources, conflict, stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination of different types resulted. It was also shown that mere contact between antagonistic groups does not reduce inter-group tension but may increase conflict and social distance between them. Finally, the experiments had shown that with the introduction of a series of different or diversified superordinate goals, group discussion, exchange of intimate information, joint planning and cooperativeness between groups will result.

(h) Relevance of the Experiment to Nigeria

The Sherif, et al. (1961) study started by separating two groups and allowing each to develop a social hierarchy in isolation along with group norms and territorial awareness and claims. As our previous discussion on the developmental pattern of Nigeria's major ethnic groups have shown, each group developed in relative isolation before the colonial period. During the colonial period separate development was encouraged and reinforced by the indirect rule system. Just as the Sherif and Sherif experimental groups developed in isolation, norms and social hierarchy being established and the group brought into contact with each other under a competitive struggle for scarce resources (trophies), so did Nigeria's ethnic groups contact each other.
with diversified differences, crowned with suspicion, fear and superstititions, and within a common socio-political environment charged with a series of competitive situations and struggles for scarce economic and political resources. Both situations produced stereotyping, discrimination and conflict of different degrees. It will not be inappropriate to refresh our memory that Vander Zenden's (1972) theoretical sequence for the production of racism discussed earlier is confirmed by this experiment.

Secondly, when the Rattlers and Eagles finally made contact with each other, as the competition intensified, in-group solidarity increased as did negative name-calling of the out-group and stereotypes. At the peak of the competition both groups expressed the desire not to have any contact again. The same was applicable to the Nigerian situation. As competition intensified, stereotypes increased and some regions considered the possibility of pulling out of the Federation. This idea to pull out of the Nigerian Union which all the ethnic groups considered at different periods and stages of Nigerian history, was finally attempted and put into practice by the Ibos. The Yoruba considered and dropped the idea for several reasons. The Hausa/Fulani considered it also but for reasons already stated, dropped it.

Thirdly, the boys who were involved in this experiment were well screened for possible instability because of a family problem or previous delinquent behaviour, then selected for the camp experiment and were considered to be stable. Educationally and culturally they were considered homogeneous; yet when involved in competitive situations
negative attitudes, prejudice, and conflict of various categories took complete possession of them. Based on the screening process, these boys were not predisposed to violence, but when the researchers introduced situations that produced competition and frustration, their attitudes changed to those of violence. The fact that after the introduction of a series of superordinate goals, they became very friendly and cooperative and this confirms that it was the social situation that produced conflict.

In the same vein, it can be argued that "nothing" is wrong with Nigerian ethnic groups. However, the social variables like educational unevenness, separate development; religious differences, especially indigenous political structures and practices, crowned with competition for group survival and dominance of scarce economic and political resources, are responsible for Nigeria's ethnic group conflict. If the boys in the experiment had such homogeneous sociocultural and educational backgrounds and yet could be involved in a competitive situation that produced a degree of conflict, how much more likely is conflict for Nigerian ethnic groups which have a heterogeneous sociocultural and educational background. It is obvious that the conflict potential between Nigeria's ethnic groups will be greater and a diversified and new series of superordinate goals must be introduced to produce some degree of homogeneity if Nigeria is to survive as a nation, with reduced and controllable ethnic conflict.

In summary, superordinate goals as defined and implemented in the above experiment elicits a form of interpersonal-intergroup communication process which is cooperative in nature. It will not
be an exaggeration to suggest that it functions as a communication magnet, much as it compels and attracts antagonistic groups together towards the achievement of a goal, by collectively seeking solutions to problems facing them. Also, by forcing antagonistic groups to work cooperatively, superordinate goals have a tendency of reducing uncertainties about other groups which both in the short and long run if reinforced, might lead to attitude change thereby offering opportunities for social change.
CHAPTER 4
OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

From the period of slavery through the British colonial period to the final superficial political amalgamation of people of different cultural backgrounds into one accidental geographical area called Nigeria, there has been little done in a systematic way to re-socialize Nigerians to the advantages and disadvantages of cultural pluralism. To a certain extent, Nigerians are aliens within their own country, since they lack sufficient historical knowledge of the origins of values, norms, beliefs and various institutional practices of other ethnic groups other than their own. There is at the least an apathy towards other groups and at worst an antagonism. There has been much contact over a long period of time but this has not led to a lessening of tension. "Colonialism imposed a union upon the three diverse groups but it did not lead to an integration. Each group holds its own religion, its own language, ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market place." (Furnival, 1948: 304).

1 The Potential for Innovation

What is proposed is a major innovation in the form of a new communication structure that would promote inter-ethnic understanding through a program of inter-cultural exchange. It is first necessary to describe the condition under which innovation in social structure and interpersonal relations can take place.

Most studies in national communication have been based on
concerned with the macro level of society and have ignored the micro or village level. This study is proposing a national communication structure that will take into consideration the "grass roots" of the society, or rural areas. By designing such a communication system more than 70% of the Nigerian population will be accommodated through a communication system that will incorporate both technical facilities suitable for rural areas and facilities for interpersonal communication.

Integration is almost the last step towards national unity. The first step towards integration must be an understanding of each other's values, norms, and political structures and what they mean (Blumer, 1969). As mentioned above, colonialism imposed an artificial union upon these ethnic groups which unfortunately has been misinterpreted as integration. For national unity to occur people must accept each other, agree towards a peaceful settlement of their disputes without resorting to fighting each other, integrate certain common values, and assimilate a common system. In Nigeria, the integration was attempted first without a core of common values and understanding.

(2) Definition of Innovation

There are a large number of definitions of innovation but for the purpose of this study the working definition will rest upon the following statements:

Innovation is defined as any thought, behaviour or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing form... every innovation is an idea, or a constellation of ideas, but some innovations by their nature must remain mental organizations only, whereas others may
be given overt and tangible expression. Innovation is therefore a comprehensive term covering all kinds of mental constructs whether they can be given sensible representation or not. (Barnett, 1953: 7).

Innovation is defined as an idea, practice or object perceived as new by an individual. (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971: 19).

(3) **Compatibility of Proposed Innovations with Existing Norms and Values**

Potentials for innovation demand compatibility with local community values, norms, and the recognition of the community social structure.

Compatibility is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as consistent with the existing values, past experiences, and needs of the receiver. An idea that is not compatible with the salient characteristics of a social system will not be adopted so rapidly as an idea that is compatible. Compatibility ensures greater security and less risk to the receiver and makes the new idea more meaningful to him. (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971: 145).

(4) **Role of Traditional Leaders in Innovation**

Traditional leaders are respected and command far reaching influence on members of their communities. Therefore for any new idea or innovation to be accepted it is necessary that the influence of these leaders be recognized. A majority of Nigerians are rural dwellers who adhere to traditional norms. It would be futile to bypass the leaders in the introduction of new ideas, no matter how useful or urgently needed. These leaders with their power and authority vested in them by their community, are sources of social influence. These traditional leaders, are not necessarily the kings alone, but also family heads, lineage heads, local chiefs, age grades heads, even local fraternity heads and influential merchants.
All these constitute the opinion leaders whose influence must be recognized and who have the ability informally to influence other's opinion or overt behaviour consistently in a desired way (Rogers & Svenning, 1969: 203). Barnett emphasized in detail the importance of the local leaders in the acceptance and rejection of innovation:

...chief are respected and obeyed...the active support of the chief is a powerful influence in insuring the success of any new measure, while his opposition or indifference invariably creates obstacles and difficulties. (Barnett, 1953: 325).

One can also add that much as the chiefs and other leaders are influenced in the acceptance and rejection of innovation, social relations between people and the recognition of the social hierarchy that weld the community together increases the acceptance of innovation. Barnett further stated:

People will often accept a recommendation if it comes from a friend and reject it if it is proposed by a stranger. This differential response is quite independent of the nature of the idea being advocated. The merits of the novelty do not enter into the decision to adopt or reject it, or do so only secondarily. They may not even be known; but the motivation of a friend can be relied upon whereas those of a stranger are not above suspicion. (Barnett, 1953: 232).

(5) The Role of Personal Influence in Innovation

The recognition of the social influence of chiefs, notwithstanding, personal relations as a major source of influence, have been reported by several researchers. Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) found that opinion leaders of different types were of particular importance in attitude change and behaviour. Merton (1968: 464) indicated that
opinion leaders within a member's own social group were of greater influence than those outside, and this may be of particular significance to the study of traditional societies where age groups and lineage have great importance. In a study of the consequences of the introduction of new agricultural techniques in Japan, Lindestorm (1955) found that attitudes towards innovation were influenced by mass media, but the chief factor in adoption was the influence exerted by extension workers, neighbours, and the observation of actual results. In the adoption of a new drug Coleman, Katz, and Menzel (1957) observed that doctors were more influenced by the successful use of the drug by a respected colleague than by printed information.

In traditional societies where age grades, lineage and several social hierarchies play important roles, in order to diffuse or diversify an idea or innovation as far as possible within a given area, the diversification of functions becomes an important issue. Interpersonal communication channels should be as varied as possible, and include various opinion leaders, volunteers, and other representatives within a given community.

...no person serves as an examplar in the particular area of his preeminence for every one who knows him, and second, no one is so versatile that he is a universal examplar in every area of interest that is valued by those who know him...For potential acceptors this means, first, that they are free to choose among protagonists in particular areas...and acknowledge different examplers...in their different area of interest (Barnett, 1953: 314).
The implication of the above statement when applied to a traditional society or village, means that when an innovation is introduced it will enter through the social hierarchy, then through consultation with different representatives or organizations and people will be chosen according to their area of expertise or choice as it is affected by the new idea. It also provides an opportunity for those who require training in order to implement the new idea. This involves democratization and division of labour and "grass roots" participation, which involves also interpersonal-intergroup communication process at different levels of interaction within a given community.
CHAPTER 5

NATIONAL COMMUNICATION PROCESSES AND STRUCTURE

The introduction of superordinate goals for two or more antagonistic groups can lead to intergroup cooperation and the reduction of tension as we noted in the previous discussion. Indeed, the introduction of superordinate goals can initiate a new form of interpersonal communication. But this usually involves the creation of new mechanisms for the accomplishment of the new goals, for the ends can only be gained when the vehicle of change is appropriate and acceptable. This chapter is concerned with the identification of superordinate goals and the social structure in which they could be implemented.

That man does not live by bread alone is an old biblical saying. In other words, national development does not necessarily begin and end with sophisticated technological and scientific development. There are other vital areas worth due consideration if any given nation is to persist over time, and that is the development of an integrated social system.

Though technological development is necessary, the writer feels that in any serious national development program social development—in this case workable ethnic relations—should be considered first, or regarded as a major independent variable in achieving stable nationhood. What concerns this study is the recognition and vigorous pursuit of national development balanced in such a way that it incorporates social relations in its priority list.
For several reasons, technological and otherwise, there has been a tendency among leaders and policy makers of the "less developed" nations to concentrate a good percentage of their planning efforts on the development of large industries and hardware of different kinds with a frequent indifference to rural or village dwellers. The ultimate effect of this type of national development is an ever increasing gap between urban dwellers and the almost forgotten villagers who are usually the large majority of the nation's population.

Ogburn (1920) identified the seriousness of this one way developmental pattern and its disorganizational consequences which he termed "cultural lag," a lag between material "hardware" and cultural "software." In most cases the material culture seems to outpace other elements of culture. This one way developmental pattern is the reason this study has opted for the incorporation of the "grass roots" or village dwellers "software" in a national development program as the core of its approach.

Communication media of various types, on the other hand, can play major roles in bridging this gap as well as bringing together leaders, urban and village dwellers. Schramm (1964) emphasized that "Communication if wisely used can help weld together isolated communities and disperate subculture..."

Communication is basic to human life. By communicating people come to learn who they are and what it means to live in relationship with one another. Yet many rural dwellers do not have access to information about their environment which they can effectively manage, or interpret, nor a way to communicate with one another, or the power structure of the city. (Jameson, 1974: 2).
Lerner (1958) indicated that communication coupled with urbanization and increased literacy, increases the physical, social and psychic mobility of a people, thereby catapulting people from the "constrictive self" of traditional society to a new social orbit of "participatory self"; resulting in an increase in their cultural empathy. Dewey (1896) and Firestone (1971) emphasized that "social development of the mind could take place only through communication." Deutch (1973) stressed that processes of communication are the basis of the coherence of societies culture and even of the personalities of individuals.

The communicative ideas as cited above are broad generalizations, of what communication can accomplish, but most importantly it indicates that the term communication is complex. To reduce the complexity involved in trying to define communication that satisfies every condition, the writer will define communication as it meets the requirements of this study.

(1) Communication Defined

As we have noted in our discussion so far conflict in Nigeria is not an individual issue. It is a group issue. Inter-ethnic conflict is so widespread and deep rooted that almost every social unit in Nigeria is in one way or another affected. Our previous discussion has also shown that the introduction of superordinate goals which involve both leaders and followers can reduce group conflict, stereotypes, and prejudice. We also noted that the major characteristic of superordinate goals is that it encourages group interaction processes that involve feelings of common deprivation, interdependency, and exchange
of ideas and information. This interaction or cooperative transaction process that engulfs both groups, including their leaders, is nothing but increased interpersonal communication. Therefore in order to meet the demands of this study, communication will be primarily based on the interpersonal face-to-face level. The writer has chosen to operationalize the term communication from the interpersonal or face-to-face perspective for the following reasons: First, the audience this study is concerned with are groups of people who influence each other extensively and mostly through the personal ties and interaction which includes the social hierarchy that governs them. Second, electronic media, whether television or radio, constitute a luxury among them; that is, only a few can afford these mass media vehicles. Third, their major communication pattern is basically oral or strictly interpersonal. Other reasons will be incorporated in the body of this chapter and will be discussed later. Before going any further it will be necessary to have a critical insight or look at the distribution of electronic and print media in Nigeria (See Table 10).

It is necessary to point out that these mass media sources are located in large cities; though they are technically and strategically installed so that their transmission power would cover a considerable area. The number of people owning either television or radio receivers is disappointingly insignificant when compared with Nigeria's rural population, where community development is most needed and where inter-tribal conflict is most intense.
<table>
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<th>Media</th>
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<tr>
<td>Press</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>Transmitters Long/medium-wave 16; shortwave 21</td>
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<td>Total receivers 1,275,000 licences</td>
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<td>Licences per 1000 persons 23</td>
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<td>Television</td>
<td>Transmitters 9*</td>
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<td>Seats per 1000 persons 0.7</td>
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<td>Total annual attendance 68,750,000</td>
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*Adapted from World Communication: UNESCO, 1975.
Before defining communication as it satisfies this study, let us briefly review how electronic mass communication affects prejudice, stereotypes, discrimination and ethnic misunderstanding particularly with attitude change, which constitutes the core of this study. Lazarsfeld, et al. (1964), Klapper (1960), Berelson and Steiner (1964) and several other studies conducted on attitude change, have indicated that people generally select information that confirms their already established beliefs. Those series of attitude studies were stimulated by Festinger's (1957) studies on cognitive dissonance, and has since been called "selective exposure."

By and large people tend to expose themselves to those mass communication which are in accord with their existing attitudes. (Klapper, 1960: 19).

In the same vein, Copper and Jahoda (1947) in their study of how prejudiced people respond to anti-prejudiced propaganda found that instead of the prejudiced people responding in the same direction as the message being conveyed to them, they avoided the message and its content by reinterpreting it in various ways to suit their prejudice, made jokes of it, and thereby reinforced the original prejudiced attitudes. According to Copper and Jahoda, in a study carried out on radio propaganda designed to promote interethnic understanding between Italians and Polish immigrants, it was found out that Italians listen to Italian programs or propaganda as did the Polish immigrants listen to Polish programs. In other words, the message and its contents did not reach the intended audience thereby leaving ethnic misunderstanding as it was.
The implication of these findings when applied to Nigeria's situation makes it doubtful whether a Hausa/Fulani would prefer information or propaganda about the Ibos instead of selecting that which originates from his region or elsewhere, and which confirms his already existing ideas about the Ibos. The same applies to the Ibos and Yorubas. Programs of this type have been transmitted on Nigerian radio and television directly or indirectly for years without reduced ethnic prejudice or misunderstanding. Above all, most of the electronic media are located in urban areas as mentioned earlier, and as Table 10 indicated, and only a privileged few can afford them. This automatically reduces the chances of promoting effectively ethnic understanding through electronic mass media. Electronic media have another handicap in this particular case. They are impersonal and regarded as an "outsider" because in most cases programs are designed and imposed on the audience and are patterned to suit urban tastes, and little is learned of their effects on rural audiences, or what rural audiences think about the information that reaches them from outside their immediate community. For communication to be complete and "effective" there has to be a "feed forward" and feedback system built in between the communicator and communicatee or receiver (Rogers, 1971: 73). Feed forward means the ability to appreciate, examine, and understand the audience characteristics before the transmission of ideas. This feed forward and feedback system will be discussed further when we get into the designing of the communication structure proposed by this study.

There is no deliberate attempt here to rule out the use of electronic media, that is, radio and television in this case, in promoting ethnic understanding between two antagonistic groups. Electronic
media should act as supplementary media instead of the communication arbitrator or modernizing panacea. There are situations where electronic media can take precedence over interpersonal face-to-face communication but not when groups are still within an antagonistic environment historically entrenched as is the case with Nigerian ethnic groups. Hence, this study has opted for interpersonal face-to-face communication based on superordinate goals which elicit group interaction and grass roots participatory involvement. Interpersonal group communication in our view, and considering the present Nigerian circumstances, should come before impersonal mass media, or both combined, if attitude change is to be effected. We are dealing with groups and not individuals as such, and group influences and pressures as indicated earlier, particularly in traditional societies, are far reaching in attitude formation and subsequent change. Katz and Lazarsfeld (1964), Rosenberg, et al. (1969), Hovland, et al. (1974) and many others have indicated in their studies the far reaching effect of group influences and attitude changes.

Ordinarily the factor leading individuals to form attitudes of prejudice are not piecemeal. Rather, their formation is functionally related to becoming a group member—to adopting the group and its values (norms) as the main anchorage in regulating experience and behaviour... It is easier to change group attitude than individual attitudes. By involving the leaders, the policies, the rank and file, new norms are created, and when this is accomplished, it sound that individuals attitudes tend to confirm to the new group norm. (Allport, 1958: 38).
In order to adequately operationalize our definition of communication to meet with the objective of this study, our definition of communication will embrace the following:

Human communication is something people do... Communication therefore...is people-relation to each other and to their groups, organization and societies, influencing each other, being influenced, informing and being informed, teaching and being taught, entertaining and being entertained by means of certain signs which exist separately from either of them. To understand the human communication process one must understand how people relate to each other. (Schramm, 1971: 17).

By "communicating" we refer to the transfer of meaning, whether by written, spoken, or pictorial symbols, or by various types of action. (Davison, & George, 1952: 501).

...talking about cross-cultural communication ...communication meaning "sharing" (Rao, 1976: 60).

It does no harm to stress that every house has a foundation and our communication foundation focused on superordinate goals is based on the above definitions by Schramm, Davison and George, and Rao. To solidify the above statements the writer adds that human communication must have an effective content of what is communicated, shared, transfered and organized. Communication from the writer's perspective as far as this study is concerned must be aimed at the reduction of uncertainties between groups, which, both in the short and long run involve effecting change in group perception of each other.

Having established our foundation with regards to the importance of group communication processes towards reduction in group conflict, how do we implement this strategy in order to stimulate group participation,
involvement and the acceptance of innovative ideas where maximum cooperation can take place?

(2) Target Audience

As mentioned above every idea or building has a foundation. Our target audience as a foundation here involves Nigeria’s people. But the diversity and cultural heterogeneity of Nigeria requires that some form of target audience be examined to enable an innovation established on a firm base from where the idea can start diffusing. The communication structure proposed here is nation-wide in nature, but it has to start at a particular place. This does not necessarily mean one particular village or geographical area but areas that would facilitate faster diffusion of the innovation. This does not also mean that areas not having certain characteristics are neglected, but effort would be concentrated in areas where results would be of greater effect thereby quickly spreading and influencing other areas with time. Innovation can be strategically situated to accommodate and gradually attract the 9,000-10,000 villages in Nigeria usually left out of most current programs.

Rogers, et al. (1966) concluded in the various agricultural innovation diffusion studies that "the degree of village socioeconomic development is positively related to the success of village programs and more traditional systems are characterized by a greater degree of homophily in interpersonal diffusion." As mentioned earlier, the introduction of superordinate goals should not be haphazardly implemented and must not be maverick in nature. They must be concrete and appealing, hence certain pre-conditions must be satisfied if they are going to be successful.
(3) The Village Context for Innovation

Within any village, certain key characteristics can be found and these are listed below in an adaptation of Rogers, et al. (1970) formulation.

(a) Village variables
   --level of socio-economic development—stores, market, cooperatives
   --institutions development—youth clubs, schools, churches, health units.
   --quality of interpersonal relations

(b) Leadership Variables
   --level of modernization
   --degree of consensus
   --types of opinion leaders

(c) Change Agent Variables
   --degree of acceptance
   --innovative methods

It will not be an exaggeration to state that most Nigerian villages possess these characteristics. The vital issue is that some are more developed than others. To facilitate innovation we can start with those having higher degrees of development, but great care must be taken so that those villages who have these characteristics are not given more motivation thereby alienating the less developed ones and increasing the communication gap as well. Roling, et al (1976), Shingi and Mody (1976) and Tichenor, et al (1974) in their various
studies emphasized the effects of communication knowledge gap when one group is given more information than necessary against groups that have less. With regard to this study, to avoid such problems or to a large degree reduce its negative increasing effect, any exchange program must be linked between large and small villages. The idea of neglecting small villages has led to failure of promoting uniform innovation in the past by widening the communication gap between groups. The aim of this study is to reverse that tendency, by starting with pairing villages through the introduction of superordinate goals that will be appealing to both villages. Types of superordinate goals proposed will be discussed when we discuss the content of what is communicated. Roles to be played by different persons will be elaborated when we discuss the cooptation of leaders and the function of various organizations in the communication structure.

Bearing in mind the ethnic diversity of Nigeria's languages, though most ethnic groups speak the language of the major ethnic groups, our approach is to involve as many villages as possible in order to achieve both in the short and long run, a homogeneous knowledge of certain vital issues about each other by using a vertical, horizontal and analytical strategy as described below. The communication structure proposed here must take into consideration the diversity of norms, ideas and village structures and work towards achieving a broad structure that is compatible to any particular village (DeFleur & Rokeach, 1975). The superordinate goals would be diversified in nature and must propagate a common idea of ethnic understanding and Nigerian
unity. By involving all possible villages in a superordinate goal that emphasizes the same goal through different strategies and programs, our system proposed building from the smallest to the largest units in order to achieve integration both horizontally and vertically. This idea recognizes that interpersonal group communication processes are geographically bound, and by analyzing the nation's objective from the various village levels towards a common goal we would be indirectly integrating the whole nation into some common vital values and norms.

(4) Stages of Community Involvement Towards a Common Goal

(a) Intervillage activities or superordinate goals where people speak the same language.

(b) Borderline village activities where two different ethnic groups, in different regions or states, can understand each other's language (see Figure 2)

(c) Cross-regional or state activities where interpreters or pictorial musical or physical symbols can be used as the medium of interaction.

(d) Inter-state activities between schools, government and private agencies, universities and colleges of higher learning, businessmen of different categories and other organizations who can communicate in the national official language which is English currently.

(e) The Youth Service Corp can be effectively integrated into any of the above states—as interpreters where necessary or local film production crews, performing artists, and other
forms of entertainment emphasizing national unity and ethnic understanding. They can also function as change agents and can be trained for various skills for specific purposes after which they return to their villages to help reinforce, organize where necessary and introduce new innovations.

Youth Corps can also be used as a communication channel between urban leaders and villages, even with technical experts who reside in urban areas. They are future leaders and must start earlier to experience what it takes to organize, plan and carry out an objective.

(5) Leadership Co-optation and Involvement

It is always necessary to have in mind that the communication model proposed here is interpersonal, face-to-face, and supplemented by electronic media where necessary and operated by village youths or government agents in a village. As mentioned earlier, the social influence of local leaders in the acceptance and rejection of an innovation is important to this study, hence considerable emphasis will be made of their role as leaders.

Having established a basis on which our communication structure will operate, how do we involve local traditional leaders into the new organization supposedly introducing the innovation? These traditional leaders are usually suspicious of ideas coming from outside as they perceive it as a threat to their position. But when they are recognized and coopted into the organization introducing the innovation, the organization's ideas will be enhanced.

Otherwise,
these new ideas will be seen as encroaching on their private lives and territory and above all as imposed from above. Many studies have shown that those projects which co-opt the beneficiaries are most likely to be successful.

Organizational theory has identified cooptation as a successful method of cooperation through the establishment of partnership with local authority, organizations, and strategic opinion leaders for the acceptance of an innovation.

Cooptation is the recruiting of former leaders into the new organizational structure so that instead of constituting a threat they become willing participants. (Selznick, 1963: 13).

By successfully coopting local leaders, the innovation changes form from being perceived as foreign and imposed to one which belongs to the local people. This strategy is nothing short of a good communication strategy on the part of the change agent. Because the processes of cooptation involve detailed interpersonal face-to-face interaction, and transaction and exchange of information between local leaders and change agents. In other words, it involves a give-and-take communication system where the local leaders utilize the expertise (technical and otherwise) of the government agency, in return the outside technical expert learns more about the community from those whose entire lives have been spent within that village.
Within this environment of exchange of ideas the change agency can, at first hand, learn the perception of the village leaders about the innovation. Local leaders might use the opportunity to convey to the agency their immediate pressing need or problems, which can be converted into a superordinate goal, in which both parties are going to work as partners. There is much about the village which the agency is ignorant of, no matter how sophisticated their computerized statistical data might be. All that I have described is nothing short of a form of interpersonal communication which provides both parties feed forward and feedback. Feed forward as mentioned earlier, is the ability of one person to put himself in the position of the other. Sometimes it is regarded as cultural empathy. Several programs have failed because of lack of cultural empathy or feed forward strategy, especially when it comes to dealing with leaders' characteristics and categories.

(6) Types of Leaders

There are different types of leaders and they perform different functions within a community as Barnett pointed out earlier. Selznick (1963) identified leaders of different categories. But Freeman and Fararo (1976) in their study of leadership in Syracuse, New York, identified different types of leaders and their characteristics within the community. It is necessary to identify and categorize leaders because it is not strategically wise in a major project to just coopt leaders, without examining the community and finding out how they
function within their community and in what capacity they are suitable in the new organization. Freeman and Fararo accomplished this task or aim by asking informed informants, particularly teachers who are opinion leaders in a way, about the types of leaders within their community. These leaders were identified and further questioned to find out the roles they played and who influenced whom with regards to decision making, participation, and reputation or prestige and in the context these variables took place. Finally, they came up with four major types of leaders. First the Institutional or prestige leaders. These men or women mostly effect decisions behind the scenes, such as in financial matters. Second, they identified the effectors. These leaders who take order directly from the prestige leader and participate in community activities, but not with sufficient involvement, because most of the time they are engaged in activities outside the community. Third, they identified the activist leaders. These leaders are mostly volunteers who can effectively share their private time with community affairs and involvement, and are usually local organization's leaders or other volunteers. Finally, they identified those they called social leaders. Social leaders were most concerned with human relations or intergroup relations within a community. It is important to identify these categories of leaders because from our definition of communication they are both feed forward communicators and effective channels between the grass roots, or the masses, and the proposed innovation and its change agents.

Those leaders are at the same time head or chairman of most local organizations, hence coopting them indirectly influences members
of the organizations they represent. Their participation will grow as they realize that the innovation enhances their social status, and the survival of their community. In short, the more "profit" they realize from their involvement, the more they participate in accomplishing that goal. This is one reason superordinate goals must be appealing and compatible with the needs of the group or community, to increase both grass roots and leadership involvement.

Men have always explained their behavior by pointing to what it gets them and what it costs them...the more valuable a reward the more activity a man puts out that gets him that reward. (Homans, 1961: 13-41).

(7) Leaders as Gatekeepers

Another important communication characteristic of leaders is their capacity as "gatekeeper"; a capacity that can influence the rejection or acceptance of new ideas.

A gatekeeper is a person who whether interacting within the formal or the informal channel of communication can determine if and how a message will be transmitted. By this definition all members of the community are at least to some degree gatekeepers. (Blake & Haroldsen, 1975: 109).

Much as community leaders are powerful gatekeepers the last phrase in the above definition by Blake and Haroldsen reminds us that these leaders cannot gatekeep in a community vacuum. The masses of the community or the "grass roots" constitute a power base for the village. By coopting the leaders who eventually, in their various organizational capacities, involve the mass, the whole idea is converted into real community involvement and any superordinate goal introduced will be vigorously pursued and accomplished. Grass roots
participation involves decentralization of decision making process by giving both leaders and the masses a fair share of their say in the administrative machinery. Selznick (1963: 33-39), referred to grass roots participation and the decentralization of decision making process as democratic participation. The Democratization of Community innovation provides for communication feedback, feed forward, interactions, and cooperation and the exchange of ideas. Democratization also elevates participants from mere human-receivers to transmitters as well, which can be called open system communication. It rules out the hypodermic needle injection of new ideas into a passive and narcotized audience; what Lazarsfeld and Merton called a dysfunctional aspect of mass communication originating from outside the community (Wright, 1975: 17).

With this type of community involvement leaders will not be seen as "sell outs" and other individuals as deviants within the community. This is what I call community involvement towards achieving a common superordinate goal. Communication therefore does not necessarily mean railroads, radio, highways, television and all other electronic gadgetry. It also means people learning to solve their problems by increased interaction and social learning. Mass media should not be neglected but in this context they should supplement interpersonal face-to-face communication.

(8) Proposals for Innovation

The content of what we are to communicate must be diversified but must be directed towards one goal, the reduction of ethnic conflict and the promotion of national understanding.
Our communication channels will consist of individuals and the organizations they represent: Change agents, school teachers, nurses, health or public health personnel, agricultural and water resource officers, community leaders, local church leaders, opinion leaders and volunteers of different categories. It will depend on the superordinate goal to be introduced, for example the building of a local hospital to be shared by two villages. Health personnel, both from within the village and without will act as the communication channels for the dissemination of information about health practices and the organization of forums for both adults and children. Two villages or states can exchange ideas on how a particular common disease is treated and this will promote interaction and interdependency. Where it is required that a community water project be built this can be used as a means of bringing two villages together in cooperation. Agricultural information can be exchanged between villages.

As a means of integrating the various ethnic groups, schools from elementary to university should incorporate in the curriculum detailed history of differences in indigenous institutions. Symposia at various levels should be organized between regions, states, local authorities and villages with emphasis on the reduction of ethnic uncertainties which will expose ethnic similarities, hidden beneath fear, suspicion and prejudice. As mentioned earlier, border villages, towns, and cities should encourage cooperative business ventures. For example, Hausa merchants can join with either Ibo or Yoruba
businessmen in launching cooperative businesses where agricultural dependency is experienced. Agricultural products that are needed in the north but can only be produced in either western or eastern states, can be used as an object of superordinate goals where advisers and people from these groups can exchange ideas and interact. These interpersonal transactions and much more can lead to ethnic cooperation and more understanding, it also acts as a social mobilization process both mentally and physically. To the best of my knowledge, there are few if any business ventures owned jointly by Hausas and Ibos or the three combined, but such cooperative establishment could lead to more interaction and more first-hand insight into how each group runs their business, or their-commercial habits, which can be copied if found useful.

Electronic media, radio, television, films, newspapers can then be used as a follow-up, particularly with documentaries and feature films produced by each region, village or state personnel or combined through Nigerian National Film Board. Radio Nigeria and local broadcasting stations can exchange programming on various cultural activities for local and national consumption.

Music of different regions can be used as an integrating superordinate factor by encouraging theatre groups and bands to entertain in different regions. Music does not demand a particular sort of literacy in order to appreciate it. The impact of the musical group performing physically is a strong communication medium based on face-to-face interactions. Leaders of various states should regularly tour other regions to gain first-hand ideas of how life is elsewhere. During
the first Republic, most leaders were confirmed to their regions. Tourism can be established by each state or federal government to encourage inter-village or regional communication. Mobile libraries equipped with film organized by each state can be used as cultural exchange programs through the Youth Service with interpreters explaining life in other regions. Attempts must be made to disseminate information on the historical background and socialization process of each region.

Nigeria as a developing nation automatically creates ready-made superordinate goals if they are well utilized and recognized. With all these exchanges, people should be able to interact more and the Nigerian government or local state government must show interest and provide incentives, financial or otherwise, where needed.

Sports of various types not competitive in nature should be organized and exchanged between villages, cities and states, where people are encouraged to participate and enjoy the skills of others instead of competing for silver and gold trophies which breed antagonism in most cases. Lip service emphasizing ethnic unity should give way to actual practice.

In summary, what is being proposed is the initiation of social programs that will begin at the village level in selected regions. These social programs will be designed to meet the expressed needs of the villagers but will involve, from the earliest stages, the cooperation of village leaders, then the cooperation between villages, and, at the later stages, cooperation between regions. The projects proposed will be primarily economic and cultural in nature; economic
because these will probably tend to be perceived as ethnically neutral and not threatening to the participants. Most programs of socio-economic innovation have tended to proceed in the opposite way, on the national level and on a grand scale. They have frequently been unsuccessful and it does not seem reasonable to add to their number. It does seem reasonable to adopt the opposite approach which would utilize our knowledge of the formation of ethnic antagonisms and how to counter them, and to do this first at the grass roots level.
LOCAL AUTHORITY OR VILLAGE COMMUNICATION STRUCTURE

STAGES

1. Computation of leaders, and other organization processes and interaction initially takes place at this stage.

2. Mass meeting in village square or any local areas, to get community feedback for the discussion of problems or innovation.

3. Local leaders, opinion leaders, agency representatives, interacting and forming committees for grass root participation and involvement.

4. Different local organizations, schools, churches, health units, business men, agricultural agents, universities, and youth corps volunteers, local fraternities or social groups, in a grass root social network atmosphere packing superordinate goals.

Leaders
Local Organizations
Change Agency
Planning Committee
Feed Forward
Feed Back lines of communication.
Stages 1
Federal level stationed at the capital (Nation)

Federal Bureau of Culture and Information Exchange on National Unity

Local states, Local Authority and Village representatives at the federal level.
Representatives also at the federal level.

LA city

State 1

STAGE 1

State 2

Superordinate goals,
Cultural, and other forms of inter-village, state local authority activities and exchange of ideas and information.

NATIONAL UNITY STAGES.

Stages 2

19 states (village, city, town), exchange in cooperation as stated earlier.

States 1-19.
Federal Government
Villages - REP
Local Authority

Feed forward and feedback links in interaction towards problems or superordinate goals locally or nationally.

Federal Bureau of Information, Culture and other Exchanges.

*It should be noted that both Federal Bureau of Information and culture and local states, villages and local authorities duplicate representations to ensure that communication is completed, as the arrows indicate.

Stages of Cultural, Economic and Information Exchange

1. Inter-village within one local village with common language.
2. Inter-city Village Exchange or Cooperative Ventures.
3. Border Towns, Villages Exchange of economic, cultural and other forms of information.
4. Inter-state Exchange.
7. All States, Cities, LA, Villages should have Bureau of Culture and Information in areas other than theirs. This might come easier jobs.

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