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The Society

Nigeria

February 1973

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

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NIGERIA

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The Society

A. Introduction (U/OU)

Created for reasons of political and economic expediency, Nigeria encompasses a bewildering array of languages, cultural traditions, and social mores. It is a land of extremes, its topography ranging from coastal mangrove swamps in the south to semidesert in the far north, its social groups from nomadic tribes to fully Westernized elements in urban centers, and its economy from subsistence farming to modern industry. Little is known about the origins of Nigeria's present-day population, which is larger than that of any other country in Africa. Available information indicates that there were early migratory movements into the area from northern and eastern parts of the continent. While most of the inhabitants of Nigeria are of Negro stock, there has been some admixture of Hamitic and Semitic strains among northern groups.

The Fulani began drifting gradually into the Hausa homeland in the 13th century, bringing with them Islam, the first major foreign influence that was to help shape the society of Nigeria. A pastoral people, the Fulani came in search of grazing lands, and as the migration continued over the centuries they became largely integrated with the Hausa and eventually assumed positions of leadership among them. One Fulani leader, Usman dan Fodio, a fanatical sheikh, rose against the Hausa and compelled them to join with the Fulani in a Muslim holy war early in the 19th century, resulting in the conquest and conversion to Islam of many minor tribes in the north. Subsequently, Muslim influence was extended farther south. Islam had a profound effect on Nigeria, molding not only the religious life of numerous tribal groups but their social and political structures as well.

In the 15th century, the Portuguese, seeking trade routes to the east, became the first Europeans to enter what is now Nigeria. Domestic slavery was prevalent throughout the region, and slave trading soon followed, becoming a lucrative enterprise for the Portuguese and later for other Europeans, including the British. The trade was conducted with tribes inhabiting the coastal areas, but most of the slaves were from the interior. Many were prisoners of war or

criminals; others were obtained through organized raids. The slave trade triggered ruinous intertribal warfare which lasted for more than 300 years. Growing sentiment in England against the trade led to the passage of an act in 1807 making it illegal for British subjects to engage in it, but the traffic in slaves was continued by other nations for several decades. Meanwhile, Christian missionaries arrived, working mainly in the coastal areas, where they established schools and introduced Western-style education. Eventually they spread Christian teachings and Western values northward as avenues of travel were opened up, their effect in the interior diminishing as they encountered entrenched Islam.

The British had occupied Lagos Island in 1861 in order to stop the slave traffic and to promote legitimate trade, and the island, along with a small strip of the mainland, became a British colony the following year, marking the beginning of a presence in Nigeria which was to last until 1960. During the 1880's, the British extended their influence to the east and north in an effort to stem German and French encroachment, and by the turn of the century their occupation of the area was virtually complete. In 1906 the region was divided into Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria, and in 1914 the two were united in one political entity, an unlikely amalgam of diverse peoples, nearly all of whom regarded their own tribe as the primary focus of allegiance. The British practiced a form of indirect rule, confirming Muslim emirs in power in the north, provided they recognized overall British sovereignty, and ruling through chieftains or other local leaders wherever possible in the south.

During the colonial period, the static north became increasingly differentiated from the south, where such improvements as road and railroad building and harbor dredging fostered a spreading money economy and comparative economic well-being. Also, unlike the north, the south had the benefit of educational and medical services offered by Christian missions. When nationalism began to surface as a viable force in the period between the two world wars, its development was impeded by this regional dichotomy, as well as by persistent tribal animosities and

religious differences. Nevertheless, an emerging indigenous leadership composed primarily of Western-educated Ibo and Yoruba elements pressed its demands, first for greater participation in self-government and later for complete independence.

When independence was granted in October 1960, the new republic came into being under a precarious triregional alignment inherited from the British: a vast Northern Region controlled by Muslim Hausa-Fulani groups, politically and socially conservative and inhospitable to secular education and other Western ideas; an Eastern Region dominated by the largely Christian Ibo, aggressive, substantially Westernized, and traditionally democratic; and a Western Region dominated by the Yoruba, almost equally divided into Muslim and Christian groups and tending to be more conservative than the Ibo but more liberal than the Hausa and the Fulani. Agitation by non-Yoruba tribes in the Western Region resulted in the formation of a separate Mid-Western Region in 1963, and in 1967 the entire Nigerian territory was reapportioned into 12 new states in an effort to meet the demands of many Eastern and Northern ethnic groups for separate areas and greater autonomy.

The postindependence decade of the 1960's was marked by turmoil and strife as one crisis succeeded another. In the period leading to the outbreak of civil war in 1967, undiminished interethnic and interregional antagonisms were augmented by the fact that the Hausa-Fulani had been able to maintain control of the federal government, a circumstance which nourished additional resentment among the Ibo and the Yoruba and among many minor groups as well. The Hausa-Fulani, for their part, had come to fear that Western-educated Ibo were attempting to dominate the country by monopolizing the better positions in the civil service and in private industry. A general climate of hostility was exacerbated by corruption and inefficiency in government administration at all levels. The year 1966 was marked by massacres of Ibo tribespeople residing in the North and by two military coups within a 6-month period. After the second coup, Yakubu Gowon, a Christian army officer and a member of a minority tribe from the Middle Belt, was chosen to lead the Federal Military Government (FMG). Despite his various efforts to preserve national unity—including the previously mentioned reorganization of the regions into 12 states in the hope of balancing areas and groups—the Ibo-dominated Eastern Region seceded from the federal union on 30 May 1967 to become the Republic of Biafra, thus bringing on a civil war which ran its destructive course for 2 1/2 years. Essentially a

struggle between Ibo secessionists and other Nigerians who were determined to maintain the federation, the conflict ended on 15 January 1970 when Biafran forces surrendered to federal troops. Unconfirmed reports of casualties suffered by both sides, including Biafran civilians who died of starvation or of diseases resulting from malnutrition, range from 200,000 to 2 million.

While the Nigerian Government is still engaged in the work of reconstruction and rehabilitation necessitated by ravages of the war, it is also committed to seeking solutions to the manifold problems that have plagued the country since independence. The primary goal of the FMG, as enunciated by General Gowon, is to weld Nigeria into a truly unified nation, an objective which he believes can be attained only through programs designed to reduce economic and social disparities between the various population groups and thereby minimize the rivalries and tensions which such disparities produce. The Second National Development Plan (1970-74) stresses the advancement of the less developed states as an approach to solving this basic problem. A major focus of the government's efforts will be the expansion of educational opportunity and a restructuring of the school system to meet national development needs.

Nigeria has a promising economic potential, being richly endowed with natural resources, including an abundance of cultivable land. Because of a wide range of climatic conditions, almost every product of tropical agriculture can be produced, but less than 50% of the arable acreage (including fallow land) is under cultivation, and most of that is devoted to subsistence farming. The country's mineral wealth is also substantial, including petroleum, tin, iron ore, coal, limestone, lead, and zinc. Most important has been the recent rapid growth of the oil industry, which is the most significant single dynamic force in the economy. Meanwhile, although living conditions vary throughout the country, depending on regional and other factors, the mass of the Nigerian people are still subject to extreme poverty and its attendant ills, a situation which is aggravated by a rapid rate of population growth.

The FMG, administered by a Supreme Military Council and an Executive Council headed by General Gowon, appears to be in firm control of governmental affairs at the national level, with no one of the major tribes dominating the federal establishment. In October 1970 the FMG announced that a return to civilian government would be postponed until 1976. The Western-educated Nigerians who gradually replaced British administrators and military officers after independence—and who constitute the only

identifiable hope for material progress and eventual attainment of social cohesion—generally favor the concepts and ideals of democratic government. They seem willing to support the FMG, however, as long as its programs offer a promise of success in establishing national stability and advancing economic and social development. Although most of this small elite retain their tribal loyalties, they are firmly committed to making Nigeria a modern nation. Whether this can be done will depend in large part on the extent to which the FMG can succeed in reducing the age-old ethnic rivalries and animosities.

B. Structure and characteristics of society (C)

The traditional structure of Nigerian society is multifaceted, and with the growing influence of a modern, imported set of political and social values, it is becoming even more complex. Nigeria includes within its borders more than 250 diverse tribes, ranging in size from a few hundred to several million members. (The term "tribe" is commonly used to describe groups distinguished from each other primarily by language.) The chief languages and cultures of west and central Africa are found in Nigeria, and some of the larger tribes are linguistically and culturally closer to neighboring groups outside Nigeria than to others within the country. Until recently, many small tribes were unaware of the existence of any other tribes except those inhabiting nearby areas. At the same time, some larger groups were fragmented to the extent that their members were not aware of belonging to a single ethnic community.

Many Nigerian ethnic groups have been differentiated by distinctive scar patterns, dress, and customs, in addition to language. Although scarification has been dying out and native dress is being replaced in some towns by Western styles of clothing, differences in language and customs persist in the nation as a whole. Nevertheless, modern influences are having an effect in many areas where the use of English as a lingua franca and rising levels of educational attainment are gradually making linguistic and other cultural distinctions less important.

1. Ethnic groups

According to the 1952-53 Nigerian census, approximately 62% of the total population belonged to one of the four major tribes—the Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba, and Fulani. These ethnic groups have been so predominant that their respective spheres of influence

encompass most of Nigeria. Six other numerically significant tribes, the Kanuri, Ibibio-Efik, Tiv, Edo, Nupe, and Ijaw, together constituted an additional 14% of the population in the census enumeration, and a multiplicity of smaller groups accounted for the remainder. The tabulation below shows the percentage distribution of the population, by tribal group, as reported in the 1952-53 census:

Hausa	18
Ibo	17
Yoruba	17
Fulani	10
Kanuri	4
Ibibio-Efik	3
Tiv	3
Edo	2
Nupe	1
Ijaw	1
Other	24
<hr/>	
Total	100

Of the four major tribes, the Hausa and the Fulani are concentrated chiefly in the northern part of the country, the Ibo in the southeast just above the Niger Delta, and the Yoruba in the southwest (Figure 1). In the far northeast are the Kanuri. Adjoining Ibo territory in the south are the Edo, Ijaw, and Ibibio-Efik groups, while the Tiv dwell northeast of the Ibo below the Benue River. To the west are the Nupe, inhabiting an area adjacent to the Yoruba homeland on both sides of the Niger River. The greatest concentration of the multitudinous smaller groups is in the broad Middle Belt of the country, extending from Dahomey on the west to Cameroon on the east. Most of the inhabitants of Nigeria are of Negroid stock, but there are distinguishable traces of Caucasian ancestry among some northern groups, which for centuries have been in contact with the diverse peoples of the Sudan and north Africa. Representative physical types are shown in Figure 2.

Only about 27,000 non-Africans were reported to be residing in Nigeria in 1969, constituting less than one-tenth of 1% of the total population and consisting primarily of British and other Europeans, U.S. nationals, Lebanese, Syrians, and Indians. Most of the non-Africans reside in the urban centers.

The largest ethnic group in Nigeria, the Hausa, are principally farmers, some of whom work land owned by wealthy city dwellers. Neither hunting nor fishing is important to them, but cattle raising is. Many are also part-time craftsmen and traders (Figure 3). The Hausa language and culture have been established for 1,000 years around urban areas along the northern edge of what is now Nigeria and beyond it toward the

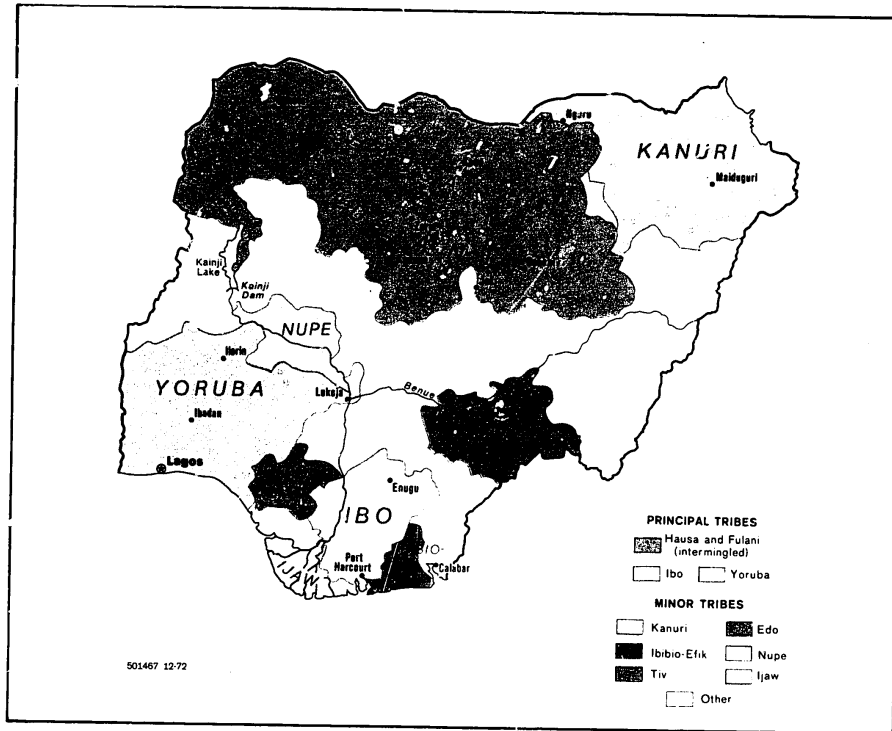


FIGURE 1. Geographic distribution of principal tribal groups (U/C)

Sahara. These centers of population, influenced by Islam for centuries and with a long-developed written history and literature, have greater cultural ties to the rest of the Sudan region of west Africa and to the Muslim world than to many parts of Nigeria. The Hausa continuously augmented their numbers by conquests and slave-raiding incursions among neighboring peoples. In the early 19th century, the Hausa themselves were invaded in force by the Fulani from the north and west, most of whom settled among them, intermarried with them, and adopted their language.

Traditionally, the major Hausa classes have consisted of a privileged nobility, headed by ruling emirs; a mass of free commoners; and slaves. The power of the emirate has greatly decreased since Nigeria attained independence in October 1960 and is

being assumed by a growing elite consisting of politicians and government administrators. Slavery is no longer legal, but in actuality the descendants of former slaves are often economically bound to descendants of their former owners. Depressed castes of smiths, leatherworkers, hunters, and *griots* (professional musicians) have been commonly differentiated among the Hausa.

The Fulani consist of sedentary village dwellers and pastoral nomads. They may be roughly classified as deriving from Mediterranean stock, but substantial racial intermingling had already taken place when they began to enter the area that is now Nigeria. Today they extend throughout a vast portion of west Africa, from Senegal to Cameroon, but the majority inhabit northern Nigeria. After the Fulani invaded Hausa lands in the early 19th century, they became



Yoruba girl



Ibo girl



Hausa girl spinning cotton



Efik woman in cult dress



Nupe girl



Hausa man



Muslim Fulani in the market at Yola



Young Fulani girl



Kanuri youth



Shua Arab girl

FIGURE 2. REPRESENTATIVE NIGERIANS (U/OJ)



FIGURE 3. The Hausa are great and irrepressible traders (U/OU)

the governing class in these areas and took control of the important posts of the emirate system. The sedentary Fulani, the most numerous, are thoroughly Hausa in culture and live as part of Hausa society. They nevertheless retain their old ethnic label as a claim to class privilege. Thus, the term "Hausa-Fulani" is sometimes used to describe all Hausa speakers in northern Nigeria. Today the sedentary Fulani differ only slightly, if at all, from other Hausa speakers in their Negroid physical characteristics. Some nomadic Fulani, however, have retained an almost non-Negroid appearance along with their own language and distinctive customs. Unlike the settled Fulani, who are fanatical Muslims, they are indifferent to Islam. Peaceful herders, they lack any political organization above that of an autonomous band and are egalitarian except for wealth distinctions.

A group with an obscure past, the Ibo have been loosely divided into subtribes and clans, each subtribe comprising from one to 30 villages and possessing its own variations of dialect and custom. Traditionally, decisions within each community have been taken collectively, the leaders being primarily elders or other influential men. Most of the Ibo are Christians; those

who are not remain practitioners of indigenous animism. Ibo society is individualistic, stressing diligence and personal achievement. Aggressiveness and ruthlessness are also characteristic Ibo traits. Between the 16th and 19th centuries, millions of Ibo were enslaved by fellow Ibo and sold to slave traders. Nevertheless, the traditional Ibo social structure was not rigidly stratified; masters and their slaves, the latter often adopted as kin, worked side by side cultivating the land.

The Ibo have been markedly open to foreign influences. The schools of Christian missionaries found eager receptivity among them, and as a consequence they have become the most Westernized of the large ethnic groups. They have also migrated more than any other group, seeking work and advancement in other parts of the country. Ibo migrants were among the first industrial laborers, clerks, and professional men of Nigeria, and by the end of World War II they constituted one-third of the nonindigenous population in a number of urban centers in the north and west. Eventually, the educational and economic progress of the Ibo made them the major source of administrators, technicians, and civil servants for the country, and they came to occupy positions of responsibility far out of proportion to their numbers in the total population. In the process, they gained a reputation for arrogance and self-righteousness, thereby arousing the resentment of other ethnic groups, especially the northerners, whom the Ibo generally regarded as inferior. Difficulties arising from this situation, combined with other factors, culminated in the 1966 massacre of thousands of Ibo in the north and the flight of countless others, and in the attempt in 1967 to establish a separate Ibo-dominated state, Biafra. By 1970, when the Biafran forces were defeated, few Ibo remained in the north. Since that time, however, many have been returning, and most of these have been well received.

In contrast to the Ibo, who have lacked cultural uniformity and, until recent times, a sense of common ethnic identity, the Yoruba have a deep-rooted cultural homogeneity. They have held the southwestern sector of Nigeria as their own tribal homeland for centuries, developing a generally cohesive social structure and a distinctive tribal culture that is a source of considerable pride to them. Traditional Yoruba society was based on a clan and lineage system centered around ancient city-kingdoms ruled by monarchs. Although there was no rigid class stratification, various privileges were reserved for specific clans or lineages within each kingdom. Kings

were elected from among members of certain clans whose rights to the office were hereditary.

With a long history of urban life, the Yoruba have traditionally engaged in crafts and commercial activities in the towns and cities, as well as subsistence farming in the rural areas. For generations, those living in the southern coastal region around Lagos have been exposed to European influences, and today the Yoruba are second only to the Ibo in the extent of Westernization among them. Although less aggressive than the Ibo, they are intelligent and active and have produced numerous professional and administrative personnel. The Yoruba comprise the only major tribe in which Muslims and Christians predominate, the others having a preponderance of either Muslims and animists or Christians and animists.

The Kanuri are the dominant group in what was once the Bornu Kingdom in the extreme northeast corner of Nigeria. Like the Hausa and the Fulani, they are ethnically mixed and largely Muslim. Although the Kanuri are chiefly cultivators and fishermen, they also carry on some commerce and work at crafts. Traditionally, Kanuri society has had two classes: a nobility headed by a royal house, and a mass of commoners. Slavery was once prevalent among them; in fact, some members of the nobility were slaves of the monarch, and they, like other nobles, generally had their own slaves. Today holders of royal slave titles are proud of this distinction, indicating their family's historical relationship to the monarchy. However, status among the Kanuri is now determined by other factors in addition to class, including occupation and wealth.

The Ibibio-Efik of the southeast coast are subsistence cultivators who share many cultural traits with the Ibo, although the tribes speak different languages. Like the Ibo, they lack a traditional centralized coordinating authority, and they have little consciousness of ethnic unity. For example, the Efik people, an Ibibio subtribe living in and around the port of Calabar, are apt to consider themselves superior to other Ibibio, disdaining the ethnic label; they take great pride in the distinctive local history of their city and in the fact that the Efik dialect is used as the written form of the Ibibio language.

Inhabiting a large area in the middle Benue valley, the Tiv were once given to feuding among their many segments and were considered by neighboring tribes to be fierce and unapproachable. They have remained highly independent and resistant to Islamic influences. Although active in hunting and fishing, the Tiv are primarily cultivators and carry on a

minimum of commerce. Traditionally there has been little cohesion among them above the village level.

The Edo, an agricultural people dwelling in the southwest between the Ibo and the Yoruba homelands, cannot be rigidly defined. Their historic core area is the old settlement of Benin City, around which are grouped a number of peoples who have similar traditions and customs but lack a common ethnic designation. Although Benin City became known to Europeans very early as a famous city-kingdom, the Edo and smaller groups in the surrounding area have remained outside the mainstream of modern urban development. Indigenous religious cults persist more strongly here than among the neighboring Ibo and Yoruba.

Concentrated northeast of the Yoruba, the Nupe have been Muslim for many centuries. They maintained a kingdom somewhat similar to that of Bornu, the Kanuri's ancient stronghold, from the 15th century until the 19th century, when they were conquered by the Fulani and divided among several emirates. The Nupe nevertheless retained a sense of ethnic unity, although they intermarried with the Fulani and became somewhat acculturated. This group has been more receptive to Westernization than most other predominantly Muslim tribes, in part because of its location at the crossroads of the principal transport routes between the interior and the coastal regions and the consequent exposure to foreign trading and political influences.

The Ijaw, who live along the coast in the Niger Delta and who have had only limited exposure to Western education because of their isolation, make their living chiefly from fishing or boating activities. Nevertheless, in recent years, this ethnic group has contributed a small number of Western-educated clerks, professional men, and politicians to the modern sector of Nigerian life.

Little precise information is available on the minor tribes distributed throughout the country but concentrated mainly in the Middle Belt. They are known to vary widely in social structure and cultural patterns despite a fairly broad dissemination of Islamic and Western influences.

In Nigeria as a whole, an estimated three-fourths of the population remain in their ancestral villages practicing subsistence agriculture, raising livestock, and carrying on other traditional pursuits. As in most of black Africa, rural land in Nigeria commonly has been regarded as the property of an extended family, clan, or village. Under this system, the individual does not possess title to the plot which he works, his right to its use deriving from his membership in the group.

Although individual land ownership is increasing, most farmland is still owned in this manner. The typical rural settlement is a fairly compact village consisting of primitive huts grouped in family compounds.

Ethnic rivalries and tensions stemming from the multiplicity of tribes and their cultural diversity have been a seriously divisive factor in Nigerian life since independence. In this connection, one of the basic problems is the lack of a common language that can be readily understood by a majority of Nigerians. Linguistically, Nigeria is one of the most complex countries in Africa. Over 200 languages are spoken, some by a few hundred people and others by many millions. The tribal vernacular is the basic cultural factor which commonly distinguishes each tribe, perpetuates its particular traditions, and reinforces the individual's identity with fellow tribesmen.

Nigerian languages are classified into three independent language stocks: Niger-Congo, Afro-Asiatic, and Sudanic (or Nilo-Saharan). The Niger-Congo stock comprises a vast number of tongues spoken throughout most of black Africa from Senegal to South Africa. All of its substocks are represented in Nigeria, four of which are significant in the country. These are Kwa, Ijaw, Benue-Congo, and Adamawa-Eastern. The Kwa substock includes Ibo, Yoruba, Edo, Nupe, and a few other languages, grouped in areas flanking most of the lower Niger River and extending westward to Ivory Coast; Ijaw, sometimes classified as a separate substock and sometimes as a Kwa tongue, consists of a single language with a number of distinct dialects and is spoken in most of the Niger Delta; the Benue-Congo substock is represented by the Ibibio and Tiv, along with numerous minor languages; and the Adamawa-Eastern substock includes many minor languages of the eastern border areas. The Afro-Asiatic language stock (also known as Hamito-Semitic) is represented in Nigeria by three substocks: Chad, Semitic, and Berber. Of these, the Chad substock is of most importance, as it includes Hausa and a large number of lesser languages spoken southeast of the Hausa homeland; Semitic and Berber tongues are used by small groups of pastoral peoples in the north. The Sudanic language stock in Nigeria embraces two substocks, Songhai and Saharan. The former consists of a single language, Songhai, spoken in western border areas, and the latter is represented by Kanuri, the language of the ancient Bornu state in the northeast.

Hausa is the principal native language, spoken by many groups. Up to 20 million people in west Africa are Hausa speakers, and while the majority of these

inhabit Nigeria, the language has wide currency outside the country's borders, spread by Hausa migrants and traders. Ibo is the major language in the southeast, being the mother tongue of the Ibo people; it has also become the second language of the Ibibio-Efik. Yoruba, in addition to being the mother tongue of a large ethnic group, is spoken by some 10 million members of other groups as a second language for purposes of trade.

Nigeria's many languages encompass almost 300 dialects. Within each ethnic group local subdivisions are marked by differences in speech. The dialects may number a few, each with a relatively large number of speakers, or they may number many, depending on the nature of the local groups, their history, and how closely they interact with one another. Dialects are most clearly observed in the Hausa tribe, which has been spread over a wide territory for a long period of time; the reasonable degree of mutual intelligibility between the Hausa dialects, however, reflects the close ties among Hausa-speaking peoples. The same is true on a smaller scale for the Yoruba. Ibo also has a large number of dialects, reflecting the multiplicity of small local groups. However, there is little mutual intelligibility, each group being traditionally self-governing, suspicious of neighbors, and lacking regular communication with other groups beyond a narrow area.

Bilingualism is common among Nigerians as a whole. Many adults, especially men, know something of neighboring languages in addition to their own. For those who do not, a third language is often used as a lingua franca. Hausa is the main example of a Nigerian language employed in this manner. Although a growing majority of the north's population can understand Hausa, language barriers still separate parts of that region from one another and from the south, where English is the prevalent second language. The greatest diversity of languages is found along the eastern border of the country, and here neither Hausa nor English is well known. For the many ethnic groups involved, a number of key languages, including Kanuri in the north, serve as lingua francas.

While the far north has had a Muslim literate tradition for many centuries, most other Nigerians had no written language until the arrival of the Christian missionaries, who provided written forms for some indigenous tongues. Efforts are currently being made to apply the Roman alphabet to local languages for use in education. The usual policy is to use the alphabet to the extent possible in teaching reading and writing in the major local language and then to teach literacy in English after the alphabet is familiar.

Certain languages used by Muslims, such as Hausa and Kanuri, are still written primarily in the Arabic alphabet.

English, the official language of Nigeria, is used in government, in business, and in the schools. It is spoken and written to some extent by perhaps 3 million people, mostly southerners. Other Nigerians, estimated in the millions and found especially in the southeastern coastal area, speak a distinctive west African pidgin English as an auxiliary language. The use of English has been expanding, fostered by an accelerated English-language program in the schools. Schoolchildren and young adults often serve as English interpreters for their elders, translating orally into the mother tongue from newspapers or other English-language publications. Publishing in English outweighs that of all vernacular publications combined, although the latter are increasing in number as a result of government efforts to produce printed materials in some 30 languages for the benefit of the newly literate.

An interest in developing French as a school subject is based on the importance which that language has in all neighboring countries. Official use of French by Dahomey, Niger, Chad, and Cameroon poses language problems for Nigerians in dealing with representatives of these countries.

Among Muslims, classical Arabic has unique prestige as the language of the Koran and of Islamic law, but it is well known only to a few emirs, religious scholars, and Koranic judges.

2. Social structure

Throughout northern Nigeria, the Islamic religion and Muslim cultural values have influenced the social structure of the indigenous peoples since the 13th century. When the British assumed control of Nigeria early in the 20th century, they maintained the Muslim emirates of the north as the basic political units and more or less preserved the social structure within them. In contrast, no deliberate policy of conserving the traditional social order was established consistently in southern Nigeria, although there were some exceptions. Moreover, while the British colonial administration restricted Christian missionary activity in the predominantly Muslim north, the missions and their schools became a prime factor in spreading Western cultural influences in the south, particularly in and around the urban centers of the coastal areas. With the achievement of independence in 1960, the Western-educated Nigerians who replaced the departing British in government, industry, and the professions have developed into a new national elite

group, and the balance of power has shifted decisively from the traditional rulers—emirs, chieftains, village headmen, and elders—toward the new elite. Although their authority has been progressively absorbed by the Nigerian Government, many of the traditional rulers have retained prestige. This is particularly true in the north, where emirs and chieftains have lost most of their political control but continue to hold important ceremonial positions. Paramount in this group is the Sultan of Sokoto, who is regarded as the spiritual leader of the Muslim Hausa inhabiting Nigeria and neighboring countries.

Western-educated members of the dominant northern tribes—the Hausa and Fulani—are conspicuously scarce, comprising a small fraction of all Nigerians who have graduated from secondary school or acquired a university degree. Because they remain so few, there is a minimum of tangible evidence for evaluating their influence on the society as a whole. They have never filled more than a small minority of civil service positions, nor have they emerged as an articulate group in their local communities or asserted Western social or political values which would dissociate them from the traditional Hausa-Fulani aristocracy. The dynamic role of the educated Ibo, both in the Ibo homeland and in other sectors of Nigeria, forms a striking contrast. The Ibo were especially receptive to Western education because their indigenous society had no sociopolitical or cultural barriers comparable with those of the Hausa-Fulani emirates or of Muslim orthodoxy. By the 1930's, many Ibo villages had formed so-called progress societies which devoted much of their effort to building primary schools and raising scholarships for village boys who had won admission to secondary schools. While educated Ibo who remained in their homeland won recognition as leaders of their local communities, many Ibo who pursued modern vocations in northern or western Nigeria began to play a decisive role in the national government. In 1966, however, the massacre of Ibo residing in predominantly Muslim areas converted the Ibo version of modern nationalism into a secessionist movement. In the Yoruba homeland, the most highly urbanized of all tribal lands in Nigeria, the traditional and modern sectors of society have coexisted for a fairly long period, with the traditional and the Westernized elites jostling for position without either full integration or clear-cut cleavages along cultural lines. Hence, a fairly broad fusion of traditional and Westernized values among the Yoruba underlies the frequent clashes which occur between hereditary clan chiefs and commoners who have attained political leadership

through education. Although the hundreds of minor tribes in Nigeria have been so diversely affected by Westernization that generalizations are unwarranted, substantial numbers of Nigerians from these tribes have attained some degree of modern education and have exerted a cumulative influence on the national government and related institutions. It is noteworthy that Western-educated Nigerians from the Middle Belt greatly outnumber Western-educated Hausa-Fulani.

In addition to education, the main characteristics of the new elite include youthfulness; urban residence; prestige of occupation, either in the government or in private employment, with commensurate income; and a Westernized way of life exemplified by such material symbols as commodious and well-furnished homes, automobiles, European-style clothing, and membership in exclusive clubs. This element of Nigerian society is also characterized by a concern for national growth and progress. The modern elite cuts across ethnic lines, and its members develop interethnic ties through a social network based on school friendships, governmental or business connections, and professional associations. Nevertheless, they commonly retain a strong attachment to the interests of their tribal homeland and take great pride in their tribal history.

The modern sector of society is also developing a small but growing middle class consisting of civil servants, businessmen, and professionals whose incomes do not qualify them for elite status. This group is showing signs of solidarity and has some potential for becoming a cohesive force in national politics. Professional people provide the nucleus of the middle class, lawyers predominating among them. Law has traditionally been the favored professional pursuit because it has offered status and a sure income, the rapid pace of social change guaranteeing a plentiful supply of litigation. Moreover, it has frequently been a steppingstone to a career in politics. Currently, however, there is a surplus of lawyers, and law no longer offers the career opportunities it once did. To the extent permitted by their income, Nigerians in the emerging middle group attempt to imitate the life style of the new elite.

Although urbanism is not an exclusively modern phenomenon in Nigeria, the population residing in towns and cities, including the mass of the impoverished urban lower class, may be categorized as the base of the modern sector. Most urban residents have at least begun to cope with a physical and social environment which is totally different from that of an indigenous village, accommodating themselves to a

class structure which approaches the Western prototype, emphasizing education, occupation, and wealth. Because of the cultural diversity of Nigerian society, few generalized statements can be made concerning social structure in terms of the vast majority of the population who are not part of the modern sector as represented by the Westernized, or partly Westernized, urban element. Traditionally, social organization has ranged from a simple group of interconnected families to highly elaborate city-states; for the average Nigerian, one's place in the world and relations with one's fellow men still reflect the precepts which governed the ancient systems of social stratification.

Perhaps the most significant cultural factor common to most of Nigeria's diverse tribes is the pervasive importance of kinship as manifested in the solidarity of the lineage group, which ordinarily includes all the members of a particular clan who inhabit a specific village or a somewhat more extensive locality. A typical Ibo hamlet contains only one lineage, while a large Yoruba or Hausa-Fulani village may include a dozen lineages, ranging from a chieftain's to one consisting of descendants of former slaves, comprising in itself a highly stratified social structure. In most rural areas, membership in a lineage still determines access to a portion of tribal lands, and the extended family is the basic functional unit for subsistence agriculture. Thus, inherited status still largely sets the pattern of life for an individual who remains in his ancestral village. This is generally true throughout Nigeria, despite many variations in social structure and despite the fact that the rights of inherited kinship status are being supplemented—and sometimes partly displaced—by the more generalized rights of citizenship in the national context.

As might be expected, marriage and family relationships vary considerably in Nigerian society. Muslim groups in the north differ in the extent to which they have adopted relevant Islamic principles, some of which are at variance with traditional African custom, while the most Westernized Nigerians in the south tend to follow Western practices, which differ from both Muslim and indigenous custom. There are three main types of marriage in the country. Native tradition commonly permits unlimited polygyny and stresses payment of a bride-price; Muslim practice, following the precepts of the Koran, allows as many as four wives along with easy and simple divorce (on male initiative); Christian marriage requires monogamy and discourages divorce. While monogamy is practiced by devout Christians and by some educated non-Christians, it is not popular. For this

reason, marriage ceremonies performed by a clergyman are uncommon except among the more educated, urbanized Christians, and many persons claiming to be Christians practice polygyny. Under an ordinance based on English common law, a couple who are married by a priest or minister, or by a civil registrar, are required to observe European marriage customs, including restriction on plural marriage and easy divorce.

Most Nigerian girls are wed soon after puberty, men are usually in their twenties when they first marry. Traditionally, first marriages are arranged by senior members of the families involved. Among most groups, eligibility considerations for a marriage partner include kinship ties, and cross-cousin marriage is common. All Muslim groups ban marriage to non-Muslims, and this requirement is seldom ignored. Most tribes have some repugnance to marriage outside the ethnic group, where there is clear social stratification, marriage between persons of different status levels is discouraged or even barred.

As a man's prosperity increases, it is normal for him to contract additional marriages. Most middle-aged Nigerian males have two or more wives. Although a Muslim is restricted to four wives at a time, he may have concubines. Wealthy Muslims and those belonging to the traditional ruling class usually maintain the maximum number of wives and several concubines. While the latter have inferior status, their children are regarded as legitimate. In most tribes a first wife enjoys prior rights over the others, but each has a right to a separate dwelling for herself and her children.

Because marriage is regarded primarily as the means of acquiring children, sterility is dreaded by women, particularly as it may be used by a husband as a reason for divorce. The bond between marriage partners is generally much weaker than that between parents and children, and divorce is common throughout Nigeria except among practicing Christians. In the Islamic tradition, a man may divorce his wife by simple renunciation, whereas a woman can obtain a divorce only at the discretion of a religious judge and on limited grounds. Among Nigerians adhering to indigenous beliefs and practices, divorce may be obtained at the instance of either spouse and for a variety of grounds. However, the wife's family has a financial interest in the stability of the marriage since it must refund the bride-price to the husband's family if a divorce takes place. Divorced women and widows of childbearing age almost invariably remarry.

Most tribal traditions in Nigeria stress descent through the male line, thereby incorporating children

into their father's lineage. Exceptions exist among a few tribes in coastal areas and in the eastern part of the country, where matrilineal kinship reckonings are found, the children coming under the authority of the mother's eldest brother or other senior male head in the maternal family. Except among the aristocracy, the importance of lineage is somewhat less in the Muslim north than in the south.

The principle of male dominance persists throughout the country, but it has more emphasis in Muslim tribes than in others. Seclusion of Muslim women is practiced in varying degrees, depending on group, locality, and class or economic level. Elite Hausa men by tradition permit their wives to leave the family compound only once or twice a year, and then only to visit relatives. In the non-Muslim south, women have long been active outside the home in the sense that they have dominated the marketplace, trading being considered as an important part of the female role among southern tribes; in contrast, it is chiefly a male activity in the north (Figure 4). The status of women has also been much more affected by modern influences in the south, where changing social



FIGURE 4. Northern Nigerian market (U/OU)



FIGURE 5. *Ligwomi* initiate. The Yako boy is holding the brass rod and piece of hoe money that are to be paid to the "Men of the Ward." Every few years, boys of the ward who have reached 6 or 7 years of age are initiated into the male community of the ward in a ritual known as *ligwomi*. (U/OU)

attitudes and greater educational opportunities are bringing increasing numbers of women into public life in one capacity or another.

To an even greater extent, the "winds of change" are affecting Nigeria's youth. Although most of the country's young people are still bound to a lineage-oriented environment where individual roles are largely determined by custom and tradition (Figure 5), a growing number—and again the emphasis is on the south—are obtaining some modern schooling and are leaving the home village to seek work in urban areas. While many such youth maintain family ties through periodic home visits, kinship bonds are inevitably weakened as new urban associations are formed and modern Western values acquired. The relatively few rural youth who gain entrance to a secondary school become fully absorbed in an environment which inculcates a desire for a Western life style and rewards individuals who excel in assimilating Western culture. Hence the small minority who graduate from a

secondary institution and enroll in higher education or enter government service are likely to have lost their sense of identity with rural kinsmen while retaining a sense of tribal loyalty.

3. Values and attitudes

The contrasting Muslim and Western influences in Nigeria constitute a broad overlay on the variety of indigenous tribal cultures and values, providing some cohesive elements in certain areas while contributing little toward the achievement of national unification. Ethnic differences apart, Islam has strongly affected traditions and values in the north, and to a lesser extent in the Middle Belt. In both areas, Western ideas have as yet made little impact, while in the south many new values have been introduced through Westernization.

Throughout the country, rural and urban values differ. In the Muslim north, town dwellers are more thoroughly Islamized than their rural counterparts. Among southern groups, most of whom have entirely rural origins, rapid 20th-century urbanization and ties to Western education and enterprise are associated with a shift in values which has generated some conflict between urban Nigerians and their rural kinsmen. The basic cleavage involves the fact that traditional village mores inculcate a belief that survival and happiness depend on adhering to the informal discipline of the kinship system with all of its implicit rights and obligations, whereas the modern urban milieu fosters individual competitiveness and a conviction that happiness derives from economic and social advancement. The one southern group which provides something of an exception in the overall rural-urban dichotomy is the Yoruba tribe. Many of the Yoruba are urban oriented by tradition, and differences between the urban dwellers and the people of the countryside have never been great.

Interethnic tensions and mutually reinforcing geographic, economic, and religious dissimilarities continue to overshadow integrative cultural values to such an extent that the concept of true nationhood remains largely an inspirational goal of the Westernized elite. The development of national patriotism is made more difficult by the fact that in each of the main geographic regions one major tribe or tribal mixture has been of overwhelming social and political importance. The largest of these, an amalgam of the Hausa and Fulani tribes, comprises barely half of the population in the northern sector of Nigeria, yet Hausa-Fulani hegemony over this area was the basic factor leading to its recognition as a single Northern Region even before Nigeria became fully independent.

Similarly, the Yoruba tribe formed the basis for the former Western Region, as did the Ibo tribe for the Eastern Region. The continuing struggle of other Nigerian tribes against domination by the Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba, or the Ibo was responsible for the formation of a separate Mid-Western Region in 1963 and for the overall reapportionment of Nigerian territory among 12 new states in 1967. However, it is generally recognized that the historical predominance of the major tribal groupings cannot be offset by this or any other restructuring of the nation's geographic components.

As a result of conquests by the Fulani early in the 19th century, the Hausa-Fulani came to influence in varying degrees the culture of the many tribes inhabiting the Middle Belt between the Hausa-Fulani homeland and the homelands of the Yoruba and the Ibo. Among the more important groups which exhibited resistance were the Nupe. Despite a religious bond which has favored some social and cultural fusion (the Nupe having long been Islamized), they have continued to chafe at Hausa-Fulani domination and have remained quite open to the penetration of Western values. The Tiv tribe is the principal example of adamant resistance to the Hausa-Fulani shown by a number of non-Muslim groups in the Middle Belt. Yet even the Tiv have adopted the Hausa vernacular as a lingua franca and have assimilated certain other elements of Hausa culture while staunchly refusing to accept political overlordship.

Long before the establishment of the Hausa-Fulani emirates, the Yoruba had developed kingdoms of comparable numerical strength and with an equally high degree of governmental centralization and social stratification. Secure from the Hausa-Fulani and other northern aggressors because the tropical rain forests in the region inhibited the incursion of mounted warriors, they achieved and retained a homogeneous culture of their own. They were not immune to clan rivalries, however. During the colonial period, the British designated most of the ancient Yoruba city-states as native authorities, and these clan-oriented, ethnic-territorial entities have been the basis for political factions which have emerged among the Yoruba since independence. Although traditional clan rivalries have been counterbalanced by a sense of pan-Yoruba solidarity stemming from a vital tribal culture, modern Yoruba politics is characterized by a continual interplay between various movements and counter-movements as the Yoruba compete with the other major tribes for control of federal institutions and programs. Since the Yoruba have not been particularly aggressive in extending their hegemony over

neighboring peoples, resentment of the Yoruba by smaller tribes on the periphery of the homeland is neither as extensive nor as virulent as that shown by many Middle Belt groups toward the Hausa-Fulani. Nevertheless, it does exist. There has also been some tension, traditionally, between the Yoruba and the Ibo, based primarily on competition for political and economic power.

The Ibo, like the Yoruba, whom they roughly match in numbers, have exerted a significant impact on national affairs in modern times, although the indigenous sociopolitical structure of the Ibo was much less cohesive than that of the Yoruba. Well before Nigeria attained independence, avid Ibo pursuit of Western education had compensated for the earlier Yoruba exposure to mission schools. Ibo receptivity to Western cultural influences, combined with overpopulation in the homeland, induced many who had acquired modern skills to seek employment in other areas of Nigeria—in the colonial administrative services, in foreign companies, or in their own commercial ventures. Large numbers migrated to the north, where Muslim resistance to Western education had left vacant numerous jobs requiring literacy in English. The migrant Ibo provoked hostility among other tribesmen who lacked their modern skills and aggressive self-reliance and who regarded the Ibo as "arrogant." Feeling against the Ibo ran particularly high in solidly Muslim areas of the north. Awareness of this hostile sentiment in turn engendered a sense of ethnic solidarity among the Ibo, along with a determination to consolidate their strength in the government.

After independence, interethnic rivalries were augmented by political divisions generated by southern resentment of the fact that the federal government was controlled by the conservative Hausa-Fulani of what was then the Northern Region, an area which contained a majority of Nigeria's population. This situation, combined with widespread corruption in governmental circles and a lack of progress in solving basic economic and social problems, set the stage for the bloody events of 1966. These included a military coup in January, carried out by a group of young army officers, mainly Ibo; a 10-day slaughter of Ibo tribal members by northern mobs in May; a second coup in July by elements who feared Ibo domination; and another wave of anti-Ibo mob violence throughout the north in September. The 1966 massacres appear to have been a decisive factor in the complex situation which preceded the establishment of the Ibo-dominated secessionist state of Biafra in May 1967 and the subsequent civil war. The 30

months of warfare, culminating in victory for the federal Nigerian forces under the leadership of Gen. Yakubu Gowon, had a highly disruptive effect on Nigerian society, as incalculable as the numbers of persons who died or became refugees. However, the broad program of reconciliation directed by General Gowon as head of the FMG—including amnesty for former supporters of secession, relief feeding of people in the war zone, and initiation of projects to rebuild damaged areas—has done much to return the nation to a state of peacetime "normalcy."

The basic problems facing the society are essentially those that have confronted it continuously since preindependence days. Foremost among these is the need to weld together a unified national entity from disparate tribal groupings whose members exhibit a primary loyalty to the group rather than to the nation and whose leaders view ethnic and other divisions as advantageous to themselves or their followers. Meanwhile, some observers report that Hausa-Fulani antagonism toward the Ibo is being replaced by hostility toward the Yoruba, who migrated north in large numbers after 1966 to fill jobs vacated by Ibo who had been slain or who had fled southward. According to these sources, the Yoruba are viewed by traditional northern leaders as a threatening source of new ideas and as obstacles to the advancement of northerners.

Because few Nigerians have traveled outside their native homeland or have had extensive contact with foreigners, there is little knowledge of foreign societies among the mass of the population. Attitudes toward other countries are voiced almost exclusively by the Westernized elite and generally reflect official attitudes based on intergovernmental relations.

C. Population (U/OU)

With slightly more than 58 million inhabitants, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. Moreover, its population, which is young, is growing rapidly. During the period 1963-70, the population is estimated to have grown at an average annual rate of 2.5%; since the end of the civil war in 1970, the rate of increase has risen to about 2.7% per year, resulting in an annual increment in population of about 1.5 million. Such rapid population growth presents a serious problem in an economically underdeveloped country like Nigeria, where a large majority of inhabitants already live at little more than a subsistence level and where the increasing demands of their ever-expanding numbers hinder any improvement in their economic and social well-being.

Furthermore, the high birth rate has produced a population in which children comprise a large proportion of the total. Such a development serves not only as a major drag on efforts to raise levels of living but is also highly conducive to accelerated population growth in the future. With increasingly larger numbers of Nigerian women annually entering the principal reproductive years, the population can be expected to continue to grow rapidly during the 1970's and 1980's whether or not the birth rate declines. Even at the 2.7% annual rate of increase, the population would double in 26 years; it would reach 75 million in 1982 and 100 million in 1992.

Population growth in Nigeria is almost wholly the result of natural increase (i.e., the excess of births over deaths), with immigration and emigration only marginally affecting such growth.¹ However, because Nigeria has no effective system for the registration of births and deaths, estimates of the actual levels of fertility and mortality are necessarily only rough approximates. Available evidence suggests that Nigeria's birth and death rates have been among the highest in the world. The United Nations has estimated that the birth rate for the period 1965-70 averaged 50 per 1,000 population per year and the death rate 25 per 1,000 population. Since the end of the civil war, the birth rate is assumed to have remained generally stable, but the death rate is believed to have declined to about 23 per 1,000 population. Thus, Nigeria's birth rate is more than three times as high as that of the United States; the death rate is more than double, despite the fact that the Nigerian population includes a much larger proportion of young people, among whom death rates are comparatively low.

Because of uncertainty as to future levels of fertility and mortality, it is difficult to make predictions concerning the size of Nigeria's population in years to come. Lacking any effective family planning program, the birth rate is not expected to decline significantly in the near future. A large number of children continues to be an ideal for most Nigerian parents, who view a big family as the only guarantee of social and economic security in old age. Even in Lagos, a family of five or six children is still considered desirable. By and large, most Nigerians are not confident enough regarding infant health care to risk limiting family size. On the other hand, the death rate is very high by modern standards, and even a modest intensification of effort in the field of public health

¹During the 10-year period 1961-70, a total of 971,734 persons legally entered Nigeria and 1,019,381 left the country, resulting in a negative net international migration balance of 47,647.

could soon bring the death rate down to the point where the annual rate of population growth would rise to 3.5% or more. In particular, the infant mortality rate, estimated at 157 deaths of children under age 1 per 1,000 live births in 1970, is expected to decline as health conditions gradually improve.

Few Nigerian officials are concerned about rapid population growth, and there appears to be no support among ranking government leaders for any public effort designed to limit or reduce family size. Nigerian officials do not concede that their country has a population problem, nor are most of the opinion that family planning plays any significant role in economic development. In fact, some government economists see the existence of a large pool of inexpensive labor as a favorable condition for industrialization. Moreover, there is official and popular suspicion of outside efforts to promote family planning programs and extreme domestic sensitivity to the possible effects of such programs on political representation based on population. Additionally, Nigeria's Roman Catholic bishops have condemned "all unlawful methods of family planning," and spokesmen for Muslim elements have viewed birth control programs with great wariness.

Nigeria's Second National Development Plan calls for a "qualitative population policy" by integrating various voluntary family planning schemes into the country's overall health and social welfare programs, but little progress in implementation of this goal has taken place, and the government remains largely unwilling to commit funds for population control activities. It does, however, permit contraceptives and family planning instruction to be dispensed by various clinics, most of which are operated by the Family Planning Council of Nigeria and financed almost wholly by grants from the International Planned Parenthood Federation, the Ford Foundation, and the Population Council. The response to the limited birth control programs has not been conspicuous, and, in the view of observers, the number of Nigerian families adopting family planning is statistically insignificant. Moreover, it appears that whatever interest exists may be more in spacing between pregnancies than in limiting the number of children.

1. Size and distribution

a. Size

Officially, Nigeria claims a population approaching 70 million, but all population estimates by the Nigerian Government are based on the results of the November 1963 census which, with a reported total of

55.7 million, is generally conceded to have been overenumerated, perhaps by as many as 9 million to 10 million persons. The United Nations has estimated that the population at the time of the 1963 census was actually about 46.6 million. By midyear 1972, Nigeria's population was estimated to have risen to 58,020,000. Nigeria is thus the 10th most populous nation in the world and has a far larger population than any other African country. In fact, it accounts for about one-sixth of the total population of the African continent. Its population is two-thirds larger than that of Egypt, the second most populous African state, and more than double that of Ethiopia, the third largest. Nigeria has more than three times as many inhabitants as the combined population of its four neighbors—Dahomey to the west, Niger to the north, Chad to the northeast, and Cameroon to the east and southeast.

b. Density and distribution

Based on the U.N. estimate, Nigeria had a population density at midyear 1972 of 163 persons per square mile, a figure almost six times the average for the African continent as a whole and higher than that of any other African nation except Rwanda and Burundi. Population density in Nigeria at midyear 1972, although roughly comparable with that in the State of Michigan, was more than 2½ times as high as that in the United States as a whole.

Because seats in the former federal House of Representatives, as well as federal revenue allocations, were distributed on the basis of population, each constituency tended at census time to inflate its population. The 1962 census was ultimately declared null and void because of padding, but the 1963 census, accepted as official by the Nigerian Government, appears to have been even more subject to manipulation by local officials. As a result, data from the 1963 census distort the actual situation with respect to population density and distribution. Because the padding of census returns occurred throughout the country, however, the 1963 data are useful, at least until more reliable information is available,² as a basis for comparing the relative size and density of the various states (Figure 6).

The bulk of the Nigerian population is concentrated in the south within 175 miles of the coast and in the north-central and northwestern areas within 150 miles of the northern borders. Some of the heaviest concentrations of population in all of tropical Africa are found to the east of the lower Niger River in the homeland of the Ibo, which includes the cities of

²Another census is scheduled for November 1973.

FIGURE 6. Population, area, and population density, by state, 1963 (U/OU)
(Area in square miles)

STATE	POPULATION	PERCENT OF		PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
		TOTAL POPULATION	AREA	
Benue-Plateau	4,009,408	7.2	39,204	11.0
East-Central	7,299,716	13.1	11,324	3.2
Kano	5,774,842	10.4	16,630	4.7
Kwara	2,399,365	4.3	28,672	8.0
Lagos	1,443,567	2.6	1,381	0.4
Mid-Western	2,535,839	4.6	14,922	4.2
North-Central	4,098,805	7.4	27,108	7.6
North-Eastern	7,793,443	14.0	105,025	29.4
North-Western	5,733,296	10.3	65,143	18.3
Rivers	1,522,490	2.7	6,985	1.9
South-Eastern	3,571,588	6.4	11,175	3.1
Western	9,487,525	17.0	29,100	8.2
Total	55,669,884	100.0	356,669	100.0

NOTE—Population figures are believed to be substantially inflated, the total representing an overenumeration of 9 million to 10 million.

Onitsha, Enugu, and Aba; in the Lagos-Ibadan area; and around Kano in the north (Figure 7). The extreme northeast and broad Middle Belt which separates the principal areas of settlement in the south and north are for the most part sparsely settled.

Lagos is clearly the most densely populated state, with 1,045 persons per square mile on the basis of the 1963 census. However, Lagos, which includes the national capital, is predominantly urban and is by far the smallest of the 12 states. In the remainder of the country, densities in 1963 ranged from a low of 74 persons per square mile in North-Eastern State to a high of 645 in East-Central State. Overall, Nigeria's population density is remarkably high in view of the size of the country and its predominantly rural nature; even in the most sparsely populated state, the density is about twice as high as the average for the entire African continent and is higher than that of the United States as a whole.

As determined by the 1963 census, Nigeria's population is unevenly distributed throughout the national territory. The six southernmost states—East-Central, Lagos, Mid-Western, Rivers, South-Eastern, and Western—contain only 21.0% of the country's land area, but they accounted for 46.4% of the total population. Kano was the only other state with a disproportionately large share of the country's population relative to its land area. The remaining five states—Benue-Plateau, Kwara, North-Central, North-Eastern, and North-Western—comprised most of the sparsely settled areas of the country. Collectively, they account for almost three-fourths of

Nigeria's territory, but for only about 43% of the population.

In 1952-53, urban residents, that is, inhabitants of cities of 20,000 or more residents, comprised about 11% of Nigeria's population. According to the 1963 census, the proportion was 19.2%, and it has since risen, perhaps as high as 30%. Urban growth, largely the result of migration from the countryside, has been accompanied by numerous urban ills: the proliferation of slums, an inability of public services (e.g., water supply, electricity, transport, health, education) to keep up with the ever-increasing demand, and a rise in the rate of crime, especially armed robbery.

According to the results of the 1952-53 census, seven Nigerian cities had populations in excess of 100,000. By 1963, the number had risen to 24 (Figure 8). Although the populations reported for these cities in 1963 are probably subject to a large margin of error, they do give some indication of the relative size of Nigeria's most important urban areas. Lagos and Ibadan were the largest, with reported populations of 665,000 and 627,000, respectively. The third largest city, Ogbomoso, had only about one-half as many residents. Western State was by far the most highly urbanized. It contained 13 of the 24 largest cities; moreover, according to the 1963 census, almost 51% of the inhabitants of Western State lived in communities with 20,000 or more inhabitants, compared with 12% in the remainder of the country.

At midyear 1970, the Nigerian Government issued estimates of the populations of the 24 largest cities, but these estimates, except that for Lagos, were arrived at

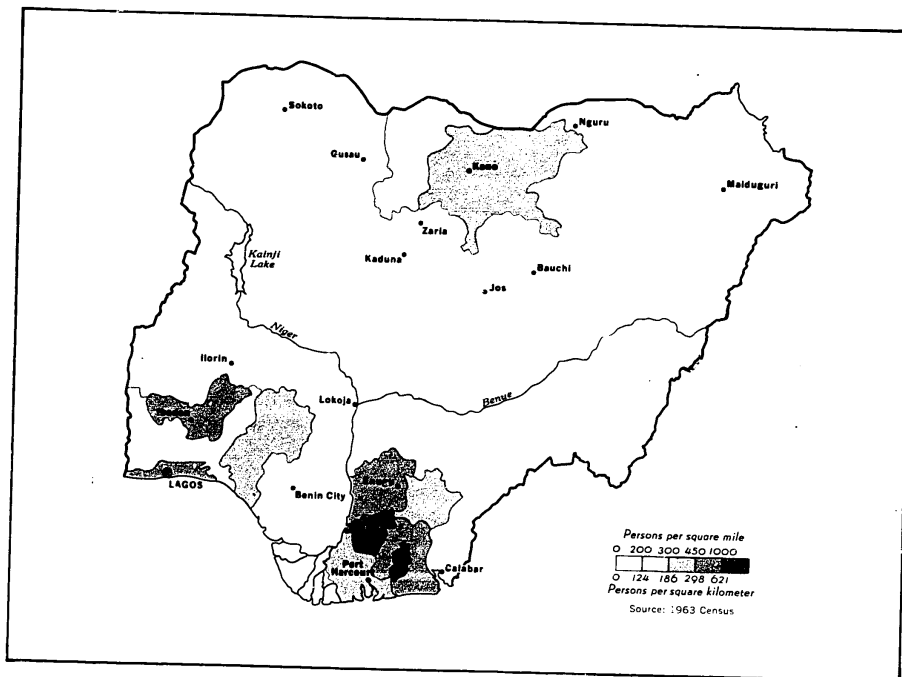


FIGURE 7. Population density, 1963 (U/OU)

by applying an average annual rate of growth of 2.5%, the growth rate for the country as a whole during 1963-70, to the 1963 populations of the various cities. All observers agree that Nigeria's major cities have been growing more rapidly than the country as a whole, with the U.S. Embassy in Lagos citing one estimate of an 11% to 12% annual rate of growth for these cities in recent years. Accordingly, the official Nigerian estimates not only underassess the current populations of the major cities (even though the 1963 base populations were probably inflated) but also fail to take into account differential growth rates. Lagos clearly appears to be growing faster than any of the other major cities, and its population at midyear 1972 probably had passed the 1 million mark.

Because most of the larger cities are located in Western and Lagos states, these two states probably experienced the largest net balances of in-migration during the 1960's. A survey in the Federal Territory of Lagos in 1964 revealed, for example, that 51% of its residents had been born elsewhere, and the proportion

is undoubtedly higher today. An important area of out-migration has traditionally been the overpopulated Ibo homeland. Many Ibo returned to their native land in the wake of the Biafran secessionist movement, but they have once again begun to migrate to other parts of Nigeria. There is also a substantial movement of Yoruba to Lagos State.

2. Age-sex structure

Although data from the 1963 census with respect to age are demographically implausible, Nigeria's population is known to be very young. According to a U.S. estimate, the median age at midyear 1972 was 17 years, compared with 28 years in the United States. At that time, 45.8% of the Nigerian population were estimated to be under age 15 and 56.2% were under age 20 (Figure 9); corresponding proportions for the U.S. population were 27.5% and 37.1%, respectively. Nigeria's population profile, compared with that of the United States (Figure 10), shows that the proportion of the Nigerian population under age 5 is

FIGURE 8. Population of cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants in 1963 (U/OU)

CITY	STATE	POPULATION
Lagos	Lagos	665,246
Ibadan	Western	627,379
Ogbomoso	do	319,881
Kano	Kano	295,432
Oshogbo	Western	208,666
Ilorin	Kwara	208,546
Abeokuta	Western	187,292
Port Harcourt	Rivers	179,563
Zaria	North-Central	166,170
Ilesha	Western	165,822
Onitsha	East-Central	163,032
Iwo	Western	158,583
Ado Ekiti	do	157,519
Kaduna	North-Central	149,910
Mushin	Western	145,976
Maiduguri	North-Eastern	139,965
Enugu	East-Central	138,457
Ede	Western	134,550
Aba	East-Central	131,003
Ife	Western	120,050
Ila Orangun	do	114,688
Oyo	do	112,349
Ikerre	do	107,216
Benin City	Mid-Western	100,694

NOTE—Population figures are believed to be substantially inflated, but no postcensal surveys indicate the degree of overenumeration for the various cities.

more than double that of the United States, attesting to Nigeria's much higher level of fertility. In fact, Nigeria has a larger proportion of persons in all age groups under 35 than has the United States. Conversely, the proportion of the U.S. population in the middle and older ages is markedly higher than that of Nigeria, indicative of the lower level of mortality. Only 2.4% of the Nigerian population at midyear 1972 were age 65 or older and only 8.9% were age 50 or over. In the United States, the proportions were 10.0% and 24.5%, respectively.

As estimated, 48.2% of the Nigerian population at midyear 1972 were in the dependent ages (0-14 and 65 or older), whereas 51.8% were in the working ages (15-64), providing a ratio of 931 persons of dependent ages per 1,000 of working ages, a figure some 56% higher than that in the United States. In such countries as Nigeria, however, the formal dependency ratio overstates the actual degree of dependency, as many children under age 15, especially in rural areas, are engaged in some form of work activity, and persons age 65 or older are often compelled by economic necessity to continue working.

Although, subject to some question, data from the 1963 census indicated significant differences in the age structures of the urban and rural populations. Children under age 15 and persons age 50 and over accounted for a larger proportion of the rural population than of the urban, while the proportion of

FIGURE 9. Estimated population, by age group and sex, midyear 1972 (U/OU)
(Population in thousands)

AGE GROUP	POPULATION			PERCENT DISTRIBUTION			
	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	MALES PER 100
0-4	5,578	5,345	10,923	19.0	18.6	18.8	104.4
5-9	4,336	4,179	8,515	14.8	14.6	14.7	103.8
10-14	3,630	3,501	7,131	12.4	12.2	12.3	103.7
15-19	3,076	2,967	6,043	10.5	10.3	10.4	103.7
20-24	2,587	2,508	5,095	8.8	8.7	8.8	103.1
25-29	2,153	2,111	4,264	7.3	7.4	7.4	102.0
30-34	1,790	1,764	3,554	6.1	6.1	6.1	101.5
35-39	1,482	1,462	2,944	5.1	5.1	5.1	101.4
40-44	1,213	1,206	2,419	4.1	4.2	4.2	100.6
45-49	982	991	1,973	3.4	3.5	3.4	99.1
50-54	779	804	1,583	2.7	2.8	2.7	96.9
55-59	604	638	1,242	2.1	2.2	2.1	94.7
60-64	445	488	933	1.5	1.7	1.6	91.2
65-69	308	348	656	1.1	1.2	1.1	88.5
70-74	190	224	414	0.6	0.8	0.7	84.8
75-79	97	124	221	0.3	0.4	0.4	78.2
80 and over	47	63	110	0.2	0.2	0.2	74.6
All ages	29,297	28,723	58,020	100.0	100.0	100.0	102.0

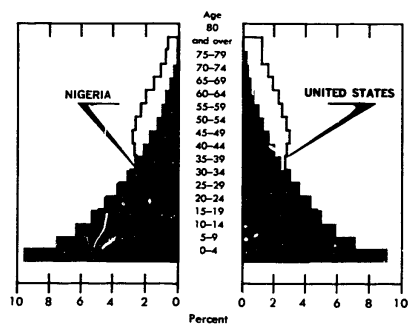


FIGURE 10. Estimated age-sex structure, Nigerian and the United States, midyear 1972 (U/OU)

persons in the 15-49 age group was higher in urban than rural areas. These data support other observations that sizable numbers of persons in the working ages, especially males, have moved from rural areas to the cities in search of work. The 1963 census implied that there were about 15% more males than females in urban areas, the disparity being most pronounced in age groups 10 and over. In contrast, there was a slight excess of females over males in rural areas.

The 1963 census provided sex ratios by age group that are untenable, but the overall ratio of 102 males per 100 females is considered to be reasonably accurate.

D. Manpower and labor (C)

1. Labor force

At midyear 1970, according to estimates of the International Labour Office, the Nigerian labor force comprised 22.5 million persons, or 41% of the total population and about 60% of all persons age 10 and over. It included employers, the self-employed, unpaid family workers, salaried employees, wage earners, and the unemployed but excluded students, housewives, retired persons, those living on private means, and individuals wholly dependent upon others. As estimated by the International Labour Office, the labor force grew at an average annual rate of 2.0% during the period 1965-70, whereas the population as a whole increased at an average annual rate of 2.5%.

Nigeria's labor force is basically young. At midyear 1970, some 32.0% of all economically active persons were estimated to be under age 25, and 77.7% were under age 45 (Figure 11). All together, approximately 92.1% were in the 15-64 age group, 5.2% were under age 15, and 2.7% were age 65 or older. Males comprised 61.2% of the labor force; females, 38.8%. Participation rates varied markedly according to age group and sex. Overall, 73.9% of all males age 10 and over were economically active at midyear 1970, compared with 47.7% of all females. For both sexes, peak participation occurred in the 45-54 age group (Figure 12). Participation rates for the 10-14 age group and for the group age 65 and over were substantially higher in Nigeria than in the United States. Over 17% of all persons aged 10 through 14 and slightly more than half of those aged 65 or older were estimated to have been economically active at midyear 1970. These proportions point up the limited educational opportunities for the young and the restricted social insurance coverage for the elderly.

The International Labour Office has also noted that the proportion of the labor force active in the primary sector, chiefly in agriculture, has been declining since 1950, while the proportions in the secondary and tertiary sectors have been rising. Other than the estimates by the International Labour Office, data on the characteristics of the Nigerian labor force are restricted largely to those ascertained by the 1963 census, which, as indicated, is of questionable reliability. Nonetheless, these 1963 data provide the only benchmarks for a discussion of the labor force.

As determined by the 1963 census, participation rates varied markedly between the north and the south, with the degree of female participation being the factor most responsible for the difference. Comparatively few northern women were recorded as economically active, primarily because Muslim tradition discourages women from working. In Lagos, the participation rate was also below the national average, reflecting the larger number of persons of working age who were attending school or living with working heads of families without themselves being economically active.

Tribal differences also affect the composition of the labor force. The largest northern tribes, the Hausa and Fulani, are primarily subsistence farmers and herders. In these tribes, the number of women who are economically active is well below the national average. Conversely, Hausa and Fulani children seldom go to school; the boys help with family work, and many are recorded as members of the labor force. Among the smaller northern tribes, the Kanuri have a

FIGURE 11. Estimated labor force, by age group and sex, midyear 1970 (U/OU)
(Thousands)

AGE GROUP	NUMBER			PERCENT DISTRIBUTION		
	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes
10-14.....	660	512	1,172	2.9	2.3	5.2
15-19.....	1,522	1,230	2,752	6.7	5.5	12.2
20-24.....	2,080	1,213	3,293	9.2	5.4	14.6
25-44.....	6,591	3,706	10,297	29.3	16.4	45.7
45-54.....	1,706	1,169	2,875	7.6	5.2	12.8
55-64.....	880	643	1,523	3.9	2.9	6.8
65 and over.....	364	258	622	1.6	1.1	2.7
All ages 10 and over.....	13,803	8,731	22,534	61.2	38.8	100.0

fairly high rate of female economic activity; this is also true of the Tiv and the Nupe in the Middle Belt.

In the south, a large proportion of the Yoruba are active in the labor force. Tending to seek jobs in the modern sector of the economy, they prefer employment in the Yoruba homeland, although many migrated to the north to fill vacancies created by the expulsion of the Ibo in 1966. The Ebo, Ijaw, Ibibio-Efik, and other tribes in the south are also highly active in the work force but prefer traditional economic activities (Figure 13). Until 1966, the Ibo, an especially industrious and ambitious group, migrated in large numbers to all parts of the country in search of jobs, moving primarily to Lagos and towns in the north. In proportion to their numbers, the Ibo had a higher participation rate in the modern sector of the economy than any other ethnic group.

Estimates of the distribution of the labor force by occupational category indicate that the self-employed account for about one-half of the work force, and unpaid family workers for about 40%. Roughly 6% are classified as wage and salary earners, many of whom

are actually young boys indentured to an artisan or shopkeeper. In these instances, "wages" consist of meals and lodging; in fact, conditions of work for a number of such apprentices verge on servitude. Wage and salary earners in modern enterprises—about 2.5% of the total labor force—are predominantly blue-collar workers. Approximately 2% of the work force are employers.

In the traditional economy, the largest occupational category is that of farmers, herdsmen, loggers, and fishermen; collectively, they accounted for over one-half of the labor force in 1963 (Figure 14). Among other categories, sales workers comprised slightly over 15%, and craftsmen, factory workers, and laborers, over 12%. Farmers are found among all tribal groups in all parts of the country. Animal husbandry is concentrated in the northern plains, and fishing is centered in the Niger Delta and around Lake Chad. Some farmers are also herdsmen, fishermen, or traders, while most craftsmen also engage in agriculture. The majority of service workers are either civil servants or domestics. Most technical and professional personnel are employed in federal, state, or local governments, or in manufacturing, construction, transportation, storage, or communications. Administrators, executives, and managers, many of whom are employed by foreign-owned enterprises, are well represented in commerce.

Service occupations account for the largest number of workers in the modern economy (Figure 15). According to a 1962 survey, almost 40% of those holding jobs in establishments (including the government) employing over 10 people were engaged in various kinds of services. A minority were in the civil, police, or military service of federal, regional, or local governments, although since 1967 the organization and staffing of state governments and the

FIGURE 12. Estimated labor force participation rates, by age group and sex, midyear 1970 (U/OU)

AGE GROUP	PERCENT		
	Male	Female	Both sexes
10-14.....	20.1	15.4	17.7
15-19.....	54.2	43.5	48.8
20-24.....	84.0	50.5	67.5
25-44.....	96.6	59.0	78.6
45-54.....	96.7	68.1	82.6
55-64.....	90.0	60.5	74.6
65 and over.....	65.4	38.3	50.6
All ages 10 and over.....	73.9	47.7	60.9



Yako woman hoeing up yam hills, Cross River area. Each family cultivates about 1½ acres each year (equivalent of about 2,440 yam hills).



Yako men pounding palm fruit for oil

FIGURE 13. TRADITIONAL FARMING ACTIVITY (U/OU)

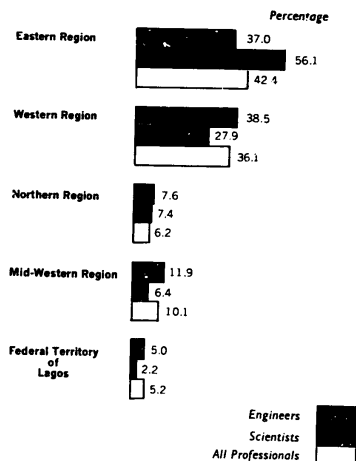
expansion of the military have led to an increase in the proportion of those employed in public services. Women employed in the modern sector were largely concentrated in services, mostly as teachers, nurses, or civil servants.

In 1966, the National Manpower Board conducted a survey of professional manpower in selected occupations in the modern sector, covering 2,890 Nigerians (Figure 16). Of the total number surveyed, 97.1% were male and only 2.9% were female. Over 42% were born in the former Eastern Region, although

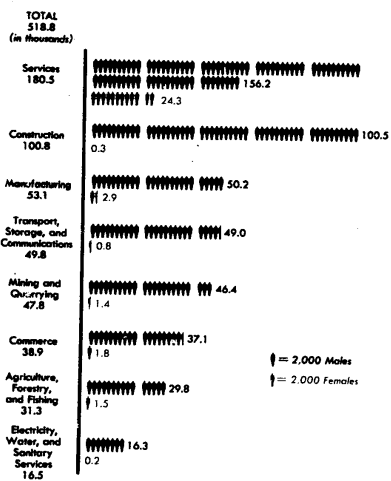
at the time of the survey, this area accounted for less than one-quarter of the total population. Easterners, moreover, comprised 56.1% of all scientists and 37.0% of all engineers, indicating the emphasis placed on modern education by the Ibo and other eastern peoples. In contrast, only 6.2% of all professionals—including 7.4% of scientists and 7.6% of engineers—were northerners. This comparison reveals the tremendous lag in the modernization process experienced in the north, largely based on historical insularism and Muslim suspicion of secular education.

FIGURE 14. Labor force, by occupational category and sex, 1963 (U/OU)

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	PERCENT		
	Male	Female	Both sexes
Farmers, herdsmen, loggers, hunters, and fishermen.....	67.7	22.5	56.8
Salesworkers.....	8.2	38.9	15.6
Craftsmen, factory workers, and laborers.....	12.3	11.8	12.2
Service and recreation workers.....	4.7	5.3	4.8
Professionals and technicians.....	2.8	1.5	2.4
Transportation and communications workers.....	2.0	0.1	1.6
Office workers.....	1.5	0.5	1.3
Administrators, executives, and managers.....	0.3	0.1	0.2
Miners and quarriers.....	0.1	Insig.	0.1
Others.....	0.4	19.3	5.0
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0



NOTE: Based on a survey of 2,890 professionals.



NOTE: Embraces only those firms (including government) employing 10 or more persons who responded to the Annual Employment and Earnings Enquiry of the Federal Ministry of Labor. About 80% of employees in firms of 10 or more are covered in these figures.

FIGURE 15. Employment in the modern sector of the economy, by branch of economic activity and sex, 1962 (U/OU)

FIGURE 16. Professional manpower, by place of birth, 1966 (U/OU)

particularly that of women. The former Western Region, too, produced a substantial number of professionals in relation to its population. The Yoruba, the predominant tribe in this area, have long embraced Western ideals and were the first group in Nigeria to pursue higher education.

According to the survey, 33.3% of Nigerian professionals were employed by the federal government and 36.9% by state and local governments. Private employers accounted for 14.7%; universities and secondary schools, for 12.6%; and the remaining 2.5% were self-employed. Most were trained abroad (69.2%), chiefly in the United Kingdom; only 8% had postgraduate degrees. Representing a comparatively young group, over 78% were between the ages of 26 and 40. Their incomes, moreover, were among the highest in Nigeria. Over 44% earned the equivalent of US\$5,600 or more annually, compared with an average per capita income estimated at about \$100. Among the highest paid professionals were physicians, dentists, engineers, scientists, mathematicians, and economists.

Skilled and semiskilled workers are in short supply throughout the economy in all occupational groups; shortages of professionals and technicians exist

especially at the middle level. As a result of the desire to replace foreigners with Nigerians, many middle-level employees, including supervisors, are under-qualified for their positions.

2. Work opportunities

Nigeria has no systematic means of disseminating information on job opportunities. Employers commonly insert a public notice in the press, but most workers rely on word-of-mouth. Although the Ministry of Labor licenses private recruiters and operates a few local employment exchanges, neither form of recruitment is of much practical significance. Family and tribal connections play an important role in hiring practices at all job levels. Even in large establishments, both government and private, personnel officers frequently favor an applicant from their own tribe over a better qualified candidate from another tribe. The custom of "dash"—giving a gift, usually cash, to an influential person—was very common in the civil service before the army takeover in 1966 and is still practiced extensively.

Among the skilled white- and blue-collar workers, mobility is normally low. Few openings exist, and training, usually provided in a specific skill or for a particular position, may not be readily applicable to another job. Promotions, moreover, are largely based on seniority, a practice which discourages mobility. Nevertheless, the scarcity of skilled workers leads to some movement, particularly among high-level administrative and managerial personnel and technicians. Labor turnover, on the other hand, is high among unskilled workers, who are usually hired for short periods. The seasonal nature of activity in some sectors, especially in agriculture and in food processing, also leads to frequent turnover.

Official unemployment statistics reveal only the number of persons registered with the Ministry of Labor's employment exchanges and represent only a small fraction of those Nigerians in search of work. In 1967, however, a sample survey estimated unemployment at about 410,000 persons, or 1.7% of the labor force in the 15-55 age group—8% in urban areas and 0.5% in the countryside. Indeed, in some cities, the proportion of unemployed workers was over 20% of the work force. Underemployment was also widespread, amounting to about 20% of agricultural workers and approximately 18% of those in nonagricultural pursuits, producing a weighted average of roughly 19.7%. Together, the unemployed and the underemployed totaled some 5.2 million persons.

According to the sample survey, most of the unemployed were young, about 70% being between the ages of 15 and 24. The incidence of unemployment was higher among males than among females. Primary school graduates and dropouts accounted for about 78% of the unemployed; most had no job training, and over two-thirds had no previous working experience. Slightly over 40% of the unemployed had been without work for periods of up to 1 year, and almost one-third had been unemployed for 2 or more years.

Each year about 636,500 persons become potential entrants into the labor force, about 600,000 from primary schools, 35,000 from secondary schools, and 1,500 from universities. Some 65,000 of the total can be absorbed in secondary or postsecondary institutions, but for the remainder only about 60,000 jobs become available annually. Consequently, most male primary school dropouts settle in peasant agriculture, while most females eventually marry, withdrawing from the labor pool. Each year, about 175,000 persons join the ranks of the unemployed. Because most of these job seekers are unskilled rural youth who have migrated to the cities, unemployment is most serious in urban centers.

Military service accounts for about 270,000 persons but has had little effect on urban unemployment because most recruits are drawn from rural areas. If and when a demobilization takes place, the problem of unemployment will be aggravated; many soldiers have been trained for work other than farming and can be expected to seek employment in the nonagricultural sector of the economy.

In the Second National Development Plan, the government has given some priority to solving the problem of unemployment and underemployment. If the programs and projects are fully implemented, about 3.3 million new jobs will be created, consisting of 1.1 million in agriculture, 2 million in small-scale nonagricultural activities, and 210,000 in medium- and large-scale enterprises in the modern sector of the economy, mainly in manufacturing, mining, and construction. However, full implementation of many public sector projects is not likely to be completed by the end of the plan period.

3. Conditions of work

Most of the Nigerian labor force are engaged in subsistence farming, and only 5% of the workers are active in the money economy. For most workers in the latter sector, hours of work are long and wages remain low, despite the inflation of the past decade. By and

large, fringe benefits are available only to civil service personnel.

The regular workday is limited to 10 hours and the workweek to 58 hours, including overtime; a 6-day week is normal for most workers. Minors under age 15 are not permitted to work in the modern sector, nor may females engage in nightwork. Most Nigerian managers do not favor granting substantial overtime on a continuous basis, preferring a second or third shift. By tradition, the European employer in Nigeria and the government pay time-and-a-half for overtime, in contrast to Nigerian and Levantine employers who pay time-and-a-half only on Sunday. Many employees engage in some kind of part-time, after hours employment to supplement primary wages.

As in most of Africa, wages in the money economy are extremely low, and there is no legal minimum wage applicable to the entire nation. Although there is a minimum wage in the civil service and in certain minor occupations, rates vary from state to state. In general, wages for white-collar personnel and skilled blue-collar workers are highest in the private sector. Wage differentials in the public sector between skilled and unskilled labor have widened in recent years, the ratio of 1.7:1 in 1962 rising to 2.0:1 in 1967. In fact, these ratios probably apply to the entire money economy.

Wide variations in wage rates are also due to differentials along regional, urban-rural, occupational, and educational lines. Wages have traditionally been highest in the former Western and Mid-Western regions and in the Federal Territory of Lagos, where most of the country's industry is located, and lowest in the underdeveloped former Northern Region and the overpopulated Eastern Region. Despite an excess labor supply in urban areas, urban wages are not only higher but are rising faster than rural wages, largely because most modern economic enterprises, which generally pay higher wages, are located in the cities. Wage differentials between manual and nonmanual occupations have tended to widen, especially those between unskilled workers and clerical, executive, and administrative personnel. The income of a college professor, for example, is 30 times that of an unskilled manual worker. In the general and nontechnical sections of the civil service a university graduate starts at a salary level six times that of the primary school graduate and can eventually earn a salary more than 10 times that of the latter.

Inflation has plagued the Nigerian economy for the past decade, wiping out small wage increases attained by the majority of workers. In 1971, as a result of

mounting public pressure, the government appointed the Adebayo Wages and Salaries Review Commission with instructions to recommend measures for achieving economic stability. Although some of its 62 proposals were accepted, most were shelved for further study. Salaried government workers received wage increases ranging from N£36 (1N£=US\$2.80 prior to December 1971; current rate is 1N£=US\$3.04) for personnel earning N£200 or less per year, to N£300 for those receiving N£2,500 or more. New minimum wage rates, amounting to an increase of roughly 30%, depending on geographic area, were also established for wage earners in the public sector. In the private sector, most workers earning N£500 or less per year also received an annual increment, while those earning more than N£500 were to negotiate new rates by collective bargaining. However, because increased wages were granted without adequate increases in the supply of housing and some foods, inflation is likely to continue. Thus, the net result of the Adebayo Commission was to achieve short-term industrial peace.

Fringe benefits are enjoyed chiefly by employees in the public sector. Regular civil servants are entitled to 15 to 30 days of paid leave per year, depending on length of service; a minimum of 7 days of sick leave after 6 months service; 11 public holidays; noncontributory pensions; official quarters; children's allowances; and certain bonuses. Some private employers follow the pattern set by the government. A number of private pension plans for managers and senior staff members supplement those provided workers under the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance and the National Provident Fund. Certain specialized wage earners, such as tin and columbite miners and rubber plantation workers, are provided with housing, food, and medical and hospital facilities.

Existing labor legislation sets standards for working conditions, for collective bargaining procedures, and in some areas for housing. The federal government, however, is empowered to prescribe wages, hours, holidays, and other benefits whenever it considers that workers are not sufficiently organized to bargain effectively. Periodic inspection of factories to insure safe and healthful working conditions is also required by law. While the larger, foreign-owned firms usually observe these regulations, compliance by the smaller, Nigerian-owned establishments has been poor. In many traditional family enterprises, ignorance of industrial hygiene among employers and workers alike results in inferior working conditions.

A number of labor laws incorporate labor regulations, Trade Disputes Decree 53 being the most significant. Enacted in December 1969 for 1 year and subsequently extended, it was due to expire in December 1972, when, the government indicated, it would be replaced with revised labor codes. The decree outlaws strikes and lockouts, bans newspapers as well as television or radio programs which may cause "public alarm" or "industrial unrest," and provides 5-year prison terms for convicted offenders. In addition, the Inspector General of Police and the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces are authorized to detain indefinitely anyone deemed to be disrupting industrial peace, and persons so detained are denied the right of *habeas corpus*.

Before the enactment of Decree 53, strikes were usually called early in a dispute in order to induce management to bargain, most frequently over wages and other claims involving money. Compared with disputes in more highly industrialized countries, strikes were usually of short duration. Few unions were financially or psychologically able to sustain prolonged strikes, and few man-days of work were lost (Figure 17). Between FY61 (1 April through 31 March) and FY67, the number of disputes, workers involved, and workdays lost were roughly consistent, except during FY64, when figures were high because of a 13-day general strike which united almost all Nigerian

unions—a rare occurrence—and during FY67, when strike activity was low as a result of civil war.

In 1971, because Decree 53 had not been completely effective in preventing strikes and work stoppages, the government resorted to other measures to quash labor disorders. The national police force was called to restore order among industrial workers in Kaduna, Lagos, and other manufacturing centers. Nevertheless, labor unrest has continued on a minor scale. In March 1972, for example, armed soldiers and policemen were used to suppress striking telecommunications workers. Minor work stoppages have also occurred recently among isolated groups of government employees, including printers, dockworkers in Apapa, workers at the Lagos airport, physicians in Lagos, and teachers in the northern area. These disruptions were spontaneous occurrences rather than unified efforts sponsored by the unions, which, intimidated by the government, have remained cautious. The swift collective action of the police and military have revealed that the government is determined to contain labor unrest.

Productivity is low in both the agricultural and the nonagricultural sectors, in the former because of overworked soil, the prevalence of small holdings, and the continued use of primitive techniques and equipment; and in the latter because of poor supervision and a general lack of training and experience. Thus, in nonroutine industrial situations requiring analysis and judgment, Nigerian performance usually falls short of desired norms. Nigerian supervisors frequently lack experience and are reluctant to accept responsibility, usually identify with the workers instead of management, and customarily show favoritism to members of their own tribe or village. A simple technology and little division of labor in traditional agriculture have provided meager training for the development of organizational and supervisory abilities. In a tribal society, moreover, the prerogatives of status receive greater stress than do the obligations.

4. Labor and management organizations

Nigerian labor unions are generally small and ineffectual. Few have qualified, full-time leaders, and their activities consist of little more than periodic agitation for higher wages and for correction of alleged injustices. Often split into ideological factions and further subdivided along tribal and regional lines, most unions suffer from a chronic lack of funds and an apathetic membership. Chronic unemployment and underemployment weaken their bargaining strength,

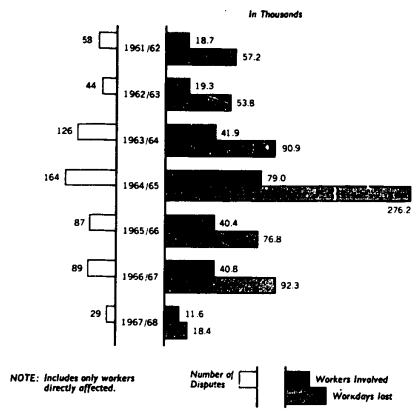


FIGURE 17. Strikes and lockouts, FY61 through FY67 (U/OU)

and there are no laws requiring union recognition or collective agreements. In 1965, about one-half of Nigerian wage earners were union members, but only about 10% were employed in establishments bound by collective bargaining agreements. Only union members in the mining and construction industries and on the few large plantations enjoy the advantages of permanent negotiating machinery and industrywide coordination. Most collective bargaining is conducted within a single establishment.

Since 1969, as a result of Decree 53, union leaders have grown less vocal than before, remaining highly suspicious of one another and extremely careful in their relationships with the government. Because unions cannot legally strike or demonstrate, their leaders cannot effectively negotiate wage increases and other benefits. Labor organizations, moreover, are regarded with suspicion by the regime as sources of potential economic and political trouble.

Over 1,200 unions are registered with the Registrar of Trade Unions, about 700 of which are currently active. The major unions represent teachers; civil servants; public utility, railway, construction, and dockworkers; miners; and workers in various kinds of manufacturing. Most unions serve workers in a small geographic area, with the exception of the well-established civil service, railway, and teachers unions, whose members come from all parts of the country. Both craft and industrial unions are found in Nigeria, but the most common type of organization is the one-company union, representing both skilled and unskilled workers in a variety of occupations.

In 1969, four national trade union federations were recognized by the government: the United Labor Congress (ULC), the Nigerian Trade Union Congress (NTUC), the Labor Unity Front (LUF), and the Nigerian Workers Council (NWC) (Figure 18). Recognition has brought no special privileges, except that the nomination of delegates to meetings of international labor organizations is rotated among the four federations under the direction of the Ministry of Labor. A fifth federation, never officially recognized and therefore technically operating illegally, is the Nigerian Federation of Labor (NFL). Federation membership figures are believed to be highly inflated, and the record of dues payments by member unions is poor.

The largest of the federations, the Western-oriented ULC, has an estimated membership of 100,000 and represents over 200 unions. Badly split by leadership conflicts, the ULC also has long been plagued with financial problems. In 1969, it received the equivalent of about \$200,000 from the U.S. Government, as well

as from U.S. business and trade union sources, channeled through the AFL-CIO-sponsored African American Labor Center; in 1970 the same sources provided additional funds. The ULC is a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which formerly subsidized it. Without outside assistance, the ULC would probably lose its effectiveness, such as it is, and become a looseknit collection of member unions. Enjoying a favored position with the government, the ULC has increased its influence since 1971 when the leaders of its chief competitor, the NTUC, were arrested.

Long associated with the outlawed Socialist Workers and Farmers Party (the Nigerian Communist organization), the NTUC receives Soviet financial aid to operate the Patrice Lumumba Labor Academy and its weekly newspaper, *The Advance*, but the amount of this assistance has been reduced in recent years. In 1969, the NTUC formally affiliated with the Prague-based World Federation of Trade Unions. Membership in the NTUC, estimated to be 50,000, is especially strong among mining, petroleum, and local government unions. Relations with the regime have been strained in recent years; in February 1971, the federation's president and general secretary were imprisoned for violations of Decree 53 and were not released until May 1972. Other federation leaders have also been imprisoned for various violations and released.

The LUF, with an estimated membership of 10,000, is a loose federation of leftist unions led by the heads of a few civil service and key public corporation unions, such as those of railway, telephone, port, and Central Bank employees. Publicly disclaiming foreign affiliations and outside aid, the federation nevertheless has reputedly received clandestine financial assistance from the People's Republic of China.

Formed mostly from dissident ULC unions, the NWC, with an estimated membership of only 3,000, exerts little influence in union affairs. Between 1961 and 1970 the NWC received the equivalent of between \$40,000 and \$60,000 annually from the Christian World Confederation of Labor, most of which reportedly was embezzled by corrupt federation leaders.

The NFL, with a small membership of approximately 2,000, is composed of disaffected NTUC unions. Socialist oriented, the federation reportedly receives aid from the regime and the U.K. Government. Member unions principally represent customs workers.

In November 1970, a coordinating body was established linking the four major trade union

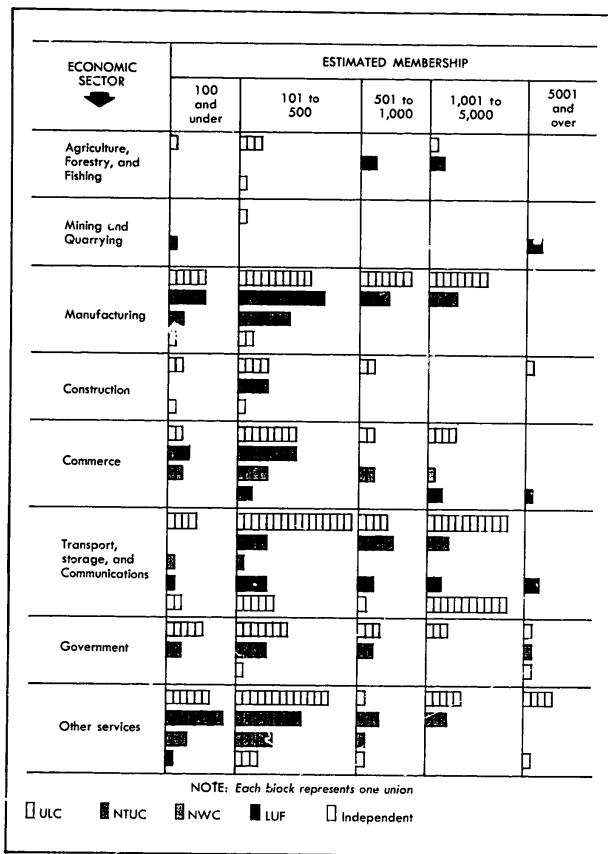


FIGURE 18. Size and national affiliation of trade unions, by branch of economic activity, 1966 (U/OU)

federations. Known as the United Committee of Central Labor Organizations, it was formed to present a united front to the Adebayo Commission.

Of the numerous management associations in Nigeria, the largest and most influential are the Nigerian Employers Consultative Association (NECA) and various chambers of commerce. The NECA, a private nonprofit organization with headquarters in Lagos, is financed by subscriptions from over 300 members. Membership is open to all employers of five or more persons and to all business associations, commerce and manufacturing being the fields most heavily represented. In 1966, the majority of member firms were foreign owned (mostly British) or jointly

owned by Nigerian and foreign interests. The NECA, which represents management on numerous government committees and each year forms part of the government delegation to the International Labor Organization conference in Geneva, provides legal, public relations, and research support to its members. It also advocates replacing unilateral wage fixing by employers with collective bargaining as a means for the private sector to free itself from mandatory government wage awards.

Chambers of commerce are located in most of the major cities. About one-half of their membership represents the commercial sector, one-third the services sector, and the remainder the industrial sector. Most

chambers are members of both the Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, and Mines of Nigeria and the Federation of Commonwealth and British Chambers of Commerce. The various chambers promote their members' products in domestic and international markets, provide information on business opportunities, and publish material on developments affecting the business sector. The Lagos Chamber of Commerce, sometimes consulted by the government on tariff and taxation matters, maintains a training program for small businessmen.

The larger Nigerian management organizations, many of which are affiliated with NECA, are found chiefly in the construction, lumbering, and tailoring trades. In addition, strong associations of market women control the organization of markets and the distribution of stalls. Those business associations belonging to NECA function as lobby groups, representing the interests of association members only. Many of the smaller Nigerian management groups are locally oriented organizations, including employees as well as employers and self-employed persons in a particular trade.

E. Health (U/OU)

Levels of health and sanitation in Nigeria are low and cannot be raised rapidly in the near future even with outside assistance. A vector-favorable climate, poor housing, deficient diets, unsafe water supplies, and primitive waste disposal systems all are conducive to the development and spread of disease. Customs and taboos, as well as general ignorance regarding disease and its causes, contribute to poor personal hygiene, which continues to cause or aggravate many illnesses. As a result, Nigerians suffer from a high incidence of preventable disease. Nonetheless, Nigerian health authorities have not assigned high priority to programs of preventive medicine. Epidemics are treated with reasonable efficiency when they occur, but few steps are taken to prevent or control future outbreaks. In large part, the inadequacies of public health programs stem from a shortage of funds and of medical facilities and personnel. Modern medical care is not available in many areas. Such health facilities as exist are unevenly distributed throughout the country and are often substandard. Except in the larger cities, the availability of trained medical personnel is minimal. Because of limited access to modern treatment and because of poverty or distrust, most Nigerians rely on folk medicine and local healers in times of illness. Home remedies are very popular, being concocted from a variety of ingredients (Figure 19) that may or



FIGURE 19. Vendor selling monkey skulls, dead bats, feathers, and other materials used in native folk remedies (U/OU)

may not have medicinal value. Because a sizable number of Nigerians believe that illness results from the influence of evil spirits, practitioners of folk medicine normally prescribe ritual observances or other practices in addition to providing remedies.

Health matters in Nigeria are largely a responsibility of state and local governments. Federal authority centers on health conditions in the capital, on health inspections at ports of entry, on vital statistics, and on relationships with external agencies concerned with health. The federal government also provides certain laboratory services.

I. Environmental sanitation

Insufficient and contaminated water supplies, inadequate provision for the disposal of wastes, and

unsanitary food handling all pose major health problems. In fact, low levels of environmental sanitation, compounded by widespread public ignorance and indifference toward personal hygiene, are reflected in the high incidence of enteric ailments and other endemic diseases, such as tuberculosis and infectious hepatitis, that are transmitted through contaminated food and water.

The major sources of water in Nigeria are streams, wells, springs, boreholes, and water catchments. Most supplies are polluted at the source by sewage and refuse disposal, and only about 35% of the population has access to "safe" drinking water. Moreover, water shortages occur frequently during the dry season, especially in the north; many of the larger cities also experience periodic shortages of water, a situation which is expected to become critical within a few years unless remedial measures are taken. In the larger urban areas, water is treated by filtration and chlorination, but it is often recontaminated in the distribution system. House connections are usually available only in the better residential areas; elsewhere, residents rely on public taps or hydrants for water (Figure 20).

No Nigerian city has a modern sewerage system. In most urban areas, only the modern business and better residential districts are served by septic tanks. In other sections, pit latrines are used, or sewage is thrown into open drainage ditches. The larger cities collect garbage and trash, in some instances irregularly, and burn, bury, or dump it outside the city limits. Most of the rural population use trench latrines, although sizable numbers have no toilet facilities of any kind. In some areas, night soil is collected and used as fertilizer. Garbage and trash disposal in the countryside is extremely haphazard.

Federal laws govern the inspection and handling of foodstuffs, but enforcement, a responsibility of local authorities, is lax except in the major cities (Figure 21). Urban slaughterhouses, along with some other food processing establishments, are strictly inspected, but the typical market is an open-air one in which food is exposed to dirt, insects, and handling by customers. Refrigeration is uncommon; drying or smoking are the normal means of preserving food. Everywhere throughout Nigeria, storage facilities are inadequate.

2. Diet and nutrition

According to estimates of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the production of foodstuffs in Nigeria rose steadily during the early and mid-1960's and then dropped sharply in the wake of the civil war. Even before the war, however, the increase in food production in most years did not match population growth, resulting in a diminishing amount of domestically grown food per capita. Whereas the FAO index of per capita food production stood at 100 for the period 1952-56, it had fallen to 95 in 1965 and dropped to 81 in 1969. Massive shipments of food from abroad helped ease the critical shortage of food, particularly in the Ibo homeland, once the war was ended, and Nigerian food production since that time has again been rising. Nonetheless, the average Nigerian is less well fed today than in the 1950's and early 1960's.

In 1966, the average diet provided 2,170 calories per day, a figure slightly lower than that in 1962. Per capita daily caloric consumption in 1966, however, was not far below the recommended norm of 2,240; it was, nonetheless, unbalanced, with more than 92% of



FIGURE 20. Public water hydrant, Lagos. Although water is treated, it often is recontaminated in the distribution system, which is not well maintained. (U/OU)



FIGURE 21. Two Fulani girls on their way to market with calabashes containing milk, butter, and cheese (U/OU)

total caloric intake being of plant origin. The national average, moreover, masks the variation in consumption between differing income groups and between residents of different parts of the country. The diet in the north is based on millet and provides adequate amounts of calories and proteins but is deficient in riboflavin and vitamins A and C. In contrast, the diet in the south is based mainly on roots (yams and cassava), in association with rice and maize. The southern diet supplies fewer calories than that of the north, and it is deficient in proteins and riboflavin.

In the north, millet is consumed as a gruel or paste. In the south, yams and cassava are prepared with palm oil. The consumption of fruits and vegetables in both areas is low, and meat does not play an important part in the diet of the typical Nigerian. Consumption of milk and milk products is largely confined to stockraising areas.

As the result of deficiencies in the Nigerian diet, malnutrition is not uncommon, particularly in children, and is manifest in facial lesions and in such disorders as kwashiorkor and marasmus. In addition to an unbalanced diet, children suffer from custom and taboos with regard to eating. For example, children normally are fed only after adults have eaten and thus seldom receive enough to eat. Moreover, certain foods,

especially those of animal origin, are considered harmful to children and are not served to them.

3. Common diseases

Nigeria's vector-favorable environment and its enervating climate are conducive to a high incidence of communicable disease. In the south, heat and humidity combine to produce conditions suitable for the propagation of disease-carrying insects and parasites; in the north, the harmattan, a dry northeasterly desert wind characteristic of the northern dry season, causes considerable dust irritation and carries a variety of airborne respiratory diseases. Excessive drying of the skin during this period leads to a number of cutaneous disorders.

Mosquitoes, flies, ticks, and lice are the most dangerous and widespread disease carriers. Mosquitoes that carry yellow fever, malaria, filariasis, dengue fever, or encephalitis are found throughout the country. Two species of the tsetse fly, the insect vector of trypanosomiasis (African sleeping sickness), are also found in all parts of Nigeria; other species are confined to the north, as is a type of sandfly which transmits cutaneous leishmaniasis. Intestinal parasites, particularly hookworm, roundworm, and tapeworm, abound and infest many Nigerians. Rodents and most

domesticated animals are also important disease carriers. Various venomous scorpions, spiders, and ants are commonly found throughout the country, along with numerous poisonous snakes, including vipers, cobras, adders, and boomslangs. Large numbers of poisonous or allergenic plants grow in Nigeria, but their effects are seldom serious, provided precautionary measures are followed.

Nigerian statistics regarding the incidence of disease and the causes of death are fragmentary, reflecting only the ailments of the very small number of patients treated in hospitals or clinics. Such data for 1967, the latest year for which information is available for most diseases, show that malaria had the highest rate of incidence, followed by gastrointestinal disorders (including dysentery), measles, gonorrhea, pneumonia, chicken pox, whooping cough, schistosomiasis, tuberculosis, and syphilis. Helminthiasis is also common, as are ailments stemming from malnutrition. Ear and eye disorders and skin infections have a high rate of incidence, and most Nigerians suffer from dental caries. Principal causes of death include respiratory ailments (especially pneumonia), malaria, gastrointestinal disorders, tuberculosis, and diseases of early infancy. Cancer is much less often a cause of death in Nigeria than in the United States, but deaths from cardiovascular diseases are common. Malaria, dysentery, and pneumonia lead the list of diseases contributing to Nigeria's high infant mortality rate.

Despite success in some areas, programs to eradicate or control specific diseases have generally been too limited to meet needs. Malaria, affecting an estimated 70% of the population at one time or another, remains a serious health problem. In the past, control programs have been hindered by inadequate funds and manpower. At the present time, however, the World Health Organization (WHO) is assisting Nigeria in a new malaria control program. The Agency for International Development (AID) and WHO were instrumental in bringing smallpox, once endemic to Nigeria, under control. As a result of eradication campaigns, the number of smallpox cases declined from 4,753 in 1967 to only 64 in 1970. Measles too has become less common as the result of widespread immunization. Tuberculosis, however, remains a major health problem, afflicting about 1% of the population. Leprosy is also common, with the highest incidence found along the Niger, Benue, and Cross rivers; over 300,000 Nigerians suffer from leprosy, but there are fewer than 1,200 hospital beds available in leper colonies. Serious epidemics of meningococcal meningitis occur almost annually, the threat being particularly pronounced in North-Eastern State.

Figures for the most recent outbreak totaled 10,325 in 1970. Trypanosomiasis remains a major problem in certain areas of central Nigeria, while trachoma is most common in the northern part of the country. Although its incidence has been declining, yaws is found nationwide but is most evident in the northern and eastern parts of the country; in some localities, up to 95% of all children are infected. Yellow fever, once thought to be under control, broke out anew in 1969, when an estimated 10,000 persons contracted it. Venereal diseases are common in all areas, but the highest rates of incidence are in the north, especially along trade routes, and in the larger cities. Nigeria has been added to the WHO list of cholera-infected countries following the epidemic of this disease which swept over large areas of Africa in 1970. Nigeria reported 20,246 cases of cholera in 1971.

A new disease called Lassa fever appears to be endemic in Cameroon, Ivory Coast, and other parts of west Africa as well as the northeastern quadrant of Nigeria. From the Nigerian sector came the first cases of this virus disease to reach scientific attention. The disease broke out in Nigeria in early 1969, declining in late January 1970; it involved 32 suspected cases, of whom 10 died. The disease spans a spectrum of severity from virtually no symptoms at all to death.

4. Medical personnel and facilities

Although many of Nigeria's medical personnel are competent professionals, the total number of such persons is far too few to meet the need. There are critical shortages of physicians, dentists, pharmacists, and laboratory technicians. In 1969, for example, there were about 1,028 physicians practicing in the country, or 1 physician per 52,000 inhabitants, one of the most unfavorable ratios in the world. Moreover, Nigerian physicians, as well as other medical personnel, tend to be concentrated in the south, particularly in the larger cities. As a result, the physician-population ratio in the north has been estimated to exceed 1:100,000.

The overall shortage of physicians, coupled with the unwillingness of many to serve in remote rural areas, has prompted the government to seek outside assistance. A Nigerian request to the Philippine Government resulted in the arrival, beginning in 1967, of 43 Filipino physicians, under 3-year contracts, to serve in hospitals in the Lagos area and in other cities in the south. About 30 Egyptian physicians are working in northern Nigeria; of the 17 Russian physicians who arrived in the country in mid-January 1970, five are now working in Jos. Most of the

numerous other foreign physicians are British nationals.

Nigeria's four medical schools are located at the Universities of Lagos, Ibadan, and Nigeria, and at Ahmadu Bello University; a fifth medical school has been proposed for the University of Ife. Although unable to provide a sufficient number of physicians for the country's needs, the training received at these institutions is good, provided, for the most part, by European staff members. By 1974, the Nigerian medical schools are expected to train 200 doctors annually. Postgraduate courses are offered at the universities of both Lagos and Ibadan. Also, numerous Nigerian physicians receive medical and postgraduate training in the United Kingdom and other European countries, in North America, India, Israel, Egypt, and the Soviet Union. Normally, some 100 to 150 medical students study abroad each year.

Practicing dentists numbered only 44 in 1969. Dentists formerly were trained abroad, but small numbers now receive their schooling at the University of Lagos, which established a dental school in 1966 with WHO assistance. As of 1968, active nurses and auxiliary nurses totaled 9,502. Registered nurses are trained at numerous public and private hospitals; many of these same institutions offer shorter training programs for auxiliary nurses. Some 30 hospitals provide training in midwifery.

In 1968, there were 237 general hospitals, 115 special hospitals, 1,192 maternity centers or clinics, 1,380 dispensaries, and 412 leper colonies. The total number of beds in all facilities was 27,982, or five beds per 10,000 population. Northern Nigeria had fewer beds per population than any other part of the country; almost 10% of all hospital beds were located in Lagos. Of the 237 general hospitals, 111 were public, being operated either by state or local governments; 16 were owned by units of government but staffed by missionary personnel; and the remainder were private, operated primarily by religious groups. Mission hospitals generally are regarded as superior to the public facilities, most of which are understaffed, underequipped, and overcrowded. Because demand for hospitalization far exceeds available beds, two patients are often placed in the same bed; cots or pallets in hallways are also used to accommodate patients.

F. Welfare and social problems (U/OU)

1. Welfare problems

Conditions of living for most Nigerians are deplorable. Moderate improvements occurred during

the 7-year period between independence and the advent of the civil war, but conditions deteriorated rapidly after the outbreak of hostilities, especially in the area that was Biafra, and recovery in the three eastern states is not yet complete. Since the end of the war, Nigeria has been beset with a myriad of social and economic problems; in addition to those directly related to the conflict, such as reconstruction and the resettlement of refugees, rapid population growth has hindered development by outstripping the rate of economic expansion and by overtaxing the capabilities of existing social welfare services.

Levels of living are not uniform throughout Nigeria, as marked differences exist not only between the former secessionist territory and the areas that remained under federal control but also between north and south and between urban and rural localities. Generally, incomes are higher, employment opportunities are better, and social services are more readily available in the south, excluding the three eastern states, and in the cities. In the countryside, contrasts are also evident in the levels of living of the subsistence farmer and those of the cash crop farmer, whereas in the cities, a wide gap exists between those of the unskilled workers and members of the upper class.

Unemployment and underemployment, low levels of health and sanitation, deficient diets, and inadequate housing constitute the most pressing welfare problems. Living outside the money economy, often at bare subsistence levels, most rural Nigerians have little, if any, ability to acquire manufactured consumer goods. For them, food and the materials needed to satisfy other basic necessities are produced locally, although their supply in some areas is apt to be low or unreliable. Consequently, the monetary inflation, which became acute after the war, was mainly affected city dwellers. As the result of the influx of rural migrants, moreover, a burgeoning population has brought about a scarcity of jobs and housing, posing additional hardships for urban Nigerians.

It has been estimated that two-thirds of the urban population live in overcrowded and otherwise unfit dwellings. In Lagos, 60% of the inhabitants reside in the heart of the city, much of it comprising a labyrinth of tin-roofed shacks erected along narrow, winding alleys lined with open ditches that serve as sewers. Although statistical data pertaining to housing are fragmentary and unreliable, it has been estimated that during 1964 alone the urban housing deficit throughout the nation increased by about 128,000 dwellings, the bulk of that total having been required to accommodate new migrant families from the countryside. The number of units constructed in that



The round hut, typical of Hausa communities, has evidently been emulated by sedentary Fulani groups. Cooking is done on crude outdoor stoves, which are sometimes fashioned from sections of corrugated sheet-metal and rocks.



Because the land is semiarid, Fulani nomads graze their herds over a wide area. In addition to his livestock, water jugs and a portable shelter are the herdsman's prized possessions.

FIGURE 22. REPRESENTATIVE FULANI DWELLINGS (U/OU)

year, and undoubtedly during every year since then, has been much smaller. Although federal and state agencies have supported various housing programs, low cost public housing is virtually nonexistent. In fact, because of exorbitant land prices and construction costs, new housing developments by and

large are accessible only to middle and upper income families. Owing to the great demand for housing, rental costs have soared, and rent controls have been largely ineffectual. Having repealed a rent control decree that had remained in effect for 5 years, the federal government in late 1971 relinquished its rent regulatory functions to the states.

As in the cities, the adequacy of rural housing varies substantially among population groups. Some villages are neatly arranged and reasonably sanitary, while others are congested and squalid. Families usually erect their own dwellings, utilizing local materials. Round huts, made from mud and wattle and covered with conical thatch roofs, predominate in most rural areas; using lightweight straw mats draped over a stick frame, the nomadic Fulani herdsman customarily erect small, igloo-shaped stick shelters (Figure 22). In addition to mud and wattle, other materials, including lumber, bamboo, adobe, and brick, are used in the construction of permanent dwellings. In northern Nigeria, flat-roofed rectangular houses, similar to those found in other countries of north Africa, are intermixed with the round huts.

Incomes among self-employed and salary earners, who comprise the bulk of the labor force, are generally low. On a per capita basis, the rise in incomes during the 1960's was negligible even though adjustments in the form of periodic raises have been made so as to compensate for inflation. The basic wage and salary schedules of the colonial period—when the earnings of British officials and businessmen were comparable with those in the United Kingdom while those of the native worker were not—have by and large been perpetuated. Therefore, gross disparities exist in the incomes of members of the upper class as compared with those of individuals in the lower sectors. In fact, the gap between high and low income groups has tended to widen during the postindependence period, reflecting the general indifference which characterizes attitudes among the elite concerning the welfare of the masses. As of the early 1970's, according to official definition, low-income families in Lagos, Benin City, and Kaduna comprised those having yearly incomes of N400 or less; in Ibadan and Enugu, they were defined as those having incomes of N350 or less per year.

In the cities, where trends in the cost of living are largely governed by food prices, the cost of living increased slowly until 1966. The outbreak of the civil war which was attended by a halt in the shipment of domestic foodstuffs to Biafra, a food deficit territory, brought about an increase in food supplies in the areas that remained under federal control. Consequently,

food prices in the latter areas declined markedly, even though the costs for other items of consumer expenditure continued to rise. Biafra was gradually brought under federal control during 1969, and prices began to increase sharply in all areas, as reflected by the consumer price index among low income families in Lagos and other main cities (Figure 23). The great demand for food among the inhabitants of the former secessionist territory was partly responsible for the price increases; nonetheless, prices of other consumer goods have also risen because of scarcities resulting from import restrictions and the diversion of materials for reconstruction.

The family has traditionally been responsible for attending to the welfare needs of its less fortunate members, particularly in rural society. Under this informal system of social insurance, immediate relatives care for the orphaned, aged, handicapped, infirm, and destitute. If close relatives are unable, for whatever reason, to provide such care, the burden of responsibility is assumed by more distant relatives. While the concept of mutual obligation remains strong in most rural areas, it has begun to break down in the cities, where kinship bonds tend to be weaker. Even in the cities, however, and especially among newcomers from the countryside, feelings of tribal solidarity and of obligation for the welfare of fellow tribesmen remain evident. Mutual benefit societies, which are organized along tribal lines for the purpose of assisting members in times of unemployment or other hardship, are said to exist in the cities. Among the Muslim community, moreover, almsgiving is regarded as an obligation.

Although individual welfare needs are usually met by the family or the tribe, a wide range of formal

welfare institutions operates in the cities and large towns under the auspices of governmental or private entities, acting independently or in concert. In the 1960's, some of the nation's leading welfare organizations were the Society for the Blind, the Committee for Care of the Deaf and Dumb, the Child Care Social Services, and the Child Welfare Mothers Union; additional agencies, such as the Anti-Tuberculosis Association and the Nigerian Leprosy Relief Association, provided specialized relief and rehabilitation services. The institutions operated by these and other organizations have included orphanages and homes for abandoned children; homes for the aged; and centers for the blind, the mentally retarded, and the physically handicapped. Private welfare activities, most of which are carried out by Christian missionary groups and Muslim organizations, generally emphasize health care and education. Marriage counseling services, organized youth activities, and rehabilitation programs for delinquents are available in some localities. In rural areas, maternal and child care services are provided at public health centers.

The concentration of institutionalized welfare services in urban areas can be ascribed, in part, to the fact that social legislation remains in an early stage of development. The nation's most significant social statute, which established the National Pension Fund, was enacted in 1961. Administered by the Commission for Labor with the aid of an advisory council representing the federal and state governments, various labor unions, and the NLC, the fund provides a small lump-sum payment in cash to workers eligible for retirement (age 55), or to workers who emigrate from Nigeria or become permanently

FIGURE 23. Consumer price index among low-income families, selected cities (U/OU) (1960=100)

YEAR	BENIN CITY		ENUGU		IBADAN		KADUNA		LAGOS	
	Food and beverage	All items	Food and beverage	All items	Food and beverage	All items	Food and beverage	All items	Food and beverage	All items
1963	109	111	117	120	106	109	110	110	109	110
1964	106	106	121	123	104	108	107	109	110	112
1965	113	109	123	124	111	112	114	113	114	117
1966	146	128	153	139	133	125	130	122	131	127
1967	139	127	na	na	123	120	121	118	119	122
1968	120	117	na	na	114	116	113	120	117	123
1969	149	136	na	na	126	126	134	136	138	136
1970	201	173	na	na	147	142	154	145	165	153
1971*	238	198	228	203	201	174	184	165	203	173

na Data not available.

*Based on the first 9 months.

incapacitated; in case of the death of a covered worker, the sum is payable to surviving relatives. While the national labor code requires employers to grant some sick leave with pay, the National Provident Fund also provides cash benefits, prorated on a daily schedule, during extended illnesses and maternity leave. The amount of benefits is governed by the size of the sums paid into the fund by the employee and his employer, plus any interest that may have accrued on the principal. Employers contribute 5% of the annual payroll, while employees pay 5% of their earnings up to a yearly maximum equivalent to \$67.20. As of January 1968, employers and employees had contributed in excess of \$63 million into the fund; only about \$700,000 had been paid out in benefits to more than 10,000 recipients.

With the exception of federal and state governments, which have separate retirement pension plans for certain categories of employees, all establishments having 10 or more full-time workers are supposedly obligated to participate in the National Provident fund. Far from constituting a comprehensive system of social insurance, the fund does not contain provisions concerning work injury, unemployment, or family allowances. However, work injury coverage underwritten by private insurance firms is voluntarily carried by some employers. In small, nonagricultural establishments, the only insurance protection afforded workers emanates from labor code regulations which require the employer to provide sickness and maternity payments as well as benefits for full disability and survivorship.

Noncompliance with worker welfare provisions of the labor code and with regulations governing the National Provident Fund is widespread. Employers maintain that the contributions required under the fund are too large. They and employees alike have little confidence in the efficacy of the fund, an attitude that is not altogether unwarranted, as records are often misplaced or lost and long delays occur in processing claims. Handicapped by a scarcity of competent personnel with which to administer the insurance plans, the Commission for Labor tends to emphasize the collection of contributions, which are invested in development programs of the central government, rather than the equitable disbursement of benefits.

In times of national disaster, the Nigerian Red Cross, which is responsible for coordinating and implementing relief operations, relies heavily on emergency food and medical supplies furnished by the International Red Cross and external humanitarian agencies. A number of national and state entities, as

well as military units, normally participate in such operations. During the civil war, the nation's welfare institutions and disaster relief agencies were encumbered by an estimated 3.5 million displaced persons, most of them destitute and in immediate need of food, shelter, and medical care. In areas under federal control, camps and food distribution centers were established to attend to the minimal needs of the refugees. The relief activities, however, were said to have been hampered by the slowness of bureaucratic processes and a general lack of coordination among participating agencies. The hardship of war was greatest for the people of Biafra, where malnutrition and starvation were commonplace because of the disruption of trade. Federal and Biafran authorities, moreover, interfered with the shipment of relief supplies, notably including those donated by the International Red Cross and by a consortium of religious organizations, into the secessionist territory. As a result, the supplies had to be airlifted during night hours and at considerable peril to those directly engaged in the relief operation, inasmuch as aircraft attacks and bombing raids were carried out by federal forces seeking to interdict airlifted arms and ammunition supplies.

2. Social problems

Poor living conditions and the weakening of traditional behavior controls brought about by rapid urban growth, increased industrialization, and the dislocations caused by the civil war have generated a variety of social ills in Nigeria. Crime increased markedly during the early postindependence period. In the years 1962-65, for example, the incidence of reported cases of arson rose by 190%, that of murder by 110%, that of robbery and extortion by 72%, and that of personal assault by 62%. Alcoholism and mental illness are also said to constitute serious problems in both urban and rural areas. In the larger cities, there has been an upswing in prostitution and drug addiction. In official circles, corruption, in the form of bribery, graft, and nepotism, is prevalent.

The cultivation of cannabis, which had become widespread in western Nigeria by the mid-1960's, led to governmental imposition of severe penalties, including death, for individuals found guilty of cultivating the plant or of possessing or distributing its derivatives. Nigeria is a signatory to international conventions on narcotics. The country is estimated to have one drug addict per 1,000 to 5,000 population.

Since 1969, violent crimes, notably armed robbery, have plagued various parts of Nigeria, including areas affected by the civil war and localities having high

unemployment. In an effort to combat the problem, authorities in a number of states have resorted to the public execution of criminals. One such execution, the first of its kind in the predominantly Muslim city of Kano, reportedly frenzied one-half million spectators into a stampede that claimed three lives.

Largely because of overcrowding and the prevalence of street peddling and vagrancy in Lagos and other large cities, antisocial behavior among youngsters has spread at a rapid rate. Hunger, parental neglect, and the dearth of recreational facilities have contributed to a rise in juvenile delinquency, much of it involving petty thievery. Youth activity clubs operated by state and federal welfare agencies serve a limited number of children. The Boy Scout and Girl Guide organizations are prominent among the privately operated youth groups. In addition, the larger Christian denominations in Nigeria, as well as the YMCA, YWCA, and the Salvation Army, support youth programs.

G. Religion (U/OU)

Although Nigeria is a secular state, religion is an important force in the nation's social, political, and cultural life. Religious expression encompasses a variety of indigenous animistic beliefs, the more formalized doctrines of Islam and Christianity, and numerous syncretic faiths representing various blends of Islam, Christianity, and traditional religion. According to the 1963 census, Muslims comprised the largest religious group, accounting for 47% of the population, while Christians constituted 35% and followers of traditional religions or animists, 18%. Christians, however, appear to have been substantially overenumerated, many of the adherents of syncretic faiths being included within the Christian total. At the same time, animists reportedly were underenumerated because of the reluctance of many to be listed as "pagan." Many animists tended to report themselves as Christians. As determined by the 1963 census, regional variations in religious belief were pronounced; the north was largely Muslim, the southeast Christian and animist, the southwest Muslim and Christian, and the Middle Belt animist. Muslims comprised large majorities in Kano State (97%), North-Western State (88%), and North-Central State (80%), while Christians predominated in Rivers State (88%), South-Eastern State (77%), and East-Central State (75%). Animists were most heavily represented in Benue-Plateau State (49%) and Mid-Western State (41%). During the past 20 years, animism, whose adherents constituted roughly 33% of the population

in 1952-53, has rapidly given way to Islam and Christianity. The civil war altered the religious mixture in some areas, notably by decreasing the number of Ibo Christians in the north and increasing their number in the east.

Islam is believed to have been introduced into northern Nigeria in the 13th century by traders and religious officials from north Africa and the Middle East, but it did not become firmly established until the 15th century. After a great jihad (holy war) by fanatic Fulani tribespeople in the 19th century, Muslim feudal states dominated most of northern Nigeria. Left intact under British colonial rule, the Muslim system and Islamic principles have continued to shape social and political structures in the north to the present day. Although belief in Muslim religious and cultural superiority and resistance to non-Muslim influences have encouraged northern regionalism and retarded national integration, many of the educated younger generation are attempting to modify Islamic practices in the interest of social and economic development.

Roman Catholic missionaries from Portugal arrived in Benin as early as 1487, but Christianity did not gain a permanent foothold until the mid-19th century, when British Protestant missions were established in the southwestern coastal region. Because of the extensive mission educational system that subsequently developed, Christianity played a key role in the rise of modern Nigeria. Christian schools—including those of the Catholics, who reentered Nigeria on a permanent basis in 1868—contributed to the breakdown of traditional ways of life in the south and to the widespread acceptance of Western culture and values. This in turn promoted economic and social development and stimulated the movement for national independence. Because most of the Nigerian elite were educated in mission schools, the government has been dominated by Christians since independence.

Christianity has strengthened regional particularism by substantially widening the divergence between north and south. In fact, contact between the peoples of the two regions is of comparatively recent origin (the two areas were not united into one administrative unit until 1914) and has remained superficial. Religious differences, however, were not a significant factor in the Nigerian civil war, as the federal government was strongly supported by a substantial number of Christians in the southwest.

Indigenous beliefs, everywhere in retreat before the encroachments of Islam and Christianity, still form an important part of the average Nigerian's system of values and help to guide his conduct. Although



FIGURE 24. The Ogwulugu masquerader is a popular dancer among the Ibo people. Traditionally, masquerading and its secrets were the prerogatives of men. Although much of the religious significance is now often lost, masquerading remains popular as entertainment. (U/OU)

disavowed by educated Nigerians and afforded no place in national planning, these beliefs remain an incalculable emotional force in national life (Figure 24).

The relationship between the government and organized religion in Nigeria reflects the nation's basic sociopolitical, north-south dichotomy. To Muslims in the north, the concept of separation of church and state is foreign, while in the southern areas under Christian influence the state is considered secular, a concept embodied in the Nigerian Constitution of 1960, which guarantees that "Every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion." Northern Muslims, with the exception of the militant Ahmadiyah sect, generally tolerate the small Christian and animist populations in their midst. Lack of interference in Islamic affairs by Christian missions has helped to minimize hostility. In fact, Muslims have traditionally enjoyed better relations with members of other religions than with their own kind. The Ahmadiyah are regarded as heretical deviationists by the orthodox Sunni, and the intense longstanding rivalry between the two major Sufist brotherhoods—the Qadiriyyah and Tijaniyyah—has occasionally led to serious rioting.

In the past, relations were generally amicable between the northern emirs and the federal government. Although often distrustful of the emirs' political motives, government leaders usually sought to avoid antagonizing these powerful rulers upon whose electoral support they depended. The emirs, for their part, have traditionally resisted governmental efforts, however moderate, to reform the native system of authority or to reduce their power and prestige. Since 1968, the federal government and the new state administrations have taken a few tentative steps in this direction, thereby increasing tensions.

Among the various Christian groups, relations generally have been friendly, although in the past political rivalries developed between various denominations, particularly between Roman Catholics and Protestants in the southeast. Protestants have traditionally enjoyed better relations with the government than Catholics. In contrast to the latter, Protestants have generally not felt compelled to take stands on social issues and have been less politically active. In the past, the Catholic Church has been particularly outspoken in its opposition to communism and has charged the government with favoring Protestants in the support of mission schools. Because of the high proportion of Christians among the Ibo and the controversy which arose over the role of Protestant and Catholic relief organizations in the civil

war, relations deteriorated sharply between the Christian churches and the federal government, which accused them of sympathizing with and providing aid to the rebels. The prevailing attitude among government officials favors the restriction of foreign missionary efforts.

Animist religious leaders have generally acquiesced in the proselytizing activities of Muslims and Christians. They have also been passive in the face of adverse government action and have taken no stands on public issues, even those which have undermined their power.

1. Islam

Among the principal tribal groups, the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, and Nupe comprise the bulk of the Nigerian Muslim population. Substantial numbers of the Yoruba are also adherents. Islamic institutions are strongest in the old urban centers and among the ruling strata in the extreme north, from Sokoto to Bornu, an area regarded as the "Holy North" by Nigerian Muslims.

Islam forms the core of an extensive body of institutions, customs, and attitudes considered by its followers to be based on divine authority. It is a monotheistic, puritanical religion of reward and punishment centered in ceremonial practice which becomes a total way of life. A double fundamental belief constitutes the basis of Islam: the acceptance of the oneness of God and of Muhammad's prophetic mission. It is reflected in the *shahadah*, which states: "There is no god but God and Muhammad is his Prophet." In addition, the essential dogma of Islam includes belief in the following: 1) the unity of God; 2) the existence of angels and of jinns, or evil spirits; 3) the prophets, messengers, and sacred books, including the Koran and the Old and New Testaments of the Bible; 4) the companions of the Prophet, especially the first four Caliphs, who are considered saints; 5) the Last Judgment; and 6) predestination, which in the Islamic context means that all events result from the operation of God's will.

Although Islam has no sacraments, Muslims must accept the obligation to accomplish good deeds and to observe the five "pillars" of faith, which are confession of the oneness of God, prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan, pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca at least once in a lifetime, and almsgiving. Nigerian Muslims, like other Muslim peoples, have their own special customs in observing the five pillars. They generally repeat only the first half of the *shahadah*, for example. The greatest emphasis is given

to Friday midday prayers (Figure 25), but most Nigerian Muslims know Islamic prayers (in Arabic) only imperfectly; only a tiny minority know Arabic well enough to read and understand the Koran. The fast of Ramadan is observed in varying degrees. Although Nigerian pilgrims constitute the bulk of west Africans making the *hajj* to Mecca, only the very prosperous or pious make the trip. In 1969, for example, some 12,000 Nigerian Muslims performed the *hajj*.

Islamic observance in Nigeria encompasses a profusion of beliefs and practices which vary widely with locality, tribe, and family. For the most part, Muslims follow a superficial form of Islam representing a complex, often oddly integrated mixture of Muslim and animistic elements. The emphasis tends to be on ritual performance, but even the observance of some duties is often nominal or neglected. Many pre-Islamic beliefs and practices continue to survive; the Koran condemns the worship of spirit forces but does not deny their existence or efficacy. Magic and divination are sanctioned if they draw their validity from Islamic sources.

Muslim men generally wear a loose tunic and a turban. Upper class Muslim women among the Hausa and sedentary Fulani wear the veil when they leave home, which is rarely, but Kanuri, pastoral Fulani, and Yoruba women regularly appear unveiled in public. A common Muslim practice is to wear an amulet, a small leather case containing Arabic inscriptions, to ward off disease and insure good fortune. Religious prohibitions against some foods, especially pork, and against alcoholic beverages are variously observed. The general ban on alcohol is applied most strictly against millet beer because of its association with animist rites.

Between 95% and 98% of all Nigerian Muslims are members of the Sunni (orthodox) sect, the remainder belonging to the deviationist Ahmadiyyah and Hamaliyyah groups. Both the Ahmadiyyah and the Hamaliyyah are reformist sects; the former, with a sizable following in Western and Lagos States, seeks to reconcile Islamic teachings with the modern world by advocating such innovations as monogamy and Western-style education and by allowing women to enter mosques, while the latter, with a smaller following, condemns the temporal concerns of religious leaders and has changed aspects of Islamic ritual.

Islam in Nigeria has been strongly influenced by Sufism (mysticism), expressed through the institution of religious brotherhoods. Not a philosophical system or a sect but a *tariqa* (way of life), Sufist cults, or



FIGURE 25. Friday scene at the great Kano mosque (U/OU)

brotherhoods, developed around a venerated sheikh or holy man believed to possess *baraka* (special mystical power). As a means of purification, each brotherhood has distinctive prayers, prohibitions, and rites. The Tidjaniyyah is the overwhelmingly dominant brotherhood in Nigeria; other Muslims are affiliated with the Qadiriyyah brotherhood and a smaller number with the Mahdiyyah or the Sanusiyyah.

Islam has no priesthood or hierarchy, but there are religious officials who lead prayers, participate in all rites, and instruct the young in Koranic schools (Figure 26). Among the Hausa and Fulani, however, both spiritual and temporal functions are combined in the

persons of 32 remaining emirs, although much of their temporal power has been taken from them. The Sultan of Sokoto, the paramount leader of all Nigerian Muslims, enjoys the nominal allegiance of Hausa and Fulani emirs, but his power is weakening because of his adherence to the declining Qadiriyyah brotherhood. The Emir of Kano, the most powerful Tidjaniyyah leader and head of the largest and richest emirate, has emerged as his chief rival for the religious and political leadership of Nigerian Muslims.

During the past 25 years, a number of Muslim primary and secondary schools and teacher training



FIGURE 26. Typical Koranic school in northern Nigeria (U/OU)

colleges have been established by the more liberal emirs. In 1959, the Muslim Association was founded as a competitor to the YMCA and YWCA. Additionally, the Muslim International Relief Organization maintains educational and health centers in Nigeria and was active in providing relief for victims of the civil war. With the exception of the Ahmadiyyah, no Muslim group has sent out full-time missionaries to convert nonbelievers.

2. Christianity

Christianity is strongest in Nigeria among the Ibibio-Efik and the Ibo, followed by the Yoruba and the Ijaw. It is also influential among the Edo and the Tiv but has a negligible following in the northern tribal groups. The Christian faith was first accepted by the Yoruba, a number of whom were converted by small groups of Christian ex-slaves repatriated from Brazil and other parts of the Americas in the early 19th century. Later in the century, Protestant and Catholic missionaries arrived from Europe, the United States, and various parts of Africa. The most celebrated black missionary was Bishop Crowther, a Yoruba who returned from Sierra Leone and founded an Anglican diocese in the lower Niger River region. By the mid-20th century, 13 Protestant organizations, several of them interdenominational federations, and five Roman Catholic orders were conducting Nigerian missions, concentrating their efforts in the Middle Belt or farther north. Most of the older missions in the

coastal region had become self-maintaining churches, retaining, however, their overseas affiliations.

Although accurate figures are not available, the total Protestant community in Nigeria is believed to outnumber that of the Roman Catholic. In 1967, of 24 Protestant organizations, 17 reported a total community membership of over 2.5 million, of whom approximately 657,000 were communicants, or full members. In 1971, the Catholic Church claimed over 2.4 million adherents. There is also a large group of syncretic "Christian" sects, variously estimated to number between 30 and 80.

The largest single denomination is Roman Catholicism, whose members are largely concentrated in the east among the Ibibio-Efik and the Ibo. Preceded by a vicariate encompassing the coastal area, organized in 1870, and a prefecture to control missionary activity in the north, founded in 1911, a metropolitan see was established in the south in 1950. As of 1971, ecclesiastical jurisdictions comprised three archdioceses, corresponding to the old regions, presided over by three archbishops; 20 dioceses with a like number of resident bishops; and 250 parishes, served by 974 priests—336 diocesan, or secular, clergy, and 638 who were members of religious orders. In the north were two apostolic prefectures suffragan to the Vatican, which was represented in Lagos by an apostolic delegate. Male religious numbering 774 and female religious totaling 747 were largely engaged in the operation of 2,875 highly regarded primary and secondary schools and 683 charitable institutions, including hospitals, clinics, orphanages, and youth centers. Male religious also carried on mission work in the prefectures and staffed some of the parishes.

For a number of years, the Catholic Church has been making strenuous efforts to Africanize its clergy. In 1971, two of the three archbishops were native Nigerians, as were eight of the 20 bishops, and 421 seminarians were studying for the priesthood. The church has had difficulty in training Nigerians to become clergymen, however, because of the many years of study entailed and because of the rule of celibacy, a strong deterrent in a country where not only marriage but also polygyny are greatly esteemed.

Among Protestant churches in Nigeria, the largest is the Anglican, which maintains eight dioceses and is strongest among the Yoruba and northern Ibo. The Baptist denomination has the greatest following among the Yoruba, the Methodist among the Yoruba and southern Ibo, and the Presbyterian among the Ibibio. Estimated membership and ordained clergy of

the major Protestant churches in 1967 are indicated in the following tabulation:

	TOTAL COM- MUNITY	COMMUNI- CANTS, OR FULL MEMBERS	ORDAINED CLERGY
Church of the Province of West Africa (Anglican) TEKAS (Fellowship of Churches of Christ in the Sudan)*	768,000	174,000	525
Evangelical Churches of West Africa	492,000	64,000	141
Nigerian Baptist Convention	300,000	100,000	85
Methodist Church, Nigeria	250,000	65,000	125
Presbyterian Church of Nigeria	147,000	54,000	91
Qua Iboe Church (Ireland)	102,000	17,000	38
	100,000	41,000	20

*Associated with the missions of the Christians Reformed Church, the Church of the Brethren, and the Church of the Evangelical United Brethren, and with the Sudan United Mission.

In most Protestant churches, the ordained clergy are assisted by substantial numbers of layworkers. Of those reported in 1967 among the major organizations, the Anglican Church had 4,355, TEKAS 2,161, the Methodist Church 303, the Presbyterian Church 1,849, and the Qua Iboe Church 670. In addition to their evangelical activities, the foreign-affiliated churches and missions have long been engaged in operating primary and secondary schools, bible schools, and bookstores, as well as hospitals, dispensaries, and leper colonies. Even in the north, by the time of independence, over two-thirds of secondary school students were studying in institutions conducted by Christian missions, both Protestant and Catholic. Protestant missionaries are also beginning to enter the community development field and are placing heavy emphasis on youth and social welfare work as a means of reaching the younger generation. These efforts, however, are handicapped by the limited training and experience of native clergy and layworkers, while the number of foreign missionaries is dwindling because of the difficulty of obtaining visas and the general policy of Nigerianization, which Protestant churches, like the Catholic Church, are striving to implement.

In an effort to win more converts among the animist population, some Protestant groups are advocating that church principles and practices be adapted to conform more closely to Nigerian institutions. Some younger Protestant missionaries, for example, are questioning the Christian insistence on monogamy

and the prohibition of alcoholic beverages which, they find, restricts progress in areas where the consumption of millet beer is an integral part of traditional religious ceremonies.

A substantial number of syncretic Christian sects have emerged in Nigeria, some through separation from established churches and some through the independent efforts of self-styled prophets. The number and membership of these sects are unknown because of the rapidity with which they are founded, dissolved, or splintered into smaller groups, but none approaches any of the major foreign-affiliated churches in influence. With few exceptions, these churches remain essentially Christian but often fuse animist, Islamic, and Christian beliefs and rituals. Tending toward biblical literalism, they share with conventional churches a concern for the souls of the dead, a concept which is sometimes infused with elements of indigenous ancestor worship. Their most prevalent feature, however, is the acceptance of polygyny. Characteristic emphases, particularly among the smaller syncretic sects, are on faith healing, baptism by immersion, divination, "possession" by the Holy Spirit resulting in trances and self-hypnotic states, and the use of African rhythmic instruments and dance to accompany hymns and prayers.

3. Animism

Of the larger ethnic groups in Nigeria, only the Tiv have remained predominantly animist, although large animist minorities are found among the Edo, Ibo, Ijaw, Nupe, and Kanuri, and a lesser substratum among the Yoruba and Hausa. Indeed, animism is strong in rural areas throughout the country where it regulates every aspect of a believer's life, reinforcing a social structure based on restraint and discipline and diminishing personal initiative and responsibility. Vestigial animist beliefs, moreover, intermingle with and strongly affect those of converts to Islam and Christianity, regardless of social or political status.

Animism is an imprecise term describing an assortment of indigenous religious beliefs and practices, comprising in Nigeria approximately 200 different cults. Despite their variety, all cults share essentially the same characteristics. Animists believe that the world is a repository for a host of powerful and eternal supernatural forces, or deities, created by a Supreme Being and possessed not only by living men but by the unborn, the dead, animals, plant life, and inanimate objects, with all of which communication is possible. Before taking any action, man must consult, pacify, and seek the aid of these forces, which are ranked in hierarchies of different strengths. The

Supreme Being is so powerful and remote that he is not worshiped, has no shrines or priests, and must be approached through intermediate gods or ancestral spirits except in times of extreme need when all else has failed.

The lesser deities are usually associated with nature, the most common being the god or goddess of earth who controls fertility and agricultural activities. Prominent among a multitude of others are the gods of the sky, rain, and thunder, and the gods of hunting and war. Animist Yoruba, for example, acknowledge between 400 and 500 gods, some of whom are worshiped throughout the Yoruba area, while others are purely local deities. Their remote high god, Olorun, has two messengers, Eshu, the bearer of sacrifices, and Ifa, the god of divination, who is frequently consulted through an oracle by Christians and Muslims, even the well educated. In the past, Yoruba kings considered themselves descendants of Oduwa, the god of the earth, and the spirits of numerous dead kings are also prominent members of the extensive Yoruba pantheon. Shango, the god of thunder, is believed able to kill by hurling thunderbolts. Each Yoruba also has a god who is his special protector and helper. The Ibo, like the Yoruba, have many deities, of whom the central divine figure is Ala, goddess of the earth and mother and protector of all. Among the Hausa, the indigenous religion has largely gone underground. Although the majority have become Muslims, most Hausa still believe in nature spirits called Bori, considered to be evil and able to gain followers by possessing them, their usual targets thought to be women. In the often stifling seclusion of the Muslim household, possession by the Bori and its dramatic seizures afford an emotional outlet for women who are denied an active role in Islamic practices.

Among all animists, ancestral spirits, like the deities, must also be consulted, placated, and honored. If neglected, they are believed capable of bringing sickness or death to their descendants and of causing crop failures. Ancestor worship derives from the concept that all life is continuous and that the dead lead the same life and have the same cares as the living. Contemporary scholars, however, believe that the animist attitude toward ancestors is better described as one of reverence and respect than as one of worship, thus continuing the traditional deference accorded living elders. In some instances, this cult of the spirit of the dead is the core of the religion; in others it is less prominent. The animist Ibo, for example, have a deeper involvement with their ancestors than the Yoruba and Hausa. Both the Ibo

and the Yoruba, moreover, believe in reincarnation, usually thought to occur within the lineage. This belief is not always relinquished when an individual is converted to Christianity or Islam.

Other characteristics of animism include the performance of transitional rites at major stages of life, the practice of magic, sorcery, divination, and witchcraft, and belief in the efficacy of fetishes, charms, totems, and taboos. In addition to the cult oracles, special witchdoctors are called on to tap spiritual forces and make protective and curative charms, and diviners are employed to manipulate spirit powers in order to foretell the future. The family head serves as the family priest, while the tribal head usually acts as the tribal priest. Animist shrines containing figures of various gods, perhaps a pot of water (the female symbol), and a post or tree (the male symbol), as well as stones, skulls, bones, feathers, and trinkets, are found in many villages and homes (Figure 27).

Animism serves as a socially unifying force. A lineage usually follows the same cult, its members drawn together in common worship. During special festivals, guests from other cults may be invited, creating greater solidarity with nonlineage groups. Among the Yoruba, cult festivals attract large crowds, including Christians and Muslims, and last for several days, the basic religious meaning often lost in the general feasting and merrymaking.

H. Education (U/OU)

Although there has been significant expansion in the capacity of the Nigerian school system since independence, most children still do not have access to formal schooling, and Nigerian education remains confronted by formidable problems which, in the opinion of most observers, are beyond the ability of the nation to solve in the near future without massive external assistance. The system itself is characterized by great diversity and suffers from a critical shortage of trained teachers, inappropriate curriculums, language problems, serious insufficiencies of supplies and equipment, deteriorating scholastic standards, inadequate inspection systems, and administrative inefficiency and corruption. Moreover, there is no national consensus regarding education. Since colonial times, southerners in general have been receptive to modern education and have viewed schooling as a prime avenue of social and economic mobility. In the north, because of the long exposure to conservative Islamic traditions, there has been and continues to be—although to a lesser degree—strong resistance to



FIGURE 27. Invoking Yose Otabalusana (the supernatural spirit of the Yapuni kinship group, Yako tribe) by the Ina (priest) Ibian (U/OU)

the very idea of Western-type education not only among the masses but also the elite. In the past, residents of northern communities felt that such training alienated their children from the traditional society without fitting them for the modern sector of Nigerian life. Accordingly, they were reluctant to send their children to school, and local authorities in the north were unwilling to spend as much on education as their southern counterparts.

As a result, the north lags far behind the rest of the country in formal educational development. Few northerners receive university training, and the resulting shortage of educated manpower has brought reliance upon expensive skilled manpower from outside the region. Even within the north, there is disparity in educational development, the far north being less advanced than other areas.

The major thrust of Nigeria's formal education system is toward ever higher levels of academic training for the relatively small number of students who survive the selection process. A strong academic bias permeates the system, resisting efforts to tailor it to the needs of a predominantly agricultural people. Primary and secondary training is almost wholly unrelated to the needs of most children and is still dominated by theories and practices which emphasize encyclopedic learning; higher education concentrates on the liberal arts and on certain prestigious fields at the expense of the technical training that is a requisite

for national development. The bulk of occupational training takes place outside the formal school system. In the low-productivity agricultural sector, skills associated with farming, fishing, and animal husbandry are passed on informally from one generation to the next. In the nonagricultural sector, the apprenticeship system is the main training mechanism, with on-the-job training or inservice courses also being utilized.

1. Government and education

In Nigeria, education is a basic responsibility of the states. However, the federal government funds and supervises the schools in the capital, provides the major source of financing for the nation's institutions of higher learning, administers the federal scholarship program, collects educational statistics, and attempts to coordinate and standardize state policies in such fields as curriculums, examinations, and teacher certification. The states remain paramount in educational matters, however, each state determining its own educational policies and maintaining its own school system.

The federal government and the state governments actually own and operate comparatively few schools. Reflecting British practice during the colonial era, most schools are established, owned, and operated by local educational authorities or by voluntary agencies, such as Christian or Muslim religious groups.

Buildings are erected and personnel are provided by the local educational authority or the voluntary agency concerned, with the federal or state government, as the case may be, furnishing grants-in-aid for such purposes as teachers' salaries, textbooks, and equipment, provided the school meets certain minimum requirements.³ The proportion of subsidized schools to total schools varies markedly by state, with the highest proportions being found in the south. In the northern states, thousands of Koranic schools, in which pupils memorize parts of the Koran and study related Islamic texts, receive no grants-in-aid. Generally, the unsubsidized Koranic schools are small and offer only 2 or 3 years of schooling. Some of the larger and more comprehensive Koranic institutions, known as Islamiyyah schools, are supported by the states.

Because of the number of entities involved in the educational process, information on school financing, particularly since 1967, is incomplete. It is clear, however, that except for the period of the civil war, public and private expenditures for education have grown phenomenally. Total spending on education rose from N£9.7 million in 1952 to an estimated N£41.7 million in 1962 and has continued to rise. By 1967, that part of the total represented by federal and state recurrent expenditures on education alone totaled N£41.3 million. Because the state governments are constitutionally responsible for providing most of the country's educational services, they carry the heaviest share of the educational burden. It was estimated in the 1960's, for example, that the federal government provided about 15% of total spending on education, that local authorities contributed 10%, and that private interests accounted for 15%; the remainder was derived from the state governments. Education is normally the largest single item of expenditure in the budgets of all the states, although the proportion of the total budget allocated to education has varied state by state. In the main, the northern states have devoted less to education than the southern ones.

Under the Second National Development Plan, the federal and state governments have coordinated financial and planning responsibilities in the field of education. Major objectives are the restoration and reactivation of school facilities destroyed or disrupted by the war, the further development of teacher training facilities, financial aid to students, and the expansion of technical training. Under the plan, a

³Recently, voluntary agency schools were "taken over" by state governments in the following five states: East-Central, Lagos, North-Central, Rivers, and Western.

total of N£139 million of public funds has been allocated for capital expenditures on education. Of this amount, about 65% is expected to come from state revenues and the remainder from federal funds. The federal government also has agreed to make special grants to states with low enrollment ratios in the primary and secondary grades (i.e., the northern states), with the objective of increasing the proportion of school-age children actually attending school. Of the total funds to be disbursed for education under the Second National Development Plan, 30% is earmarked for higher education, 24% for primary schooling, 20% for secondary training, 10% for teacher training, 9% for technical education, and 7% for other educational programs.

Federal and state supervision over schools receiving grants-in-aid is maintained by a corps of school inspectors who are responsible for seeing that minimum requirements are met. Throughout Nigeria, however, the number of qualified school inspectors is woefully small.

2. Educational attainment and opportunity

As determined by the 1952-53 census, only 11.5% of all Nigerians age 7 and over were literate. With expanded educational opportunity since that time, the literacy rate has risen slowly. By 1970, it was estimated at about 25% but ranged from less than 10% in parts of the north to 80% in urban areas of the south. Included among the literate population, however, are many persons with fewer than the 4 years' schooling ordinarily deemed necessary to impart functional literacy. In 1970, the Nigerian Government estimated that no more than 20% of the urban population age 5 and over were functionally literate. Inasmuch as literacy is known to be substantially higher in urban than rural areas, the rate of functional literacy for the country as a whole undoubtedly does not exceed 10% and is probably lower. As a general rule, men are more apt to be literate than women; certain tribespeople (e.g., the Ibo and Yoruba) have higher rates of literacy than others.

A major thrust of educational policy in Nigeria has been the provision of formal primary schooling to every child. As increased funds have become available and as new plants have been opened, an increasingly larger proportion of Nigerian youth have been attending school. However, the goal of the First National Development Plan (1962-68)—to provide free universal primary schooling by 1968—was not reached. In fact, primary education is free only in Lagos, Mid-Western, and Western states and is

compulsory, if at all, only in Lagos. Accordingly, most Nigerian children still do not have access to schooling.

Enrollment in primary schools rose from about 920,000 in 1950 to slightly more than 3 million in 1966, when, according to UNESCO, it encompassed some 36% of all children aged 5 through 10 (42% of boys and 28% of girls). Enrollment at the primary level has continued to rise in those states outside the main arena of the civil war, but the war disrupted the educational process for varying lengths of time in East-Central, Mid-Western, Rivers, and South-Eastern states.⁴ In particular, primary school enrollment in the northern states, long an educational backwater, has risen most rapidly; in fact, according to observers, the northern states have become "mesmerized" by quantitative expansion and have ignored the accompanying decline in the quality of schooling offered. Although enrollments have risen in some states outside the war zone, prewar levels probably have not been reached in those states which were the scene of the fighting. Accordingly, the total primary enrollment today is unlikely to represent a significantly higher proportion of total primary-age children than in 1966. The goal of the Second National Development Plan is the enrollment in primary school of 50% of the relevant age group by 1974.

Access to primary schooling in Nigeria depends in part upon place of residence. Rural children are especially disadvantaged, as are all children in the north. Many rural communities have no school, and not all schools offer the full primary cycle. The handicap suffered by northern children is indicated in enrollment data. In 1966, enrollment in northern primary schools constituted only 17% of the nation's total number of primary students, although the northern states account for roughly 50% of the country's population. Enrollment data also show a pervasive pattern of inequality between the sexes, with significant variation according to place of residence. Overall, girls made up 39% of the total number of primary students in 1966, but the proportion in the northern states was only 29% and had declined to 28% in 1969. Only in Lagos do girls come close to having equal opportunity with boys for primary training.

Because primary enrollment has rather consistently accounted for over 90% of the total enrollment (the proportion was 93% in 1966), it is obvious that the capacity of secondary schools and institutions of higher learning is very limited. In 1966, the most recent year for which complete data are available,

⁴Available statistics on education for Nigeria as a whole do not postdate 1966. Published information of a more recent date exclude education statistics for one or more states.

some 257,000 Nigerian youth were attending various types of secondary schools, more than 10 times the number enrolled in 1950. Nonetheless, according to UNESCO, the 1966 figure represented only 3% of all children in the 11-18 age group. Girls account for an even smaller proportion of secondary than of primary students (29% in 1966).

In 1950, only 327 Nigerians were studying in local institutions of higher learning. By 1969, the number had risen to almost 9,700 despite the closing of one university as a result of the civil war. In addition, several thousand Nigerians annually pursue higher education abroad. Women constitute between 13% and 15% of those studying in universities in Nigeria.

Despite the sizable increase in expenditures for education and the impressive gains in enrollment at all levels, educational opportunity remains restricted. Although continued expansion of access to schooling is planned, available funding is insufficient to attain the goal of universal primary education in the near future. School plants, which with exceptions are substandard and inadequately equipped, are too few in number. Moreover, they tend to be small and uneconomical. Perhaps the greatest barrier to continuing rapid expansion of the school system, however, is the serious shortage of qualified teachers. In order to cope with the rising enrollments during the 1950's and 1960's, Nigeria permitted a considerable expansion in the already large number of teachers lacking any professional training. Many primary teachers, for example, have no more than a primary education themselves. The result has been a deterioration in the quality of instruction. Although various teacher training programs have been established and teachers are provided with inservice opportunities to upgrade their skills, Nigeria's teacher corps, made up predominantly of men, is still substandard professionally, and the number of qualified teachers trained annually is not sufficient to maintain the present system, let alone an expanding one. Because teachers' salaries are low, no special prestige attaches to the profession. Accordingly, morale is low. Many students enter teachers training only because they are unable to gain admittance to an academic secondary school, and many view teaching only as a step to a more remunerative occupation. The shortage of qualified supportive administrative and professional personnel is even more critical than that of qualified classroom teachers.

3. Educational system

Nigeria's educational system is not uniform, each state maintaining its own system. Although comprised

of the customary primary, secondary, and higher segments of education, the several systems differ with respect to the duration of the primary cycle, the types of secondary training offered, and the availability of higher education. Preprimary schooling, little developed in Nigeria except in some urban areas, is offered in some states and not in others.

a. Primary education

The primary cycle encompasses 8 years in Lagos State, 7 years in the northern states, and 6 years elsewhere and is designed to qualify those who complete it for secondary training. In fact, however, well over half of those who enter primary training fail to finish the cycle, and only a small proportion of those who complete their primary studies subsequently enter secondary schools. The high dropout rate, especially pronounced between the first and second year, is inherently wasteful because most dropouts have not acquired even basic literacy skills. In large part, the high dropout rate is attributable to the fact that textbooks utilize learning situations so foreign to the Nigerian child in a rural environment that their value is minimal. Even among urban pupils, the strong academic bias of the primary course is inappropriate to those—constituting an overwhelming majority—who do not plan or are unable to continue their schooling at the secondary or higher level.

Except in Lagos State, where English is the main language used in the primary schools, instruction in the lower primary grades normally is conducted in the major language of the area, a point of friction among such people as the Nupe in southern North-Western State, who object to the use of Hausa as the medium of instruction. English is usually introduced in the third or fourth year and gradually assumes increasing importance, becoming the sole language of instruction in secondary schools. For those children whose native language is one of the minor vernaculars, the language barrier is formidable. Moreover, because many teachers have a limited grasp of English, instruction in English is woefully inadequate. Primary school teachers unfamiliar with the real content of their own syllabuses can do little more than encourage rote memorization which, according to some observers, is the main skill instilled in Nigeria's primary school children. In addition to language arts, other subjects covered in the primary curriculum include geography, history, arithmetic, hygiene, nature study, religion, physical education, and some craft work. Despite the academic orientation of the primary course, science is rarely offered. Textbooks adapted to the Nigerian educational system have now largely replaced earlier

books of British origin written for British pupils; textbooks, however, are in short supply. Students who complete the primary cycle successfully are awarded the Primary School Leaving Certificate, which is a prerequisite for admission to all secondary schools.

b. Secondary education

Secondary training is provided in secondary grammar schools, secondary modern schools, craft schools, commercial schools, junior high schools, and various kinds of teacher training colleges. Not all types of secondary schools, however, are found in all states.

The secondary grammar schools are academically oriented and preparatory for higher education. Modeled after British grammar schools, they annually attract about four of every five Nigerians beginning secondary studies. Admission is by examination. Most secondary grammar schools are residential and charge high fees. They offer a 5-year program leading to the West African School Certificate examination; a few also provide 2 years of additional studies leading to the West African Higher School Certificate examination conducted by Cambridge University. The latter certificate qualifies the holder for university entrance. Courses taught include English, literature, religion, mathematics, history, geography, chemistry, physics, biology, and physical education. Latin and French may also be offered. Instruction is in English, but competent secondary teachers complain bitterly that their students cannot read or write English, let alone think in the language. Thus, as in the primary school, a premium is placed on rote learning, with little emphasis on the development of logical thought or imaginative response.

Secondary modern schools are operated in Lagos, Mid-Western, and Western States. Admission is by examination and fees are charged for tuition. Pupils take either a 3-year general or a 4-year commercial course, the latter being particularly popular among girls. In addition to academic courses, students in the general program take industrial arts or home economics courses; those in the commercial program are exposed to accounting, bookkeeping, typing, and shorthand. Students who complete the secondary modern school curriculums are eligible to sit for the General Certificate of Education examination. Although the programs normally are terminal, it is possible for exceptional students to transfer to a secondary grammar school; entry into certain teacher training programs is also achievable.

In the northern states, craft schools fill somewhat the same function as the secondary modern schools in parts of the south, but on a much smaller scale. Most

craft schools offer a 3-year program; this leads to an additional 3-year course in a technical training school. A few secondary grammar schools have a technical stream, and a growing number of private schools specialize in training of this sort. Enrollment in craft and technical training schools, however, constitutes a very small proportion of total secondary enrollment.

Commercial training at the secondary level is provided in a few government commercial schools and in commercial streams offered in a small number of secondary grammar schools, but most such training is proffered by private commercial schools. Some commercial programs, especially those provided in the grammar schools, lead to the West African School Certificate examination.

Junior high schools, apparently existing only in Western State, offer a 3-year terminal program with a vocational bias. Subjects taught include agriculture, drawing, metalwork, woodwork, general science, mathematics, and English. For girls, home economics courses are substituted for those in the industrial arts.

In 1966, there were 193 small teacher training colleges in Nigeria providing secondary-level training for prospective teachers in the primary grades. These colleges offer a variety of programs. The Grade III teacher training program is open, upon successful completion of an entrance examination, to those who have completed a secondary modern school or who have taught for 3 or more years after receiving the Primary School Leaving Certificate. The program, however, is gradually being phased out because it does not equip students to become effective teachers. The Grade II teacher training program offers a 5-year course to primary school graduates who pass an entrance examination, or a 2-year program to those who have a Grade III Teacher's Certificate and 2 years of teaching experience or who hold the West African School Certificate. There are also special programs for teachers of agricultural and technical courses. Some schools offer a 2-year program beyond the Grade II curriculum; this program results in a Grade I Teacher's Certificate and, under certain conditions, qualifies the holder to teach at the level of secondary education. The universities provide several programs for preparing other secondary school teachers.

c. Higher education

In Nigeria, higher education encompasses not only university training but also postsecondary schooling in such fields as nursing and agronomy and advanced training in teachers colleges and technical institutes.

The final 2-year program offered in secondary grammar schools leading to the West African Higher School Certificate is also regarded as postsecondary schooling. The universities, however, occupy a commanding position within the field of higher education, as well as constituting the capstone of the entire educational system.

As of late 1972, Nigeria had five universities, with a sixth—the University of Benin, an outgrowth of the Mid-West Institute of Technology—scheduled to be opened in the 1972/73 school year. The universities, managed by autonomous statutory corporations and funded in large part by the federal government through the National Universities Commission, offer courses leading to certificates, diplomas, and degrees at various levels in the humanities, the sciences, and a number of specialized professions. Two of the five operating universities—Ibadan and Ife—are located in Western State, with a third—Lagos—just across the border. In 1969/70, these three universities accounted for over 75% of the total university enrollment (Figure 28). In the six northern states, there is a single university—Ahmadu Bello at Zaria, including an extension at Kano—with an enrollment of about 2,400. The fifth university—the University of Nigeria at Nsukka—was closed from July 1967 until March 1970 because of the civil war, but its enrollment in 1971/72 (3,300) had already exceeded the pre-1967 level; facilities and equipment destroyed or damaged during the war are only gradually being replaced or repaired.

The largest of Nigeria's universities, the University of Ibadan, was founded in 1948 as the University College of Ibadan, and degrees were originally awarded by the University of London. It began granting its own degrees in 1962. Ibadan includes faculties of agriculture, forestry, and veterinary science; arts; economics and social studies; medicine; science; and education, as well as several attached institutes. Undergraduate courses of study last 3 or 4 years. All departments also offer programs leading to advanced degrees. Master's degrees are normally awarded after an additional 2 years of study, and a doctorate may usually be obtained after 3 years. The university has an extension in Jos.

The University of Ife, established in 1961, contains faculties of agriculture, arts, economics and social studies, law, and science. Its affiliated Institute of African Studies has attracted research scholars interested in African studies from all over the world. Coursework leading to a bachelor's degree at Ife lasts 3

FIGURE 28. University enrollment, by university and sex (U/OU)

UNIVERSITY AND SEX	1963/64	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70
Ahmadu Bello:					
Male.....	532	930	1,296	1,648	2,153
Female.....	26	43	56	97	198
Both sexes.....	558	973	1,352	1,745	2,351
Ibadan:					
Male.....	1,817	2,348	2,234	2,650	2,679
Female.....	199	381	359	468	467
Both sexes.....	2,016	2,729	2,593	3,118	3,146
Ife:					
Male.....	436	815	1,053	1,399	1,466
Female.....	39	130	201	264	337
Both sexes.....	475	945	1,254	1,663	1,803
Lagos:					
Male.....	265	991	1,563	1,739	2,027
Female.....	6	125	296	323	368
Both sexes.....	271	1,116	1,859	2,062	2,395
Nigeria:*					
Male.....	1,689	2,818
Female.....	139	307
Both sexes.....	1,828	3,125
All universities:					
Male.....	4,739	7,902	6,146	7,436	8,325
Female.....	409	986	912	1,152	1,570
Both sexes.....	5,148	8,888	7,058	8,588	9,895

... Not pertinent.

NOTE—Includes regular undergraduates and students engaged in postgraduate research and nondegree programs.

*Closed in July 1967; reopened in March 1970.

years. Ahmadu Bello University was founded in 1962 and is an outgrowth of the former Nigerian College of Arts, Science, and Technology. Degree courses, running from 3 to 5 years, are offered in faculties of agriculture, arts, architecture, engineering, law, science, medicine, and Arabic and Islamic studies. Established in 1962, the University of Lagos offers 3- to 5-year programs in the faculties of arts, business and social studies, education, engineering, law, medicine, and science.

Undergraduate enrollment for all universities is almost equally divided between the humanities and the sciences, while 60% of graduate students pursue courses in the humanities. An analysis of total university enrollment for 1968/69 by field of study shows that, overall, only 43% of the students were engaged in scientific and technical studies, a proportion far short of the 70% goal set by the National Universities Commission. The percentage of

students enrolled in particular fields is shown in the following tabulation:

Scientific and technical fields:	
Pure science	16
Agriculture, forestry, etc.	8
Medicine, pharmacology	12
Other	7
Total	43
Other fields:	
Arts	22
Social science	18
Education	12
Law	5
Total	57

The bulk of the student body in Nigeria's universities consistently has come from the south, especially Western State. In 1968/69, some 83% of all university students were southerners, with 54% being from Western State alone; in contrast, only 17% of all

students came from the six northern states.⁵ The low proportion of students from the north, although an improvement over earlier years, stems largely from the limited access to preuniversity and university education among the Muslim inhabitants of the area. Of the total number of students in 1968/69, slightly more than one-third were the recipients of federal or state scholarship aid.

Southerners also predominate among university faculty members, of whom there were 1,288 in 1968/69. Foreigners constituted about 40% of all faculty members that year and outnumbered Nigerians at Ahmadu Bello University by almost two to one.

In 1964, Nigeria's universities graduated 571 students, and the number had risen to over 2,100 in 1970. Sizable numbers of Nigerians also graduate each year from foreign universities. In any given year, there are probably more Nigerians studying abroad at the level of higher education than are enrolled in local universities. More than two-thirds of Nigerian students abroad attend schools in the United Kingdom; the United States ranks second. In 1971, some 2,300 Nigerians attended U.S. universities and colleges.

I. Artistic and cultural expression (U/OU)

Among the nations of black Africa, Nigeria is preeminent in cultural expression, particularly traditional sculpture (Figure 29) and contemporary literature. Traditional art forms stem from ancient religious and tribal customs, but as Nigeria moves into the modern world and Western influences increase, the old ways are disappearing and with them the old arts. Many Nigerian youth who have been affected by rapidly changing conditions are living in a sort of limbo in which they have rejected the old religious and social constraints but have not yet replaced them with contemporary mores. In repulsing the old traditions, they have also denied the value of pure Nigerian art forms, consigning them to the realm of historical oddities.

Most traditional artists today have either abandoned their art or have turned to producing copies of ancient artifacts, primarily carved wooden masks and sculptures, for the tourist trade or for export. Because of the emphasis on quantity and variety, most of these works lack the value of the

⁵The proportion for southerners would have been higher and that for northerners would have been lower had it not been for the closing of the University of Nigeria, with its overwhelmingly southern student body, during the civil war.



FIGURE 29. Pectoral mask (height 9½ inches) made of ivory, iron, copper, and stone, Benin. Created in the 16th century. (U/OU)

originals. A few traditional sculptors are still found among the Yoruba and Ibo, their works largely limited to poorly executed wooden masks and mud images of deities.

The contemporary arts are developing slowly and unevenly. Although there is a growing group of university-trained professionals, particularly in the south, most artists are poorly educated and comparatively untrained. Moreover, because the esthetic tastes of the emerging middle class and even many of the intellectual elite are not well developed, they tend to have little interest in arts. Consequently, the contemporary artist finds his work appreciated mainly by foreigners, chiefly Europeans and Americans. Nevertheless, the southern artist usually



FIGURE 30. Nok terra cotta head, 14 inches in height, was probably attached to a figure used on a shrine (U/OU)



FIGURE 31. Ife bronze head, 13 inches in height, combines idealized naturalism and formal stylization, characteristic of the sculpture of this great culture (U/OU)

enjoys considerable prestige, while his northern counterpart is relegated to an inferior status.

The earliest known sculpture produced in the area that is now Nigeria is that of the extinct Nok culture of central Nigeria which flourished between 300 B.C. and A.D. 1000. Course and heavy, Nok terra cotta sculpture was nevertheless well fired and varied in scale in both human and animal figures from a few inches to nearly life size. Human heads were highly stylized (Figure 30) and body shapes distorted. There was little sculptural development after the decline of the Nok culture until the rise of the Igbo-Ukwu civilization in about the ninth century, which produced the earliest datable bronzes so far found in Africa. A number of authorities consider the works of the Igbo-Ukwu as the bridge between the Nok culture and that of the Ife, which appeared in about the year 1000. In addition to Ife terra cotta sculpture, resembling refined versions of Nok work, excavations carried out in 1912 uncovered superb life-size human heads cast in bronze by the lost wax method, indicating a high technical proficiency (Figure 31). Some of the heads are pierced with holes, suggesting that they may have been attached to wooden bodies. The complete figures are believed to have been employed in funeral ceremonies or in ancestor rites.

Of all African cultures, only in that of Benin can an artistic cycle be discerned, passing from archaic in the

early 15th century, to classical in the 16th and 17th centuries, to a flamboyant and later perfunctory decadence in the 19th century. According to legend, a king of Benin sent for a master bronze worker from Ife who introduced casting. Indeed, the Ife influence, thought to date from 1400 or even earlier, is evident in the naturalism of some of the early sculptures. The art of Benin is a royal art, created for Benin's kings and their courts (Figure 32), reflecting in material and subject matter its original palace setting. Costly bronze and ivory, richly textured, expressed the prestige of the king. In plaques and figures depicting him and members of his court, the social hierarchy is represented, important persons being larger than their subordinates; the king, wearing a crown and necklace of coral beads, is always the largest (Figure 33). Benin is the best documented of the ancient kingdoms of Africa. Portuguese explorers visited Benin City in 1482, followed at intervals by other foreigners. Early travelers compared the city favorably with European centers, for it was not until the Industrial Revolution that the technological gap between the civilizations of Africa and Europe became significant.

Wood has been the principal medium for carved masks and sculptures. Of the many examples extant,



FIGURE 34. Yoruba wooden mask (height 29 inches). Human and animal elements are connected with a particular symbolism. (U/OU)

Oshogbo and Lagos are Nigeria's two major contemporary art centers. The importance of the former dates from 1962, when the first of several summer programs was inaugurated, attracting numerous artists who were encouraged to experiment in a variety of mediums and to free themselves from the inhibitions of Western training. One of the most notable Oshogbo artists is the painter Taiwo Olaniyi, known by the name of Twins Seven Seven. His work, characteristic of present-day African art, often portrays figures from traditional folk tales. In the old Yoruba tradition another Oshogbo artist, Jimoh Buraimoh, produces works using beads, oil colors, and cloth. Noted Lagos artists include Ben Enwonwu,

Jimoh Akolo, Demas Nwoko, and Uche Okeke; Enwonwu was probably the first Western-trained African painter to win international fame.

Northern Muslims are famous for their traditional crafts, but southerners, with the exception of the Yoruba, have never extensively developed these arts. Crafts are declining, their production now concentrated for the most part in four northern towns—Bida, Kano, Kokoto, and Abuja. Guilds still control metalworking and glassmaking, while pottery-making, leatherworking, weaving, and embroidery (Figure 36) continue to be individual crafts. Leatherworking and metalworking, along with glassmaking, remain a solely male preserve, but both men and women now work in the other traditional crafts, formerly considered the domain of women. Geometric designs are used in the north as well as the south, where human and animal representations are also common. As in sculpture, handcrafted objects increasingly reflect Western influences and are produced largely for the tourist market.

Pottery-making is widespread. An ancient craft, it is the popular art form of Africa. The potter's wheel is still rarely used; nonetheless, smooth and symmetrical results are achieved by handbuilding and coiling. In the villages, old women mold functional jars and other wares and embellish them with decorations of animals and abstract patterns incised into the damp clay. The work of Mallama Ladi Kwali, an internationally known Nigerian potter, is represented in the collections of the Smithsonian Institution, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, and the Nigerian National Museum in Lagos.

The emphasis in traditional architecture is on functionalism, although a decorative element is also present. Striking geometric designs are worked into the exterior mud walls of northern mosques and chiefs' dwellings and appear on granaries everywhere. Western influences, nonetheless, are increasingly affecting traditional domestic architecture, as evidenced by the nondescript mud and cement-block huts with corrugated iron roofs that comprise the newer sections of many towns. The majority of Nigeria's modern civic and commercial buildings have been designed by Western architects who, with few exceptions, have made little use of traditional art forms. A growing number of Nigeria-trained architects, however, are trying to fuse traditional and modern architectural concepts to create a distinctive Nigerian style.

Tribal music and dance, like other forms of cultural expression, are changing in character and declining in quality in most areas, as young people lose interest in



FIGURE 35. An example of present-day mural art employing both modern and traditional subject matter (U/OU)

these traditional performing arts. Many of the better musicians and dancers are lured away to perform in city bands and nightclubs. Western instruments are also replacing traditional ones, many of which are no longer made. Nonetheless, music and dance remain an integral part of everyday life and serve as an important emotional outlet. Traditional Nigerian music is innovative and highly rhythmical because of its heavy emphasis on percussion. Varying degrees of Islamic forms are present in northern music, which stresses wind and string instruments more than southern music. With the exception of ancient rites associated with the Bori spirit cult, traditional music in the north is almost entirely secular, while that in the south is either secular or religious or a combination of both.

Instrumental performances, ordinarily accompanied by singing and dancing, are common. Characteristic instruments in the south include flutes and horns made of gourds, wood, or animal tusks; the raft zither; the thumb piano; metal gongs; cymbals; rattles; and many varieties of drums (Figure 37). These drums vary markedly in shape and size; some, like the canoe drums made of hollowed logs, may be 4 feet long; some are tiny; and some, called "talking" drums, have a variable pitch altered by pressures of the arm. In the north, in addition to similar instruments, more complicated ones are played. These include a flute designed to be sucked instead of blown; the *kabari*, a brass trumpet; the *goge*, a one-stringed instrument with a calabash sound chamber; and the *molo*, which has 15 to 18 strings.

Most ethnic groups have their own songs of war and praise, as well as lullabies. Every tribe also has a

distinctive form of dancing (Figure 38), although differences are not apparent to the untutored eye. Most traditional dancing is a form of shuffle with an occasional athletic movement. Symbolic meaning is conveyed by body movement and gestures, along with facial expression.

As in most of west Africa, a popular form of contemporary music is the "highlife," a combination of American jazz and South American rhythms, played by Western-style bands in nearly every large city and town. Of late, it has lost some of its popularity. One of the best known Nigerian musical groups—I. K. Dairo and his Blue Spots Band—specializes in juju music. Notable composers of classical music include Fela Sowande, Nigeria's best known musician; Aki Euba and Ayo Bankole, who have worked entirely within the Western tradition; and Lazarus Ekweme, who has fused African and Western musical forms in masses and compositions for stringed instruments. A number of professional musicians and choreographers, using traditional music and dance in the symphony and ballet, have given occasional concerts in Lagos.

The Yoruba are outstanding in the performing arts. Most of the better known highlife entertainers are Yoruba, and their dance troupes tour throughout the country. The Ogunde Concert Party, Nigeria's most famous itinerant group, offers political satire along with music. Folk operas, notably those produced by Duro Ladipo, have attracted audiences in a number of European countries.

Nigeria's oral folk literature still plays an important social role in traditional society and is a source of inspiration for many contemporary artists and writers. In ancient tales, legends, poetry, proverbs, and riddles, it helps maintain the continuity and stability of society by transmitting values, reinforcing social norms, and validating religious rituals. Because it is an elastic, progressive form of art, changes in values and modes of behavior continually filter into age-old tales. The typical storyteller wanders into the village, unrolls his mat in the shade of a tree, and repeats the ageless tales that his listeners never tire of hearing. The world of his stories is moral and romantic, although "why" stories that offer explanations of natural phenomena are also popular. Most of the characters are animals, notably the persevering tortoise, the artful monkey, and the skillful spider. The plot is generally simple, employing repetitive action, reversal of fortunes, and supernatural intervention. There is usually a logical denouement, brought about by divine justice or cleverness on the part of the protagonist.



FIGURE 36. A Muslim chieftain in rich ceremonial robes. Embroidery is a declining art, practiced mainly in northern Nigeria. (U/OU)

Although pictographs and ideographic scripts had been developed for several indigenous languages before the arrival of the Europeans, their form was too rudimentary to permit the production of written literature. The missionaries adapted Roman script for several of the local languages, primarily to facilitate the spread of Christianity. In the northern area, however, the Hausa, Fulani, and Kanuri were able to use the Arabic alphabet for writing in their own languages. Thus, for several centuries they have produced an extensive written literature, mainly of a religious and historical character.

Contemporary Nigerian literature, almost always written in English, is in a phase of dynamic development. Although some drama is being written, the major genres are the novel and poetry. Early prose themes emphasize the conflict between traditional and Western values in Nigerian life with its psychological effects on the individual. By the late 1960's, however, many novelists were focusing more on urban satires that attacked corruption and social injustice. The majority of writers are either Ibo or Yoruba.

Nigeria's most popular novelist, D.O. Fagunwu, is unknown outside of the nation because his works are written in the Yoruba language and have never been translated. The first writer to attract attention in Europe was Amos Tutuola, whose *Palm-Wine Drinkard*, written in colloquial language, draws heavily on Yoruba folk tales. Cyprian Ekwensi's *People of the City*, appearing in 1954, is the first Nigerian novel written in English and the first to be published outside of Africa. This work marks the rise

of the novel as a major literary form and, together with the novels of Tutuola, bridges the gap between traditional narrative and modern literature.

Chinua Achebe is generally considered Africa's foremost novelist. In *Things Fall Apart* and its sequel, *No Longer at Ease*, Achebe comments on the impact of modern life on village and city, while in *A Man of the People* he satirizes Nigerian politicians with unpretentious humor. Promising younger novelists include Onuora Nxebwu, Elechi Amadi, Jon Munoye, and Flora Nwapa, whose *Effru* is the first novel to be written in English by a Nigerian woman.

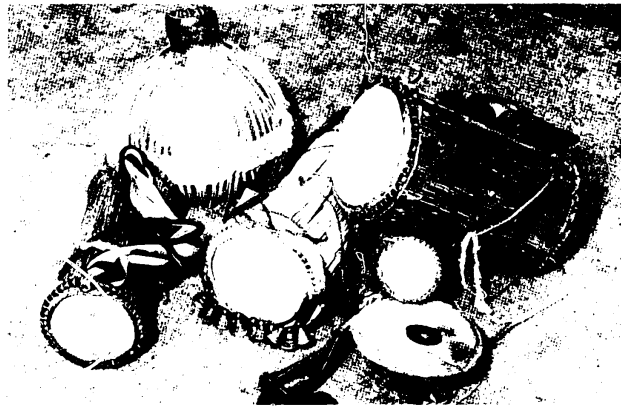
Wole Soyinka is regarded as Nigeria's most eminent poet and Africa's best dramatist. In the following passage from one of his poems, *Civilian and Soldier*, Soyinka reflects on the futility of war:

I hope some day
Intent upon my trade of living, to be checked
In stride by your apparatus in a trench,
Signalling, I am a soldier. No hesitation then
But I shall shoot you clean and fair
With meat and bread, a gourd of wine
A bunch of breasts from either arm, and that
Lone Question—do you friend, even now, know
What it is all about?

As a dramatist, Soyinka has written *The Road*, a play about death, but his real metier in this genre is comic satire, his targets ranging from the pompous village intellectual in *The Lion and the Jewel* to the Nkrumah-style dictator in *Kongi's Harvest*. In mid-1972 a film version of the latter play was being shown in the United States. In 1967, Soyinka fell into disfavor with the federal government because of his stand on the Biafran war and was imprisoned for 2



In the east, fife's have a function which corresponds to that of the "talking" drums in the west



Set of Yoruba musical instruments consisting of five drum pieces and a beaded calabash

FIGURE 37. NATIVE INSTRUMENTS (U/OU)



Native dancers performing at an animist rite

Efik dancer, Una Eka society, Calabar

FIGURE 38. MUSIC AND DANCING ARE ALMOST INSEPARABLE ART FORMS (U/OU)

years. While in prison he wrote the play *Madmen and Specialists*, which was staged in several U.S. cities in the summer of 1970. Other well-known literary figures are the poet Gabriel Okara and the poet and playwright J. P. Clark.

Nigeria has an extensive dramatic tradition. Both serious and comic dance-dramas have long been performed on ceremonial occasions by masked dancers of various animist secret societies. The Ibo and Yoruba are particularly renowned for these dramas, which have no overall plot nor any specific sequence in the appearance of the characters. Today, serious religious drama is increasingly being replaced by comic secular plays that are performed on any occasion calling for entertainment.

Modern theater, best developed on the popular level, flourishes among the Yoruba, especially in Lagos and Oshogbo, where a number of semi-professional repertory groups are active. Based on tribal folklore, Yoruba plays typically take the form of mild social satire. With most of the dialog improvised, the plays usually rely heavily on sex, slapstick, and highlife

music. Some of the younger dramatists are attempting to transform the Yoruba theater into a vehicle for serious plays with traditional music and dance used only for dramatic effect. Professional acting groups, however, are scarce, and serious playwrights have difficulty in getting their plays produced.

A number of Nigerian cultural societies, of which the best known is the Mbari Club, are actively engaged in promoting the contemporary arts. Founded by a group of young writers in Ibadan, the Mbari Club has established branches in a number of southern cities. A rendezvous for intellectuals, the club sponsors art exhibits, plays, and concerts, produces a literary magazine, and operates a publishing house. Other important centers of cultural life are Nigeria's universities, which offer a variety of plays, lectures, and concerts. An annual festival of the arts, held in Ife, features Nigerian music, drama, dance, and the plastic arts.

Nigeria has perhaps the best museum system and collection of traditional art in Africa. In Lagos, the National Museum of Antiquities, Traditional Art, and

Ethnography contains a large number of artifacts, reflecting the nation's rich past in the arts and crafts. Important provincial institutions include the Jos Museum, noted for its collection of Nok terra cotta figures; the Ife Museum, which possesses exquisite bronze, terra cotta, and stone sculptures; and the Benin Museum, containing highly stylized bronzes, which are also represented in museums the world over. In addition to these museums and those at Esie and Owo, there are numerous small exhibition centers established mainly for the display of contemporary art and local handicrafts. Over 50 historical monuments are open to the public, including the sacred carved monoliths at Ikom, ancient cattle paintings at Birnin Kudu, and 15th century bronze figures of the Nupe Kingdom in Jebba, the largest cast bronzes ever found in Africa (Figure 39).

J. Public information (C)

Although rudimentary by Western standards, Nigeria's system of mass communications is the most

highly developed in west Africa and serves a large and receptive audience. Concentrated, however, in the south and in urban areas, it was seriously disrupted by the civil war. Radio, the most influential mass medium, reaches the largest number of people, yet domestic broadcasts fail to penetrate the more remote rural areas. Television is enjoyed by only a small minority of the urban population. The press provides the broadest news coverage, but a low level of literacy and an inadequate distribution system sharply reduce its effectiveness. In consequence, the bulk of the population continues to rely on news transmitted by word-of-mouth.

All media are under some form of government control. The radio and television networks are government owned, while newspapers and other printed materials, both domestic and foreign, are subject to a loose form of censorship. At the federal level, the printed media are governed by a number of statutes dating back to 1917, while most states have their own laws inherited from the former regional governments. Although lipservice is paid to freedom of expression and no rigid guidelines have been enacted, the media are expected to exercise self-restraint and to adhere to official briefings, reinforced as necessary by specific warnings. In addition, all newspapers must be registered, and signed copies of every edition must be deposited with the federal government. In most areas, newspapers must obtain a license to publish by paying a fee or posting a bond. Punitive action is normally taken only after a publication has overstepped what the government considers the bounds of discretion or responsible criticism. In such instances, the offending edition may be banned and the editors detained or imprisoned under military law or by virtue of loosely worded statutes covering sedition, libel, and false news. A 1967 decree prohibits all foreign news agencies from publishing or relaying information considered detrimental to the federal government; on occasion, foreign correspondents have either had their dispatches censored or have been asked to leave the country. Despite a climate of censorship that has prevailed since the civil war, the Nigerian press has become increasingly critical of the government, most recently regarding federal action to combat inflation.

In 1971, backed by an extensive tradition of indigenous journalism, the Nigerian press published over 100 newspapers and periodicals with a circulation of more than 2 million copies and an estimated readership of over 6 million persons. Most of the larger more influential publications are published in English in Lagos.

Long used for political purposes, the majority of Nigerian newspapers are characterized by scanty news



FIGURE 39. Nupe bronze sculpture, 45½ inches in height. This figure of a woman holding a fan is a rare example of 15th century animist work still remaining in its traditional setting at Jebba. (U/OU)

coverage and by sensational and frequently irresponsible reporting. Journalistic standards, however, have improved somewhat during the past decade, attributable to stricter enforcement of libel and sedition laws and to the growing number of trained journalists. Nigerian dailies (Figure 40) are usually published in tabloid format, each edition averaging fewer than 20 pages in length. Emphasis is given to local events, followed by Nigerian and African affairs; international news receives limited coverage at best, reflecting the narrow outlook of Nigerian readers and the fact that only a few dailies can afford to maintain international correspondents or to subscribe to a foreign wire service. The *Daily Times* is probably the best paper from the standpoint of completeness and reliability, closely followed by the *New Nigerian*, which has the highest technical standards; the *West African Pilot* is by far the worst.

Historically, few publications have succeeded as purely commercial enterprises. Most of the better

newspapers receive financial aid from foreign investors or from federal or state governments. Modern printing presses, imported mainly from Western Europe, are too expensive for most publishers, who must rely on secondhand equipment. Transportation facilities are slow and unreliable in many areas, forcing the major national dailies to publish several editions and to establish their own distribution systems at great expense. Competition is nonetheless intense, and the turnover of publications is high. Independent newspapers in smaller towns are particularly vulnerable to the expansion of the national dailies and of chain newspapers.

Few periodicals are published in Nigeria, and several of these are highly specialized with limited circulations. Most are religious journals, news magazines, or government publications. A small number of commercial and professional journals and several scholarly reviews are issued by various universities and by such organizations as the Historical

FIGURE 40. Daily newspapers, 1971 (U/OU)

NAME	LANGUAGE	PLACE OF PUBLICATION	CIRCULATION	REMARKS
Daily Express.....	English.....	Lagos.....	na	Reported U.S.S.R. financial backing.
Daily Telegraph.....	do.....	do.....	14,000	Published by United Nigeria Press.
Daily Times.....	do.....	do.....	179,000	An independent publication of the Daily Times of Nigeria; publishes a Sunday edition with a circulation of 309,400.
Eastern Nigerian Guardian.....	do.....	Port Harcourt..	17,000	Published by Zik Enterprises.
Eastern Observer.....	English and Ibo.....	Onitsha.....	5,000	
Eastern State Express.....	English.....	Oyo.....	na	Published by the Ikemesit Company.
Eastern States Express.....	na.....	Aba.....	11,500	
Irohin Imole.....	Yoruba.....	Lagos.....	*10,000	Published by the Modupe Printing Press.
Midwest Echo.....	English.....	Benin City.....	25,000	Published by Allied Newspapers.
Morning Post.....	do.....	Lagos.....	40,000	An official organ of the federal government; publishes a Sunday edition with a circulation of 70,000.
New Nigerian.....	do.....	Kaduna.....	**49,000	Published by Northern Nigerian Newspapers, a company owned by six northern states. Also publishes a weekly edition in Hausa with a circulation of 35,000.
Nigerian Daily Sketch.....	do.....	Ibadan.....	4,600	Official journal of Western State; publishes a Sunday edition.
Nigerian Observer.....	do.....	Benin City.....	na	Published by Midwest Newspapers, which is sponsored by Mid-Western State.
Nigerian Spokesman.....	do.....	Onitsha.....	6,000	Published by Zik Enterprises.
Nigerian Tribune.....	do.....	Ibadan.....	15,000	Published by the African Press.
Renaissance.....	do.....	Enugu.....	na	Financed by East-Central State.
West African Pilot.....	do.....	Lagos.....	47,300	Published by Zik Enterprises.

na Data not available.
 *1969 data.
 **1970 data.

Society of Nigeria and the Nigerian Library Association. Others cater to the interest of teachers, women, or youth, and a few provide news of sports, radio, television, or films. Like newspapers, many periodicals serve a political purpose, but reporting is usually more reliable and superior in quality. Among the major periodicals, *African Challenge*, published bimonthly in English by the Sudan Interior Mission, has the largest circulation, amounting to 115,000 in 1971; the mission also produces a quarterly Yoruba-language edition with a circulation of 65,000. Other periodicals with large circulations are *Spear*, a family magazine with a circulation of 110,000, published monthly in English by the Daily Times of Nigeria, and *Flamingo*, an English-language monthly which circulates about 100,000 copies.

The influence of the foreign press and wire services is difficult to assess. Most of the leading British newspapers and periodicals are regularly available by mail or at newsstands in the larger cities. Some U.S., French, German, and Swiss publications also circulate, along with a few Communist newspapers and magazines. These are read for the most part by the educated elite and the foreign community. British publications with a fairly wide circulation include three London newspapers, *The Times*, the *Daily Mirror*, and the *Daily Telegraph*, as well as *The Economist*. Among U.S. periodicals, the most popular are *Reader* (a subsidiary of *Reader's Digest*), *Time*, and *Newsweek*. In addition, the United States Information Service (USIS) distributes *Interlink* and *Topic*, while the Novosti Press Agency of the Soviet Union circulates *New World* and the People's Republic of China issues the *Peking Review*. Several foreign news services, including the Associated Press, *Agence France-Presse*, the Ghana News Agency, and Reuters, maintain bureaus in Lagos, along with the West German *Deutsche Presse Agentur* and the Soviet news agency TASS, but only a few newspapers are believed to subscribe to their services. An increasing number of foreign newspapers also have correspondents stationed in the federal capital.

Since the early 1960's, a local news service for smaller Nigerian newspapers has been operated by the West African News Service. Plans are currently underway to establish a national news service under the control of the government, but this proposal has been attacked by newspapermen on the grounds that the press establishment should administer such a service. Several Nigerian newspapers already maintain correspondents abroad, chiefly in London.

Nigeria's publishing industry is more developed than that of any other west African country. In 1971,

it included nine major publishers. In addition to the Government Press, operated by the Commission for Information, leading publishers included the African Universities Press, an associate of Pilgrim House; the Nigerian branches of the Oxford University Press and the MacMillan Company; the Gaskiya Corporation, owned by the six northern states; and the Daily Times of Nigeria. Most large-scale publishing houses are located in Lagos, but numerous small establishments are situated in other urban areas throughout the country, including a number operated by religious groups. Nigerian universities, notably Ibadan, have rapidly expanded their publishing capacity during the past decade. Specialized educational and informational materials produced for the federal and state governments account for the bulk of Nigerian production. In 1969, 1,009 titles were issued, of which 633 were devoted to the social sciences. Total book production amounted to 5.5 million copies. Imported books come mainly from the United Kingdom and the United States. Several major bookstore chains operated by mission organizations serve most urban areas. These were supplemented by the book sections of department stores and hundreds of street stalls. University bookstores have the best selection.

Although Nigeria compares favorably with other west African nations in the availability of libraries, this service has lagged well behind the development of other information media. Located in the larger towns and cities, 25 public libraries containing 350,000 books were operated in 1969 by federal, state, and local governments and by various missions. In 1970, the collections of the National Library in Lagos, the state libraries in Ibadan and Kaduna, and the university libraries comprised 424,000 volumes, the largest of these being the University of Ibadan collection of 250,000 books. The former regional library at Enugu was a casualty of the war. In addition, rural areas are served by a small number of mobile book vans provided by the respective state governments. Other libraries are sponsored by foreign governments, business concerns, and various clubs and associations. The British Information Service, the British Council, and the USIS maintain major libraries in Lagos and smaller ones in Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano, and Benin City. The Novosti Press Agency provides reading rooms in Lagos, Ibadan, and Kaduna. Although the USIS facilities house good, compact collections, they are generally inferior to those of the British in both size and quality. The Novosti reading rooms are little used.

Radio is the most extensive of the Nigerian mass media. Approximately 1.3 million to 3 million

receivers are in use throughout the country, compared with only about 143,000 in 1960. In fact, because radios are frequently located in bars, restaurants, schools, community centers, and other public places, the listening audience far exceeds the number of sets in use. According to a study conducted in the mid-1960's, Nigerians with at least 6 years of schooling regard the radio as the most reliable of the media and the primary source of information about the outside world.

The government broadcasting system is the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), based in Lagos and operated under the supervision of the Commission for Information. In addition there is the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service (WNBS) in Ibadan, controlled by Western State; the Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (BCNN) in Kaduna, run on behalf of the six northern states by the Interim Common Services Agency (ICSA); and the Eastern Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (ENBC), located in Enugu. The ENBC became *Radio Biafra* during the civil war and ceased operations with the fall of the rebel forces, but now has been reestablished.

NBC is the most complex of the networks, employing over 3,000 people and operating both a domestic service (*Radio Nigeria*) and an international service (*The Voice of Nigeria*). In 1971, *Radio Nigeria* broadcast over 32 transmitters located in Lagos, in three regional centers (Ibadan, Kaduna, and Enugu), and in a number of smaller cities and towns. The WNBS and BCNN networks operated four transmitters each. Local stations mainly relay national and regional programs, although they transmit some features of their own.

Domestic broadcasts can be heard in most of Nigeria and in some neighboring countries, but a number of remote areas remain outside the range of local transmitters. In 1970, for example, South-Eastern State had only one radio station, located in Calabar, with a range of 5 miles. Although most programs are broadcast in English, both federal and state networks also transmit in several vernaculars, primarily Hausa, Yoruba, and Ibo. NBC, for instance, broadcasts in nine languages. In contrast to the press, which has long been largely an English-language medium, the radio reaches many Africans heretofore untouched by mass communications. Most programing time is allotted to news and commentary, music, and religious features, but educational and public service programs are also emphasized.

In 1971, *The Voice of Nigeria* broadcast regularly over three 100-kw transmitters to countries in Africa, the Middle East, and the northern Mediterranean

area; experimental broadcasts have been beamed as well to Western Europe and North America. These programs, broadcast in English, French, Arabic, and Hausa, are largely devoted to news, commentary, and music.

In addition to radio, an extensive wired speaker network is operated by Rediffusion, Ltd., a British firm, which relays NBC program throughout western Nigeria. NBC also maintains a wired speaker system serving the northern region. Although speakers are commonly found in many public places, these systems are considerably less popular than regular radio because programs cannot be selected.

An unknown number of Nigerians listen to foreign radio stations. In 1965, at least 80% of all standard radio sets were equipped to receive shortwave broadcasts. According to a 1964 study, the four most popular foreign stations were, in order, the British Broadcasting Corporation, *Radio Ghana*, *Radio Brazzaville*, and *Radio Cairo*. Besides the Voice of America, *Radio South Africa*, and West Germany's *Deutsche Welle*, Nigerians also listen to the Soviet Union's *Radio Peace and Friendship* and *Radio Moscow*, as well as to *Radio Peking*. Many Nigerians believe that foreign news programs are more reliable than domestic ones.

Nigerian television is basically an entertainment medium, despite government efforts to increase its use for educational purposes. Although television reaches only a small minority of the urban population, primarily professionals and government officials, its impact on this audience is significant. According to a 1964 survey, viewers regard television as more trustworthy and interesting than radio. Because of the high cost of receivers, only about 75,000 were in use in 1971.

The largest TV network is NBC-Television, with transmitters at Lagos and Ibadan. Coverage is largely duplicated by Western State's network, Western Nigeria Radiovision Service, which also telecasts from Lagos and Ibadan. TV Kaduna, run by ICSA, reaches a more limited audience in the north from transmitters at Kaduna, Kano, and Zaria. The Eastern Nigeria television service has transmitters at Enugu and Aba. Although most programs are telecast in English, some vernaculars are used as well. Programs devoted to entertainment, news, current affairs, and education account for the bulk of telecast time. Most entertainment programs originate in foreign countries, primarily the United States and the United Kingdom.

Over N£2.7 million has been allocated by NBC for the expansion of services during FY72, including four new transmitting stations to be built at Ibadan and

between Ibadan and Lagos. In early 1972, BCNN designated N£600,000 to expand both radio and television services in the north. In addition, North-Eastern and Mid-Western states have each announced plans to establish a television network to begin operations sometime in 1972.

Motion pictures are a popular form of entertainment in Nigeria. Most theaters, however, are located in the larger urban centers and are patronized primarily by the more affluent middle and upper classes. In 1968, there were 108 privately owned theaters with a weekly audience estimated to number 1.4 million. Most are equipped to show 35-mm films. Since Nigeria has no commercial motion picture industry, all films are imported, the major sources being the United Kingdom, the United States, India, France, and Egypt. Westerns, thrillers, and light comedies are particularly popular, but most are old, of poor quality, and not equipped with vernacular soundtracks. First-run European and U.S. films are shown only in the better theaters in the major cities, while Indian films predominate elsewhere.

A growing number of educational and documentary films are exhibited throughout the country, most of which are produced by the federal and state governments to supplement formal education and adult literacy programs. More than 100 mobile film vans tour the nation, concentrating on small towns and villages that lack access to other organized information services. Each state government has its own film unit which functions under the jurisdiction of the Commission for Information. An increasing number of missions and business firms, as well as clubs and associations, also sponsor educational and documentary films. The British Information Service, British Council, and USIS periodically present films at cultural centers located in Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano, and Benin City, while mobile film units of these services, along with those of the United Africa Company and the Shell-BP Petroleum Development Company, occasionally tour rural areas. Many embassies also provide film showings.

Under the Second National Development Plan, N£10.9 million has been designated for the improvement of the country's information services. About 56% of this amount is to come from state budgets and the remainder from the federal government. Plans call for the expansion of radio and television broadcasting, the reorganization of the information services, the establishment of a national news agency, the development of facilities for the dissemination of printed matter, and the further development and maintenance of library services. In 1971, the government also set aside N£75,000 for a

regional training center for journalists from English-speaking African countries to be organized at the University of Lagos with the aid of UNESCO.

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