

## ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: THE ROOTS OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY  
AMONGST INDIGENOUS NATIONALITIES AND IN  
THE 'NIGERIAN' SUPRA-NATIONAL STATE, 1884-  
1990: A LONGITUDINAL AND COMPARATIVE  
HISTORICAL STUDY

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The 'Nigerian' supra-national state was built by British colonialism in West Africa's Niger basin. Its supra-national status derives from its multi-national composition. It attracts the attention of scholars who want to account for its continuing poor political performance. Our inquiry into the roots of its continuing poor political performance was conducted from the perspectives of Harry Eckstein's congruence theory and the derivative framework from it that we called the E-G scheme.

We found a high degree of social, economic, and political heterogeneity amongst the diverse nationalities that were compelled to constitute it. In the three nationalities—the Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani—that we sampled, that heterogeneity is evident in their governmental and non-governmental authority patterns. We found that the British

formulated and implemented state building policies that preferentially favored the Hausa-Fulani but not the Igbo, the Yoruba, and others. We found that the British were impressed by the inherent autocratic traits of the Hausa-Fulani, but not the obviously democratic traits of the indigenous Igbo, and Yoruba authority patterns. Thus, while there emerged tremendous resemblances between the authority patterns of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state and those of the Hausa-Fulani, there emerged deep-seated disparity between them and indigenous Igbo, and Yoruba authority patterns. We established that the resultant state of affairs created and promotes commensurate bases of legitimacy for the authority of the supra-national state only in core Hausa-Fulani society but not in Igbo and Yoruba societies. During colonial rule high political performance in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state was region-specific. In spite of the resemblances shared by the authority patterns of the supra-national state and indigenous Hausa-Fulani authority patterns, their common incongruence and inconsonance with the indigenous authority patterns of the Igbo, Yoruba, and others constitute sufficient ground for the continuing poor political performance in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state.

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To my parents Raymond Chilaka, and Rose Ojiakuede Ejiogu, my wife Ngozi, and  
children Nwamaka and Amanze

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## CHAPTER I:

### THEORETICAL PROBLEM AND FRAMEWORK

Europe's external intervention in Africa in the late nineteenth century is a building enterprise. But it wasn't until the end of colonialism in the post-World War II period that the polities or products of that intervention in Africa and elsewhere in the colonized world emerged and were recognized as "new and sovereign independent states" (Huntington 1965: 415-6). In an era that was characterized by the strategic rivalry of the Cold War between the US and the former Soviet Union, the course of political development in the 'new states' attracted considerable attention from American social scientist beginning from the 1950s (Gendzier 1985). The concern of most policy makers in the US was to prevent the 'new states' from becoming the allies of their ideological rival, the Soviet Union (Huntington 1965, Apter and Andrain 1968, Chirot 1981). Many in the US foreign policy establishment and academe at the time believed that given the European-type institutional structures bequeathed to the 'new states' by the various European powers that colonized them, they could be swayed to modernize in the image of North American and West European societies. They were convinced that it was the best path to development in the 'new states'. We also know that states in most North American and West European societies experience what Eckstein (1969 and 1971) and Gurr and McClelland (1971) characterized as high governmental or political performance. The aforementioned scholars outlined five dimensions: legitimacy, durability, civil order, permeation and decisional efficacy as the indicators of

governmental or political performance in any given polity or political unit.<sup>1</sup> When expectations of high performance proved false in many of the ‘new states’, the question of why it did began to occupy the attention of the US foreign policy establishment and many Euro-American scholars.

## **Theoretical Issues**

### *The Rationale for Focusing on Political Violence*

Ever since those immediate post-World War II years that were marked by the ideological rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union, the multi-dimensional issue of political performance in the ‘new states’ has received the consistent attention of many scholars across the various social science disciplines and even history. *It is mostly because political performance in the ‘new states’ has persistently remained low, and the fact that as a sociological phenomenon it continues to elicit extensive consequences in their societies that we are equally focusing on it as the problem of interest in the present study.* Many studies of political performance in ‘new states’ have often emphasized the absence of civil disorder and not the other four dimensions in their assessment of political performance in the ‘new states’. The hypothetical explanation for that could be found in the notoriety, which is associated with the violent activities that characterize the absence of civil order in society.

Political performance in polities is a function of the five crucial dimensions—legitimacy, durability, permeation, decisional efficacy, and civil disorder (Eckstein 1971, Gurr and McClelland 1971). But most studies—including this one—of political

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<sup>1</sup> The concepts of governmental performance, political performance and political

performance in polities often focus on the presence or absence of civil disorder to make the determination of poor or high political performance. The reason might derive probably from the notoriety, which is associated with the violence, and destruction that comes with civil disorder whenever it occurs in societies. Violence has been the staple of “the history of organized political life” (Gurr 1970: 3) in Europe. The history of the modern world is no exception on this either. Gurr underscored this when he observed that political violence often destroys men and property, and is “corrosive of political institutions” (Gurr 1970: 10).<sup>2</sup> Events in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state reaffirm Gurr’s observation in some canny ways. Table 1.1 below shows that since October 1, 1960, when colonial rule yielded way to indigenous rule, the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state has experienced eleven different governments at the center. Seven of those governments were un-elected. They were installed and controlled by soldiers, while the remaining four were elected and controlled by civilians (see Table 1.1 below).

Jedrzej G. Frynas (1988) characterized those elected civilian governments as unstable. Frynas’ characterization derives from his reason that they were all overthrown by soldiers in coups d’etat. Frynas’ characterization can also apply to the various military regimes that took power in the supra-national state. Two of those military regimes were themselves wracked by coup attempts, while three others were themselves deposed in successful army-led coups. One military regime replaced itself with an appointed military successor. The other was succeeded by another military successor regime after the sudden death of the army strongman.

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instability are used synonymously throughout the study.

<sup>2</sup> See Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (1970), NJ: Princeton University Press.

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Table 1.1: Governments in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, 1960-1999

<i>Duration</i>	<i>Head of State</i>	<i>Government</i>	<i>Ethnic origin</i>	<i>How rule ended</i>
1960-66	Balewa	Civilian	Hausa/North	Coup/assassination
1966	Ironsi	Military	Igbo/South	Coup/assassination
1966-75	Gowon	Military	Angi/North	Coup
1975-76	Mohammed	Military	Hausa/North	Coup attempt/assa.
1976-79	Obasanjo	Military	Yoruba /South	Elections
1979-83	Shagari	Civilian	Fulani/North	Coup
1984-85	Buhari	Military	Fulani/North	Coup
1985-93	Babangida	Military	North	Stepped down
1993-94	Shonekan	Appointed	Yoruba/South	Coup
1994-98	Abacha	Military	Kanuri/North	Sudden death
1998-99	Abubakar	Military	Hausa/North	Sham election

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Source: Frynas, Jędrzej George. 1998. “Political Instability and Business: Focus on Shell in Nigeria”, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 19. Number 3. Pp. 457-478.

Year/ Nature of Event	Number of People Involved (mostly in the military)	Number Arrested/ Detained or Impri- soned	Number Retired From the Military	Dismissed From the Military	Number of People Executed	Number of Lives Lost	After-math of coup
January 15, 1966 coup d'etat	36	14	N/A	N/A	N/A	36 (including the federal prime minister)	All borders, air and sea ports closed
July 1966 counter coup d'etat	47	N/A	N/A	180	N/A	222 (including the head of the military regime) <sup>3</sup>	A pogrom was mounted against Igbo who resided in cities in the upper Niger areas and thousands (more than 700,00 estimated) fled to their homeland
February 13, 1976 abortive coup attempt	Unspecifie d	1	2	2	39	2 ( the head of the military regime, and a military governor of one of the administrative units)	Various
December 1985 coup plot	300 (rumored to be involved)	21	38	1	10	N/A	Various
April 21, 1990 attempted coup	About 400 ex- servicemen were rumored to be involved	838, another 19 were declared wanted, and nine others were interroga- ted	Un- specified	Unspecifie d	42	4 including the ADC to the head of the military regime	Various

Figure 1.1: Matrix table showing some of the details of five of the violent incidents of political instability in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state in 1966, 1967, 1976, 1985, and 1990 respectively. Sources: Luckham (1971b), Miners (1971). *West Africa* magazine of January 22, August 6, 13, and 27, October 8, November 26, 1966, February 23, March 22, 1976, January 6, and 13, February 3, and March 3, 1986. *Newswatch* magazine of May 7, August 6, and August 13, 1990. *African Concord* of May 14, 1990.

<sup>3</sup> This includes 39 commissioned military officers and 171 other ranks all but 12 of whom were Igbo.



The drama and destructiveness associated with political violence underscores why it is most visible of the five indices of political violence. Figure 1.1 above which presents some the details of five of the coups, attempted coups and coup plots in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state is further proof of that. Ninety-one military officers, other ranks, and civilians were executed in three of those events. A pogrom, displacement of huge number of persons, and a thirty-month long war which is documented as one of the “most deadly conflicts” (Gurr 1970: 3) in modern history are some of the aftermaths of those events. Political violence is more visible than the other four dimensions of political performance. Put differently, focusing on political violence in the study of political performance is akin to using the most visible factor to prove the presence of the other less visible ones.

#### *Definitions of the Problem and Their Theoretical Perspectives*

The variations in the “theoretical categorization” (Morrison and Stevenson 1971: 348) of failed state development measured by political instability makes it pertinent for us to showcase some of its definitions furnished in various theoretical contexts in some existing studies. North American social scientists who accounted for the failure of the ‘new states’ to fulfill the aforementioned expectation framed their account of that failure variously in terms of political instability. Morrison and Stevenson (1971: 347) have defined political instability as “a condition in political systems in which the institutionalized patterns of authority break down, and the expected compliance to political authorities is replaced by political violence”. Samuel P. Huntington on the other hand designates the same phenomenon as “political decay” (Huntington 1965: 392).

There were some social scientists including Feit (1968), and Luckham (1971b) who perceived the dramatic unraveling of central governments in the ‘new states’ through military take-over and civil unrest as a breakdown in institutional transfer. Still, many others like Nordlinger (1970), LaPalombara (1968), Pennock (1966), Almond (1965), and Decalo (1973) concurred with Huntington (1965, 1968) to characterize political instability in the ‘new states’ as a function of ‘low political institutionalization’. The range of events shown in studies by Eckstein (1965), Rummel (1963, 1966), Tanter (1966), Bwy (1968), Feierabend and Feierabend (1966), Morrison and Stevenson (1971) as indicators of political instability have included riots, civil wars, coups d’etat, plots, assassinations, etc. In the same token, the theoretical categorization of political instability has been varied (Morrison and Stevenson 1971: 348). For our purposes we have adopted the conceptualizations of the indicators of political instability that Morrison and Stevenson (1971) collated from different sources and with some modifications and additions as our benchmark—see Table 1.2 below.

Most of the scholars who studied political instability in the ‘new states’ in the 1960s tended to raise and re-echo similar themes that centered particularly on the tenets of the modernization theory in their analyses and arguments (Huntington 1965, 1968, Apter and Andrain 1968, Decalo 1973). They argued that the traditional basis of political authority in the societies of the ‘new states’ as well as the inadequate living standards of their populace are factors that inhibit the development of both modern political institutions and their associated democratic trappings in them. All those, they argue further, engender the prevalence of authoritarian political leadership, which in turn unleash instability in the body politic of the ‘new states’ (Emerson 1955, Staley 1954).

Table 1.2: Similarities in the definitions of incidents that indicate political instability.  
 Source: Morrison and Stevenson (1971: 350-3), with some modifications and additions.  
 The table continues on Pp.9, 10, 11, and 12.

Eckstein/Rummel	Rummel/Tanter/Bwy	Feierabends	Morrison/Stevenson	Ejiogu
<p><i>Riots:</i> Relatively unorganized and spontaneous short-term incidents, typically involving police contingents and an un-integrated mass whose objectives are somewhat modest. Frequently the actual instigators are highly organized extremist groups.</p> <p><i>Turmoil:</i> Simultaneous, continuous rioting of considerable duration in two or more distinct geographical areas.</p>	<p><i>Riots:</i> Any violent demonstration or clash of more than 100 citizens involving the use of physical force.</p>	<p><i>Micro-riots:</i> An organized or unorganized public display of protest on the part of 10,000 or fewer people with accompanying violence.</p> <p><i>Macro-riots:</i> Organized or unorganized public display of protest on the part of more than 10,000 people with accompanying violence; however the violence is limited to 100 or fewer injuries.</p> <p><i>Severe macro-violence:</i> Distinguished by a large amount of violence—more than 10,000 persons in participation.</p>	<p><i>Riots:</i> Events involving relatively spontaneous, short-lived but violent activity, in which the generalized aims of the insurgents or the objects of their aggression are not coherently specified.</p> <p><i>Declarations of emergency:</i> Formal declarations of emergency by the national government in response to real or presumed threats to the public order. Such declarations include the imposition of martial law, curfews, and prohibitions against public assembly.</p>	
	<p><i>Demonstration:</i> Any peaceful public gathering of at least 100 people for the primary purpose of displaying or voicing their opposition to government policies or authority.</p>	<p><i>Micro-demonstration:</i> An organized or unorganized non-violent public display of protest on the part of 10,000 people or fewer.</p> <p><i>Macro-demonstrations:</i> An organized or unorganized non-violent public display of protest on the part of more than 10,000 people.</p>	<p><i>Demonstrations:</i> Events involving relatively organized and non-violent activity, in which the aim of participants is to protest some specific action on the part of domestic political authorities. When demonstrations are counteracted by violence on the part of others (notably police) they become riots.</p>	

	<p><i>General strikes:</i> Any strike of 1,000 or more industrial or service workers that involves more than one employer and that is aimed at national government policies or authority.</p>	<p><i>Micro-strikes:</i> The collective cessation of work on the part of 10,000 or fewer members of the labor force or other employees, students, or professional workers. <i>General Strikes:</i> Collective cessation of work lasting for a week or less, and involving labor force or other employees, students or professional workers. <i>Macro-strikes:</i> Collective cessation of work lasting longer than a week and involving more than 10,000 members of the labor force, or other students or professional workers.</p>	<p><i>Strikes:</i> Events involving organized disruptions of the economy by groups who refuse to work at their regular employment in order to bring pressure to bear on political or economic authorities. A strike event is identified in terms of the organizational unity of the strikers, not the economic or geographical differentiation of work locations: e.g., a strike of mine workers which begins at one mine on Monday and another mine on Wednesday is counted as one event, not two.</p>	
<p><i>Small-scale terrorism:</i> Distinguishes large-scale terrorism from the more undisciplined and discontinuous use of terror, and includes the occasional assassination or bomb plant.</p>	<p><i>Assassinations:</i> Any politically motivated murder or attempted murder of high government official or politician.</p>	<p><i>Assassinations:</i> Politically motivated murder or attempted murder of a political figure by a group or individual not acting under the auspices of government. <i>Terrorism and sabotage:</i> Organized violent activity on the part of small groups of citizens, which is directed toward harassment of the government.</p>	<p><i>Terrorism:</i> Events involving relatively organized and planned activity on the part of small but cohesive groups in which the aim of the activity is to damage, injure, or eliminate government property or personnel. These activities include bomb plants, sabotage of electrical and transportation facilities, assassinations (attempted and successful), and isolated guerrilla activities.</p>	

<p><i>Coup d'etat:</i> Violence or the threat of it by one or more parts of the power elite against other parts.</p> <p><i>Mutiny:</i> Violence on the established order by groups, which are part of its own instruments of force, such as police, etc.</p> <p><i>Plots:</i> Equivocal, rather because they are opposed while in an early conspiratorial stage (and thus are not violent), or because the alleged plot may be only a pretext by which the government seeks to eliminate its political competitors.</p> <p><i>Administrative actions:</i> The removal of political opposition through the use of the formal administrative apparatus, as in Soviet-type purges, polices raids.</p>	<p><i>Revolutions:</i> Any illegal or forced change in the top governmental elite, any attempt at such a change, or any successful armed rebellion whose aim is independence from the central government.</p> <p><i>Purges:</i> Any systematic elimination by jailing or execution of political opposition within the ranks of the regime or the opposition.</p>	<p><i>Coups d'etat:</i> An illegal or forced change in the top office holders, whether successful or not. Characterized by the limited number of persons involved, usually the in-group elite and the challenging, out-group elite, and the geographical location in which it occurs, usually the capital city.</p>	<p><i>Coup d'etat:</i> An event in which the existing political regime is suddenly and illegally displaced by the action of relatively small, elite groups without any overt mass participation in the event.</p> <p><i>Attempted coup:</i> Unsuccessful coup d'etat.</p> <p><i>Plots:</i> Events in which an announcement or admission is made by the political elite that a plot to overthrow the government has been discovered.</p> <p><i>Mutiny:</i> A declaration by part or all of a national security force to the decisions of political authorities or senior officers. The aim of a mutiny is not the seizure of government.</p>	<p><i>Mutiny:</i> A spontaneous or organized expression of insubordination in military or police establishment. The intention of the authors is always to use their action to call attention to some personal or group grievances. It could involve or not involve the loss of lives or destruction of property. It is not aimed at the removal of the government of the day.</p> <p><i>Revolution:</i> A spontaneous and popular overthrow of a government, which is followed by a total reorganization of all facets of society.</p> <p><i>Pogrom:</i> The systematic and organized killing of members of a nationality through mob actions aimed at eliminating them. In most situations the victims reside away from their own <i>homeland</i> in the <i>homeland</i> of their attackers.</p>
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<p><i>Warfare:</i> Both civil and guerrilla warfare, which have not been separately counted because of the frequent inadequacy of the source. Characterized by a high degree organization of the opponents, the continuity of fighting, the presence of operational planning, and the existence of territorial control, extended or discontinuous, by the insurgents.</p> <p><i>Extended violence:</i> Derived from Eckstein's indication of the existence of extended violence, such as a prolonged civil war, through a double asterisk attached to the particular nation in his table (Rummel 1966).</p> <p><i>Large-scale terrorism:</i> The systematic use of intimidation and harassment by assassination and / or sabotage by relatively small but cohesive groups.</p> <p><i>Quasi-private violence:</i> Cases, which are equivalent internal wars because the violence was not initially directed at the government because of insufficient information.</p>	<p><i>Guerrilla warfare:</i> Any armed activity, sabotage, or bombings carried on by independent bands of citizens, or irregular forces, and aimed at the overthrow of the present regime.</p>	<p><i>Guerrilla warfare:</i> Armed activity by mobile and scattered irregular forces aimed at the overthrow of the government. This event usually takes the form of sporadic attacks on villages and outposts and is characterized by the irregular tactics employed.</p> <p><i>Civil war:</i> All out war between two or more organized major segments of the population. Each segment has its own government and the entire nation becomes involved.</p> <p><i>Revolts:</i> An armed attempt on the part of a group to form an independent government. The gravity of the event is less than that of a civil war, involving less of the population and similar geographical area.</p>	<p><i>Civil War:</i> An event in which an identifiable communal group attempts by secession to form a new polity based on boundaries of ethnic community, or by take-over to monopolize political power for the communal group within existing political system.</p> <p><i>Rebellion:</i> An event in which an identifiable communal group seeks to gain increased autonomy from the national political authority or attacks supporters or agents of the national government without aiming to secede from or monopolize the existing polity.</p> <p><i>Irredentism:</i> An event in which an identifiable communal group seeks to change its political allegiance from the government of the territorial unit, in which the authorities share the communal identification of the irredentist group concerned.</p> <p><i>Ethnic violence:</i> An event of short duration in which members of two identifiable communal groups are antagonists in violence not designed to secure independence, autonomy, or political realignment for the groups concerned.</p> <p><i>Revolt:</i> An event in which co-ordinated attacks against government property and personnel are carried out by groups who are more readily identified by membership in a mass political movement than by elite or communal status, and whose aim is to overthrow the existing government.</p>	<p><i>Armed resistance:</i> An organized and armed defensive effort by members of a polity in response to unprovoked armed attack by a foreign or indigenous polity.</p> <p><i>Armed revolt:</i> An armed uprising directed against an occupation by a illegitimate authority.</p> <p><i>Secession:</i> Successful effort to detach from a supra-national state imposed by an external power by one or more of its distinct constituting nationalities.</p> <p><i>Secession attempt:</i> An unsuccessful attempt to secede.</p>
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	<p><i>Major government crises:</i> Any rapidly developing situation that threatens to bring the downfall of the present regime—excluding situations of revolt aimed at such overthrow.</p> <p><i>Number of people killed in domestic violence:</i> Any deaths resulting directly from violence of an inter-group nature, thus excluding deaths by murder and execution.</p>	<p><i>Exile:</i> Politically motivated, voluntary or involuntary exit from the country.</p> <p><i>Arrests of significant persons:</i> Government seizure or detainment of a significant individual for political reasons. Imprisonment and jailing are included in this variable.</p> <p><i>Martial Law:</i> Suspension of the constitution and its replacement by military rule. The guarantees of individual and group rights are discarded and arbitrary decrees are supreme.</p>	<p><i>Number killed:</i> The number of persons killed in instability events of all kinds. In cases of conflicting reports the highest figure given is taken. The variable is also given in the form <math>\log_{10}(X+1)</math>, where X is the raw score.</p> <p><i>Arrests:</i> The number of persons arrested for political offences, whether specifically tied to instability events or not.</p>	
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Emerson (1955) identified some specific factors, the absence of which, he argues promotes political instability in the ‘new states’. Such factors include, the “lack of experience in government and administrative functions, the relative thinness of a modern westernized elite and its dissociation from the traditional masses, the consequent lack of development of institutions of local government, and the continuation of traditional patterns”, in the ‘new states’ (Eisenstadt 1961: 11-12). Political instability in the ‘new states’ was also explained as the product of the tension inherent in their transition from traditional to modern societies (Scaliapino 1951). Scaliapino who called attention to the prevalent tense international political and economic environment caused by the ideological rivalry between the US and the former Soviet Union believed that it was a factor that promoted political instability in the ‘new states’.

Leonard Binder, et al (1971) believed that the ‘new states’ experience political instability largely because they are unlike the developed states of Western Europe and

North America, which could mobilize “more effort and resources ... for coping with the inherent tensions in the development syndrome” (in Pye 1971: viii). Binder, et al articulate ‘development syndrome’ as “a continuous interaction among the processes of structural *differentiation*, the imperatives of *equality*, and the integrative, responsive, and adaptive *capacity* of a political system” (Coleman 1971: 74). Huntington (1965 and 1968), who got involved in the debate from the outset, argues that, “in large part, [political instability in the ‘new states’ is] “the product of rapid social change and the rapid mobilization of new groups into politics coupled with the slow development of political institutions” (Huntington 1968: 4).

But one is not hard-pressed to concur with Eisentadt’s disagreement with the arguments and conclusions of the authors of the studies cited above. He substantiates his disagreements by arguing that their arguments and conclusions “are often based on implicit assumptions as to the relative importance of some social conditions which may influence the stability and development of the new institutions” (Eisentadt 1961: 11) in the ‘new states’.

Eisentadt’s disagreement is based on the following couple of points. He argues that the aforementioned scholars:

- (1.) fail to systematize their assumptions, and
- (2.) that they focus their works “on the extent to which political institutions, [in the “new states”] especially on the formal level, deviate from the Western political pattern” (Eisenstadt 1961: 12). Eisentadt’s points of departure from those he criticized, is indeed cause for worry. He seemed to have been merely interested in: (a) capturing “the internal dynamics of social and political systems” (Eisentadt 1961: 12) in the ‘new states’, and (b)



to discern “the ways in which [their] societies accommodate themselves—successfully or unsuccessfully—to various aspects of modern political institutions, and evolve relatively new forms of political organization” (Eisentadt 1961: 12).

### **The Choice of the Niger Basin as a Case for a Longitudinal Comparative Historical Study**

Earlier attempts to explain political instability in the ‘new states’ and its sociological consequences in their economic, political, and even social development have been associated with certain pitfalls. The most glaring of such pitfalls has been the tendency to lump the ‘new states’ together. This is usually done without regard to their diverse geopolitical and historical attributes. The assumptions that the ‘new states’ are all former colonies, and that unlike established states in Western Europe and North America most of them are economically underdeveloped, tend to be the main factors that determine why they are categorized together. When we view these assumptions in the context of two points, made separately by Rustow (1957) and Eisentadt (1961) the alternative recommendation that attempts to categorize must proceed with caution becomes necessary and realistic. (a) In a language that captured Rustow’s argument on the matter in all of its essence, Eisentadt points out that “many of the underdeveloped societies did not have official colonial status” (Eisentadt 1961: 13). (b) Furthermore, they both posit that the ‘new states’ are neither racially nor geopolitically, talk less of being culturally homogeneous.

But for our purposes and based on the above observations, we believe that the need to infuse extra care in any attempt to aggregate the ‘new states’ in social research becomes more glaring when we realize that the former colonies amongst them were not

all colonized by the same European states. We therefore caution that more meaningful studies of political development in the 'new states' should accommodate their diverse colonial experiences. Accommodating their different colonial history in any study must start from the outset when a researcher makes his choice of what to include or exclude as cases.

In addition to the reasons espoused above, our choice of a case in this derives from other reasons that are related on the one hand to the African continent in general, and specifically to the Niger basin and its inhabitants on the other. I outline some of the reasons that relate to Africa in general, first.

Despite Africa's socio-cultural diversity, its peoples and their societies share considerably on a range of similarities in their contacts with Europeans and in the latter's pattern of intervention in their internal politics beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century. For instance, before colonial conquest, almost all inhabitants of West Africa's coasts participated actively in trade and commerce with traders from different European countries over an extensive period of time (Dike 1956a, Igbafe 1970). Colonial conquest and rule assumed the same pattern in Africa in the sense that they involved a range of different European states. All over Africa each European colonizing state was confronted by the continent's socio-cultural and political heterogeneity. In every situation the challenges that confronted each colonizing state did not just impact on the course of its conquest of the inhabitants of the area, but equally influenced the character and dynamics of colonial rule itself. The reason for that was the formulation and implementation of colonial policies that were largely influenced by those challenges. In

all, the of aforementioned similarities make Africa a suitable location to choose a case from for a study like the present one.

We believe that the Niger basin is one of Africa's several microcosms. It encompasses the continent's rich socio-cultural diversity, which that can often become a suitable benchmark for sociological inquiry. The argument for the value of the choice of the Niger basin, was succinctly underscored by Coleman when he asserts that it encapsulates "groups that ... reflect the widest range of political organizations of any territory on the continent" (Coleman 1958: 4). The supra-national state which resulted from Britain's external intervention in the Niger basin is endowed with peculiarities that distinguish it from other polities, which resulted from similar circumstances. Those peculiarities which border on the variables that derive from the diversity of its inhabitants make the Niger basin a more extreme case of diversity, which in turn makes it quite deserving of serious social research attention. By studying this more extreme case it becomes easier to discern patterns and develop hypotheses and theoretical generalizations that can be applied to other cases.

Some studies on political development in the Niger basin tend to make "a broad distinction ... between the "primary resistance"" (Coleman 1958: 4) of the respective African nationalities<sup>4</sup> that inhabit it "on the one hand, and, (sic) on the other hand, the

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<sup>4</sup> Coleman's conceptualization of a nationality, which follows is one that we buy into in the study: "A people distinguished from other peoples by one or more common cultural traits (a common language, a shared historical tradition, a common mythology as to origin, or similar customs). A nationality is the largest traditional African group above a tribe which can be distinguished from other groups by one or more objective criteria (normally language). Present or recent political unity is not necessarily characteristic of a nationality, although such unity no doubt prevailed in the original core group (tribe) from which many of the 'Nigerian' nationalities have developed historically.

"The concept of "nationality", ...is considered essential for any working classificatory scheme for 'Nigerian' social and political groupings.... [w]hereas several

movement to create new political nationalities (that is, Nigeria, Western Region, Eastern Region, Northern Region) as self-governing units in the modern world” (Coleman 1958: 4) due to and since colonial conquest. But the tendency to ignore the former in favor of the latter confuses the analysis and findings in a study like Coleman’s. Coleman asserts wrongly though, that nationalism in the Niger basin did not commence until the time when “the movement to create new political nationalities” began (Coleman 1958: 4), i.e. after the supra-national state was built by the British. His decision to ignore the “primary resistance” of [Nigeria’s] traditional ... groups” (Coleman 1958: 4) against colonial conquest and to focus instead on their “movement to create new political nationalities” (Coleman 1958: 4) in his study of nationalism in the area was informed by that judgment. The need to avoid the confusion introduced into Coleman’s research by the deliberate resolve to ignore the pre-colonial and part of colonial history of the inhabitants of the area underscores the relevance of our present efforts.

Coleman’s and other studies similar to it may be criticized on several counts. Coleman conducted his study in the immediate years following the end of World War II when anti-colonial resistance amongst most of the distinct nationalities that constitute the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state assumed new dimensions. Put differently, World War II and its associated events actually helped to engender additional impetus to existing anti-colonial resistance amongst the nationalities that inhabit the region in question. While such an impetus may have quickened the demise of British colonial rule in the region, it

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nationalities are both potential and incipient nations (for example the Hausa, the Yoruba, the Igbo), others are too small or awkwardly situated to become nations. In sum, the concept of nationality is simply a convenient intermediate category introduced to refer to a people larger in population than a tribe, which is not yet and may never be a nation, but offers the strongest cultural basis for nationhood at the highest level and on the largest scale of all traditional African groupings” (Coleman 1958: 423).

did not however, originate anti-colonial resistance in those nationalities in the first place. Also, the eventual demise of *de facto* colonial rule in the Niger basin did not entail the end of their negative perception of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its authority. In fact, it was mostly because the governmental and non-governmental authority patterns and influence relations of the supra-national state remained intact after the end of colonial rule that the nationalities continued to perceive its authority negatively.

*What is generally perceived by scholars as political instability in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state today is actually the continuation of the symptoms that manifest from several independent variables that stem from the different political history, geography, and cultures of the nationalities as well as Britain's state building activities amongst them. The endemic poor political performance of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state is the problem of focus in the current study. The aim is to seek the roots of that problem by including the nationalities that constitute the supra-national state as vital components of the discourse. The principal underlying objective for so-doing is to furnish more sufficient explanations for the persistence of poor political performance in the latter. The truth in the assertion that the nationalities that constitute the 'Nigerian' supra-national state must be factored into any inquiry that would furnish meaningful explanations for persistent poor political performance in the latter is made more self-evident by the fact that several of those nationalities had evolved into viable African states and polities prior to British penetration and colonial rule (Dike 1953). There were well-established polities in Yorubaland, Igboland, in the Niger delta, and other parts of the lower Niger basin. In the upper Niger basin too, there were viable indigenous states and polities in Hausaland, Tivland, etc. All of these tend to contradict Margery Perham's (1951) claim that the*

history of the region and its inhabitants actually commenced with British intervention and military conquest.<sup>5</sup>

### **Theoretical Questions and Hypotheses**

The following questions and hypotheses guide the study. What stalled state building amongst the distinct and diverse nationalities that constitute the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state? Did incomplete state building among them deter the development of viable and durable modern political institutions in the larger “society” that may have emerged in the region as a result of the *creation* of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state? Did Britain’s intervention and state building activities in the region impact negatively on the emergence of a viable trans-national civil society in the resultant supra-national state? If yes, how? Were there indigenous states and polities, as well as parallels to Britain’s external state building activities in the area that may have in their own right impacted the course of social and political development in the region amongst the nationalities that inhabit it? What is the relationship between such indigenous states, polities, and parallel state building activities and the state of politics among the nationalities in the ensuing post-colonial period?

In order to make the study, which spans three distinct periods—pre-colonial (prior to and up until 1884); colonial (1884-1960); and post-colonial (1960-1990)—in the history of this part of West Africa meaningful, we have been consistent in designating it

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<sup>5</sup> M. J. Herskovits debunked the likes of Perham’s claims in his *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941) with unflappable facts that prove resilience of African cultures in spite of colonial intervention. So does Joseph H. Greenberg (1949). According L. S. B. Leakey’s (1953 and 1954) and J. C. Carothers (1954) the resilient culture of the Kikuyu played a tremendous role the Mau-Mau resistance movement that they waged against British occupation of Kenya. In *Must We Loose Africa* (1954) Colin Legum suggested that the institutions, cultures of the Baganda played an important role in their anti-colonial resistance against the British in East Africa.

as the Niger basin. It is for the same reason that we refer to its inhabitants as distinct nationalities (Coleman 1958), while we refer to the administrative polity that they were carved into through Britain's colonial intervention as the 'Nigerian' supra-national state. It is by so doing that we avoid the trap of seeming to assume that all nationalities in the Niger basin subscribe to the existence of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state as a legitimate polity worthy of their political support. Much of the argument in the study revolves around the contrary hypothetical contention that most of the constituent nationalities of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state perceive its authority negatively. Most of the existing studies on political instability in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state have tended to either ignore or avoid making these critical distinctions altogether.

The failure of the supra-national state to elicit positive perception of its authority from most of its constituent nationalities has tended to flow from three factors:

- (i) Selected characteristics of social and political organization evolved by the constituent nationalities. (These characteristics are in terms of type and scope).
- (ii) The degree of heterogeneity in kinship and authority patterns in the constituent indigenous African states and polities in the Niger basin.
- (iii) The various state building policies and preferential alliances that were formulated by the British, especially their support of autocratic authority patterns in Hausaland.

These three factors and their direct association with political instability amongst the nationalities in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state are represented diagrammatically in Figure 1.2 as well as in the four distinct hypotheses that follow.

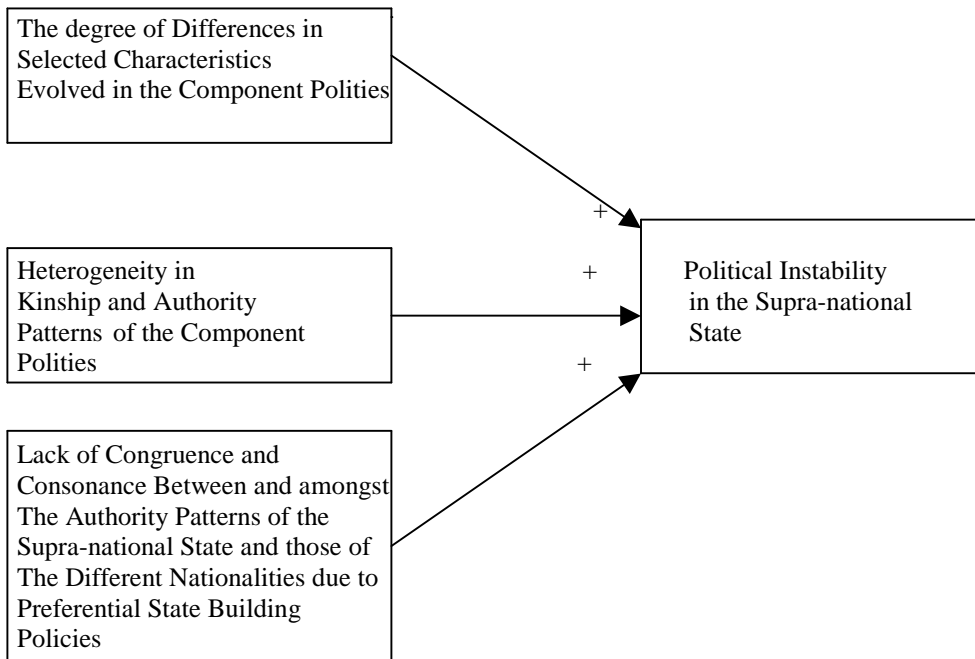


Figure 1.2: Factors that contribute to political instability in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state. The arrows and plus symbols indicate causation and association respectively

**Hypothesis # 1:** *Given a high degree of social, economic and political heterogeneity among diverse societies in the Niger basin that were then compelled to constitute the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state by the British, the chances that political instability will prevail in the supra-national state during and after colonial rule is exceedingly high.*

Differences in the categories of political and socio-economic organization amongst distinct nationalities in a geographical space are likely to produce a situation in



the pre-colonial period in which some of the nationalities could adopt warfare and military conquest as state building devices and utilize them to extend their own “political arrangement” or polity (Gurr and McClelland 1971: 11) into others. This becomes particularly pronounced if one or more of those nationalities followed an expansionist policy, as did the Fulani in the upper Niger basin. Warfare and military conquest as state building devices could constitute recipes for political instability in a polity, which is composed of politically distinct nationalities. The problematic situation that could result in such a situation can in fact be exacerbated if, the social and kinship patterns defined for instance by marriage are not co-terminus with the political boundaries of the various nationalities as has been the case in the Niger basin. Again, these establish a precursor for separatist movements in the supra-national state during and after *de facto* colonialism. Separatism here refers to determined desires by some of the constituent nationalities in a supra-national state to assert their political independence from the central authority.<sup>6</sup>

For our purposes in the study, political development is indicated by some attributes of not just only a state, but a political system that have been created in any given “social space” (Eckstein 1969: 287). These attributes include the presence of a tax system, standing army, and civil bureaucracy, which are typically associated with the state in its strict Weberian conceptualization. Evidence of political development may also include parallels of those three attributes. There is no doubt that there were parallels of those three attributes of “government-like entities” (Eckstein 1998: 529-30) in pre-colonial African societies. There can be no doubt too that pre-colonial Africa’s “government-like entities” met the needs of their inhabitants for territorial defense, civil

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<sup>6</sup> In the Niger basin we are referring specifically to the nationalities that unlike the Hausa-Fulani lost out due to the way Britain’s state building policies favored the Fulani

administration, etc.<sup>7</sup> Socio-economic development represents the creation of an exchange system, written records and some form of schooling. Schooling can be defined in the broader context of socialization to include the various methods and practices through which the young were prepared and integrated into the society in pre-colonial Africa (Raum 1938 and 1940, Fafunwa 1974).

Our broad definition of these attributes here is underscored by Eckstein's (1998) assertion on the need for that in contemporary social research. When it then comes to the issues of social, economic, and political development, the absence of exact indicators or attributes in any of the nationalities of the Niger basin is not indicative that the former were unable to develop parallel structures that performed parallel functions in their societies. We can take direct taxation and a standing army as typical examples. Their absence among the Igbo does not in any way imply that "government-like entities" (Eckstein 1998: 529) in pre-colonial Igbo societies were unable to raise revenue for specific projects when the need arose for them, or waged wars to defend their society and citizens. Latham (1971), Hopkins (1966), Hiskett (1966, 1967), Sundstrom (1965), Newbury (1961), and Jones (1958) have all shown in their work "that virtually all of pre colonial West Africa had economies sufficiently developed to require the use of circulating mediums of exchange and units of account" (Lovejoy 1974: 563).

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aristocracy classes.

<sup>7</sup> Eckstein advocates a comparative politics that studies "macro-politics, or politics at the system level", "all political systems, past, present, and future .... For greater historical depth ... greater social depth ... through the study of power, pressure, and authority in all aspects of society" (Eckstein 1998: 505).

<sup>7</sup> The set of dimensions are outlined and reviewed in a logical manner in the review of related literature.

**Hypothesis # 2:** (i) *Given the high heterogeneity in the governmental authority patterns of the constituent nationalities in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state the possibility that political instability will ensue in the latter during and after colonial rule will be quite high.* (ii) *The greater the heterogeneity in the non-governmental authority patterns of the constituent nationalities in the supra-national state the greater the political instability that will ensue in the supra-national state during and after colonial rule.*

The greater the number of diverse political entities brought together in an involuntary manner by a colonial power to form a supra-national state, which is held together by the threat or use of actual military force, the more difficult it will be for them to evolve much needed resemblance in their kinship and authority patterns. Furthermore, all other things being equal the absence of such resemblance would translate to the supra-national state that they constitute.<sup>8</sup>

There is an inherent rationale in this two-tiered second hypothesis. If the constituent nationalities have developed their own respective authority patterns, their combination in a supra-national state is likely to produce latent internal conflicts that would manifest themselves almost immediately and exacerbate as soon as the colonial era and its coercive trappings ended. This second hypothesis affirms that what is involved that could make a difference between the nationalities is not just the issues of their different systems of social, economic and political organization. Also involved are the processes of social, economic and political evolution and transformation in their societies, which may have equally impacted the creation of different institutional patterns

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<sup>8</sup> Details of some of the ideas mentioned in relation to Hypothesis #2 are elaborated more clearly in Hypothesis #3.

that serve various needs for the polities in them. The more institutionalized all these are, the more difficult it would be for a colonial power to create a unified supra-national state that has legitimacy in the eyes of its constituent nationalities.

**Hypothesis # 3:** *The greater the disparity between the authority patterns in the supra-national state and the authority patterns in its various constituent parts (nationalities), the greater the political instability that will prevail in some of the constituent nationalities during and after colonial rule.*

This third hypothesis is closely inspired by the first two out of the eight hypotheses formulated by Eckstein (1969) in a ‘theoretical framework’ that relates “authority patterns to the performance of governments” (Eckstein 1969: 283). For want of a better name we can call them Eckstein’s ‘*congruence-consonance*’ hypotheses, which state as follows: (a) ‘High performance by a government requires congruence between its authority patterns and the authority patterns of other social units in the society. (b) ‘High performance requires consonance among the elements of the authority patterns of a social unit’ (Eckstein 1969: 283, 300). Governmental or political performance is “a set of dimensions on which a high rank appears necessary if any government [read polity] is to be regarded as successful regardless of its concrete purposes (or even in the sense of its ability to achieve any substantive goals whatever)” (Eckstein 1969: 287).<sup>9</sup> Inherent in those nationalities is the notion that political instability in the supra-national state is more likely to be region-specific. The occurrence of indicators of political instability will be more frequent and more pronounced in those

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<sup>9</sup> The set of dimensions are outlined and reviewed in a logical manner in the review of related literature.

nationalities that have authority patterns that are incongruent and inconsonant with those of the supra-national state and vice versa.

When we deductively apply Eckstein's hypothetical framework to our case, we see evidence of a disconnection between the authority patterns of the Igbo, the Yoruba, and the other nationalities, but not the Fulani, and those of the supra-national state. The logical inference from that disconnection is that the nationalities will continue to resist the authority of the supra-national state. The institutional conflict between the constituent nationalities and the supra-national state is compounded if the indigenous authority patterns in some of the former are based on normatively democratic, or even autocratic systems on the one hand, while the authority patterns of the latter based on some form of bureaucratic norms, do not accommodate their peculiarities, and vice versa. Indeed, we have here an explanation of why political instability prevailed and still prevails in colonial and post-colonial Africa respectively. The political instability and its associated uncertainties that ensue in many African post-colonial states are magnified especially in those cases where the authority patterns of all the diverse constituent nationalities were not accommodated in the course of state building and in the practice of authority during and after colonial rule. If at this stage in the discourse we are asked to resolve the puzzle of why the relative political stability in a post-colonial African state like Botswana has not obtained in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state, we can only attempt to answer that puzzle by way of speculation. Part of the answer lies in Botswana's near-homogenous composition which contrasts with 'Nigeria's' overt

heterogeneous make-up.<sup>10</sup> The indigenous ‘segmental units’ of society evolved in each nationality where political socialization takes place are hardly if at all, proximate to government in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state. That speculation may be stretched a little further to imply that the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state is yet to evolve a civil society with all the attendant ‘segmental units’ that are most proximate to its government, amongst all of its constituent nationalities.

**Hypothesis # 4:** *The more an intervening power imposes a supra-national state via preferential policies and alliances towards one of several existing nationalities that are socially and politically diverse, vis-à-vis the others, the greater the political instability that will prevail in the resultant supra-national state during and after colonial rule.*

This fourth hypothesis captured diagrammatically in Figure 1.3 is informed by the following arguments. Most colonial powers that built supra-national states in regions of the world whose inhabitants are distinctively diverse in their social, economic, and political systems often choose to ally themselves preferentially with the nationality or nationalities whose governmental and non-governmental authority patterns are perceived to be more amenable to colonial rule. The greater the tendency for such alliances between the state building colonial power and nationalities that it selected and favored, the greater the resentment of the disfavored nationalities, and by extension, the less the legitimacy of the authority of the resultant supra-national state in the perception of the disfavored. What ensues under this situation is a pattern of political conflict involving the threat or use of force by the managers of the supra-national state in the exercise of political

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<sup>10</sup> Pre-colonial indigenous state formations in the territory that became ‘Botswana’ produced centralized but democratic monarchies none of which served as a bridgehead

authority (Zolberg 1968). When colonial rule ends, the negative perception of the authority of the supra-national state by the disfavored nationalities is bound to exacerbate. That will happen especially when the indigenous ally or allies of the colonial power are in fact using repression to prevent the disintegration of the supra-national state.

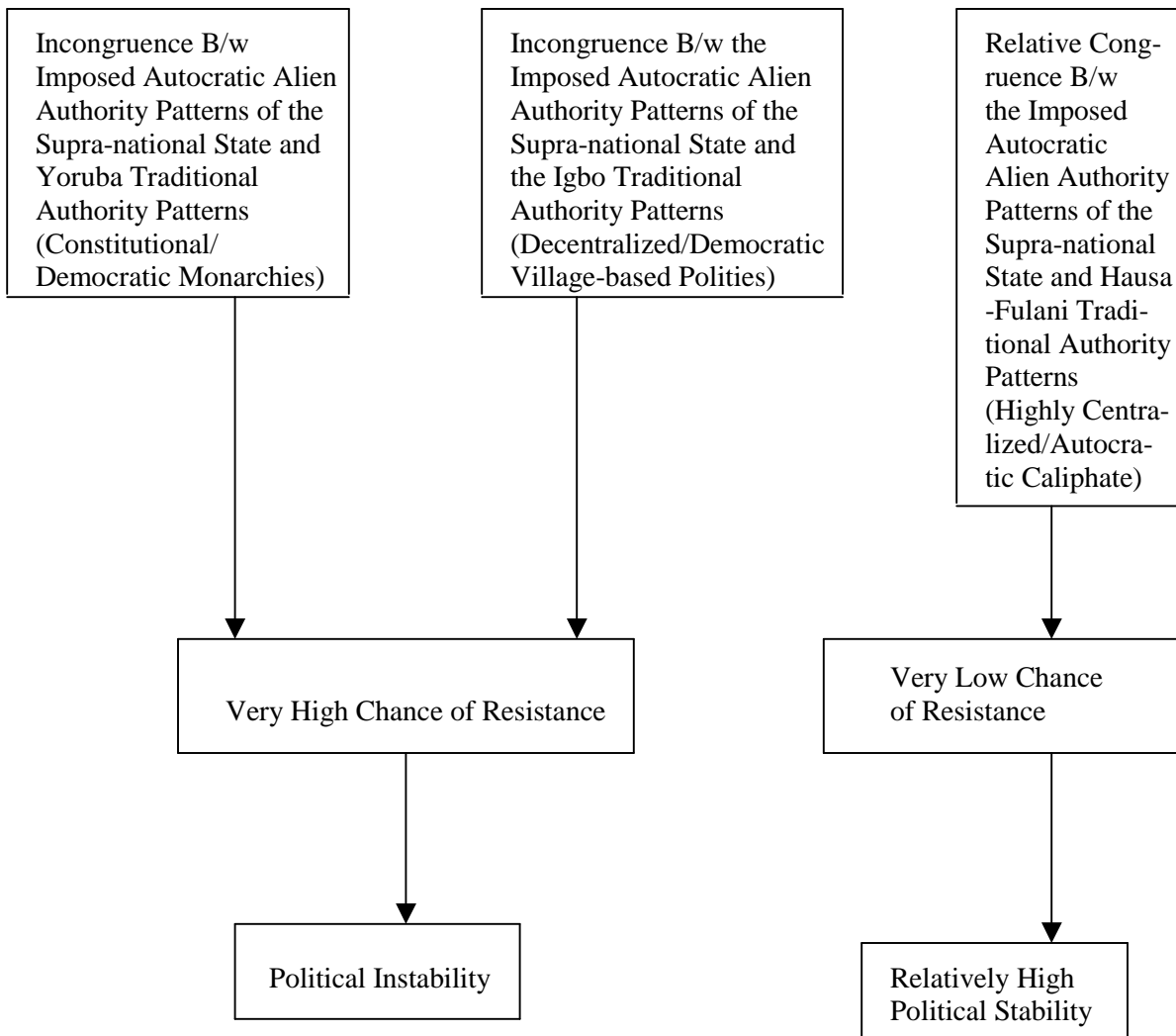


Figure 1.3: The mixed legacies of clashing authority patterns and authority patterns that found relatively common grounds between and amongst one another.

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for the autocratic authority patterns of the state built by European colonialism.

## **Some of the Existing Literature on Political Instability in Post-Colonial States Reviewed in their Theoretical Perspectives**

### *On Theories about the Problem of Political Instability in Post-Colonial States*

Studies on political development in the 'new states' by Huntington (1965 and 1968), Shils (1966), Almond, et al (1960), Rudebeck, Tornquist and Rojas (1998), O'Donnel and Schimeter (1986), Falola and Ihonvbere (1985), Callaghy (1984), Clapham (1985), Anderson (1986, 1987), Migdal (1988), and Chazan (1993) have been conducted from different theoretical perspectives. These studies range from those that were conducted by modernization scholars to others that were situated within different strains of liberal, neo-liberal, and radical perspectives. Scholars who situated their works within the modernization perspective have tended to stress socio-economic factors "and the rise of stronger middle class" (Rudebeck, Tornquist, and Rojas 1998: 3) in their explanation of political stability and democratic development in "new" societies.

On the one hand, Huntington (1965, 1968) stressed the importance of modern political institutional structures guaranteeing political stability in society. On the other hand, he also insists that 'political decay' entails political instability in society. Huntington's argument then is that "political order depends in large part on the relationship between the development of political institutions and the mobilization of new social forces into politics" (Huntington 1968: vii). When Huntington applies his argument to what he calls the "developing societies" of the Third World, his position is that the prevalence of political instability in them stems from "rapid social change and the rapid mobilization of new groups into politics, coupled with the slow development of political institutions" (Huntington 1968: 4). He believes that the absence of broad



participation of citizens in politics helps to predispose society in the 'new states' to political instability.

Aristide Zolberg (1966, 1968) is one Euro-American Africanist<sup>11</sup> whose "Africa-oriented" perspective on the problem of political instability in post-colonial situations is deserving of review. He asserts that the "more or less disparate societies, each with a distinct political system, and with widely different inter-social relationships" (Zolberg 1968: 71) that constitute Africa's colonially created states all survived to a significant extent everywhere ... [with their] sets of values, norms and structures" (Zolberg 1968: 71) to exist side by side in the same "territorial containers" (Zolberg 1968: 71) with the values, norms, and institutional structures of the colonial and post-colonial states. Contemporary African societies are therefore '*syncretic*' arrangements of "two sets of values, norms, and structures, the "new" and the "residual" with the latter itself usually subdivided into distinct sub-sets" (Zolberg 1968: 71). Zolberg then argues that it is therefore the "*syncretic* character of contemporary African societies [that] tends to be reflected in every sphere of social activity, including the political" (Zolberg 1968: 71).

Scholars such as O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986), O'Donnell (1978), Falola and Ihonvbere (1985), Badru (1998) who write from the radical perspective have also theorized on the subject. These radical scholars emphasize the role of classes, the dynamics of their incessant struggle, and center-periphery issues in their own explanations. Arguing about the Niger basin and its inhabitants, Falola and Ihonvbere contend that political instability in the unitary supra-national state that it was carved into

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<sup>11</sup> Because of their sometimes over zealous diagnosis and prescriptions on African issues renowned novelist of Igbo extraction Chinua Achebe characterized some of the Euro-American Africanists as non-owners of the corpse who out-mourn the owners at the wake

stems from the inability of its 'bourgeoisie' to take control over other classes in the struggle "to create a viable hegemony in the social formation" (Falola and Ihonvbere 1985: 234).

When applied to the 'Nigerian' supra-national state, both Marxist and modernization accounts of political instability are found wanting especially on the ground that they tend to ignore the necessity to address the historical roots and sociological importance of the ensuing tense relationship between the unitary supra-national state and the nationalities that were compelled to constitute it even though they had no say in its construction. Questions about why, how, and when that tense relationship evolved and even survived colonialism and persists in the post-colonial era need be posed and addressed. Their failure to address these questions partly explains why Falola and Ihonvbere (1985), and Badru (1998) all dismissed the nationalities that constitute the 'Nigerian' supra-national state as anachronistic (relics of the past) whose continued existence hinder the rise of a viable bourgeois hegemony in the country's "social formation" (Falola and Ihonvbere 1985: 234). Even after he extensively established that the history of party politics in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state, is one in which nationality associations and not political parties always select the candidates, "determine whether an elected official is performing well or not; and [resolve and mediate] inter-party and intra-party conflicts", Oghosa E. Osaghae (2003: 54) still argues that the resilience of the nationalities is a mere function of the failure of the supra-national state "to respond satisfactorily" (Osaghae 2003: 57) to their economic demands.

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(see *Morning Yet On Creation Day: Essays*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1975, 1976).

Neo-institutionalist accounts of political instability in Africa in general raise some of the central issues involved in the discourse. Thomas M. Callaghy (1984: 32) for instance, links political instability in post-colonial Africa to “the absence of central state authority and the resulting search for it”. However, he leaves one to guess what could be responsible for the absence of those two factors, i.e. “central state authority and the resulting search for it”. In their respective studies conducted from the neo-institutionalist perspective too, Christopher Clapham (1985), Lisa Anderson (1986, 1987), and Joel S. Migdal (1988) all believe that the weakness of Africa’s states, and their “precarious links” (Chazan 1993: 68) to the diverse groups that constitute the larger society, are factors that contribute to political instability in post-colonial African states. Naomi Chazan (1993) adds that the problem derives from the competition for legitimacy and dominance between Africa’s weak states and the diverse components of the larger society.

Some studies on political instability in contemporary African states do not adequately address the role of Europe’s external involvement (conquest of African peoples) in state building in Africa, which produced legacies that aid and abet political instability. Hence, in the case of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, blame for the persistence of political instability in its body politic is often levied on a flawed federal structure (Kirk-Green 1971), and a contradictory constitutional arrangement that was incapable of withstanding political strains (Whitaker 1981). Richard Sklar (1965) and B. J. Dudley (1966) attribute the problem to an imbalance in education and economic development. Larry Diamond (1988: 16) attributes it to “tribalism and regionalism...and the process of class formation” in the supra-national state.

In each of the cases mentioned above, political instability is defined strictly as the absence of a stable central government in the supra-national state during the post-colonial era leaving readers with the assumption that the supra-national state enjoyed political stability during colonial rule. That definition of political instability is indeed the justification given for the studies reviewed above and others similar to them which regard the supra-national state as a given.

We can argue that the literature reviewed so far stresses only ‘traditional variables’, i.e. ‘traits of governmental structure’, ‘the social environment of governments’ or ‘complex multivariate combinations of the two’ (Eckstein 1969: 277) as the determinants of political stability or the absence of same in a polity. As we have argued earlier, this tendency to designate the “non-political aspects of [the] social environment ... of polities as independent variables” (Eckstein 1969: 277) in studies that attempt to attempt political instability has hardly fulfilled that quest adequately.

Eckstein’s (1969) theoretical framework, which he derived from his congruence theory, is a tool that clears the path for a departure from this norm in this type of social research. By “locating the determinants of governmental stability precisely in those aspects of nongovernmental institutions that could be considered their specifically “political” traits: their internal authority relations” (Eckstein 1969: 277), the framework fills a void in the study of political instability by serving as a better tool for conducting such studies. Eckstein’s framework is capable of illuminating the quest to explain political instability in polities of all kind (Eckstein 1969). The reason for that is because of how it could be applied to research situations to ensure that “the crucial x-variable would be one [that involves] both government and society simultaneously, not each

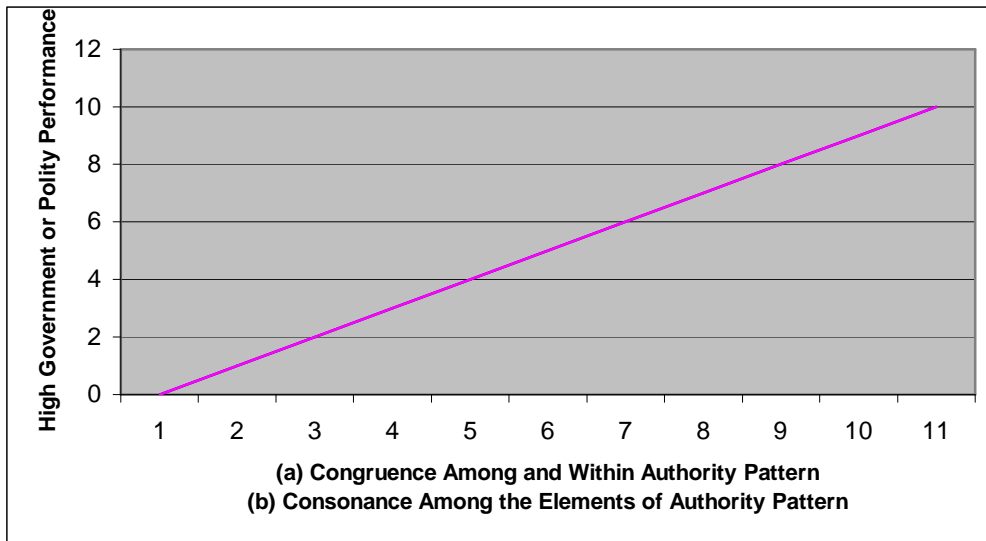
separately” (Eckstein 1969: 277). Hence his argument that “[t]he stability of democracies, and perhaps other polities, might be held to depend on the degree of resemblance between social and governmental authority patterns” (Eckstein 1969: 277). This is one out of the several possible roles that “resemblance between social and governmental authority patterns” can “serve as a potential mediating and higher-order variable” (Eckstein 1969: 277) in the study of political stability or governmental performance in polities.

Eckstein’s framework is partly validated by the deliberate manner in which it is steeped in sound psychological as well as sociological tenets. He posits for instance that “men are able effectively to perform political roles if their previously learned norms and behavior substantially prepare them for such roles, and if the norms and practices demanded by their concurrent social roles do not create strains or painful ambivalences and contradictions with their political ones” (Eckstein 1969: 278).

The derivative hypotheses in the framework are such that they relate<sup>12</sup> “authority patterns to the performance (a crucial ‘y-variable’) of” (Eckstein 1969: 283) polities, and posit that “*congruence* among authority patterns and *consonance* within them” (Eckstein 1969: 283) are the two principal ‘x-variables’. Hence the following hypothetical postulations: “High performance by a government requires congruence between its authority patterns and the authority patterns of other social units in the society, [and h]igh performance requires consonance among the elements of the authority pattern of a social unit” (Eckstein 1969: 283, 300). The consequence of lack of congruence between and lack of consonance among those vital patterns in any social unit will be very low

government performance. These assertions are captured graphically in the index shown in Figure 1.4 below.

Figure 1.4: The index of congruence and consonance between and amongst



authority patterns in social units. Note: The ideas that are encapsulated in this index were derived from Eckstein (1969).

There is sufficient justification for drawing from Eckstein’s (1969) framework and the congruence theory that it was derived from to illustrate and illuminate our

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<sup>12</sup> The second set of derivative hypothetical propositions in Eckstein’s framework, which concerns the “adaptation of overall authority patterns, and of their specific dimensions, to

analysis in the study. That justification is made especially glaring when we assert that the persistence of the Niger basin nationalities in their distinctiveness is proof that their governmental and non-governmental authority patterns and the indigenous norms that guide the practice of authority in them still endure. In other words, colonialism's "new set of values, norms, and structures, which constituted an incipient national center, did not necessarily grow at the expense" (Zolberg 1968: 71) of their indigenous parallels in the nationalities.

There is no doubt that indigenous authority patterns in the nationalities are quite different from those that were imposed on them under the aegis of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state. In subsequent chapters in this study, we will explain how the lack of *congruence* and *consonance* between indigenous governmental and non-governmental authority patterns and the authority patterns of the supra-national state tend to breed political instability amongst the nationalities.<sup>13</sup>

There is indeed a considerable measure of built-in originality in the research design. Where previous studies on political instability in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state tended to neglect or took the perception of the supra-national state by the nationalities for granted we designed this study to accommodate the contrary assumption. This is because the perception of the authority of a polity by its members is a pointer on their acknowledgement of or refusal to acknowledge its legitimacy to exercise that authority and vice versa to direct their affairs. Since legitimacy is a "crucial dimension of political performance" (Gurr and McClelland 1971: 5), the legitimacy of the supra-

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one another" (Eckstein 1969: 283), is not quite relevant for us in this study.

<sup>13</sup> Pre-colonial situations that engendered the clash of indigenous authority and kinship patterns will not be ignored in the analysis.

national state and polities created under it in the Niger basin are crucial objects in the analysis.

Gurr and McClelland define polity as “the basic political arrangements by which national political communities govern their affairs” (Gurr and McClelland 1971: 11).<sup>14</sup> Legitimacy is defined by these immediate authors as “the extent that a polity is regarded by its members as worthy of support” (Gurr and McClelland 1971: 30).<sup>15</sup>

The emphasis placed on legitimacy in the study design is not accidental. In congruence theory, legitimacy is one of a set of five “crucial dimensions of political performance, dimensions on which polities must perform well to some degree if they are to attain any special goals (other than their own dissolution)” (Gurr and McClelland 1971: 5).<sup>16</sup> As “the extent that a polity is regarded by its members as worthy of support” (Eckstein 1971: 50), legitimacy is so crucial that “a polity performs well to the extent that it is so regarded” (Eckstein 1971: 50) by its members.

Since the nationalities were constituted into a supra-national state without their consent by an external power, it is therefore logical for us to include the other four dimensions of political performance, i.e. durability, civil order, permeation and decisional efficacy in our analysis. Ever since the Niger basin was carved into a supra-national state

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<sup>14</sup> Their definition of polity aptly suits our purposes in the study. However, in colonial situations where nationalities are not allowed to participate in the governance of their affairs, this definition could be reframed to imply that polity is the political arrangements by which the affairs of political communities are administered. Ever since the imposition of *de facto* colonialism in the Niger basin there have been several such arrangements, but none of which has stood the test of time.

<sup>15</sup> Earlier on, David Apter (1965: 236) had loosely defined *legitimacy* as “rightness of a political pattern”.

<sup>16</sup> Eckstein (1971) articulated them in the following order: *durability, civil order, legitimacy, and decisional efficacy* (see Eckstein, Harry. 1971. *The Evaluation of Political Performance: Problems and Dimensions*, and Gurr, Ted Robert and Muriel McClelland. 1971. *Political Performance: A Twelve-Nation Study*).



none of the several polities under which its inhabitants have been administered has stood the test of time. Thus we cannot take the durability of the supra-national state and the other polities that are associated with it for granted. Durability or “the persistence of a polity over time” (Eckstein 1971: 21) is a political performance dimension that plays a crucial role in the success or failure of any polity. In fact, “[t]he longer it persists [in a polity], the higher its [, i.e. the polity’s] performance” (Eckstein 1971: 21).

Civil order or “the absence of unregulated collective resorts to violence or acts in which violence is overtly threatened or for other reasons very likely to achieve private or public objectives” (Eckstein 1971: 32) has not prevailed in the supra-national state during and after their *de facto* colonization either. Elaborating further on the pivotal importance of the prevalence of civil order in polities before they can survive and “attain any special goals (other than their own dissolution)” (Gurr and McClelland 1971: 5), Eckstein (1971: 32) affirms, while Gurr and McClelland (1971) concur from their study that “[p]olities perform well to the extent that such actual or latent violence does not occur”.

Social units like the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state and its associated polities that lack legitimacy in the eyes of their constituent nationalities, that can neither sustain their own durability nor civil order in the ‘social space’ that they occupy cannot be expected to permeate that ‘social space’ in any meaningful way. Eckstein conceptualized permeation as “the ability of a polity to derive resources from, and carry out its directives in, the various segments of its social space” (Eckstein 1969: 287).

In a similar vein, the incidence of unsuccessful polities by which the nationalities have been administered sequel to the creation of supra-national state is a good reason to infer the absence of decisional efficacy in each of those polities and in the ‘Nigerian’

supra-national state under whose aegis they emerged. Eckstein (1971: 65) defines decisional efficacy as “the extent to which polities make and carry out prompt and relevant decisions in response to political challenges”. The pivotal role of decisional efficacy in the performance of governments and polities is further underscored by Gurr and McClelland (1971: 6) who concluded from their study that “[l]evels of [decisional] efficacy,” as well as levels of two other ‘dimensions of political performance’, i.e. “legitimacy, and civil order all appear to have an interacting time-dependent relationship with a polity’s longevity” (Gurr and McClelland 1971: 6). In the study we are associating longevity with political performance or stability in a social unit or polity.

Existing accounts of pre-colonial and colonial events in the region indicate that there may be more to the political instability that prevails in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state than have been accounted for in existing studies. Political instability amongst the nationalities in the region and in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state itself cannot therefore be restricted to the post-colonial history of the supra-national state. The validity of that assertion is especially underscored by the fact that we argue the absence of all five crucial political performance dimensions including civil order in the supra-national state ever since it was imposed. The assertion that even civil order has consistently eluded the supra-national state is further supported by the range of indicators of political instability—riots, insurrections, assassinations, military coups and coup attempts, secession attempts, and a thirty-month civil war—that have occurred therein since it was created.<sup>17</sup> Justifications in the media and academe for all successful military coups that

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<sup>17</sup> The extensive documentation of indicators of political instability is presented in Tables 6.1-4 in chapter six.

terminated the ‘basic political arrangements’ in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state claim that they saved the latter from disintegration.

If it requires military coups d’etat to save the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state from disintegration, then the extent to which its constituting nationalities regard its authority as legitimate is either non-existent or significantly low. Since we are talking about the performance, indeed, the stability of a political system (an imposed supra-national state) in an environment inhabited by distinct and diverse nationalities, the need to probe back into the history of state building in the Niger basin cannot be over-emphasized. The essential idea concerning its performance (stability) depends most fundamentally on whether its authority patterns are congruent and consonant with (fits or resembles) the authority patterns of its constituent social units—the distinct and diverse nationalities that inhabit its social space (Eckstein 1969).<sup>18</sup>

To what then can we attribute the inability of ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state and the several polities instituted in its social space under its aegis to elicit legitimacy from, and achieve civil order amongst the distinct nationalities that constitute that social space? Why have the supra-national state and the various polities failed to attain durability *and* decisional efficacy in that same social space? To what degree if at all did they permeate “the various segments of their social space” (Eckstein 1969: 287)? In the event that they have been unsuccessful in permeating their social space as well, what can we attribute that to?

## CHAPTER II:

### METHODOLOGY

This is a theory-driven longitudinal comparative case study of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state and the distinct nationalities that constitute it. It seeks answers to the question, ‘what is going on?’ within and between indigenous polities and an imposed polity in the Niger basin over distinct periods in history. It was carefully designed to satisfy the tenets of three genres in social research, i.e. case study, longitudinal, and comparative (Dixon, Bouma, and Atkinson 1987b, Bouma 1996). The duration of coverage extends over a century and half, i.e. 1884-1990, covering three distinct periods—pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. Within these three periods the focus is on the social, economic<sup>19</sup> and political development of the nationalities that inhabit that region, and the issue of political stability in the supra-national state they were carved into by the British. The study is comparative across three of the constituent nationalities, but obviously still focuses on political instability.

#### **Selection of the Nationalities for Describing the Constituent**

#### **Parts of the ‘Nigerian’ Supra-national State**

The major methodological issues are: (1) selection of which nationalities in the Niger basin to study; (2) selection of which aspects of the nationalities for measuring

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<sup>18</sup> These ideas are further developed in the methodology.

<sup>19</sup> We are cognizant of the tangential relevance of the assertion that “levels and rates of economic development (among other conditions) might affect political stability only, or chiefly, through their effects on the degree of resemblance among authority patterns; and a high level of economic development might correlate well (but imperfectly) with democracy’s stability because it is (imperfectly) promoted by or itself promotes, certain authority patterns in social life” (Eckstein 1969: 278) on some of the premises of this study.

heterogeneity of political and economic development; (3) selection of which dimensions of their socio-political components for describing authority patterns. Finally, there is also a discussion of the various sources used to measure the variables.

The Niger basin is inhabited by several distinct nationalities. Ideally, my desire was to include all of the nationalities that inhabit it as cases in the study. But the constraint of time and resources would not permit that. Even if time and resources were not constraining factors the absence of an agreement on the actual number of nationalities is another big obstacle to any attempt to include every one of them in a study like this one. We are then left with the option of selecting a representative number of them. In order to establish a sound basis to make a representative selection of nationalities to include, it is necessary to review existing views on their number.

The issue of the exact number of nationalities in the region is indeed, controversial. Some analysts who used linguistic criterion<sup>20</sup> arrived at numbers such as 394 (Hoffman 1974, Otite 1990), 550 and 619 (Wente-Lukas 1985; Otite 1990 in Nnoli 1995). Coleman insists that “there are approximately 248 distinct language groups” (Coleman 1958: 15) in the region. The 1952 census report which also utilized language as a criterion cites that there are 52 of them (Afigbo 1989: 14). In many studies the number 250 is often cited (Nnoli 1995). Some authors have come up with the numbers 60 (Awolowo 1968), 374 (Nnoli 1995), and 143 (Odetola 1978), while some anthropologists have to cited the numbers 161 (Gandonu 1978), and 62 (Murdock 1975)

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<sup>20</sup> The more serious shortcomings of utilizing language as a criterion for identifying nationalities in the region include the fact that a nationality can “speak a cluster of languages” (Nnoli 1995: 26), while languages are known to have dialects that are often confused as distinct. Others culturally absorbed some nationalities in the upper Niger basin through the Islamic religion. This is to the point that they now speak the Hausa language, the official lingua franca of Islam.

as the correct count. Figure 2.1 below is our own ‘reasonable’ count derived from Nduntuei Ita’s *Bibliography of Nigeria* (1971).

Although there is lack of consensus on the number of nationalities in the region, no one has in a single study been able to inventory and include even half of what is known. Each researcher adopts either some creative or convenient criteria to arrive at a representative sample of nationalities to meet the purposes of his or her own study. The most convenient criterion known to be popular among researchers has been population size. Hence the three more populous nationalities, i.e. the Yoruba in southwest lower Niger, the Igbo in the southeast, and the Hausa-Fulani in the upper portion, are selected in almost every study on the region. People who have selected these three more populous nationalities for their research have argued that their population imbue political significance on them while the less populous ones which are labeled “tiny and politically insignificant” (Diamond 1988: 21) are left out on account of their comparatively smaller population.<sup>21</sup>

But the history of the region and its inhabitants is cause for us to argue otherwise. Existing literature on the history of the region does not support the view that political significance of the nationalities is a function of just their respective population size. There are pointers to substantiate that too. The pre-colonial trading city-states of Nembe-Brass, Akassa, Bonny, Opobo, and Calabar that later played prominent roles in the trade with Europeans were all founded by the less populous nationalities of the Niger delta, i.e. the Ijaw (Ibeno); the Efik, the Kalabari, and the Itsekiri (Anene 1966, Alagoa 1970, 1971). Moreover, ever since the region was carved into a supra-national state early in the nineteenth century both the more populous and the less populous nationalities have

consistently registered their disaffection against it. The less populous nationalities have done so without regard to their population size.

In the context of this study all such contentious resistance (there have been several in the colonial and post-colonial periods) from both the more populous and less populous nationalities<sup>22</sup> alike constitute valid indicators of political instability in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state. The significance of the less populous nationalities in the course of social, economic and political development in the supra-national state was further underscored by the appointment of a Commission by the British in 1957 at about the eve of their departure to inquire into their fears and means to allay them (see London: HMSO 1958).<sup>23</sup> However, we have been constrained by time and resources to still select the usual *big* three: the Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani.

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<sup>21</sup> The less populous nationalities are often called "minorities".

<sup>22</sup> There have been "a series of political disturbances covering nearly four decades" (Tamuno 1970: 576) among the Tiv (a minority nationality in the Middle Belt portion of the North). In 1929 and 1939 there were serious political disturbances that brought colonial government activities among the Tiv to halt, and caused the colonial government to take extra-ordinary measures (Buhannan 1958, Tamuno 1970). Apart from the disturbances of 1929 and 1939, there were also two others in 1945 and 1948 all of which "were put down by [the colonial] government police and military force, [and in which] many Tiv people lost their lives and property" (Tamuno 1970: 576). In fact, Tiv resistance against British colonial rule predates 1929. Tivland experienced widespread political riots again in 1960 and 1964 which caused the post-colonial government to draft its specially-formed and trained Mobile Police and troops to the area (Dent 1966, Luckham 1971, Diamond 1988). Again, both disturbances claimed significant number of lives and property destruction. There was a secession bid by the Ijaw in 1966 (HRW 1999). Since 1990 the rulers of the supra-national state have been faced with unrests from the Ogoni, another minority nationality in the Niger delta (Saro-Wiwa 1992, 1995, HRW 1999).

<sup>23</sup> That Commission whose report was entitled: *Nigeria: Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Fears of Minorities and the Means of Allaying Them*, (Cmnd 505 (London: HMSO, 1958) is a fall out of the Constitutional Conference of 1957 which preceded the exit of the British as the rulers of the supra-national state.

#### Nationalities in the Upper Niger

Afu, Angas, Ankwe (Boghorom, Borrom, Burmawa), Bwoli, Chip Dimuk, Goram (Gworam), Gurka (Gerkawa, Gorkawa), Kunnum, Kwolla, Lardang, Larr, Mikiet, Miriam (Merniang, Mirriam) Montol (Montoil) Ron (Baram, Baron, Boram) Schalla (Scha) Sura, Yergum (Yergam), Arago (Alago), Bachama (Bashama, Bashamma), Mbula (Bula, Bulla), Bassa (Basa), Bassa Kaduna (Basa Kaduna), Bata (Batta), Bolki Bulai, Gudu (Gudo) Holma, Kofa (Kofo), Malabu, Njei (Jenge, Kobochi, Njai, Nzangi, Zani), Zumu (Jimo), Birom (Berom, Burum, Burumawa, Kibbo, Kibyen), Aike, Aten (Ganawuri, Ganawarri, Jal, Ngell, Njell), Ayu (Ayob, Ayub), Pyem (Fem, Fyem, Paiema, Pem, Pyemawa), Ninzam (Sanga, Sangawa) Numana, Nungu (Lungu) Sigidawa (Segiddawa), Bolewa (Bole, Borlawa, Fika) Auyukawa (Ayokawa), Bede (Bedde), Beri-Beri (Beriberi) Keri-keri (Karekare, Kerekere), Ngamo (Gamawa), Shirawa Teshenewa), Borgawa (Bargu, Borgu, Burgu) Bariba (Barba, Barba), Busa (Boussa, Bussa, Bussawa), Kyengawa (Kengawa, Kiengawa, Kyenga, Shangawa, Tienga, Tiengawa), Buduma (Boudouma, Jedina, Yedina), Bura (Burra) Gabin, Hona, Pabir (Babir, Babira, Babur Baburr), Butawa (Mbotuwa, Mbutawa, Kudawa, Ningawa (Ningi), Chamba (Chamba, Dschamba, Tsamba), Daka, Donka, Kungana, Lekon (Laego, Leco) Mumbake, Suntai, Takum, Tsugu, Wom, Chawai (Atsam), Irigwe (Aregwa, Irrigwe, Rigwe), Kwoll, Bangawa, Fakawa, Kalewa, Lilawa, Fulani, Gbari (Goale, Gwali, Gwari, Gwarri) Gade, Gwandra, Kinkera, Koro (Korro), Cheke, Fali, Hausa (Haoussa), Daurawa, Gobirawa, Kanawa, Katsenawa, Kebbawa, Maguzawa, Zamfarawa, Zazzagawa, Higi (Hiji, Hill Margi), Baza (Bazza), Idoma, Agala (Agalawa), Agatu, Igumale, Iyala (Ingkum, Yala), Nkim, Nkum, Ogwaka, Okpoto (Akpoto, Opoto) Oturkpo, Igala (Agatara, Igara, Igula), Ibaji, Igbira (Egberi, Igbirra, Kotogori), Kwototo (Panda, Wushishi), Jerewa, Afusara (Fizere, Hill Jarawa) Anaguta (Naguta), Badawa, Bamberawa (Bamboro) Bankalawa, Barawa (Mbarawa) Buji (Bujawa), Chara (Fachara, Nfachara, Pakara, Teira), Chokobo, Das (Dass), Guswa (Gusum, Ibau) Janji (Ijanyi), Jarawa (Jar) Jengre, Jere, Limorro, Rabinawa (Narabuna, Ribina), Rukuba, Sangawa, Taurawa, Jerra (Jara, Jera), Hina, Kanakuru (Dera) Maga, Nimalto, Terra (Kemaltu, Terawa), Junkun (Jukon, Kororofawa), Bashar, Dampar Garaga, Jibu (Dschubu, Jibawa, Jubawa, Jubu), Kam, Kona, Kadara (Adara), Kajuru (Ajuru), Katurmi (Ada), Kagoro (Agolok), Kaleri, Mada, Mama, Numana, Nungu (Lungu), Kambari (Kambali, Kamberi), Abadi, Achifawa (Achipawa, Atshefawa, Atsifawa), Agadi, Ashingini, Dukawa, Kimba, Mawuchi, Kanuri (Kanoury), Bede (Bedde), Gamergu, Jetko, Kanembu (Hamedji), Kotoko, Lerewa, Maguemi (Magomi), Magumi, Mandara (Ndara, Wandla, Wandara), Manga (Magawa), Mobber (Mober) Nguzzur, Tubu, Katab, Ataka (Attaka), Ikulu (Ikolu), Jaba (Ham), Kachichere (Aticheri), Kafanchan, Kagoma, Kaje (Baju, Kache, Kaji), Kamantan, Kaninkon (Tum), Kaura, Kentu (Kyato, Kyeto), Morwa (Asolio, Moroa), Yeskwa, Kofyar (Kofia), Kulu, Warkum (Urku, Warkuru), Kurama, Azura, Binawa (Bogama), Dungi, Gurre (Gurri), Kahugu (Kahagu), Kaibi, Kibalo (Kiballo), Kiniku (Kimiku, Kinuka), Kitimi (Kittimi) Kono, Piti (Abisi, Bisi, Pitti), Ribam, Rishua (Rishiwa), Rumaiya, Ruruma, Srubu, Mambibila (Tobi), Gelebda (Gelevda), Hitkalanchi (Hidkala), Kamkam, Magu, Margi (Marghi),

#### Nationalities in the Upper Niger (continued)

Chibak (Chibbuk, Chibuk, Cibak, Kibaku) Kilba, Sukur (Sugar), Womdeo, Mumuye, Gengle, Gola (Gomla, Gori), Kugama, Kumba, Teme, Waka, Yakoko, Yendang (Yendan), Yundam, Zinna, Ndoro, Ngezim (Ngezzim), Nupe, Basange (Bassange, Nge), Dibo (Ganagana, Zitako), Kakanda (Akanda, Yapa), Kupa (Gupa), Reshe (Barashe, Gungawa, Tsureshe), Bakarawa, Larawa (Laro, Laruwa), Lopawa (Lupawa), Sorkowa (Sorke, Sorko), Yaurawa (Rasawa, Yauri, Yawuri), Shuwa Arabs (Choua, Larabawa, Shiwa, Shoa), So, Tigong (Tigon, Tigum, Tikong, Tugong, Tugun, Tukum), Ashiaku (Atsiku), Nama, Tiv (Mitshi, Munshi, Tivi), Tula, Awok, Billiri, Dadia, Jen, Kamu (Kamo), Logunda (Nunguda), Tangele, Waja, Bai, Boi, Gweri, Koma (Komawa), Lima, Marki, Verre (Vere, Were), Togi Tuki, Vomni, Zango, Warjawa (Warji), Afawa (Faawa, Paawa), Ajawa, Denewa, Diryawa, Gamsawa, Gerewa, Germawa (Gerumawa), Gezewa, Jimbinawa, Kirifawa, Lipkawa, Miyawa, Sirawa, Wudufawa, Yungur (Bina, Yunguri), Banga, Ga-Anda, Handa, Lala, Libo, Mboi (Mboyi).

#### Nationalities in the Lower Niger

Bini, Etsako, Ineme, Ishan (Esa, Esam, Isa), Urhobo (Osobo, Sobo, Usobo), Isoko, Ivbiosakon, Kukuru, Akweya, Egede, Etulo (Turu, Turumawa, Utur, Yachi (Iyace, Iyashi), Ekoi, Abayong (Abaiyonga) Abine (Abani), Adun (Aran), Agoi, Akaju (Ahaju), Anyan (Anjang, Bascho), Asiga (Essigu), Atam, Banyang (Bnajang, Konguam, Manyang), Bete, Boki (Nki), Effium, Ejagham, Ekparabong, Ekumuru, (Ikumuru), Ekuri, Enna, Etung, Keaka, Korop (Korawp), Mnta, Mbe (Mbube), Mbembe, Nde (Ndei), Nkokolle, Obang, Ododop (Erorup), Ogoja, Okoiyang, Okpoto-Mteze (Opkoto-Mezi), Olulumaw, Orri, Oshopong (Eshupum), Ufia (Utoblo, Utobono), Uge, Ukelle, Utonkon, Yakoro (Yakori), Yakurr (Yako), Ibibio, Abuan, Anang, Andoni, Efiat, Efik (Ebrutu, Eburutu Iboku), Efut, Eket, Enyong, Ibeno, Kwa, Oron, Igbo, Ijaw (Ijo), Ogoni, Kalabari, Itsekiri (Awerri, Ishekiri, Itshekiri, Iwerri, Jakri, Jekri, Oere, Ouare, Ouere, Oware, Warri), Yoruba.

Table 2.1 Inventory of nationalities in the Niger Basin Region. Source: Adapted from Ita, Nduntuei O. (1971). *Bibliography of Nigeria: A Survey of Anthropological and Linguistic Writings from the Earliest Times to 1966*. London: Frank Cass



## **Selection of the Independent Variables**

The first question is how do we measure the social and political development of the three constituent nationalities that we have chosen? The following list of criteria would appear to be fairly comprehensive in that regard:

1. population size
2. presence or absence of a standing army
3. use of war and conquest as state building strategies
4. use of written records
5. degree of centralization in the political system
6. system of socialization, and
7. kinship patterns.

These cover most aspects of pre-industrial societies. Many of these dimensions are briefly described in Figure 2.1 below, and in Appendix I. Furthermore, the economic development and kinship patterns are connected to the geographic location and ecology of these three nationalities as discussed in the beginning of chapter three.

Figure 2.1 equally provides an inventory of these three nationalities that we selected according to their geographical region, authority patterns, and type of pre-colonial polity, etc. Effort was made to ensure that the selection accommodates the range of indigenous polities in the region, i.e. centralized v/s decentralized, trade-based v/s conquest based, as well as the plurality of authority patterns in the nationalities that inhabit the region etc. The differences in traditional polities and societies in the selected nationalities are thought of in terms of the Weberian ideal-types. Figure 2.1 shows the configuration of socio-political and economic systems and organization among the Igbo,

Nationality Geographical/Region of Habitation	Traditional Polity Type	Head/Authority in- charge of Polity	Nature of Traditional Polity	Traditional Authority Type
South(East) IGBO				
i. Northern or Onitsha IGBO	Constitutional Monarchy	<i>Obi or Eze</i>	Trade- Based/Cultivators No Standing Army	Centralized/Democratic
ii. Southern or Owere IGBO	Village Democracy	<i>Ama Ala</i> (Assemble of Free-born Adult Males) presided by the <i>Opara Ukwu</i> (eldest male from the prime kindred)	Trade-based/Cultivators No standing army	Decentralized/Democratic (Republican)
iii. Western IGBO	Constitutional Monarchy	<i>Obi or Eze</i> and <i>Ndi Nze na Ozo</i> (Men of Title)	Trade-based/Cultivators No standing army	Centralized/Democratic
iv. Eastern IGBO (including the Afikpo village groups)	Village Democracy	<i>Ndioke or Ndichie</i> (Heads of Lineages) and <i>Ama Ala</i> (Assemble of Free- Born Adult Males)	Trade- Based/Cultivators No standing army	Decentralized/Democratic
v. Northeastern IGBO	Constitutional Monarchy	<i>Eze or Obi</i> or <i>Atamanya</i> and Title Holders (Council of Chiefs)	Trade- Based/Cultivators No standing army	Centralized/Democratic
South (West) YORUBA				
i. OLD OYO Empire	Constitutional Monarchy	<i>Alafin</i> assisted by the <i>Oyo Mesi</i> (Council of State) and the <i>Omo- oba</i> (Liason Council)	Conquest and trade- based/Cultivators Standing Army	Centralized/Democratic
ii. IJEBU	Constitutional Monarchy	<i>Awujale</i>	Trade-based/Cultivators No standing army	Centralized/Democratic
iii. EKITI Confeder- acy	Constitutional Monarchy	<i>Oba</i>	Trade-based/Cultivators No standing army	Centralized/Democratic
North (Far) HAUSA-FULANI (Hausa, Fulani, Nupe peoples)	The Sokoto Caliphate Sultanate Empire	<i>Sarkin Muslimi</i> (the Commander of the Faithful) Sultan of Sokoto	Conquest-based Standing army	Highly centralized Highly authoritarian

Figure 2.1: Inventory of the political characteristics of the three nationalities.

Yoruba and the Hausa-Fulani. Furthermore, the five categorizations of the Igbo and the specific types of polities that are associated with the groups in each category are all shown in Figure 2.1. The disparities in the type of polities between the northern, western and northeastern Igbo groups who evolved constitutional monarchies and the southern and eastern groups that evolved village-based democracies are not hard and fast. Among the Igbo who are trade-based cultivators, authority is democratically structured and practiced. The centralization of the structures of authority amongst some Igbo groups does not entail the employment of coercion in its practice.

The categorization of the Yoruba into three groups is evidence of the absence of an over-arching political organization in Yorubaland. The fact that there were fairly large political organizations in Yorubaland is not indicative of the fact that their centralized political system was undemocratic. Among the Hausa-Fulani, polity and authority were evolved into huge monoliths of authoritarianism. It will be shown that all the aforementioned differences and unique features have some measure of impacts on the story that we tell in this study.

To measure the congruence and consonance of the authority patterns within a nationality and the heterogeneity in the authority patterns across the three constituent nationalities that we chose, we adopted and applied a methodological construct or scheme that was developed by Eckstein and Gurr (1975) and based on Eckstein's congruence theory. The authors recommended their scheme/construct for studies that focus on the governmental and non-governmental authority patterns in social units and their impact on political performance. For our purposes in the study, we designated the construct as the Eckstein-Gurr scheme or E-G scheme.

The independent or x-variables are conceptualized to correspond with the four hypotheses. The first set of x-variables comprises the differential patterns of political, social, and economic development in the three selected nationalities. The other set of x-variables comprises their governmental and non-governmental authority patterns. The third x-variable comprises the authority patterns of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state. The fourth x-variable comprises the four state building policies and the preferential alliances that evolved between the British and the leadership in some of the nationalities.

The dependent variable is political instability measured in terms of such indicators as riots, strikes, uprisings, secession attempts, civil war, coups d’etat, coup attempts, assassinations, etc. in the supra-national state during and after colonial rule.

The four hypotheses that we presented and discussed earlier are meant to address and dispel any possible concern about vagueness in the study. The E-G scheme, which is summarized in detail in the next section in the current chapter, constitutes the set of tools for the inquiry. The scheme will aid our task of assessing the governmental and non-governmental authority patterns in each of the three nationalities as well as in the supra-national state itself.

For the sake of clarity, there is the need at this point for us to define what we mean by ‘governmental and non-governmental’ authority patterns. We have elected to do that particularly for the additional reason that they are prominent features of our discourse.<sup>24</sup> We have deduced from Eckstein (1969: 294) that ‘governmental’ authority patterns apply specifically to the authority structures and relations of governments or “government-like entities” (Eckstein 1998: 529-294) in social units or societies.

Furthermore, we have been able to discern from some of his work that he frequently employed the concept of ‘non-governmental’ authority patterns when he referred to the authority structures and relations of “other segmental units of society” (Eckstein 1969: 294). In that regard therefore, all the various agencies that perform roles in the realms of socialization, defense, social control, etc. in society will qualify as segmental units. In most if not all cases these are those units that are most proximate to government in society. They would include the family, the lineage, kindred, agencies of socialization, social control, defense, etc.

### **Tools for Inquiry into Authority Patterns: A Summary of the E-G Scheme**

Before we can embark on an in-depth examination of political development in pre-colonial Igboland, Yorubaland, and Hausaland, to portray their respective authority patterns and supporting influence relations, as well as those of the imposed ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, it is pertinent for us to lay out the tools that we will need.

Developed by Eckstein and Gurr (1975) such tools are outlined below. These concepts “apply to authority patterns in any and all social units, regardless of variations that do not directly involve authority relations (such as size, complexity, or functions) and regardless of whether the units exhibit great or little overall asymmetry between subordinates” (Eckstein 1975: 41).

The concepts are products of deliberate ‘reasoning’, i.e. they do not constitute “an arbitrary list” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 41). They are embodied in a ‘scheme’ that facilitates the examination of specific “aspects of patterns of authority” (Eckstein and

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<sup>24</sup> Eckstein (1969) used ‘governmental and non-governmental’ synonymously with ‘political and social’ in his discourse on authority patterns. We will emulate him to do

Gurr 1975: 41). The six ‘aspects of patterns of authority’ whose examination is facilitated in the E-G scheme of concepts or tools are as follows: (a) ‘influence relations among super-ordinates and subordinates’, (b) ‘inequalities among them’, i.e. super-ordinates and subordinates, (c) certain “static” aspects of structures of super-ordination (their conformation, or “anatomy”), (d) ‘certain’ “dynamic” aspects of such structures (their processes, or “physiology”), (e) ‘the manner in which members of social units are recruited into super-ordinated positions’, (f) ‘and the bases of legitimacy perceptions’ (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 41).

Our analysis of the authority patterns among the Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani, and the imposed bureaucratic authority patterns of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state will benefit from a detailed examination of the first and sixth aspects of ‘patterns of authority’, i.e. the ‘influence relations among super-ordinates and subordinates’ and ‘the bases of legitimacy perceptions’ by subordinates in any given social unit. The examination of the ‘bases of legitimacy perceptions’ is bound to be inferential primarily because of the unique way in which Eckstein and Gurr derived and articulated them from their articulation of the former. The concepts or tools that are embodied in the E-G scheme are bound to enhance our discussion in its entirety. What follows immediately below is the succinct but comprehensive summary of each of the two aspects of ‘patterns of authority’ that we outlined above. This summary is strictly derived from the way that Eckstein and Gurr articulated them in their scheme.

By definition “an authority pattern is a set of asymmetric relations among hierarchically ordered members of a social unit that involves the direction of the unit” (Eckstein 1973: 1153). By extension the mention of a ‘social unit’ in this definition calls

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the same in the study.

the following three complimentary issues about the definition to mind. (i) The ‘social unit’ itself depicts a group of “individuals that may be regarded as collective individuals” (Eckstein 1973: 1153) who exist as members and “are perceived as ranked in levels of superiority and inferiority” (Eckstein 1973: 1153) as a result of their ‘hierarchically ordered’ positions. (ii) There is bound to be ‘direction’ in any social unit. (iii) “The *direction* of a social unit involves the definition of its goals, the regulation of conduct of its members, and the allocation and coordination of roles within it” (Eckstein 1973: 1154).

### **Influence Relations Among Superordinates and Subordinates**

The E-G scheme posits that authority relations involve ‘super-ordinate’ actors or Super-actors and their ‘subordinate’ counterparts or *sub-actors*. In any given social unit the association of individuals who belong to these two categories of actors co-note “direction”, i.e. “people who direct and are directed, and their interactions” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 53). The interactions that take place between the Super-actors and the sub-actors have certain components or ‘dimensions’ to them. The aggregate totals of those aspects or ‘dimensions’ of the interactions that take place between these two categories of actors in any social unit is four. All the four components “involve flows of “influence” among [the individuals in the two categories, as well as]: attempts to affect behavior and actual effects of the attempts” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 53) in the social unit. Those four “dimensions of influence [are:] *Directiveness, Participation, Responsiveness, and Compliance*” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 53).

## *Directiveness*

This dimension or aspect of influence relations among Super and sub-actors in any social unit “refers to the extent to which activities in a social unit are subject to directives, rather than being left to the free discretion of members” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 53). It is defined “as the extent to which supers attempt to influence the behavior of members of a social unit by means of directives” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 53). Eckstein and Gurr conceived *Directiveness* as a continuum that has two polar extremes to it with the following depicted values, Regimented (+) and Permissive (0), and of course a middle point (see Figure 2.2 below).

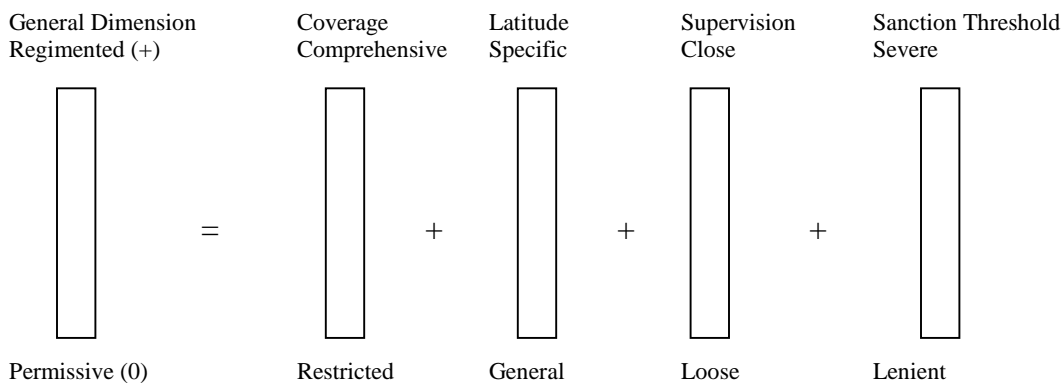


Figure 2.2: Diagrammatic representation of the Eckstein-Gurr *Directiveness* dimension  
Source: Eckstein and Gurr (1975: 54).

*Directiveness* does not deal with the issue of the ‘success’ of directives or their absence in a social unit at all. As we can see from the diagrammatic representation above, at the top-most extreme of its continuum *Directiveness* entails a situation in which whatever that takes place in a social unit is “dealt with, in every detail, by rigidly



enforced directives” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 54). Conversely, the lowest extreme depicts a complete absence of authority pattern (which may not obtain in any social unit in a real world situation). It is therefore due to the reason that such a situation is untenable in reality that Eckstein and Gurr posit that whenever social units tend towards this lowest extreme on the *Directiveness* dimensions, it is better to categorize those units as ‘permissive’. The reason for that being that “all benefit of doubt is given in them to “free” behavior and wide choices of behavior are ... allowed” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 54) in them. *Directiveness* consists of four components, which Eckstein and Gurr depict in a configuration that portray “ a certain logical order” because “of their probable behavior consequences” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 54-55). The four components are:

- (i) *Coverage*, which is defined as (‘the degree to which items of behavior are dealt with by supers’ orders). It can be either *comprehensive* (when it is at the top-most extreme’), *restricted* (when it is at the tail extreme) or even anywhere in-between.
- (ii) *Latitude* (‘the number of ways in which members or sub-actors of social units can behave according to prevalent norms’). Again, this component of *Directiveness* equally entails a *specific* extreme in which there are ‘specific’ stipulations or the *general* pole that leaves “room for the discretion to subs” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 55)
- (iii) *Supervision* (‘the extent to which *supervision* is used to detect failures to comply’). It can be *close* or *loose*. As far as supervision is concerned, “[i]n many cases, ... the very existence of directives, and any remote possibility of being found in noncompliance, will have a constraining influence—more, of course, if

one is greatly attached to the unit and its superordinates than if one is not”

(Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 55).

The reverse of supervision “always opens possibilities, always reduces the probability that noncompliance will be costly, and sometimes denotes that an order is merely nominal” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 55), and of course

(iv) *Sanction threshold*, which configures in a continuum that comprises of the ‘severe’ and the ‘lenient’.

Given that the “level of *Directiveness* is judged by effects on behavior, not just treated as supers’ wishful intents”, (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 55) *Directiveness* is a dimension of authority patterns that helps us to “deal with the threshold at which sanctions are used and their severity when invoked” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 55).

While Eckstein and Gurr caution that all the four components of *Directiveness* can (depending on the purpose) be treated separately in their own rights, they also added that they all possess a clear ‘dimensional’ configuration. Their respective effects on the response of sub-actors to *Directiveness* are invariably clear and succinct. By saying that Eckstein and Gurr mean that while in the real world situation “*coverage* narrows choice; *latitude* narrows it more, *supervision* still more, and *sanction threshold* and *severity* more again” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 55).

### *Participation*

Eckstein and Gurr conceived *Participation* as a dimension of authority relations in social units specifically to depict ‘direction’ as well as to detach it from ‘causality’ and the “notion of ‘control’” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 55). They explained that their

conception of *Participation* was informed by the rationale that interactions between Super-actors and sub-actors in any social unit do not simply amount to one-way street relationships in which all individuals who are sub-actors are mere passive actors who simply receive and follow directions. In most if not all real world social units there are bound to be some sub-actors who may be passive followers of directions, and there may also be some who may “generally attempt to influence the directive activities of supers” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 60). Such sub-actors who qualify as non-passive members of their social unit ‘attempt to wield such influence’ on the Super-actors through ‘acts of participation’.

Hence, “dimension of authority patterns like *Participation* refers to overall characteristics and measures of such acts in social units” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 60). Eckstein and Gurr outline the following crucial pointers on *Participation*. It is a continuous dimension, i.e. “social units exhibit more or less of it, and distinctions regarding it can potentially be made as discriminating as seems useful” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 61) in any given case in point. Our knowledge of *Participation* in any social unit will enable us to discern the “degree of asymmetry between subs and supers” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 6) therein. It does have a high extreme (that ‘lies at or near infinity’), and a low extreme that portrays zero (0) or the absence of participating sub-actors.

Thus, while it is possible that there can be zero (0) participation from the sub-actors in a social unit, it is also true that there can be much more participation therein. Such increased participation will be “in terms of numbers of subs who participate,

numbers of acts of participation, intensity of the acts, or extensiveness of matters one seeks to influence” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 62).

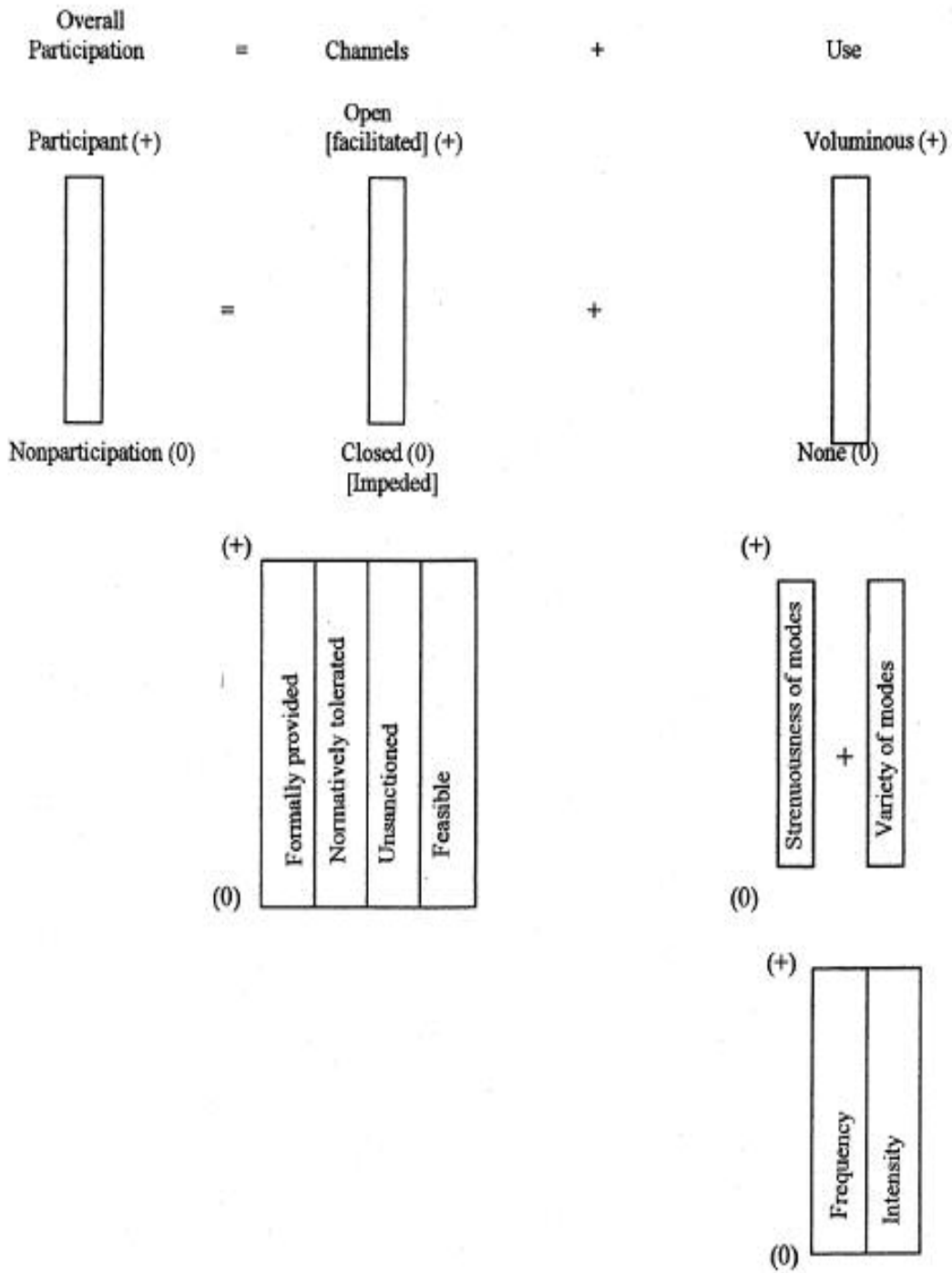


Figure 2.3: Diagrammatic representation of the Eckstein-Gurr *Participation* dimension  
 Source: Eckstein and Gurr (1975: 61).

The close examination of all the four components of *Participation* that follows reveals that all of them are not “clearly dimensional” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 62). The existence of:

(a) *Channels* of participation in a social unit are bound to impact positively on participation therein. If those channels are open the more the likelihood of improved participation in that social unit. In the same vein, closed channels are bound to deter and impede participation in a social unit. However, “although open channels encourage and facilitate participation in social units, it is equally evident that equal opportunity does not imply equal use” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 62).

(b) It may call for a number of specific measures for us to ascertain whether or not channels are ‘*open*’ or ‘*closed*’ in any social unit as the case might be.

“Channels”, argue Eckstein and Gurr,

may be “formally” open (i.e. provided, or at least not proscribed) by explicit formal rules like those in constitutions or by-laws. Even if not proscribed, however they may be “normatively” disapproved in the unit (especially by superiors), in which case the significance of what the formal rules provide is bound to be reduced; similarly, normative approval will open channels more than the mere lack of formal proscription, or it may counterweigh proscriptions ” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 62).

Then come two crucial questions of “practical import: Does “the use of proscribed channels, or failure to use open ones” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 62) attract sanctions to sub-actors in the unit? How feasible to them is the use of seemingly open channels? For sub-actors the *openness* of channels of participation in a social unit might be more apparent than real. It is clear from Figure 2:3 that ‘formal rules’, ‘prevalent norms’, the ‘likelihood of sanctions, and the ‘feasibility of the use of channels’ in a social unit can in

their respective rights impact participation. But when rolled together, they also have a lot to reveal about the degree to “which participatory activities by subs are facilitated or impeded, which is certainly “dimensional”” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 63). If there are impediments to channels of participation in the social unit, participatory activities therein will attract costs to participant sub-actors. One can guess from the foregoing that those costs (both in fact and in degrees) are functions of the nature and extent of the impediments that exist in the channels of participation in the said social unit.

The other related issue on this is that, irrespective of the extent to which Super-actors in the social unit try to impede channels of participation there will always be room for some creative subs-actors to wield certain acts of participation. Although such acts of participation from those creative sub-actors may not be to the liking of the Super-actors, they are still bound to influence their directive activities all the same with very high chances of triggering instability of some sorts in the social unit. While channels can be either ‘highly facilitated’ or ‘highly impeded’ the four aspects of the dimension of *Participation* are there to aid us in the task of gauging the degree to which participation has been facilitated or impeded in the social unit.

- (c) The *frequency* and *intensity* of the use of the channels of participation in a social unit by sub-actors can and are often associated with one another. However, knowing that the ‘*frequency*’ of use of channels can “be isolated and sporadic, or ... frequent and continuous” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 63) would not entail that one is unaware of its intensity. Thus, even if we were to know everything about the ‘frequency of use’ of the channels of *Participation* it would not tell us the cost that sub-actors are prepared to bear for

participation. Cost of participation is indeed a function of the value that sub-actors place on their acts of participation in their social unit. The logic of it all is that the higher the value that sub-actors place on their acts of participation, the higher cost that they will be prepared to shoulder and the higher the pressure that they will exert on the Super-actors in the social unit.

(d) Acts of participation by sub-actors in a social unit do not constitute a homogenous whole. Indeed they vary, and can come in the following modes:

- (i) ‘*group actions*’ (which connote that participatory sub-actors may either join existing groups or construct completely brand new groups all for the purpose of influencing the directives of their super-ordinate colleagues)
- (ii) ‘*direct personal actions*’ (through which sub-actors resort to the use of such repertoires as ‘personal representations or letters’)
- (iii) ‘*indirect personal actions*’ (through which sub-actors route their acts of participation through a third party or medium—letters to the editor for instance), and
- (iv) ‘*impersonal actions*’ (which are “activities in which the participating sub-actor remains anonymous, his actions simply adding a numerical increment to a more general activity—voting or depositing unsigned criticisms in the suggestion box” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 64).

There are two crucial issues that are worthy of note here concerning these four modes of acts of participation by sub-actors in a social unit. Both issues relate to the “intensity of participation” or its “underlying dimension” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 64) in any social unit. We are told that:



- (a) “*Group actions* mark by far the greatest demands on participants, *impersonal actions* by far the least, and between them, *direct personal actions* are more strenuous than direct ones” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 64).
- (b) It is safe to “assume that intense participants not only use the more demanding modes of participation (which are also likely to make supers feel “pressured”) but a variety of modes, participating if these include the more strenuous ones” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 64).

### *Responsiveness*

It wouldn't be wrong to presume that the dimension of *Responsiveness* is the logical consequence of *Participation*. In fact, that was exactly how Eckstein and Gurr articulated it. Hence their assertion that “participant subs seek to influence the way supers direct social units; responsive supers are disposed to be influenced by them and seek out “inputs” from them” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 67). Knowledge of *Participation* in any given social unit can indeed pave the ground for a logical understanding of *Responsiveness* therein.

One can discern from Figure 2.4 below that there are two extremes to this third dimension of authority pattern. Eckstein and Gurr call the first and second extremes of *Responsiveness* ‘autocracy’ and ‘alterocracy’ respectively. In any social unit where *Responsiveness* is at the ‘autocracy’ extreme participation is not only un-tolerated, it is even inhibited by the Super-actors who tend to “define their own problems and issues, keep their own counsel, issue whatever directives they please, implementing them as they see fit, and ignore or block off “feedback” except for information required to sanction

noncompliance” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 67). The opposite is the case at the ‘alterocracy’ extreme, i.e. ‘alterocrats’ “act in all cases according to what they perceive to be the “public opinion” of social units, counting their own preferences no greater than others” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 67).

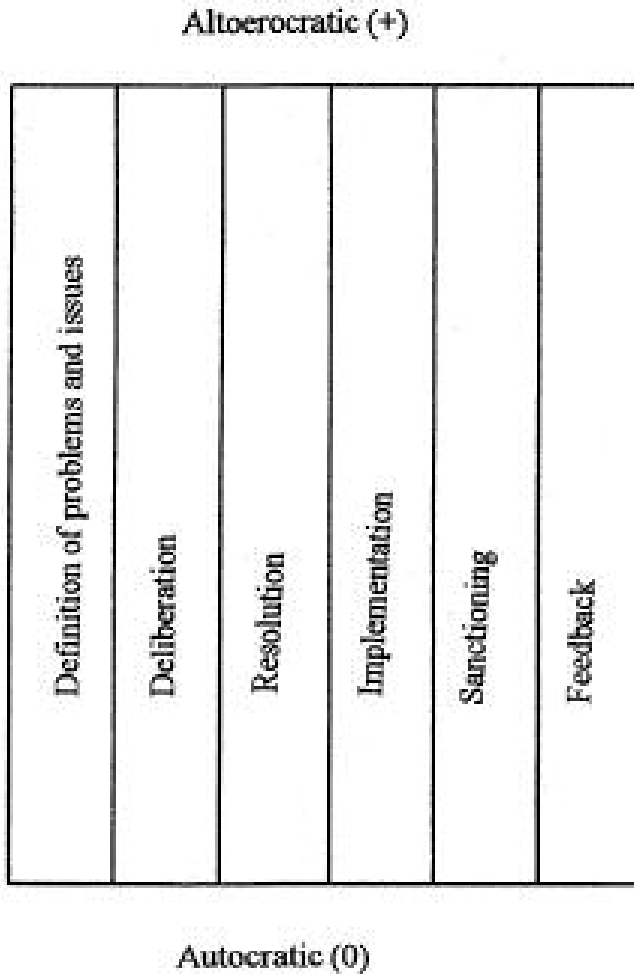


Figure 2.4: Diagrammatic representation of the Eckstein-Gurr *Responsiveness* dimension  
Source: Eckstein and Gurr (1975: 68).

Another crucial difference between the Super-actors who are associated with these two extremes of the *Responsiveness* dimension is that “autocrats perceive social units as collective extensions of themselves, and alterocrats see themselves as personal extensions of social units” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 67). Absolute alterocracy may not obtain in logic and reality for the reason that it would entail “no effective asymmetry between supers and subs, hence no authority—only a vacuous “superiority” without “control”” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 67) as well as a situation in which the preferences of both subs and supers coincide in all and every issue(s) in every and at all times.

On the other hand while autocracy in the absolute sense is not devoid of authority, its absolutism is not watertight since absolute autocrats are known to operate with the assistance of lieutenants. In real world situations however, the one factor that has the potential to cloud up the desire of any researcher who desires to plot a *Responsiveness* dimension devoid of differentiation “is the divisibility of the process of direction into phases [such as the] definition of problems and issues, deliberation, and resolution” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 69). But in order for a researcher to accomplish such a plot he must adjust his concern and focus on just ‘policy-making’ in the social unit he is studying. If the concern “shifts to direction..., we would of course add implementation, sanctioning, and the reception and processing of feedback from subs” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 69) to the other phases that were outlined above. When the different phases of the *Responsiveness* dimension are arrayed as shown in Figure 2.4, “*Responsiveness* can be high at some phases and low at others” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 69).

## *Compliance*

If all things were to be equal the logical flip side of “the directive super is the complaint sub” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 71). But then nobody should assume that every subordinate actor in a unit will simply go out of his or her way to comply with whatever directives that emanate from their super-ordinates without factoring in the cost of doing that and the cost of the benefits that will accrue as a result of his or her compliance.

There are a number of factors that can engender compliance by a sub-actor on directives from the Super-actors in his social unit. The first factor could be the disposition to compliance. A sub-actor who is generally disposed to complying with directives can just do so at any given time for just that reason. That would be especially so if after pondering on his options he concludes that it is more advantageous for him to comply as opposed to not complying. The logical assumption in such a case is that he will ponder his options in view of several conditions with or without factoring “supervision and sanctions, ... the probable costs of noncompliance” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 71) into that process of pondering, etc. The second factor is that a sub-actor could be convinced in his mind sequel to all deliberate calculations that a directive does not merit compliance but can at the same time be compelled to comply because of the dire consequences of noncompliance. Thirdly, “considerations of diffuse “legitimacy” may” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 71) also elicit compliance to a directive from a sub-actor in a social unit. Eckstein and Gurr remind us that some scholars (Rogowski and Wasserpring 1971, and Rogowski 1974 in (Eckstein and Gurr 1975) have basically reduced ‘compliance and noncompliance’ in social units “to cost-benefit ratios” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 72). Irrespective of whatever ratio that guides compliance and

noncompliance in a social unit, Eckstein and Gurr believe that there are three peculiar “values” that definitely determine compliance or noncompliance in a social unit. They are (a) ‘the specific value of the act’ of compliance or noncompliance, (b) ‘the more diffuse value of supporting or thwarting a general superordinate setup in the social unit’, and (c) the value of compliance or noncompliance in themselves’ (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 72).

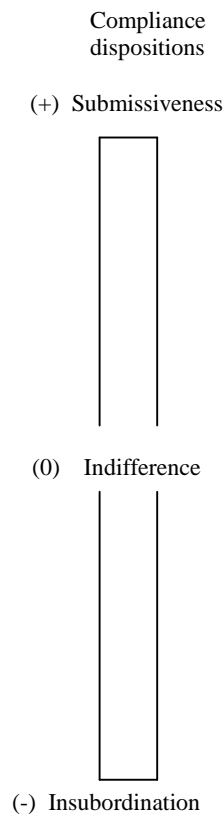


Figure 2.5: Diagrammatic representation of the Eckstein-Gurr *Compliance* dimension Source: Eckstein and Gurr (1975: 73). Note: This is not all there is to Eckstein and Gurr’s diagrammatic representation of this dimension. The other aspect that deals with the ‘determinants of compliance behavior’ is deliberately left.

The configuration of the *Compliance* dimension (Figure 2.5) indicates that the disposition of sub-actors in the social unit to comply with directives from Super-actors come in “true opposites” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 72). There is the topmost positive end in the configuration that boasts of the value of (+1). That positive end can be identified as the point of ‘submissiveness’. The point of ‘submissiveness’ is where compliance is the ‘overriding value’; the lowest point of negative end (-1) can be identified as the point of ‘insubordination’. The overriding value at the point of ‘insubordination’ (negative end) is the opposite of what it is at the point of submissiveness. In the configuration both of these points are separated by a point in the middle (0) which is called the point of ‘indifference’ where “calculations of immediate specific costs and benefits have full play” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 72). There are calibrated points of ‘allegiance’ between the points of ‘submissiveness’ and ‘indifference’. In this realm of the *Compliance* dimension, i.e. at the mid point of ‘indifference’, factors like the ‘overriding value’ to comply favorable ‘perceptions of legitimacy’ converge to deter sub-actors “from calculating the costs and benefits of compliance with specific directives in the first place, or favorably affect such calculations” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 72). But that’s not all there is to the configuration. One finds that a little before the middle of the upper notch of the configuration of the *Compliance* dimension depicts a situation in which compliance to directives in a social unit is driven by the extent to which the overriding value to submit is trumped by the perception of legitimacy. Beyond that notch, compliance is guided by a sub-actor’s cost-benefit calculations.

Below the mid point of (‘indifference’), what we have is the ‘true opposite’ of all that we have seen, i.e. calibrated measures of ‘potential’ ‘*opposition*’. There are some

additional aspects to the *Compliance* dimension, which are evident in the configuration, which we will not treat in detail here for the reason that they do not hold much relevance for our present discussion.

### **The Bases of Legitimacy Perceptions in Social Units**

In their formulation and conceptualization of their scheme or tool for social inquiry into patterns of authority in a social unit Eckstein and Gurr did not overlook the crucial place of the ‘bases of legitimacy’ in “the ‘performance’ of patterns of authority” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 197) in social units. Both authors defined ‘bases of legitimacy perceptions’ as: “values which govern perceptions that authority patterns are rightly constituted and therefore worthy of support—worthy, that is, of actions that tend to keep the patterns in existence and functioning effectively” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 198).

Naturally, Weber’s state-centered conception of legitimacy (Collins 1986) is the point of departure for Eckstein and Gurr as they proceeded to outline their own clearer and unambiguous set of analytic concepts to depict the bases of legitimacy. In the context of Weber’s state-centered conception, authority conceived in the context of the state, is analogous to domination, i.e. the capacity of some to exert their will on the rest who are in the majority, and make them to obey (Bendix 1962). Also, in the Weberian conception, “beliefs in the legitimacy of a system of domination are not merely philosophical matters” (Bendix 1962: 294). Indeed, they coalesce into a dynamic “feeling that arises from assessing the prestige of the state at any given moment” (Collins 1986: 155). Weber furnished us with three bases of legitimacy, each of which is “related to a corresponding type of “apparatus”—that have been used to justify the power of

command” (Bendix 1962: 294). The three bases of legitimacy that he furnished us with, which have often been described as a typology are: legal-rational legitimacy, which he associated with legal-rational authority; charismatic legitimacy (associated with the personal character of superiors), and traditional legitimacy, which is associated with traditional authority.

Taken accordingly, the exercise of legal-rational authority derives its legitimacy in any society where it issues from a set of impersonal code of laws whose application is judiciously impartial. All persons in such societies are deemed equal before the established code of laws. The only factors that elevate the individuals who are charged with the administration of that code to the status of “superiors” are the offices that their fellow members elected them to occupy (Bendix 1962). Such offices survive the tenure of the individuals who are elected to occupy them.

The legitimacy of wielders of charismatic authority is based on the presumed personal charismatic attributes of such leaders. While they are imbued with “extraordinary qualities” (Bendix 1962: 295) by their followers, which is why they obey them also, the “disciple-officials” who serve under them are equally appointed for “their own charisma and personal devotion” (Bendix 1962: 295) to the leader.

Authority whose exercise is based on traditional legitimacy functions on the accepted belief that its existence is timeless and that it is part and parcel of the social unit and its members. The “commands of leaders who fall under this typology are legitimate in the sense that they are in accord with custom, but they also possess the prerogative of free personal decisions” (Bendix 1962: 295).



Eckstein and Gurr consider Weber's typologies useful particularly for the reason that "they seem to exhaust all possibilities", are "mutually exclusive", and have "wide applicability" (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 202). However, they argue that "as an analytic scheme for characterizing bases of legitimation [i.e.] as an analytic scheme of qualitative elements" (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 203-4), Weber's typologies "are defective on one of two grounds" (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 204). First, they do not account for the crucial element of "force" as well as "many other Bases of Legitimacy" (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 204). Second, even if one accepts that they are 'comprehensive' in scope, their comprehensiveness merely "identifies bases of legitimacy only at a level of generality where important information is lost" (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 204). They cite examples with legal-rational legitimacy and charismatic legitimacy. They argue that there can be an endless list of what can constitute legal-rational and charismatic bases for legitimacy respectively. As for traditional legitimacy, they argue that in spite of being the one typology whose comprehensiveness is somewhat close-ended, the list of what it encompasses which can serve, as the bases of legitimacy in any situation where it prevails can still be quite extensive. One can therefore conclude that the Weberian typologies are fraught with serious shortcomings which can get in the way of any attempt to adopt them as analytic tools for "characterizing the bases of legitimacy" (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 204) in social units. Based on all these, their verdict on the Weberian typologies is that they may serve as a good point of departure in the quest to outline more robust analytic concepts for the manner of inquiry that we are saddled with in this dissertation.

They recommended that their “analytic scheme for characterizing authority patterns [can also] be converted for use in describing the bases of legitimacy perceptions” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 204). That explains the deliberate manner with which they formulated and examined all their dimensions of authority patterns in ‘three modes’, i.e. “the *forms, practices, and norms* of authority” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 205). The position of these two authors therefore is that each of the four dimensions of influence in the relations between Super-actors and sub-actors that we have examined so far and acknowledged as “central to any authority pattern” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 53) in any social unit are “bound to have practical and normative aspects, ...” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 205) to them in the study of political or governmental performance in social units. The hub of the Eckstein-Gurr articulation of the Bases of legitimacy linked to the ‘forms’, ‘practices’ and ‘norms’ of authority

is that the normative aspects of the dimensions are all, in the nature of norms, potential sources of perceptions of legitimacy. The norms concern conditions deemed desirable. If correspondence of practices (or perhaps forms) to norms is perceived, positive perceptions of legitimacy should occur; if not, the perception should be negative ((Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 205).

In a nutshell therefore, the ‘Bases of legitimacy’ in social units could be furnished by ‘balances of norms’ and ‘salient norms’ (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 204-221).

Drawing from the logic of their own argument steeped in examples, Eckstein and Gurr have recommended the following three of their dimensions of authority patterns as possible bases of legitimacy. In some quite reasonable ways too, they were able to associate all three with aspects of Weber’s typologies of legitimacy.

### *Personal Legitimacy: Recruitment as a Salient Dimension*

This is the dimension of authority patterns that touches the occupants of “superordinated positions” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 211) in a social unit directly. The issue of who the superordinates in a social unit are is understood most if not all of its members. Members of social units can easily factor their perceptions of who their leaders are into their over all assessment of the authority they wield. ‘Personal legitimacy’ of superordinates is of pivotal importance in how members of a social unit evaluate their authority patterns. Indeed, “a personal characteristic, competence, was the one factor other than position as such frequently mentioned as a basis of authority” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 213).

Eckstein and Gurr emphasized that since the processes through which superordinates are recruited are visible to members, *Recruitment* is bound to “play important roles in perceptions of legitimacy” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 150). They designate *Recruitment* as a dimension which is “salient for norms of legitimacy” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 213). Also, they designate it as “a dimension that both closely relates to the persons of superordinates and renders accessible the less mutable aspects of the personal characteristics of authorities” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 213). When subs see that what actually prevails in the processes of elevating individuals to positions of authority correspond to the dictates of the prevalent norms in their social unit, then there will be no doubt that they will view the exercise of authority by those individuals as being legitimate. Eckstein and Gurr’s designation of the *Recruitment* dimension as a valid base for legitimacy is further underscored by their assessment that it tends to encompass aspects of Weber’s legal-rational and traditional types of legitimacy.

*‘Substantive Legitimacy: The Salience of Directiveness’*

What emanates from the wielders of authority in a social unit as directives have a lot to do with how they are perceived by those who they direct. Irrespective of what their notion of the person who issues the directives is, the members of social units tend to have a clear notion of what they consider to be fair or foul. The implication of that is that “it is hard to believe that their sense of justice or injustice (hence legitimacy) will be wholly based on perceptions of the persons of superiors or processes of direction” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 216) in their social unit. It is therefore because of the nature of what they both encompass that *Directiveness* and *Responsiveness* tend to have immediate impact on the perceptions that subordinates have about their superiors who are the sources of directives in their social units.

This is why Eckstein and Gurr propounded that it is because of the way in which the affairs of people can be impacted by enforced directives that *Directiveness* in social units determines their evaluation of authority in society. When we recall that the extent to which the views of members of a social unit are taken into account by the wielders of authority when they formulate directives impacts their evaluation of authority we can also say a similar thing about *Responsiveness*. In other words, because *Directiveness* and *Responsiveness* “possess high immediacy and consequentiality” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 217) they both constitute valid bases for legitimacy too.

*‘Procedural Legitimacy: The Salience of Participation’*

*Participation* is the other dimension of authority pattern whose salience can impact the evaluation of authority by members of a social unit. People can get a sense of

belonging in their social unit through *Participation*. In societies where the norm of participation is prevalent, attempts by authority to direct otherwise are bound to make members to perceive authority as illegitimate. *Participation* “has manifest immediacy for people and is likely to be perceived as consequential” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 220).

Figure 2.6 below is a tabular reconstruction of the aspect of the E-G scheme that

<b>Influence Relations Dimensions</b>	<b>Values</b>	<b>Aspects/Components</b>	<b>Indices/Indicators</b>
Directiveness (General)	1. Regimented (+) 2. Mid Point 3. Permissive (0)	1. Coverage: (i) Comprehensive (ii) Restricted 2. Latitude: (i) Specific (ii) General 3. Supervision: (i) Close (ii) Loose 4. Sanction Threshold: (i) Severe (ii) Lenient	Laws, Policies, Customs, Traditions, etc.
Participation	1. Participant (+) 2. Non-participant (0)	Channels + Use (i) Open (i) Voluminous(+) [facilitated](+) (ii) None (0) (ii) Closed (0) (iii) frequency [impeded] (iv) intensity formally (v) strenuousness provided, of modes, normatively variety of modes tolerated, unsanctioned, feasible.	Group actions, direct personal actions, indirect personal actions.
Responsiveness (Overall)	1. Autocracy(+) 2. Mid Point 3. Alterocracy	1. Definition of problems and issues 2. Deliberation 3. Resolution 4. Implementation 5. Sanctioning 6. Feed back	Representative institutions, possibility of over-ruling the leadership, possible removal of the leadership
Compliance (Dispositions)	1. Submissive-ness (+) 2. Allegiance 3. Indifference (0) 4. Opposition 5. Insub-ordination	Determinants of compliance behavior: (a) General legitimacy perceptions—can dispose people to comply (b) Specific cost calculations (i) General illegitimacy perceptions (ii) specific cost calculations—can dispose people to defy	Creative acts of participation such as revolts, riots, resistance, etc.

Figure 2.6: Tabular representation of the E-G scheme showing the four dimensions of influence relations, the components and their applicable indices.

relate to influence relations. It shows the four dimensions, the values of their respective continuum, the aspects/components of each value in the continuum for each one, and of course, the indices or indicators that characterize each dimension. Figure 2.7 is the presentation of the five possible measures or metrics (Very High, High, Low, Very Low, and Absent) that can be used to assess the degree to which the values of the four dimensions are evident in the authority patterns of the three nationalities, and those of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state.

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Values</b>	<b>Possible Scores</b>
<i>Directiveness</i> (General)	1. Regimented (+) 2. Mid Point 3. Permissive (0)	Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent
<i>Participation</i>	1. Participant (+) 2. Non-participant (0)	Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent
<i>Responsiveness</i> (Overall)	1. Autocracy(+) 2. Mid Point 3. Alterocracy	Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent
<i>Compliance</i> (Dispositions)	1. Submissiveness (+) 2. Allegiance 3. Indifference (0) 4. Opposition 5. Insub-ordination	Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent Very High, High, Low, Very Low, or Absent

Figure 2.7: Measure-scale representation of the E-G scheme

So far, we have been able to establish the grounds to embark on the task of discussing authority patterns among the Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani and in the next chapter, in the imposed ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state.

## Data and Their Sources

The historical nature of the study dictates that it should be based on data from secondary sources. We were able to identify several documents and records that fit that definition on all aspects of the lives of the distinct nationalities in the Niger basin and their contacts with Europeans were identified. Such secondary documents and records were sorted into the three categories of<sup>25</sup>

- (1.) studies on the nationalities,
- (2.) studies on the colonial period.
- (3.) studies on political instability.

### *Studies on the Nationalities*

We developed a chart to enable us sort the available data on the three nationalities—see Appendix 1. There were monographs, early anthropological and original historical records of all kinds that were produced and gathered on and about the indigenous nationalities. Such secondary sources include the *Human Relations Area Files (HRAF)*<sup>26</sup>, and the London International African Institute’s Ethnographic Survey of Africa series, edited by Daryll Forde. The HRAF, which was developed by Yale University in the early 1970s, is an assortment of “historic and ethnographic” (Bates 1983: 22) materials by different authors and sources on a “sample of thirty-six African

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<sup>25</sup> Only a selection of these sources is listed in this chapter. The bibliography is arranged in a deliberate manner aimed at presenting the sources of data in the three categories.

<sup>26</sup> See Murdock, George Peter. 1975. *Outline of World Cultures*, Human Relations Area Files, Inc. The *HRAF* opened up some important sources of data on the nationalities. Every annotated entry on each of the nationalities led us to the complete work from which it was culled.

societies” (Bates 1983: 22) and more. It is an assortment of materials by different authors and sources on various groups and peoples of the world.

The Ethnographic Survey of Africa series is a colonial undertaking which include monographs on almost all the nationalities that inhabit the region. Some examples as shown in Figure 2.8 include: *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria* and *Peoples of the Middle Niger Region of Northern Nigeria*, both by Harold D. Gunn, *The Tiv of Central Nigeria* by Laura and Paul Bohannon, *Notes on the Tribes of Northern Nigeria* by O. Temple, *The Ibo and Ibibio Speaking Peoples of Southeastern Nigeria* by Forde and Jones, C. K. Meek’s *Law and Authority in a ‘Nigerian’ Tribe*, M. M. Green’s *Ibo Village Affairs*, Samuel Johnson’s *The History of the Yorubas*, G. T. Basden’s *Niger Ibos*, S. F. Nadel’s *A Black Byzantium*, Northcote W. Thomas’ six volume *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*. Included in this category are books and monographs in the Ibadan History series and early trail blazing articles in *The Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, and *The Journal of Modern African History*, etc).

Early anthropological monographs furnished vital data on marriage<sup>27</sup>; economy, and politics; three indices that we utilized to assess integration within and between nationalities on the socio-cultural, economic and political levels respectively during the pre-colonial period.

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<sup>27</sup> Edward Ward’s *Marriage Among the Yoruba*, 1937, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America. (The Catholic University of America Anthropological Series, No. 4) stands out here.



### *Sources on the Colonial Period*

Documents in this category include British Parliamentary Papers, Foreign Office, and Colonial Office records and documents—*British Parliamentary Papers (Colonies Africa 63, Papers Relating to Africa 1802-99, Colonies Africa # 50, 64, Reports and Papers From the Foreign Office Confidential Print Series G (Africa, 1848-1914) Vol. 21 The Niger and Oil Rivers 1860-98)*. They all yielded extensive data on different aspects of British activities in the areas over time. I identified and gathered original records and accounts of the various ‘treaties’ that various British agents made indigenous leaders in the areas to sign, the various punitive expeditions and campaigns that British-led forces conducted against inhabitants of the areas. I identified and gathered relevant records of marshal and administrative enforcement by the British in the areas at the onset of and during the period of colonialism. They include, *Correspondence Relating to Campaigns in Arochukwu, Bini, Sokoto, Hadeija and the Munshi Country, Colonial Reports 1900-157, War Office Records, Lugard’s Political Memoranda, Amalgamation Report, etc.*). Statistical records of all kinds, including census data on the areas were gathered or identified.

### *Studies on Political Instability*

Sources here include works by Samuel P. Huntington, Gabriel Almond, James, Coleman and the others who pioneered studies on political development in the ‘new states’ in the immediate post World War II years. Most of the works by these pioneer scholars are steeped in modernization theory. The works of scholars who reacted to studies by these pioneers and resorted to situate their own studies within the realm of

“bringing the state back in” (Skocpol 1982) were good sources of data. They include Larry Diamond’s *Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria*, Toyin Falola and Julius Ihonvbere’s *The Rise and Fall of Nigeria’s Second Republic*, etc. Works that fall under this category of sources cover the entire range of theoretical perspectives. Figure 2.4 below is a snapshot of some of the important sources of secondary data on the three nationalities and British colonialism.

Ten of our most important sources of secondary data			
Igbo	Yoruba	Hausa-Fulani	British Colonialism
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The <i>HRAF</i>.</li> <li>2. <i>The Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking Peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria</i> by Daryll Forde and G. I. Jones (1950).</li> <li>3. <i>Ibo Village Affairs</i> by M. M. Green (1950).</li> <li>4. <i>Studies in Ibo Political Systems</i> by Ikenna Nzimiro (1972).</li> <li>4. "Ibo Oracles and Intergroup Relations" by Simon Ottenberg (1958).</li> <li>5. <i>The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria</i> by Victor C. Uchendu (1965).</li> <li>6. "The Igbo Response to British Imperialism" by F. K. Ekechi (1974).</li> <li>7. <i>Law and Authority in a 'Nigerian' Tribe</i> by C. K. Meek (1937).</li> <li>8. <i>The Igbo People and Europeans</i> by Elizabeth Isichei (1973).</li> <li>9. The six-volume <i>Anthropological Report on the Ibo-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria</i> by Northcote W. Thomas (1914).</li> <li>10. "The Growth of Trade Among the Igbo Before 1800" by David Northrup (1972).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century</i> by J. F. A. Ajayi and Robert Smith (1971).</li> <li>2. <i>The Origin of the Yoruba</i> by S. O. Biobaku (1955).</li> <li>3. <i>The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South-Western Nigeria</i> by Daryll Forde (1951).</li> <li>4. <i>The History of the Yorubas</i> by Samuel Johnson (1921).</li> <li>5. "The Yoruba Lineage" by P. C. Lloyd (1955).</li> <li>6. "Sacred Kingship and Government Among the Yoruba" by P. C. Lloyd (1960a).</li> <li>7. "Kinship and Lineage Among the Yoruba" by William B. Schwab (1955).</li> <li>8. <i>The Peoples of Southern Nigeria</i> by P. A. Talbot (1926).</li> <li>9. <i>Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland, 1840-1893</i> by Stephen A. Akintoye (1966).</li> <li>10. "Political Change and Adaptation in Yorubaland in the Nineteenth Century" by G. O. Oguntomisin (1981).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "Islam and Clan Organization Among the Hausa" by Joseph H. Greenberg (1947).</li> <li>2. <i>The Sokoto Caliphate</i> by Murray Last (1967).</li> <li>3. <i>A Tropical Dependency</i> by Flora Lugard (1997).</li> <li>4. <i>Affairs of West Africa</i> by Edmund D. Morel (1968).</li> <li>5. "Aspects of Emirship in Kano" by John N. Paden (1970).</li> <li>6. <i>Government in Zazzau, 1800-1950</i> by M. G. Smith (1960).</li> <li>7. "Historical and Cultural Conditions of Political Corruption Among the Hausa" by M. G. Smith (1964).</li> <li>8. <i>Native Races and their Rulers</i> by Charles L. Temple (1969).</li> <li>9. "British Administration and the Decline of the Patronage-Clientage in Northwestern Nigeria" by P. K. Tibenderana (1989).</li> <li>10. "Islam and Social Stratification in Northern Nigeria" by E. R. Yeld (1960).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>The Warrant Chiefs</i> by A. E. Afigbo (1972).</li> <li>2. Colonial Office Document s.</li> <li>3. "Portrait of a Colonizer" by F. K. Ekechi (1983).</li> <li>4. Parliamentary Papers.</li> <li>5. "Lugard and Indirect Rule" by P. C. Lloyd (1960).</li> <li>6. Lugard's <i>Political Memoranda</i>.</li> <li>7. <i>The Administration of Nigeria, 1900-1960</i> by Ian F. Nicolson (1969).</li> <li>8. "The Role of Propaganda in the Development of Indirect Rule in Nigeria, 1890-1929" by Anthony I. Nwabughu-ogu (1981).</li> <li>9. <i>Report on the Amalgamation of Nigeria</i> (1920).</li> <li>10. <i>The Colonial Annual Reports</i>.</li> </ol>

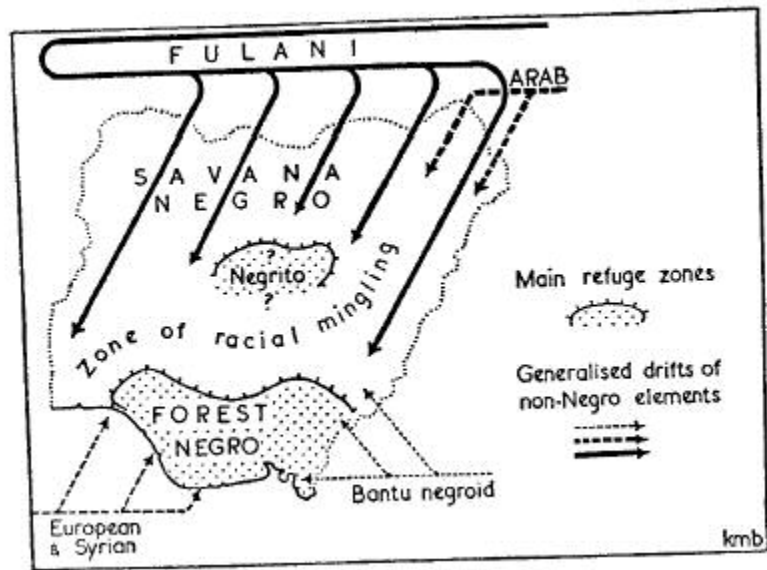
Figure 2.8: Ten of our most important sources of secondary data.

## CHAPTER III:

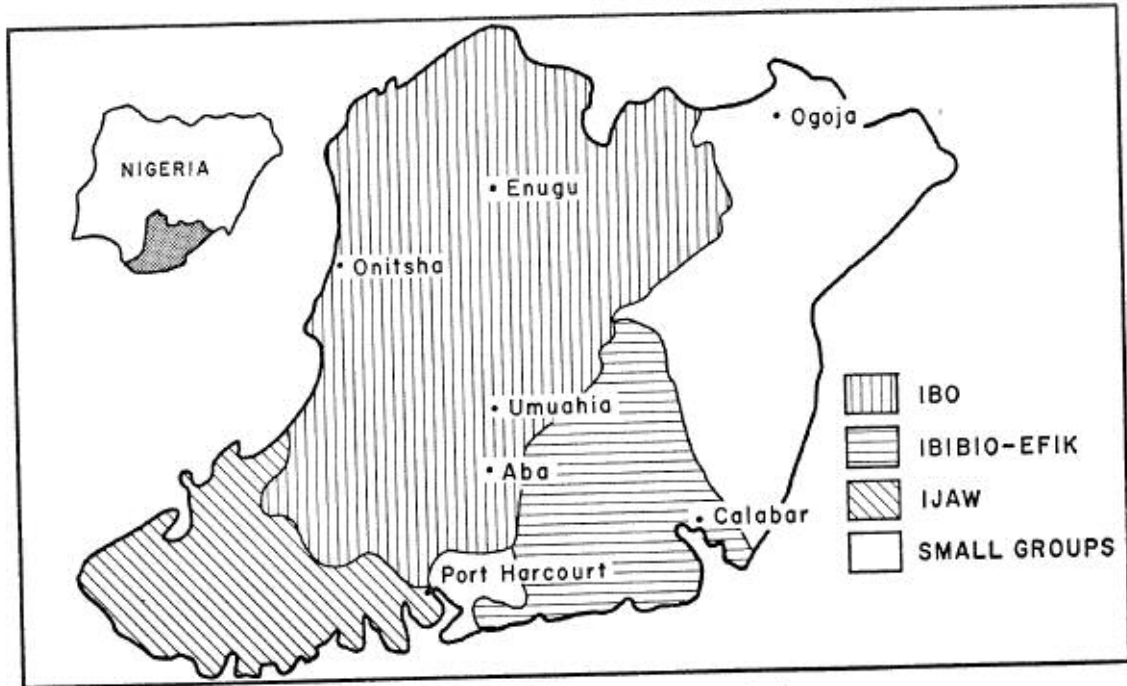
### THE PERIOD BEFORE 1884: THE NIGER BASIN AND ITS INHABITANTS BEFORE COLONIAL CONQUEST

Understanding the problems that often emanate from the task of building a politically unstable supra-national state from distinct as well as diverse nationalities requires that one must appreciate the disparate nature of those constituent nationalities. The pertinence for embarking on such an undertaking is especially necessary in situations where the task of state building was accomplished by external intervention, and without the consent of those distinct nationalities.

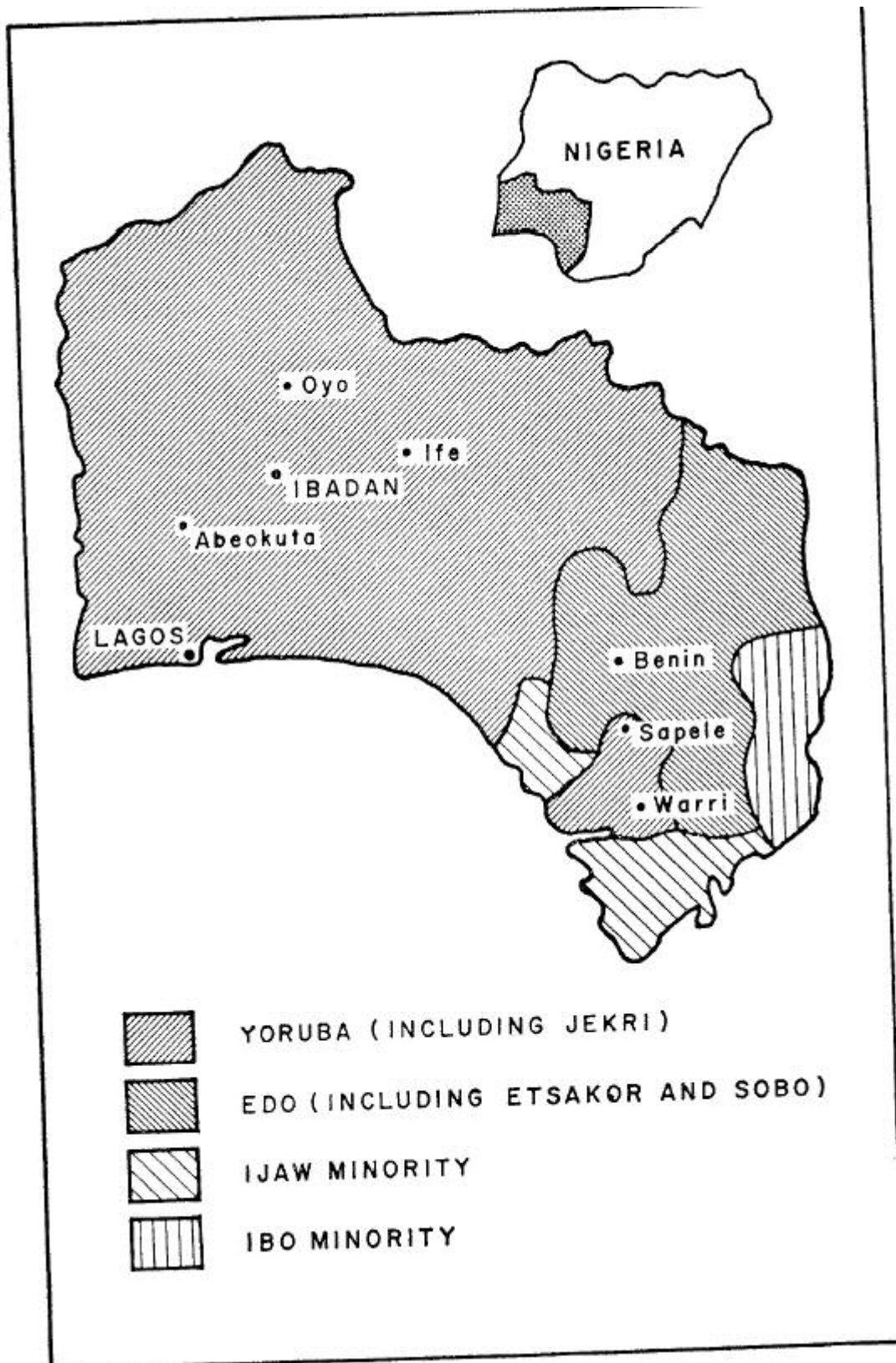
In the case of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, some of the disparities that exist between distinct nationalities can be traced to the geographical differences in their environment. For instance, geography played a role in the racial make-up of the inhabitants (Buchanan, Pugh, and Brown 1955: 80)—see Map 3.1. There may also be some disparities that can be traced to striking differences in the kinds of state, systems of governance, and the nature of social, economic and political authority patterns evolved by each one of them prior to British conquest. The nationalities that made their home in the Niger basin inhabit it in almost a neat non-co-terminus pattern—see Maps 3.2, 3. 3, and 3.4 respectively below. Through nature’s own act of territorial demarcation, the Niger basin is apportioned into distinctive geographic regions (Coleman 1958).



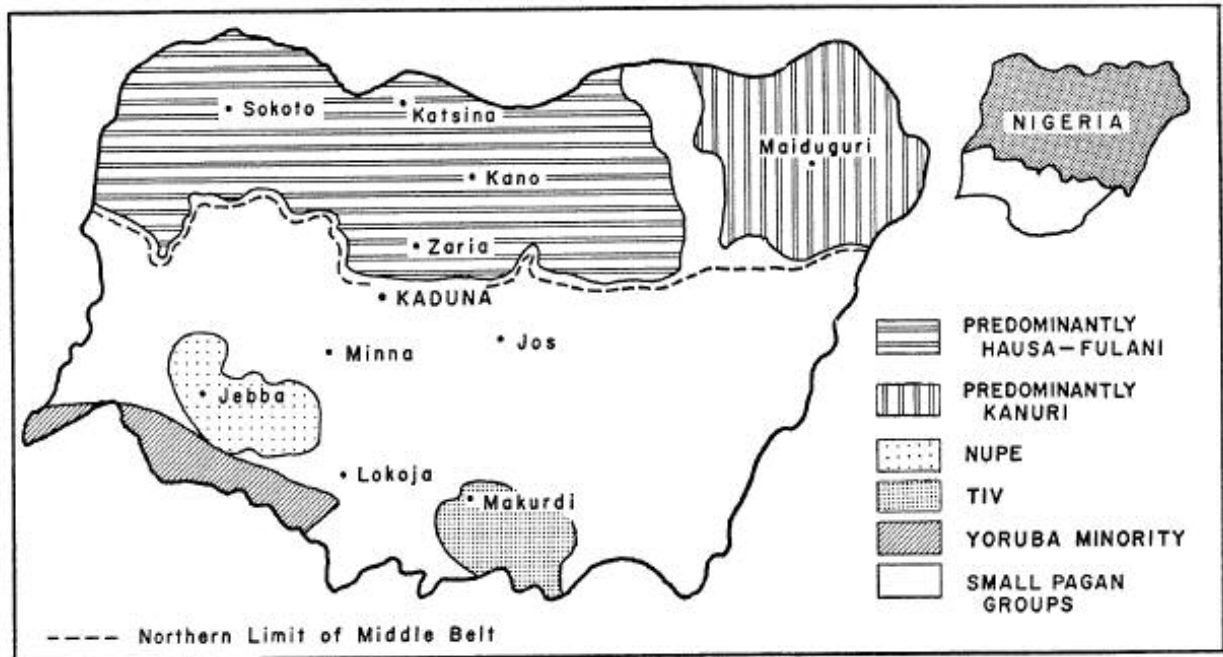
Map3.1: To illustrate the role that the geography of the Niger basin played in the racial make-up of its inhabitants. “Note the role of the rain forest and the broken terrain of the Middle Belt as refuges for the forest Negro and Negrito groups respectively” (Buchanan, Pugh, and Brown 1955: 80).



Map 3.2: Showing the Igbo and some of the other nationalities that inhabit southeast lower Niger basin. Source: Coleman (1958: 29).



Map 3.3: Showing the Yoruba and the nationalities that inhabit southwest lower Niger basin. Source: Coleman (1958: 26).



Map 3.4: Showing the upper Niger basin and the nationalities that inhabit it. Source: Coleman (1958: 19)

It was indeed those distinctive regions that facilitated the socio-political demarcation of the Niger basin in a way that qualifies its inhabitants to be rightly referred to as regional people (Coleman 1958). Each of the nationalities lays claims to its own historical territory or *homeland*. Each *homeland* has its own specific geographical boundaries that separate members of the inhabiting nationality and demarcate their territory from their neighbors' territory or *homeland*. In the Niger basin geography was responsible for providing the 'boundaries of nationality' that John Stuart Mill (1962) later espoused as a necessary condition for stable and democratic governance in polities.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Mills argued that "the boundaries of governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities" or fellow-feelings (in Marx 1998:4, and Katznelson 1996: 119). Mill's argument was affirmed by even the political development in an immigrant society like the United State where settlers in the southern colonies evolved their own kinship



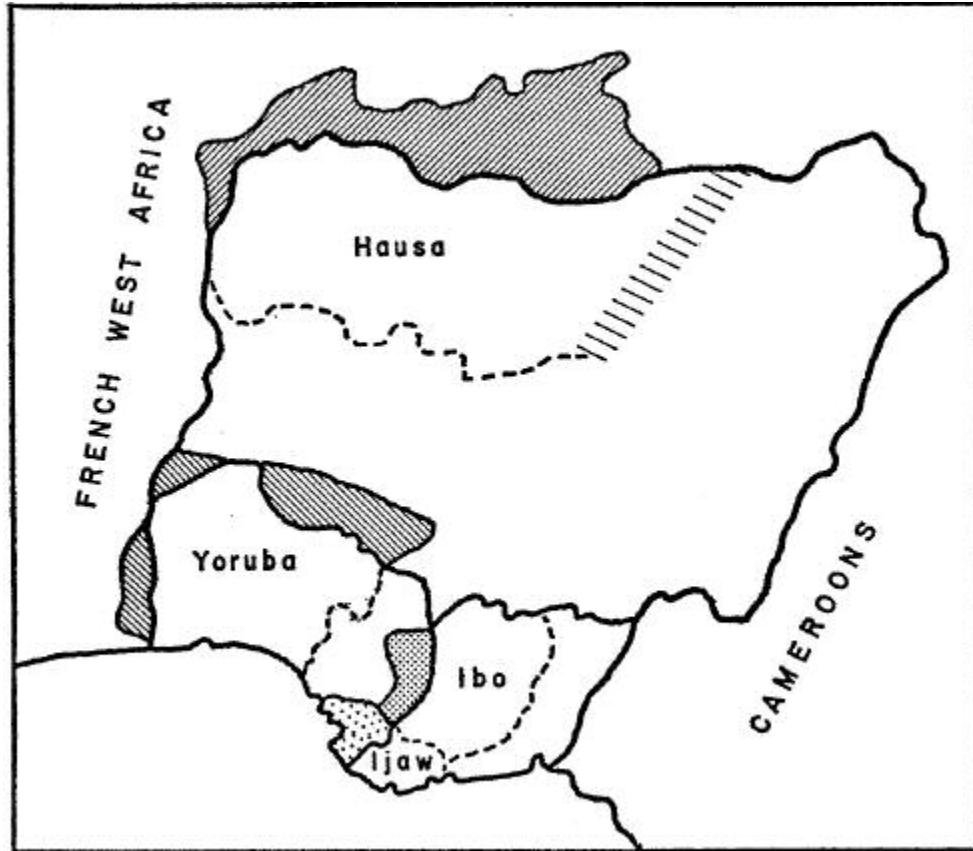
But pre-colonial state building and Europe's colonial intervention produced the trans-regionalism that disrupted some of the natural 'boundaries of nationality' in the Niger basin—see Map 3.5.<sup>29</sup> The Fulani *jihad* (a pre-colonial state building event that began in Hausaland in 1803) was responsible for incorporating parts of northern Yorubaland as an administrative polity into the Caliphate Empire in 1874. Similarly, Europe's colonial intervention (an external state building event in the late nineteenth century) arbitrarily carved up some of the *homelands* into artificial polities that are better described as amalgams of several distinct peoples. Parts of Yorubaland and Hausaland were partitioned into components of French possessions in the lower and upper Niger respectively. The British combined some Igbo groups and parts of Ijoland into an administrative polity within the 'Nigerian' supra-national state that they called the Western Region with the rest of Yorubaland. The rest of Ijoland and the other smaller nationalities that inhabit southeast lower Niger all got placed into the Eastern Region with the rest of the more populous Igbo.<sup>30</sup>






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networked and unique culture that was based on the ecology of their agricultural environment and dependency on slave labor for its exploitation. The politics of the US has continuously been defined by the uniqueness between the agricultural South and the industrial North.

<sup>29</sup> The exception was in the open savanna parts of the upper Niger basin where kinship and cultural ties developed between two erstwhile distinct nationalities, the Hausa and the Fulani. The kinship and cultural integration that evolved between the Hausa and the Fulani was partly because of the open savanna grassland that did not constitute a natural barrier to the movement and fission of peoples.

<sup>30</sup> The Regions and the other artificial administrative polities carved out of the inhabitants of the Niger basin since they were forced into the 'Nigerian' supra-national state lacked political durability.



-  YORUBA MINORITY AREA OF NORTHERN REGION AND FRENCH DAHOMEY
-  IJAW MINORITY AREA OF WESTERN REGION
-  IBO MINORITY AREA OF WESTERN REGION
-  HAUSA-SPEAKING AREA OF FRENCH NIGER
-  SHATTER BELT: HAUSA AND OTHER CHAD GROUPS

Map3. 5: Showing the trans-regionalism that resulted from European intervention in the Niger basin. Source: Coleman (1958: 17)

## **The Centrality of Geography and Ecology: Geography, Ecology, *Homelands*, and Peoples**<sup>31</sup>

The geography of the Niger basin is central to both the history and political development of its diverse peoples. The lower Niger basin includes the Niger delta and the areas that are located to its east and west. The lower Niger basin consists of four distinct tropical vegetations that qualify as ecological zones. The mangrove swamps constitute the ecological zone through which the River Niger drains into the Atlantic Ocean. The evergreen and thick rainforest land is the ecological zone which began from where the mangrove swamps terminate upland in the Niger basin. The evergreen and thick rain-forest ecological zone is followed by the deciduous forest region that thins down and becomes mostly grassland, which then joins up smoothly with the fourth ecological zone of mostly savanna vegetation. As Figure 3.1 shows, geography and ecology (Anene 1966) largely define the inhabitants of the Niger basin. Hailey's (1957) observation that geography impacts the history of most large world regions is therefore true about the Niger delta and its inhabitants. From Table 3.1 below, it is evident that each of the four distinct ecological zones in this large portion of the West African sub-region is associated with distinct political systems too.<sup>32</sup>

We have evidentiary proof to associate the four ecological zones with the evolution of specific political systems. We shall soon establish that in those situations

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<sup>31</sup> See Coleman, James S. 1958. *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p.11-35.

<sup>32</sup> Some Euro-American scholars including W. Arthur Lewis (1965:24) and Jeffrey Herbst (2000: 12) have observed that in contrast to Europe contemporary African states encompass more diverse ecological zones. Their observation ignored the need to mention that such a contrast resulted from Europe's arbitrary intervention in state building in Africa.

where different nationalities inhabit the same ecological zone, the ecological circumstances that prevail in each of the zones yielded uncanny similarities in the political systems that the nationalities that inhabit them evolved. Hence, the inhabitants of the mangrove swamps evolved small city-states at the mouth of the various rivers through which the Niger empties into the Atlantic, while those that inhabit the thick ever-green rain forest zone fashioned out small village democracies for themselves. It will amount to stretching the facts for us to suggest here that this is the exact social world replica of convergent evolution observed in evolutionary biology amongst certain animal species. However, the situation that we discerned from the socio-political systems evolved by the inhabitants of the mangrove swamps and the thick rain forest zones indicate that there are still some striking similarities between the social world in this part of the Niger basin and the world of evolutionary biology. The parallels that are evident in the political systems of the different inhabitants of each zone can be accounted for by their adaptation to the uniform peculiarities of their habitat. The variations (random) in their respective socio-political system highlight their distinctiveness.

In the economic realm the inhabitants of the mangrove swamps made their living as fishermen and watermen, while those of the thick rain forest became mostly cultivators and agrarians. But rather than exist in isolation or become preoccupied with the quest to surmount the natural barriers in their environment and prey on one another through warfare, they evolved an efficient inter-group system of trade and commerce through which they disposed of their produce and acquired whatever they needed that they couldn't produce from their neighbors. The economic cooperation which developed

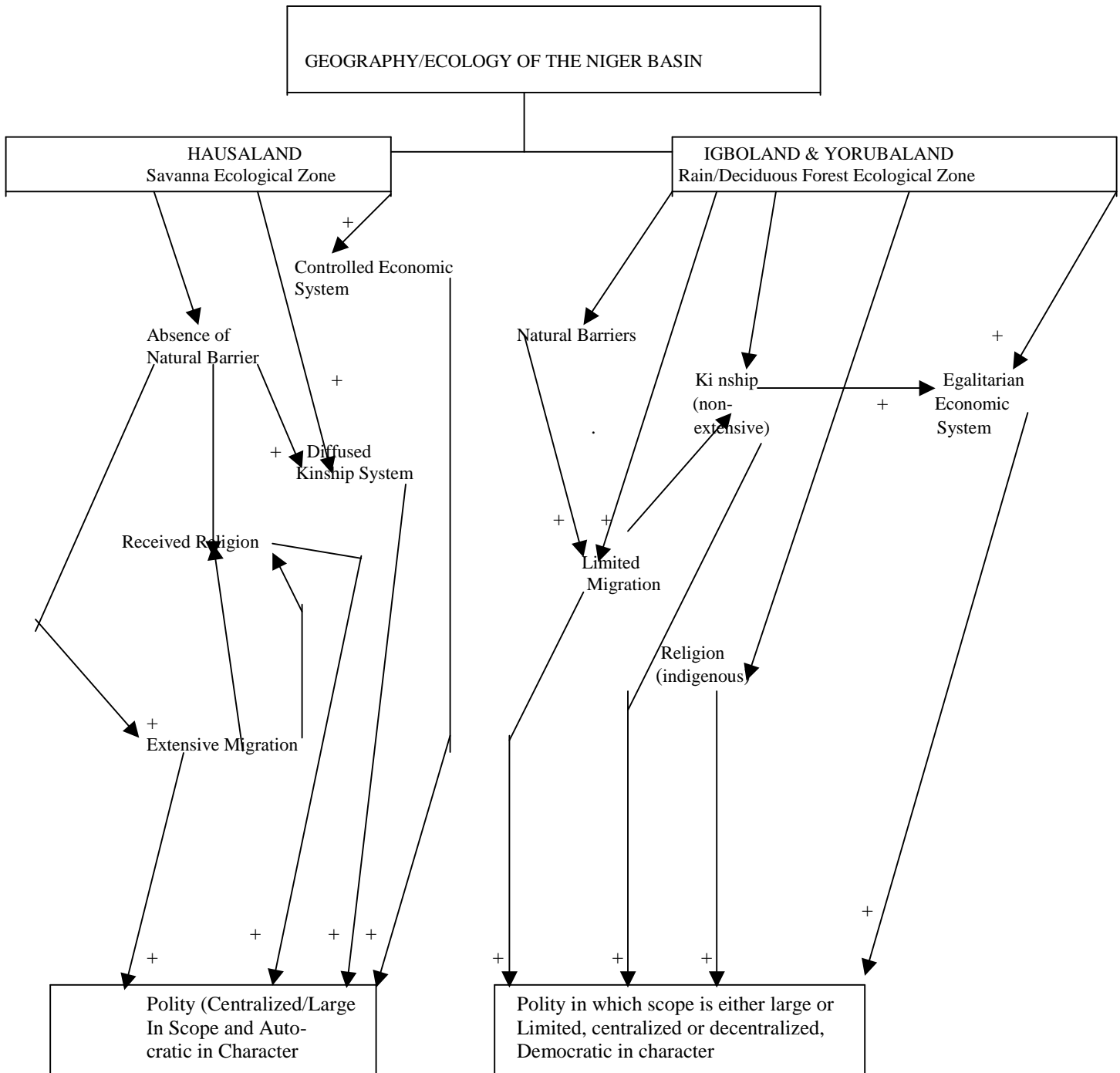


Figure 3.1: The interactive impact of ecological factors in the Niger basin and their outcome on the social, economic and political organization of the Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani—the direction of arrows and plus symbols indicate causation and positive relationship respectively

Nationality	Ecology and Vegetation of Homeland	Scope of Political Organization
Ijo, Kalabari, Efik, Ibeno, Ogoni, Itsekiri	Mangrove swamps	Small city-states located at river mouths
Igbo, Ibibi, Eko, Yakoro, etc.	Thick ever-green rain forest	Small village democracies
Bini, Yoruba	Deciduous rain forest	Large-scale political organizations
Hausa-Fulani	Savanna grassland	Large-scale political organizations

Table 3.1: Ecology and scale of political organization in the Niger basin

between the various nationalities in the mangrove swamps and the rain forest zones gave rise to the extensive inter-group system of long distant trade in southeast Niger basin.

This is not the first time that geography and ecology have been stressed on as central factors in Africa’s history. Geography and the ecological factors that are often associated with it have been highlighted as being central to the political development of Africa and its peoples. Jeffrey Herbst argued that Africa’s ‘inhospitable territories’ and its inhabitation by sparse population densities have been age-old obstacles to state builders and their desires to project authority in all ramifications (Herbst 2000: 11).

Robert Bates (1983) made the broad assertion that high population density was a positive predictor of political centralization in Africa.<sup>33</sup> John Iliffe (1995: 70) blamed under

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<sup>33</sup> My profound knowledge of the Igbo which he specifically pointed at in his work indicates that his lack of adequate knowledge of their anthropological history takes a bite off the validity of his assertion as far as they are concerned. His attempts to depict the Aro Igbo as having “centralized systems” (Bates 1983: 24) of social, economic, and political organization which enabled their pivotal role in the development of trade in the lower Niger basin during the Euro-American trans-Atlantic slave trade (1650-1850) is not

population in the savannah belt of the West African sub-region as the principal culprit that impacted state formation in negative ways. Robert F. Stevenson (1968) cited cases all over tropical Africa (including the Igbo) to argue that there is a high correlation between state formation and high population density amongst African peoples.

### *The Mangrove Swamps Ecological Zone*

The inhabitants of the lower Niger basin's mangrove swamps exploited their ecology and environment to develop their economic and political institutions in some remarkable ways (Anene 1966). The inhabitants of the mangrove swamps include the Ijo<sup>34</sup>, the Kalabari, the Efik, the Ibeno (Ubani),<sup>35</sup> the Ogoni, and the Itsekiri nationalities, who, thanks to their environment, are great fishermen and traders (Anene 1966). Talbot (1926: 317) underscored the importance of fishing and trading as the two mainstays of the economies of the inhabitants of the Niger delta, which played a significant role as well in their socio-political development.

Long before the middle of the fifteenth century when the first Europeans<sup>36</sup> made contact with the inhabitants of the Niger coast, the mangrove swamps was the material base that provided the latter with the resources that they utilized to develop a successful long distance trade with all of their upland neighbors--the Ibibi, Igbo, et al (Ukwu 1967: 655, Alagoa 1971: 269). The inhabitants of the Niger delta's mangrove swamps utilized

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supported by facts. Like the other Igbo groups, the Aro Igbo "themselves lacked a strong hierarchical organization and strong centralization of power" (Ottenberg 1958: 312). Northrup (1978) asserts the same in *Trade Without Rulers: Pre-Colonial Economic Development in South-Eastern Nigeria*.

<sup>34</sup> Ijaw is the anglicized spelling of this name. I'll restrict myself to spelling it as Ijo in the rest of the study.

<sup>35</sup> The Igbo call them *Ndi Ubani*, meaning the Ubani people.

the wealth that accrued from that internal long distance trade to found their various city-states literally at the various mouths out of which the Niger empties into the Atlantic (Alagoa 1970, 1971, Anene 1966). It is evident that each of those city-states evolved its own political structures and institutions that served the economic, social and political needs of its founding nationality (Anene 1966: 9). Marxian economic determinism is very much in play here. The overall transformation of these city-states depended strictly on the internal long distance trade that flourished in the lower Niger basin prior to about 1472 when the first European traders who ventured near the coasts got involved in it (Dugate 1985: 15). Thus, trade and commerce had both been developed and were already flourishing in the lower Niger before the advent of Europeans (Latham 1971, Hopkins 1966, Hiskett 1966 and 1967, Sundstrom (1974), Newbury 1961: 40-2, 57-9, and Jones 1958). In deed, “virtually all of pre-colonial West Africa had economies sufficiently developed to require the use of circulating mediums of exchange and units of account” (Lovejoy 1974: 563).

Furthermore, Dike (1956a), Jones (1963), Ukwu (1965 and 1967), Alagoa (1970, 1971), and Northrup (1972) argued that trade with Europeans in the lower Niger began long after the evolution of extensive internal long distance trade. It is therefore true that trade with Europeans merely furnished additional material base that the fishing and trading nationalities of the Niger tapped into to enhance economic growth in their city-states and further transform their existing socio-political systems (Dike 1956a, Jones 1963, Alagoa 1970, 1971).

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<sup>36</sup> Precisely, the Portuguese were the first Europeans who made the first contacts and traded with the inhabitants of this part of the Niger basin.



The Efik for example, evolved city-states that were essentially republics, which functioned under the overall legislative, executive and judicial authority of the *Ekpe* (*Egbo*) society (Waddell 1970, Anene 1966). In contrast to the Efik, the political system that the Ibeno people founded and based the administration of their own city-states on was monarchical. Each Ibeno city-state was structured according to the 'House-system'. Several Houses made a city-state. A House head (chief) and his subordinate chiefs governed each House (Anene 1970). A House was comprised of a loose hierarchy of families of freemen and their slaves. The hierarchy of the Houses is loose in the sense that slaves could ascend to the headship of Houses. In the Ibeno tradition, the king of each city-state, of which Bonny emerged as the most prominent one, was the chief of state as well as the spiritual and temporal head of his society (Anene 1966).

There was also an advisory council that was composed of all the House heads and the priests. But the authority of the King in Bonny extended to all issues of national affairs touching on the economy (trade and markets) and foreign affairs (wars and the conduct of wars) (Anene 1966: 10). He founded and directed markets and trade, and relied on the support and advice of the advisory council in the discharge of his responsibilities and duties as the leader of his society. His position and authority served as the balance in Bonny's monarchical political system (Anene 1966).

#### *The Thick Ever-Green Rain Forest Ecological Zone*

A little distance upland still in the lower Niger basin, north of Efikland, and around the Cross river are other smaller nationalities including the Ekoi, the Yakoro, the Akunakuna, the Iyala, the Uwet, the Uyanga, etc., who also evolved their respective

political systems and their attendant unique institutions, through their dynamic interaction with their own environment. The location of the nationalities and their *homelands* is shown in Map 3.1.

The political systems and the structures that the coastal nationalities evolved and ran their city-states with were quite straight-forward when compared with their more populous upland neighbors—the Igbo<sup>37</sup>, the Ogoja and the Ibibi (Ibibio)<sup>38</sup>—as well as the aforementioned numerically smaller nationalities who also inhabit the immediate upland areas away from the delta. That straight-forwardness seemed to have played a role in the ease with which the British seemed to have understood the political systems in the city-states. On the contrary, the British found the complex Igbo, Ibibi, and Ogoja political systems and institutional structures confusing (Anene 1970). In fact, Anene (1970) further asserted that the British misunderstood the Igbo and Ibibi political systems and institutional structures. Over the years some historians (Dike 1956a, Anene 1966) of Anglo-West African relations had separately concluded that the standard British practice in the Niger basin—exemplified by the views of Ormsby-Gore in 1926—was to label the political system in the Niger basin that they could not understand as disorganized, anarchic, and devoid of leaders (Ormsby-Gore 1926 in Anene 1966).

Here too, in the thick and ever-green rain forest zone, the environment that the hinterland nationalities inhabit, together with its forests ecology played central roles in the evolution of their respective political economies each of which is unique and seemingly intricate to outsiders. This is particularly true about the Igbo who inhabit the

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<sup>37</sup> Igbo is the authentic name of this nationality. The anglicized version is Ibo. Unless where there is a direct quote from someone else, we shall stick to the former in this dissertation.

<sup>38</sup> Ibibio is the anglicized version of Ibibi by which their Igbo neighbors know them.

thick rainforest environment of the lower Niger basin. While the thick rainforest environment of the Igbo *homeland* supported their predominantly agricultural economy and even constituted a natural barrier that protected them from large-scale internal invasion, it was also a hindrance to smooth movement and interaction of people. More than anything else, that kind of environment impacted the course and outcome of political development in Igboland. It may have been on account of that environment that the Igbo had no need for and never evolved large scale political organizations (Anene 1966). Instead of large centralized political systems, the Igbo evolved small village-based democracies (Anene 1966, Isichei 1973 and 1983).

Perhaps it was for some of the same reasons that have to do with the geography of their respective *homelands* that the Igbo and almost all the other nationalities (the Ogoja, the Ibibi, the Yako, et al) that inhabit the same thick rainforest ecological zone in the lower Niger basin evolved economies that were based on agriculture and long distance trade. Those same reasons may have accounted for why they never tended towards large political organizations with centralized authority patterns (Anene 1966, Isichei 1973).

There is certainly a relationship between the three factors of population, migration, and ecology in the social, economic, and political evolution and transformation of societies and polities in the Niger basin. That assertion is underscored by the prominent role played by all three factors in the development of markets amongst the nationalities, which in turn aided the transformation of their indigenous economies respectively (Newbury 1977). Among the Igbo for instance, “the year is ecological rather than chronological” (Ukwu 1967: 648). Tied to agriculture, the Igbo year “is the period from one yam harvest to the next, from mid-dry season to mid-dry season and lasts

between twelve and thirteen moons” (Ukwu 1967: 648).<sup>39</sup> On this, the Igbo are not the exception in an environment where economic mainstays— agriculture, fishing, etc; are all driven by the ecological cycle.<sup>40</sup>

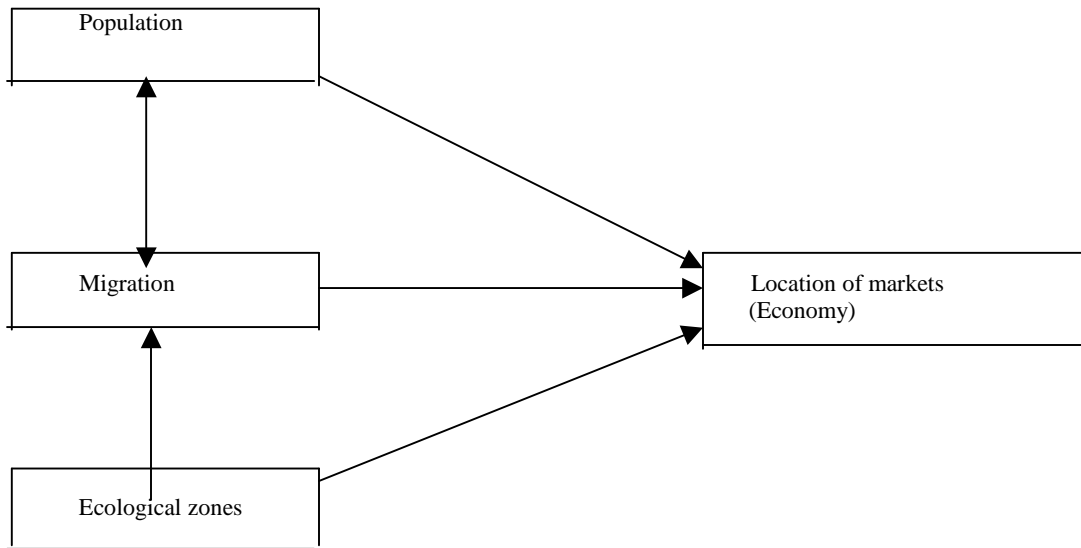


Figure 3.2: The relationship between population, migration, and ecological zones and their determination of the distribution of markets in the Niger basin

<sup>39</sup> In Igboland, “the moon”, (the unit of time that approximates the Caesar calendar month), “is related directly to the lunar cycle, being the period between the beginning of the first quarter and the end of the last. Operationally, the duration is rather imprecise since it depends on the ability to spot the new moon; sometimes, as between debtor and creditor, luminescence can be subjective!” (Ukwu 1967: 648). Note, that I pointed this out to illustrate that amongst the Igbo, the ecological cycle is factored into the mundane economic understanding of credit and trust between creditor and debtor.

<sup>40</sup> The Oka Igbo who are reputed to have founded one of the two well-organized trade systems in pre-colonial Igboland hinged its logistics on the ecological cycle: “In the eight or nine agricultural month, shortly after the new yam festival, the travelers whose turn it was would leave.... but ... were not obliged to return until the seventh month of the next year, about five *Izus* (20 days) from the new yam festival” (Ukwu 1967: 651). Their comprehensive understanding of the ecological cycle of the Igbo *homeland* and its surroundings enabled them to integrate agriculture “with their specialist activities” (Ukwu 1967: 650) as physicians, diviners, smiths and priests.

While it is not valid to assert that indigenous society in pre-colonial Igboland was warless, it is valid to argue that among Nd'Igbo warfare and conquest were hardly exploited for state building purposes. More often than not, during the pre-colonial period in order to prevent protracted conflicts between different independent political units from degenerating into high intensity warfare, communities resorted to migrating to another territory across a river, stream or other natural barriers that offered them protection away from hostile neighbors (Isichei 1973). Perhaps it was because of the importance of kinship patterns to the Igbo and the crucial roles that they play in all facets of life in their society that conquest never became a device for polity growth and expansion. The usual practice was to push hostile neighbors farther off the territory (Jones 1961). Even in those rare cases of conquest of some Igbo units by a neighboring nationality it is evident that the conquering groups were largely unsuccessful in their efforts to absorb the Igbo. A typical case in point exists in northern Igboland where the semi-savanna grassland environment exposed one or two Nsukka Igbo units to military conquest by the neighboring Igala, a nationality that evolved a centralized monarchical system of rule. Available evidence indicates that the Igala were only able to establish a religious-based social control over the Igbo communities that they conquered (Shelton 1971). Polity formation in pre-colonial Igboland was essentially a function of the interplay of factors such as migration, religion, kinship, the economy, which were impacted in turn by the environment.

The geography of Igboland impacted the nature and character of Igbo social, economic, and political worlds. It constrained the evolution of their social, economic and

political organizations (Jones 1961).<sup>41</sup> An environment like theirs could not have permitted the conquest and control of an optimum population of people that could provide an idle ruling class with sufficient surplus production. All of these explain why the Igbo and their neighbors were able to evolve their uniquely decentralized political systems, each of which thrived on non-autocratic authority patterns. A group that does not organize its economy according to production relations that allow a category of society to live off the surplus created by subordinate members of society would not evolve an autocratic political culture. Indeed, the political culture of pre-colonial Igbo society did not permit the normative reliance on force to achieve order and stability in the society. Put differently, discernable congruence in Igbo political culture promoted stability in pre-colonial Igbo society (Olisa 1971: 17-18).

#### *The Deciduous Rain Forest Ecological Zone*

Like the southeast, southwest lower Niger basin contains some other nationalities too. The nationalities in the southwest constitute the Edo (Bini) Commonwealth. They include the Bini, the Itsekiri-Urhobo peoples who established monarchical political systems, and were dominated by the *Oba* (King) of Bini who presided over the ancient and legendary kingdom of Bini (Anene 1966). In the southwest too is the Yoruba who evolved and lived under several notable monarchical states (Smith 1969). The ancient kingdom of Oyo was one of the Yoruba states. Reputed to have been founded early in the fifteenth century, the founding and growth of the Yoruba kingdom of Oyo was fueled

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<sup>41</sup> See Jones, G. I. 1961. "Ecology and Social Structure Among the North Eastern Ibo." *Africa* Pp. 117 -134.

to a good measure by the economic prosperity that was generated by the forward-backward linkages from the north-south caravan trade (Morten-Williams 1971).

In the Oyo political system, the aristocracy owned and maintained implements of war of which the war-horses were the most notable. The need of the aristocracy in the Old Oyo Empire to buy and keep war-horses required them to participate in warfare, which was a veritable instrument for state building and state transformation. The ownership of the means of war making and participation in war making by members of the aristocracy in Old Oyo Empire enabled them to become a check on the chiefs of state. That in itself was partly responsible for the inability of chiefs of state in Old Oyo to convert the centralized but democratic system of rule that existed in the Old Oyo Empire and the rest of Yorubaland into an autocracy. The good measure of economic wealth that the control of hinterland-coastal trade in the waning years of the eighteenth century put into the hands of the chiefs of state could not event alter the status quo in Old Oyo (Morten-Williams 1971: 97). The efforts that they made to achieve that sparked off a power situation between them and the aristocracy that produced a constitutional crisis (Gbadamosi 1978) that among other things led to the disintegration of the kingdom and the conquest of Ilorin in northern Yorubaland in 1874 by the Fulani *jihadists*. The evolution and transformation of indigenous states in pre-colonial Yorubaland entail significant sociological implications in our story.

#### *The Semi-Arid Savanna Grassland Ecological Zone*

The Hausa, the Fulani, the Kanuri, the Nupe, the Gwari and others inhabit the upper Niger basin, which is mostly semi-arid grassland. Through conquest, marriage and

other cultural intermingling that took place in that part of West Africa over the years, the Hausa and the Fulani were able to fuse into one socio-cultural group, which is referred to as the Hausa-Fulani. Prior to that intermingling, the Hausa had founded their own city states most of which were later over-ran by the Fulani in their *jihad* of 1804 (Anene 1970). Because of the open savanna grassland which lacked natural barriers of protection for people, society and its inhabitants in Hausaland were vulnerable to ambitious state building groups and their leaders who turned themselves into rulers. In every case, through military conquest the ruling groups and their leaders were able to gradually institute and evolve predatory rule over the general population of people. These processes of transformation were accomplished over the course of a significant period of time before the Fulani *jihad*.

The semi-arid savanna grassland environment of the upper Niger basin impacted the nature and character of rule particularly in Hausaland where rulers adopted the policy of erecting territorial walls of defense around cities and towns. That policy which protected them and their subject populations from their rivals enabled them to establish social, economic and political control over people who resided in those walled cities and towns.<sup>42</sup> Nomadic cattle herders took advantage of the protection that those walled cities and towns offered them and their herds. Once they were inside those walled towns and cities they became ready sources of revenue and military manpower for rulers (Smith 1964). Rulers who made their courts inside those walled cities and towns could afford to

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<sup>42</sup> Among the Igbo walls as architectural devices were not built for the control of people. They established privacy and personal property—compound walls were built around homesteads to secure privacy and personal property. The Yoruba in addition utilizing walls to secure private property built walls and ditches around their towns for defense. Ajayi and Smith (1971: 23-8) did not for one mention that walls were built in Yorubaland to control people.



control the population of cattle herders and cultivators who sought protection in them. They could also afford to institute and preside over autocratic and despotic systems of rule as was the case in Hausaland before and after the Fulani *jihad*. Also, the open savanna grassland did only encourage extensive migration of peoples into Hausaland. That was one principal way through which kinship network in the area tended to extend beyond one nationality—the Fulani fussing with the Hausa for instance. All of these factors had their profound impact on pre-colonial state building in the area. The *jihad* which played a prominent role in the political development of pre-colonial Hausaland may not have materialized in the absence of extensive migration and intermingling of peoples in the open savanna region of the upper Niger basin.

It was because of ecological reasons that the *tsetse*<sup>43</sup> fly-free savanna grassland parts of the upper Niger basin that include Hausaland constitute “a horse-breeding as well as a horse-using area” (Law 1975: 1). Plentiful supply led to the ready deployment of the horse as a war machine by state builders in Hausaland to aid and abet the evolution of a system of rule, which depended on the control of people from whom surplus value was expropriated to sustain autocratic rulers. Conversely, because of ecological reasons too, the lower Niger, parts of which are inhabited by the Igbo, the Yoruba, and other nationalities is not particularly conducive for horse-breeding. Hence, its use for any purposes at all by the inhabitants of the lower Niger was predicated on the unreliability of its survival as well as on the fact that it was an imported item of trade (Law 1975: 4). But in Yorubaland—the only part of the lower Niger in which the horse was used as a war machine—it is strongly associated with extensive expansion of political boundaries in the

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<sup>43</sup> The *tsetse* (genus: *Glossina*) is a multi-specie insect that infects man and animals with the *Trypanosoma* (sleeping sickness) disease in parts of tropical Africa (Ford 1971).

legendary Old Oyo Empire (Law 1975).<sup>44</sup> Among the Igbo its role as a war machine effectively disappears all together. The horse is so exotic in Igboland that it is a luxury item, strictly utilized as either a status symbol or as a ceremonial trophy (Ukwu 1967: 652, Afigbo 1973: 81-2).<sup>45</sup>

The summary of our fore-going discussion which we must subsequently develop in greater detail in the rest of the chapter is that the geography and ecology of the Niger basin are vital aspects of the story that we are about to tell about the Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani, and the others who inhabit it. There is a logical relationship between the upper Niger basin's open savanna, its lack of natural barriers and the extensive migration patterns that they encouraged, and the diffused kinship networks that stemmed from the latter. The open savanna was a factor that enabled the introduction of Islam in the upper Niger. Unlike the indigenous religion that was practiced in pre-jihad Hausaland, after the *jihad*, Islam was utilized to achieve the hierarchical definition of society. That definition which bordered on stratification and segregation categorized Hausa society along the lines of rulers and their subjects, the haves and the have-nots, males and females, cleric and lay people, etc, was decisive in the evolution of a non-egalitarian social order that part of the upper Niger basin.

The rain and deciduous forest ecological zones that the Igbo and Yoruba inhabit played their own logical roles that starkly contrast with the one played by the savanna in the lives of its inhabitants. There were natural barriers which deterred migration and the fission of peoples and helped to prevent the extension of kinship networks between

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<sup>44</sup> According to Law, the association of horses "with immigrant conquerors is questionable, and they have nothing to do with the origins of states in Yorubaland" (Law 1975: 2).

nationalities. In the presence of natural barriers, the control of people was hardly feasible even in Yorubaland where war was a state building device which facilitated the evolution of large-scale political organizations. In the absence of control in society and of its members by leaders, religion and economy evolved and developed along egalitarian lines. All these factors became the bases for institutionalized democratic patterns of authority in both Igboland Yorubaland.

The theory of internal migration, wars and schisms in the grassland areas of the upper Niger basin and their role in state formation in the areas is strongly espoused by Isichei (1973, 1983). Isichei (1973) argues that the erstwhile notion of external involvement in state formation amongst the indigenous nationalities that inhabit the areas is no longer popular among area scholars. Abdullahi Smith (1970) who made a similar argument earlier before Isichei pointed out that culture, politics, as well as economics are the products of the environment of groups that evolved them.

There is no gain over-emphasizing that the distinct attributes of the inhabitants of the Niger basin are not simply in terms of their non-co-terminus *homelands*. Their distinctiveness extends to the social, economic and political patterns that they evolved over the course of their respective histories. Indeed, it is those peculiar patterns that actually distinguish their respective political, social, and economic systems from one another.

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<sup>45</sup> Fisher (1972 and 1973) argues that in West Africa the horse is used as a luxury item more than it is used as a war-machine.

## **Measuring Congruence-Consonance of Authority Patterns:**

### **Applying the E-G Scheme**

We have seen from the foregoing that prior to the onset of the 1800s, also known as the remarkable century that made a tremendous difference in Euro-African interaction (Dike 1956a, Anene 1966) the distinct nationalities that inhabit the Niger basin had all built their respective indigenous states. Each of them had also evolved its own system of rule. For reasons that have already been established, we have elected to concentrate our attention in the present study on three of the nationalities, i.e. the Igbo, Yoruba, and the Hausa-Fulani.

Political systems and their supporting institutional structures are products of the socio-geographical environment in which they were evolved (Smith 1970). We acknowledge that subsumed within every political system are some ‘social and political authority’ patterns that are often unique to that political system, which are crucial for the success or failure of the political system in question (Eckstein 1969).

We agree that the success or failure of political systems is a function of the extent to which their vital and driving elements i.e. social and political authority patterns resemble each other (Eckstein 1969). Our aims in the present study will be adequately served if we execute an in-depth analysis of the ‘influence relations’ and the bases of legitimacy perceptions of the governmental and non-governmental authority patterns (Eckstein 1969) of the indigenous Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani political systems. The task of achieving our aims in the study can best be accomplished under the rubric of the E-G scheme.

We can draw from the E-G scheme to assert in general terms that *Directiveness*, *Participation*, *Responsiveness*, and *Compliance* in pre-colonial indigenous societies in the Niger basin involved the outcome of efforts by leaders and members alike, who impacted the behavior of one another. We have shown in Figure 2.6 that the *Directiveness* dimension can include laws, customs, traditions, and agencies of social control, etc., which are used to direct the affairs of society and its members by leaders who exercise authority. The same reconstruction shows that the dimension of *Participation* encapsulates the various acts that emanate from the rest of the members of the population who do not occupy leadership positions in society. They direct those acts at their leaders with the intention of influencing how they direct the affairs of their society.

*Responsiveness* depicts the reaction of the leaders to the acts of participation from the subordinate members of these indigenous societies. Figure 2.7 shows that the dimension of *Responsiveness* can be characterized by representative institutions of governance, normative provisions for over-ruling the leadership, dismissing and replacing them, etc. by ordinary members of society. We are not saying that the responsiveness of leaders in some of these nationalities rested solely on their willingness to seek inputs and encourage participation from members of their society. We are saying that their responsiveness depended on the extent to which the directives that derived from their authority are influenced by the participation of subordinate members in the affairs of their societies. The *Compliance* dimension depicts extent to which the subordinate members of a social unit have been successfully influenced by the directives from the

leadership. *Compliance* is indicated and contraindicated by the absence or presence of creative acts of participation including revolts, resistance, etc.

### **The Igbo or Nd'Igbo**<sup>46</sup>

Igboland which is home to Nd'Igbo extends from the Cross River in the southeast of the Niger basin up until the southwest across the Niger River proper (Isichei 1973). Nd'Igbo inhabit the thick evergreen rain forest portion of the Niger basin's four ecological zones. Like the other inhabitants of the Niger basin their *homeland* has a lot to do with who the Igbo are. The geography and ecology of the Igbo homeland impacted the evolution of their village-based democratic system of government.

One can say that Igbo political system is resoundingly democratic because of its characteristic feature of direct democracy. When Michael Mann observed that the superb democratic qualities of the political institutions of the indigenous peoples of America rested to a good measure on "forms of political participation that were more direct than representative" (Mann 1999: 26) he might as well have been referring to Nd'Igbo. The correctness of Mann's assertion is evident in Figure 3. 3 in which we show that the first three tiers of authority patterns in pre-colonial Igbo society are based on direct democracy.

Although Nd'Igbo constitute one of the three most populous nationalities that inhabit the region of the Niger basin which the British carved into the 'Nigerian' supra-

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<sup>46</sup> *Ndi* is the concept term for "People" in the Igbo language. Literally therefore, Nd'Igbo means Igbo People.

national state, like the other nationalities, their exact population is still undetermined.<sup>47</sup> To the outsider, Nd'Igbo and their pre-colonial world amounted to a patchwork of confusion and anarchy, totally lacking of authority and control (Dike 1956a). But like social units elsewhere, pre-colonial indigenous Igbo societies were comprised of leaders or super-actors, and the rest of members of the society or subordinate actors. These two categories of people were involved in asymmetrical authority relations as members of the same social unit. between those who occupy leadership positions and the rest of members of society is basically the interaction of super-ordinate and subordinate actors in the dynamic process of directing the affairs of their societies.<sup>48</sup> It is the interactions that take place between those who occupy authority positions and the rest of the members of pre-colonial Igbo societies that configure into the dimensions of *Directiveness, Participation, Responsiveness, and Compliance*.

#### *Indigenous Religion and the Practice of Authority in Igboland*

Indigenous religion played a central role in the organization and direction of the social, economic and political affairs of Nd'Igbo in their pre-colonial society. But that assertion does not in any way imply that the Igbo system of governance is theocratic. Political affairs in indigenous Igbo societies are directed in manners that conformed to certain earthly democratic proclivities of their members. In the context of the E-G

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<sup>47</sup> The Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani are the other two populous nationalities. The politicization of the outcome of the 1952/53 census exercise by the British established a legacy that made it impossible to determine the authentic census population for each nationality in the supra-national state ever since.

<sup>48</sup> In theoretical terms, our conception of *direction* in the dissertation is Gramscian in its etymology. It connotes "the ideological capacity to win consent" (Perry Anderson, "Editorial," *New Left Review*, 17, Sept.-Oct. 2002: 5-30) from society and its members at large.

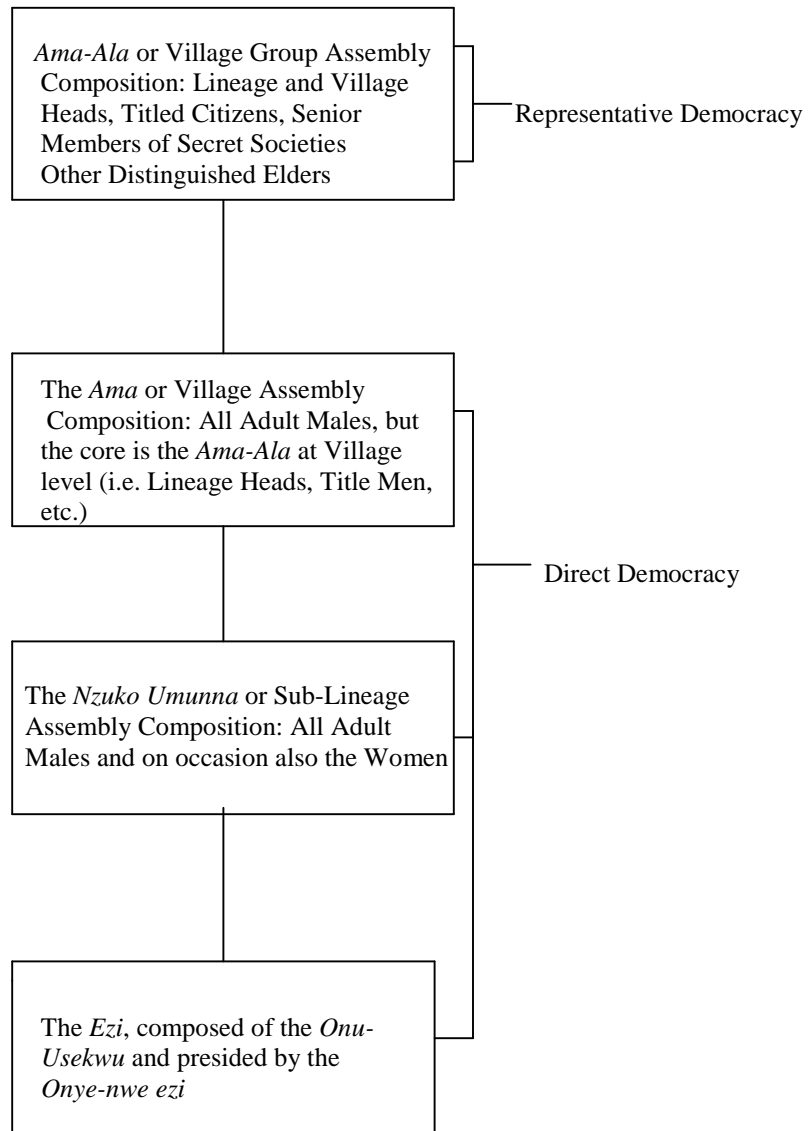


Figure 3.3: The Typical Igbo authority patterns. Source: Afigbo (1973) with modifications.

in pre-colonial indigenous Igbo society, the dynamic socio-political interplay evident in those proclivities can be associated with all aspects of the *Participation* dimension. They include their penchant for embracing the normatively existing channels of *Participation*



in their political system and utilizing them voluminously, i.e. with frequency and intensity, through a variety of modes. Their indigenous religion, which gave effect to the norms that guided the practice of authority in all aspects of their social, economic and political organization, is deeply rooted in their history and natural environment. Indigenous Igbo religion mirrors the other aspects of Igbo life (Thomas 1914). Its “eclecticism...was comparable to the fluidity of [Igbo] political institutions and settlement patterns” (Isichei 1970: 216). It is neither centralized in structure nor hierarchical in mode. Although there are priests and priestesses, every adult was sufficiently qualified to and officiated in the religion. Hence, everyone was sufficiently knowledgeable about the consequences that resulted from the violation of the norms that guided the existence of communities and their members. The eclecticism and adaptability of traditional religion ensured “concrete and measurable benefits” (Isichei 1970: 215) for the Igbo. It was usual for individuals or communities to try a cult or divinity and discard it for another if it was found wanting (Jones 1963, Isichei 1970, Achebe 2000). The centrality of religion may have partly accounted for why subordinate members of society in Igboland were not afraid of availing themselves of the facilitated channels of *Participation*, while leaders were obligated to be responsive to the former in the course of discharging their duties.

There were institutionalized religious and non-religious agencies and organizations that were normatively accepted sources of the *Directiveness* dimension in pre-colonial Igbo societies. Those agencies and organizations included oracle and professional organizations, which functioned in ways that directed the various independent Igbo political units towards social and economic integration (Ottenberg

1958). Such agencies and their organizations existed and functioned in clearly practical ways.

Meek (1937) noted that the Igbo are not the only people whose religion plays a central role in their affairs at both the micro and macro levels. In the context of Igbo society, “religion and law are so closely interwoven that many of the most powerful legal sanctions are derived directly from the gods (sic)” (Meek 1937: 20). But as we mentioned earlier, to say that does not in any way imply that the prevalent system of rule in pre-colonial Igboland was theocratic. It is not just in the realm of the law that one observes this close relationship between Igbo religion and system of jurisprudence. Any meaningful discussion of pre-colonial Igbo ‘political forms’ cannot isolate indigenous Igbo religion (Isichei 1969:121). Those agencies and organizations that “functioned to provide a degree of integration” (Ottenberg 1958: 295) for the various independent Igbo groups did so mostly on the auspices of religion; and at three different levels, which Ottenberg (1958) identified as:

- (i) the level of the relationship that existed between ‘independent Igbo units’ that inhabit an immediate geographical area,
- (ii) the level of “long-range contacts of professional specialists” (Ottenberg 1958: 295) such as physicians, diviners, smiths of all types, rainmakers, etc. and
- (iii) the level of oracles and their organizations.

In pre-colonial Igboland, independent political units that inhabit the same area often developed practical links with one another. For instance, there were some relationships that originated “out of the ties of individuals to one another and out of relationships between social groupings in neighboring units” (Ottenberg 1958: 297).

There were instances when some units which either claimed the same ancestral origin or a similar pattern of migration at the time when they settled their respective districts resolved to initiate an alliance for trade or even for defense between them. Such alliance often survived in perpetuity.

In other instances when there were no substantive formal alliances between independent political units, their members were still co-existed peacefully in ways that permitted them to interact economically as well as socially (Ottenberg 1958: 297). In the event of an outbreak of hostility between two units, another unit often stepped in to restore peace between them (Meek 1937).

There were interactions that produced the evolution of viable trade and commerce between various Igbo units that were although politically autonomous but could not by any stretch of the imagination be said to have been economically self-sufficient. Professional religious specialists such as rainmakers, physicians, diviners, etc. visited villages away from their own to attend to their clients, who felt free in turn to visit them (Green 1947).

All over Igboland, there were some of the aforementioned religious “professional specialists without the extensive backing of formal social organizations” (Ottenberg 1958: 298) who fall into this second category of agents that promoted links between independent units for the reason that they traveled far beyond their immediate units to attend to their clientele and engagements. The kinds of links that they fostered between units were primarily at the level of their individual clients who they either traveled to visit or received from long distances to attend to. Such “professional men were free to travel long distances and to follow their occupations, not because of their power or the

authority of their own independent unit or the social groupings within it, but because the goods [and services] that they traded were much desired or because of their associations with the supernatural world” (Ottenberg 1958: 299).<sup>49</sup>

The oracles constituted the third category of agencies and organizations that functioned to link independent political units in Igboland in the pre-colonial period. “There were perhaps half a dozen oracles of significance” (Ottenberg 1958: 299) which arose among the Igbo to help people to fulfil “traditional functions” (Afigbo 1971b: 17) such as “telling the future or holding discussions with one’s departed relations or for dealing with psychological problems associated with barrenness, sudden and premature death, ... disposing finally with unrepentant criminals” (Afigbo 1971b: 17) and other social misfits in the various Igbo communities. The more prominent of these oracles are the *Ibiniukpabi* of Aro-Chukwu, the *Agbala* of Oka (Awka), the *Igwe-ka-Ala* of Umunneoha, and the *Amadioha* of Ozuzu (Talbot 1932). The other two minor oracles were at Ogwu (Awgu) (Meek 1937) and Ogbunko (Obunko) (Basden 1938).

These oracles instituted by different Igbo communities earned the respect of all sections of Nd’Igbo because of their association with the pantheon of Gods whom Nd’Igbo worship (Meek 1937). In deed, the oracles constitute “an institution which transcended the particularism of individual groups” (Isichei 1969: 127) that established them. Customs and tradition are components of laws in Igbo society. For all intents and purpose therefore, in Igbo society *Directiveness* is closely interwoven with religion. Together, this association and inter-relationship encouraged responsiveness from the

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<sup>49</sup> This provides the most factual context for the appreciation of why the trading Aro Igbo were able to travel all over Igboland and win the acceptance of their various host communities to establish their several settlements.

elders and other occupants of authority positions and exacted compliance from members of the larger society. Isichei succinctly puts it thus: “Suffice it to say that the life of an Ibo village was permeated by the supernatural; supernatural sanctions were the most potent guardians of social order” (Isichei 1969: 129).

Over the course of time these oracles and their organizations became largely associated with trade and commercial activities in Igboland as well. Their association with the growth of trade in Igboland is to such a high degree that a meaningful discussion of their linkage functions among the Igbo can be better accomplished in the context of the economic development of Nd’Igbo. But the economy of space and time cannot permit a detailed discussion of the role of the oracles in the development of particularly the European slave trade in Igboland.

In sum all Igbo “units remained a relatively balanced grouping of independent political structures, which never developed, into a large formal organization. ...” (Ottenberg 1958: 296), but which, partly because of the role of the religious and non-religious agencies and organizations, continued to reap positive performance from their respective institutions at the social, economic, and political spheres.

Traditional religion furnished the Igbo with the concept of *chi*, a crucial element of their social organization. The personal *chi* of an individual represents “a refraction of the universal force, a personification of his allotted role in the universal motion towards the ultimate goal” (Nwoga 1971: 119). Sociologically, it enables the individual Igbo to engage, embrace and accommodate change and innovation in his or her personal capacity without losing the traits that determine his Igbo identity. An individual’s fortunes are determined by his *chi*, “and mischance is due to his absence or oversight” (Isichei 1969:

125). The belief is that the individual takes the initiative while his or her *chi* acquiesces (Chukwukere 1971: 113), hence the wise saying: ‘onye kwe, chi ya ekwe’—when an individual affirms, his personal chi reaffirms. This concept underscores the legendary proclivity of the Igbo to respond “rapidly to outside stimuli” (Isichei 1969: 130) or “receptivity to change” (Ottenberg 1962).

### *The Authority Patterns of Nd’Igbo*

Like the rest of the other nationalities that inhabit the Niger basin, their exclusive habitation and continued occupation of their homeland, a common language (with slight differences), and remarkable similarities in most of their socio-political institutions Nd’Igbo are, and have always been regarded as a people (Forde and Jones 1950). However, there are some variations that exist in Igbo “culture and social groupings” (Ottenberg 1958: 295). Forde and Jones (1950) may have utilized those variations to categorize Nd’Igbo into five broad divisions: Northern or Onitsha Igbo, Southern or Owere Igbo, Western Igbo, Eastern or Cross River Igbo, North-Eastern Igbo.

Again the variations that constitute the basis of this broad categorization have a lot to do with the response of the Igbo to the specific ecological situations in the part of the Igboland inhabited by each group. In every specific instance, as was pointed out by Jones in the case of the Northeastern Igbo, the ecology impacted the two mainstays of the Igbo economy—agriculture and trade. The ecology impacted the “patterns of territorial expansion and supporting mythological charters, residential and land tenure systems and, following on this, the distinctive features occurring among [each group] with respect to

marriage and kinship relations to political organization and its supporting institutions” (Jones 1961: 118).

Despite their categorization into five broad groups, we still can neither afford to discuss the prevalent political system in each of the five nor can we afford to discuss the one in each of the constituent units in them. In view of the constraints of both time and space therefore, the form of our discussion is as follows. The “general pattern of political process which is shared by all Igbo” (Uchendu 1965: 39) groups is first discussed. That discussion will sufficiently include details that portray the authority patterns of the Eastern or Cross River Igbo whose decentralized village-based democratic political system is closely similar to those of the Southern (Owere) Igbo, and the Northern Igbo. We must caution ahead of time that apart from the Eastern or Cross River Igbo who have a matrilineal lineage system<sup>50</sup>, the rest of the Igbo groups all have a patrilineal lineage system. The matrilineal lineage system of the Eastern or Cross River Igbo rendered their marriage and kinship systems as well as their “rules of inheritance and succession” (Nsugbe 1974: vi) slightly different from what obtain among the rest of Igbo groups. Also, “the forms of their men’s associations and cults” (Nsugbe 1974: vi) tend to differ slightly. The ‘pattern of political process’ that obtains among the Northern and Northeastern Igbo is the second part of the discussion. The discussion of their monarchical political system is aimed at (a) highlighting the variation in culture that exists among the Igbo further, and (b) using same to underscore our earlier argument that such variations do not constitute grounds for defining Nd’ Igbo as different peoples.

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<sup>50</sup> Out of all the groups in the Eastern or Cross River Igbo main division only those Aro Igbo who migrated in what must have been a village group to and settle permanently among the Afikpo Igbo constitute an exception. They still maintained their patrilineal lineage system.

### *The Levels of Authority in Igboland*

One can safely posit that social, economic and political authority in indigenous Igbo society configured into four distinct levels. The primary level of authority resided in the *Ezi* or compound, which is composed of households or *Onu-usekwu*. Superceding the *Ezi* is the *Umunna* or sub-lineage, which is in turn superceded by the *Ama* or Village. Following the *Ama* in that order is the *Ama-Ala* or Village Group where authority terminates.

#### The *Ezi*

The *ezi* is best defined as the primary segmental unit most proximate to government in Igbo society. It is the cradle of and reinforcement node for the socialization of every Igbo. The *ezi* is made up of a number of *onu-usekwu* which are “economically independent households each with a man or a woman as the head householder” (Uchendu 1965: 40). This trait of economic independence renders the *onu-usekwu* the basic segmental unit of economic sustenance for individual Igbo in his society. Managerial authority in each household revolves around its head who is expected to hold his household together. He is the source of most of the directives in his household. If his children are grown he often consults them on issues of vital importance in the household. He ensures that the women of the household—his wives and the wives of his sons—do not lack equitable access to plots of land on which they raise the subsistence food crops such as coco-yam, beans, cassava, maize, vegetables, etc. that they grow by the side to supplement the nutritional needs of their children. His economic role centers on the cultivation of yams, the principal crop among the Igbo. Because yam



cultivation is a labor-intensive undertaking, the household is the primary source of labor for its head. When his sons come of age it is often his responsibility to start them off as yam cultivators by providing them with their initial seed yams. He is more of a manager and strives to be a good role model to his children and grandchildren. His personality determines the style of management that he adopts to ensure the success of his household as an economic unit.

The *Opara* or first son of the head of the household takes precedence over the rest of his siblings regardless of the number of wives that their father has. His overall preeminent status corresponds to that of the *Ada* or first daughter of his father. Usually, unless the most senior wife in the household was childless or could not have children in time, the *Opara* and the *Ada* share the same mother.<sup>51</sup> While the *Ada* would marry and relocate to her husband's household (without severing the ties in her household of birth) the *Opara* (*Okpara*) assumes the position of his father at his death. He inherits his *obi* or reception hall, which is the premier edifice in the household in which the male head of household lives and receives his visitors, his *Ofo* (which symbolizes the substantive legitimacy of the authority he wields as the head of household), etc.

The most senior male who is called *Onye nwe ezi* exercises authority in the *ezi*. Every household head and his or her members recognize the authority of the *Onye nwe-ezi*, who they usually consult prior to taking decision on any major political issue (Uchendu 1965). In view of the inherent asymmetry in the relationship between the *Onye-nwe-ezi* and the members of the *ezi* he is the rightful leader in the compound. He is

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<sup>51</sup> These birth positions earn individual automatic membership in the Association of *Ndi Opara* and the Association of *Umu Ada* respectively at both the village and village-group levels. Both Associations are segmental social units that are quite proximate government and the practice of authority in Igboland.

the conduit through which the *Directiveness* in the *ezi* flows. This is on the grounds of his age, extensive wisdom and knowledge of the custom and tradition of the *ezi* and the community at large. He does not decree directives. They stem from custom and tradition which the other adult members of the *ezi* are also conversant with. The authority that he exercises to direct the affairs of the *ezi* is not self-sustained, i.e. it derives from the ancestors (Uchendu 1965). His failure to exercise it fairly will attract the wrath of the ancestors and deities against him as well as the disdain of the members. If a member violates a custom and it is brought to his notice, he is expected to interpret the degree of the violation and prescribe the requisite ablution in a non-prejudicial manner. His responsiveness derives from steadfast adherence to the custom and tradition. His position encapsulates both political and religious responsibilities.

Apart from the authority of the *Onye-nwe-ezi* to arbitrate disputes that arise between members of the *ezi* he is in charge of the external affairs of the *ezi* as well. He is both its spokesman and representative in those situations that do not require the presence and direct participation of its adult members. Because governance in the *ezi* takes the form of direct democracy (Afigbo 1973), involving the participation of all the adults, the process and phases of direction involve the *Onye nwe-ezi* and members.

We could take the issue of problem recognition, which in itself is one of the several phases of the 'process of direction' under the E-G scheme as a point to illustrate the *Onye-nwe-ezi*'s responsiveness and the participation of members of the *ezi* in the direct democracy that prevails in the *ezi*. Although his position, age, wisdom, etc. make it imperative on him to recognize problems that may arise in the *ezi*, every adult member can equally call his attention to problems through complaints. A similar assertion can be

made about the other phases in the ‘process of direction’ that are identified in the E-G scheme to include “the definition of issues ... deliberation, resolution ..., implementation, sanctioning” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 69). In the context of the E-G scheme therefore, the *Onye nwe-ezi* is neither an alterocrat nor an autocrat, his responsiveness varies in terms of low and high at each of these phases.

Borrowing directly from the E-G scheme, the ‘bases of legitimacy perception’ of the *Onye-nwe-ezi*’s authority rests solidly on the normatively prescribed qualifications that earned him his pre-eminent position of authority in the compound. Those qualifications include his age, and his ascribed position as the *Opara*. These qualifications are recognized and acknowledged by the members of the *ezi* through their respect for him shown through their compliance to his directives. The same applies to the outsiders with whom he inter-faces in the course of his external representation of members of the *ezi*.

The *Onye nwe-ezi*’s ‘personal legitimacy’ is a function of the recognition and acknowledgement by individual members of the *ezi* of the two criteria (the office and recruitment process) that qualify him to exercise authority. There’s indeed no doubt about his position of authority and how he attained it. Since members of the *ezi* have a clear notion of the customs and traditions, they are equally knowledgeable about what may constitute fair or foul in his attempts to regulate their behavior and their affairs. Their expectation therefore would be that he would be even-handed in his direction of their affairs. If their perception of him in that regard is positive, it translates to ‘substantive legitimacy’ of his authority in the compound. If he does not stifle their participation—as he is expected not to—in the direction of their affairs it definitely earns

his authority the prerequisite ‘procedural legitimacy’ in their perception. It is partly because of these that occupants of the position of *Onye-nwe-ezi* in pre-colonial indigenous Igbo society strived to be upright in their exercise of the authority derived from the ancestors to direct the affairs of their compound. An *Onye nwe-ezi* who preferred to do otherwise ran the risk of exposing the ‘bases of legitimacy’ of his authority in his compound to ridicule and the negative perception of its members who would be encouraged to become indifferent and insubordinate to his directives.

### *The Umunna*

The *Umunna* is the next level of stop in our examination of the authority patterns in pre-colonial indigenous Igbo society. Each *Umunna* is a lineage of kinsmen, their wives and children who reside in their own territorial portion of the village. Usually, members of an *Umunna* share the same descent from one male ancestor and his several wives. Each *Umunna* is usually composed of several *ezi* (compounds). The *Umunna* is headed by the *Opara-Umunna* who is usually the *Onye-nwe-ezi* from the most senior *ezi* in the *Umunna*. Since all the *ezi* that constitute an *Umunna* descended from one male ancestor, it is the *ezi* that was founded by the *Opara* of the ancestor of the *Umunna* that assumes the leadership position in the *Umunna*. But if after several generations the seniority pattern in the *Umunna* can no longer be effectively traced again, premier authority in the *Umunna* will reside in the most senior male. As it is the case in the *ezi*, the *Ofo Umunna*—(the symbol of legitimate authority) normatively acknowledged by the Igbo to exclusively emanate from the ancestors (Forde and Jones 1950) must be in the

custody of the occupant of the office of *Opara-Umunna*. In Igbo society, the role of the *Ofo*, is salient to every Igbo (Uchendu 1965).

The *Ofo* that the occupant of the position of *Opara-Umunna* wields on behalf of members of his *Umunna* is a symbol of both his authority as the head as well as his function as the priest who performs various rituals on their behalf (Uchendu 1965). According to Isichei, the *Opara-Umunna* who is revered by all “had both religious and social authority. ... He represents all the power and authority of their dead male ancestors. He offers sacrifices on behalf of the family, decides quarrels, allots land, and so on” (Isichei 1968: 127-8). This position imbues very limited political authority and power on its occupants in pre-colonial indigenous Igbo society. Although he presides over the *nzuko* (assembly) of his lineage, which is often summoned into session to resolve disputes that arise between members, the *Opara-Umunna* does not formulate directives for the *Umunna*. His influence on directives derives from his opinions on questions of custom and tradition. His opinion is usually sought by the assembly before a decision is handed down on issues that involve the violation of custom or traditions that came before *Umunna* (Uchendu 1965). He is not expected to and does not interfere in the affairs of any of the *ezi* (compound) that constitute the *Umunna*. Whenever it was determined that a serious taboo in the land has been violated by a member of the *Umunna* the *Opara-Umunna* is expected to ensure that the necessary sacrifices are offered to the ancestors and the deities to restore harmony in the *Umunna* and the community between the living and the ancestors from whom all authority emanate. Igbo lineage affiliation is traced through the *Umunna*. The *Umunna* provides a crucial platform for the objective deliberation and handling issues before they reach the village assembly. It is highly

unusual for an individual who lacks the support of his *umunna* to attain a position of trust and responsibility in the village. Hence, in their figurative speech pattern the Igbo liken the *umunna* to the thorny palm fruit bunch that can only be lifted off the ground by someone with the aid of a pad.

To prevent the rise of a dynasty and the disruption of existing practice of authority in the *Umunna* the son of the *Opara-Umunna* does not succeed him. He is rather succeeded by his brother if at his death the one happens to be the most senior male in the *ezi*. The prime position of the *ezi* that descended from the *Opara* of the first ancestor or founder of any *Umunna* is ever lasting. In the event that it does not produce the most senior male in the *Umunna* at any one time, authority in the *Umunna* must pass on to the most senior male from another *ezi* in the *Umunna* without trumping the privileges of the prime *ezi*. Age alone does not bequeath authority on anyone. Authority comes with age and character (Uchendu 1965). Government at this level is based essentially on direct democracy (Afigbo 1973) which helps to confer the right of participation on every responsible adult member in the formulation of directives in the *Umunna*. As it is at all levels of governmental authority patterns in pre-colonial Igbo society, in his leadership capacity the *Opara-Umunna* lacks the legitimacy to flout any of the four dimensions of influence relations on grounds of his authority position. If a holder of the office goes against the grains of the expectations of members of his lineage the preference was often to first call his attention to the fact through a dignified approach. Another elder or even someone close to him was often sent to bring his shortcomings to his attention. It was only in the event that he refuses to acknowledge those shortcomings that he loses the respect and loyalty of the *Umunna*. Committing such a taboo would definitely result to

the negative perception of the legitimacy of the authority of an *Onye nwe-ezi* by members of the ezi. Such loss of legitimacy and prestige is akin to indirect removal from authority.

### *The Ama*

A group of *Umunna* that descended from the same ancestor usually constitutes an *Ama* or village, which is autonomous and 'sovereign' in the conduct of its affairs (Uchendu 1965: 39). Governmentally, Afigbo (1973) likens the *Ama* to a village republic. Because of their shared common ancestry, marriage is highly forbidden between members of the Village. Politics at the village level is practiced in a direct democratic manner involving the participation of all adult males who convene as the *Ama-Ala* or *Oha-na-Eze*<sup>52</sup> in some areas, i.e. General Assembly to attend to the business of the village when summoned to do so (Uchendu 1965). The *Ama-Ala* convenes in the *Mbara* or the Central Village Square which is usually the village market place and ritual center where the shrines of the Gods that the village jointly worships are located (Forde and Jones 1950). The Village governmental processes, practices, power and authority are normatively invested in the *Ama-Ala* (Afigbo 1973).

The *Ama-Ala* is an *ad hoc* institution. Together with the oracles worshipped by the village, and the various age grades, it constitutes the village Government (Uchendu 1965).<sup>53</sup> Although *ad hoc*, the *Ama-Ala* is still one of the major 'channels' of

*Participation* for members of the village. When it is viewed in the light of the E-G

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<sup>52</sup> This is the enlarged Assembly of the entire community and its distinguished and titled citizens.

<sup>53</sup> The oracles are represented in the Village Government by the priests and priestesses who minister to them.

scheme, the *Ama-Ala* is a channel of *Participation*, which is both open and ‘facilitated’ for all adult members of the village, who make voluminous use of it.

Because villagers discharge their acts of participation as individuals as well as on the auspices of their respective *Umunna* whenever the *Ama-Ala* convenes, the members of each *Umunna* sat among themselves in their section of the *Mbara* or the Central Village Square, which is in the direction to their own quarter in the village. That way, they could consult among themselves in the course of debates. The village leadership is composed of those who hold the *Ofá* (who in most cases are the elders who are also the heads of their respective lineage), men and women of wealth and prestige who have taken titles and “have risen spontaneously in the village and have developed their power and influence gradually” (Uchendu 1965: 41) over the course of time. Individuals who feature prominently at this level of authority in the village are often those who acquired titles of *Nze Ozo* , *Ezeji* etc. by virtue of which they become members of title societies or associations. They must have sufficiently distinguished themselves to become members of the *Okonko*, and other secret societies (Jones 1962). Villagers acquire those coveted titles and membership of the titles associations through their wealth. It is through membership of the title associations that an individual “acquired a special status as *ogaranya* (as opposed to plain *ogbenye*) and was entitled to enjoy more weight and authority in the councils of his people than if he were a poor man (*ogbenye*)” (Afigbo 1973: 15). We must be mindful of the processes as well as the criteria that qualify individual members of the village for leadership positions in the village. It is because those processes and criteria are normatively stipulated and visibly recognized by all that



they play into the legitimization of the authority of leaders of the village, particularly at the personal level.

However, irrespective of wealth and status no one is denied the chance to ‘say his own mouth’,<sup>54</sup> on any matter that is before the *Ama-Ala*. Nd’Igbo are able to reconcile the claim to uniqueness by entities with the quest for integration. That reconciliation is made both at the individual and the community levels through the agency of the “popular assembly that is small enough for everybody who wishes to be present to do so and to “speak his mouth”, as they like to phrase it” (Achebe 2000: 15). The norm of ‘speaking one’s mouth’ on issues that come before the Popular Assembly of the village underscores the crucial importance of the ‘intensity, frequency and unrestricted’ nature of participation pre-colonial indigenous Igbo society. It is not only that all the prevalent ‘channels’ of *Participation* available in a typical Igbo society are ‘open’ and ‘facilitated’, it is also true that their ‘openness’ and facilitation are ‘formally’ provided for, ‘normatively tolerated’, and ‘unsanctioned’ for all members of society. Like the proverbial chicken in Igbo lore who absented herself from the village Assembly on a certain day when it was convened to examine the crisis that was produced by the adoption of animal sacrifices by human beings, with the implicit commitment to her neighbors that she would abide by whatever decision that was reached in her absence, and ended up being designated the candidate who could be sacrificed at will by human beings by the unanimous consent of those who were present, any villager who absents him or herself from the *Ama-Ala* runs the risk of exposing himself to the risks becoming the victim of a decision in which he chose not to ‘say his or her mouth’. Taking oneself

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<sup>54</sup> See *Home and Exile*, (Achebe 2000: 14-15) for an illustrative story about this unique Igbo phraseology.

off one of the important normatively-approved channels of *Participation* exposes one to a range of risks.

The range of issues that might be subject of directives includes disputes between individuals from the same *ezi* or *Umunna* that were not settled to the satisfaction of one of the parties, or between individuals from different *Umunna*. Issues of specific legislative importance touching on the knitty-gritty aspects of life in the community are equally tabled before the *Ama-Ala*. Once an issue has been thoroughly debated by the *Ama-Ala* the heads of the various *Umunna* or their designee would usually retire into a conclave or *izuzu*<sup>55</sup> in which all the views that have been expressed by those present are reconciled and framed into a reasonable and impartial decision which is then tabled before the Assembly for acceptance by general acclamation or rejected by shouts of derision (Uchendu 1965: 40). In situations when the *izuzu* returns with an unpopular decision, the decision of the *Ama-Ala* will trump it to prevail. If it is a legislative cause the decision is then sealed as the *iwu* or law of the Village by the *Ofholders* who would raise their *Of* four times and strike it on the ground all at the same each time (Uchendu 1965)<sup>56</sup>. Leaders are responsively mandated to abide by the ultimate position of the *Ama-Ala* on all issues that comes before it. In the practice of authority in pre-colonial Igboland the community would never allow anyone, including the leadership to utilize an exigent platform like the *izuzu* to monopolize the dimension of *Directiveness* or exercise

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<sup>55</sup> The *izuzu* is temporarily constituted each time by the leaders of the Village from individuals who they request each *Umunna* to recommend for the purpose. Every *izuzu* must dissolve upon the completion of the assignment it was constituted for.

<sup>56</sup> Certain numbers are symbolic in Igbo numerology. The even number four (*ano*) is symbolic for the Igbo for the reason that it denotes the first days—*Eke, Orié (Oye) Afo,* and *Nkwo*—in the Igbo market week. Four denotes a full circle.

veto power over the Popular Assembly. That is actually the symbolism that underlay the prompt rejection of an unpopular decision whenever one is returned by the *izu*.

It is clear that the *Ama-Ala*, a popular ‘channel’ of *Participation* for every responsible adult member of Igbo society, plays a central role in the formulation of directives in pre-colonial Igbo communities. The directives that emanate from debates that take place in the *Ama-Ala* on issues that come before it at all times cannot actually be located at the top polar extreme of the *Directiveness* continuum. The reason for that is that regimentation is not a feature of the practice of authority in Igbo society. The situation approaches what is characterized in the E-G scheme as ‘minimal *Directiveness*’, which is “a tendency to issue directives only insofar as the existence of the unit clearly requires it” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 54). Eckstein and Gurr further delineate this situation as one in which there is “a generally specifiable level, in the manner of ‘functional requisites’ or ... a level that varies with specific external pressures on social units and their internal purposes” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 54).

The above characterizations of directives that result from decisions reached by the *Ama-Ala* would become clearer if we examine them further in the context of some of the component parts into which *Directiveness* is dissected in the E-G scheme. We already know that the *Ama-Ala* is a popular channel of participation for all villagers, which functions on the principle of direct democracy. When we recall the assertion made by the formulators of the E-G scheme that in fundamental terms, “direction requires the existence of orders (commands, imperatives, rules, statutes, etc.) emanating from superordinates” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 54), it may not be unreasonable for us to infer that the *Ama-Ala* does not necessarily regiment its directives. Hence, the ‘coverage’ of

directives that emanated from decisions reached by this popular Assembly of direct democracy was neither 'comprehensive' nor 'restricted'. At the same time, we can infer that while the 'latitude' of its directives could have been 'specific', their 'supervision' wasn't 'close' since the absence of professional law enforcement in pre-colonial indigenous Igbo societies was pervasive. In the same vein we can infer that the absence of an institutionalized penal system in Igbo villages implied that the 'sanction threshold' of most directives reached by the *Ama-Ala* was hardly severe. However, the advent of the trans-Atlantic slave trade introduced a degree of severity in the 'sanction threshold' of *Directiveness* in Igbo society especially for violators of serious taboos who were promptly sold off into slavery.<sup>57</sup> Some of the oracles, *Ibiniukpabi* of Arochukwu and *Agbala* of Oka in particular, played a crucial role in that regard. People who were found guilty of grievous crimes that went before these Pan Igbo oracular originations were often sold off directly into slavery (Basden 1938, Afigbo 1971a, Ottenberg 1958).

The responsiveness of leaders of the village is usually commensurate with the intense participation of the generality of villagers in the governance of their village. In the absence of regimentation in the practice of authority both *Directiveness* and *Compliance* are driven by the degree to which the overriding value to submit is trumped by the perception of legitimacy. The generality of the people are inclined to adhere to the normative prescriptions that guide influence relations in their community. But on those rare occasions when the community is genuinely convinced that the leadership is intent

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<sup>57</sup> Often times it was customary for *Ama-Ala* to call the attention of an *Umunna* to a serious infraction of one of its own. It was usually the responsibility of the *Umunna* to take the big decision to sell a culprit off into slavery. See Harris, J. S. (1942: 40-40). "Some Aspects of Slavery in Southeastern Nigeria". The *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 27, Number 1.

on fostering an unpopular agenda at the expense of the community the former often responded to latter's attempts to influence their behavior with 'indifference'.

### *The Village-Group*

A group of villages that usually share some measure of affinity but intermarry compose a democratic government of the Village-Group in which each one irrespective of size is equal. The Village-Group is "generally the largest political unit" (Afigbo 1973: 17) in the Igbo political system.

The villages that comprise a Village-Group are ranked according to the seniority of their founders who are the children of one ancestor. "The most senior in rank is believed to have grown out of the descendants of the first son of the founder while the most junior is said to have descended from his last son" (Afigbo 1973: 17). The *Ama-Ala* is also charged with the Government of the village-group. But unlike the *Ama-Ala* at the village level, this one functions as a representative Assembly. Every Village is represented in the *Ama-Ala* by its *Ndi Isi Ofo* (*Ofo* Custodians). However, supreme authority still lies in the *Ama-Ala*. *Directiveness* reached by the *Ama-Ala* is "enforced within each Village by the age-grades and secrete societies of each village" (Afigbo 1973: 20). Age organizations are vital components of the authority patterns in the Village-Group. In the absence of professional law enforcement agencies it is the age grades that are assigned the responsibility of enforcing compliance to directives passed by the *Ama-Ala*. But their enforcement responsibilities do not transcend village boundaries. The constituting members of the Village-Group guide their respective sovereignty quite jealously. Any member village, which feels that its interests are not

sufficiently protected in any decision taken by the *Ama-Ala*, would usually opt to ignore its enforcement. It was in situations like that that the restorative role of the oracles is brought in to take preemptive measures to avert schisms that could degenerate to high intensity warfare if they were unaddressed (Isichei 1973). Verdicts handed down by oracle are binding on all parties. The verdicts that emanate from the oracles hardly vary from popular expectations in the community for the reason that their agents always go out of their way to clandestinely gather all existing information on the dispute from the disputing communities as well as their neighbors (Meek 1937).

In every Igbo political unit, the age organization “is a universal broad division of the male and of the female population into three categories or grades of Elders, Men (Women) and Boys (Girls)” (Jones 1962: 194). The variation and complexity attached to this institution of authority vary from one political unit and community to another. The Elders are usually the ones who are in-charge of government in the unit. The Elders or *Ndichie* do not exercise their leadership authority in Igbo society in isolation from the Ancestors. The Elders are the acknowledged link between the living members of their community and the Ancestors, who are still considered to be part of the community. Their link with the Ancestors is a source of legitimacy for their leadership authority in the community.

Influence relations in Igbo society are exercised in ways that promote “the process of regulating normal life among” (Afigbo 1973: 20) a people who see themselves as having a lot that bonds them together from the individual up to the various group levels. Individuals and even distant units whose members lack any obvious lineage links were

known to go as far as creating one through the covenant of *Igbandu* (Ukwu 1967).<sup>58</sup>

Participation in the affairs of every Igbo unit is the normative right of “all who were old enough to talk sense” (Afigbo 1973: 20). Apart from the asymmetry evident in the authority pattern, the authority relations function according to the belief that all members of the social unit “who are worthy are basically equal, differences in wealth notwithstanding” (Afigbo 1973: 21).

### *Illustrating for Clarity*

We would use Chinua Achebe’s novel, *Things Fall Apart* (1958), in which he captured life in all of its essence in pre-colonial Igboland at the turn of the nineteenth century to illustrate our analysis on the Igbo and their practice of authority further for clarity.<sup>59</sup> Okonkwo, the self made protagonist in *Things Fall Apart*, was haunted by his father, Nnoka’s lack of personal industry which rendered him an economic failure who was incapable of fending for his only wife and children while he lived. Although Nnoka’s was an economic failure in his household, he retained his natural rights to participate in the ezi, *Umunna*, and village-group during his lifetime. In contrast to his father who was a remarkable and permissive and lazy household head and manager, Okonkwo became a no-nonsense manager who regimented all aspects of his household with ‘specific directives’ and ‘close supervision’ on the conviction that it was the only

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<sup>58</sup> *Igbandu* is a ritual whereby the parties involved have blood drawn from them mixed together and tasted by everyone of them. It established a ritual kinship between them, a guarantee that they can never inflict harm on one another or members.

<sup>59</sup> We concur with Eckstein and Gurr on their justification for extracting valid research data from novels when they argue that: “The main methodological assumption underlying the exercise [of extracting research data from novels] was that since novelists tend to be gifted observers who generalize personal experience, the careful reading of fiction can

way to raise a successful household. His autocratic traits often got him into trouble with the customs and traditions of the land. His peers in the novel who did not have to deal with the psychological burden of a father who was a failure on account of his laziness and lack of industry managed their own household differently.

The following points relevant to our discourse of indigenous Igbo authority patterns are made clear in Achebe's "realistic [portrayal] of the day by day and hour by hour issues of social living" (Killam 1969: 14) in pre-colonial Igboland. Household management style could entail either low *Directiveness* or high regimentation. Either way it would not transcend the customs and traditions of the community. The deities worshipped by the clan often sanctioned individuals like Okonkwo who tended towards high regimentation in the direction of their households for their excesses. When an individual's autocratic traits tended towards what the E-G scheme deems as "peremptory and violent" (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 57) as was often the case with Okonkwo, someone close by often called him to order. Extreme *Directiveness* including the administration of corporal punishment on children prevailed in the Igbo household, but it tended to decline as children grew and matured. The same was true of a household head like Okonkwo as he translated from his role as a super to that of a sub in the *ezi*, *umunna*, etc. Flogging and imprisonment of adults both of which are two possible hallmarks of regimented *Directiveness* were unheard of in pre-colonial Igbo society (Jones 1965: 94, Ekechi 1971). The essence of that is captured in the Igbo proverb—Onye maara ihe achoghi otutu okwu (A wise person does not require specific directives). What is described in the E-G scheme as the "aura of violent retribution" (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 57) which

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serve as a reasonable substitute for field studies when such activities cannot be carried out" (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 56).



obtained in some adult-children relationships ceased as soon as children attained adulthood. In spite of his personal industry, economic success, and high standing in his society, Okonkwo's autocratic traits neither spilt over nor were they embraced in the *ezi, umunna*, village or the village-group. When he advocated armed struggle to drive the British out he was over-ruled by the deliberative Assembly of his village-group. As one other Igbo proverb goes, 'Otu onye adighi abu nnam oha' (An individual does not dictate to the community).

If we subject the Igbo authority patterns to the E-G measure scale their ranking on the four dimensions of influence relations will be akin to the configuration in Figure 3.4 below.

Dimension	Values	The Igbo Authority Patterns
<i>Directiveness</i> (General)	1. Regimented (+) 2. Mid Point 3. Permissive (0)	Absent High Very High
<i>Participation</i>	3. Participant (+) 4. Non-participant (0)	Very High Absent
<i>Responsiveness</i> (Overall)	4. Autocracy(+) 5. Mid Point 6. Alterocracy	Absent High High (but not absolute)
<i>Compliance</i> (Dispositions)	6. Submissiveness (+) 7. Allegiance 8. Indifference (0) 9. Opposition 10. Insub-ordination	Very Low High Very Low Very Low Very Low

Figure 3.4: The ranking matrix of the Igbo authority patterns on the E-G scheme measure-scale

Direct democracy is one of the critical elements in the practice of authority amongst the Igbo. Apart from encouraging the participation of all and sundry in the direction of the affairs of the community, direct democracy equally makes it possible for the community

to ensure that individuals who are entrusted with authority positions are responsive in the discharge of their duties. Direct participation makes it possible for villagers to veto unpopular decisions taken on their behalf by their representatives in the *Ama-Ala* at the village-group.

The E-G scheme provides us with a sound measure to gauge the intricate fit in the over all authority patterns of the Igbo on the one hand as well as their harmonious co-existence with their world. The ancillary ‘bases of legitimacy perceptions’ tend to succinctly fit into those patterns too. Religion, which is the anchor on which all the four dimensions of influence relations are hinged is also a vital legitimating agent for authority in Igbo society. Indigenous Igbo religion provides the glue that binds most if not all the components of life in Igbo society in a manner that checks and punishes any attempt by anyone to abuse or ignore authority. It is equally the anchor for the Igbo personality through which society regenerates itself. The results are that those who are entrusted with the authority to play a prominent role in the processes of directing society are normatively discouraged from directing society towards the path of autocracy and despotism in social, economic and political life. At the same time change and innovations are allowed into society through the personal industry of individual who are driven to achieve and accomplish by their belief and trust in their personal *chi*.

*Exceptions: Centralized Authority in Four Specific Igbo Polities:  
Oguta, Onitsha, Abo, and Osomari*

From the generalist point of view there is ample evidence to warrant the location of the authority patterns of Nd’Igbo within the typical scenario that we discussed in the preceding section in the current chapter. However, there are still some specific aspects of

the authority patterns found among the Northern and Northeastern Igbo groups which deviate somewhat from the general patterns. Such deviations include the presence of institutionalized monarchies involving a considerable degree of such trappings of royalty as court keeping, distinct forms of regalia and associated ceremonies of royalty (Afigbo 1973). Afigbo (1973) has argued that those Igbo groups who operate monarchical political systems may have borrowed them from their non-Igbo neighbors. His assertion is largely underscored by the fact that all the various Igbo communities who practice the monarchical political systems live close to non-Igbo nationalities that evolved centralized monarchies. In fact, a careful scrutiny of the authority patterns in various Northern and Northeastern Igbo societies where monarchical political systems prevail would reveal that their kings are no more than premier members of the enlarged Popular Assembly (*Ama-Ala*) of their Village-Groups (Afigbo 1973).

Ikenna Nzimiro (1972) identified some of the differences in the authority patterns of Northern and Northeastern Igbo communities that underscore the assertions made above by Afigbo. Nzimiro believes that it is not just the monarchical system of rule that the various Northern or Onitsha and Northeastern Igbo groups adopted from their Yoruba, Bini, and Igala neighbors. He argues that Northern and Northeastern Igbo communities seem to have emulated the residential patterns that are associated with their non-Igbo neighbors as well. For instance, Nzimiro supports his argument with the finding that unlike the rest of Nd'Igbo who live in *obodo* or *ikporo* (village), Northern and Northeastern Igbo groups live in differentiated and compact towns like the Yoruba, and the Bini. These compact residential towns are made of quarters called *ebo* that are in turn made up of wards called *ogbe* (Nzimiro 1972: 21). Nzimiro further asserts that “an

*ogbe* divides into compounds (*nkpu uno*) which contain the members of an extended family or minima lineage” (Nzimiro 1972: 21). Our discussion in this section centers on four different Northern and Northeastern Igbo polities, i.e. Oguta, Abo, Onitsha and Osomari that share some characteristic similarities as well as subtle differences in their respective political systems.

Their chiefs of state are all constitutional monarchies, and political authority involves titled personalities, titled associations and age grades in all four cases (Nzimiro 1972). In Abo, Oguta, and Onitsha the official title of the Chief of state is the *Obi*. He is called the *Atamanya* in Osomari (Nzimiro 1972). Because of the central roles that titles play in the designation of individuals to authority positions in these polities, Afigbo (1973) is of the view that the *Obiship* and *Atamanyaship* may have been the ultimate titles that can be taken by anyone in them.<sup>60</sup>

The office of the chief of state resides in a specific lineage—*Ebo* (lineage) in Onitsha, Abo, and Osomari, *Ogbe*. In Oguta where the towns that made up the polity are in their own turn made up of the *Ogbe*, the *Obiship* resides in a specific *Ogbe* (Nzimiro 1972: 21). Both the *Ebo* and the *Ogbe* are typical Igbo lineages (Nzimiro 1972). However the office of chief of state is still open to every worthy male from the royal line who proves himself so by his exemplary character and wealth. Wealth and character are the two principal criteria that must be fulfilled by citizens who aspire join the title

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<sup>60</sup> Asagba (Anglicized Asaba) is another Northern Igbo polity that evolved a centralized system of political organization. In Asaba where the Chief of state is given either the *Obi* or *Eze* title studies reveal that both titles were phased out sometime in the nineteenth century. Isichei (1969) revealed from her research that both titles were the highest that anyone could take in the Asagba society. She even speculated that they may have gone into oblivion because no one could afford to take them in a long time. Her findings underscore Afigbo’s assertion.

societies in these polities (Nzimiro 1972). Membership of title societies in these Igbo polities is open to only freeborn citizens. Being a freeborn citizen is also a prerequisite qualification for election to the office of chief of state. These deliberate provisions in the political system specifically exist to deter the evolution of autocracy in these communities.

Society in these polities is “organized on a basis of age and sex into male and female age sets, the women have their own system of councils and a general assembly which parallels that of the men, and there are a number of voluntary associations membership in which is sought by the socially and politically ambitious” (Nzimiro 1972: 21). Furthermore, society in each of them is ranked in a manner that depicts asymmetry in the prevalent authority patterns and relations. However, that ranking is not indicative of a system of stratification that favors some members of society at the expense of others. Take for instance the rank of *Nwadiani* or freeborn citizen. It is a sociologically non-discriminatory rank that includes the following categories of people in the society: titled and untitled individuals who are not of royal descent as well as titled and untitled individuals who are of royal descent. By royal descent we are talking about the lineage that claims direct descent from the founder of the polity (Nzimiro 1972). Any *Nwadiani* who is in good social standing in terms of character and integrity who achieved the withal to join the title associations would become an *ogaranya* or distinguished personality in society. The status and prestige of *ogaranya* earned the one membership of the political elite in any of these polities. The lowest rung of the status ladder in society is occupied by the *Ohu* (slaves and slave-born)<sup>61</sup> who are not worthy of citizenship and all the rights

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<sup>61</sup> The population of *ndi ohu* in is quite minor in most Igbo communities.

that it confers on the *Nwadiani*. Citizenship is therefore the exclusive right of *Ndi Nwadiani* or freeborn individuals.

There are three categories of *Nwadiani* (Nzimiro 1972). The first category includes all freeborn people who are descended from the founders of a polity. The second is composed of descendants of freeborn individuals from other political units who became members through fission from their original units.<sup>62</sup> The freeborn status of their ancestors from their place of origin is actually the principal qualifying criterion that earned people in this category full membership of the ward that their ancestors attached themselves to (Nzimiro 1972: 23). Like all members of their ward, “they observe its rules of exogamy and are associated with its cults and ritual activities” (Nzimiro 1972: 23). The third category of *Nwadiani* includes descendants of the original inhabitants of the land who welcomed and accepted the founders of the polity. The office of *Ezeani* (Priest of *Ani* or *Ala*, the Supreme Deity of the land) resides with members of this category. As was mentioned a little earlier, the numerous rights and privileges that accrue through the institution of citizenship can only be enjoyed by the *Nwadiani* (Nzimiro 1972). Marriage can only be contracted between freeborn citizens. As a matter of fact, “intermarriage has united the three categories together in a closely knit web of kinship which has given them a strong sense of corporate solidarity” (Nzimiro 1972: 24). But it is only the *Nwadiani* in the first and third categories that can hold political offices (Nzimiro 1972). In some of the polities, Osomari for instance, only the *Nwadiani* in the first and third categories may assume the *Okpalaship* in any *Ebo*. The reason being that in Igboland the position of *Okpala* is associated with both religious and political authority. In Osomari, the belief is that sacrifice to ancestors can only be successful

when it is performed by “a true agnate” (Nzimiro 1972: 25). “This dichotomy between citizenship (*Nwadiani*) and non-citizenship (*Ohu* and today, foreigner)<sup>63</sup> underlies the whole social framework in these societies” (Nzimiro 1972: 25). The categorization of society in these polities is devoid of sharp lines of stratification that segregate society into rulers and subjects. These are realities of Igbo societies that are not conquest-based, and in which authority is not self-sustained and practiced through force and the domination of people.

For instance, the normative restriction that bars freeborn individuals from other political units who voluntarily left their original wards and kindred to join another one in Osomari from assuming the *Okparaship* is strictly aimed at discouraging the incidence of conquest-based authority in the polity. Similarly, the constitutional stipulation that restricts eligibility to the office of *Ezeani* to only the category of *Nwadiani* who first settled the land is aimed at preventing the evolution of a dynasty and autocratic leadership in these polities.<sup>64</sup>

*Ndi ohu* (cult slaves) are in a status of their own in Osomari. They cannot intermarry with the *Ndi nwadiani* and are therefore denied the ties that the institution of citizenship bestows on *Ndi nwadiani* in society. *Ndi ohu* cannot take titles, which consequently disqualifies them from becoming members of the political elite. They can join age sets but cannot hold leadership offices in them. Irrespective of their limited rights of participation in the direction of the polity’s affairs, the fact that they are

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<sup>62</sup> They are called the *onoru* (the one that stayed put).

<sup>63</sup> *Ndi biara abia* (Sojourners).

<sup>64</sup> The concept of constitution and constitutional is used to invoke the existence of an unwritten creed of laws, customs, traditions, and stipulations that guide governance. This is based on the notion that constitutions can be written or unwritten. A typical example of an unwritten constitution is that of England.

eligibility for the membership of the age sets implies that they are not totally barred from all its channels of *Participation*. On closer examination therefore, one would discern that in these societies it is basically the lack of kinship ties that disqualifies *ndi ohu* from the channels of *Participation*. In indigenous Igbo society an individual without kinship ties is an un-integrated and non-participant member of society in the polity.

Nzimiro (1972) categorized society in Abo, Oguta, Onitsha, and Osomari into two: the political elite class or functionaries of the state (the *Obi*, *Atamanya*, and *Eze* in and the occupants of the various palace and ritual offices), and commoners (everyone who can belong to the prestige associations). The prestige associations constituted “an intermediate category as most titled offices are restricted to persons who are members of those associations” (Nzimiro 1972: 37). In the E-G scheme these two categories are designated as superordinate actors or Super-actors and subordinate actors or sub-actors respectively (Eckstein and Gurr 1975).<sup>65</sup> But in terms of what is described by the authors of the E-G scheme as the ‘asymmetric relations’ (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 8-20), in these three polities, the commoners submit to the authority of the political elite in such a manner that makes it impossible for authority to extend itself to the point of autocracy. There lies a remarkable difference between centralized and un-centralized political systems in Igboland. In Northern and Northeastern Igbo communities, the centralization of some aspects of the practice of authority entailed a clearer delineation and definition of the authority patterns. However, as a feature of the political system, centralization of some aspects of the practice of authority in these societies does not necessarily imply that

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<sup>65</sup> Throughout *Patterns of Authority: A Structural Basis for Political Inquiry*, their primer on the application of congruence theory in social research, Eckstein and Gurr (1975) referred to individuals in the two categories variously as “supers” or S and “subs” and s for short.



they are sociologically stratified. The existence of clearly defined lines of asymmetry in these Northern and Northeastern Igbo polities does not in any way lock commoners out of the channels of *Participation* in the authority patterns. The channels of *Participation* in these societies are open, and facilitated for all commoners. There are several principal factors deeply rooted in the fabric of Igbo society that render the lines of asymmetry between commoners and the political elite in these societies quite thin and flexible. Status and social mobility in Igbo society are in the main not ascribed. Hence in these societies, commoners are potential members of the political class. This reality is achievable for everyone particularly for the reason that land, the major element of economic production, is owned by the lineage and inherited through kinship ties. In pre-colonial times resourceful individuals in these societies were able to accumulate the requisite wealth that enabled them to acquire titles that qualified them to join the coveted political elite category. As in other parts of Igboland the path to leadership and authority in these four polities is normatively prescribed and recognized as well as open to all.

The military, legislative and judicial affairs in each polity are the responsibility of the public officials. The palace officials work hand-in-hand with the chiefs of state, while the ritual officials discharge the ritual affairs of the societies. As it is in the rest of Igboland, “law, morality and religion provide sanctions for controlling human conduct which supplement one another and are combined in different ways” (Nzimiro 1972: 37).

By the authority of the office that he occupies the chief of state in each of these polities combines the secular and ritual responsibilities of the state in his person and office (Nzimiro 1972). This is in the sense that he officiates during ritual ceremonies while the *Ezeani* presides. His office is analogous to the position of the *Okpala* at the

lineage level, which confers on its occupant the authority to discharge secular and ritual responsibilities and obligations on behalf of the members of his lineage. All authority derives from the ancestors and is sanctioned by the Gods that the communities worship.

Normatively, an authority position does not entitle anyone to make economic claims on his fellow citizens. No one pays or receives taxes or tributes from others. This assertion raises the question of how the chiefs of states in these polities raised the “surplus” that supported their court. The ability of an individual in terms of his wealth, to shoulder the huge material requirements of being a public figure was one of the qualifying criteria for these positions. Individuals accumulated wealth through their personal industry, and wealthy individuals acquired membership of titled associations to become members of the political elite. Every individual was therefore the master of his own economic destiny. But members of the political elite—the chiefs of state, state functionaries, and other distinguished individuals in society were able to attract voluntary labor from well-wishers to supplement the labor of members of their immediate family for their agricultural work on the basis of their prestige.

In sociological terms, the foregoing analysis encapsulates the socio-political situation as regards the practice of authority in pre-colonial Igboland. Agriculture, the mainstay of Igbo economy, provided the basis for the development of extensive long distance trade between the Igbo and their neighbors who inhabit the southeast portion of the lower Niger basin (Ottenberg and Ottenberg 1962, Hodder and Ukwu 1969).<sup>66</sup>

Kinship ties that are developed principally through marriage within and between the various political units in pre-colonial Igboland were utilized extensively to evolve and

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<sup>66</sup> As early as 1508 Pacheco Pereira, a Portuguese trader who ventured to the coastlines of the Niger basin had mentioned the active trading involving the inhabitants of those parts.

sustain some of the ubiquitous non-governmental authority patterns that facilitated the harmonious existence of the Igbo in their thick rain forest environment (Dike 1956a). In those situations when natural kinship ties could not evolve between different Igbo units traditional Igbo religion was handily employed to promote the necessary economic ties between different political units in Igboland.<sup>67</sup> This was particularly true of the Aro Igbo. When faced with they were faced with the difficult challenge of not being able to develop kinship ties with other Igbo groups the Aro Igbo promptly cashed in on the Pan Igbo influence of *Ibiniukpabi*, which enabled them to carve a dominant niche for themselves in the long distance trade that flourished between the Igbo and the other nationalities that inhabit southeast lower Niger basin. This happened at a time when the need for agricultural labor by European settlers in the New World injected a demand for Africans who were bought and transported across the Atlantic as items of trade (Ottenberg 1958, Isichei 1973, Johnson 1904, Talbot 1926, Forde and Jones 1950).

Is it then unusual that the Aro Igbo were unable to exploit the Pan-Igbo influence of their oracle to seek political hegemony over Igboland or at least parts of it? Although Ottenberg (1958) seemed to have been tempted to speculate that the oracle organizations may have led to the evolution of a large and centralized political organization in Igboland, I am compelled to argue in the context of our discussion that the inability of anyone or group to evolve or impose such a system of rule on the Igbo may have stemmed partly from the geography of the Igbo homeland. It is inconceivable that a geographical environment that partly dictated the evolution of village-based democratic polities could have suddenly encouraged their transformation into one single political

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<sup>67</sup> The Oka Igbo cashed in on the Pan-Igbo influence of *Agbara* their own oracle to ply their skills as smiths, diviners and physicians all over Igboland in the long distance trade.

organization by any one Igbo group. It could have been unusual for the Aro Igbo to transcend their typical Igboic political system which lacked strong hierarchical characteristics and power centralization (Ottenberg 1958) to evolve a predatory system of rule that was capable of controlling and exploiting other Igbo groups. Indeed, in spite of their acclaimed acumen to harness the Pan-Igbo influence of their *Ibiniukpabi*, to carve a central role for themselves in the economy of southeast lower Niger basin, the Aro Igbo or even any other Igbo group at that, lacked the capacity to transform themselves into over-lords in pre-colonial Igboland. There is no evidence that they attempted to impose their choice of political authority, or transform political units into unitary polities or try to raise a standing army within or from outside Igboland through the influence of their oracle (Ottenberg 1958).

### **The Yoruba**

The Yoruba inhabit the deciduous rain forest ecological zone of the Niger basin as several groups that include the Oyo-Yoruba, the Ife-Yoruba, the Ijebu-Yoruba, the Egba-Yoruba, the Ekiti-Yoruba, the Awori-Yoruba, etc. Their *homeland* which is located in the southwest of the Niger basin occupies an area that stretches more than 200 miles (Forde 1951) as far as present Benin Republic and Togoland (westwards) and northwards towards Nupeland. The fact that the nationality of Yoruba-speaking people consists of several groups gave Forde cause to claim that the Yoruba are more “united by language than by culture” (Forde 1951: 1). Kenyo (1951), Johnson (1921), and Biobaku (1955) argued that the various Yoruba groups share some traditional and cultural traits as well as the same tradition of origin traceable to the town of Ile-Ife and the same mythical

ancestor, Oduduwa (Oguntomisin 1981: 223). However, in spite of their claim of descent from one mythical ancestor, each of the various Yoruba groups—the Oyo, Ife, Ijebu, Egba, Ekiti, Awori, etc.—founded its own monarchical polity which differed slightly from each other in some ways (Atanda 1973, Oguntomisin 1981).

Coleman took the contrary position on the issue of political heterogeneity in pre-colonial Yorubaland when he argued that with the exception of the Ijebu-Yoruba, the other Yoruba sub-groups “were united into one kingdom ruled from Old Oyo” (Coleman 1958: 25) for the greater part of the eighteenth century. Although Coleman’s assertion is backed by the facts of Yoruba history, other scholars (Forde 1951, Law 1973) have pointed out that “the Yoruba have never effectively come under a single political authority” (Oguntomisin 1981: 223). The truth from all these views is that the Old Oyo Empire which tied several Yoruba groups together in a single political organization at a point in their pre-colonial history started to decline around the middle of the eighteenth century and subsequently collapsed by around 1826 (Smith 1969a).

In spite of the acknowledged difference in political structures between the various Yoruba polities, the similarities that exist in their political structures are more than the differences (Oguntomisin 1981: 223). In fact, in situations where differences exist between their political institutions, such differences are often minor (Lloyd 1954). Here are some pointers: Access to the office of the chief of state in each one of them is by ascription. Governmental authority is constitutionally stipulated and civilian-controlled in all of them (Oguntomisin 1981). Furthermore, there are specific constitutional stipulations aimed at preventing governance from degenerating into despotic autocracy in each of them (Law 1971, Oguntomisin 1981). The age-old tradition for all occupants of

notable apex positions of authority in Yorubaland to trace their descent to Oduduwa and Ile-Ife, is another similarity that exists between various Yoruba polities. In addition to being a similarity, the claim made by every Yoruba to a common descent is equally an identity which puts them apart from the other inhabitants of the Niger basin (Gbadamosi 1978).

Contrary to what obtained in pre-colonial Igboland, state building in pre-colonial Yorubaland produced large polities that functioned with considerable degrees of centralization in the governance of society. What then can we possibly attribute the incidence and feature of large polities and political centralization respectively to in pre-colonial Yorubaland? The answer to that question is subsumed in the history of the Yoruba, which shows that unlike the Igbo, they exploited warfare as an instrument of state building (Ajayi and Smith 1971). However, these two features, i.e. large political organization and centralization in the structures of governance did not seem to have translated to unbridled autocracy in the practice of authority in pre-colonial Yoruba polities.

When we look at the pre-colonial history of Yorubaland there is evidence that it did not lack ambitious actors who tried but were unsuccessful in the long run to transform themselves into the type of autocrats that Eckstein and Gurr (1975: 67) associate with “literally, self-sustained power” in the E-G scheme. In all cases when such individuals who were always from the military succeeded in imposing themselves on their people as autocrats and despots what they could not achieve in each case which led to eventual collapse of their efforts was the imposition of durable institutionalized control over them (Atanda 1973: 10, Oguntomisin 1981: 231-2, Johnson 1921).

We can infer from what has already been established earlier in the discourse about the geography of the part of the Niger basin where the Yoruba *homeland* is located to assert that geography may have been one of the factors that made it impossible for those individuals in pre-colonial Yorubaland who tried to transform themselves into all-powerful autocrats to succeed in the long run. History indicates that rather than be ruled by controlling autocrats the Yoruba often fled into the forest and hills to found new polities—Ibadan and Abeokuta are good examples (Ajayi 1965, Akintoye 1966, Ajayi and Smith 1971, Awe 1973, Falola 1985, Oguntomisin 1981). According to Ajayi and Smith, most towns in southern Yorubaland, “were deliberately situated within a belt of forest (the *Igbo Ile*) which was deliberately allowed to retain its undergrowth and was pierced only by narrow paths leading to the gates” (Ajayi and Smith 1971: 23). The monarchical political system of the Yoruba was predicated on durable constitutional provisions with stipulations for power sharing, checks and balances that deterred the long-term success of attempts by anyone to foist autocratic rule on the Yoruba. Even at this stage in our discourse it is not illogical for us to argue that the evident feature of centralization in the Yoruba system of governance must have affected the practice of authority in pre-colonial polities in Yoruba land.

#### *Authority and Its Practice Are Linked to Religion*

Like it is amongst the Igbo, indigenous religion which is deeply rooted in the social structure and social organization of the Yoruba played a central role in all aspects of their pre-colonial political organization. Much of the reason for this can be located in the fact that Yoruba religion is totally home-grown. There are several pointers that can

be used to buttress this immediate assertion. Inherent in the Yoruba worldview is the belief that “the factor of luck, which is associated with the head” (Boscom 1951: 492) is essential in the life of every individual. According to this belief, luck is a personal quality, that relates the “owner of the head (*olori*)” (Boscom 1951: 492), i.e. an individual “to the multiple souls or spiritual guardians: the ‘creator’ (*eleda*)” (Boscom 1951: 492). Thus, “[a] lucky person (*olori rere, e’eda rere*) is one who has a good head or a good creator, while an unlucky person (*olori buruku, e’eda buruku*) has a bad head or creator” (Boscom 1951: 492). In this religion, an individual’s “luck and ... success in economic and other affairs is ... a matter of destiny (*ayanmope, ayanmo*) or fate (*iwa*), which is also called ‘to kneel and choose’ (*akunleyan*)” (Boscom 1951: 492). There’s room in the religion for an individual to consult diviners or priests (*babalawo*) “to find out what is in store for the future and what can be done to avert evil and insure favorable outcome” (Boscom 1951: 492). Lucky individuals are those people who achieve some measures of economic success that translate to their achievement of the social status of a ‘gentleman’ (*gbajumo*) or the ‘man of principle’ (*enia pataki*) (Boscom 1951: 493) in society. The role of individuals who achieve either or both social statuses in the practice of authority in Yoruba society is worthy of mention. A ‘gentleman’ is both popular and attracts a good measure of following in the community especially when he achieves the status of a ‘man of principle’ at the same time. A ‘man of principle’ “has all the characteristics of a gentleman, with the added qualities of fearlessness, leadership and social responsibility” (Boscom 1951: 493). It is interesting that while ‘the man of principle’ will criticize the king, when criticism is justified, the gentleman on the other hand waits until someone else speaks up and then joins in the chorus (Boscom 1951). In



the context of the E-G scheme both personality traits encourage the participation of everyday people in the affairs of their society. In turn, the participation of such individuals led to the responsiveness of leaders who preferred not to antagonize them and their loyal followers.

Like their system of governance, indigenous Yoruba religion, which incorporates some degree of centralization, is neither rigid nor exclusionary in its logic and practices. Holders of authority positions at the infra and supra levels of society and priests constitute the centers of action around which revolve the participation of the people in their religious and social affairs (Lawson 1985: 54-6). The creed of Yoruba religion does not only “provide a mine of information about their history and mythology, it reflects the philosophy of the race and reveals the concepts that they have formed about the world they live in” (McClelland 1982: 7).

The encapsulation of the aforementioned aspects of the flexible worldview of the Yoruba has enabled indigenous Yoruba religion to continue to function as one of the crucial agencies of socialization amongst the Yoruba. Indigenous religion enabled the Yoruba to respond to changes to “secular modes of thought and action that propose new concepts of power and new relationships to place and role” (Lawson 1985: 98) in creative ways while retaining the originality of their authority structures and patterns. Its creative response to Christianity gave birth to the Cherubim and Seraphim Church, a popular Christian denomination among the Yoruba, which parallels their indigenous religion in both creed and practice. Thus, the Yoruba have tended to be syncretic in their religious

beliefs and practices, both of which accommodate their worldview, indigenous culture and authority patterns.<sup>68</sup>

The chief of state in pre-colonial Yorubaland can only execute ritual obligations as the priests who he lacks the authority to control have recommended them. The priests on the other hand have the authority from both the Gods and Ancestors to use their good offices to ensure that the chief of state remains responsive to the citizens in the discharge of their leadership responsibilities. For instance, in some Yoruba polities—the kingdom of Lagos is one—the *Oba*'s oracle is housed in the abode of the priest. This was meant to ensure the independence of the priest in the discharge of his official religious functions. That way, only him consulted the *Oba*'s oracle when asked and relayed his findings to the latter. Other religious and traditional stipulations made it possible for the *Oba* of Lagos to remain responsive to the people. It was a traditional taboo for him to initiate the offer of sacrifices to his ancestors. Whenever the priests ascertained that the *Oba*'s ancestors were unhappy with his conduct he equally issued the authorization for sacrifices to appease them (Cole 1975). Priests were prevailed upon by the people to prescribe “taboos that the *Oba* was bound to obey” (Atanda 1973: 4). In Yoruba tradition to be touched by a masquerade implied that the ancestors had vetoed an *Oba*'s legitimate authority to govern. In fact, it was on behalf of subordinate members of the Yoruba society that priests established that it is a taboo for an *Oba* to be touched by a masquerade. There were instances when an *Oba* who became autocratic and despotic was

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<sup>68</sup> Rather than say that colonialism and westernization have undermined the various segmental structures and units of Yoruba society (family, religion, etc.) that are responsible for ensuring the perpetuation of indigenous authority patterns of the Yoruba it'd be more appropriate to argue that the latter have been creatively transformed by all that came with the former without losing their indigenous traits which enables them to

made to abdicate upon being touched by a masquerade, which was in turn instigated by the people (Atanda 1973). Under these circumstances, thanks to indigenous religion, in spite of their extensive authority, Yoruba chiefs of state avoided responsiveness in their practice of authority at the risk of inciting the people against their authority.

### *Warfare and Conquest in State Building and Transformation*

There were cases when the age-old authority patterns of the monarchical political system of the Yoruba were eroded and transformed in some considerable degrees (Ajayi 1965, Awe 1973). The reason for that partly derived from warfare and conquest at the time when they became effective devices for state building and transformation pre-colonial Yorubaland (Ajayi and Smith 1971). In a period that spanned about seventy years (1813-1893) Yorubaland witnessed about fifty different wars (Johnson 1921, Smith 1969, Ajayi and Smith 1971). Atanda (1973), Oguntomisin (1981), Falola (1985) have established that there were changes in aspects of the authority patterns of the Yoruba that resulted from the wars and upheavals that led to the decline and eventual collapse of the Old Oyo Empire. One such change was the rise of militarism and despotism in the conduct of the business of governance particularly in some new states that were founded in parts of post-Old Oyo Yorubaland (Ajayi 1965: 72-81, Awe 1973).

Ibadan is one of the new states that were founded in southern Yorubaland by the influx of population of displaced groups from the Old Oyo Empire and the surrounding states (Ajayi and Smith 1971: 11). Founded in 1829 it grew in all respects as a result of the dependence of its leaders on militarism for state building and state transformation

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sustain their role as purveyors of all the dimensions of indigenous Yoruba authority patterns.

(Ajayi and Smith 1971, Awe 1973). Traditionally, the norm in Yorubaland was to mobilize for war and demobilize the army and let the soldiers and their commanders return to their farms immediately after (Johnson 1921: 75, 131, Ajayi and Smith 1964: 10). But Ibadan broke with that tradition by raising a standing military composed of professional soldiers who assumed extensive leadership roles in society. With the exception of two religious positions of authority, recruitment into all other positions in Ibadan was affected by the new norm, which made merit “the most important qualification for achieving chieftaincy titles” (Awe 1973: 66). Ibadan became a Yoruba polity that extended a lot of recognition to soldiers and war commanders in the bid to retain their services (Awe 1973: 66, Falola 1985).

Even then Ibadan did not completely reinvent all aspects of the Yoruba authority patterns. Many crucial elements of indigenous Yoruba authority patterns still survived in Ibadan. For instance, citizenship continued to be the most important qualification for recruitment into every leadership position in the polity. In fact, there were strict definitions of who was a citizen as opposed to a stranger (Awe 1973 and Falola 1985). Thus, access to chieftaincy titles, which largely “constituted power in nineteenth-century Ibadan” (Falola 1985: 55) was restricted to citizens of Ibadan alone.

From the foregoing one can discern two facts of history about political development in pre-colonial Yorubaland. The first is that the Yoruba were never wielded into one political entity under the control of one political authority (Atanda 1973: 1). The second is that in spite of the validity of the first fact of history cited above, they evolved fairly large political organizations (Atanda 1973: 1). The second fact of history

represents one of the major disparities in political development amongst the Igbo and the Yoruba.

Unlike in Igboland, some state formation and most state transformation undertakings in pre-colonial Yorubaland were conquest-based. This evident disparity in state building and transformation between the two nationalities did not stem from a history of warlessness in Igboland or between Nd'Igbo and their neighbors. A quick explanation is that circumstances made it untenable for the Igbo to exploit wars for state making. Charles Tilly's (1985, 1990) depiction, as shown in Figure 3.5 below, of the symbiotic relationship between war making and state making fits pre-colonial Yorubaland to a good measure. There were various cases in which agents of states in pre-colonial Yoruba polities embarked on:

- (i) War making: Eliminating or neutralizing their rivals outside the their rivals outside the territories in which they have clear and continuous priority as wielders of force
- (ii) State making: Eliminating or neutralizing their rivals inside those territories
- (iii) Protection: Eliminating or neutralizing their enemies for their clients
- (iv) Extraction: Acquiring the means of carrying out the first three activities—war making, state making and protection (Tilly 1985: 181).

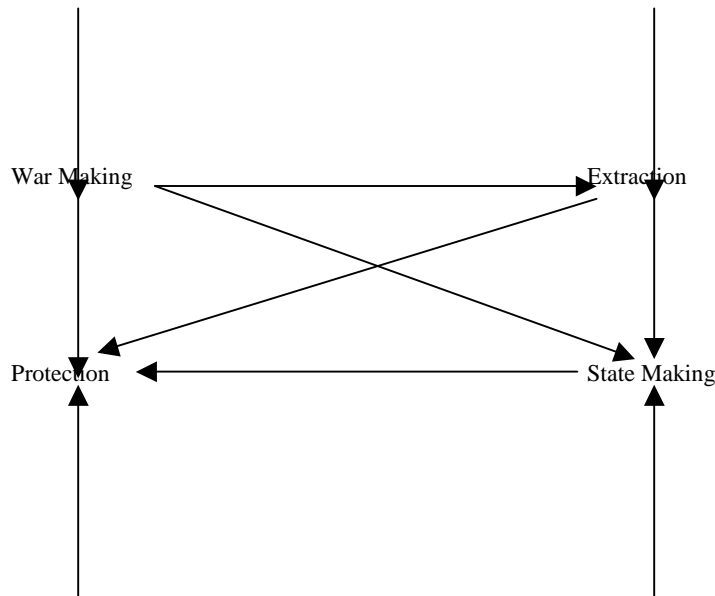


Figure 3.5: Symbiotic interaction between war making and state making.  
 Source: Charles Tilly. 1985. “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime” in *Bringing the State Back In* by P. D. Evans, D. Rueschemayer, and T. Skocpol, eds. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Thus, those parts of pre-colonial Yorubaland that achieved large political organization give credence to findings by historical sociologists (Downing 1992, Ertman 1997, Kiser and Linton 2001) showing that wars determine the size and forms of state. In Yorubaland wars aided the extraction of state and private wealth in various ways (Fadipe 1970, Ajayi and Smith 1971, Awe 1973).<sup>69</sup> But in spite of the impacts of wars on state building and transformation in Yorubaland, there is still ample evidence to show that war

<sup>69</sup> The Igbo do not have the tradition of using wars to source slaves. J. S. Harris confirmed this much from his research when he said: “The Igbo of the Bende area have no recollection nor traditions of raids to obtain slaves, although these frequently have been reported from other regions, particularly along the coast during the slaving period. Although a few captives were sold, this was an incidental by-product of battles in this area, and, (sic) to my knowledge, never one of the prime motives for waging war (Harris 1942: 40). The vast majority of the handful in Igboland who were enslaved internally or

making did not upset the authority patterns of the Yoruba in fundamental ways (Lloyd 1953: 78).

### *Authority Patterns in Yorubaland*

We've established earlier that the Yoruba settled their part of the Niger basin in kinship groups or lineages. It was those groups that then evolved into kingdoms in each case (Atanda 1973). Thus, while the Egba Yoruba founded the kingdom polity of Egba, the Oyo Yoruba founded the Oyo Ife, and the Ijebu Yoruba founded the kingdom polity of Ijebu Ode, etc. We've further established earlier in the discourse, that a lot of socio-political growth and transformation took place in most of the pre-colonial kingdom polities in Yorubaland before and especially during the period beginning from about the onset of the second decade in the nineteenth century. Most of those resulted from conquest and the extension of political authority by towns into other surrounding towns (Akintoye 1971, Atanda 1973).

However, authority in the centralized political system of the Yoruba obtains in the following configuration, which is evident in Figure 3.6 below. Every individual Yoruba "belonged to an *ebi* (lineage) and the male members of a lineage, their wives (if they are married) and children lived together in one *agbo-ilu*(compound)" (Akintoye 1971: 13).<sup>70</sup> The *ebi* is the basic or lowest level of authority in the Yoruba political system. A combined group of several lineages constitutes the *adugbo* or ward, which is the next and second level of authority. The apex level of authority in Yorubaland resides in the *Ilu* or Town. Since Yoruba society is lineage-based, the *Ilu* is organized according to all the *ebi*

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sold in the trans-Atlantic slave trade with the Europeans "were enslaved for infractions of societal customs" (Harris 1942: 40).

that founded and constitute it. There is a rationale for starting the examination of this configuration of authority with the *Ilu*. Our deliberate desire here is to emphasize the observation made earlier that centralization is a vital feature of the Yoruba political system. It does not however imply that authority radiates from the *Ilu* down to the *ebi* in an undemocratic manner.

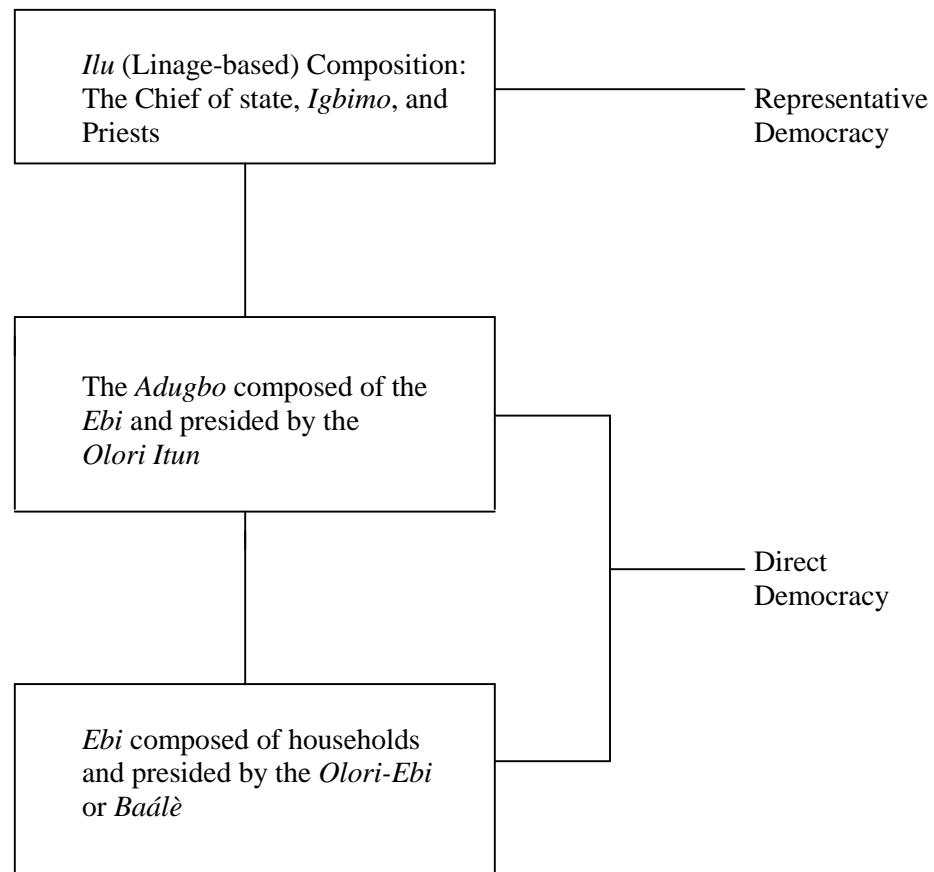


Figure 3.6: The configuration of authority in the Yoruba political system

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<sup>70</sup> The *ebi* is referred to as compound in some cases.



## *The Ilu*

The Yoruba are town-dwellers, who carved the town (*Ilu*) out as the apex of their centralized and monarchical political system (Atanda 1973: 3). The settlement and inhabitation of each *Ilu* is according to lineages that are held together by “strong kinship ties” (Atanda 1973: 3). Political authority in an *Ilu* is neither established nor maintained in a haphazard pattern. According to F. I. Fadipe, “[t]he relationships between the capital town of the state and other towns and villages embraced under it, whether offshoots of the original town or tributary, were closely similar from state to state ..., so also was the division of the personnel of the state into civil and military chiefs. The functions of the state council were practically the same from one state to another... The procedure adopted in the conduct of affairs, whether in the judicial sphere or in the military or in the sphere of external relations was likewise, ... the same from state to state” (Fadipe 1970: 200) and from one group to the other. Most if not all Yoruba states were made up of an original town which serves as the capital, other towns which were either founded by people from the original town or conquered and annexed as tribute-paying polities (Fadipe 1970). In the Old Oyo Empire the title of the chief of state is *Alààfin*. In Ijebu Ode, and Ife, he is called the *Awujale* and the *Ooni* respectively. In the Ekiti Confederation, he is called the *Oba*. We shall see in due course that authority is practiced through an elaborate state bureaucracy.

The premier lineage that settled an original *Ilu* is usually the one that produced the chief of state. The political organization of subsidiary polities in each of the central Yoruba states was similar to the one that prevailed in the latter. For instance, just as it was in the central states, different public officials were designated to conduct civil and

military affairs in the former and their subsidiary polities. Except in the conduct of external relations, the implementation of capital punishment and the recruitment of the head chief, each subsidiary polity in a typical central Yoruba state (including tribute-paying polities) enjoyed autonomy in the conduct of its political affairs. The authority of the central states over their subsidiary polities was exercised mostly in raising manpower for military campaigns and revenue collection (Fadipe 1970: 201).

All over Yorubaland the status of the chief of state “is similar in each kingdom and the paraphernalia and rituals of kingship are of a common pattern” (Lloyd 1966: 487). Although the recruitment of the chief of state is mostly guided by the norm of hereditary, there have been situations when mythical links to the royal line at Ile-Ife or victory in a power situation in an *Ilu* were used to catapult someone into the office (Atanda 1973).

There was often room in the authority patterns to accommodate growth and expansion that resulted when lineage groups left their original *Ilu* and joined another one. The functional essence of that was to ensure that *bone fide* members of a lineage are not left out of the practice of authority in any given Yoruba polity on the grounds that their lineage was not one of the original founders of a town. In the context of the E-G scheme this mechanism of accommodation underscored the norm which stipulated that the participation of the individual Yoruba person in the political affairs of his or her society is strictly derived from his or her membership of the *ebi*. The practice in every *Ilu* was to create new titles from time to time to accommodate such new arrivals. But in order to ensure that new arrivals do not upset the asymmetry that underlay the practice of authority in any polity, certain normative guidelines were strictly adhered to whenever there arose the

need to create those new titles (Atanda 1973: 3). First, the number of new titles was pegged to the bare minimum. That mechanism prevented a new lineage from assuming predominance over the older ones through the presence of more its members in the various representative councils on the auspices of which the practice of authority in the polity is based. Second, the status, prestige and political importance of new titles were deliberately designated below existing titles. Again, such measures ensured that titled members from newly arrived lineages do not utilize the prestige and status of their titles to command undue political importance in their new polity. There was hardly any confusion therefore about who could ascend the rungs of authority at any given time in any *Ilu* and by extension in any of the kingdoms in pre-colonial Yorubaland.

From the perspective of the E-G scheme the processes of leadership recruitment were normatively clear and salient for every member of society in pre-colonial Yorubaland. From the subsidiary towns all the way to the central kingdom polities, everyone in the larger society was normatively conversant with the leadership positions, their occupants and the extent of their authority.

In terms of the E-G scheme, in a situation like that of the Yoruba where the norms that guide the recruitment of leaders are salient to everyone, when authority is exercised by properly recruited leaders, it was hardly perceived as illegitimate by members of the society at large. All proper recruitment into leadership positions must encompass the acknowledgement of seniority based on age (Schwab 1955, Lloyd 1960). Akintoye points out that seniority based on age attracts actionable respect and status due to belief that elders are “the repositories of society’s traditions and wisdom” (Akintoye 1971: 17).

Hence, in the lineages, and state councils, the opinion of older men and even women is highly regarded (Fadipe 1970, Akintoye 1971).

In theoretical terms, the *Oba*, *Aláàfin*, *Ooni*, *Awujale* as the case may be, is the *de facto* chief of state or premier leader who directed the governments in central Yoruba kingdom polities. The legitimacy of the authority reposed in the office of the chiefs of state in pre-colonial Yorubaland derived from the intricate relationship that exists between religion, the social structure, and social organization of the Yoruba. For instance, their unwritten constitution stipulates that the chief of state is the companion of the Gods that are worshipped by the people (Atanda 1973). He is popularly called “*Oba aláse èkeji òrìsà*—the king, the commander and wielder of authority next to the ... supernatural object of worship” (Fadipe 1970: 205). Thus, in theory “he was supposed to have power of life and death over his people” (Akintoye 1971: 16). However, the ‘absolutism’ implied above does not translate to either reality or practice. This is particularly because, among the Yoruba, there are clear limitations on the power, which is associated with each level and position in the authority patterns. Such generally accepted made it impossible for the *Oba*, *Aláàfin*, *Ooni*, or *Awujale* to exercise what is described in the E-G scheme as “self-sustained power” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 67). According to Akintoye, “the *Oba* exercised little direct authority of his own. The chiefs, the councils, and further down the ladder, the lineages and associations were the chief instruments of authority” (Akintoye 1971: 17). Two questions on the authority of the *Oba*, *Aláàfin*, *Ooni*, and *Awujale* need to be posed and resolved at this point. First, over what matters is the authority of the *Oba*, *Aláàfin*, *Ooni*, and *Awujale* exercised? Second, what are the bases of the legitimacy of their authority, i.e. what justifies it?

As occupants of sacrosanct positions that symbolize the unity of the component lineages in the entire polity, the authority of these chiefs of state is exercised over matters and issues that relate to the safety and over all well being of the people on the one hand (Fadipe 1970).<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, they exercised their authority over foreign affairs particularly the conduct of wars and issues that concern peace with other polities, and the “administration of justice” (Fadipe 1970: 206). In each respective case they exercised authority over these realms as heads of the state council or the *Igbimo*.

The *Igbimo* is composed of representatives from designated lineages as well as interest groups and professional associations in the towns that constitute each polity, be it the kingdom or its subsidiaries (Fadipe 1970, Law 1971). The *Igbimo* discharged legislative, judicial and executive functions “with the king either immediately at the head or in the background” (Fadipe 1970: 209). In the Old Oyo Empire the *Igbimo* was called the “*Oyo ti o mo esi*—shortened as *Oyo-Mesi*, i.e. The Oyo who knows the appropriate answer [to problems]” (Atanda 1970: 228). Among the Ijesha Yoruba the *Igbimo* is called the *Iwarefa*, the Ijebu Yoruba call it the *Ilamuren* (Atanda 1973), and it is called the *Ogboni* in other parts of Yorubaland.

It was through the discharge of their legislative functions that the chiefs of state and the *Igbimo* exercised their authority to issue directives in the kingdoms. Those directives were mainly “*ad hoc* orders, such as imposing prohibition on commercial intercourse between members of the state and those of some other community, or the issue of regulations which came under customary laws, such as a reaffirmation, at a time

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<sup>71</sup> According to a popular Yoruba saying, a town cannot exist without an *Oba* (Lloyd 1960a).

of unusual activity on the part of burglars, of what penalties awaited those caught, and the fixing of time within which anyone might venture to go out at night” (Fadipe 1970: 208).

The participation of the citizens in this process was through members of their lineage who served in the *Igbimo*, and was therefore indirect. Whenever these *ad hoc* directives were issued, they were disseminated to the rest of the polity through the palace town crier. But compliance to them was exacted in the lineages. The positive and negative sanctions that anchored political authority in Yoruba society were exacted through the lineages (Schwab 1955).

The authority of the chiefs of state and the *Igbimo* extended to the performance of judicial functions. Their authority in this realm straddled the dimension of *Directiveness* and the exaction of compliance to judgements that they handed down in capital cases. In this capacity they constituted the Supreme Court in the central polity with the sole authority to try capital cases and other “indictable offences such as murder, treason, burglary, arson, unlawful wounding, manslaughter, incest...” (Fadipe 1970: 209), as well as disputes between occupants of authority positions and appeals that emanated from lower judicial bodies in the constituent polities. The authority to grant pardons of all types belonged to the chiefs of state in its entirety. They and members of the *Igbimo* handled regular cases in regular sessions of the *Igbimo* during the course of the week while special sessions were convened when the occasion called for them (Fadipe 1970). The facts that executions and jail terms were exacted in the capital by designated institutions of the state (Boscom 1955, Fadipe 1970, Akintoye 1971) indicated the presence of some measure of regulated regimentation in the Yoruba authority patterns.

As we've shown so far, because of its centralized features, the Yoruba political system granted the chiefs of state the authority to be quite 'directive'. However, it is quite evident that their influence depended on the participation of members of the *Igbimo*, which is composed of lineage and other interest group representatives. The *Igbimo* was so powerful that it compelled an autocratic chief of state to commit suicide in pre-colonial Yorubaland. Although the *Igbimo* constituted the influential and extensively directive leadership together with the chiefs of state, its members are true representatives of the people. Their relevance derived from their authority to participate on behalf of the lineages and groups that they represented and to ensure that the chiefs of state remained responsive to the governed.

In spite of the lack of direct participation of the individual Yoruba who "counts for little except as a member of the lineage" (Boscom 1955: 451) there are still some obvious democratic elements in the Yoruba political system at this level in their practice of authority. The generality of the public was free to attend sessions of the *Igbimo* eventhough they kept their views to themselves until they were asked to express them on particularly the more important issues (Fadipe 1970: 212). Furthermore, members of the *Igbimo* whose continued membership of the body is dependent on the approval of their respective lineages interacted regularly with the other members of their lineage. They kept them informed on the goings-on in the palace through their respective *baálè* or compound heads (Lloyd 1960b). Through the same channel, the people often expressed their wishes, when necessary, "to their *Oba*" (Atanda 1973: 4). In situations when a chief of state became autocratic the people leveraged on their representatives in the *Igbimo* to reject him.

In those pre colonial Yoruba polities where the *Igbimo* lacked the constitutional authority to directly reject an autocratic chief of state through suicide; its members could initiate a popular revolt against him by refusing to make themselves available at the *Afin* (Palace) each morning to pay him their obligatory homage. That gesture of disapproval signaled the citizens to rise against that autocrat if he refused to heed the early warning from members of the *Igbimo* to either abdicate or take flight or commit suicide. The authority of the *Igbimo* to engender responsiveness from the chief of state and participation from citizens is so immense in some of the pre-colonial kingdoms in Yorubaland that it “virtually became the boss of the *Oba*, who, therefore, had little or no chance of becoming a despot” (Atanda 1973:4). All the same “there was scope for individual acts of oppression and tyranny” (Fadipe 1970: 212) in the large political organization of the Yoruba with its characteristic centralized features. In that regard some institutional provisions exist in some of the kingdom polities for youths to rally behind the war chief who was prohibited from playing an active role in civil affairs whenever they felt aggrieved over specific issues in order to bring their misgiving to the attention of the leadership (Fadipe 1970).

### *The Ebi*

The *ebi* is both the first and the lowest level at which authority is practiced in the Yoruba political system. The *ebi* “is not only the most important primary group in Yoruba society,.... it is also the smallest political unit” (Fadipe 1970: 106). When viewed through the prism of the E-G scheme it’s a crucial segmental unit and the cradle of most of the socialization received by the individual during the early crucial years of



life. In those contexts, its equivalence amongst the Igbo is the *ezi*. In the patrilineal Yoruba society, “[a] man derives his position in the wider political community in which he lives only through his membership in his compound which is generally known by the name of its founder. His rights and privileges accrue to him only through the head of the compound. His duties also to the wide society are duties which devolve upon the compound collectively” (Fadipe 1970: 106).

The *ebi*'s primacy in the authority patterns derived from the logic that evolution of the lineage as a social unit preceded that of both the ward and the town (Fadipe 1970). In spite of the position of the *ebi* on the echelon of authority, it is the anchor of “the custom of deferring to seniors” (Fadipe 1970: 210) which serves as the basic element from which the Yoruba political structure derives its stability. The *olori ebi or baálè* (in some places) who is also the most senior male in the compound heads the *ebi*. He retains the loyalty of its members on the basis of his seniority. According to Fadipe, it was solely through the *baálè* that the loyalty of the ordinary individual Yoruba is expressed “to the head of state and the central government” (Fadipe 1970: 211). This is particularly crucial in a political system where [t]here was not much abstract loyalty to country” (Fadipe 1970:211). If in addition to his age an individual who achieved the dual social statuses of *gbajumá* (‘gentleman’) and *enia pataki* (man of principle) was elected *baálè*, members often stood behind him “however bad the cause he espoused” (Fadipe 1970: 211).

The authority of the *baálè* included both judicial and legal autonomy in almost all issues that concerned the *ebi* and its members. Fadipe describes the *baálè* as “the chief law-giver and magistrate of the” lineage (Fadipe 1970: 106) who is called upon to

intervene and resolve ill-feelings between adult members that defied attempts by those involved to settle them. Except on issues that are in the exclusive list of the central polity, the authority of the *baálè* is the replica of the central government in both extent and practice. Such issues included “murder, witchcraft, incest violation, and the communication to women of the secrets of the secret society” (Fadipe 1970: 108).

He exacted punishments on acts of theft, acts of sexual misconduct and ‘disrespect’ to elders by young people with flogging. In the case of persistent acts of theft and delinquency in young boys, he ordered severe flogging. There were even situations when some *baálè* “even had dungeons of their own in which they imprisoned recalcitrant members of the compound” (Fadipe 1970: 109).

The *baálè* collected assigned taxes from lineage members for onward transmission to the central authorities. That gave him the opportunity to extract some surplus for himself. But that surplus was so paltry that it could not in any way be interpreted as extortion. It should best be seen for what it was—part of the privileges and perks that came with his office.<sup>72</sup> Generally, taxes were never imposed as burdens particularly on independent polities. They were “usually small and was intended principally to cover the cost of the annual propitiatory sacrifice to all the *òrìsà* worshipped in the community for the purpose of ensuring a peaceful and prosperous year.... When the sum to be paid by the compound was known, the *baálè* fixed the amount to be paid per head.... But usually, the amount demanded plus the extra

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<sup>72</sup> The other privileges he reaped from the prestige as opposed to the authority of his office included commanding “the services of the able-bodied young men of the compound for boon work on his farm” and receiving specific parts of of sacrificial animals from members of his *ebi* (Fadipe 1970: 111).

percentage added was small enough to be paid easily by members of the compound” (Fadipe 1970: 111).

Without him the central authorities were unable to assign and assess levies for military duties and public works, much less issue summons to individual lineage members who were required to appear before the *Igbimo*. In situations when part of a directive from the central authorities was deemed unpopular by the people the *baálè*'s authority extended to redirecting members of the *ebi* to disregard its enforcement. More often than not it was members of the *Igbimo* who brought word home to members of their lineage on why they must disregard any such directive. On the other hand, in the event of popular directives, violators were reprimanded or in serious cases apprehended and handed over to the central authorities on the instructions of the *baálè* by their fellow members of the lineage.

In the parlance of the E-G scheme, the *baálè*'s influence is extensive and in deed ‘directive’. If we borrow further from the E-G scheme we can say that his “attempt to regulate by directives extends many levels beyond the mere issuing of directives to include the attempt to influence” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 53) members of the *ebi*. This is in the sense that it was his duty to not only “warn members of the compound to avoid being engaged in acts which would involve the family in a disgrace such as theft, burglary, or a charge of adultery emanating from outside” (Fadipe 1970: 108), it was also his duty to exact normatively-prescribed punishment on anyone from his lineage who was found guilty of violating such acts. In this same regard still “every *baálè* sees to it that all adult male members of his compound have some visible means of subsistence—the

assumption being that a man who cannot point to such employment is more likely than not to be a thief and burglar” (Fadipe 1970: 108).

Considering the scope of *Directiveness* evident in the *ebi* the temptation therefore would be for one to interpret the practice of authority by the *baálè* as indicative of regimentation in the Yoruba authority patterns. But when his authority is viewed in the light of the E-G scheme, at the most the one would discern the seeming evidence of regulated or moderated regimentation of the directives exacted in the lineage by the *baálè*. The E-G scheme tells us that “*Directiveness* is at a maximum when everything done in a social unit is dealt with, in every detail, by rigidly enforced directives” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 54). This was hardly the case in the *ebi*. The directives did not necessarily derive personally from the *baálè*. Custom and tradition normatively determine them. Eventhough members of the lineage ‘are treated collectively as a unit for purposes of centralizing authority’ in Yoruba society, it does not imply in any way that the ‘legal responsibility and rights of the individual is fully recognized’ (Fadipe 1970: 106). The reflection of this observation by Fadipe is evident in how the four aspects of the general *Directiveness* dimension tend to apply in the *ebi*. Because of the full recognition of the legal rights and responsibility of individuals the coverage and the latitude of directives are evidently restricted and general as opposed to being comprehensive and specific.<sup>73</sup> The presence in the *ebi* of centralized authority that owes

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<sup>73</sup> According to Fadipe, “The immediate reason why the average Yoruba throws his weight into the enforcement of traditional codes will be found to vary according to which particular norm in question. In some cases the motive is one of the elementary morality or humility. In others it is a more or less conscious desire to maintain the solidarity of the group. Yet, in others, the motive may be religious or superstitious—that is the fear of witchcraft and sorcery, the evil eye, the efficacy of the curse and so on. In some cases it is the unconscious acceptance of whatever is customary to be right. All the motives are not mutually exclusive, nor do they exhaust all possibilities. But behind the enforcement

the duty of responsiveness to the members is equally evident in the binary fashion that the other two aspects (supervision and sanction threshold) are applied. This is in the sense that the supervision and sanction threshold of directives in the *ebi* could be either close or loose, and either severe or lenient respectively as the occasion demanded. Much of *baálè*'s authority derived from the prestige of the office, and he owes his duties "to preserve peace and order within his compound ... first ... to the members of the compound, and only secondarily to the large community as represented by the village or town authorities" (Fadipe 1970: 106). Fadipe puts it this way: "On the whole the *baálè* brings a high degree of public spirit to bear upon the discharge of his duties. The public opinion of the compound would not in any case allow of slovenly administration.... The desire to avoid censure, direct and indirect, often leads him to take a firm line against an unruly member of his compound or one whose general conduct is likely to lead to trouble in his compound" (Fadipe 1970: 110). When he punished "such anti-social behaviour as theft, incest and adultery" (Fadipe 1970: 108) he is basically exacting compliance to directives that derive from age-old custom and tradition aimed at preserving the solidarity of the community through that of the lineage. No lineage would want to be saddled with the notoriety producing individuals whose behavior was responsible for upsetting the solidarity of the community. At the same time "if any member of the compound gets into trouble [*baálè* is obligated] to give him every assistance possible in the matter of attendance before the proper civil authorities" (Fadipe 1970: 110) in the society.

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of some specific social norm, they operate individually or collectively" (Fadipe 1970: 313). Fadipe's insights expressed above encapsulates the 'spirit of the law', if you may in traditional Yoruba society. Suffice it to say that any piece of directive that does not invoke that spirit in the average Yoruba person often did not elicit compliance in him. That may have been where directives in the supra-national state were found wanting by the average Yoruba.

Tradition demands that “every member of the compound owes undivided allegiance to him in matters concerning the corporate interest of the members of the compound as a whole” (Fadipe 1970: 112).

### *A Cradle of Persistence*

The *ebi* is the segmental unit that ensures the persistence of Yoruba authority patterns over the course of time. It is adequately equipped to play that functional role in society for the Yoruba. The puzzle therefore is how does that happen? We established earlier on that the Yoruba migrated according to the lineage groups. Because all the rights—including the rights of participation in every sphere of society—that accrues to every citizen are derived through lineage membership, it was unbecoming for anyone to simply pack up and take leave of his lineage. Anyone who did ran the huge risk of exposing himself to the vagaries of life without a lineage. Unless circumstances were unusual no normal individual would want to expose himself to such a life.

There were situations when an existing lineage outgrew the accommodation that is available to its members in their *adugbo* or ward of origin. Whenever such situations became necessary it often required the establishment of branches of a lineage in another ward chosen by those who were being compelled by a tight accommodation situation to relocate. Always, it was the *Oba*'s duty to help a branch lineage to secure the permission of the *Olori Itun* in its prospective *adugbo* to accept and welcome the newcomers. Upon arrival in their new ward the political allegiance of members of the branch lineage to the *Olori Itun* in their former ward ended forthwith and transferred to the one in charge of the new one.

But the newcomers must elect a *baálè* for themselves who in spite of assuming “full jurisdiction in all routine matters is nevertheless subordinate to the *baálè* of the parent compound who alone is the head of the extended” lineage (Fadipe 1970: 112). The pattern of influence attempts open to the *baálè* in the branch lineage is not as extensive as that of the *baálè* in the parent lineage, which underscores his subordinate status. The following are points that add credence to that assertion. A summons from the town tribunal to a member of a branch lineage is considered to be an ‘extra-routine’ affair beyond his authority. Although protocol demanded that such summon must be directed to him he must transfer it to their parent *baálè* whose station it was to mobilize the corporate support of the lineage for the individual who was involved. The branch lineage is not a recognized unit in the polity for tax assessment, and he may not fix the amount due from lineage members for the tax.

With the advent of Christianity and western education individuals could and have assumed certain new privileges that include relocating their accommodation whenever and wherever they desired in their towns. The pre-colonial tradition that stipulated the designation of all unoccupied land as free and made it even unnecessary for the freeborn who was in need of land to look beyond the territory inhabited by his lineage had been superceded by commercial land sale. The act of physical separation from the rest of the lineage that afforded anyone the opportunity to assume certain measures of authority over members of their household in most of their affairs became tenable for individuals as a result. Should he choose, an individual who embraced that opportunity was even free to “turn his physical isolation into a social and psychological one” (Fadipe 1970: 114). However, “in practice no one, Muslim or Christian, lives entirely outside the intercourse

of members of his [lineage], no matter however different their religious affiliations; and, (sic) where arbitration for settling disputes which threaten the solidarity of the group is invoked, the educated Christian who insists upon autonomy within his own immediate family does so at the risk of finding himself isolated” (Fadipe 1970: 114).

Predominantly, the Yoruba were farmers who spent “several days at a time during the height of the farming activity [in their more distant farm huts], but ... maintained a residence in the city and regard it as their real home” (Boscom 1955: 448). From his research findings Boscom believes that urbanism is “a traditional Yoruba pattern and not the outgrowth of European acculturation” (Boscom 1955: 448).<sup>74</sup> With their extensive history of urban dwelling therefore, the urban centers that came with colonialism and the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state did not have many new demands to make on the economic and political organization of the Yoruba. In fact Lloyd (1953) and Coleman (1955) both suggested that Westernization may have even produced a closer attachment of the Yoruba to their indigenous authority patterns.<sup>75</sup> In the realm of the economy for instance, Durkheim’s (1984) association of concentration of people with their peculiar tendency to differentiate and specialize in their realm, of economic endeavor held true in the case of the Yoruba and urban dwelling. Division of labor and occupational specialization that

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<sup>74</sup> Elsewhere, say in the US, “the bonds of kinship, of neighborliness, and the sentiments arising out of living together for generations under a common folk tradition are likely to be absent or, at best, relatively weak in an aggregate the members of which have such diverse origins and backgrounds. Under such circumstances competition and formal control mechanisms furnish the substitutes for the bonds of solidarity that are relied upon to hold a folk society together” (Wirth 1938: 11), “but in the Yoruba cities the bonds of kinship and living together which unites the lineage were strong, and the elements of competition and formal control mechanisms were not developed as *substitutes* for kinship control mechanisms but, rather, as mechanisms of control on a supra-kinship, secondary level, transcending the primary groups, such as lineages, which were very much alive and functional” (Boscom 1955: 452).



released women and men from everyday drudgery of urban dwelling and supported a large market economy were pronouncedly well developed amongst the Yoruba (Fadipe 1970) long before European colonialism. Reports by various European travelers who visited their part of the Niger basin as early as the early sixteenth century (Boscom 1955) including Hugh Clapperton and Richard Lander—see Clapperton (1829), Lander (1830) and Lander (1832) whose trip took place much later in 1825 exist as proofs.

In the political sphere Louis Wirth's (1938) thesis on urbanism which associates urbanism with representative government holds true too for the Yoruba. Political participation through their representatives may have been evolved to respond to their urban dwelling life style more than it was a creation of their centralized political system. The above could constitute good reasons to argue that in spite of colonialism the probability that the democratic norms of pre-colonial Yoruba society have persisted is amply high.

### *The Adugbo*

The *adugbo* or ward is the mid-level at which authority is practiced in the Yoruba political system. The *Olori Itun* or *Ijoye* occupies the authority position in the *adugbo* in some places (Atanda 1973). The number of *adugbo* in a kingdom is determined by the size of the kingdom as well as how it was founded (Atanda 1973). Civil cases in a kingdom are handled at this level, provided they involve only residents of the same *adugbo*. When cases between members of the same *ebi* were not settled successfully by the *baálè* they were often referred to the *adugbo*. Investigations in criminal cases were

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<sup>75</sup> This is a tendency, which has been observed elsewhere in Africa as well by Vincent Harlow (1955) and Coleman (1955: 48) amongst the Ganda (in Uganda) of East Africa.

carried out in the *adugbo* before they were transferred to the *Afin* for the chief of state and members of the *Igbimo* to adjudicate.

When we assess the Yoruba authority patterns on the E-G scheme scale of measure, the outcome, which is slightly different from that of the Igbo, is reflected in the configuration in Figure 3.7 below. The presence of some measure of autocratic traits and regimentation in the general *Directiveness* dimension distinguishes the authority patterns of the Yoruba from those of the Igbo even though both sets of patterns are generally democratic. Those autocratic traits that are evident in the authority patterns of the Yoruba depict their sharp clarity, which derives from the centralized features of the Yoruba political system. The dimension of *Participation* is accommodated in terms of ‘High’ while *Responsiveness* is accommodated in terms ‘Very Low’. The *Compliance* disposition is ‘Low’ on submissiveness, ‘High’ on allegiance and ‘Low’ on submissiveness, indifference, opposition, and insubordination respectively.

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Values</b>	<b>The Yoruba Authority Patterns</b>
<i>Directiveness</i> (General)	1. Regimented (+) 2. Mid Point 3. Permissive (0)	High High High
<i>Participation</i>	5. Participant (+) 6. Non-participant (0)	Very High Absent
<i>Responsiveness</i> (Overall)	7. Autocracy(+) 8. Mid Point 9. Alterocracy	Very Low High High (but not absolute)
<i>Compliance</i> (Dispositions)	11. Submissiveness (+) 12. Allegiance 13. Indifference (0) 14. Opposition 15. Insub-ordination	Low High Low Low Low

Figure 3.7: The ranking matrix of the Yoruba authority patterns on the E-G scheme measure-scale

Colonial conquest and the dawn of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state introduced some shifts into the authority patterns of the Yoruba that enhanced the tendency towards regimentation in the *Directiveness* dimension. That was how some of the hereditary rulers became prominent and even ‘more powerful than they had ever been at any other time in Yoruba history’ (Atanda 1973: 12).

#### *Islam Was Reconditioned by Yoruba Norms*

As is the case with all other components of different cultures<sup>76</sup> that exist everywhere else in the world, the Yoruba evolved their authority patterns to serve their peculiar political needs. Their authority patterns are best seen as “the expression[s] of [their] efforts to evolve a way of life suitable to [their] environment” (Dike 1953: 177). The validity of this assertion can be found in the peculiar role played by Yoruba norms to re-shape the development of Islam when it was introduced in Yorubaland. That far-reaching role was so successful that it became impossible for adherents of the faith to even attempt to utilize their faith to institute an alternative political system in Yorubaland.

Islam was introduced in Yorubaland sometime before 1840 (Gbadamosi 1978) through trade and commercial contacts. Although the exact date when the faith was introduced in Yorubaland is unknown, at the time the Fulani *jihad* had sufficiently established Fulani hegemony in the parts of the upper Niger to a degree that could have influenced the course of politics in Yorubaland at the same time. Why the introduction of Islam, which impacted the course of politics in Hausaland for instance, left Yorubaland

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<sup>76</sup> “A people’s culture is the expression of [their] efforts to evolve a way of life suitable to [their] environment” (Meek in Dike 1953: 177).

intact may be attributed to the Yoruba socio-cultural environment.<sup>77</sup> That environment was and remained toxic to the absolutism that rulers in Hausaland associated with the Islamic faith in their practice of authority.

Yoruba Muslims never looked up to the Fulani who introduced the faith to them for political guidance of any sort. They acquainted themselves with the faith in the image of their Yoruba heritage (Lawson 1985). Evidence of that accomplishment abounds and includes the following. Rather than adopt age-old Islamic designations like Imam or request one from Sokoto the early Yoruba Muslims preferred to designate their leader as the *Parakoyi* (Gbadamosi 1972). In some parts of the Old Oyo Empire like Ogbomosho, Oyo, Oshogbo through which Islam first came into Yorubaland, the occupant of the office of *Parakoyi* “is primarily concerned with trade organization of principal markets on market days, maintenance of order by traders, etc” (Gbadamosi 1972: 230). In those earlier periods the *Parakoyi* functioned both as a prayer leader and as an advocate before the political authorities for those pioneer converts to Islam in Yorubaland (Gbadamosi 1972). Those early converts even took a cue from their indigenous norms of leadership recruitment and designated the *Parakoyi* as a hereditary office. In later years when they finally created the religious office of Imam as the leading position in their community they preferred to retain the position of the *Parakoyi*. It has continued to linger as a title in the Yoruba Muslim community even while it does not bestow a lot of responsibilities on its occupant (Gbadamosi 1972). Much later in some Yoruba towns the Muslim community even adopted other traditional titles such as *Balogun*, *Otun*, *Osi*, *Eketa*, *Ekesin* for their leaders (Gbadamosi 1972: 234).

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<sup>77</sup> We shall see in due course in this chapter that the basis of absolutism existed in Hausaland prior to the dawn of Fulani rule.

The influence of traditional Yoruba norms is so strong on the Yoruba Muslim community that in some parts of Yorubaland the office of Imam can only be filled by direct descendants or kinsmen of either the first Imam or the person “who ‘introduced’ the religion” (Gbadamosi 1972: 232). Furthermore, age even became one of the qualifying criteria that a person must meet in order to be appointed an Imam in the Yoruba Muslim community. It became a tradition to present new Imams to the traditional “political head of the town, (irrespective of his religious profession” (Gbadamosi 1972: 234) before he can settle on his religious duties. The implication of this is obvious. At no time did the Fulani *jihad* and its extensive impact on politics in parts of the upper Niger closest to northern Yorubaland translate to direct Fulani interference in the practice of the Islamic faith in the heart of Yorubaland. The only exception was in Ilorin in northern Yorubaland, which was captured and occupied by Fulani *jihadists* in 1874. The reason for that exception partly derived from the exodus of the majority of the Yoruba from the town after the Fulani *jihadists* captured it. But until this day, Fulani rule in northern Yorubaland remains acrimonious.

Whenever the Muslim community in some Yoruba towns felt impressed by the Koranic knowledge of an itinerant cleric from Sokoto, they prevailed on him “to stay and lead the community as Imam” (Gbadamosi 1972: 232). Such individuals stayed and functioned strictly in their religious capacity within the community. Yoruba Muslims were Yoruba first and Muslims after that. Conversely, no such dichotomy existed between indigenous Yoruba religion and politics. As we saw earlier on, indigenous religion is the embodiment of the socio-cultural life of the people and their existence. It is enmeshed in their custom and tradition. The indigenous Yoruba religion is actually the

crucible that retained all four dimensions of influence relations in Yoruba society. The salience of its creed to every Yoruba person puts it apart from Islam, which had to be interpreted to its adherents by specially trained personnel.

### **The Hausa-Fulani**

The Hausa or Habe and the Fulani or Fulbe<sup>78</sup> were two distinct nationalities that assimilated one another to become a distinct block of people who are called the Hausa-Fulani (Smith 1960). That assimilation was the outcome of the Fulani conquest of the Hausa in their *jihad*, which was declared in 1804. Today, they speak the same Hausa language, practice the same Islamic faith (Smith 1960), and claim the largest share of the population of all the nationalities that inhabit the upper Niger basin region. There remain pockets of pure Hausa who still profess and worship their traditional religion in this part of the Niger basin (Greenberg 1947).

There is a considerable population of unassimilated Fulani who still speak the Fula language, in most of the northern parts of West Africa (Coleman 1958). But it is only in the north of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state that the Hausa and the Fulani exist as homogenous mix of Hausa-Fulani. Thus, it is correct when we say that Hausa-Fulani is one of the several nationalities that inhabit the savanna grassland ecological zone of the Niger basin. Like the other nationalities in the region, their environment impacted the evolution of their social, economic, and political organization in some unique ways.

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<sup>78</sup> They are also called Filani, Fellata, or Fula.

### *Authority Patterns in Pre-Jihad Hausaland*

The history of centralized political organization in Hausaland is extensive and predates Fulani conquest. Like almost all the other inhabitants of the Niger basin, the Hausa were able to evolve their own distinctive political system, which encompassed some commensurate measures of democratic trappings.

During this period each Hausa village comprised of clans. Each clan was composed of several compounds, which were all basic economic and political units. A compound head administered each one of them. Compounds communally owned their land, the main factor of economic production. Understandably, the peculiar features of the Hausa political system were starkly different from what obtained amongst the Igbo and Yoruba. In Hausa society the compound head was basically a paternalistic administrator in his position. He was in charge of administering the labor of his compound members for the cultivation of their land. The harvests were kept in his care and he ensured that the proceeds from the sale were utilized for paying “the bride price for wives for the compound head and other members of the patrilineal group” (Greenberg 1947: 195).

Beyond the head of the compound was the village head who was usually the most qualified male from the most senior patrilineage that first settled the village (Yeld 1960). The political organization of each clan was such that “every office is traditionally assigned to a particular clan. Where a clan is dominant in a district, a majority of the offices—including the most important ones—were assigned to it” (Greenberg 1947: 196). The clan heads constituted the village elders who directed the affairs of their respective villages with the participation of the rest of the villagers. The oldest son of the eldest

brother of a village elder usually succeeded him. Since participation was open to all villagers the political system of each village was predicated on the principle of direct democracy. The configuration of that is shown in Figure 3.8 below.

But that was during an era when society in Hausaland had not been transformed into large-scale political organization under centralized rule. It was an era when the authority patterns had not been restructured in ways that marginalized subordinate members of society for the benefit of few leaders who arrogated the task of directing society unto themselves.

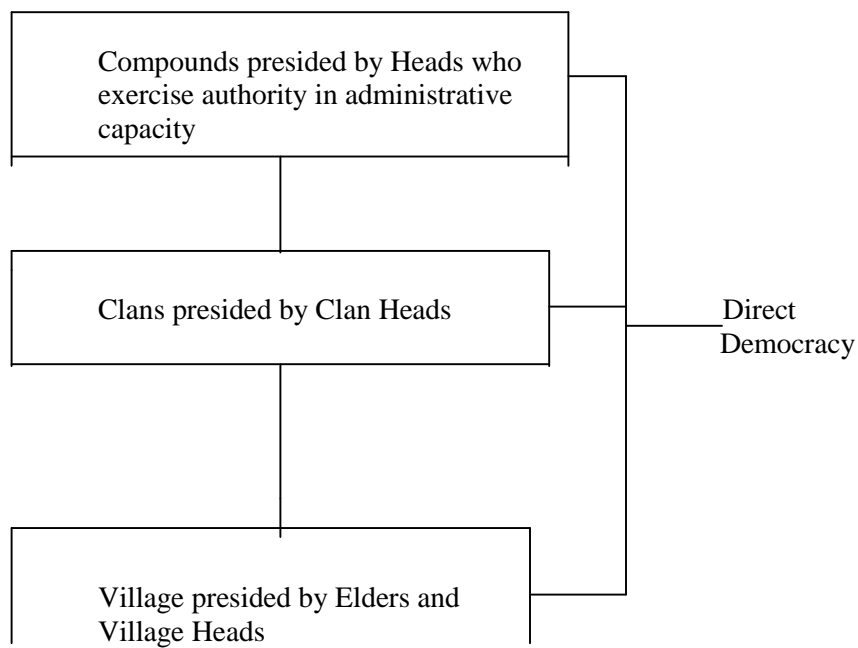


Figure 3.8: Configuration of authority in Hausaland before the Habe rulers



Unlike the Igbo and the Yoruba who were protected by the natural barriers in their respective *homeland*, the geography of Hausaland exposed them to the misfortune of loosing political independence to ambitious political actors first from within and then from outside. Long before the Fulani *jihad*, the Hausa witnessed the gradual evolution of centralized autocracy championed by fellow Hausa people obliterated that distinctively indigenous and democratic Hausa political system.

The political developments that robbed the Hausa of their indigenous democratic political system were initiated sometime in thirteenth century when some Hausa groups began to evolve leaderships that acquired state building inclinations (Smith 1964). With time the ambitious leaders of those groups were able to found and transform a total of seven city states in Hausaland.<sup>79</sup> They even transformed themselves into all-powerful despotic rulers of their own people who they made subjects. They assumed the title of *Sarki* or king. Later still, those same ambitious leaders founded additional seven states and made them the vassals of their seven independent states (Lugard 1907/1997: 238).<sup>80</sup>

Hausa society under the *Sarki* rulers was highly stratified into rulers and their commoner subjects who were called the *talakawa* (Smith 1971). Those *Habe* rulers routinely expropriated sufficient surplus values from their subjects with which they kept and maintained extensive courts in their respective capitals. With the surplus resources that they realized from their subjects they were able to raise and maintain well-equipped standing armies with which they protected themselves, and their autocratic political system in Hausa society (Yeld 1960). They utilized those armies to attend to the business of state building—extended the frontiers of their domains, and extracted more resources

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<sup>79</sup> Those city states are Biram, Gobir, Kano, Rano, Zazzau or Zaria, and Katsina.

<sup>80</sup> Those seven vassals were Daura, Zamfara, Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yaure, and Kwararafa.

with which they sustained themselves and their states, etc. It is evident in Figure 3.9 below that there were “close linkages between the success of a chiefdom in war, its prosperity and degree of centralization, royal absolutism and tendency to oppression” (Smith 1964: 170) in pre-*jihad* Hausaland.

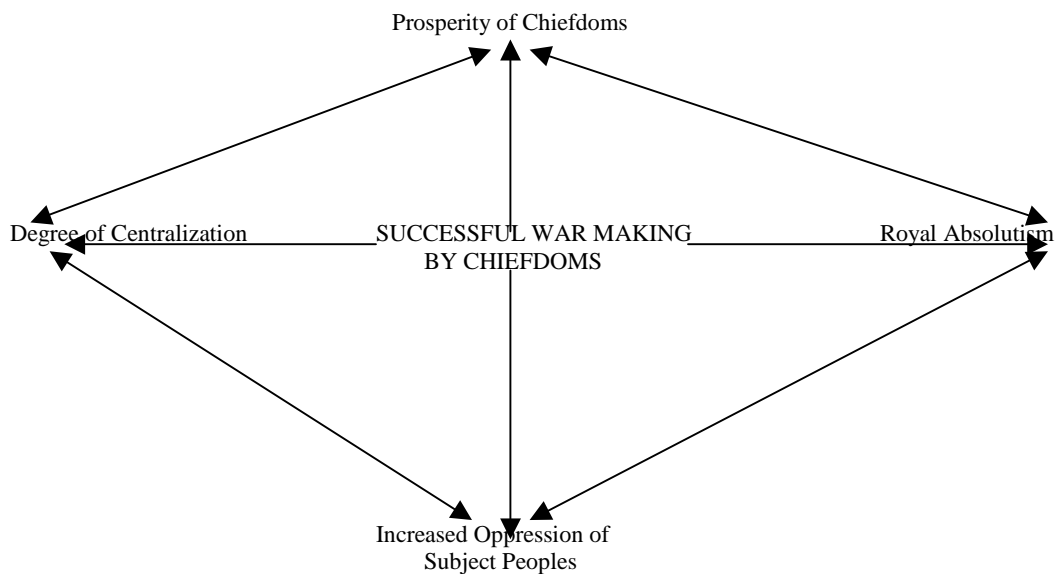


Figure 3.9: The interaction of transformational factors during state building in pre-*jihad* Hausaland

The transformation of society and politics in Hausaland by the Habe rulers encompassed four component elements of state building through war as suggested by Charles Tilly (1985, 1990) with regard to early modern Europe—see Figure 3.5 in the section on the Yoruba. The ruling groups in pre-*jihad* Hausaland made wars, and used wars to neutralize their rivals and paved the way to extract much-needed resources with

which they augmented their capacity to execute the first three activities, i.e. war, making, state making and protection (Tilly 1985: 181).

Each kingdom was composed of districts, which were in turn made up of villages. A district was placed under the charge of a headman who possessed “considerable power in the regulation of the [subjects] in his district and was responsible for the collection of taxes” (Greenberg 1947: 196) which were forwarded to the *Sarki* in the capital. There is need to present a brief but vivid picture of how Hausa society was carved into kingdoms by state builders who subsequently transformed themselves into autocratic rulers.

Before this transformation, societies in Hausaland were simple and village-based with very limited degrees of social stratification, trade and economic development. Also, there was the absence of any “market institution and little slavery, although some occupational specialization had emerged” (Smith 1964: 167). There was a rampant tendency for the ruling groups that were evolving to reduce their neighboring villages to tribute-paying fiefdoms. At first they mobilized their supporters and dependents into standing military forces with which they waged constant wars against the villages that surrounded them. They were quite effective in their utilization of horses, which thrived well in that tsetse fly-free savanna grassland zone (Smith 1964).<sup>81</sup> The deployment of the horse in warfare went a long way to transform the leaders of these groups into efficient war makers who then extended the frontiers of their various domains that with relative ease. Their conquest of additional territory translated to more extractable resources and enhanced their power in Hausaland.

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<sup>81</sup> For interesting details on the difference that the deployment of the horse made in warfare in West Africa, see Law, Robin. 1976. “Horses, Firearms, and Political Power in Pre-Colonial West Africa.”

*Islam and the Evolution of Autocratic Authority Patterns in Hausaland*

Islam, which was introduced in Hausaland sometime in the fourteenth century, became a factor that added a new impetus to state building and transformation amongst the Hausa. Islam's supportive role in the evolution of autocratic political system can partly be attributed to its external origin. Its lack of a base in the indigenous culture of the Hausa became the enabler that favored the ambitious state builders who benefited from the interpretation of its tenets by the Islamic scholars who they permitted to propagate the faith in their domains. The rulers' control of those Islamic scholars translated logically to their control over what they preached to the ignorant subject peoples who had already been reduced to rent-paying tenants by the rulers.

The increased resources that the state builders realized from their growing domains became a source of status and clout that they cashed in on to seek and realize political alliance with well-established absolutist kings in the nearby Bornu Empire to whom they began to pay tribute (Smith 1964). That alliance with Bornu produced another set of boost factors, which improved their capacity to make war and transform the scope and character of their rule further. Upon request the rulers of Bornu began to furnish them with support and guidance as well as the latest weapons of war (Smith 1964).

At this time when there were several other predatory power seekers in Hausaland, only those territories that were controlled by these ruling groups and their leaders existed as oases of order. They attracted people from their surroundings who sought security. With time these domains emerged as centers of trade and commerce, which attracted more people to them. The growth in trade and population yielded additional wealth from taxation for the ruling groups and subsequently enhanced their state building efforts and

capacities. According to Smith, all of the various factors and developments that enhanced and aided these ruling groups to achieve tremendous success in state building in Hausaland happened to have taken place at about the same period of time. The leaders who were guiding their state building endeavor took advantage of that coincidence and transformed themselves into kings. Not only that, their startling successes in conquest and domination of their neighbors even encouraged them to absolve themselves of all existing norms, that used to exact responsiveness on leaders in Hausaland in the conduct of public affairs (Smith 1964).

The interpretation that Islam prescribed for the enslavement of non-believers created yet another avenue through which these state builders who had by now emerged as autocratic rulers raised more revenue from the enslavement and even sale of those that they captured in their wars. They embarked on the practice of deploying some of their captives to plantation agriculture, which yielded additional revenue with which they equipped their forces and campaigned more efficiently.

From the time when the Habe state builders embraced Islam and proceeded to adapt it to their state building activities, the role of Islam in the social, economic, and political history of Hausaland was no longer as simple as it may seem to some observers today. Islam, which was introduced into Hausaland by Arab traders, promptly became the harbinger of commerce and trade that furnished the rulers with the skilled personnel whose expertise they tapped to develop and expand their state bureaucracies. Without Islam and the skilled administrative manpower that was associated with its initial propagation in Hausaland, there is no doubt that those rulers could either have found it difficult or impossible to operate their predatory centralized rule. It furnished them with

an invaluable political and ideological infrastructure with which they were able to support the regimentation of *Directiveness* over their conquered subjects. Without the subservience preached by the Islamic scholars whom they favored and allowed to operate in their domains there is no doubt that they could have found it extremely difficult to achieve considerable 'submissiveness' from the mass of subject people too. It is true and evident therefore that Islam played a tremendous role in both the political and economic transformation of Hausaland.

However, Smith (1964) argues that it is also true that Islam aided in the process of rendering aspects of the non-governmental patterns in Hausa society incongruent with the governmental patterns of the centralized rule which the ruling groups and their rulers evolved in Hausaland. This was because some of the same incentives that made the faith attractive to the rulers became the paradoxical rationale for its rejection by some subject peoples in some parts of Hausaland. The rejection of the religion that furnished centralized autocratic rule with its invaluable ideological support had a way of opening the authority of the Habe rulers up for illegitimate perceptions in some parts of Hausaland (Kano is one). We know from the E-G scheme that in situations when members of society perceive the authority of their leaders as illegitimate, the latter can only rely on force to exact the compliance of the former to their directives.<sup>82</sup> There is evidence that such a scenario unfolded in some parts of Hausaland (Katsina for instance) at the time when the masses of subject peoples drew inspiration and empowerment from Islam to

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*Past and Present* 1972: 112-132. Fisher, Humphrey J. 1972. "He Swalloweth the Ground with Fierceness and Rage': The Horse in the Central Sudan I. Its Introduction." *The Journal of African History* 13(3): 367-388, and Fisher, Humphrey J. 1973. "He Swalloweth the Ground with Fierceness and Rage': The Horse in the Central Sudan II. Its Use." *The Journal of African History* 14(3): 355-379.

question the authority of their autocratic Habe *Sarkis* (Smith 1964). In a society where the channels of *Participation* were closed (impeded) to most members, such inspiration engendered what is described in the E-G scheme as creative acts of participation from the subject population. In presence of the well-equipped standing armies that were kept by their rulers, the subject peoples of Hausaland paid considerable costs for their creative acts of participation which were crushed by the rulers in the bid preserve their despotic and autocratic regimes. According to Smith (1964) Islam played a complex role in the politics of Hausaland. That role which persists till today became the source of uneasiness in influence relations between rulers and their subjects.

Faced with a subject population that was untiring in their attempts to resort to creative acts of participation the Habe rulers themselves were relentless in their drive to extract and expend more resources to further centralize their rule and deepen the stratification of society in their domains. Each of these steps further impeded whatever channels of *Participation* that still remained open for the masses the more and absolved the rulers of all responsiveness to such a degree that rendered their domains almost what the E-G scheme called a collective extension of them. For instance, the *Sarki* of Kano regimented his directives highly and extended his over all capacity to exact compliance to them in his entire domain by placing eunuchs in charge of his state treasury, various state offices, his harem, etc. (Smith 1964). The complete absence of *Responsiveness* in the prevalent influence relations emboldened the rulers to institute what became known as *kame*, i.e. the practice of willfully appropriating the property and the labor of subordinate members of their society. *Kame* then became a norm for the practice of authority in

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<sup>82</sup> In other words, ‘government legitimacy entails political stability’ in polities (Useem and Useem 1979).

Hausaland (Smith 1964). Rulers proceeded to secure themselves in their walled capitals where they caused all “the major external trade routes to be concentrated” (Smith 1964: 168).

Their successors sustained and increased all those measures that produced additional centralization of politics and authority relations as well as stratified their societies to the point where “an elaborate social etiquette developed” (Smith 1964: 169). Subsequently, “*kame* [was even] extended to include the seizure of women as well as property, corvee increased, and ceremonial self-abasement was imposed on all subjects” (Smith 1964: 169). Subject peoples who could not adjust to the comprehensive coverage, specific latitude, close supervision and severe sanction threshold of *Directiveness* under *Sarki* rule left the walled domains. Those who remained became disposed to the point of indifference in the *Compliance* dimension and adjusted their daily socio-economic activities to the realities of such a life, which is akin to learning to ‘staying in their place’ (Smith 1964: 169).

When most of their subjects had been disposed to subservience, rulers directed more of their attention and efforts against external threats from their rivals in nearby polities, their own relatives and non-slave officials in their domains (Smith 1964).

But overall there was extensive harmony of interests between elements of the ruling groups within each state in their influence relations with their commoners (sub-actors) who they ruled and exploited. What emerged all over pre-*jihad* Hausaland were polities in which society was stratified and even segregated into two categories of members. The first category comprised of rulers who monopolized the *Directiveness* dimension and utilized their monopoly of the organs of coercion and control to shut down



all channels of *Participation* in society, shielded themselves from the *Responsiveness* dimension, and enforced the one of *Compliance* on the rest of society. The other category was composed of the subordinate subjects of these rulers who existed as serfs and peasants, who had been largely convinced through the supporting ideological and political superstructure of Islam to give up all acts of *Participation* and absolve those in authority of all *Responsiveness* (Smith 1964). The Habe rulers successfully reduced society in Hausaland to socio-political arrangements that can best be represented with a rudimentary algebraic formula:  $c + 2a = C$ , where  $c$  is centralization,  $2a$  is autocracy and authoritarianism, and  $C$  is absolute control. These were the processes through which Hausa society acquired what is often referred to as “its traditional shape” (Smith 1964: 168).

Hausaland was still tottering on this system of rule at the time when the Fulani *jihad* was provoked in 1804. We still need to establish how the Fulani displaced the Habe rulers. As we observed above, Islam played an extensive role in the processes that led to their displacement. After the faith was introduced by Arab traders they were followed the next century by various Fulani Islamic clerics who plied their faith peacefully in some of the Hausa states, winning converts along the way (Yeld 1960, Bovill 1933, Anene 1970). The capitals of some of the Hausa states were playing host to Fulani preachers and Islamic scholars a couple of centuries later, to the point where many Fulani clerics successfully convinced some of the Habe rulers to convert to Islam (Yeld 1960: 113

Those Fulani clerics who found favor in the courts of some of the Hausa rulers soon attracted members of other Fulani clans<sup>83</sup> who found security for themselves and their herds of cattle within the secure walls of the capitals of those rulers.<sup>84</sup> They became sources of military manpower and tax revenue for those rulers (Yeld 1960).

What actually developed between those Hausa rulers and the increasing population of Fulani Islamic clerics who they welcomed in their courts was a symbiotic relationship. However, it so happened that while some of the Hausa rulers employed the services of Fulani Islamic clerics and scholars, they either remained adherents of their traditional ancestral ways of worship or became just nominal Muslims by syncretizing Islamic practices with their traditional ancestral system of worship (Yeld 1960: 113). That symbiotic relationship between the Habe kings and the Fulani Islamic clerics later led to a power situation in 1804.

When that power situation came to a head it produced the *jihad* which one of the Fulani clerics called Usman Dan Fodio declared and led against the Habe kings<sup>85</sup> in 1804 (Paden 1970) with the support of his fellow ‘Town Fulani’ and Hausa converts to the Faith (Yeld 1960). That *jihad* gathered considerable momentum and ushered in Fulani rule in Hausaland.

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<sup>83</sup> There’s an extensive history of peaceful Fulani co-existence in this part of the Niger basin, which predates the nineteenth century (Anene 1970).

<sup>84</sup> Some of these were from the Fulani clans who are called ‘Cow Fulani’. The ‘Cow Fulani’ were essentially pastoralists who did not concern themselves with religious and political alliances.

<sup>85</sup> All, except three of the independent states in Hausaland—Abuja, Daura, and Kebbi—at the time were conquered by the Fulani in their *jihad*. With British conquest of the upper region of the Niger basin in 1904 and the subsequent imposition of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state all three became separate *Emirates* politically equal to the Fulani *Emirates* (Yeld 1960).

### **Authority Patterns in Post-Jihad Hausaland**

The year 1810 marked the near complete conquest of Hausaland by the Fulani *jihadists*. Ever since, much of Hausaland has remained under Fulani rule (Smith 1964). But for a cause championed by one who was inspired by the desire for political reform, the Fulani *jihad* was an event that produced a paradoxical outcome. Rather than restructure the absolutism of the Habe kings and enthrone a new political system which would restore popular participation the Fulani preferred instead to effect a change of guard and left everything else intact (Smith 1964, Paden 1970).

The *jihad* was used by the Fulani to basically assume political power in Hausaland and deepen the existing autocracy further. Only salutary changes were effected in the system. For instance, while Dan Fodio re-designated the Hausa states as *Emirates* and abolished the title of *Sarki* he declared his clan the royal clan or *Sullubawa* (Paden 1970)<sup>86</sup> and appointed its members *Emirs* to rule over them in his name as the Sultan. Members of the *Sullubawa* became the hereditary beneficiaries of all positions of authority in all but one Hausa state (Smith 1960). That exception was the state of Zazzau where there were no hereditary offices before the *jihad*. The *Sullabawa* created a total monopoly over “territorial appointments and central decision-making increased” (Paden 1970: 163) all over Hausaland even to the neglect of other Fulani clans whose members took part in the *jihad*. Their monopoly was so complete that they even found ways to tele- guide the appointment of personnel into authority positions in places where circumstances would not permit them to do so directly (Smith 1964).<sup>87</sup> The other thing

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<sup>86</sup> Dan Fodio is from the dark-skinned Torobe clan.

<sup>87</sup> When the Sultan’s appointee as *Emir* lost out to a Hausa war lord in a power struggle in 1893, the Sultan seeing that he could not afford to loose a strategically important province like Kano quickly sent his Vizier to install the victor (Smith 1964).

was that they utilized Islam more than the Habe kings to provide ideological support for their authority.

Early on Islam provided two out of three of the bases of legitimacy perceptions as stipulated in the E-G scheme for Fulani authority in Hausaland in an insidious fashion. Because Dan Fodio used Islam in his initial writings to sharply condemn the oppressive rule of the Habe kings he gained the admiration of the *talakawa* who bore the brunt of that rule, and attracted them to lend their support to the *jihad* and Fulani rule. His condemnation was the most valid rationale that attracted most if not all the *talakawa* who embraced the faith (Smith 1960). In order to retain their support he prescribed a mantra that enjoined the conquered Hausa to accept that it was a precondition for salvation in the faith to extend their unquestionable loyalty to the Sultan, the Emirs and their lieutenants through whom Allah's will on earth is enforced. By so doing he was able to use Islam to secure personal legitimacy in Hausa society for all personnel who were elevated to positions of authority in their Caliphate state and imbue substantive legitimacy for his own authority as Sultan especially among the deposed Hausa rulers.

Thus, but for Islam, it could have been difficult if not impossible after the *jihad* for the Fulani who are distinctly different from the Hausa in almost every way to retain the loyalty of a people who witnessed the demise of oppressive rulers who shut them out of participation in the governance of their own society.

Apart from relying on their manipulation of the Islamic faith there were other ways through which Dan Fodio and members were able to secure and retain much needed legitimacy for their authority. They opted for the path of pragmatic politics and co-opted some of the Habe rulers they ousted from power into authority positions in the Caliphate

society. We mentioned earlier that the *jihad* did not liberate Hausaland from the autocracy of Habe rule. Hence, because the existing impediments placed on the channels of popular participation by the Habe kings were all left in place, the Fulani were soon faced with the problem of securing 'procedural legitimacy' for their authority. To counter that problem force became necessary and was used often by the Fulani to address all creative acts of participation that continued to come from individuals who refused to submit to the perpetuation of the regimentation of *Directiveness* in their society.

One might be compelled at this point to pose and address a couple of queries. Why was the situation in Hausaland different from the one in Yorubaland? Why were oppressed subjects of the Hausa rulers unable to liberate themselves from the autocracy of the Habe rulers long before the *jihad*?

It is indeed true that warfare and conquest were employed in both areas for state building, but it is interesting that there are subtle differences in the outcomes of their employment by the Yoruba and the Hausa. In Yorubaland it was extremely difficult for the self-interested individuals who tried to emerge as autocrats to establish implicit control over their people. Political unitarism never became a permanent feature of governance in Yorubaland. We mentioned somewhere earlier that on each of the times when they tried geographical factors were there to provide protection to the people who fled out of their reach. The people had nowhere to run in the open savanna grassland of Hausaland. The result was that they were gradually over-ran by members of their own society who turned themselves into state builders and autocrats. Thus, in Yorubaland, although states were built and transformed because of war making, the transformation did not affect the indigenous authority patterns. The instability that resulted from the

political violence that accompanied Yoruba wars was not profound and fundamental. Unlike in Hausaland conquered polities were not mercilessly taxed, and even retained much of their political autonomy (Fadipe 1970).

In Hausaland, the rulers were able to consolidate their rule by instituting novel machinery of state that they continuously transformed and made more efficient. Their capacity to make war against weaker villages and districts and one another was enhanced as they proceeded. Whenever they reaped military success in wars against their rivals, it enhanced their capacity to repress and exploit their subjects even further. If and when such re-intensified efforts at war making back-fired in defeats, “the resulting defeats ... [were] followed by sharp increase in the demands made on subjects, falling prosperity, and a spiral of oppression” (Smith 1964: 170).

The other part of the answer to the puzzles can be found in the involvement of the Fulani as a distinct block of people who went all out for specific political goals. Their involvement produced heterogeneity in the mix of nationalities in Hausaland, and introduced the factor of clash in kinship patterns for instance. The Yoruba did not have to deal with any of the aforementioned realities in their situation. There were of course foreign elements—slaves, freeborn individuals, et al—in Yorubaland. But not only were they quite few, such foreign elements were by tradition always attached to households in the lineages where “[t]hey enjoyed all the rights and benefits of full members of the compound, except that their families could not supply the compound with the *baálè*” (Fadipe 1970: 117). Being attached to the lineage ensured the interaction of everyone in the Yoruba society under the auspices of the same normative homogeneous age-old segmental units and institutions. Thus, in pre-colonial Yorubaland, society was

ethnically homogeneous, constituted of “large, dense, permanent communities whose inhabitants were economically independent, socially stratified, ... politically unified” (Boscom 1955: 453) and recognized their kinship units as important components of their society. These were not the case in Hausaland where indigenous state builders reduced the basic indigenous segmental units to irrelevance in their entire fundamental essence even long before the involvement of the Fulani. Fulani involvement then exacerbated the political strife that was associated with state building and transformation in Hausaland by the Habe rulers.

The other related difference which puts Hausaland apart from Yorubaland on the issue of war making and state building is that while conquest in the latter left the patterns of authority virtually unaltered, in the former it was the harbinger of systematic disenfranchisement of members of the larger society. Dan Fodio who predicated his *jihad* on liberation (Trimingham 1962 in Anene 1970: 244) turned out becoming a state builder with a vision of domination much grander than the one espoused by the Habe kings that he ousted.<sup>88</sup>

Even after the conquest of the last of the Hausa states in 1810 his ambition wasn't contained. Additional territories were conquered and combined to create an extensively centralized unitary empire that could only be governed in an autocratic manner.

Dan Fodio proceeded to institute a centralized political system that functioned according to the codes of “divine” directives authored by him personally (Smith 1964: 172). He authored two such theocratic codes during his lifetime. His brother Abdullahi, who he assigned one part of the empire to administer, wrote others, and Muhammed

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<sup>88</sup> Anene (1970: 245) believes that his “appeal to his followers had political and racial as well as religious implications”.

Bello, his son and successor wrote some as well (Smith 1964). He established himself as the *Amir-al-Mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful), a military position of authority prescribed by the Prophet Muhammed himself (Levy 1957).<sup>89</sup> This office became the apex position in the authority patterns of the Caliphate State and the sole source of all *Directiveness* covering every range of activity in society in specific details. Dan Fodio established himself in that office throughout his lifetime and utilized it to function as the conduit through which God issued the statutory codes that guided his appointees who administered the Caliphate State on his behalf. Upon his death his son assumed the title of the Sultan of Sokoto, which in the Hausa language is called the *Sarkin Muslimi* or the king of all Muslims. Like his father, Bello continued to function in the same capacity as God's conduit for all *Directiveness* in the Caliphate State.

But in actual fact the codes that Fodio, his brother and son authored were instructional manuals<sup>90</sup> that were meant to guide the *Emis* who they appointed to administer the provinces on their behalf. Those written directives were their administrative response to the big burden of communication, which arose from the centralization that they instituted. They were purposely written in Arabic to effectively exclude the mass of illiterate subordinate subject people from participation in the direction of the affairs of their own society (Smith 1964). By impeding their access to all information on the 'practice of authority' over them Dan Fodio and his successors were able to effectively impede political participation.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> "The Amir, as the head of the military organization, was nominally the chief officer in the province" (Levy 1957: 359).

<sup>90</sup> In a path-dependent manner the incarnate of this instrument of administration was created and put into use almost a century later by Frederick Lugard.

<sup>91</sup> There's evidence to show that Frederick Lugard did the same in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state.



Smith (1964) argues that Dan Fodio's true intention was to abolish Habe authority patterns by pointing at his instructions to his lieutenants the *Kitab* and *Bayan Wujub*. He believes that it was actually the evolution of Fulani Caliphate authority in its practical terms that dictated otherwise. He even absolved his son Bello on the same count with the similar argument that he was compelled to retain Habe authority patterns by the dictates of *realpolitik* in the politically volatile social environment of Hausaland.

Smith's arguments above underscore the substance of the core argument in this study. When we recall that the Fulani went all out and utilized the *jihad* to build a pluralistic polity we are inclined to draw from the E-G to posit that they couldn't have avoided administering as the did. There is even room in the core argument that underlay the study to understand why Dan Fodio entrusted only members of his clan with authority positions in both the central and provincial capitals of the Caliphate state. Isn't kinship a recurring component of the practice of authority amongst the Igbo and Yoruba too?

The Fulani rulers created a polity made themselves extreme autocrats who fit the E-G scheme proposition of political actors who defined "their own problems and issues, keep their own counsel, issue whatever directives they please, implementing them as they see fit, and ignore or block off "feedback" except for information required to sanction non-compliance" (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 67). We learnt from the E-G scheme that it is one of the principal ways through which autocrats and their aides shield themselves from the obligation of *Responsiveness*.

The coverage of every range of activities and issues in society in the written codes of directives handed down by Dan Fodio, his brother and son sharply transformed the existing high degree of asymmetry between rulers and subjects in Hausaland much

further. There were clear definitions that divided society in Hausaland into definite racial, kinship, residential, and religious categories. People of Fulani descent became superior to people of non-Fulani descent. Specific Fulani lineages were defined as superior to other lineages and kin groups. Muslims were defined as superior to non-Muslims. Muslim Hausa urban dwellers became defined as superior to nomadic Fulani on the basis of religion. Members of ruling families were defined as superior to commoners. Commoners were defined in the following categories in a ranking order: merchants and long distance traders, Koranic teachers, craftsmen, independent peasants, beggars and the physically disabled (Yeld 1960).

The economy and all economic activities were all subject to state directives. The ownership and control of land were transformed in their entirety in favor of the rulers. Commoners became disenfranchised serfs who worked the land according to strictly enforced stipulations of what they must surrender or keep. Ranges of taxes, tributes, free labor, etc. were decreed into existence to create the surplus that sustained the rulers and funded their state bureaucracies.

Each *Emir* maintained a standing army with which he wielded his vast authority to exact compliance of the Sultan's directives on the subject people in his *Emirate*. A Council of Electors composed of hereditary members from ruling Fulani lineages was entrusted with the task of recruiting candidates into authority positions. Specific directives stipulated the recruitment criteria that must be adhered to eventhough it was still the Sultan who approved, confirmed and installed their selections. The Council of Electors was the institutionalized structure that blocked popular participation in the recruitment of leaders.

Each *Emir* had the authority to apportion his *Emirate* into fiefs and assign them to his slave supporters to over-see on his behalf. These slaves who were not allowed to travel out of the provincial capitals without the *Emir's* authorization constituted the first link in the overall pattern of influence relations in the Caliphate society. It was through them that taxes from the fiefs got to the *Emir*. They also ensured that the *Emir's* army never lacked personnel. They derived their upkeep from part of the taxes that came in from their fiefs. What actually obtained in the Caliphate Empire was similar to tax farming. There was a stipulated amount that must go to the *Emir's* tax from each of his fiefs. By discretion, fief-holders extracted in excess of the stipulated amount in taxes that they retained for their personal use since they were required to give only the stipulated sum to the *Emir's*. But since they did not reside in their fiefs they appointed their own slave agents (*jakadu*) to represent them there. The *jakadu* resided in the fief where he collected the taxes from the subject people through their village heads, ensured that manpower was raised for the *Emir's* army, and over-saw the slaves who farmed the *Emir's* lands. Although the *jakadu* let the heads and elders of the villages in the fief have some semblance of authority, “[t]hey might threaten to report any insubordination to their master, who had the power to physically punish or banish offenders” (Yeld 1960: 120). The *jakadu* were quite powerful figures who took the liberty to extort from the commoners. Each of those agents (fief-holders, *jakadu*) took the liberty to extort as much taxes as he liked from the *talakawa*. It was an elaborate system of control and expropriation.

The overall pattern of influence attempts by superordinate actors in the Caliphate society is starkly different from what we saw in Igbo and Yoruba societies respectively.

Attempts to influence the behavior subjects radiated from the Sultan to the *Emirs* and flowed through their fief-holders, their *jakadu* to the village heads (Smith 1964)—Figure 3.10. The “evident risks in questioning the authority of these men or their agents constrained commoners to quiescence” (Smith 1964: 178). Compliance to directives was high, due to close supervision and real possibilities of dire sanctions (costs) in the event of non-compliance. The extremely close supervision component of the regimented *Directiveness* increased the cost of non-compliance for the commoners. Because channels of *Participation* were basically blocked for commoners, it was imperative for the non-passive amongst them to erupt into creative and disruptive acts of participation like revolts and uprisings. Those acts were “frequent in southern Kano after 1850, in Katsina city under the *Emirship* of Abubakar, 1887-1905” (Smith 1964: 178). But due to the unity of purpose that existed between Super-actors and their aides at the various levels of authority in the *Emirates*, the status quo was restored each time that those revolts and uprisings occurred and disrupted asymmetry in influence relations in a part of the Caliphate state. However, the evident autocracy of Fulani rule was hardly watertight, the reason being that it functioned with the assistance of agents of the ruling classes—palace slaves, eunuchs, assimilated individuals, etc. who went out of their way to over-extend their orders in their zeal to enforce compliance.<sup>92</sup> Going by the E-G scheme, the pattern of influence attempts in the Caliphate authority patterns had extensive room for regimentation, comprehensive coverage, and specificity of latitude, close supervision and

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<sup>92</sup> This assertion is underscored by the one made in the E-G scheme by its authors: The involvement of agents through whom autocrats influence the behavior of their subjects, entails that ‘instances of absolutism’ are ‘ephemeral occurrences’ as opposed to being the entrenched characteristic feature of polities. In a more technical language the authors of the E-G scheme believe that absolutism characterizes those transient moments in a polity

severity of sanction threshold in the general *Directiveness* dimension because of the power of court officials and their agents to add to directives. It opened the system to an enormous degree of patrimony and corruption. On both counts, the ultimate victims are the subordinate members of society.

The evident asymmetry in the Caliphate society between the Fulani rulers and their subjects played a critical role in the political development of Hausaland after the *jihad*. Having identified “themselves as Muslims, as rulers, and conquerors, and as Fulani” (Smith 1964: 180) they decreed that rebellion against their authority was equivalent to heathenism, which under Islam constituted the necessary and sufficient grounds for the social and economic exclusion of anyone from the membership of society. They also decreed that under Islam an excluded person could justifiably be taxed at the most merciless rate. Non-Fulani Muslims from whose ranks the clientage of low level court functionaries, Islamic teachers and mallams and craftsmen that surrounded officer holders were recruited were allowed limited participation through assimilation (Smith 1964: 181). The implicit loyalty of assimilated individuals to the Fulani rulers was part of the social barrier that shielded the latter from exercising any form of responsiveness in the Caliphate society.

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when some of its leaders have been isolated from most if not all their lieutenants (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 68).

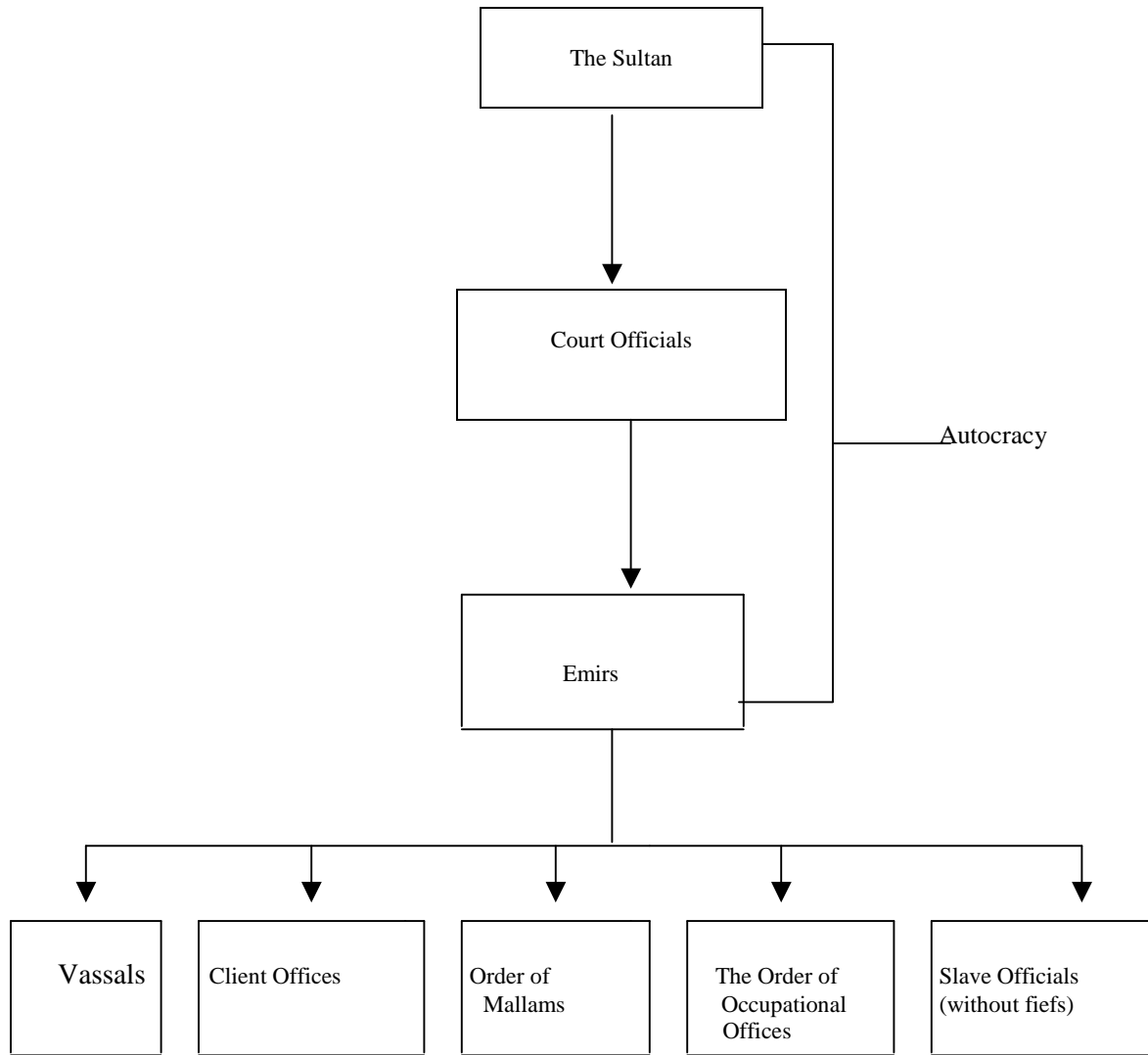


Figure 3.10: Authority patterns in post-*jihad* Hausaland

*Points of Transmission for Authority Patterns in Caliphate Hausaland*

Illustrations provided by the authors of the E-G scheme indicate that authority patterns are transmitted across generations and time through segmental units in society that are most proximate to government. Our assessments show that in each case those

segmental units often function as agencies of socialization, which include the family unit, schools, etc. In Caliphate Hausaland the family and the education system have always been deeply steeped in Islam.

Islamic education in Caliphate Hausaland comprised three distinct phases. The initial phase which is long (lasting anytime from ‘four to eleven years’) and crucial “began at an early age of about five when the young Muslim children were sent down to the piazza schools managed by mallams” (Gbadamosi 1967: 89). Each mallam who conducted the schools in the piazza of his home or under the shade of a near by tree was placed in charge of as many as forty tender-aged and impressionable children. Although both boys and girls start off together in this phase, less emphasis placed on formal education for females in Caliphate society resulted to the latter being withdrawn after a few years for marriage (Hitti 1967).

The memorization of the Koran dominated the content of this first phase. The mallams took their duty of imparting the entire Koran in the memory of their tender aged charges quite seriously. They style “involved considerable discipline and invariably, the use of the lash ... on the slow pupils” (Gbadamosi 1967: 90). *Directiveness* in these extremely regimented schools was high. It was from these mallams with whom the children spend a lot of time that acquire the knowledge and socialization that the need to fit into the Caliphate society. By accompanying their teachers when they went out to preach, officiate in religious services the children became acquainted with “the basic tenets of their religion... how to pray and worship, [and] how to live and behave as Muslims” (Gbadamosi 1967: 90). This was when they learnt that unquestioning loyalty to the authority espoused by their leaders and Allah’s earthly representatives is the

hallmark of being faithful Muslims. The second and third phases reinforced what was accomplished in the first phase and taught advanced subjects. The individuals who continue their education into the last two phases became judges, teachers and independent mallams. According to Gbadamosi, “Islamic education was the pillar, the live-wire of the Caliphate.... It turned out the rulers, judges and scholars who maintained the legal system.... It also turned out the various clerics who played important roles in the administrations, as well as religious men who tried to maintain the tone of religious life” (Gbadamosi 1967: 92). In the main Islam was used to sustain the status quo.

We conclude this section by making the following provisional summary. While there may have been congruence among and consonance within the governmental and non-governmental authority patterns in the Caliphate society hardly were there all the three ‘bases of legitimacy’ perceptions in all the constituting areas. The reasons for that paucity in the ‘bases of legitimacy’ perceptions hinged partly on the exclusive and unpopular manner of the recruitment of occupants of the leadership. In the E-G scheme, recruitment is salient ‘for norms of legitimacy’ (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 213). That salience is underscored by the fact that recruitment encompasses aspects of Weber’s legal-rational and traditional types of legitimacy. Amongst the non-Town Fulani and the less ardent adherents of the brand of Islam professed in the Caliphate society, the processes through which individuals were elevated to positions of authority may not have corresponded to what were prescribed by their Fulani rulers. To those two categories of people, individuals who occupy authority positions in the Caliphate society lacked ‘personal legitimacy’ and their authority may have been perceived as illegitimate. That was a possible cause of instability.



It was more likely than not that the practice of not taking the views of subordinate members of the population into account in the formulation of the directives by the Fulani rulers robbed their authority of ‘procedural legitimacy’. Similarly, their practice of impeding all channels of *Participation* in the Caliphate society implied that their authority lacked ‘substantive legitimacy’ in the perception of those who were prevented from participating.<sup>93</sup>

We can draw from the E-G scheme then to infer that political performance of the Caliphate state was bound to be spotty. Its political performance could have been high only in those parts where it enjoyed the pre-requisite ‘bases of legitimacy’ perceptions. Those included parts of the Caliphate society that were inhabited by the ‘Town Fulani’ who share kinship patterns with Dan Fodio’s lineage, and other adherents of the brand of Islamic faith that they professed. The Emirs could have found it impossible to exercise their authority in their other parts of their Emirates without the standing armies they maintained in the capitals. The Caliphate state’s level of political performance in those areas where it lacked durable ‘bases of legitimacy’ perceptions in Hausaland may have

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<sup>93</sup> There is ample evidence to assert that Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani artforms reflect the influence relations that support the practice of authority in their respective society. Igbo and Yoruba musical artforms encompass the same egalitarian and participatory tenets associated with their influence relations. This is true even amongst Igbo groups where some elements of centralization are evident in the authority patterns. At state functions and ceremonies in Onitsha, Aboh, Ossomari, and Oguta, royal musicians do not perform exclusively for or to glorify the *Obi*, and *Atmany*a respectively. Every freeborn citizen is free to fall in line behind these chiefs of state, titled and other distinguished citizens to dance to the royal drums. Members of society usually employ art and performance as repertoires of participation. In Hausaland the ruling classes engage and retain the services of professional musicians, poets, and praise singers to cater for their exclusive glory. The most famous art form in the Caliphate society is the exclusive *dubar*, which features the colorful display of and by mounted horsemen sent by Emirs and vassals to perform for the Sultan on a designated occasion each year.

been adequate most of the time due to the threat and reality of sanctions, but was always at risk of falling to nil when subjects found opportunities to resist.

The ranking matrix of the Hausa-Fulani authority patterns on the E-G scheme measure-scale is presented below in Figure 3.11. The configuration is almost the direct opposite of that of the Yoruba. The pervasive nature of all aspects of *Directiveness* in the Caliphate state is evident. In a polity where society is composed of subjects as opposed to citizens where leaders' directives were not 'wishful intentions' but aimed at eliciting definite 'behavioral consequences' from the former, the configuration is an apt depiction of the assertion made in the E-G scheme as regards the explicit intention of autocratic leaders to use the four 'distinct dimensions' (coverage, latitude, supervision, and sanction threshold) of their extremely regimented directives to progressively narrow whatever choices that could be made by their subjects in every aspect of their lives.<sup>94</sup> Such wide scope of *Directiveness* translates to 'Very High' non-participation (near absence of participation), no leadership responsiveness and compliance dispositions that are based on negative legitimacy perception of leadership by many members of the larger society.

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<sup>94</sup> The E-G scheme clearly states that "coverage narrows choice; latitude narrows it more, supervision still more, and sanction threshold and severity more again" (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 54).

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Values</b>	<b>Hausa-Fulani Authority Patterns</b>
<i>Directiveness</i> (General)	1. Regimented (+) 2. Mid Point 3. Permissive (0)	Very High Absent Absent
<i>Participation</i>	7. Participant (+) 8. Non-participant (0)	Very Low (near absent) Very High
<i>Responsiveness</i> (Overall)	10. Autocracy(+) 11. Mid Point 12. Alterocracy	Very High Absent Absent
<i>Compliance</i> (Dispositions)	16. Submissiveness (+) 17. Allegiance 18. Indifference (0) 19. Opposition 20. Insub-ordination	Very High Low High High High

Figure 3.11: The ranking matrix of the Hausa-Fulani authority patterns on the E-G scheme measure-scale

### **Chapter Summation**

In respective terms, political, social, and economic development among the Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani during the pre-colonial period was peculiar, unique and different. There is no historical evidence to support the view that before colonialism anyone or group attempted to bring the Igbo under a single centralized political system. Politics and governance in pre-colonial Igboland were effectively local, limited and democratic. Apart from some of the Igbo groups that inhabit northern and northeastern Igboland, all Igbo groups evolved and retained a decentralized political system that share a range of similarities. The few exceptions to this are found in the aforementioned groups in northern Igboland who may have borrowed their centralized monarchical political systems from their Bini, Yoruba and Igala neighbors.

Politics in even those northern and northeastern Igbo groups do not deviate from the pattern of limited and democratic governance that characterize the politics of all Igbo groups. Everywhere in Igboland authority patterns and the relations that support them

encapsulate profound democratic traits in the four dimensions of *Directiveness*, *Participation*, *Responsiveness*, and *Compliance*. Economic autonomy and independence at the individual level and political autonomy and independence at the group level was prevalent. Igbo society functioned through built-in sociological mechanisms that shielded the individual and groups from social, economic and political isolation. It was through those mechanisms that the Igbo, a predominantly agricultural people, were able to develop trade and commerce amongst themselves and with their various neighbors. The observation made by Isichei (1973, 1983) and Ottenberg (1958) about the relative political stability that prevailed in the many autonomous polities all over pre-colonial Igboland is indicative of the congruence among and consonance within the Igbo authority patterns.

In Yorubaland political development assumed a dimension that was quite different from the one in Igboland. The Yoruba system of political administration was monarchical and centralized. They evolved quite large-scale political organizations through the employment of war as an instrument of state building and transformation. But their authority patterns, which radiated from the most local base from where they projected out to the *Ilu* were partly responsible for checking the evolution of durable absolutism in their body politic. Authority relations in Yorubaland were not devoid of autocratic traits. In Yorubaland, direct democracy and its inherent participatory features for individual members of the larger society were not as profound as they were in Igboland. The disruptions that took place in the various Yoruba polities due to wars had no fundamental impacts on their authority patterns.

In logic, context and content political development in Hausaland was unique and different from what prevailed in both Igboland and Yorubaland. In Hausaland, what can be rightly described as an age-old non-large scale, non-centralized and democratic system of political organization was displaced by the personalized rule of groups who employed war making to establish several large polities under the charge of absolutist rulers.

These ruler-state builders were successful in building and transforming the respective states that they built in Hausaland in ways that left politics and governance in Hausaland rigidly centralized and society deeply stratified along the lines of rulers and the *talakawa*. The extensive authority and power wielded by those absolute rulers were based on their ruthless capacity to extort wealth from their subjects and exact compliance of their directives on them. Indeed, they laid the foundation of and fostered the ‘traditional shape’ of Hausa society. Their rule instigated and may have contributed to the success of the Fulani *jihad* under whose sword they were overthrown.

The most enduring legacy of those absolutist rulers in Hausaland are the autocratic authority patterns that evolved and utilized to sustain their regimes. The Fulani who ousted them found their legacy quite useful. But in the light of the size and diversity of the Caliphate Empire there can be little doubt that the Fulani couldn’t have done otherwise. The size of the Caliphate State (constructed on the ruins of the Habe states) and the desire of the Fulani to concentrate authority in their specific lineages dictated the use that the Fulani found for the legacy of the regimes they replaced

We must quickly insert some much-needed assertions at this point in the discussion to clarify some of arguments made so far in the analysis. Irrespective of the nomenclature of the arrangement in society, i.e. whether it is in social, economic or

political arrangements, if as shown in Figure 3.12 below, whenever there is a dynamic integration between centralization and large scale organization in any of the above named arrangements, the organizational outcome will hardly have room for the accommodation of popular participation.

Let's begin with the typical case of Hausaland. When we recall the success of *Habe Sarkis* in integrating large-scale organization and centralization into the social, economic, and political arrangements of their various domains, we will better understand their success in eliminating popular participation in the three realms of society in Hausaland. They were able to rid society of popular participation in the economy after they took control of all land, walled everyone of the commercial cities and centers of trade and assumed absolute control over all production, trade and exchange in them (Smith 1964). Their integration of centralization and large-scale organization into the economic sphere or sector paved the way for them to impose their control over it. Their success in those processes marginalized subordinate members of the society to participate in the economic organization of their society only on the terms stipulated by their ruling classes. Thus, those who worked the land could do so only as serfs, while the hunters, the blacksmiths, weavers, dyers, traders, etc. all practiced their trade in guilds that made for the expropriation of their surplus production.

This transformation of the economy through centralization and large-scale organization flowed directly into the centralization and large-scale organization fo the social arrangement of society. That was because of the association between vocational guilds and social status in society in Hausa society (Yeld 1960). Of course we have seen

how similar processes took participation in the political realm out of the reach of subordinate members of society in Hausaland.

The Yoruba who instituted centralization in their political arrangement were able to at the same time cage the monsters of autocracy and despotism and kept them out for good through their refusal to accommodate the dynamic integration of centralization and large-scale organization into their politics. Popular participation in the organization of each of the three arrangements in Yoruba society became the counter force that checked attempts by self-interested actors to achieve those processes in any of the three. The *Alààfin* who attempted to accomplish those processes in the economy of Old Oyo Empire by taking advantage of the trans-Atlantic slave provoked a power situation with members of the *Oyo-Mesi*, who functioned as *de facto* voice of the people in the practice of authority in Oyo society. We already mentioned that the crises that stemmed from that power situation were partly responsible for the demise of the Old Oyo Empire (Morton-Williams 1970). As opposed to the dynamic integration of centralization and large-scale organization, the Yoruba preferred simply to organize the arena (marketplace) aspect of their economic arrangement. That gave rise to the office of the *Parakoyi*, which was assigned the authority to ensure that exchange and interaction activities in major marketplaces each market day were orderly, among other functions (Gbadamosi 1978). As of the Igbo, we are already conversant with how they jealously guard against the dynamic integration of centralization and large-scale organization in their social, economic, and political arrangements in order to protect popular participation. No one or group was able to integrate centralization in the extensively large economic arrangement that tied all sections of Igboland and their neighbors into a controlled organization. It

wasn't until the economy of Igboland was co-opted into the trans-Atlantic slave trade that the Aro Igbo assumed dominance over the supply side of the slavery portion of the Igbo economy. Although sections of Igboland became known for one or another economic

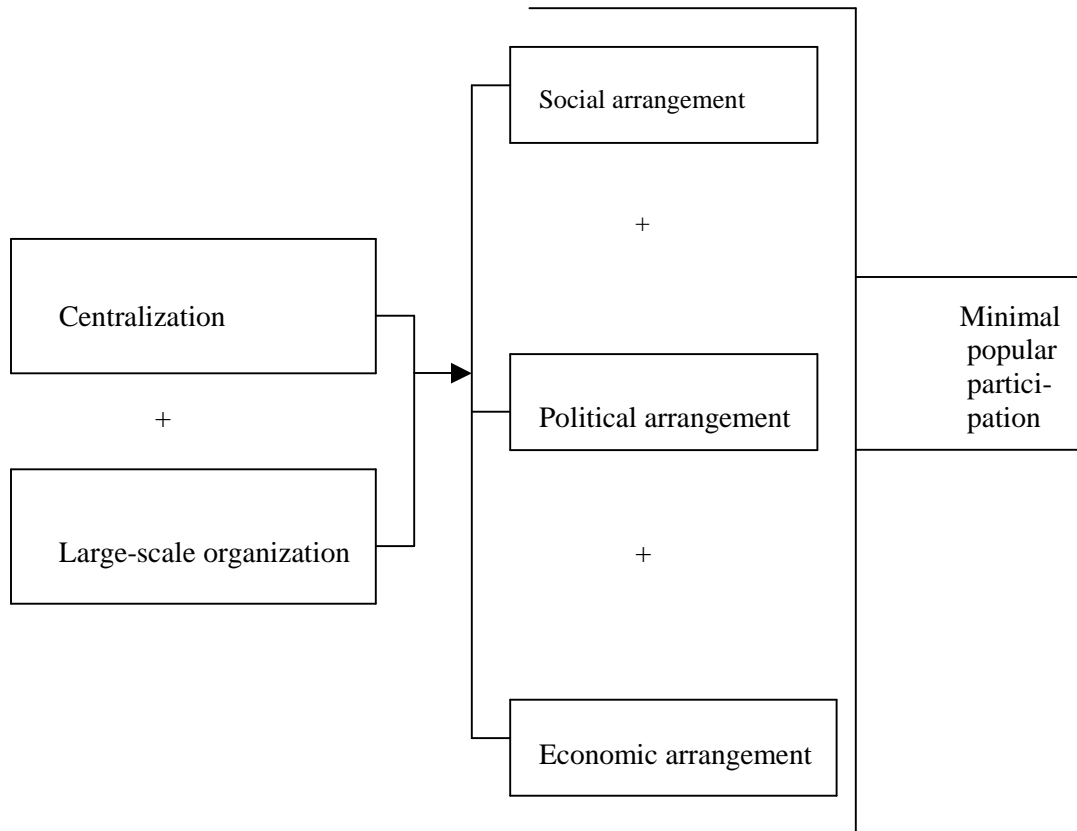


Figure 3.12: Impediments to popular participation in social, political, and economic arrangements in society

undertaking (black-smithing, medicine, divination, etc.) no one tried to or was able to centralize and control any aspect to the point where participation was rationalized as was the case in Hausaland. Both superordinate and subordinate members of society in Igboland and Yorubaland retained the right to work the land, fish the water ways (except when it was religiously forbidden), practice trades, reap the fruits of their



endeavor. Whenever they felt the need they took their products and produce to the marketplace to exchange for what they lacked without interference from anyone.

**Hypotheses 1 and 2** will be tested in the last chapter with the evidence that we have marshaled so far in our discussion above. The Igbo, Yoruba, and the Hausa-Fulani did achieve a tremendous degree of social, economic, and political development in their respective parts of the Niger basin. There was no uniformity in their respective patterns of social, economic and political development. Also, a remarkable degree of heterogeneity is encompassed in their respective authority patterns, relations of authority, social economic and political institutions and structures. Thus all the relevant variables—differential patterns of political, social, and economic development, different authority patterns—which can lead to poor governmental performance particularly in multi-nation states are all present in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, which they are compelled to constitute.

#### *Persistence of the Authority Patterns in the Three Nationalities*

Do the indigenous authority patterns evolved by each of the three nationalities still persistent? This is a question that requires our attention at this point in the analysis. The question can be answered in the affirmative for the following reasons. With the exception of the Hausa and the Fulani who intermingled with one another earlier on to produce one nationality every other nationality has remained homogenous and distinct. There is therefore an intuitive corollary between the maintenance of their distinctiveness and the persistence of the various segmental units through which their norms and values—including authority patterns are transmitted across time and generations.

British state building could not alter the homogeneity of each of the *homelands* in terms of the age-old patterns in which they are inhabited by the nationalities. Even though the various cities and urban centers that came into existence in various parts of each *homeland* during and after colonialism have always attracted people from all nationalities, each *homeland* is still a homogenous crucible in the main. This is particularly because of the reason that each one of them still contains the plurality of the members of the nationality. People usually leave their *homelands* and go to those cities where they reside temporarily to seek economic betterment without severing any sociological affiliations with either their *homelands* or members of their kindred that they left behind. Each urban resident identifies quite closely with his community and others who are from the same community through the various associations that they form in those urban areas for those purposes. For example an Igbo resident of a city in any part of Igboland would belong to both his village and village-group associations each of which is organized as and functions like a segmental unit. If the one is resident in a city in Yorubaland or Hausaland the associations that he will belong to will include the Igbo union. The thrust of our argument therefore is that each nationality is disposed well enough to creatively adopt and adapt to western influences in ways that would not alter their peculiarities and distinctiveness. The intuitive assumption then is that so long as the family, the kindred, the lineage and the other segmental units that distinguish the nationalities from one another are not transformed out of existence in their fundamental essence, they will continue to function as transmitters of values and norms.

## CHAPTER IV:

### AUTHORITY PATTERNS OF THE IMPOSED 'NIGERIAN' SUPRA-NATIONAL STATE

The British occupied the Niger basin gradually and in roughly six distinct stages that span across the nineteenth century (Anene 1966, Dugate 1985, Tamuno 1966 and 1972). (i) The Yoruba kingdom of Lagos was bombarded, annexed and made a British colony in the period 1851-61. (ii) The period 1861-90 witnessed the consolidation of British authority and the transformation of the Lagos Crown colony. (iii) In the period 1890-1914, the British embarked on a systematic alteration of the authority patterns that were established in the Crown colony. (iv) Formal colonial rule was proclaimed in the rest of the Niger basin in the period 1896-1913. (v) Lugardism evolved in the upper Niger in the period 1900-12, and (vi) the period 1914-60 marked the transformation of colonial authority patterns in the entire Niger basin on the aegis of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state. The organization of this chapter corresponds to the stages listed above.

Throughout the course of their intervention in the Niger basin, the British were confronted by a variety of issues. The issues that they were compelled to contend with stemmed from a diversity of factors peculiar to that part of the West African sub-region. Foremost amongst the diversity of factors were the distinct socio-political arrangements that they found in each of the several nationalities that inhabit the Niger basin. Indeed, when taken either singly or collectively, most of the choices made by the British in their quest to build the 'Nigerian' supra-national state were dictated and even forced on them by the diversity of those extraneous factors peculiar to the Niger basin.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> I. M. Semakula Kiwanuka (1970: 296) reached a similar assessment About Africa in general long ago when he suggested that "the response of each colonial power was

In the initial stage, the British were only able to establish different administrative polities that incorporated only a part of Yorubaland, Igboland, and Fulani-ruled Hausaland respectively. The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state is the eventual outcome of their extensive efforts to bring the Niger basin and its inhabitants under a single political arrangement.

Geography and historical factors that stemmed partly from the slave trade played their own crucial roles in Britain’s intervention in the Niger basin. Specifically speaking, the existence of a natural seaport and Britain’s resolve to enforce the abolition of the slave trade on Africa’s west coasts are some of the factors that helped to expose the Yoruba kingdom of Eko<sup>96</sup> to British annexation. The natural seaport at the lagoon entrance attracted the Royal Navy to make Lagos a staging point in Britain’s anti-slavery endeavors on the West Coast of Africa. In turn the presence and protection of the Royal Navy then attracted freed slaves and their descendants from Freetown, Sierra Leone—the *Saro*—and Brazil—the *Amaro*—to resettle themselves in Lagos and its environs. The freed slaves and what they represented constituted the most important factor that favored the evolution of British authority in the Kingdom.<sup>97</sup>

The establishment of Crown colony rule in Lagos made it easy for the British to expand their authority into the rest of Yorubaland mostly “through a series of judicial agreements signed with a number of indigenous rulers”

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conditioned by the extent of the challenge or the degree of collaboration by ... Africans”—see “Colonial Policies and Administrations in Africa: The Myths of the Contrasts” by I. M. Semakula Kiwanuka, *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 3, #2, Pp. 295-315.

<sup>96</sup> This is the original Yoruba name for Lagos. The Portuguese called it Lagos. For the sake of consistency we’ll call it Lagos throughout the study.

(Adewoye 1971: 627). Thus, as opposed to Igboland and Hausaland, in Yorubaland the slave trade and the subsidiary social, economic, and political factors that stemmed from it contributed a lot to the evolution and transformation of British authority. However, the British still resorted to military coercion to exact its authority on the Yoruba who like the Igbo refused to perceive that authority as legitimate.

But for the characteristic large-scale political organization and centralized political system of the Yoruba they could have equally been exposed to the same violent style used to pacify the Igbo whose political system and organization are village-based and decentralized. In Yorubaland, the centralization of authority made it relatively easy for the British to identify and locate the right points of authority and their occupants with whom they parleyed. Due primarily to their large political organization, the conclusion of each of the legal ‘agreements’ or ‘treaties’ brought extensive areas and large populations in Yorubaland under British authority simultaneously.

On the other hand, Igboland’s decentralized village-based democracies posed challenges that dictated protracted engagements for both pacification and control. Hausaland’s centralized and autocratic political system, and large-scale political organization and autocratic patterns of authority made protracted military engagements beyond the initial campaigns virtually unnecessary. Moreover in Hausaland, the British came in contact with a situation that they quickly exploited for the opportunities that it offered—easy identification of a ruling class, ready and willing to turn itself into an ally, and a population of subjects who have long been conditioned to autocracy.

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<sup>97</sup> The freed slaves and their descendants who returned from Freetown, Sierra Leone were known as the *Saro* while those who returned from Brazil were known as the *Amaro*. We

## **The Period 1851-61: The Yoruba Kingdom of Lagos is Declared Crown Colony and Placed Under British Authority**

Lagos was the site of several events that aided the evolution and transformation of British authority in the Niger basin. The first act of direct intervention by the British in Lagos was the deposition of *Oba* Kosoko and the imposition of Akitoye, his rival as *Oba* by the Royal Navy in 1851. The establishment of a permanent British consulate the same year in the kingdom was next (Smith 1979). From start to finish it took the British about ten years to impose their authority in the Kingdom. The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 by the British Parliament marked a turning in Anglo-West African relations. For one, the abolition was an historical event that led to the deployment of the Royal Navy off the West Coast of African where it was charged to execute anti-slavery patrol duties aimed at enforcing the Act of the British Parliament that declared the slave trade illegal. The enforcement of the Abolition Act provided the rationale for the British State and its managers to embark on a policy that challenged indigenous political authorities in the Niger basin.

In England at the time, advocates of “British intervention in Lagos used the presence of liberated Africans as support for their argument” (Ehrensaft 1972: 476). At a time when other European states were still active in the slave trade such advocates believed and argued that if established in Lagos British authority would protect returning freed slaves against the possibility of re-enslavement (Kopytoff 1965, Ehrensaft 1972). Symbiotically, the freed slaves and their descendants furnished much-needed bases of legitimacy for British authority in Lagos after it was imposed.

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will consistently refer to them as *Saro* and *Amaro* respectively in the rest of the study.

But it is interesting to note that there were shifts in British authority in the Crown colony at the time when the decision was made in London to impose classical colonial rule in Lagos and the rest of Yorubaland. With those shifts which alienated the freed slaves, came quick changes in their perception of British authority from then onwards.

British authority was practiced in Lagos for much of the time when it was a Crown colony in a manner that hardly differed from how it was practiced in Britain's colony in the Cape of Good Hope in southern Africa. But unlike the Cape colony where 5,000 British settlers (Campbell 1897, Marquard 1952) were encouraged by their government to relocate in 1820, society in Lagos was composed mostly of Africans, a handful of Europeans and a sprinkling of Lebanese. Indigenous Lagosians made up the greater proportion of the African population while the freed slaves made up the remaining, much smaller proportion.

Of course we are aware that unlike in the Lagos Crown colony, society in the Cape colony was racially stratified in favor of Europeans from the outset. Hence, this comparison between them is not meant to illustrate similarities in racial relations in the two Crown colonies. Rather, we make the comparison to illustrate some other points. The attention paid by British public to the politics and affairs of the Cape due to the presence of the 5,000 English settlers (Marquard 1952) can rightly be compared to the support of the section of English public that urged their government to protect the freed slaves who returned to Lagos against possible re-enslavement. In both cases settlers and freed slaves—the latter's' African origin notwithstanding— and their supporters in England did not just believe that they were loyal subjects of the British Crown, they equally claimed the right of participation in the affairs of both colonies respectively. The

claim for participation made by the settlers and the *Saro* and the *Amaro*<sup>98</sup> derived from their conviction that they were loyal subjects of the British Crown. Their claims and conviction were partly responsible for why the influence relations in the Cape and Lagos mimicked what probably obtained in the British society at the time.<sup>99</sup> Also, the comparison is made to highlight some unique similarities and contrasts of society in the two colonies. From the outset society in the Cape was racially segregated, and socio-political participation for the settlers was hardly open, or facilitated. The refusal of the Crown-appointed governor to allow the Cape settlers to establish their first newspaper and literary club (Campbell 1897) indicated un-facilitated participation.

The situation in the Lagos Crown colony was somewhat different. The racial segregation that favored the few Europeans merchants in Lagos was not directed at members of the *Saro* and *Amaro* community. If at all, society in the Lagos Crown colony was segregated in favor of Europeans and the *Saro* and *Amaro* community against indigenous Lagosians (Mann 1985). Unlike indigenous Lagosians, members of the *Saro* and *Amaro* community were adequately accommodated in the scheme of things. Their status as loyal subjects of the Crown in a socio-political environment where nascent British authority faced the threat of possible overthrow by the leaders and people of indigenous Lagos may have played a role in that. They were not hindered from establishing such facilitated (open) channels of *Participation* as newspapers and civic

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<sup>98</sup> European residents of Lagos as well as the *Saro* and the *Amaro* discriminated against indigenous Lagosians. Integration within the African members of society in Lagos began when indigenous Lagosians took a cue from the returnees to embrace western education and culture.

<sup>99</sup> Britain had begun to democratize for the upper and middle classes at that time.



organizations. They owned and ran successful businesses, and practiced the professions without being racially discriminated against.

Viewed from the perspective of the E-G scheme the annexation of Lagos by Britain initiated and nurtured a different set of ‘governmental’ authority patterns in the kingdom. Indigenous Yoruba society in Lagos was not necessarily transformed into a new one as a result of the annexation. Instead, a new society emerged and quickly shunted indigenous Yoruba society along with its indigenous authority patterns aside. Power and authority in that new society were “concentrated ... in the hands of Europeans, and, to a lesser extent, their African collaborators” (Mann 1985: 15).

The new society and polity that emerged under the auspices of the Crown colony required and quickly furnished itself with new segmental units—legislative system, civil service bureaucracy, tax system, etc. All four dimensions of influence relations, i.e. *Directiveness, Participation, Responsiveness, and Compliance* and the accompanying ‘bases of legitimacy perceptions’ required for practice of authority in the new society and polity configured in ways that differed from the prevalent patterns in the indigenous society. For instance, government in the kingdom was headed by the *Oba* and the *Igbimo* or Council of State, who were recruited and removed from office according to age-old Yoruba custom and tradition. The *Oba*’s office was ascriptive, and the authority of the government he headed was deeply rooted in norms that were prescribed by indigenous Yoruba customs and tradition. The *Oba* conducted the business of the state with the *Igbimo* while the *baálè* and the *Olori Itun* held forth in the *ebi* and *adugbo* respectively. In contrast, the premier authority position in the colony was occupied by the governor who was recruited by the British Colonial Office in London without recourse to members

of society in the colony (Smith 1969, 1974, Nicolson 1969, Tamuno 1972). There were appointed Executive and Legislative Councils too.

The first of those governors wasted no time in grafting the British system of laws and jurisprudence, i.e. tort, equity and common laws, the Supreme Court presided over by a Chief Justice and a bureaucracy that was associated with them onto the new society (Mann 1985: 15).

The dimension of *Directiveness* in the Crown colony of Lagos society was anchored in the governor, the appointed Executive and Legislative Councils, and based in British legal system. The courts were proximate segmental units in the Crown colony that were utilized for the exaction of compliance to directives and some measure of responsiveness on the governor who could only be removed by the Colonial Office. Participation in Crown colony society was not diffused. For instance, Lagosians had no say in the recruitment of the individuals through whom the Colonial Office practiced authority in the Crown colony. Most of the participation that took place in the polity favored the *Saro* and *Amaro* community in the main. Most of that participation was by proxy through the courts of law, and the Press. For instance, Lawyers who included members of the *Saro* and *Amaro* community who practiced law in Lagos utilized the courts to impact directives handed down by the Colonial Office and its appointees—the Crown colony governor, the Executive and Legislative Councils. That happened in those instances when the courts interpreted existing statutes or handed down judgments in cases that came before them. In some situations the decisions that emanated from the courts encouraged permissiveness and responsiveness on the governor, the Executive and Legislative Councils. In succinct sociological terms, the governmental authority patterns

that took effect in Lagos sequel to the annexation fall within the Weberian definition of legal-rational and bureaucratic. Grafted from England, they were meant to function like impersonal instruments of administration.

One could be tempted to concur with Mann's (1985) dismissive description of those African members of society in post-annexation Lagos who aided the evolution of governmental authority patterns in the Crown colony as "collaborators". But an objective assessment of both their identity and antecedents would show that they were not mere collaborators.

Although the annexation of the kingdom was actually effected by gunboats deployed by the Royal Navy, the successful circumvention of indigenous society in Lagos could have been difficult in the absence of the *Saro* and *Amaro*. Their presence helped to avert the sharp racial division of society that prevailed in the Cape between Europeans and Africans from the outset. Although their population was less than 10,000, they became "a very impressive and influential group" (Echeruo 1977: 30) whose members played prominent roles in the evolution of British governmental authority patterns in Lagos.

They were not crass opportunistic collaborators who stumbled into the role of aiding the British and cashing in on the windfalls of colonialism. Their circumstance as freed slaves and descendants of freed slaves placed them in the historical role they played. They even believed that the advancement of Africa could only be accomplished through the projection of Christianity and British political power (Ayandele 1974). Their enthusiastic support for British authority compelled a colonial administrator to refer to

them as “an important wheel in the social machinery we have created” (Temple 1918/1969 in Duffield 1971: 258).

### *Non-Governmental Authority Patterns in Victorian Lagos*

Victorian Lagos (Echeruo 1977) was mostly composed of the *Saro* and *Amaro* who resettled themselves in Lagos (Fyfe 1962, Kopytoff 1965, Gbadamosi 1978, Mann 1985). They were a heterogeneous lot that “included Muslims as well as Christians as well as illiterates, and merchants and traders as well as members of other occupations” (Mann 1985: 18). The *Saro* for one were *de facto* British subjects (Duffield 1971). “English courts, legal procedure, safeguards and laws were as much part of their inheritance (and were highly valued as such) as they were the inheritance of citizens of London, Tolpuddle, or Christchurch, New Zealand” (Duffield 1971: 253). The *Amaro* themselves were not left out in this regard. They were sufficiently acquainted with the culture of Latin Europe—language, the Catholic religion, etc. because of their sojourn in Brazil (Mann 1985: 17-18). For people who lived, thought and acted English and European for a significant proportion of their lives, both the *Saro* and the *Amaro* were basically “Black” Englishmen and Europeans or “Afro-Europeans” (Burton 1863: 216).

Unlike indigenous Lagosians their worldview was Victorian. Their attitude and preferences on family, economy, and politics were Victorian to the core (Echeruo 1977). They ‘frequently sent’ their children to school in England, associated “themselves with the usual recreations of a sophisticated Europe, and so went to the Races, to Fancy Dress

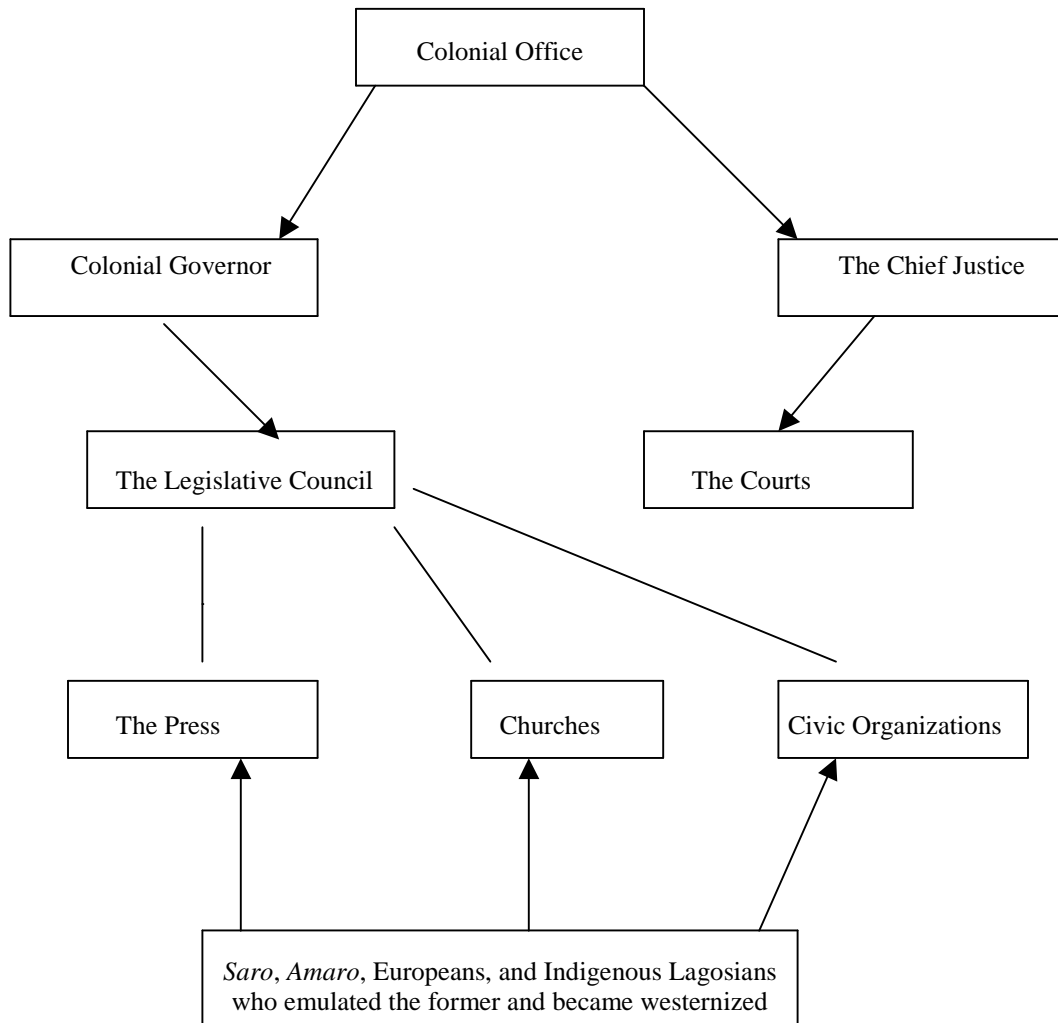


Figure 4.1: Authority patterns in Lagos Crown colony. The arrows indicate direct power and the lines indicate influence

balls, to the Gymkhana games, and to cricket. In the evenings, they went for ‘brisk walks’ or for ‘short rides’” (Echeruo 1977: 30). Their churches were governed from England, and they formed and ran musical groups and theaters and voluntary associations. They answered European names. The internal structures of all their endeavors were based on Victorian values and norms. There was therefore no doubt that their acceptance of British authority in Lagos had a lot to do with resemblances between

the workings of their everyday life and the workings of the former. They were apart from indigenous Lagosians (Echeruo 1977). But the turn of political events later made them to recant much of their identification with England, including changing their names (Echeruo 1977).

The same demographic characteristics, i.e. possession of European cultural traits, norms, and values in the realms of 'administration', 'commerce', 'religion', 'technology', and 'education', (Ehrensaf 1972: 473) that placed them apart from indigenous Yoruba were also responsible for the roles they played in the propagation of British authority in Yorubaland. Although they resettled in both Lagos and the Egba Yoruba polity of Abeokuta, their enabling role for British authority was only in Lagos.

### **The Period of 1861-90: Transformation of Polity and Consolidation of British**

#### **Authority in Lagos**

The *Saro* and *Amaro* directly facilitated the transformation of the Crown polity, which led to the consolidation of British authority in Lagos. Their involvement in the direction of the affairs of the Crown polity was normatively accommodated for a period that lasted almost a decade. In the ensuing period the rank of the *Saro* and *Amaro* was expanded with indigenous Lagosians who emulated them to embrace western education, commerce, etc. That fact translated to more people who perceived authority in the Crown polity in a positive light.

In the beginning of British rule, authority patterns in Crown colony Lagos society included the governor, who was an appointee of the Foreign Office, the Executive Council and the Legislative Council, whose members were also appointed and nominated

as official and unofficial members respectively. The unofficial members of the Legislative Council represented the local population, i.e. merchants/businesses and ordinary residents of the colony who included Europeans and Africans. The *Directiveness* dimension reposed with the British Foreign Office from whence it officially flowed to the governor, the Executive and Legislative Councils.

As we mentioned earlier, members of the *Saro* and *Amaro* communities were integrated into the scheme of things in the colony. In 1881, about forty-five of them were employed in the civil bureaucracy as the Registrar of the Supreme Court, Acting Colonial Secretary, Acting Colonial Surveyor, Chief Clerk and Treasurer, the Superintendent of Police, Postmaster, etc. (Mann 1985: 20). To a large degree, their involvement must have ensured that issues that affected their community were not subjected to regimented directives. They were conversant and even accepted the prevalent Victorian “belief... that the opinions of non-voters, expressed through petitions and other means, could influence governmental policy” (Tamuno 1966: 7). They relied on their Press, the churches and vocal clergy to become (Echeruo 1977, Mann 1985, Ayandele 1974, Cole 1975) central players in the social, economic, and political affairs of Crown colony Lagos.<sup>100</sup>

The situation was starkly different for indigenous Lagosians. Attempts in 1863 by *Oba* Dosumu to raise alarm that he did not “freely agree to cede Lagos to the British Crown” (Echeruo 1977: 76) as reports in the Lagos Press portrayed was disputed by the latter. Hitherto unregulated aspects of their lives came under directives. Pointers: A directive by the governor and the Executive Council was issued to regulate traditional

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<sup>100</sup> The relations among these hierarchical categories of individuals that were involved in the direction of the Crown colony of Lagos were quite asymmetrical.

drumming by restricting it to day time on the grounds that it disturbed the peace of some residents (Echeruo 1977: 68-9). A directive by Crown authority made it a crime to bury people anywhere but cemeteries. English-type statutes redefined their rights to land (Hopkins 1980).

Unlike indigenous Lagosians the participation of the *Saro* and *Amaro* community through their Press, the Churches, and a range of civic associations was frequent as well as intense. Their acts of participation covered the range of modes stipulated in the E-G scheme—‘group, direct, personal, indirect personal and impersonal actions’. Their participation implied that British authority did not lack the vital condition for political performance, i.e. congruence between and consonance with ‘governmental and non-governmental patterns’.

The Egba Yoruba polity of Abeokuta where some *Saro* and *Amaro* resettled in was a different socio-political milieu. The difference accounted for why it attracted mostly those *Saro* and *Amaro* who turned out as antagonists of British authority.<sup>101</sup> The returnees who resettled in Abeokuta tried to squeeze themselves into the polity’s traditional authority patterns as “modernizers” (Pallinder-Law 1974, Phillips 1969, Kopytoff 1965). Their bold attempt to modernize traditional authority patterns and create “a ‘Christian, civilized state’, independent of foreign leadership” (Pallinder-Law 1974: 69) in Abeokuta was guided by “an anti-European bias” of ‘Africa for Africans’” (Phillips 1969: 127). They constituted the Egba United Board of Management, E. U. B. M. and made it the executive political authority. In the E. U. B. M. they attempted to “combine the authority of the traditional elite with the skills and ideas of the westernized

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<sup>101</sup> The first Yoruba language newspaper—the *Iwe Irohin* started publication in Abeokuta as early as 1859.



*Saro*” (Pallinder-Law 1974: 69). But their efforts fell short and collapsed in 1874 and “the Egba remained attached to their traditional forms of government” (Phillips 1969: 130).

The poor political performance of the E. U. B. M. and its subsequent failure can be traced to the lack of resemblance between its social and political patterns and the authority patterns of traditional Egba Yoruba society. In spite of the Board’s co-option of the traditional leaders in Abeokuta—the *Bashorun* (or head of the Council of State in traditional Yoruba political system) at the time was made the President-General—indigenous Egba citizens refused to extend their allegiance to its authority. They perceived the authority of “the man who wielded the real authority, its Secretary, George William Johnson, [a *Saro*] tailor... who had lived in England” (Phillips 1969: 127) as illegitimate. In a society where in spite of centralization tradition dictated that authority must neither concentrate in the hands of one person or a group of people nor be exercised in a manner that excludes the citizens, the Board, did not command much public respect (Phillips 1969: 128). The second attempt by the returnees to institute a ‘modern’ government in Abeokuta, this time with the active involvement of the government of Crown colony Lagos, equally failed for the same reasons.

The political performance of the E. U. B. was so dismal that it is a surprise that it even survived for sixteen years. For the entire duration of that period it depended on military assistance from Lagos to enforce compliance of members of indigenous society in Abeokuta to its directives (Pallinder-Law 1974). Notwithstanding such support it still experienced poor political performance. The people of Abeokuta resorted to “protest and disturbances” (Pallinder-Law 1974: 81) every time when they sensed that the mostly

*Saro* and *Amaro* minders of the E. U. B. infringed on the authority of their traditional leaders. After Frederick Lugard became the first governor-general of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state, sustained instability in the E. U. B. provided him with a much-needed excuse to annex Abeokuta in 1914 and bring the Egba Yoruba under the control of British colonial authority (Pallinder-Law 1974, Gailey 1982). However, that annexation and the imposition of Egba Native Administration could not even entail political performance in colonized Abeokuta.

In Lagos, annexation created the requisite 'social environment' that Eckstein (1969: 278) rightly identified as an important element that affects political life in society quite closely. Such environment was lacking in Abeokuta. In social, political, and economic terms, in Lagos, that 'social environment' was conducive for the growth and success of the *Saro* and *Amaro* and show-cased so positively that they became role models for members of indigenous Lagos society.

The absence of racial stratification, due perhaps to the limited presence of Europeans in Lagos (Mann 1985) implied that the *Saro*, *Amaro* and the indigenous Lagosians whom they inspired did not have to contend with racism in their pursuit of social and economic advancement. Real estate and property rights that used to be uncharted territory in indigenous pre-colony Lagos society became a new economic realm for those who cared to embrace and utilize them to acquire wealth (Hopkins 1980). There were those who became entrepreneurs by going into the then new world of 'legitimate' commerce, which was just opening up on the ruins of the outlawed trade in human beings. This was about the time when European merchants elsewhere in the

Niger basin were averse to the idea of indigenous involvement in direct trade with Europe.

With time indigenous Lagosians who emulated the *Saro* and *Amaro* and embraced “legitimate trade... began to establish a new set of allegiances to the representatives of the alternative...power structure: ... the consul, [or as he was called,] the white *Oba* (ruler), and to his commercial, spiritual, and military chiefs, the European and Sierra Leonean merchants, the missionaries, and the captains of the naval squadron” (Hopkins 1980: 785). Over the course of time, the success of the indigenous emulators in commerce led to the expansion of the ranks of people in Lagos who approved of British authority.

When we recall that the “[r]esemblances among social and political authority patterns clearly could also serve as a potential mediating and higher-order variable” (Eckstein 1969: 277) we will better appreciate how the unhindered pursuit of economic and social advancement by the returnees and those indigenous Lagosians that they inspired helped to create an influential segment of the Lagos population who were disposed to support British authority in the Lagos Crown colony. Thus, the disparity that could develop between “social and political authority patterns” (Eckstein 1969: 277) in societies that are stratified along specific demographic, economic, or social lines was avoided in the Lagos Crown colony. The proportion of the population of Crown colony of Lagos society that perceived British authority as legitimate was rather on the increase. That reality augured quite well for the performance of British political authority. Racial relations in Lagos only began to take a downturn in about the beginning of the 1890s

(Ajayi 1965, Mann 1985), a period that also coincided with the imposition of classical colonial rule in the rest of the Niger basin.

By itself, the fact that the *Saro* and *Amaro* were not barred from economic and social advancement in the Crown colony of Lagos may give credence to the argument that instead of racism “the evolution of the land market [is] a cause and consequence of the annexation of Lagos” (Hopkins 1980: 797). Consul McCosky who spear-headed and over-saw the annexation of Lagos said as much when he wrote to his superiors in the Foreign Office “that the colony would give ‘a new impetus to the exertions of all classes of inhabitants as they will be secure in the possession of what they legally acquire’” (in Hopkins 1980: 789). McCosky even consulted the *Saro* and *Amaro* as well as the European residents of Lagos on the annexation and reported that with only “a few exceptions ... [he] found them favourable [to the idea]” (McCosky to Russel 1861 in Hopkins 1980: 789). There is no doubt therefore that with the exception of the few European residents of Lagos the *Saro* and *Amaro* were the only other residents of Lagos who were sufficiently equipped and did appreciate that the annexation would be in their favor. Hence, their support for the new social, political, and economic order that it ushered into their society.

While the presence of a handful of Europeans in Lagos at the time may have helped to forestall the emergence of racism in Lagos there is no evidence to support the view that racism could have inspired the annexation, or that prior to the dawn of classical colonial rule there were attempts of any sort to frustrate the economic and social advancement of its non-European residents. Thus, an environment devoid of racial stratification as well as economic success based on the private property rights became a

big incentive for the returnees to desire political stability which they believed could only be realized through British political authority (Hopkins 1980) which partly explains the support that they extended to it.

Their support for British political authority in the Crown colony remained a major base of legitimacy that was both cherished and utilized by all Crown colony officials. In 1863 when *Oba* Dosunmu publicly denied that he gave his kingdom and land over to the Queen of England, the alarmed Lt. Governor was quick to declare “a state of emergency in the town [and called] ‘on all loyal subjects of her majesty to assemble tomorrow morning, at 8a.m. at Government House, to be sworn in as Special Constables for the assertion of Her Majesty’s authority and the protection of life and property within her colony of Lagos’” (in Echeruo 1977: 18). Letters to the editor and articles by some returnees which appeared in the Lagos Press on that incident as well as the annexation itself underscore the support of British political authority in Lagos by members of the returnee community (Echeruo 1977).

As a ‘vital component of Victorian Lagos’ the returnee community in Lagos gives credence to a core element of Eckstein’s theoretical framework on the crucial link between influence relations and political performance in social units. Eckstein (1969: 278) observed that people are effective in their efforts to play political roles in their society in situations where their socialization furnished them with the social tools that they need to play those roles. He adds that the extent to which individuals can be effective when they make efforts to play political roles is a function of the degree of compatibility between “the norms and practices demanded by their concurrent social roles” (Eckstein 1969: 278) and the political roles they are trying to play.

Unlike indigenous Lagosians who lacked the benefit of Western education and the knowledge of the workings of the European political system, the *Saro* and the *Amaro* were sufficiently equipped to participate actively in the socio-political affairs of the Crown colony. They played that role through the various newspapers and civic associations that they founded, and through the law courts and other channels of *Participation*. Newspapers<sup>102</sup> were such effective channels of *Participation* in Crown colony Lagos that between 1863 and 1913 about twelve of were either started or went out of publication (Echeruo 1977, Mann 1985).

If the dimension of *Participation* can be used “to assess degrees of asymmetry between subs and supers” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 61) in a social unit, and if the degree of participation in a social unit “depends on the extent to which supers act in accordance with or contrary to subs’ explicit preferences—hence, in large part, their *Participation*” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 61), what prevailed in the Lagos Crown colony between Crown authorities and the returnees was indeed an asymmetric.

If we infer from available records (Echeruo 1977) we can say that most members of returnee community in the Crown colony seemed convinced that they were sufficiently accommodated in the democratic authority patterns that prevailed in the polity at the time. They accepted and believed in the ‘forms and norms’ that underlay the practice of its authority whose institutions and structures they willingly subscribed to as a result. Court records and reports, articles and letters to the editor published in the various newspapers published in Lagos at the time show that they resorted to the courts and the

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<sup>102</sup> The *Anglo-African*, 1863-1867, *Lagos Times and Gold Coast Colony Advertiser*, 1880-1893, *The Observer*, 1882-1888, *Eagle and Lagos Critic*, 1883-1887, *The Mirror*, 1887-1888, *Lagos Weekly Times*, 1890, *Lagos Echo*, 1891, *Lagos Weekly Record*, 1891-

other normatively approved channels and processes of participation on those occasions when they found the cause.

As long as Lagos remained a Crown colony most of them continued to furnish all three ‘bases of legitimacy’ perceptions of its authority. Because many of them were there and witnessed and even celebrated the execution of the instrument of cessation between *Oba Dosunmu* and the British Consul on July 27, 1861 (Echeruo 1977), the ‘personal legitimacy’ of the Crown-appointed governor was not lost on them. They were convinced that the governor had the legitimate authority to direct the affairs of their society. Their feeling of involvement through their Press, churches and civic organizations in the direction of the affairs of their society accounted for the ‘substantive legitimacy’ that they extended to the authority of government in Crown colony Lagos society.

But for their role, it could have been quite difficult if not impossible for British authority to transform itself to the rest of Yorubaland the way that it did.

### **1890-1914: Influence Relations in Lagos Crown Colony Society Are Altered,**

The patterns of authority in the Lagos Crown colony were not typically colonial. This is as far as the returnees were concerned. Loyalty to the Crown and socialization in European culture seemed to be the two qualifying criteria for the accommodation of Lagosians in the new polity. Those two criteria may have accounted for why indigenous Lagosians were marginalized by the *Saro*, the *Amaro* and the few European residents of Lagos at first. Those indigenous Lagosians who emulated the *Saro* and the *Amaro* and acquired western education and became socialized in European culture were quickly

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1930, *Lagos Standard*, 1893-1920, ‘*Nigerian*’ *Chronicle*, 1908-1913, and *The ‘Nigerian’ Times*, 1910-13—see Ayandele (1974: 14), Echeruo (1977: 4), and Mann (1985: 184).

integrated in the new society too. But the decision to impose classical colonial rule in the entire Niger basin altered all that. The practice of colonial authority required a more congruent and consonant authority patterns. The immediate casualty of the alteration was the positive perception Crown colony authority by the returnee community.

As from the early 1890s there emerged a shift in the “conditions permitting special roles” (Kopytoff 1965: vii) for the returnees and their descendants in Lagos. The major instigation of that shift was the change in British government policy in favor of classical colonial rule in the Niger basin. British “[p]olicy makers in London ... now assumed that Great Britain would remain in the colony indefinitely and that in future whites would play a larger and educated Africans a smaller part in colonial development” (Mann 1985: 23). Frederick Lugard, the most prominent architect of British colonial efforts and policy in East Africa and the Niger basin who was described by P. C. Lloyd (1960) as “an autocrat, a terrible autocrat, determined to run Nigeria as a one-man show” (in Afigbo 1972: 164) articulated this view in *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922/1965), his primer on classical colonialism in tropical Africa. This development marked an important milestone in the evolution of the authority patterns of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state.

Mr. William MacGregor who was appointed governor of the Colony and “Protectorate” of Lagos in 1899 enacted his Native Councils Ordinance of November 4, 1901 (Afigbo 1971b) which became one of the several practical steps that marked that shift in policy.<sup>103</sup> The ordinance which “set up a Central Native Council to advise the Governor on matters concerning the good government and the well-being of the native

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<sup>103</sup> MacGregor was governor of the Colony and “Protectorate” of Lagos, which included the entire Yorubaland from 1899-1901.



population” (Afigbo 1971b: 440) was roundly criticized by the African members of the Lagos Legislative Council “as an unjustified interference with the rights of internal self-government of the Yoruba states as guaranteed in the various treaties of cession” (Afigbo 1971b: 451). In Lagos, under MacGregor and his predecessor institutions modeled on “British lines ... were dismantled and replaced with chieftaincy institutions” (Nwabughuogu 1981: 66) in Lagos.

William Macgregor’s tenure inaugurated an era in which the bureaucrats in the Colonial Office, London embarked on a conscious effort to reformulate authority patterns in Crown colony Lagos society. That reformulation produced a number of quick shifts in the influence relations in Lagos. The *Saro*, *Amaro*, and western educated Lagosians were quickly shut off from the various positions they held in the civil service and bureaucracy. Force and coercive became the main means through which society was made to comply to directives. New policies were formulated to among other things, reinvent indigenous authority patterns and make them responsive to the dictates of colonial control.

We shall see in the next chapter, how one of them called the “indirect rule” policy was formulated and implemented and used to achieve British state building in the Niger basin. The visible impact of the “indirect rule” policy can be found in Igboland and Yorubaland where it altered aspects of pre-colonial indigenous political systems that promoted responsiveness of leaders to society and the participation of ordinary members of society.

The new policy makers in the British government at the time who favored classical colonial rule in the Niger basin and elsewhere in Africa against the encouragement of participation of indigenes in their affairs suddenly found use for all

forms of racist theories on African inferiority as justification (Ayandele 1974). In Lagos, society was systematically transformed into a racially stratified social unit—different social facilities for Europeans and Africans, substandard social services for Africans, systematic restriction of Africans to only lower level positions with dismal pay in the civil service, etc. (Tamuno 1972; Sptizer 1974, Ayandele 1974, and Mann 1985).

William MacGregor himself was alarmed by the trend which prompted him to declare in two separate letters to the Colonial Secretary in London that: “Segregation would ... be disastrous here” (in Mann 1985: 24).

The story was similar in the realm of business and commerce. According to Anthony Hopkins, “African merchants were able to flourish during the period 1850-1880 because trading conditions at that time gave no overwhelming advantage to large firms” (Hopkins 1973: 203) which were all European concerns. European firms must have been energized by the dawn of a racial situation that favored Europeans and discriminated against Africans, to embark on racially motivated “non-competitive practices in an effort to force African merchants out of business” (Mann 1985: 24). The backlash from that did not augur well for the legitimacy of British authority in Lagos.

The *Saro* and *Amaro* who “had agitated for more vigorous colonial expansion [in the Niger basin] during the 1880s and 1890s, expecting to be Britain’s partners in progress ... had not anticipated the heightened racism that accompanied the change in policy” (Mann 1985: 23). Their notion of themselves as partners in the practice of British authority entered a lapse at the time when the dawn of classical colonial rule and its supporting ideology, structures, and patterns of authority dictated a redefinition of Lagos society and its inhabitants according to racial lines.

Suddenly, all Africans in Lagos became vocal opponents of British authority and a new consciousness among Lagosians with western education began to evolve. Their relations with the representative of the British Crown soured and caused them to embark on different creative and disruptive acts of participation directed at displacing British authority for good. This period coincided with the extension of classical colonial rule to the greater Niger basin, up north and down south under the aegis of the “Protectorate” governments of Southern and Northern “Nigeria”. It was a period that brought the Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani, and others closer to being tied into a single but artificial socio-political arrangement for the first time in their respective political histories.

### **The Period 1896-1906: Colonial Authority Patterns are Extended to the Rest of the Niger Basin**

The extension of colonial authority patterns to the entire Niger basin is synonymous with the ‘second phase of the overthrow of indigenous authority’ in the nationalities that inhabit the areas (Anene 1966). The various architects of classical colonial rule in the Niger basin were faced with the diverse socio-political circumstances that exist in its indigenous societies. However, all of them held fast to a construct quite pervasive at the time amongst Europeans which posits that without proper European supervision and guidance, Africans “were incapable of ensuring good government for their peoples” (Afigbo 1972: 82). That could have accounted for why they proceeded to institute the norm of excluding the inhabitants of the Niger basin from participating in their own governance. But given their relentless energy one could say that their quest to bring the inhabitants of the Niger basin under a single political umbrella was driven by

their desire to exclude them in that process more than anything else. The desire to exclude indigenes from the task of bringing them under one political umbrella became the underlying **rationale**, which informed all the efforts that went into the formulation of the authority patterns as well as influence relations that supported colonial rule in the Niger basin.

Given that underlying **rationale** it must have been clear to the British from the outset that they needed to employ military force to impose colonial rule on the inhabitants of the Niger basin. The outcome of the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 became the watershed event and turning point for all the other events that culminated in the extension of colonial authority patterns to Igboland, Hausaland, and the rest of Yorubaland. The Conference provided a legal seal of approval to participating European states that empowered them to partition and self-allocate Africa.

Thus, sequel to the Berlin Conference the lower and upper portions of the Niger basin were carved into the “Protectorate” governments of Southern “Nigeria” and Northern “Nigeria” respectively. Both polities served as the crucibles in which colonial authority patterns were extended to all inhabitants of the Niger basin. The Igbo, Yoruba and the others that inhabit the lower Niger basin came under the political authority and control of the colonial “Protectorate” government of Southern “Nigeria”. Hausaland and all of upper Niger basin were placed under the authority and control of the colonial “Protectorate” government of Northern “Nigeria”. Each of these two new political entities was placed under the charge and control of a British “High Commissioner”.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Frederick Lugard who personally led the military campaigns of conquest against the Fulani and the nationalities of the upper Niger was made the first “High Commissioner” of the “Protectorate” government of Northern “Nigeria” and Ralph Moor was appointed to control the “Protectorate” colonial government of Southern “Nigeria”.

The nature of military force employed in the conquest of and exercise of colonial authority over the Igbo, the Yoruba and the Hausa-Fulani varied in intensity and regularity reflecting each nationality's political system and authority patterns.

In Igboland where the political system was decentralized, and the authority patterns were deeply democratic, military coercion was regular, intense, and extremely punitive during conquest and throughout the course of colonial rule. The refusal of Igboland's countless independent political units to submit to alien conquest presented the British with a big problem. In almost every case a community that was invaded was quick to reassert itself as soon as the invading forces left.

The necessity for regular military patrols to coincide with the beginning of each dry season was therefore there from the outset and remained for quite some time (Tamuno 1972, Anene 1966). Furthermore, because of their deeply democratic authority patterns most Igbo communities refused to submit to colonialism. That refusal attracted intense and brutal use of military coercion against many communities in Igboland (Ekechi 1971, 1983). Table 4.1 which shows the various incidents in Igboland that involved the deployment of British-led forces in the period 1886-1957 provides concrete support for the argument made above.

Yorubaland's characteristic centralized authority patterns and large political organizations were factors that made the use of military coercion quite perfunctory during the period of pacification. The Anglo-Ijebu war of 1892 was about the only high intensity military engagement in Yorubaland during colonial conquest (Afigbo 1971b). Centralized authority patterns provided the British with identifiable occupants of

authority positions with whom they “treated”. That explains why “treaties” featured prominently in the extension of colonial authority in Yorubaland.

Incidents that involved British Military Forces in Igboland During Pacification and Colonial Rule			
Year	Nationality Involved	Target	Type of Incident
1886-1899	Several nationalities in the upper and lower Niger	Britain’s Royal Niger Company	Several acts of armed resistance numbering about fifty (50)
November 1901- March 1902	Arochukwu and the Igbo heartland, lower Niger	British Authority	Several acts of armed resistance numbering about thirty (30)
1902, 1903	Ogwashi Ukwu, Onisha, Ezi Asaba in western Igboland	British authority	Several acts of armed revolt numbering about three (3)
June-August 1906	Owa and Agbo in western Igboland, lower Niger	British Authority	Two (2) armed revolts
November 1909-May 1910	Ogwashi Ukwu and other parts of western Igboland, lower Niger	British Authority	Three (3) guerrilla insurrections
November 1914	Warri, Kwale, Urhoboland, and western Igboland, lower Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supranational state and its authority	Five (5) armed rebellions
November 1914-February 1915	Onitisha, Udi, Okigwi, Afikpo, Bende, Aba in the Igbo heartland in the lower Niger, and parts of the neighboring Igalaland in the upper Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supranational state and its authority	Seven (7) armed rebellions
1929	Igbo, and all the nationalities in the southeast, lower Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supranational state and its authority	Extensive anti-taxation uprising
1949	Enugu, and other townships in the lower Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supranational state and its authority	<i>b</i> Strikes (36) involving 47,000 workers
1950	Townships in the lower Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supranational state and its authority	<i>b</i> Strikes (26) involving 26,000 workers
1957	Townships in southeast lower Niger—Enugu, Onitsha, Port Harcourt	The British and the ‘Nigerian’ supranational state	Riots

Table 4.1: Incidents that involved the use of armed forces in Igboland 1886-1957. *b* Figures include strikes that took place in townships in Yorubaland. Sources: *Annual Colonial Reports* 1916, 1916, 1950, Haywood and Clarke (1969), and others.

But like the Igbo, the democratic authority patterns of the Yoruba were factors that disposed them towards mounting resistance against colonial authority—see Table 4.2. Communities in Yorubaland were regular objects of punitive military treatments which were as unsettling as those that were meted out to the Igbo.

Incidents that involved British Military Forces in Yorubaland During Pacification and Colonial Rule			
Year	Nationality Involved	Targeted Author	Type of Incident
1892	The Ijebu Yoruba in the lower Niger	Lagos Colony Government	Armed resistance
January-February 1897	Ilorin (northern Yorubaland, lower Niger)	British Authority	Armed resistance
August 1914	Egba Yoruba in the lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its authority	Extensive demonstrations, and riots
October-November 1916	Oyo Yoruba, in the lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state, its authority and the <i>Alafin</i>	Bloody armed revolt
1918	Egba Yoruba, lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state	Extensive armed revolt

Table 4.2: Incidents that involved the use of armed forces in Yorubaland 1886-1957. Sources: *Annual Colonial Reports* 1916, 1916, 1950, Haywood and Clarke (1969), and others.

As for Hausaland, Frederick Lugard's conquest of the Fulani Caliphate Empire in 1904 and the military campaign in 1906 to suppress the Satiru uprising, were about the only high intensity military engagements embarked on by the British to impose their authority in that part of the upper Niger. We can attribute that to the Caliphate Empire's highly centralized and large-scale political organization, which was based on extremely

autocratic authority patterns. All that Frederick Lugard did on the heels of his military defeat of the last of the Fulani armies was to summon and address the Fulani rulers on the plains outside the city of Sokoto to make it clear to them that he was their conqueror. In contrast to the Igbo and the Yoruba, members of the Fulani ruling classes were quick to reconcile themselves to British conquest. They even identified them as benefactors. Ahmadu Bello made all that clear in his autobiography when he said: “Whatever the rights and wrongs of the attack on Kano and Sokoto may be, the British were the instrument of destiny and were fulfilling the will of God.<sup>105</sup> In their way they did it well. Even at the actual time there was no ill-will after the occupation. We were used to conquerors and these were different: they were polite and obviously out to help us rather than themselves” (Bello 1962: 17). What followed was the alliance which he initiated with them, which guaranteed political performance in that portion of the Niger basin during and ever since the end of colonial rule. Most of the revolts and incidents that erupted thereafter in the upper Niger were in areas outside the core of the Caliphate society and directed at Frederick Lugard and his Fulani allies (Dorward 1969, Tamuno 1972: 60, and Osuntokun 1979: 144-8)—see Table 4.3. According to Tamuno, several parts of the upper Niger witnessed “instances of stiff and prolonged resistance. The people of the Benue valley, particularly the Idoma and the Tiv, and others who inhabited the foothills of the Benue Plateau and the plains and mountains of southern Adamawa witnessed punitive expeditions and patrols of the classical type until the 1930s. The Tiv

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<sup>105</sup> Bello was referring to the legendary prophesy by a Fulani Islamic cleric who proclaimed in 1803 when the *jihad* began that “the Fulani Empire would last for one hundred years” (Bello 1962: 17). According to Bello, “No one then was greatly surprised when its end came on the grazing ground outside Sokoto almost exactly one hundred years later” in 1904 (Bello 1962: 17). This tendency to wrap themselves and their involvements in messianic motifs is an age-old practice by the Fulani.



provided the best example of prolonged resistance and bloody reprisals in these areas”  
(Tamuno 1972: 60).

Incidents that involved British Military Forces in the Upper Niger During Pacification and Colonial Rule			
Year	Nationality Involved	Targeted Author	Type of Incident
1886-1899	Several nationalities in the upper and lower Niger	Britain's Royal Niger Company	Several acts of armed resistance numbering about fifty (50)
January-February 1897	Bida (Upper Niger), Ilorin (northern Yorubaland, lower Niger)	British Authority	One (1) armed resistance
August-September 1900	Yola in the upper Niger	British Authority	One (1) armed resistance
February-May 1900	Kaduna, Gurara, and Okwa in the upper Niger	British Authority	Armed resistance (3)
December 1900 and January-February 1901	Bida/Kontagora in the upper Niger	British Authority	Armed resistance (2)
February-March 1906	Satiru, upper Niger	The British and their allies, the Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt (1)
April 1906	Hadeija in Hausaland, upper Niger	The British and their allies, the Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt (1)
February-March 1906	Tivland, upper Niger	The British and their allies, the Fulani ruling classes	Arevolt (1)
December 1908	Yonkwala and surround nationalities, upper Niger	The British	Armed resistance (3)
November 1914	Kabba, Ilorin, Mada, Nasarawa—the “semi-Islamized” parts of the upper Niger that were forced into the new Caliphate areas	The British and their Fulani allies	Armed rebellion (4)
1915	Kontagora, upper Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt (1)
1915	Kano, Bornu in Hausaland, upper Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt (2)
1915	Kano, Bauchi, Bornu	The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, its authority and the	Armed revolt (3)

		avored Fulani ruling classes	
May 1915-1916	Muri in the upper Niger	The 'Nigerian' supranational state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt (1)
1915	Montoil, in the upper Niger	The 'Nigerian' supranational state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt (1)
1915	Sokoto Emirate	The 'Nigerian' supranational state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt (1)
1929	Tivland, upper Niger	The British and their Fulani allies	Armed revolt (extensive)
1948, 1960, 1963	Tivland, upper Niger	The British and their Fulani allies	Armed revolt (extensive)

Table 4.3: Incidents that involved the use of armed forces in the entire upper Niger 1886-1957. Sources: *Annual Colonial Reports* 1916, 1916, 1950, Haywood and Clarke (1969), and others.

In the “Protectorate” of Southern “Nigeria” “the Royal Instructions of 1 January 1900<sup>106</sup> which the British considered the “legal” instrument that instituted their political authority and control over the nationalities that inhabit the lower Niger basin did not provide for executive and legislative councils [as was the case in the Crown colony of Lagos]. These Instructions vested all powers and jurisdiction acquired (sic) by the Crown in this protectorate in a High Commissioner” (Tamuno 1966: 4). Governance in each “Protectorate” was essentially ‘a one man show’ (Egerton 1904 in Tamuno 1966: 4) under an autocratic “High Commissioner”.

<sup>106</sup> C. O. 380/152, Royal Instructions to Moor, 1 January 1900 (in Tamuno 1966).

Ralph Moor, the “High Commissioner” in the South at the time was open about his resentment of the authority patterns in the colony of Lagos. In 1901 he decried ‘the tendency at present in part of Nigeria (Lagos) [that] appears to lead to the position that the native element backed up perhaps by the local commercial community determine (sic) the legislative action that can be taken by the Administration’ (in Tamuno 1966: 4). He expressed his apprehension that ‘If this position advances a step further ... the territories of Nigeria will be ruled piecemeal by and for the native...’ (in Tamuno 1966:4). Moor’s preference, which he implemented during his tenure as “High Commissioner”, was ‘absolute’ colonial rule (in Tamuno 1966: 4). He considered himself the best-qualified interpreter of the interests of indigenes. His discomfort may have been caused by the fear of “the influence educated Africans ... exercised ... at [the] time in the neighbouring Lagos” (Tamuno 1966: 5-6) colony. The colony was finally absorbed by the “Protectorate’ of Southern “Nigeria” in 1906.

### **1900-12: The Evolution of Lugardism in the Upper Niger Basin**

We must conduct a closer assessment of the authority patterns that Frederick Lugard instituted during his tour as the first “High Commissioner” in the “Protectorate” government of Northern “Nigeria” (Nwabughuogu 1981: 90). The necessity and logic for such a closer assessment derives from the rationale that Frederick Lugard wasted no time to extend the same patterns and system of rule to the rest of the Niger basin after the amalgamation of the two “Nigerias” in 1914. Together, the amalgamation and Frederick Lugard’s tenure as governor-general epitomized the consolidation of the authority of a

unitary supra-national state over all the nationalities that inhabit the upper and lower Niger.

Single-handedly, in the period from 1900-6, Frederick Lugard built a new state in the upper Niger (Afigbo 1965). He formulated authority patterns and influence relations resembling those of the Fulani rulers of the Caliphate state, with which he projected British colonial authority in that region (Hubbard 2000, Perham 1968). It is not surprising at all that Frederick Lugard recognized almost immediately that authority patterns and influence relations in Fulani-ruled Hausaland contained almost all the traits that he needed to build an imperial outpost in the Niger basin for Britain. It is in that light that we can best understand his disregard for all nationalities in the upper Niger (with the exception of the Fulani) and his determination to use the “indirect rule” policy to extend Hausa-Fulani-type authority patterns over them.

When he reasoned that he would bring them into civilization (Lugard 1904) through centralized autocratic control, he meant that their indigenous systems of governance lacked similar traits. Furthermore, he meant that the materialization of his desire to establish colonial authority and control over them depended solely on the extent to which he accomplished the task of extending Hausa-Fulani-type authority patterns to their society (Nwabughuogu 1981).

He spelt out the germ of his projected desire for the inhabitants of the upper Niger in a speech he gave on March 21, 1903 to a gathering of Fulani rulers comprising the new Sultan of Sokoto and *Sarkin Muslimi*, and his councilors.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> ‘... The old treaties are dead, you have killed them. Now these are the words which I, the “High Commissioner”, have to say for the future. The Fulani in old times under Dan Fodio conquered this country. They took the right to rule over it, to levy taxes, to depose kings and to create kings. They in turn have by defeat lost their rule which has come into

According to Kirk-Greene, “Many of the basic principles of indirect rule ... in the emirates are to be found in it, and some of the features have survived the colonial period and persisted through independence (Kirk-Greene 1965: 6).

As “High Commissioner”, Frederick Lugard “centralize[d] power in his own hands” (Flint 1969: 252 in Afigbo 1972: 164) and situated himself as the supreme legislative and executive authority over the upper Niger basin which he equated to the

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the hands of the British. All these things which I have said the Fulani by conquest took the right to do now pass to the British. Every Sultan and Emir and the principal officers of state will be appointed by the “High Commissioner” throughout all this country. The “High Commissioner” will be guided by the usual laws of succession and the wishes of the people and chiefs, but will set them aside if he desires for good cause to do so. The Emirs and Chiefs who are appointed will rule over the people as of old time and take such taxes as are approved by the “High Commissioner”, but they will obey the laws of the Governor and will act in accordance with the advice of the Resident.... It is forbidden to import firearms (except flint-locks), and there are other minor matters which the Resident will explain. The Alkalis and Emirs will hold the law courts as of old but bribes are forbidden, and mutilation and confinement of men in inhuman prisons are not lawful. The powers for each Court will be contained in a warrant appointing it. Sentences of death will not be carried out without the consent of the Resident.

The Government will, in future, hold the rights in land which the Fulani took by conquest from the people, and if Government requires land it will take it for any purpose. The Government holds the right of taxation, and will tell the Emirs and Chiefs what taxes they may levy, and what part of them must be paid to Government. The Government will have the right to all minerals, but the people may dig for iron and work in it subject to the approval of the “High Commissioner”, and may take salt and other minerals subject to any excise imposed by law. Traders will not be taxed by Chiefs but only Government. The coinage of the British will be accepted as legal tender, and a rate of exchange for cowries fixed, in consultation with Chiefs, and they will enforce it.

When an Emirate, or an office of state, becomes vacant, it will only be filled with the consent of the “High Commissioner”, and the person chosen by the council of Chiefs and approved by the “High Commissioner” will hold his place only on condition that he obeys the laws of the Protectorate and the conditions of his appointment. Government will in no way interfere with the Mohammedan religion. All men are free to worship God as they please. Mosques and prayer places will be treated with respect by us. Every person, including slaves, has the right to appeal to the Resident, who will, however, endeavour to uphold the power of the native courts to deal with native cases according to the law and custom of the country. If slaves are ill-treated they will be set free as your Koran orders, otherwise Government does not desire to interfere with existing domestic relations. But slaves set free must be willing to work and not remain idle or become

just conquered Fulani Sokoto Caliphate Empire. He responded only to the Colonial Secretary in the Colonial Office, London. He designated the *Emirates* in the now defunct Caliphate Empire as administrative “Provinces” and called them “Native Authorities”. Each *Emir* became the principal sole “Native Authority” atop a hierarchy of “five grades of chiefs” (Afigbo 1971b: 444) who became his sole “Native Authorities”<sup>108</sup>. Each “Province” was entrusted to a British Resident who reported directly to the “High Commissioner”. Although an *Emir* was meant to be the sole “Native Authority” in his *Emirate*, he was still subordinated to the Resident. The “Provinces” were in turn apportioned into “Divisions” each of which was entrusted to a “Division Officer” or D. O. However, in reality, the D. O. “actually ruled the Native Authorities [in his Division. He was the] undisputed prince, combining in his person legislative, executive, and judicial roles” (Ola 1968: 236). All “Division Officers” in a “Province” were placed under the administrative supervision and control of the “Resident” to whom they reported directly. However, all directives in the “Protectorate” emanated exclusively from Frederick Lugard himself.

The coverage of Frederick Lugard’s highly regimented directives was comprehensive, and their latitude was specific. Even *Emirs* were required to “observe rules” (Smith 1964: 185). He relied on elaborate machinery to ensure close supervision

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thieves. The Resident may give permits to trustworthy men to bear arms. ... (Kirk-Green 1965: 43-4).

<sup>108</sup> Frederick Lugard formulated and administered an oath of office to these “Native Authorities” that ran as follows: “I, swear, in the name of Allah and Muhammad his prophet, to serve well and truly His Majesty King Edward VII and his representative, the “High Commissioner” of Northern Nigeria, to obey the laws of the Protectorate and the lawful commands of the “High Commissioner” and of the Resident, provided they are not contrary to my religion. And if they are contrary, I will at once inform the Resident for the information of the “High Commissioner”. I will cherish in my heart no treachery or

of his directives. The sanction threshold attracted by the violation of each directive was quite severe. He believed that indigenous peoples were incapable of participating in their own governance, and his 'self-sustained' power absolved him of every responsiveness to the people he administered, thanks to the "efficient army" (Bull 1963: 47) and police that he created and deployed often to exact submissiveness from the subject peoples. In deed, he found "good" use for the Fulani system (Adeleye 1972: 209). As Afigbo (1971b: 444) rightly observed, he tried to bring the inhabitants of the upper Niger under effective control by "collaborating with another imperially minded race".

As he stated in his Sokoto address, he strongly believed that conquest of the Fulani imbued the "rights" of control and oversight over them on him. He exercised the last word of veto over all matters including appointments in every "Native Authority". His "Residents" were *de facto* autocrats who simply dictated to the *Emirs* and in most cases did not even care to consult them prior to embarking on policies (Ayandele 1966). In a 1907 dispatch to Frederick Lugard, "Resident" Burdon proudly asserted "an undoubted fact that the wishes of the Government, expressed through the residents, are carried out to the letter without any question by the various Emirs" (Burdon to Lugard 1/11/1907 in Ayandele 1966: 516). Involved were two sets of autocratic authority patterns—Fulani and colonial—that shared consonance within as well as congruence amongst one another to elicit satisfactory or good political performance within certain parts of the polity. So much so that "many of the Residents" (Ayandele 1966: 516) proclaimed a 'sentimental attachment for traditional culture' of the Caliphate society (Ayandele 1966).

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disloyalty, and I will rule my people with justice, and without partiality. And as I carry out this oath, so may Allah judge me" (Afigbo 1971b: 444-5).

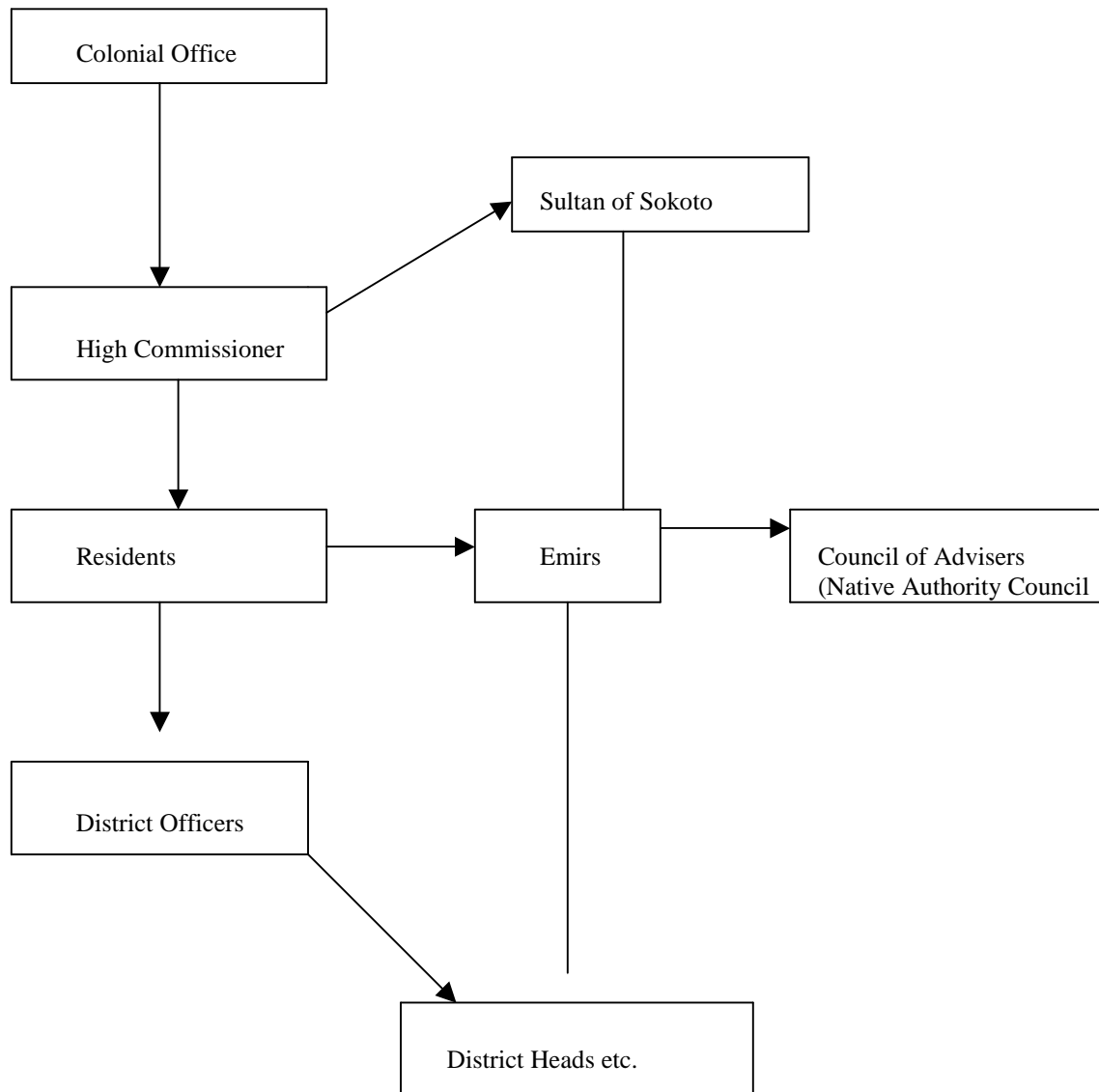


Figure 4.2: Lugardian authority patterns in colonial Hausaland

The Sultan who presided over Fulani authority in pre-colonial Caliphate society was effectively displaced “by Lugard and his successors as the immediate suzerain of the Emirs” (Smith 1964: 186) and as we mentioned earlier, “each Emir [became] sole Native Authority for his chiefdom, and responsible for its good order and discipline through the



Provincial Resident” (Smith 1964: 186) and of course the “High Commissioner”,<sup>109</sup> who was also the ultimate authority in the over all.

Frederick Lugard derived the legitimacy for his authority “to levy taxes, to depose kings and to create kings” (Kirk-Greene 1965: 43) in Hausaland from a single source: “right of conquest, the very claim of the Fulani themselves a century before” (Kirk-Greene 1965: 6). Again, as governor-general of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, Frederick Lugard and his successors invoked the same ‘right of conquest’ as the only ‘basis of legitimacy’ for their extensive authority. In the post-colonial period subsequent military actors who have exercised authority in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state have all invoked the same ‘right’ as the sole basis of legitimacy for their own rule.

In spite of their subservient status under British colonial administrators, the Fulani rulers were hardly perturbed. There were reasons for that. One such reason is that their alliance with the British fostered the common objective of perpetuating the stifling of popular participation in the affairs of the Caliphate society. In fact, “Relations between the Fulani and the British remained cordial, with little thought [between them] of increasing popular participation in local government” (Smith 1964: 186). As it was in the pre-colonial era when Dan Fodio, his brother Abdullahi and his son Bello formulated and issued all “doctrine and orders” (Smith 1964: 173), through their lieutenants in Arabic, Frederick Lugard issued his directives as confidential Memoranda addressed to his staff (Smith 1964, Kirk-Greene 1965). In both situations the conquered peoples were largely kept ignorant of their “conquerors’ written doctrine and instructions” (Smith 1964: 173) on how they must be controlled.

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<sup>109</sup> See Government of Nigeria, *Ordinance to Prescribe the Powers and Duties of Native Authorities*, No. 40 (1933) and *Ordinance for Administration of Justice and the*

Frederick Lugard was particularly careful that “Very little information was passed on to the public about the aims, methods, rules and tasks of the various administrative agencies” (Smith 1964: 186). That was purposeful and deliberate—“his rules regulating communications between British administrators and the subjects protected the native officials by minimizing opportunities for complaint” (Smith 1964: 186). That was an effective way of shielding rulers from responsiveness in their influence relations with members of the larger society. Because of the expectation that complaints from subordinates in society can elicit some form of feedback from the leadership in a social unit, in the E-G scheme complaint is articulated as a logical link between the *Participation* and *Responsiveness* dimensions (Eckstein and Gurr 1975). Authority that stifles participation and complaints from subordinate members of society is bound to be unresponsive too. Frederick Lugard’s deliberate efforts to impede members of the larger society from all access to information on his ‘practice of authority’ are akin to the erection of impediments to channels of *Participation*. Irrespective of how trivial it may be, information on the ‘practice of authority’ in any society is the fuel that energizes the participation of people in the socio-political organization of their society. These assertions put the Caliphate and the colonial authority patterns into the same autocratic and unresponsive slot.

Another reason that underlay the cordial relations between the British and the Fulani rulers was that the former “guaranteed the security and hereditary positions of” (Smith 1964: 185) the latter. The Fulani rulers were a buffer that protected colonial rule and its practitioners from the ire of the masses of people in the Caliphate society. That buffer bound the two authority patterns together. Thus, during colonial rule practitioners

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*Constitution of Native Courts*, No. 44 (1933) in Smith 1964: 186).

of authority in Hausaland were linked in a “mutually beneficial alliance” (Adeleye 1972: 210) at the expense of the *talakawa* who remained “tied to their farms as serfs or peasants, and having limited interests or rights in their government” (Smith 1964: 170). The set-up produced a performance-enabling social climate for colonial rule in the Caliphate society. Furthermore, it was “[b]ecause British personnel were spared the opprobrium that could arise from regular confrontation with members of the masses” (Adeleye 1972: 210), that the “Protectorate” colonial government was able to consolidate its authority from the outset and all the way throughout the period of colonial rule. That can explain the apparent success of colonial rule in the “Northern Provinces” as opposed to the South.

Since the pre-*jihad* era, in addition to being an instrument for raising revenue for rulers and state, taxation affirmed the asymmetry between rulers and subjects in Hausaland. Frederick Lugard alluded to that in his Sokoto address to the assembled Fulani rulers. There have always been various types of taxation (Smith 1964) including the *gaisuwa* which is plainly a form of bribe that lubricated super-ordinate-subordinate influence relations in Hausa-Fulani society. After their *jihad* the Fulani rulers retained the taxation system and practice that existed, initiated the practice of taxing their pagan subjects “according to the degree of their subjection” (Perham 1937: 52). Frederick Lugard was therefore aware of the role that taxation played in authority relations between super-ordinate individuals and subordinates in Hausa-Fulani society. By virtue of the taxation that he imposed he sent the clear message to the Fulani rulers and their subjects that they must submissively comply with his directives. “Payment”, therefore, “implicitly recognized the British authority to levy tax” (Smith 1964: 184) and to rule.

He left the *giasuwa* in place and consolidated all other types of tax into two—“the *haraji* due from sedentary folk and *jagali*, payable in cash, from the cattle nomads .... [which were] assessed as a lump sum due from each village head “ (Smith 1964: 184). Frederick Lugard was therefore able to enhance all asymmetry in the governmental and non-governmental patterns in Hausaland through the “indirect rule” system.

Frederick Lugard’s policy of “indirect rule” ensured smooth intercourse between the two authority patterns which preserved all aspects of government-subject linkage such as the taxation system, the patronage-clientage system, etc. in the Caliphate society. The perpetuation of the one system through which surplus value was expropriated from the *talakawa* for the upkeep of rulers, and another that enabled the rigid asymmetry that divides society into super-ordinates (rulers) and subordinates (subjects) during colonial rule underscored the *congruence* between Fulani rule and colonialism. There was therefore no wonder why colonial rule instigated extensive revolts in Fulani-subjugated tutelage areas and Tivland for instance—see Table 4.3, but failed to do the same in core Caliphate areas of the “Protectorate” of Northern “Nigeria”.

Furthermore, the British relied on the cordial relationship that evolved between them and the Fulani rulers to sow the seeds of new social patterns that germinated and quickly blossomed into formidable props for the practice of autocratic authority in Hausaland during and after colonialism. Two good examples that come to mind in that regard are their (i) preservation and accommodation of Islam, and (ii) their micro-management of education policy in the “Protectorate”.

**The Period 1914-60: Lugardism and the Transformation of Colonial Authority**  
**Patterns in the Lower Niger Basin—Igboland and Yorubaland**

For several reasons that we will soon furnish in the discourse the scenario of events in the upper Niger was dramatically different from the one that unfolded among the Igbo and the Yoruba and in the rest of the lower Niger. The differences that exist in the political system and political organization that prevailed in the two nationalities will be used to account for that divergence. For one, decades of trading and several years of evangelist activities in the lower Niger provided British personnel with extensive data and experience on its inhabitants. The crop of actors—lawyers, evangelists, traders, etc. and other facets of liberal England—who were attracted by Britain’s colonial involvement in the lower Niger started things quite differently (Nicolson 1969). But the logic of colonial rule dictated that they overlook and suppress all democratic components of indigenous authority patterns they came in contact with. Later day actors like Frederick Lugard and most of those that operated in upper Niger were conservative Victorian gentlemen who disdained liberalism and were attracted to colonial service by the peculiarities of Fulani authority in Hausaland that they embraced and incorporated into the colonial state they built (Nicolson 1969). The conservative orientation of those Victorian gentlemen made them even more disdainful of nationalities in the lower Niger who they labeled primitive on account of the democratic traits in their indigenous authority patterns.

The impeded channels of *Participation* inherent in colonialism’s governmental authority patterns quickly drove many in Igboland and Yorubaland into various modes of creative—and often disruptive—acts of participation from the very outset. The modes of

those acts were both ‘varied’ and ‘strenuous’. In Igboland particularly, those acts initially came in the form of armed resistance, but over the course of time, they waned and assumed the modes of ‘indifference’ and “passive resistance” (Afigbo 1971b: 451). In spite of Christianity’s great demands on a people whose governmental and non-governmental authority patterns are intricately intertwined with their own traditional religion, the adoption of Christianity was a *group action* by Igbo communities and individuals alike to protect themselves from the abusive excesses of colonial authority (Ekechi 1971). The penchant of some European missionaries to stand up to abusive colonial autocrats became an incentive for defiant communities to embrace Christianity in Igboland. The adoption of the Christian faith provided them with immunity against violent military patrols and expeditions, and spared them from wanton exactions of forced labor, floggings, and imprisonment under the Collective Punishment Ordinance (Ekechi 1971). Over the course of time both the Igbo and the Yoruba took advantage of the western education that they acquired from Christian missionary agencies and embarked on the next phase of their creative acts of participation in defiance of colonial authority (Afigbo 1971b).

Among the Igbo and in Yorubaland—excluding the Crown colony of Lagos—British political authority continued its evolution under the aegis of the “Protectorate” government of Southern “Nigeria”, into which the parts of the Niger basin controlled by the Royal Niger Company and the Foreign Office respectively were consolidated in 1899. Unlike the Yoruba whose indigenous political system was centralized, which the British erroneously felt was straightforward and quite amenable to

classical colonial rule and control, the intricately complex political systems and supporting structures of Nd'Igbo presented the British with a huge political

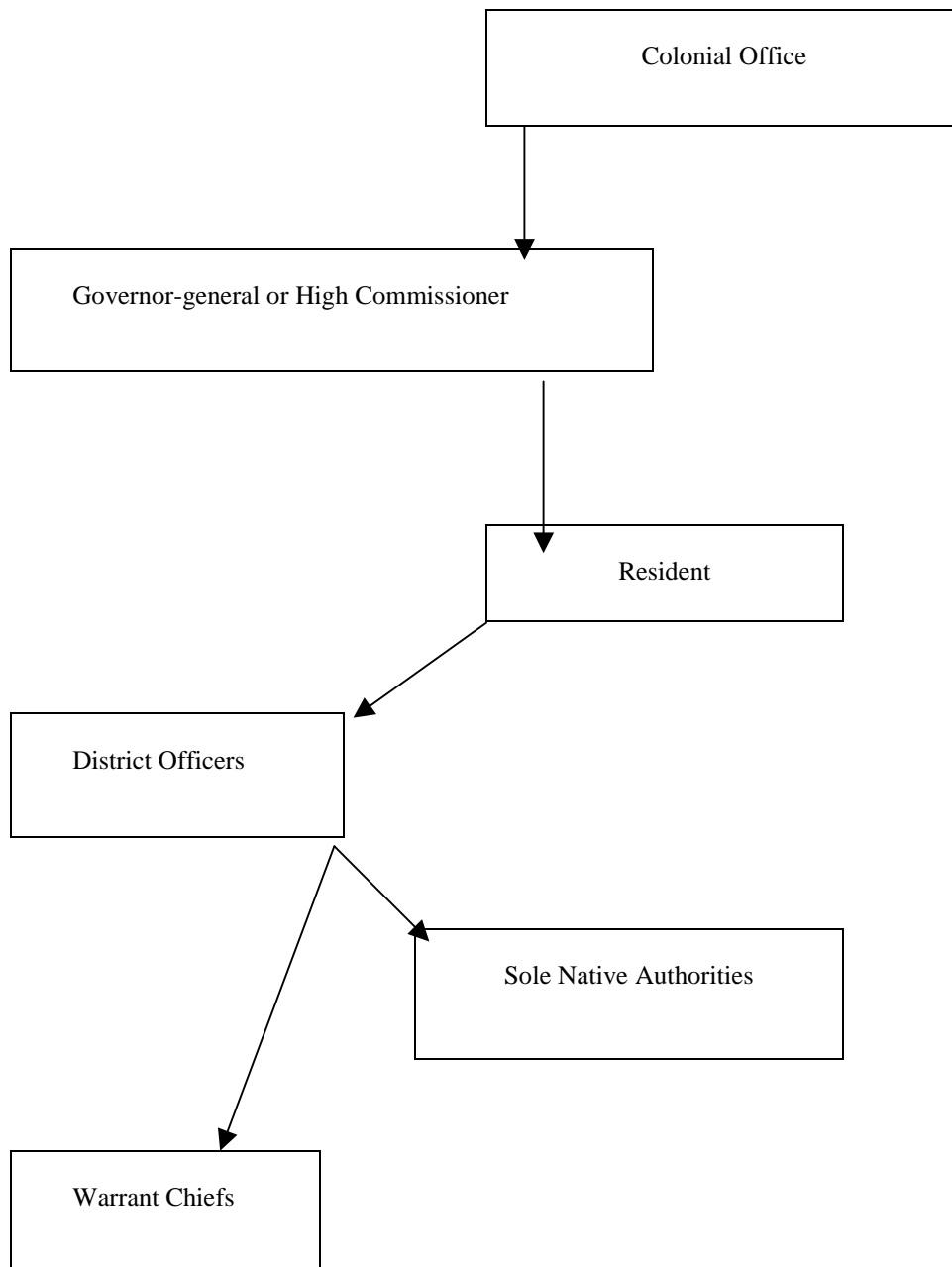


Figure 4.3: Lugardian authority patterns in colonial Igboland and Yorubaland

and administrative challenge. Unfortunately, that challenge was perceived in quite a simplistic way, hence the manner in which British colonial administrators proceeded to address it.

Based on the mistaken conviction that political authority in the various Igbo villages resided in individual “headmen” or “chiefs” the “Protectorate” government of Southern “Nigeria” proceeded to “introduce the Warrant Chief System” (Afigbo 1966: 540) of rule which sidetracked indigenous political “institutions and work[ed] at cross-purposes to them” (Afigbo 1971b: 443). Under this system, “warrants” were given to individuals in an arbitrary fashion. The “warrant” chiefs were designated to take part in hearing cases in “Native Courts” (Afigbo 1966). The “Warrant” became the power as well as authority for anyone who received it from the “Protectorate” colonial government (Afigbo 1967). While the “British regarded the warrant as a recognition of an authority which its holder was supposed to enjoy by traditional right ...[,] in popular usage a *warrant* chief meant a chief whose only source of authority was the *warrant*” (Afigbo 1971b: 443). Thus, in all Igbo communities, all “warrant” chiefs were regarded as illegitimate agents of an illegitimate alien authority, which exacted compliance to its directives on the people, by the use or the threat of force. The “warrant” chiefs exercised their authority by force. In most cases people refused to even submit but resolved to dig themselves firmly on the points of ‘indifference’ or ‘insubordination’. In several parts of the Igbo hinterland the “Native Courts” in which the “warrant” chiefs functioned were established on the heels of punitive expeditions “to further keep the people under close government surveillance” (Ekechi 1974: 155). In conception and practice the “warrant



chief” system and the “Native Courts” were both affronts to the authority pattern of Nd’Igbo.

Some of the individuals who were given the “warrants” “were the traditional ritual heads of their villages” (Afigbo 1966: 541). The rest were either misfits who were otherwise unqualified to speak for their communities or “just ordinary young men of no special standing in indigenous society who had been pushed forward for the specific purpose of parleying with the white man” (Afigbo 1966: 541). As we established elsewhere, being a ritual head in traditional Igbo society did not imbue sole executive authority on anyone. In those instances where the “warrants” were given to traditional ritual heads of village groups or clans, their recipients consequently became and were seen as agents of illegitimate alien authority, which augured quite badly for the ‘personal legitimacy’ of such “warrant” chiefs. The Igbo believed that the new political order violated their indigenous authority patterns by imposing sole executive power on “warrant chiefs” (Afigbo 1966: 541). Moreover, lumping autonomous political units together under the “Native Courts” violated the legendary sovereignty of respective village units and compromised political performance in Igboland and within the supra-national state itself.

The only “native” aspect of the “Native Courts” was the “warrant chiefs” in the sense that they were indigenous men. The real authority over each “Native Court” was the District Commissioner who was appointed the *ex-officio* president by the “High Commissioner”. The laws that were administered in the “Native Courts” were handed down directly from the “High Commissioner”, and the “Court” proceedings were British and “guided by detailed regulations drawn by the law officers” (Afigbo 1966: 541) of the

“Protectorate” government. As appointees of the colonial authority the “warrant chiefs”, their Court Clerks and Court Messengers or *Kotima* saw themselves “as dispensing a ‘new type of justice’” (Afigbo 1966: 542) that lacked the need for responsiveness on their part. They operated as agents of an authority that existed above the people. There were two grades of “Native Courts”. The first or “Minor Courts” were just below the “Native Councils by virtue of the fact that the former was presided by a “warrant chief” while the latter was presided over by a British District Commissioner or District Officer (Afigbo 1972).

In Yorubaland the centralized position of the chief of state became the basis for implementing the “indirect rule” policy in each Yoruba polity. The chiefs of state became the presidents of the “Native Courts” in their polity, which gave them “more powers than they should exercise under traditional constitutions and so estranged them from their councils” (Afigbo 1971: 457) and community. Their detachment from indigenous Yoruba authority patterns was leavened by their placement under British “Residents”.

Colonial authority patterns in the entire Niger basin were subsequently consolidated and centralized in the “Nigeria” supra-national state. The amalgamation—which will be analyzed later in the chapter on British state building policies—was utilized to consolidate and centralize colonial authority and merge the two colonial administrative polities in 1914.

Amalgamation helped Frederick Lugard who became the Governor-general<sup>110</sup> of amalgamated “Nigeria to preserve the authority patterns he built and nurtured in the

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<sup>110</sup> Frederick Lugard created this “strongly authoritarian position” (Flint 1969 in Afigbo 1972: 164) for himself in the amalgamation of the two “Nigerias”. He convinced the

upper Niger and extend them to the lower Niger (Afigbo 1967, 1972, Perham 1937). Lagosians credit him with inaugurating and presiding over the “damn-nigger era” (Duffield 1971: 258-9) in Anglo-West African relations. The construction of colonial authority patterns in the lower and upper Niger was a personalized accomplishment of the individual colonial actors, particularly Frederick Lugard, the principal state builder. Frederick Lugard was deeply improvisational in the formulation of the directives as he went along. More than anything else, he seemed to have been guided by his personal tastes and prejudice. As “High Commissioner” he explained his aversion for a single rational-legal system in the upper Niger with the two shifty excuses that it would alienate the Fulani rulers, and create ambiguity in the administration of justice in the Caliphate society (Afigbo 1971b: 445). He allowed the Fulani rulers to retain their age-old Islamic Alkali courts, which functioned without over-sight by his political staff. When he became governor-general he scrapped the existing single-legal system in the lower Niger and replaced it with the dual contraption he developed in Hausaland for the different reason that a single legal system under the Supreme Court would introduce alien values into and destabilize “‘primitive’ communities” (Afigbo 1967: 693). The precedence that Frederick Lugard and the rest set in personalizing the formulation of directives became an unfortunate legacy that survived into the post-colonial era. There is hardly a post-colonial political actor in the supra-national state who does not indulge in the art of creative formulation of directives to suit his definition of “legal”.

We will illuminate the authority patterns of the supra-national state a little further by conducting a more thorough assessment of the *Political Memoranda*, the compendium

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Colonial Office to let him remain in charge even during his extended annual leave. Thus, an office was reserved for him in the Foreign Office building in London from where he

of directives that Frederick Lugard formulated during his time as “High Commissioner” and applied to all parts of the Niger basin when he became governor-general. The aim here is to use the E-G scheme to assess the *Memoranda* comparative to the Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani.

When we extrapolate from the definition of *Directiveness*—“the extent to which superiors attempt to influence the behavior of members of a social unit by means of directives” (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 53)—the *Memoranda* epitomized attempts to comprehensively influence the behavior of the inhabitants of the Niger basin. In the context of the E-G scheme the coverage of the *Memoranda* was comprehensive. Frederick Lugard’s Ordinances and Regulations touched every aspect of life in the supra-national state. Some of if not all of them still prevail in “Nigeria’s” statute books.<sup>111</sup> As we mentioned somewhere earlier, Frederick Lugard was the sole legislative and executive authority. He only delegated the enforcement of his directives to his staff. The *Memoranda* contained his personal explanations of and his views of each directive. They contained his suggestions on how each one could best be applied. The ‘sanction threshold’ of the *Memoranda* was quite ‘severe’ for everyone involved including his lieutenants. He was specific that only he can amend, and that no one may depart from the stipulations of the *Memoranda*. He also decreed that attempts made in that regard would attract severe sanctions.

The extreme asymmetry between the British colonial administrators and the colonized nationalities was evident in the non-involvement of indigenous peoples or their representatives in the formulation of the *Memoranda*. His meticulous efforts to avoid

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continued to rule his “Nigeria” during his annual leave.

responsiveness by circulating them only to his staff has been discussed above. Unlike in the Caliphate where a docile population cared less about how it was governed, Frederick Lugard's style for subjecting every aspect of their lives to specific directives provoked considerable resentment in Igboland and Yorubaland where *Participation* and *Responsiveness* are age-old dimensions of authority patterns. Colonial rule provoked extensive acts of political instability such as riots, armed insurrections, demonstrations, strikes, various acts of passive resistance, etc. in both nationalities for that reason. Hence his reliance on force to achieve the task of enforcing his directives. Ruth First described his "system ... as a classic example of militarism in government" (First 1970: 34). The 'Northern 'Nigerian' Proclamation' of November 1, 1906 and the 'Native Courts Ordinance' of 1914 (Duffield 1971) epitomize his preference for order over law as an inherent aspect of authority relations in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state. Like his other legacies, this preference for order over law has refused to wither. Every post-colonial regime in the supra-national state wields it as a veritable instrument of political control of the nationalities.

The Igbo were particularly resentful of the imposition of individuals—foreign and indigenous—on them as all-powerful agents of alien authority (Afigbo 1971b). The Yoruba were also irked and rankled by the sudden transformation of their constitutional monarchies into unresponsive institutions whose occupants were selected and remained in office at the pleasure of the British "High Commissioner" and his staff (Afigbo 1971b)<sup>112</sup>.

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<sup>111</sup>See 'Nigerian' *Land Law and Custom* (1951/1962) and *The 'Nigerian' Legal System* (1954/1963) by T. Olawale Elias.

<sup>112</sup> In 1900, 1901, and 1903 the Governor of the Colony and "Protectorate" of Lagos whose authority extended over all of Yorubaland took disciplinary actions against

The E-G scheme posits that perception and knowledge of leaders by subordinates are important criteria in the overall assessment of the authority of the former by the latter. Eckstein and Gurr (1975: 213) state that, “a personal characteristic ... was the one factor other than position ... frequently mentioned as a basis of authority”. It was not only that the Igbo and Yoruba lacked knowledge of the various British men who were imposed on them as governor-general, “High Commissioner”, Residents, D. Cs. and D. Os, they equally lacked knowledge of their recruitment criteria and procedure. The postulation made in the E-G scheme about recruitment being ‘salient for norms of legitimacy’ affirmed itself on the imposed colonial actors who were viewed as unworthy of trust and support by the Igbo and Yoruba.

The young age of those men was an unsettling effrontery to both the Igbo and Yoruba who recruit their leaders based their age and wisdom among other criteria. Furthermore, they could not easily reconcile themselves with leaders who “were characteristically authoritarian and extraordinarily autocratic, peculiarly difficult to deal with, and extremely overbearing” (Ekechi 1983: 26). Imposed leaders who took the liberty to beat up and publicly flog “African chiefs, elders, young men” (Ekechi 1983: 34) did not in any way earn the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state and its authority any measure of legitimacy in Igboland, Yorubaland, and elsewhere.

Ever since, trust and support for authority in the supra-national state have been in short supply in both Igboland and Yorubaland. The hatred and mistrust for agents or anyone perceived as an agent of the supra-national state persists in parts of Igboland

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indigenous leaders in Ibadan (*Bashorun* and Council), Ilawo (*Oluwo*) and some members of the *Ogboni* and the *Awujale* in Ijebu respectively (Afigbo 1971).

(Ekechi 1974, 1983).<sup>113</sup> The continued refusal of the Igbo and the Yoruba to trust and line up support for authority in the supra-national state manifest itself in specific instances and situations that indicate political instability or poor governmental performance in the supra-national state.

In so many ways the *Memoranda* contradicted traditional norms on what leaders can and should do. Some examples here will suffice. Specific directives that took away the inherent right of ownership and control of land from communities and invested it in the supra-national state raised a lot of opprobrium among the Igbo and Yoruba. The directives that proclaimed flogging of adults and imprisonment into effect were instantly unpopular in Igboland. So were directives that authorized government to exact forced labor from individuals and communities for road construction and other public works. In *Arrow of God*, the third book in his historical trilogy on British colonial intervention in Igboland, Achebe (1988: 402-22)<sup>114</sup> paints a vivid portrait of an episode in a fictional village-group about the administration of forced labor through the exaction of flogging of adults by an assistant D. O. The episode clearly portrayed the extensive disaffection that

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<sup>113</sup> In 1950, the presence of a British anthropologist and his wife who were on a fieldwork in Mbaise, one of the parts of Igboland where there is extensive hatred of colonial authority raised a lot of consternation including a strongly-worded complaint to the British D.O. in the area by an indigene (Ekechi 1983: 33). Another researcher—an Igbo—was unable to elicit the cooperation of some people in Mbaise in 1973 because they “thought I was a government agent in spite of my protestations to the contrary” (Ekechi 1974: 148). Two participants in a failed coup attempt in 1990 who were from Mbaise and the neighboring Obowo clan were given safe passage into exile abroad by their two communities after their escape from Lagos. The story is that the agents of the State Security Service, SSS, who visited the two communities, were given a run-around which made it impossible for them to even trace the compounds that the two young soldiers come from. In the end they got fed up and returned to Lagos.

<sup>114</sup> This is the Picador collection of the three books. The three books—*Things Fall Apart*, *No Longer at Ease*, and *Arrow of God*—that made the trilogy were published separately in 1958, 1960, and 1964 respectively.

was generated amongst the villagers against British authority by directive and the ‘abnormal’ behavior of the assistant D. O. Other directives that took judicial arbitration away from communities and their recognized channels like the *Ama-Ala* in Igboland and transferred it to the “warrant” chiefs and “Native Courts”, introduced taxation, collective punishment, etc. had similar effects. In terms of stipulations in the E-G scheme, the salience of these alien directives gave the affected nationalities instant cause to withhold ‘substantive legitimacy’ from the supra-national state and its authority.

In order for us to further substantiate the logic inherent in the refusal of the Igbo to withhold ‘substantive legitimacy’ from the supra-national state we will expatiate a little more on specific directives, i.e. the laws, actions, and policies initiated by individual British men who were appointed by the Colonial Office to practice authority in Igboland. Individual British men who wielded colonial authority in most parts of Igboland were perceived as brutal, cruel and insensitive because of their conduct (Ekechi 1974, 1983).

The refusal of the Igbo to comply with directives on forced labor, etc. attracted unrestrained military aggression against them on countless occasions. The validity of this statement can be underscored with a brief discussion of the efforts by the British to establish colonial authority among the Owere or Southern Igbo who inhabit an extensive chunk of the Igbo hinterland.

The raw face of British authority was perceived and felt in Igboland the first time “during the Arochukwu Expedition of 1901-02” (Ekechi 1983: 26). Apart from being the first time when a foreign army traversed Igboland (Afigbo 1971a), that Expedition exposed almost all parts of Owere Igbo to first hand experiences from British colonial authority. During that Expedition, “food and animals were commandeered by the



soldiers and able-bodied men were forced to carry military stores for the expeditionary force” (Ekechi 1983: 31) as it traversed Owere Igbo areas on its way to and from Arochukwu. Leaders of Owere Igbo villages and towns were arrested and detained and even taken away by the force until they arranged for food and able-bodied men. Once Arochukwu was sacked in that Expedition, British authority assumed the face of one H. M. Douglas, 26, who was appointed the D. C. of the newly designated Owere “Province” on the recommendation of Lt. Colonel Montanaro, the commander of the Aro Field Force. Douglas quickly embarked on a “series of military aggression ... directed against the different communities in the Owere district for the purposes of establishing British rule in the area” (Ekechi 1983: 27). According to Ekechi, it was official policy to destroy farms and compounds on villages that were attacked just to make an example and compel the people to acknowledge “Government’s prestige in the Owere District” (Ekechi 1983: 30). For administrative policy Douglas “adopted the standard colonial strategy of seizing ... chiefs and elders of [insubordinate villages] as hostages so as, in Douglas’ words, “to see if the removal of the Chiefs would have any effect in inducing them to make their roads” (Ekechi 1983: 27). The fear of having their elders held in colonial government prisons known for their inhumane conditions made many Owere Igbo communities to submit. However, as the Acting District Commissioner in one part of Owere Igbo once confessed, “The practice of calling chiefs to meetings and seizing them [as hostages] has resulted in a general distrust of the government and its policy” (in Ekechi 1974: 150).

The highly regimented directives that were decreed into effect included those that sanctioned flogging and collective punishments. Communities were routinely subjected to the ‘Collective Punishment Ordinance’, which aimed to facilitate the entrenchment of

colonial authority in the Southern “Protectorate”. According to Egerton, its author, the directive was informed by the belief that “In primitive communities crimes, especially those of violence, are instigated by the community and carried out by individuals. The punishment of the actual perpetrators is not sufficient, the community must be made to suffer” (in Ekechi 1974: 156). The extensive suffering that was regularly inflicted on various Owerre Igbo communities under the Collective Punishment Ordinance during the period played into their deep distrust and resentment of the British and the system of rule they imposed. Unlike Hausaland where governance and authority involved the normative control of the subordinate members of the population in society, the physical control of adults was normatively prohibited in Igbo society. There was routine violation of that norm by colonial authority among the Owerre Igbo, which robbed it of ‘substantive legitimacy. In indigenous Igbo society general *Directiveness* was not ‘regimented’, its ‘coverage’ was not ‘comprehensive’, its ‘latitude’ is ‘specific’, and its ‘sanction threshold’ was hardly ‘severe’. There was no wonder that the Igbo found British authority and its lack of responsiveness quite unsettling. The Igbo were instantly revolted by autocratic ‘definition’ of problems and issues, the lack ‘deliberation’ before resolution were reached on issues. Moreover, the ‘implementation’ and ‘sanctioning’ of directives by fiat and without ‘feedback’ were as unusual as they were unsettling.

The punitive nature and character of the *Directiveness* of the colonial authority among the Owerre Igbo “left an enduring residue of hatred and bitterness in the minds of the people towards Douglas and the colonial administration as a whole. Especially galling to them was the wanton destruction of their homes and farms, the chief anchors of their social and economic existence” (Ekechi 1974: 30).

In Yorubaland, Frederick Lugard's attempts "to introduce direct taxation which he had ... come to regard as the linchpin of [his] system ... led to much resentment and riot" (Afigbo 1971b: 457) including the assassination of a chief who was identified as a collaborator. While regimented directives succeeded in bringing the Igbo and Yoruba to submit, it "invariably created a hostile and distrustful attitude towards the administration" (Ekechi 1974: 150) amongst them and made them to withhold 'substantive legitimacy' from the supra-national state.

We have shown with the E-G scheme that the authority patterns of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state stand apart from that of the Igbo and the Yoruba in many ways. Frederick Lugard and other political actors were able to restructure some aspects of the institutional structures of politics in Igboland and Yorubaland in ways that imbued the "new" institutions with some traits that resemble their parallels in the supra-national state. We can then argue that the British and indigenous political actors who succeeded them at the end of colonial rule are responsible for incorporating the capacity for regimentation to *Directiveness* in particularly Igboland but to some extent in Yorubaland. With that, popular participation in governance declined while the age-old obligation by the leadership to be responsive to the community began to be ignored in post-colonial Igbo and Yoruba societies. All over Igboland and Yorubaland colonial rule instituted a new norm that guided leaders to enforce compliance with their directives through the threat or use of raw coercive force. Conversely, society in Igboland and Yorubaland as well as the other nationalities of the Niger basin which now constitute the 'Nigerian' supra-national state have not been affected or transformed in a similar way. Hausaland is still an exception in every particular scenario in this story.

Thus, instead of one homogeneous sociological entity comprising an integrated system of norms, values, and socio-political structures (Zolberg 1968) society in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state is devoid of integration. That lack of integration is not only typical of most states in Africa but is responsible for rendering African states mere crucibles that house both the 'new' or imposed socio-political structures, arrangements and patterns as well as their indigenous parallels which have simply refused to wither away (Zolberg 1968: 71).

In the case of Hausaland, it seems that *consonance* and *congruence* were established in the outset between the authority pattern of the Fulani rulers of the Caliphate society and that of the "Protectorate" government of Northern "Nigeria". Both authority patterns seemed to resemble each other in terms of their relations as well. That may account for why during colonial rule, the Fulani rulers and the British colonial administrators developed and maintained a common front and utilized it to suppress the subject population in Hausaland and the other nationalities that inhabit the upper Niger basin whenever they attempted 'insubordination'. Invariably, the 'Nigerian' supra-national state was able to institute "a particular type of un-integrated society which can be called 'syncretic' " (Zolberg 1968: 71) amongst its constituting nationalities. The same can be said about many other African states.

### **Chapter Summation**

British occupation of the Niger basin was in stages. So was their imposition of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its authority patterns. The Niger basin's geography and the pre-colonial history of its inhabitants impacted both processes. The Yoruba kingdom of Lagos became the first portion of the area to be occupied, in 1861.

The annexation of Lagos is directly related to the slave trade, its abolition and events related to them. The Royal Navy needed a staging port in the vicinity of the busy slave-trafficking Bights of Benin and Biafra, to facilitate its enforcement of the abolition. Lagos offered a suitable setting for that, thanks to its natural seaport.

Following annexation, the presence of the Royal Navy in Lagos attracted freed slaves and their descendants to return from Sierra Leone (the *Saro*) and Brazil (the *Amaro*) to resettle in Lagos which was declared a Crown colony. The presence of the *Saro* and the *Amaro* is a vital factor that aided the establishment and evolution of British authority in the Crown colony in the period 1861-90. The *Saro* and *Amaro*, who were factored right into the governmental and non-governmental patterns and influence relations of British authority as soon as it was established, provided essential 'bases of legitimacy' for the practice of authority in Lagos Crown colony. Their status as Afro-Europeans and loyal subjects of the British Crown partly facilitated their integration in the influence relations which underlay the practice of authority in the colony.

Between 1890 and 1914 there was a shift in the authority patterns and influence relations in the Crown colony. That shift was necessitated by the resolve in Britain at the time to impose classical colonial rule in the Niger basin. It produced disaffection among African members of society in the Crown colony, and subsequently changed their positive perception of British authority in that polity.

Colonial authority was extended to Igboland, other parts of Yorubaland, and Hausaland in the period 1896-1906. In Yorubaland, the presence of the *Saro* and *Amaro*, the nature and system of political organization entailed limited use of military force by the British during this period of *de facto* occupation. In Igboland and Hausaland, the use

of military force was pronounced and extensive. However, the peculiar nature of Igbo political system and organization exposed the Igbo to extensive military activities by British-led forces. But while military force was employed during the initial conquest in Hausaland, the ubiquitous and autocratic character of the political system established by the Fulani were factors that aided the processes of the conquest and occupation of Hausaland for the British.

Resistance to the imposition of colonial authority patterns in each of the three nationalities tended to reflect their respective indigenous authority patterns. In Igboland and Yorubaland, where the practice of authority is democratic, it was sharp and sustained. In Hausaland, where the practice of authority has always been autocratic, it was not as sharp and sustained.

The last stage in the evolution of the authority patterns of the supra-national state was in the period 1914-1960. That period witnessed the amalgamation of the two colonial polities that were carved out of the upper and lower Niger, and the imposition of a homogenous authority patterns on their inhabitants under the aegis of the supra-national state. The authority patterns of the supra-national state resemble those of the Fulani. The resemblance between the governmental and non-governmental authority patterns in Fulani-ruled Hausaland and those of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state is both considerable and extensive. But the degree of disparity (absence of *congruence* and *consonance*) between and within the governmental and non-governmental authority patterns of the supra-national state and those of the Igbo and Yoruba is conversely considerable and extensive. According to Eckstein's (1969) congruence theory, such disparity is bound to lead to poor political performance in every social unit where it

exists. We will see the extent to which that postulation is supported when we test the relevant hypotheses later in chapter six based on the analysis in this chapter.

### *Structure and Forms of Polity in the Supra-national State*

At this point we cannot resist the temptation to raise and address issues that relate to the structure of the supra-national state in the post-colonial period. The structure of the supra-national state has been expressed in multiple forms that included parliamentary, US-type, and several military-dictatorial dispensations. The constant in each one of those forms is its' lack of durability. Each one of them amounted to a platform on which political actors simply operated the authority patterns bequeathed by colonialism. Since the authority patterns of the supra-national state resembled those of the Hausa Fulani ruling classes more than the indigenous authority patterns everywhere else in the Niger basin, the former (Hausa-Fulani ruling classes) have tended to be better placed to mobilize themselves and to engage in the practice of authority in the latter. That much is evident in the zeal with which they hatched and implemented diverse socio-political programs and policies that enabled them to assume and consolidate control over principal segmental units—the army, civil service bureaucracy, etc.—in the supra-national state from the early pre-colonial period.<sup>115</sup> Each time, in contrast to the other nationalities the Hausa-Fulani ruling classes seem to be the ones who possess a properly packaged agenda ready for implementation. Why then have we paid less attention in the study to the various forms that polity in the supra-national state has gone through since the end of

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<sup>115</sup> Robin Luckham documented the accomplished of this feat in the supra-national by Hausa-Fulani political actors through the 'Nigerianization' and 'Northernization' policies in *The 'Nigerian' Military: A Sociological Analysis of Authority & Revolt 1960-67*. Cambridge University Press (1971b).

formal colonial rule? It is for the particular reason that we have been taught by the E-G scheme that the roots of in/stability in societies are encased in their authority patterns and not in the forms of structures assumed by their polity at different points in time. If it were otherwise, the 'Nigerian' supra-national state could have realized extensive stability in its body politic for the simple reason that it has experienced several dispensations since the end of formal colonial rule.

## CHAPTER V:

### BRITISH STATE BUILDING STRATEGIES IN THE NIGER BASIN

As was described in the previous chapter, the British followed their conquest of the inhabitants of the Niger basin with the quest to create a homogeneous set of authority patterns with which to administer them under the aegis of a supra-national state. That quest represents shifts from the policy that had previously guided the administration of



Britain's possessions on the West Coast of Africa (Martin 1927). Those shifts were motivated by pressure groups composed of individuals who represented the conservative side of the two ideological divides in English society at the time (Nicolson 1969). The Igbo, the Yoruba, and other nationalities resisted the establishment of a homogeneous set of authority patterns.<sup>116</sup> As part of their strategy for building a supra-national state, the British gave parity to their alliance with the Fulani ruling classes. Again, this further exacerbated the problems in the supra-national state with the other nationalities.

Apart from some specific policies, alliances were the other ingredients that British colonial officers utilized to build a supra-national state from the diverse inhabitants of the Niger basin. We believe that it is significant that neither the differential policies nor the alliances, were formulated or implemented even-handedly manner amongst the nationalities by the British throughout the course of building the 'Nigerian' supra-national state. But the diversity of cultures and political terrain represented in the nationalities in the Niger basin would not let the British alter easily the political landscape in each nationality in their quest to impose a supra-national state on all of them. Our aim in the current chapter is to establish the degree to which the specific state building initiatives helped to create legacies that aid and abet political instability in the supra-national state. Evidence involving conflict will be presented in chapter six to explore the assertion that the state building policies are indeed legacies that produce political instability.

We can identify some of those initiatives by the British to build a homogenous set of authority patterns to enable their imposition of a supra-national state over their

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<sup>116</sup> There was a shift too in the style of resistance to the British by the nationalities. They resisted Britain's unprovoked invasion militarily, and shifted to other methods thereafter.

inhabitants of the Niger basin. These include (i) the indirect rule policy, (ii) the amalgamation policy of January 1, 1914, (iii) the policy that guided the recruitment of indigenous personnel into the military forces of the supra-national state, and (iv) colonial policy on education. On the other hand, the alliances are the special relationships specifically developed with the Fulani aristocracy and some select few individuals from among the Igbo, Yoruba and other nationalities. The British-Fulani alliance was a critical state building ingredient, which underscored the formulation and implementation of the aforementioned four policies. Unlike any relationship struck with other inhabitants of the Niger basin, the British-Fulani alliance was unique and special, which is also why it survived the course of colonial rule. We underscore the uniqueness of that alliance with the argument that if the rest of the state building variables were the construction hardware, the alliance with the Fulani aristocracy classes was certainly the mortar used to chalk all of them together. Nothing like the alliance ever evolved between the British and any of the other nationalities (Nwabughuogu 1981). Its near equivalents were the one-on-one friendships that individual colonial officers in Igboland and Yorubaland developed at the personal level with select personalities who supported their efforts (Atanda 1973, Afigbo 1971).

Our choice of the four state building policies above was guided by the magnitude of the impact that each of them made on Britain's state building involvement in the Niger basin. The degree to which each one of them continues to impact the cause of political performance in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state was the other factor that led to their selection for analysis. We shall show that all four policies were inspired by and

implemented to satisfy the preference that British colonial actors showed towards the 'forms, norms, and practice of authority' in Fulani-ruled Caliphate society of Hausaland.

### **The Indirect Rule Policy**

In spite of an extensive line of studies on Britain's colonial policy of indirect rule in the Niger basin in particular, and in Africa in general (Perham 1937, Afigbo 1966, 1967, 1971b, 1974, Atanda 1970, 1973, Ikime 1967, Igbafe 1967) there is still an absence of a generally accepted definition of the policy (Crowder and Ikime 1970). Indirect rule is variously portrayed as governance of indigenous peoples through their own social, economic, and political authority patterns (Lugard 1965, Ormsby-Gore 1935, Perham 1935, 1937, Crowder and Ikime 1970, Afigbo 1973, Atanda 1970). But this portrayal of the indirect rule policy is hardly suitable. This is because its formulation and implementation were aimed at the realization of imperial ambitions as opposed to the interest of African peoples.

Apart from its preferential implementation in Hausaland to support the autocratic authority patterns of the Fulani ruling classes, in Igboland and Yorubaland (where authority patterns and influence relations are democratic) the indirect rule policy was perceived as an affront to traditional authority patterns and the practice of authority (Nwabughuogu 1981). The continuing political instability in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state can be traced in part to the implementation of the indirect rule policy in ways that favored the Fulani authority patterns and disregarded those of the Igbo and the Yoruba.

In the period before colonial intervention and conquest, i.e. up until the end of the nineteenth century, British commercial and religious activities in the Niger basin depended on indigenous peoples first, and then on freed African slaves who had imbibed western culture, particularly education (Flint 1969).<sup>117</sup> Even after the abolition of the slave trade and the shift that it triggered in Britain's West Africa policy, in the period between 1897 and 1914 Britain's agents in the lower Niger basin seemed comfortable to exert their authority in a direct fashion (Igbafe 1967, Flint 1969, Mair 1969). Sequel to outright intervention in the internal affairs of West Africans by the British, the willingness of the freed slaves to be involved in the direct propagation of British rule in the lower Niger was strongly predicated on two factors. First, was their desire for British political control in the Niger basin to imitate the practice of authority that prevailed in England at the time.

Secondly, was their desire to be normatively integrated as active participants in the authority patterns and influence relations on which the practice of British authority was based. They were strongly convinced that Africa would be saved from itself through the dawn of British authority. Exposure to western education and culture gave the freed slaves cause to proclaim their dissatisfaction for aspects of indigenous African cultures at the time in preference for the English culture and system of governance. Years later the dawn of autocratic colonial rule dashed their expectations and desires, and made them recant (Tamuno 1966, Ayandele 1974, Mann 1985).

#### *Why the Shift? Pressure Groups in England*

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<sup>117</sup> I am weary of using the concept of "educated" to refer to Africans who had acquired western education for the reason that the former tends to portray those who do not

Why this shift from a relatively successful pattern of rule to one that causes resistance? One important reason was the emergence of conservative pressure groups in England that advocated changes in the policies of the British Colonial Office. There was a carefully orchestrated campaign by a lobby of private individuals in England in the 1890s to undermine the evolution of British-type democratic authority patterns and influence relations in the Niger. It was a campaign that established the requisite political grounds in Britain at the time which led to the formulation and implementation of the policy of indirect rule in the Niger basin. While the campaign predated the policy of indirect rule, those who orchestrated it were motivated by the desire to realize the total subjugation of the inhabitants of the Niger basin to absolute colonial control, which they believed would pave the way for profitable commerce (Nwabughuogu 1981). Members of the lobby were determined to sell British public opinion and policy makers on their conviction that British commercial interests in the Niger basin and the rest of West Africa would be better served if British traders assumed political authority over Africans through their indigenous political institutions. This lobby was averse to the idea of involving Africans who were socialized in western culture or the projection of British authority “through institutions modeled on European lines, as the missionaries and the Colonial Office had been doing” (Nwabughuogu 1981: 70).

Mary Kingsley (1897 and 1901), a vocal member of this lobby, based her opposition to the involvement of Africans who possessed western education in the exercise of British political authority in West Africa on two points of argument. First, she claimed that desires on the part of Christian missionary agencies and some British politicians to take freed African slaves who acquired western education seriously were

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possess western education as uneducated.

misguided. She argued and believed that their association with indigenous African institutions lacked authenticity as well as legitimacy. Secondly, she argued that the inherent inferiority of Africans when compared with Europeans entails that the best that freed slaves could possibly acquire from European culture were its undesirable and substandard elements. She strongly condemned the efforts of the Christian missionary agencies to establish schools for the socialization of Africans in western culture as futile and misguided (Kingsley 1897). Another prominent member of the lobby was Frederick Lugard himself. As we have seen in the previous chapter, he was a man who was obsessed with the ambition to play a central role in the projection of Britain's imperial authority in Africa (Perham 1968).<sup>118</sup>

The campaign by the lobby paid off in favor of the aims and desires of its members when the Niger Committee, an *ad hoc* instrument put together by the British government to study and recommend on how best to project British socio-economic authority in the Niger basin, recommended that "chiefs" as opposed to Africans with western education would be more suitable allies in the projection of Britain's authority in the Niger basin.<sup>119</sup> The Committee's recommendation and its acceptance by the British

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<sup>118</sup> The Niger basin was indeed his second posting in the service of the imperial desires of Britain. Earlier, he was in East Africa on behalf of the British East Africa Company where he played a prominent role to conquer and acquire the East African kingdom of Buganda and its neighboring nationalities for the British Empire. Most of those indigenous East African kingdoms resembled Hausaland in their centralized, autocratic rule.

<sup>119</sup> This is an age-old British practice for handling public policy, often utilized to deflect public scrutiny on national issues (Nwabughuogu 1981). Beginning with the Select Committee that submitted its report in 1865, which was appointed by the British House of Commons on the State of British Settlements on the Western Coast of Africa (See *British Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence Returns and Other Papers Concerning West Africa 1812-74, Colonies Africa 50*), whose precursor was the Ord Commission that inquired into the Condition of the British Settlements on the West Coast of Africa, this policy tool played a crucial role in British involvement in Africa. The Niger

government were grounded in social Darwinian tenets. The tenets center on the conception that the history of all human societies is the history of evolutionary progression of sorts in which social, economic, and political progress is depicted by a requisite centralization of institutions of socio-political organization in society (Burrow 1966, Lovejoy 1964, Jones 1980, Thompson 2000).

For the social Darwinists, societies at the high end of the evolutionary ladder of social progress possess certain definite characteristics (Pearson 1893, Kidd 1894, Ritchie 1889). They argued that those definite characteristics include: Discernable institutions of governance (highly centralized structures), economic exchange (currency, markets and taxation system) as well as institutions for cultural interaction (formalized agencies and structures of socializing new and young members of the society). It was a notion that considered the monarchy as the most advanced system of political organization and governance. In the same context, of societies that practiced centralized systems of governance were seen as more developed on that progressive scale of history than those whose systems of governance were decentralized. Because of the extensive reach of this social Darwinist conception of history in British society at the time, it influenced most of the judgments that British officials made about the nationalities and their respective levels of political development.

The push by members of the aforementioned lobby for what Taubman Goldie, another of its influential members called the “general policy of ruling on African

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Committee appointed by Joseph Chamberlain when he became the first industrialist to hold the position of Secretary for the Colonies (Nicolson 1966) submitted its report August 4, 1898. The members of the Committee were Lord Selborne (Chair), Sir George Goldie, Sir Clement Hill, Sir Ralph Moor, Sir Reginald Antrobus, and Sir H. McCallum. Moor, Antrobus, and McCallum were later appointed to top positions in Britain’s colonial regime in the Niger basin.

principle through native rulers” (Goldie 1898 in Nwabughuogu 1981: 71) and their utmost aversion for Africans who had been socialized in western education and culture is hardly value-free. Nor were the Niger Committee’s recommendations and the British government’s subsequent acceptance of its recommendations. All—members of the lobby, Committee, British government—were driven by the self-serving desire to identify *strong* (rigid) and *autocratic* authority patterns in the indigenous societies of the Niger basin and to co-opt it in ways that would effectively facilitate the colonization of the inhabitants. They were convinced that the cause of imperial rule and economic exploitation in West Africa would best be served by strong (rigid) and autocratic indigenous authority patterns that are devoid of the democratic tenets of *Participation* (for members of the larger society) and *Responsiveness* (for the super-ordinate members) in their influence relations. McCallum’s recommendation “that the native Chiefs, subsidised as hereinafter suggested by him, should in all cases be organized as village and district councils” was adopted by the government.<sup>120</sup>

In essence, even in the formative stages, indirect rule policy was meant to be a biased state building initiative because it adopted just one specific indigenous system of authority in the Niger basin. The centralized system of governance presided over in Hausaland by the Fulani was favored for adoption. Irrespective of its centralized features, the indigenous system of the Yoruba for instance was considered unsuitable for the implementation of the policy. Neither was the decentralized system that was prevalent in pre-colonial Igbo society. For members of the lobby, the craving by freed African slaves and their descendants for British-type socio-political institutions and

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<sup>120</sup> The Committee’s report was published as C. O. 879/52, no. 550. The version used here is contained in C. W. Newbury’s *British Policy Towards West Africa: Selected*



authority patterns was a function of their socialization in European culture and education both of which rendered them unfit allies of their preferred version of colonial rule.

Members of the lobby believed that the argument by freed Africans slaves that their socialization in western education and culture sufficiently qualified them to participate in the governance of the Niger basin was yet another rationale to shunt them aside in favor of the “native chiefs”. The other major reason for a shift in British policies was the alliance that Frederick Lugard entered into with the Fulani ruling classes in Hausaland for the sake of their autocratic authority patterns.

Preferential implementation of the indirect rule policy accomplished the task of helping the Fulani to realize a goal that they were unable to attain through the jihad—bringing all nationalities in the upper Niger under their authority and sway. Thus, while the indirect rule policy was a state building tool that helped the British to exert political authority and control in the Niger basin, it was also used to aid and abet the process of extending Fulani-type influence relations to all the inhabitants of the Niger basin under the aegis of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state. Taken together, while all the aforementioned did serve the cause of Britain’s imperial adventure in the Niger basin, their impact on political performance in the supra-national state has been negative

(Nwabughuogu 1981).<sup>121</sup> The physical control of people (evident in the walled cities and

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*Documents, 1875-1914*, pp.309-11. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>121</sup> In socio-political terms, post-*jihad* society in Hausaland seemed to have a lot of similarity with the English society under the Hanoverian state that successfully midwived and nurtured the Industrial Revolution. Authority in the Hanoverian state was highly authoritarian and held by the aristocratic classes, which retained and control much of the property and juridical rights over it. On those rested the success of the transition to an industrial economy. As it were, the Hanoverian state was quick and handy to ensure that the significant proportion of the population which constituted the labor force existed: ‘within an ‘authoritarian’ framework of law which severely curtailed their rights to work or not to work, to select occupation, to withdraw their labour to search for alternative

penal system), the elaborate system of taxation, and rulers' control over land were all strong indicators of the extensive controlling capacity of the centralized Fulani political system.

Frederick Lugard was influenced by the aforementioned factors to implement the indirect rule in a manner that favored the Fulani aristocracy. His *Political Memoranda* institutionalized his strong support for and approval of Fulani authority patterns as a durable tool for the control of inhabitants of the Niger basin. His ambition to oversee the projection of Britain's imperial authority and control beyond the upper Niger was immense. His unsuccessful attempts in 1905 to convince the Colonial Office to integrate the two colonial polities that the upper and lower Niger were carved into, did not compel him to give up on his ambition (Lugard 1905).

The indirect rule policy was implemented in the upper Niger to protect the Caliphate society from "the agents of social and economic change—the Christian missionaries, the European traders, and the coastal traders" (Nwabughuogu 1981: 77). Frederick Lugard often pronounced that it would violate his promise to the Fulani aristocracy to expose the Caliphate society to the agents of change (Nwabughuogu 1981). He cited the propensity of western educated African members of the society in Lagos to avail themselves of the courts and the rule of law to litigate against colonial authority as

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employment to engage with impunity in 'insubordinate' behaviour towards their bosses. Englishmen may have been freeborn but traditional statutes of the realm dealing with masters and their servants, apprenticeship, poor relief for the able bodied, vagrancy and delinquency gave employers political and judicial authority over their workers which left the labour market in a state of suspension between feudal servitude and the free contractual system of nineteenth-century political economy.... The compliant behaviour of the majority of the populace coupled with the acceptance of aristocratic government ensured that a potentially unfavourable coincidence of rapid population growth and urbanization, on the one hand, and serious challenges to established authority, on the other, did not occur (O'Brien 1993: 130, 132).

his reason for opposing their unfettered access to parts of the upper Niger (Lugard 1901). He derided their propensity for trade and commerce, (which we must recall helped to expand the population that anchored the bases of legitimacy for the Crown authority in Crown colony Lagos society) as unsightly love for the dollar (Perham 1960). He implemented a conscious stratification of society in the urban centers, which separated members of nationalities from the lower Niger from nationalities of the upper Niger. The result was the *sabon garis* or strangers' quarters that sprang up in urban centers in the upper Niger (Lugard 1919). Thus, during colonial rule society in the upper Niger was separated into the European quarters where Africans were not allowed to reside, the *sabon garis* which were located outside the city limits exclusively for 'strangers' from the lower Niger, while indigenes lived in other areas.<sup>122</sup>

The indirect rule policy produced profound, extensive, and enduring impacts on indigenous societies in the upper Niger. The reasons for that derived partly from how it was implemented. Shielding societies from all agents of social change sustained the social, economic and political *status quo* in those societies. In the Caliphate society for instance the norms that guide the practice of authority remained unchallenged, and the patterns of authority and influence relations remained conservatively intact. The absence of the agents of change entailed that there was no one to facilitate or point the ordinary people towards emerging opportunities. As a result, they were unable to improve their economic, social, and political situations. At the same time the capacity of the leadership in the Caliphate society for non-responsiveness in the practice of authority was enhanced and bolstered.

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<sup>122</sup> See *Political Memoranda* (1919).

Colonial state building in the upper Niger impacted negatively on the economic development of indigenous societies in both the short and long terms. At a time when the lower Niger was experiencing noticeable economic transformation, the upper Niger was in economic stagnation. The disparity in the economic transformation of the two “Protectorates” was evident in the inability of Frederick Lugard to balance his operating budgets without financial subventions from both the Colonial Office and the colonial government of the “Protectorate” of Southern “Nigeria”. In 1905 alone, he received as much as 405,500 pounds sterling and 75,000 pounds sterling respectively from both sources (Lugard 1905-1906, 1905).

In the context of congruence theory the evident disparity in economic transformation between the upper and the lower Niger even at that early colonial period can be linked to the disparity between the authority patterns of the indigenous nationalities that inhabit them. The age-old norm of participation without hindrance for all and sundry in indigenous Igbo and Yoruba societies may have played a role in the immediate economic prosperity of the “Protectorate” of Southern “Nigeria” at a time when the “Protectorate” of Northern “Nigeria” was relying on subsidies for its operations. Contemporary social science literature is riddled with studies that support the linkages between successful economic transformation and socio-political democracy (Lipset 1959, Putnam 1995a, 1995b, Helliwell 1994, Burkhart and Beck 1994, Leblang 1997, Feng 1997, Quinn and Woolley 2001, Rotberg 2001).<sup>123</sup> The speed with which the Igbo, Yoruba and the other nationalities in the lower Niger embraced trade in cash crops and western education, two principal agents of social, economic and political change in

British West Africa (Kimble 1963, Coleman 1958), was facilitated by their democratic authority patterns.<sup>124</sup> In a situation where land, the primary factor of economic production was not under the political control of ruling classes in Igboland and Yorubaland, everyone freely engaged in cash crop agriculture.<sup>125</sup> The absence of systems that exist in Hausaland for appropriating surplus value from ordinary people by the leadership implied that every hard-working member of society in Igboland and Yorubaland had the opportunity to benefit from the new economy. In Igboland and Yorubaland “money earned from trade or agriculture” (Post 1970: 36) enabled individuals and even communities to fund tuition in government, private and missionary schools and for further education in England and the US. The same cannot be said about Hausaland.

Apart from the resultant *autocratization* of aspects of the authority patterns and influence relations on which indigenous Igbo and Yoruba systems of governance were based, the implementation of the indirect rule policy did not alter their ‘norms, forms, and practice of authority’ in fundamental ways (Afigbo 1971a). Members of the larger society in both nationalities did not have to, for instance, contend with officially sanctioned efforts to prevent or restrict them from acquiring western education, or participating in the new economy and reaping the attendant benefits (Ekejiuba 1967, Martin 1988, Falola 1995, Ekechi 1995). Indirect rule’s negative impacts on the practice

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<sup>123</sup> There are studies (Przeworski and Limongi 1993, Sirowy and Inkeles 1990) that found otherwise. But Leblang (1997: 1) argues that such out layers “may be a function of the research design and empirical specification chosen by investigators”.

<sup>124</sup> This includes the women—sees Felicia Ekejiuba (1967). “Omu Okwei, the Merchant Queen of Ossomari: A Biographical Sketch” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. II, (4), pp. 633-646 for biographical sketch of one who became a successful merchant as early as 1887.

of authority', i.e. its diminishment of *Responsiveness* and impediment of the channels of *Participation* in Igbo and Yoruba societies did not elicit the loss of the normative inclination and capacity of the people for participation. The zeal shown by Igbo and Yoruba nationals who acquired western education to resist colonial authority projected through reconditioned indigenous political structures devoid of *Responsiveness* to society can be attributed to their normative preferences for *Participation*.

### *Legacies of Indirect Rule*

Preferential implementation of indirect rule produced specific legacies in Hausaland, as well as Igboland and Yorubaland. One of the immediate legacies was the lack of uniformity in the development of anti-colonial tendencies and movements in the three nationalities. Another was the evident disparity in the political performance of the supra-national state in the three nationalities. Conscious efforts were made to preserve and encourage only the Fulani and their authority patterns for the specific reason that they safeguarded the durability of Britain's imperial designs in the Niger basin. Subsequent events are proof that British did not miscalculate in that regard.

We'll furnish a pointer to substantiate that, by taking a look at the incidence of the two phases of anti-colonial resistance in the Niger basin. From available evidence it is clear that almost every nationality in the Niger basin participated actively in the initial phase of anti-colonial resistance which involved taking up arms to resist Britain's unprovoked punitive expeditions. On the other hand the participation of members of each nationality in the second phase of anti-colonial resistance was literally a function of

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<sup>125</sup> Study by David A. Leblang indicates that there is a positive "relationship between property rights, democracy, and economic growth" (Leblang 1996: 5).

certain sociological factors that stemmed from their authority patterns. To begin with, the second phase of anti-colonial resistance evolved almost exclusively in the colonial urban centers and cities in the lower Niger where the bulk of the people who acquired western education converged. The rate and degree of exposure to and the acquisition of western education as well as the degree of participation in the post-slavery economy by members of a nationality are all factors that predict the degree to which members engaged in anti-colonial efforts and activities during the second phase. The absence of an extensive history of facilitated channels of *Participation* for members of the larger society led to their inability to participate in the second phase of anti-colonial resistance. But for the *sabon gari* into which colonialism's social segregation/stratification urban policies consigned individuals from nationalities in the lower Niger who traveled to the upper Niger to trade and work, cities and urban centers in the upper Niger all remained tranquil during the second phase. Attempts by politicians from the lower Niger who embarked on a tour of cities in the upper Niger in 1953 to sell their demand on Britain to terminate colonial rule in 1956 provoked riots that targeted the *sabon gari* in Kano, a Hausa-Fulani city (Luckham 1971a: 210). Hausa-Fulani political leaders who believed that the end of colonial would jeopardize their authority incited those riots (Luckham 1971a).

### **The Amalgamation of January 1, 1914**

Whatever doubts that existed about the underlying motives of indirect rule as a preferential state building policy evaporated at the time when Frederick Lugard and his supporters in England embarked on another spirited campaign to bring about the

amalgamation of the two separate colonial policies. In 1911 when the Colonial Office made an initial contemplation to amalgamate the two polities, the supporting rationale was pragmatic: to stem the then continuing drain that Frederick Lugard's Northern "Nigeria" posed to the tax-paying British public (Lugard 1920/1968). Most if not all colonial officials who worked in the upper Niger believed that the patterns of authority and influence relations among the Igbo and Yoruba posed immediate and potential threats to Fulani and British interests in the supra-national state. They believed that they would be able to extend Fulani authority patterns, undermine the Igbo and Yoruba and neutralize the threats posed by their democratic authority patterns in the supra-national state with the amalgamation.

Another *ad hoc* lobby was organized, which successfully swayed the Colonial Office on the need to extend the Lugardian methodology for projecting Britain's colonial design to the rest of the Niger basin (Nwabughuogu 1981). The composition of that lobby included Frederick Lugard himself, his wife Flora (1903-4, 1905,<sup>126</sup> 1906), and a handful of his supporters and admirers particularly Edmund D. Morel (1911/1968, 1902/1968).<sup>127</sup>

The campaign was extensively fuelled by Frederick Lugard himself beginning in 1905. In various meticulously written *Annual Reports*, articles in journals and through the revised edition of the *Political Memoranda* he announced his sole-discovery of an efficient formula for wielding colonial authority over African peoples (Lugard 1905, Nicolson 1969, Nwabughuogu 1981). In synoptic terms, his formula was 'order, before

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<sup>126</sup> Also filed in *Colonial Office Confidential 879/88*, #789, pp.29-32 (Nwabughuogu 1981).

<sup>127</sup> Both books were originally published in 1902 and 1911 respectively. Kenneth N. Dike reissued them in 1968 with new introductions.



development' (Nwabughuogu 1981). That mantra is epitomized by his preferential implementation of the indirect rule policy in the upper Niger.

Speaking in terms derived from the E-G scheme, the 'norms, forms, and practices of authority' that Frederick Lugard instituted on the back of the existing authority patterns of Fulani rule, and through which he sought to realize Britain's imperial ambitions and design in the entire Niger basin stood on three legal tripods: The Native Courts Ordinance, the Native Authority Ordinance, and the Native Revenue Ordinance. These were the three directives that anchored implementation of the indirect rule policy in the upper Niger. What he proceeded to accomplish under the amalgamation policy was to extend the reach of all three to the entire Niger basin.

The wordings of the Native Courts Ordinance are revealing enough. They show that it was aimed at alienating members of the larger society in each nationality from participating in the judicial affairs of their society. Under that Ordinance, the authority to administer directives and exact sanctions reposed exclusively in the so-called native chiefs who it simultaneously absolved of responsiveness associated with the exercise of authority in indigenous Igbo and Yoruba society. The Native Courts became highly impeded channels of *Participation* that operated outside established judicial procedures and due process. For instance, they excluded legal representation of any kind for individuals brought before them.

In 1914 when the amalgamation made it possible for the Native Courts Ordinance to be enforced in Igboland, Yorubaland and the rest of the inhabitants of the lower Niger, its provisions quickly closed down the Supreme Court as a judicial channel for the administration of *Directiveness*. Prior to then, colonialism's authority patterns and

influence relations accommodated the existence of the Supreme Court as a normative channel for the administration of *Directiveness*. It is true that members of the lower Niger nationalities may not have used it voluminously, frequently, and intensely particularly for the reason that it operated according to alien principles (English statutes, rules and procedures) which only the lawyers (who were few in number at the time) were conversant with. But the fact that it operated on the rule of law implied that it was—paraphrasing from the E-G scheme—a formally provided, normatively tolerated, unsanctioned, feasible, and facilitated channel of *Participation* all the same (Eckstein and Gurr 1975). It brought some check on the exaction of compliance to colonial directives through appeals on cases from “Native Courts” with legal representation. With the amalgamation, the reach of the Supreme Court was restricted just to the urban areas, which also promoted the isolation of rural dwellers from the urban dwellers.

Provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance stipulated for the appointment of ‘sole native authorities’ in both Igboland and Yorubaland. It elevated some of the “warrant chiefs” to ‘sole native authorities’ and empowered them to “exercise executive powers independent of the Native Courts” (Afigbo 1972: 142). The *Aláàfin* of Oyo for instance was elevated and made a paramount executive whose authority encroached on the authority of the leaders of indigenous polities in the new “Native Authority” area of Oyo “Province”. And the *Baálè* or head of the Yoruba polity of Ibadan became “a subordinate Native Authority under the *Alaḥfin*” (sic) (Perham 1937: 191) and was made to pay tax tribute to the *Aláàfin*. On the grounds that they were not a tribute-paying polity to the *Aláàfin* the people of Ibadan resisted that and it required the presence of troops to compel them to comply (Perham 1937). Under that centralization policy “the

*Bale* of Ibadan was in the position of a northern District Head in relation to the *Aláàfin*, and ... the towns hitherto administered by Ibadan [were expected to] be ruled directly from Oyo” (Perham 1937: 191). Such violations were solely aimed at bringing “uniformity” to all sections of the supra-national state without regard to the distinctive peculiarities of the respective nationalities that are involved. The acrimony that stemmed from this policy of centralization of authority persists till today in both Igboland and Yorubaland as well as elsewhere.

The recruitment of the sole native authorities and the source of their authority both ran contrary to indigenous norms in their communities. On both counts, i.e. recruitment and source of authority, the sole native authorities lacked every modicum of legitimacy in their communities. Hence, their reliance on colonial military forces to exact compliance on their communities to the directives from the supra-national state.

The Native Revenue Ordinance was designed to serve as the statutory directive that enabled colonial appointees to extract the revenue through direct taxation from their ever-hostile communities. But particularly in Igbo society, which lacked a distinct taxation system the idea of direct taxation provoked a lot of acrimony and acts of resistance. Yorubaland reacted violently to colonial taxation too. The elaborate taxation system that yielded the resources needed to run state affairs in pre-colonial Yoruba society was a concomitant component of the Yoruba authority patterns. Be it the *Owò* *Òde* (public money) or the non-recurrent tax raised in towns to finance a military campaign or to buy off an invasion, taxation in pre-colonial Yorubaland was levied by the *ebi* with the full knowledge and participation of the people through their elders

(Fadipe 1970).<sup>128</sup> There were extensive tax riots in the period 1914-1932 in parts of Igboland (Afigbo 1966) and Yorubaland (Osuntokun 1971, Ausman 1971) and elsewhere (Ikime 1965) in the lower Niger particularly where communities resisted attempts to levy direct taxation on them.

The indirect rule policy and the amalgamation policy were associated with one another in logic and purpose in Britain's colonial involvement in Africa. The association of both policies in Britain's colonial involvement in Africa survived Frederick Lugard's departure in 1918 (see Perham 1960). Two of his books, *Political Memoranda* (revised and published in 1919) and *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922/1965) became exulted primers on external intervention in state building in Africa. His successors and others in other parts of Africa relied on both primers to build supra-national states in "Tanganyika" in 1925, "Northern Rhodesia" in 1927, the "Gambia" in 1933, "Sierra Leone" in 1937, and "Gold Coast" in 1947 that thrive on autocracy and disregard for popular participation (Nwabughuogu 1981, Brown 1960, Jones 1958, Hailey 1951).<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> In view of the fact that an indigenous taxation system has been an age-old segmental unit of authority patterns in Yorubaland, it will not be wrong for us to assert that the anti-taxation riots that erupted in Yorubaland during those early years of colonial rule were meant to express dissent against unresponsive alien rule.

<sup>129</sup> Hailey's (1951) claim that the incidence of societies whose indigenous system of governance is decentralized determined why indirect rule was not applied to Kenya dubious at best when we recall that the Igbo and most of the neighbors who inhabit the southeast of the Niger basin all evolved decentralized political systems too. It may have been the presence of a considerable number of Europeans and their determination to carve Kenya into a settler colony that actually prevented the extension of the policy to Kenya at the time, i.e. 1920s-1930s. All of Britain's settler colonies in southern Africa as well as Australasia were accorded the status of self-governing territories. Even if Kenya wasn't a candidate for settler colony, the fact that none of its large nationalities had a centralized political organization based on despotic and autocratic authority patterns and influence relations could be yet another reason that rendered it "unfit" for the indirect rule policy.

The legacies of the amalgamation are several. It enabled Britain to combine the Niger basin into a single political organization without the consent of its inhabitants. The amalgamation elevated the “strength and stability of ‘native chiefs’ and their loyalty to Britain” (Nwabughuogu 1981: 86) to the status of a ‘norm’ that supports the practice of authority in the supra-national state. But the nature of indigenous political systems in the Niger basin made it impossible for the ‘norm’ to resonate elsewhere beyond Hausaland.

Except the Hausa-Fulani, other nationalities perceive this ‘norm’ as another illegitimate component of the white man’s authority fit to be treated with indifference, opposition and insubordination except in those instances when he wheels out his instruments of violence. Among the Igbo and Yoruba, the impact of the ‘norm’ on perceptions of authority in supra-national state was immediate and negative. The same was true about the ‘norm’ among most members of the returnee community in Yorubaland. It undermined the bases of legitimacy that existed in the returnee community for British authority and power in Lagos society.

However, in Igboland and Yorubaland the aforementioned ‘norm’ was positively perceived by its beneficiaries—the “warrant chiefs”, court clerks, *kotima*<sup>130</sup>, the *Aláàfin*, *Oba*, *Ooni*, et al. at the expense of the rest of the society. In Yorubaland for instance, it was due to the ‘norm’ that a particularly close relationship developed between the *Aláàfin*, of Oyo and Captain Ross, the Resident in the “Oyo Province”. Both individuals exploited their close personal relationship to revise Yoruba history to justify their extension of the authority of the *Aláàfin*, to independent parts of Yorubaland (Atanda

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<sup>130</sup> Derived from Court Messenger, this name was often used to ridicule and deride those who worked for the British in that capacity. In most Igbo communities a court messenger was often called, ‘*nwa kotima otile ntu*’ (the court messenger whose buttocks are ashy)

1973). In Igboland the “warrant chiefs” equally took advantage of it for the same purpose. Some of them utilized it first to strike their own personal friendship with colonial officials before proceeding to alter the age-“old network of independent” (Ottenberg 1958) political units by which various Igbo communities organized their pre-colonial polities and governance respectively (Afigbo 1966, 1973).

The encouragement and support that came from the “warrant chiefs” to the colonial officials made a critical difference in the latter’s successful construction of several centralized artificial polities out of the various independent political units in various parts of Igboland. Since colonialism, the projection of the authority and power of the supra-national state (though ephemeral) in Igboland has depended on those artificial creations, which symbolize colonialism’s deliberate centralization and *autocratization* of political authority and governance in Igboland.

Indigenous Igbo and Yoruba societies were immensely fractured by the two policies. But while it is true that some of leaders in both nationalities succumbed to the enticements that accompanied both policies the generality of the Igbo and Yoruba remained perceived the supra-national state and its authority as illegitimate. Both policies provoked riots in particularly the Igbo heartland (Afigbo 1966 and 1973) and Yorubaland (Perham 1937, Atanda 1973).

### **Colonial Education Policy in the Niger Basin**

Like the other European states that participated in the colonization of African peoples, aspects of Britain’s state building efforts and activities in the Niger basin are

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because of the ash-colored khaki short pant uniforms they wore. Youngsters even composed a syncopated tune out it.

subsumed within the education policy that its colonial officials implemented in the area. Irrespective of the colonial power that was involved, in every specific case colonial policy on education was not only a reflection of the official colonial mindset, it was also the blueprint for reshaping the social and cultural life of colonized peoples (Barnes 1997: 198). The rule of the thumb in every colonial context in Africa was that the content and scope and even the spread of western education were dictated by policies formulated by colonial powers (Barnes 1997). Although there were attempts by Christian missionary agencies and the trading firms to alter or influence colonial education policies in different parts of Africa and elsewhere in the colonized world, there was no exception to this rule of thumb (Barnes 1997).

As it was with most other state building initiatives undertaken in the Niger basin by the British, their colonial education policy was dichotomous. The one formulated for the upper Niger was meant to favor the Hausa-Fulani aristocracy and their autocratic authority patterns, preserve the socio-political *status quo* in Hausaland and extend it to the rest of the upper Niger now carved into the colonial “Protectorate” of Northern “Nigeria”. The idea of nurturing “a modern and aristocratic Anglo-Muslim civilization” (Barnes 1997: 198) in the upper Niger was paramount in the minds of British colonial officials. The idea was encapsulated in the conscious colonial policy to utilize western education to cultivate a pro-Caliphate and pro-British worldview in subsequent generations of the Hausa-Fulani ruling classes.

Colonial administrators in the lower Niger wanted a western education that aimed at making indigenous peoples suitable for playing roles that facilitated the exploitation of

raw agricultural produce for export.<sup>131</sup> Their counterparts in the various Christian missionary agencies desired to use western education to win converts for their respective denominations (Ekechi 1972). But from the outset nationalities in the lower Niger embraced western education on the conviction that it would equip them with the skills necessary to reclaim the participation they lost in the direction of the affairs of their society when the British introduced a new socio-political order. Many a community and individuals in Igboland were motivated to tax and task themselves to fund the education of their sons in by the desire to have them acquire written and spoken skills in English language that symbolized power and authority in the new order.

The desire of all colonial actors who worked in the upper Niger was to establish and nurture a system of education similar to the English public school system to benefit the future members of the Fulani aristocracy which furnished loyal manpower for “Native Administration”. Deliberate policy initiatives were taken to ensure that the Christian missionary agencies were excluded from playing a role in the realization of that desire. Colonial officials who were not pleased with the anti-colonial inclinations of beneficiaries of western education peddled by Christian missionary agencies in the lower Niger took deliberate steps to keep the latter out of the upper Niger. They were concerned that Christian missionary agencies would repeat the same role of ‘producing’ opponents of colonial rule if they were allowed to operate in the upper Niger.

The proselytization activities of the Christian missionary agencies as well as their propagation of western education helped to bring about social changes in both Igbo and

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<sup>131</sup> Chinua Achebe himself a product of colonial education who often criticizes it told *The Guardian* (Manchester) that “Colonial education was saying there was nothing worth much in my society”. Maya Jaggi “Story of the Savannah” *The Guardian*, Saturday, November 18, 2000.



Yoruba societies. Because Christian missionary agencies through their proselytization were also able to weaken indigenous cultures which tended to blunt anti-colonial resistance there was an initial convergence of interests between them and colonial administrators in the Niger basin. In Igboland for instance, the establishment of Native Courts and Christian mission stations (Ekechi 1971, 1983) always accompanied the conquest of each community. But the emergence of divergence of opinion between the Christian missionary agencies and colonial administrators on what the role of western education should be in the Niger basin produced a divergence in their interests as well. For the Christian missionary agencies, western education was strictly a tool for evangelization and social change while colonial administrators wanted it to remain “an important factor in colonial control” (Fajana 1972: 323). However, both views ran foul of the expectations of nationalities particularly in the lower Niger where the recipients of western education strongly believed that it is the ticket for “full participation in all phases of government and ultimate self-government” (Fajana 1972: 323). Their conviction became a source of concern for colonial officials.

That was not all. There are other explanations for why Christian missionary agencies were kept at bay in the upper Niger. In Igboland where initial military activities did not pacify the people to any significant degree for colonial rule, most communities and individuals that found it difficult to submit to colonial rule became targets of repressive and high-handed treatment from colonial administrators. So much so that functionaries of the Christian missionary agencies took it upon themselves and wrote letters and petitions in which they condemned the cruel treatment of the people (Ekechi

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1971, Nwabara 1977). Such activist engagements became additional grounds for colonial actors who operated in the upper Niger to keep the Christian missionary agencies at bay.

Unlike in the lower Niger, in the upper Niger colonial education policy was formulated implemented with the aims of protecting Islam from contamination by western culture and preserving the socio-political status quo in the Caliphate society (Luckham 1971a: 208).

Frederick Lugard was averse to the existing practice in the lower Niger and other parts of Africa where the propagation of western education was under the charge of western missionary agencies. He strongly believed that the propagation of western education should be integrated with the exercise of colonial power and authority, while colonial administrators must exclusively determine its contents, scope, and spread. He favored a system of western education, which accommodated Islam, its institutions, and scholars, and for the benefit of sons of the Fulani ruling classes as a matter of preference. The success of the preferential formulation and implementation of colonial education policy through meticulous micro-management and interventions by British colonial administrators in the upper Niger was startling—see Tables 5.1-4. All over the upper Niger, particularly in Hausaland, the acquisition of western education was heavily skewed in favor of primarily the sons of various categories of the Fulani ruling classes, i.e. emirs, district heads, and secondarily, the sons of their loyalists, who were employed in the “Native Administration” establishment. In 1952 for instance, all but 24% of the members of the Northern Region House of Chiefs were beneficiaries of preferential education policy (Tibenderana 1983). In 1954, when the nationalities of the upper Niger (which were assigned 54.5% of the total population in the controversial census of 1952)

graduated a mere 85 boys in the competitive School Certificate Examination, the equivalence of the university matriculation test, 1,334 of their counterparts from the lower Niger passed the same examination (Miners 1971: 36). In the period 1958-65 while a mere total of 7,037 and 3,557 boys respectively took and passed the school certificate examination in the upper Niger, a total of 50,343 boys and girls from the lower Niger took the same examination, out of which 30,906 passed (Miners 1971: 117).

Britain’s colonial education policy produced assorted varieties of durable political legacies that produce political instability in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state. In Igboland and Yorubaland where western education was quickly associated with skills that enabled its recipients to become effective participants in the economic, social, and

Upper Niger (“Northern Provinces”)			
	1914	1915	1916
Number of Provincial Schools		12	18
Enrollment		781	830
Unassisted Schools	Unavailable	Unavailable	681
Lower Niger (“Southern Provinces”)			
Number of Govt. Schools	54	51	48
Enrollment in Govt. Schools	5,757	4,784	5,049
Number of Govt. Assisted Schools	85	85	86
Enrollment	15,211	15,171	16,410
No of unassisted Schools	714	587	963
Enrollment	43,791	24,092	53,689

Table 5.1: Early disparity in school attendance in the upper and lower Niger  
Source: *Annual Colonial Report Nigeria*, #950

political systems that dawned with colonial intervention, individuals and even communities wasted no time to invest their hard-earned resources to support and fund it.

Western education quickly became a factor, which enhanced the age-old democratic practice of authority in Igbo and Yoruba societies. Rather than harm the egalitarian components of the social, economic and political patterns in Igboland and Yorubaland, western education produced the opposite effect. Rather than condone colonialism’s systematic reconfiguration of indigenous patterns of authority, Igbo and Yoruba recipients of western education were at odds with all attempts by the British to impede their access to channels of *Participation* in their authority patterns. They were quick to assert claims over their legitimate right to take precedence over the so-called native chiefs in the leadership of their societies. They argued that their exposure to western education and culture qualified them more than the “native chiefs” for participation in the direction of the affairs of their society.

The contrary was the case in Hausaland where western education became a tool that was used to enhance and sustain the socio-political *status quo*. It wasn’t until 1947 for instance, that the inauguration of the Regional House of Assembly in the upper Niger opened up a channel of *Participation* for commoners for the first time in post-*jihad* Hausaland.

The Birth Places of College Entrants in the Upper Niger, 1921-42					
Year	Provincial Headquarters	District Headquarters	Minor Emirate Headquarters	Other	Total
1921-30	23	3	13	9	48
1931-36	16	16	8	6	46
1937-42	17	15	11	12	55
Total	56	34	32	27	149

Table 5.2: Beneficiaries of preferential education policy in the upper Niger  
 Source: Hubbard 2000: 267

Links of Secondary School Entrants to the NA			
Year	Father's Occupation in the NA	Fee Payer in the NA	Total
1921-30	32	3	35
1931-36	216	6	32
1937-42	28	5	33
Total	86	14	10

Table 5.3: Links of secondary school entrants to the Native Administration (NA), 1921-42 in the upper Niger. Source: Hubbard 2000: 267

*Evidence-Based Proof on the Outcomes of Colonial Education Policy*

In contrast to the lower Niger, there was a desire by colonial actors who operated in the upper Niger to build “a modern and aristocratic Anglo-Muslim civilization” (Barnes 1997: 198). That contrast was a unique concept in British state building in the Niger basin. When the desire was applied to the formulation and implementation of

Secondary School Entrants Father's Occupation 1921-42				
Occupation	1921-30	1931-36	1937-42	Total

Emir	6	3	6	15
Senior Official	3	3	1	7
Other Official	3	3	2	8
District Head	8	5	7	20
Village Head	7	11	6	24
Officials Retainer	4	1	1	6
NA Employee	1	0	5	12
Judge	1	4	7	16
Trader	3	1	4	8
Farmer	3	9	15	27
Craftsman	1	2	0	3
Total	45	46	61	162

Table 5.4: Secondary school entrants in Caliphate Hausaland in the period 1921-42 by their father's occupation. Source: Hubbard 2000: 267.

colonial education policy in the upper Niger, it led to the cultivation of a worldview compatible with Hausa-Fulani authority patterns by the products of western education in particularly Caliphate Hausaland and the upper Niger in general. As we mentioned somewhere above, it was conscious colonial policy, to ensure that products of western education in the upper Niger evolved a worldview compatible with Fulani authority patterns. Our view therefore, is that colonial education policy was responsible for bringing about a situation in the supra-national state in which two different worldviews were cultivated in recipients of western education from the upper and lower Niger respectively. Given the discernable differences between both worldviews, they have tended to contend with and against each other in politics and other realms of life in such a

manner that has not augured well for political performance in the supra-national state during and after colonial rule.

There is no harm to mention at this point that the issue of dichotomy in the worldview held by individual political actors in society is central in our E-G scheme-guided discourse. The need to substantiate our assertions that it was a conscious colonial policy to ensure that products of western education in the upper Niger cultivated a worldview that was compatible with Hausa-Fulani authority patterns with specific evidence led us to the autobiography and biography of Ahmadu Bello, one of the prominent pioneer products of western education in the upper Niger. Ahmadu Bello claimed descent from Dan Fodio, received the hierarchy title of *Sardauna* in the Sokoto Caliphate, and became the first premier of the Northern Region. He was a targeted victim of the January 15, 1966 military coup d'état.

Colonialism neither attempted to nor disrupted the Islamic system of education and socialization in the Caliphate society. Instead, British colonial actors who operated in the upper Niger implemented a conscious policy that established a tradition that continuously nurtured a healthy collaboration between Islamic and western systems of education in the Caliphate society. Islamic education remained the primary agency that functioned to inculcate *tarbiyya*<sup>132</sup> or discipline and moral values in the young and the growing. It prepared individuals to occupy their assigned stations in the Caliphate society (Lemu 1983 in Paden 1986). In this regard, one hears the echoes of Herbert

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<sup>132</sup> According to Paden, in the Hausa language, “The term *tarbiyya* is the broad generic term for training and discipline, and may include aspects of corporal punishment, but really refers to the learning of acceptable behavior in society. It is related to the idea of obedience (*biyayya*), and its opposite, disobedience (*rashin biyayya*). The commonly used contemporary term for “indiscipline” (*rashin da’a*) ... derives from the Arabic term *da’a*” (Paden 1986: 81).

Hyman's research findings on the importance of socialization and learning to an individual in the acquisition "of social patterns corresponding to his societal positions mediated through various agencies of society" (Hyman 1959: 18).

Autobiographical and biographical data on Ahmadu Bello indicate that in Sokoto, the age-old tradition of sending children between the ages of three and five off to the *makarantar allo* (Koranic schools) where they were placed under the tutelage of strict mallams continued. From that early age children were made to learn their religious obligations and values—the compulsory practice of prayers, memorization of the Koran, knowledge of Islamic law and jurisprudence, knowledge of the 'biographies and qualities' of the twenty-five prophets recognized by Islam (Paden 1986). Each of the prophets is associated with specific qualities—obedience, perseverance, piety, honesty, leadership, wisdom, patience, etc.—held up to the children for their emulation.<sup>133</sup> The process emphasized peer learning and deference to seniors and authority.<sup>134</sup>

At Katsina College, the exclusive school established solely for the sons of the Muslim ruling classes extra care was taken to ensure that Bello and his peers received "a classic form of British education (not a watered-down variety for colonial export)" (Paden 1986: 85). Katsina College which became "the fountainhead from which most western education would spring in the" upper Niger (Paden 1986: 85) was truly an English public school transplanted to Hausaland. The principal 'was a taskmaster' who placed a sign that that says "Character Maketh Man" over his desk. 'All of the teachers

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<sup>133</sup> We believe that Hyman's finding "that the totality of experiences in ... childhood status [make remarkable impression] and is responsible in part for adult patterns" (Hyman 1959: 21) holds credence here.

<sup>134</sup> Dale F. Eickelman (1978) points out that peer learning is a crucial component in Islamic education, which has been over-looked by scholars. However, peer learning is



(except the Arabic/Islamic teachers) are British, in the public school mold' and 'seventy-five percent of the students' final grade was determined by "character assessment", rather than academic performance' (Paden 1986: 88, 95, and 85).<sup>135</sup> The boys were made to visit the "Sultan's house every Friday afternoon ... to get a sense of the dignity and significance of the office of Sultan, and the social context in which it operated" (Paden 1986: 94). They evolved an age-grade system of seniority based on their enrolment number. Products of Katsina transformed themselves into the "Barewa Old Boys", a monolithic power block often called the Kaduna Mafia because of the influence of the members in commanding realms of life in supra-national state.<sup>136</sup>

As John Paden puts it, at the end, colonial education policy molded Bello into a personality whom Islam, as 'the bedrock of values in his life' gave 'meaning to the other spheres' of his life. He functioned 'well within the range of cultural norms for someone ... trained for leadership, although he sometimes carried [those] values to extreme form'. He imbibed the 'quality of rigid discipline, which is valued in the culture'. He learned 'how to dress and act to instill fear and respect in people'. 'Partly because of his early sense of ancestors and partly because of his exposure at Katsina College, he develops a strong regard for large-scale systems' and 'profound respect' for and admiration for 'the British for their ability to create large-scale systems, and maintain an historical continuity to such systems' (Paden 1986: 101-2).

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not peculiar to Islamic education. It's a feature of indigenous African systems of socialization—see Fafunwa (1974) and Raum (1940).

<sup>135</sup> Ruper Wilkinson (1964) presents a Comprehensive study of the impact of British public school education. In *Gentlemanly Power: British Leadership and the Public School Tradition-A Comparative Study in the Making of Rulers*. London and New York: Oxford University Press.

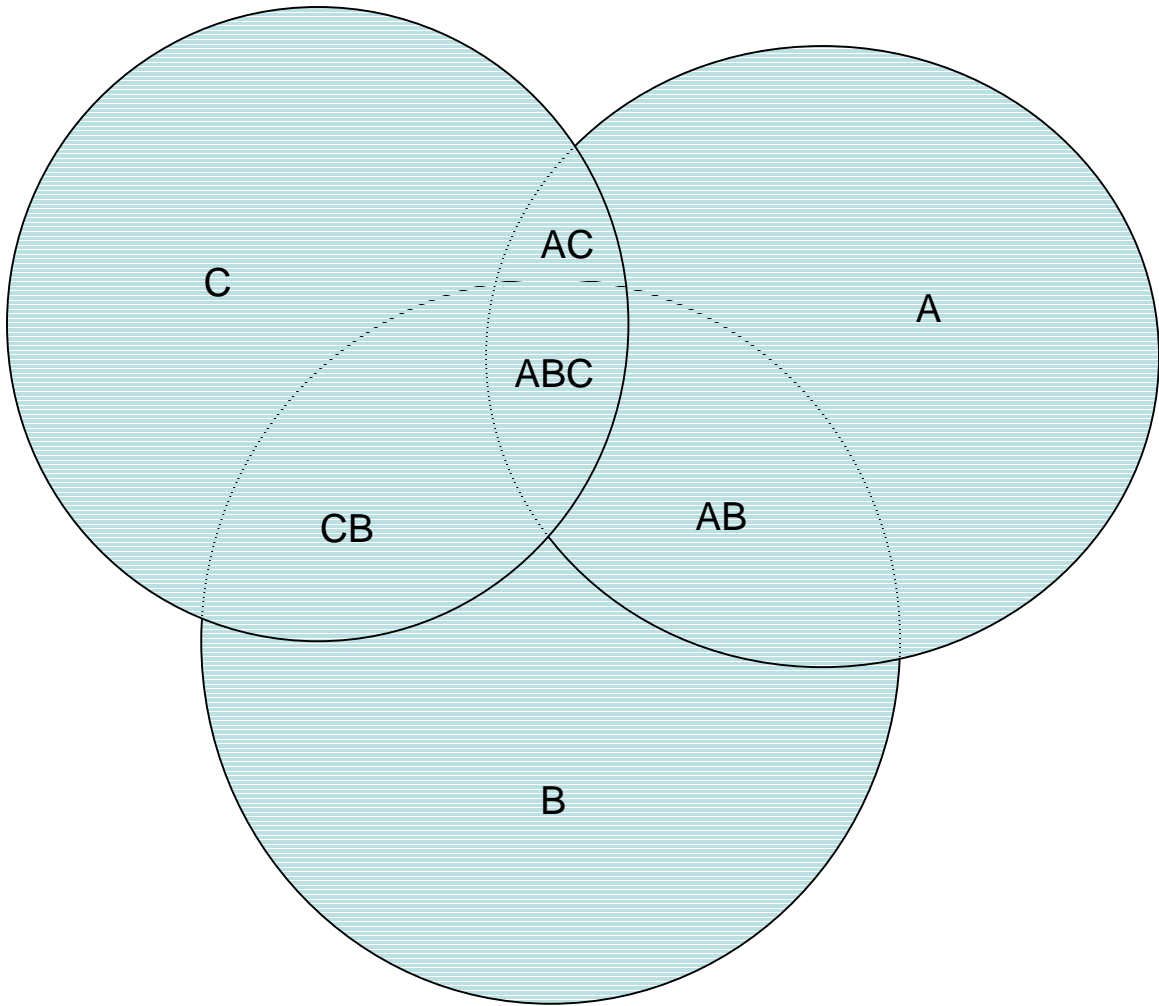
<sup>136</sup> See *The Kaduna Mafia* (1987) by B. J. Takaya and S. A. Tyoden (eds.). Jos: Jos University Press.

Bello, indeed, all products of western education in Hausaland cultivated a worldview which is the integration of “three different worlds of value and meaning into [a single] whole” (Paden 1986: 7). That worldview is a synthesis of African values, Islamic civilization, and European civilization.<sup>137</sup> Paden presents it as a sevenfold typology in Figure 5. 1. We extrapolated from Paden’s typology to construct the threefold typology shown in Figure 5.2 as the representation of the worldview cultivated in products of western education in the lower Niger. On the issue of differences in the worldview cultivated in the recipients of western education in the Caliphate society and the lower Niger, we must proffer some necessary explanations. Although we designated the one cultivated in the peoples of the lower Niger as Euro-African, we must make haste to mention that the Christian missionary agencies through whom much of colonial education policy was implemented in the lower Niger were not comfortable with the indigenous cultures. They associated them with paganism, which was targeted for eradication for reasons that it was considered backward and antithetic to Christianity (Isichei 1969).<sup>138</sup> Hence, rather than encourage and sustain continuity in the socialization

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<sup>137</sup> Bello was particularly unapologetic about being a purveyor of that worldview. According to Paden, sometime in the 1960s when Nnamdi Azikiwe (an Igbo) “met with Ahmadu Bello and said, “Let us forget our differences ...” ... Bello replied, “No, let us understand our differences. I am a Muslim and a northerner. You are a Christian and an easterner. By understanding our differences, we can build unity in our country” (Paden 1986: 3).

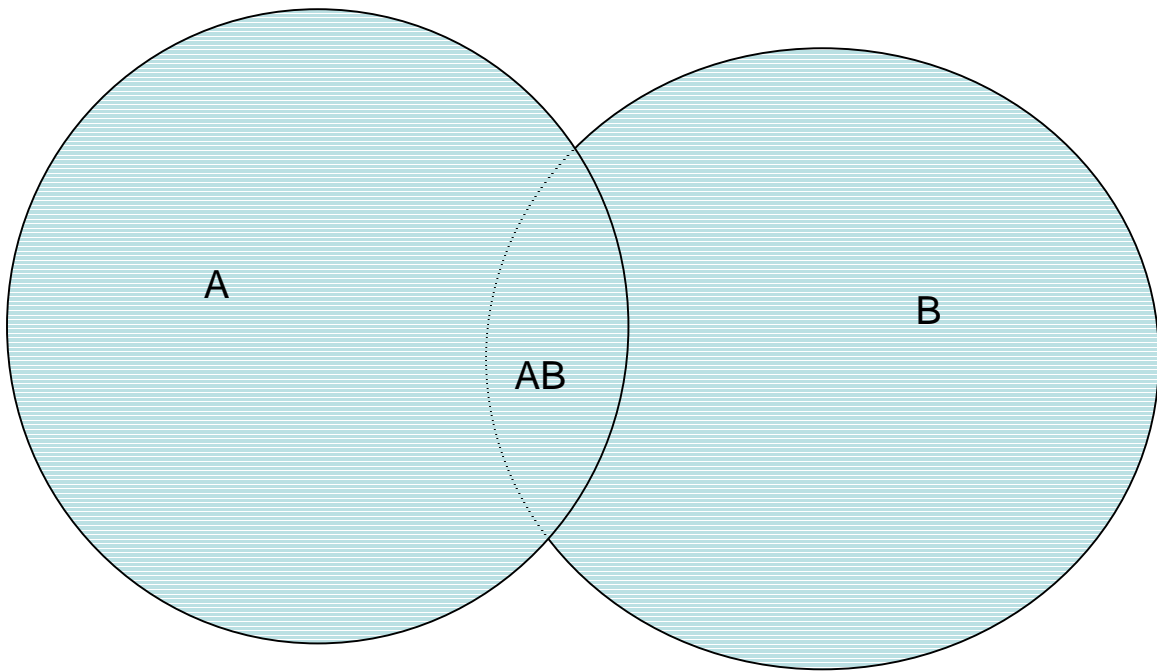
<sup>138</sup> “The missionary enterprise”, argued Isichei, “often seemed like an attack on the very structure of Ibo society. There are many examples, amusing or pathetic, of the cultural alienation imposed on early converts. The first Ibo Catholic priest, Paul Emecete (Emechete), in an interesting fragment of autobiography, remembered that when he and other boys were undergoing involuntary training as catechists, they had to speak English always. Since their only reading matter was the Bible, they were reduced to such conversational gambits as: ‘Before thou wast under the fig tree, I saw thee’” (Isichei 1969: 132).



Key

1. A = African
2. B = Islamic
3. C = European
4. AB = Islamic-African
5. AC = Euro-African
6. BC = Euro-Islam
7. ABC= Euro-Islamic-African

Figure 5.1: Overlap of civilizations culminating in the worldview cultivated in the products of western education in Hausaland. Source: John Paden (1986: 7).



- Key
1. A = African
  2. B = European
  3. AB = Euro-African

Figure 5.2: Overlap of civilizations culminating in the worldview cultivated in products of western education in the lower Niger. Source: Adapted from Paden (1986)

of children through the kind of healthy collaboration that was nurtured in the Caliphate society between Islamic and western systems of education, an unhealthy disconnection was established between western and indigenous systems of socialization in Igboland, Yorubaland, and everywhere else. Socialization in political participation and other socio-political values which have been determined in several studies to start from early years in children (Barnes 1900, Chambers 1903, Goddard 1906, Hall 1914, Hill 1930, and Adorno, et al 1950, Allport 1935 in Hyman 1959: 21-37), which one believes began for

Igbo and Yoruba children earlier in their lives in their various family settings, must have been affected adversely by colonial education as a result. Unlike in the Caliphate society, agencies of socialization such as the family and schools did not seem to have operated collaboratively in the socialization of children in lower Niger. Our belief therefore, is that while the family continued to function as the foremost agent of socialization into politics in each nationality, beyond the Caliphate society, it did so with stress and strains from colonial education policy. That could have led to a situation in which products of western education in the lower Niger were equipped at best to operate as marginal political actors in the supra-national state where the authority patterns have more resemblance with the prevalent patterns in the Caliphate society.

### **Recruitment Into Military Forces**

What exists today as the armed forces of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state originated in the various military forces that British state builders in the Niger basin raised and deployed to aid and abet their state building ambitions. Any assumption to the recruitment into those forces was guided by considerations that synchronize with Britain's imperial design and ambitions in the Niger basin. Those forces were not just utilized to build and impose the supra-national state, given the situation in which most nationalities perceive the authority of the supra-national state as illegitimate; the military establishment has been a dominant element that sustains its continued existence. The critical role of the army in the pursuit and realization of Britain's imperial ambitions in the Niger basin were seriously appreciated by Britain's colonial and state actors (Luckham 1971a: 231). That appreciation was so real that up until 1958 all decisions on

the army of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state were the exclusive preserve of the British War Office in London (Miners 1971). No one can therefore argue that the British government was not actively involved in all aspects of the various efforts made by its appointees in the Niger basin to establish the army.

Effective control of people is possible only when the loyalty of the individual agents of control is not in question.<sup>139</sup> It is in that light that our discussion in this section must take place. Implicit loyalty to the imperial cause was one major factor that determined who was recruited into those military forces. That was the underlying rationale why the initial forces used for colonial conquests in the Niger basin were raised from the ranks of disaffected individuals in society.<sup>140</sup> Lt. John Glover of the Royal Navy who later became the lieutenant-governor of crown colony Lagos raised the militia force that was used to enforce *Compliance* to crown authority in the Yoruba kingdom of Lagos from runaway Hausa slaves (Kirk-Greene 1964, Miners 1971). The bulk of the forces that Frederick Lugard deployed in Hausaland to defeat the Fulani in 1903 was raised from runaway Hausa slaves as well as other disaffected individuals in the Caliphate society (Miners 1971). In the context of the E-G scheme the slaves and disaffected individuals who enlisted in Frederick Lugard's forces and took arms against

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<sup>139</sup> See Julia Adams' "Principals and Agents, Colonialists and Company Men: The Decay of Colonial Control in the Dutch East Indies" *American Sociological Review*, 1996, Vol. 61, pp.12-28, for explicit presentation of what could happen in situations when loyalty of colonial agents falter.

<sup>140</sup> A similar factor played a role in the propagation of Christianity in Igboland. Most of the pre-1900 Christian converts in Igboland were individuals who were alienated from mainstream Igbo society—*Ndi osu* (outcastes), *ndi ohu* (chattel slaves) and victims of natural misfortunes (Ekechi 1971).

the Fulani ruling classes qualify as subordinate actors who were disposed to act creatively by impeded channels of *Participation* in the Caliphate society.

The army's role as the paramount defender of the supra-national state has been critical and functional since colonial rule. It cannot be otherwise when the supra-national state does not derive the legitimacy of its authority from the consent of its constituting nationalities. Thus, imperial considerations or loyalty to Britain's imperial ambitions and design became the determining criteria for recruitment into colonial military forces (Gutteridge 1970). The predominance of norms that support the democratic practice of authority in Igbo and Yoruba societies implied that their authority patterns were incompatible with Britain's 'imperial considerations' (Gutteridge 1970) which gave British state builders cause to disqualify Igboland and Yorubaland as suitable sources of recruits. That can account for why the Yoruba and Igbo are not considered as 'martial tribes' with 'martial traits', which were the other two qualifying criteria for recruitment into colonial military forces.

Put simply, the definitions of 'martial tribes' and martial traits' are derived from the notion which states that soldiers who are recruited from nationalities that inhabit remote parts of colonized territories are likely to be more detached, more brutal and more hostile, and as a result more effective in the suppression of anti-colonial uprisings in urban centers far from their homeland (Gutteridge 1970). Frederick Lugard and the rest of the colonial actors who played central roles in the establishment of the military forces of the supra-national state associated the urban centers with individuals from lower Niger nationalities who had western education and expressed their aversion for colonial

authority.<sup>141</sup> The army was meant to be the counter force that could be used to neutralize threats to the supra-national state from the urban residents. That rationale justified the exclusive recruitment of the Tiv (Munshi), the Numan, the Tangele, the Dakakori, et al., i.e. nationalities that inhabit the remote parts of the upper Niger later known as the ‘Middle Belt’ as infantrymen in the military forces of the supra-national state during the colonial era (Miners 1971, Gutteridge 1970). Troops raised from these nationalities were deployed to suppress the 1929-30 anti-tax protests mounted by women in Igboland and the neighboring Ibibiland (Miners 1971, Afigbo 1966, Haywood and Clark 1964).<sup>142</sup>

Like the designation of the so-called ‘martial tribes’, the definition of loyalty to Britain’s imperial ambitions was more subjective than objective. If it were otherwise, instead of members of the aforementioned nationalities who are not even adherents of the Islamic faith, from the outset members of the Fulani aristocracy could have been the prime candidates for recruitment. Conquest of the Fulani-ruled Caliphate state by the British with the same forces made its Fulani rulers to develop an initial aversion for the army. But their upset and aversion did not last long. The preferential alliance that evolved between them and the British a little after the conquest of their empire by the latter helped to bridge the initial differences that developed between them because of that conquest.

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<sup>141</sup> Exposure to Christianity was particularly considered to be a factor that rendered the nationalities of the lower Niger unfit as sources of recruitment. A recruiting mission to West Africa in November 1916 sanctioned by the War Office to remedy the manpower shortage which was affecting the prosecution of WWI made recommendations that favored the so-called “pagan areas” (Haywood and Clark 1964: 254) in the upper Niger, which “produced a useful and steady expanding volume of material” (Haywood and Clark 1964: 254) for manpower needs in the colonial military forces.



Islam's resistance to western education and its associated provision of the bases of legitimacy for Fulani authority in Hausaland was another criterion that favored its adherents as opposed to adherents of indigenous African religions or even converts to Christianity for recruitment into the colonial military forces. That explains the determination of the British to Islamize the rest of the nationalities that inhabited the upper Niger through colonial education. This assertion raises the question of why the Yoruba Muslims failed to meet the bill for recruitment into colonial military forces. By no means are we saying that adherence to or association with Islam was all that it took for members of a nationality in the Niger basin to qualify for recruitment into the military forces of the supra-national state during colonialism. There are some socio-political factors that account for why Yoruba Muslims were deemed unsuitable for the military forces at the time. The version of Islam that the British deemed unthreatening to their imperial design in the Niger basin was noticeably conservative in content and approach, which was why it provided the bases of legitimacy for Fulani authority in the Caliphate society. Islam's conservative traits produced the situation in which "the cult of the Muslim led to support for men and institutions that were despotic and corrupt" (Gutteridge 1970: 304). There were still versions of the faith that posed threats to both Fulani authority and colonial rule in Hausaland (Adeleye 1972). As soon as it was introduced in Yorubaland Islam was quickly reconditioned by the indigenous 'norms', 'forms' and 'practice' of authority. Yoruba Muslims never looked to the Fulani for guidance in the practice of their faith. A people who adhere strongly to norms that support *Participation* and *Responsiveness* in the practice of authority could not be found

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<sup>142</sup>In the official lexicon of the army, that operation in which a lot of women lost their lives is known in Hausa as *yakin mata*, i.e. 'Women's War'.

suitable for recruitment into military forces meant for enforcing *Compliance* to regimented *Directiveness* that emanate from an autocratic system of governance.

Loyalty to Britain's imperial design and ambitions was not the only qualifying criterion for recruitment into the military forces of the supra-national state during colonial rule.<sup>143</sup> The extent to which a nationality's indigenous authority patterns and influence relations are democratic or autocratic, and the degree, i.e. the extent to which members of a nationality identify with the norms that guide the practice of authority played some roles too.<sup>144</sup> The trenchant disloyalty that the British associated with the Igbo and the Yoruba is a function of their democratic authority patterns and influence relations and their consistent and passionate attachment to both. They were unlike the Tiv of the upper Niger whose initial willingness to accommodate attempts to restructure their uncentralized and democratic political organization (Bohannan 1958, Magid 1968: 300) gave the British cause to believe that they would abandon their democratic system of indigenous governance (Dent 1966). Eventual attempts by the British to mold a monolithic political entity in the upper Niger by integrating every nationality into the Fulani Caliphate society was a huge success in Tivland (at least in the short run and in terms of the normative changes in their institutional structures).

Similar attempts in communities in northern Igboland that share boundaries with parts of the upper Niger drew fierce resistance (Jones 1961). The same is true of attempts to introduce direct taxation which was seen as tribute payment to alien rulers by the Igbo and most of their neighbors (Afigbo 1966) in parts of the Igbo heartland in the 1920s.

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<sup>143</sup> Loyalty to Britain was never in short supply among the Fulani ruling classes. In his 1913 *Annual Report* E. J. Arnett, the "Resident" in charge of Sokoto "Province disclosed that: "The Sarkin Musulimi aided by the Waziri and Majidadi has continued to give every satisfaction in carrying out loyally the policy of the government" (in Paden 1986: 85).

Direct taxation was so provocative in some communities that even the “warrant chiefs” joined the rest of their communities to proclaim to a D. O. that they were not conquered like the Hausa and would not submit themselves to direct taxation (Afigbo 1966: 552).

The assumption made by Britain’s colonial administrators in the upper Niger that they had succeeded in molding the nationalities that inhabit it into the monolithic polity that they called the “Protectorate” of Northern “Nigeria” was yet another rationale that gave them the confidence to recruit its’ peoples into the military forces.<sup>145</sup> That explained the emphasis that was placed on the recruitment of Hausa-speakers.<sup>146</sup> But from the rational point of view there is an inherent paradox in a recruitment policy that favored speakers of a language and a culture that discouraged literacy in western technology and education (Gutteridge 1970, 1975). For one, it led to the evolution of a vacuum in western education and technology in the armed forces of the supra-national state, which produced far-reaching negative consequences on its political performance in the post-colonial period. In the army, the social cleavage that resulted was further compounded by the outbreak of World War II. But it wasn’t until the end of *de facto* colonial rule that it exploded into coups and coup attempts. In the absence of Europeans to meet the need for tradesmen and skilled personnel (drivers, mechanics, clerks, etc.) in the army, recruiters were forced to look in the nationalities of the lower Niger particularly the Igbo (Gutteridge 1970, Miners 1971).

The imminent end of *de facto* colonial rule forced another realistic shift on the recruitment policy into the military forces beginning from the 1950s. The need to replace

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<sup>144</sup> Degree here can be measured in terms of *high* or *low*.

<sup>145</sup> The consequences of that assumption have been unusually dire for political stability in the supra-national state.

the all-British officer corps did entail the recruitment of members of lower Niger nationalities who possess the requisite western education qualification to take the place of departing British officers.

Each nationality's reaction and response to that need was typical of (i) the texture of the asymmetrical relationship between its leadership and subordinate members, and (ii) the reflection of its authority patterns and influence relations. In the upper Niger prominent Hausa-Fulani political actors including the *Sardauna* of Sokoto who was also the premier of the Northern Region embarked on a targeted campaign to convince and lure secondary school boys to enlist in the officer corps. In his speeches the *Sardauna* harped on "the former martial glories of the jihads" (Lukaham 1971a: 244) and called on students to 'show that they were not women' (Lukaham 1971a: 244). They initiated policies (quota system, lowering of entry qualifications, and reducing failure rates in selection tests into the 'Nigerian' Military Training College) that benefited nationalities in the upper Niger (Luckham 1971a). In the nationalities that inhabit the lower Niger, enlistment into the military remained a career choice that individuals made on their own. In the light of the socio-political disparities between society in Hausaland, Igbo and Yoruba, while enlistees from the upper Niger who responded to their leadership and joined the army constituted a cohort of beneficiaries in a patronage-clientage system, their counterparts from elsewhere saw themselves as citizens in the army. In both composition and ideology, the army was hardly a homogenous establishment in the supra-national state. Some of the seeds that later germinated as crises in the army were planted under this circumstance.

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<sup>146</sup> Hausa has been the official *lingua franca* of the 'Nigerian' Army (NA) (Miners 1971, Luckham 1971b).

Ahead in western education, and being a nationality in which the individual is free to embark on pursuits for personal advancement without securing the approval of the ruling classes, the Igbo quickly took advantage of the window of opportunity which opened in the officer corps and enlisted in record numbers. In 1956 and in 1960 when colonial rule ended 68% of the officer corps was composed of Igbo (Gutteridge 1970). That figure was in contrast to only 14% who hailed from nationalities in the upper Niger (Miners 1971). The Yoruba, whose members didn't seem to show much desire at first for the military constituted about 17% of the corps in 1960 (Miners 1971, Gutteridge 1970, Luckham 1971b).<sup>147</sup> But it was only the composition of the officer corps that changed as a result. The rank and file remained predominantly Hausa speaking (about 75-80%). It is intriguing that it was this skewed composition of the officer corps and not the one of the rank and file became the nagging cause of worry for Hausa-Fulani political actors.

The effects of the preferential recruitment policies that favored the Hausa-Fulani began to manifest themselves in the army in the years following the end of WWII. Artillery units and infantry battalions (about 70-80%) of the army were composed of illiterate, Hausa-speakers drawn from nationalities in the upper Niger. On the other hand, the nominal skilled-trades-based component of the force was composed of members of lower Niger nationalities who possessed some measure of western education. The socio-political cleavage in this configuration of the military forces of the supra-national state is one that served Britain's imperial interests in the Niger basin. A mutiny over poor living conditions by some 100 clerks (from lower Niger nationalities) who were attached to the Command Ordnance Depot in the Yoruba town of Yaba in 1952 was quickly suppressed

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<sup>147</sup> In 1966, seven years after the end of colonial when the population of the army was exactly 10,500 there were just 700 Yoruba in the army (Miners 1971: 27).

by a detachment of Military Police and infantry riflemen (from upper Niger nationalities) before they could do more than wound a couple of their European officers and torch some army property (Miners 1971). Over the course of the post-colonial period the symbolism of this and similar episodes traceable to that cleavage have not augured well at all for political performance in the supra-national state.

By the late 1950s the preferential state building policies of the British had entrusted control of the supra-national state into the hands of Hausa-Fulani political actors, who now sought to use the authority of the supra-national state to “redress” what they perceived as an imbalance in the composition of the officer corps. Through their monopoly of such crucial positions of authority in the supra-national state as the prime ministership, defense portfolio, etc. the Hausa-Fulani were able to initiate a quota system that began to guide recruitment in the officer corps. That quota system reinforced the Igbo and Yoruba perception that the Hausa-Fulani were not playing according to the norms of democracy in a plural state. While the resultant composition of the army continued to serve Britain’s “imperial purpose” (Gutteridge 1970: 305) in the Niger basin to the hilt, it also it opened the super-national state to perpetual political instability and poor political performance.

The establishment of the police force presented the British with a different kettle of fish in its state building undertaking in the Niger basin. In the initial stage of colonial rule there was hardly a distinction between the army and the police (Gutteridge 1970). But over the course of time there one major factor influenced policy on recruitment into the police. Unlike the army the police was mostly quartered and deployed in the cities where the bulk of those who received western education reside. Because the prerequisite

for enlistment into the police included some measure of western education it wasn't possible for recruiting decisions to favor Hausa speakers or Muslims from remote parts of the upper Niger.<sup>148</sup> That seemed to have helped to leave the door into the police more open for the Igbo and Yoruba, irrespective of the fact that the force was placed under the authority of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, a Hausa (Miners 1971).

### **Chapter Summation**

Britain's state building undertakings in the Niger basin did not conclude with the military conquest of its inhabiting nationalities. Indeed, the unprovoked invasion and conquest of the area was the first phase of those efforts. The next phase was devoted to formulating a homogenous set of authority patterns that facilitated the practice of colonial authority in the area under the aegis of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state.

The direct rule and the amalgamation policies, colonial education policy, and the policy that guided recruitment into the military forces of the supra-national state during the colonial era constitute the four principal tools with which that task was accomplished. The implementation of all four policies was mediated by the close alliance that evolved between the British and the Fulani ruling classes in Hausaland. It was an alliance that was predicated on Frederick Lugard's liking for the autocratic dimensions and dispositions of the Fulani authority patterns, which contrasts with his disdain for those of the Igbo and Yoruba which are democratic.

Thus, in the upper Niger, the indirect rule policy was implemented to preserve and extend the autocratic Fulani authority patterns to all nationalities that inhabit the area.

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<sup>148</sup> As at 1960 the composition of the police force was in favor of lower Niger nationalities particularly Igbo (Miners 1971: 143).

In contrast, in the lower Niger, it was used to undermine the democratic authority patterns of the Igbo, Yoruba, and the rest. In the upper Niger colonial education policy was a direct extension of colonial rule. The efforts of Christian missionary agencies on the propagation of western education in the lower Niger were blamed for the anti-colonial agitations of its recipients. The amalgamation itself became a device that was used to extend the autocratic authority patterns of the supra-national state with all their resemblances to those of the Fulani, to the rest of the Niger basin. Recruitment into colonial military forces was guided by a policy which ensured only the enlistment of members of nationalities that were considered loyal to Britain's imperial interests.

While the Hausa-Fulani, who cherished the preferential treatment that they were accorded, saw themselves as rulers, the Igbo, the Yoruba and the others became more distrustful of the supra-national state and its authority.

## CHAPTER VI:

### THE CRITIQUE OF EXISTING DISCOURSE AND THEORIES:



## THE QUEST FOR THEORETICAL RECONSTRUCTION

### Section One

#### Bringing In the Nationalities and Their History

Amongst the several propositional statements that we made earlier in the study is the suggestion that the discourse on political instability in ‘new states’ is both varied and extensive. In a period that spans more than four decades the shortage of political stability and its negative impacts on all aspects of the lives of the populations of the ‘new states’ have been the subjects of immense interest to scholars who work from every theoretical perspective in the social sciences and allied disciplines in the humanities. However, we equally suggested that those studies encompass extensive theoretical inadequacies. One of the more glaring inadequacies evident in most accounts of political instability in ‘new states’ is that most of them are largely a-historical and overtly fixated on the post-colonial state as the only and central unit of analysis. Very little regard, if at all is paid in them to the diverse and distinct social units that were made to constitute the ‘new states’.

Suggestions and findings in studies by scholars such as Jalali and Lipset (1992-1993), Olzak and Tsutsui (1998), Gurr (1993), Anderson (1991), Hechter (1987), Smith (1981 and 1986), Tilly (1975 and 1993)<sup>149</sup> all suggest that group identity issues have defied all predictions that they are disappearing anachronisms. Not only that they haven’t disappeared into oblivion they have been responsible for most of the movements, claims, and violence that occur in UN-member states. Such suggestions are sufficient grounds for a study like ours and the suggestions and findings that emanate from it. The need for including the indigenous nationalities that constitute post-colonial ‘states’ as units of

analysis in the discourse on the political instability that plagues their body politic is made more necessary in the light of other research suggestions too. Esman (1995) argues in a related vein that the increasing incidents of political instability associated with nationalities constitute obstacles to global peace while Susan Olzak and Kiyoteru Tsutsui (1998: 695) suggested “that characteristics of states in the world system generate distinct patterns of ethnic violence, nonviolent protest, and rebellion”.<sup>150</sup>

In most of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East where European colonialism created new political arrangements that assumed charge over the affairs of indigenous peoples there is ample evidence to suggest that neither colonial conquest nor de facto colonial rule and their legacies succeeded erasing indigenous societies and cultures. We pointed out in Chapter Two of our narrative for instance that because of the persistence of indigenous societies, cultural norms, values, and structures alongside the society, cultural norms, values, and structures that emerged with the ‘states’ that resulted from colonialism in contemporary Africa that Zolberg (1968) described contemporary society in Africa as ‘*syncretic*’. Willaim Easterly and Ross Levin (1997) acknowledged this persistence albeit as a liability in their “ethnic theory of African stagnation” (Englebert 2000: 27). In the realm of the economy Pierre Englebert (2000) highlights the negative role that great incongruence between post-colonial and pre-colonial institutions play in economic growth in contemporary African polities.

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<sup>149</sup> Our interpretation of these authors’ preference to designate the distinct social units as ethnic groups instead of nationalities is that it is the reflection of the entrenched mindset that nationalities deserve to be over-looked that we critique in the study.

<sup>150</sup> Their suggestion derives from the conclusion that “peripheral countries with more ties to international governmental organizations have significantly lower levels of ethnic violence than peripheral countries without those ties” (Olzak and Tsutsui 1998: 691).

For us therefore, if indigenous peoples, their societies and institutions did not and have not disappeared in the parts of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East where Europeans created ‘new states’ at about the end of the nineteenth century, we believe that their persistence must have been impacting the course of politics in the ‘new states’. To accommodate them as units of analysis in studies of political development in the ‘new states’ like this one is tantamount to enriching the discipline of political sociology.

Furthermore, going back into the pre-colonial history of the indigenous peoples of the Niger basin became a necessary avenue to establish that each of them had always directed their affairs and their society not in random and haphazard manner, but according to normatively determined and peculiar patterns deeply embedded within the fabrics of their age-old socio-cultural institutions. We were able to establish that there had been situations in the pre-colonial history of some them when warfare was employed in state building, and that the outcomes were similar to the one that resulted from colonialism, i.e. the forceful incorporation of distinct peoples into a unitary political arrangement in the past produced negative consequences.

In and by itself the resort to pre-colonial history became a methodological device in the study. It is evident in Figure 6. 1 that in contrast to previous studies in which the nationalities were deliberately excluded as unites of analysis, in the present study we have invented an expanded design that responds to one of the methodological concerns inherent in comparative and historical research that involves small or even fewer cases (Liebersohn 1992). The social research practice—that derives “from [John Stuart] Mill’s

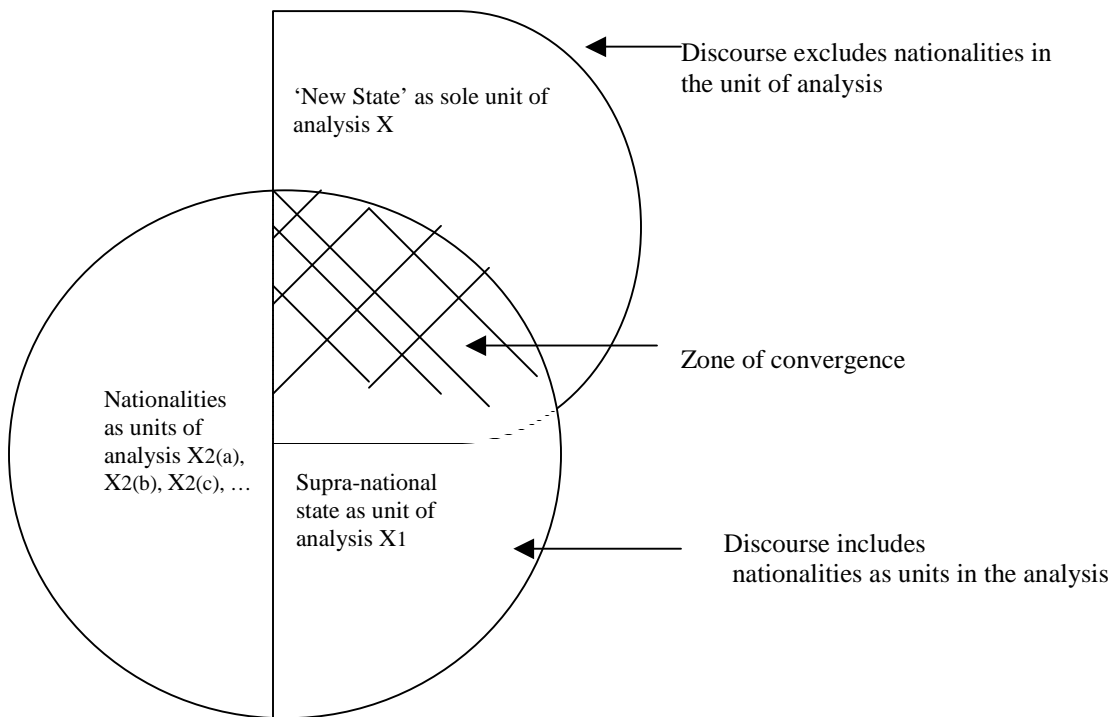


Figure 6.1: Diagrammatic representation of theory reconstruction in the discourse on political instability in the 'new states' to include the nationalities as units of analysis

[1872] method of agreement and ... difference" (Lierberson 1992: 105)—of using few cases in comparative and historical social research to draw causal inference as “the forces that drive a societal outcome such as political development or organizational characteristics” (Lierberson 1992: 105) has been common place in political sociology for a long time now. Barrington Moore (1967), Skocpol (1979), Orloff and Skocpol (1984), Katznelson (1985), and Stepan (1985) have all used it to good effect.

But by expanding the unit of analysis beyond the post-colonial ‘state’ as we have done, we were able to execute the narrative in terms of comparing the differences and similarities in authority patterns (an independent variable) between the nationalities on the one hand, and between them and the post-colonial ‘state’ on the other, to discern the causal relationship between their authority patterns and the rest of the other independent variables and the dependent variable (political instability). Thus, as can be further discerned from Figure 6.1, instead of a design that involved the state (X) as the sole unit of analysis, we utilized the one that includes the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national (X<sub>1</sub>), and the nationalities (X<sub>2a</sub>, X<sub>2b</sub>, (X<sub>2c</sub>...)) as units of analysis.<sup>151</sup>

### **Accommodating the Concept of Supra-national State Within the Statist Paradigm**

The conception of the state in the discourse on political instability in ‘new states’ is as extensive and wide-ranging as the discourse itself. It has ranged from the pluralism-structural functionalism, and Marxism paradigms, which critics charge with treating “the state as a dependent variable; [whose] actions are explained by the interplay of interest groups or of social classes” (Lehman 1988: 859), to the age-old statist paradigm pioneered by Max Weber ([1924] 1968) and Otto Hintze (1975), and embraced by Nettle (1968), Stepan (1978), Skocpol (1979), Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol (1985), and others.

Without dismissing the relevance of the contributions made in social research by studies that situate their theoretical perspectives within the first two paradigms mentioned above, we believe that the state-centered paradigm serves our narrative in the present

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<sup>151</sup> This design is exceedingly robust, and can, depending on the available “time-energy cost” be expanded infinitely to accommodate an extensive number of cases.

study best, for the following amongst several other reasons. (i) The statist paradigm emphasizes institutions and their constraints on the behavior of individuals in society. It is evident in the narrative that we stressed that the role played by the patterns of authority inherent in the segmental institutions and units in the societies that we studied is important for the practice of authority in each one of them. (ii) We subscribed to the crucial position in the statist paradigm that political phenomena in society are better understood when they are viewed “in a longitudinal and historical perspective” (Almond 1988: 871). This is evident in the way that we viewed and analyzed the phenomenon of interest, i.e. political instability, in the study. (iii) The emphasis placed by the statist paradigm on the position that politics amounts more to “rule and control than of allocation” (Almond 1988: 870) knocks at the heart of the observations and findings that we made in the narrative about the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state in the Niger basin.<sup>152</sup> In terms of the logic of its founding, characteristics, and inability to transform, in fact its entire history, the supra-national state is best suited for control and rule as opposed to allocation. Its involvement in acts that qualify as allocation has been mostly accidental consequences of its abrasive interactions with most of the nationalities in the Niger basin.

The concept of supra-national state, which features quite prominently in the narrative is a conscious conception used to elucidate some of the peculiar differences between the states as they exist in Africa in contrast to their European counterparts. It denotes the other contribution made by this study to political sociology. Although “broad-ranging” (Ertman 1997: 10), the theories of state building developed by Hintze

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<sup>152</sup> Callaghy (1984) subscribes to the same position too. But in spite of his argument made from that position that states in contemporary Africa straddles and struggles against society for legitimacy, his suggestions fell short of identifying the basis of the lack of legitimacy experienced by African states.

(1975), Michael Mann (1986), Tilly (1985 and 1990), Perry Anderson (1974) and Brian Downing (1992) respectively all focus exclusively on medieval and early modern Europe (Ertman 1997). Notwithstanding their “competing explanations for variations in political regime and the character of their administrative and financial infrastructures” (Ertman 1997: 1011) that these scholars argue to have evolved in European states, the single factor common to all their theories is the one about war making as a central factor that drives state building. In as much as the extension of the European state system in the late nineteenth century by some of “Europe’s leading states ... by colonization, conquest, and penetration of non-European states” (Tilly 1990: 181) in Africa, some parts of Asia and the Middle East alludes to the centrality of warfare in state building, it is unrealistic for anyone to suggest that European efforts finalized the issue of state building in the non-European world. In the Niger basin, it was due largely to colonialism’s inability to obliterate indigenous nationalities that it proved itself only capable of establishing an administrative that finds it difficult and impossible to penetrate and transform indigenous nationalities effectively. We established in the narrative that persistent political instability in the Niger basin since colonial conquest is proof that the indigenous inhabitants of the area have refused to find the requisite sense of identity in colonialism’s administrative legacies. Their restiveness is an indication that they may be waiting for the opportunity to reassert their political autonomy if not break away completely from colonialism’s legacies. It’s therefore improper to perceive Africa’s contemporary polities as anything else if not supra-national states that may remain perpetually unviable political arrangements.

We provided ample evidence in the narrative as proof to suggest that warfare in state building was not peculiar to medieval and early modern Europe.<sup>153</sup> Warfare was employed for the same purpose in some parts of the Niger basin in the pre-colonial period. However, in each of the cases—in Yorubaland and Hausaland and its environs—the resilient authority patterns of the nationalities dictated the confined success and durability of the resultant states. The peculiarity of the indigenous nationalities of the Niger basin did not and may not accommodate the same state building trajectory that prevailed in parts of Europe in the medieval and early modern periods.<sup>154</sup> Furthermore, some of our findings suggest that arguments made by the likes of Herbst (1990) that political instability in contemporary African polities derive from the continent’s non-conformity to Europe’s state building trajectory or to the state system that resulted from it are not supported by concrete facts of history.

By employing the concept of supra-national state in the narrative we are able to highlight the problems and contradictions evident in the state system that European colonialism bequeathed to the inhabitants of the Niger basin visà- vis their authority patterns. The concept was employed to expose the origin of the various factors that dispose the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state its weaknesses and illegitimacy. Attempts by the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state to acquire ‘hardness’ through intensified efforts to penetrate indigenous societies to for instance improve its ability to extract more resources may further diminish its fortunes and even hasten its demise. Existing studies on political development in the Niger basin and indeed most of Africa have wrongly equated the

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<sup>153</sup> Edgar Kiser and Yong Cai (2003) have shown that warfare featured prominent in state building in Chinese history too.

<sup>154</sup> Continuing political stirrings in parts of Western Europe such as Spain, United Kingdom indicate that Europe did not resolve its state building issues in the two periods.



'Nigerian' supra-national state as the parallel equivalent of states in Europe. That comparison, which does not take its performance during colonial rule into account, is then used to justify the suggestion that European states are both strong and hard while their African 'counterparts' are in contrast are soft and weak. The application of the concept of supra-national state underscores the fact that we did not over-look the colonial history and persistent poor performance of the 'Nigerian' state vis-à-vis the nationalities. It is a formulation that accommodates the diachronic existence as one of the bases for assessing its overall performance.

*Why We Extended the Narrative beyond the Three Selected Nationalities*

The nature and dynamics of the narrative made it necessary for us to extend the discourse beyond the three nationalities in the case study. But for that we could have been unable to establish the supra-national nature and character of the Fulani Caliphate state for instance. By accounting for the distinct nationalities that the Fulani rulers incorporated into their Caliphate empire we were able to test elements of some of our hypotheses at another level beyond the involvement of an external power in state building. That is, that the proposition that social, economic, and political heterogeneity amongst diverse social units that are compelled to constitute a supra-national political arrangement often constitutes the recipe for political instability.

We have not been shy to admit that time and other resource constraints are largely responsible for forcing the tripartite sample of the Igbo, the Yoruba, and the Hausa-Fulani on us as representative cases in the study. Historical evidence indicates that political development in the Niger basin was not been exclusively determined by the

demographic factor of population size. The location of each nationality's *homeland* is another crucial factor that impacts their respective roles in political development in the area. For instance, it is the eco-geographic peculiarities of the Niger delta that assigned continuing prominent roles to its numerically less nationalities—that are often excluded in study samples—in the politics of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state. Again, the proximity of the nationalities that inhabit the parts of the upper Niger basin that became known as the Middle Belt to Hausaland rendered them important factors in the conquest-driven political formations in those parts before, during, and after colonial rule. The point in all these is that our preference is to posit the exigency-driven tripartite sample of representative cases in the study not as an end in itself, but as a fluid and impervious device that permitted the inclusion of other nationalities in the complex narrative about political performance in the supra-national state that they were forced to constitute.

### **Coding Colonial Policies as State Building Measures**

Britain's colonial policies and their implementation in the Niger basin were hardly the autonomous actions of the British state. In part, they were the products of the social, political, economic, and even geographical circumstances that Britain's 'men on the spot' in the Niger basin were faced with in the course of their imperial service.<sup>155</sup> In

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<sup>155</sup> Anthony Kirk-Green identifies a category of these men in generic terms, as being composed of the District Officers (DOs) or District Commissioners (DCs). A DO according to Kirk-Green is "the field representative of the colonial government, the proverbial man-on-the-imperial-spot, ... the symbol and the executive agent of Britain's imperial administrations" (Kirk-Green 2000: 1). In the Niger basin and elsewhere in Africa they were thin gods who made and enforced 'laws' on their personal whims and caprices. There's no wonder therefore why the Igbo called him '*nwa deeshii*' meaning the petulant DC.

the other part, the ideological convictions of those men equally played decisive roles in the formulation and implementation of those policies.

Britain's colonial policies in the Niger basin have been the subject of focus in many studies most of which were conducted in the period beginning from the middle of the 1950s up until the early and the middle of the 1970s by African and European scholars. Some of those studies singled them out and examined them in and by themselves while others examined them together with the colonial policies of the other European states that owned and operated colonies on the continent. M. Semakula Kiwanuka's (1970: 295) study is an example of the latter, and he simply preferred to reappraise European colonial policies for the purposes of assessing their "presumed virtues". There are also studies of Britain's colonial policies that fit the first category mentioned above. Adiele Afigbo's (1972) study of the indirect rule policy concentrated on how British colonial administrators who operated in southeast Niger basin inhabited by the Igbo, Ogoja, Ibibi, and the Ijaw relied on it to evolve the administrative practice of appointing 'Warrant Chiefs' to exert colonial authority over these distinct nationalities. Michael Crowder's (1964) was about the stylistic differences between the application of the policy by the British and the French in their respective colonial administrations on the continent.

The indirect rule policy was prominently featured in Isichei's (1973), Jeremy White's (1981) studies too. The same is true about the Amalgamation policy, which featured prominently in the works of Nicolson (1969), and Tamuno (1972). Colonial education policy and the policy that guided the recruitment of indigenous men into the

colonial military forces were discussed by Coleman (1971), Hubbard (2000), and Gutteridge (1970), Miners (1971), Luckham (1971b), and First (1970) respectively.

Coding Britain's colonial policies in the Niger basin as state building measures is an innovative contribution to the study of political development and political sociology. The underlying logic of that coding is that but for them colonialism's most visible legacy (the 'Nigerian' supra-national state) in the Niger basin could not have been realized. Furthermore, coding them as state building measures is based on the logic and premise that the administrative and political character, institutional structures and even authority patterns of the 'Nigerian' supra-national states were all molded and put into place in large part through those policies.

### **Applying the E-G Scheme to an African Case Study**

A theory-driven longitudinal case study like this one often strives to analyze and interpret a chosen case in light of existing theories, or 'generalizations'. Always, the aim is to scrutinize the case more carefully in the bid to validate, modify, or replace existing theories with new and more valid ones (Eckstein 1966: 177). The subject of political instability in polities that emerged from circumstances similar to the ones that led to the founding of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state has been studied in the past and in the light of different theoretical perspectives. Following a careful search we concluded that Eckstein's congruence theory and the E-G scheme have never been applied to the examination of political performance in Africa or any of the 'new states' elsewhere. The application of congruence theory here is another theoretical contribution to political sociology.

Congruence theory hinges on “the nature of, and the relations among, the different authority patterns in a society” (Eckstein 1992: 187). Initiated by Harry Eckstein, the theory has been elaborated on by him and others (Eckstein 1961a, 1966, 1969, 1971, 1979, 1980, Eckstein and Gurr 1975, Gurr and McClelland 1971).

Although Weber’s state-centered conception on the bases of legitimacy was the point of departure for authors of the E-G scheme (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 202)<sup>156</sup> and they associate three of their dimensions of authority patterns with aspects of Weber’s typologies of legitimacy (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 201-229) the perspective on the problem of power and authority presented in the study is quite different from the Weberian view, which classifies power and authority structures as either traditional or patrimonial charismatic or legal-rational. Weber’s concerns centered more on the gradual emergence of constraints on the power of kings and the role of legal-rational bureaucracy in that process with particular regard to Europe and the New World which can be regarded as the extension of Europe in almost every sense. But he neither posed nor addressed the question of power and authority in a supra-national state artificially created, despite his teaching in Vienna, the capital of the Austria-Hungarian Empire, which was the best European analogue to the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state for instance. Beyond that oversight, issues of political instability were never posed by him. At the same time, we exploited two themes from Weber in our comparative analysis of the Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani (see Figure 6.2): centralization and the presence of written records or bureaucracy. Beyond those, the analysis of differences in the three of the

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<sup>156</sup> Even though Eckstein and Gurr concede that Weber’s typology might be considered as good, they still accept the merits of some of the criticisms leveled at it. Hence they regard it “as only a beginning” from which they proceeded to furnish a “more

several constituent parts of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national have been informed partly by works by scholars such as Charles Tilly’s (1975, 1985, 1990) and Ertman (1997) on state formation and transformation in Europe and their components (i.e. taxes/capital, armies/coercion, bureaucracy, etc) in the early modern period.

Eckstein’s congruence theory and the framework that derives from it start from a very different and broader perspective, namely the problem of political performance and especially the issue of political instability, our main concern in the study. Although there is a long tradition of interest in this problem within political sociological including studies of riots, strikes and contentions (Tilly 1986, and 1995, Tilly and Tilly 1975, Tarrow 1967, 1989a, 1989b and 1998, McAdam et al 1996) revolutions (Skocpol 1979, 1994, Walt 1996) and other forms of instability, sociologists have not used his framework in their analyses. Yet, it would appear that this framework offers considerable capacity as can be seen in Figure 6.2 that can be utilized to address the subject of political instability in social units.

For sociologists, a particular feature of this framework is the analysis of authority patterns in kinship structures and its linkages to the nature and dynamics of political authority as an essential way of defining congruence. In African societies, where kinship is an extremely critical component for understanding nationalities and their political organization and system, this social foundation of power reflects an important and necessary sociological perspective.

Therefore, congruence theory involves several valuable components. Some of those components include the theory’s inherent premises that authority is universal, exists

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comprehensive and more discriminating” conception (Eckstein and Gurr 1975: 201 and 204).

in patterns, and that it is practiced in every society in terms of those patterns. Furthermore, we are attracted by yet another premise of the theory which stipulates that authority patterns and practices of authority are subsumed within the socio-cultural and political organizations found in every society (Eckstein 1966a: 5). In the case of the nationalities of the Niger basin, one of the possibly several suggestions encompassed in the aforementioned premises—particularly the last one —is that the diversity and distinctiveness of their socio-cultural and political organizations are major factors that impacted the course of their respective pre-colonial history. The same is also true of the political history of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, which they were constituted into following colonial conquest. Another suggestion is that their socio-cultural and political distinctiveness are evident in their respective governmental and non-governmental authority patterns, and in the forms and scopes of their respective sociopolitical organization. The last, which is not the least by any means, is the suggestion that Britain’s state building endeavor in the Niger basin was largely influenced by the socio-cultural and political distinctiveness and diversity of the nationalities.

### **Implications of the E-G Scheme for Theory and Sociological Research**

Many orthodox theoretical arguments made about political instability in the various supra-national “states” that resulted from Europe’s colonial intervention in Africa have been exposed to serious scrutiny by the application of the E-G scheme in the present study. In Africa: Angola, Uganda, Rwanda, the Congo, etc. —indeed elsewhere in former European colonies Pakistan, Iraq, Indonesia—the likes of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state have lacked stability in their central government since the end of formal

colonial rule.<sup>157</sup> However, there is no doubt that aspects of orthodox arguments about their political instability are off-mark. First, orthodox arguments tend to assume that products of Europe's colonial intervention are givens, i.e. that they are age-old polities that emerged on the consent of the diverse nationalities that were made to constitute them. Second, such orthodox arguments tend to stress that the determinants of political stability or the lack of that in the former colonial polities are what Eckstein calls the "traits of governmental structures", the "social environment of governments" or a combination of both (Eckstein 1969: 277). The emphasis placed on what Eckstein calls the "non-political aspects of [the] social environment" (Eckstein 1969: 277) in orthodox arguments as the determinants of political stability is insufficient to provide more valid explanations. By emphasizing the "internal authority relations" (Eckstein 1969: 277) between governmental and non-governmental institutions as the determinants of political stability or its absence in polities and social units the E-G scheme enables anyone who is interested in embarking on the kind of sociological inquiry that we just conducted on the 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its constituent nationalities to do so in a manner that the independent variables of interest include "both government and society simultaneously, [and] not each separately" (Eckstein 1969: 277).

It makes a lot of sociological sense to do so. This is particularly for the reason that by so-doing, recognition is accorded to the diverse nationalities that were compelled by force to constitute the product of external intervention in state building. The individuals who reside in the various supra-national states created by Europeans in Africa tend to belong primarily to their respective indigenous society and only peripherally to

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<sup>157</sup> Counter examples are few in Africa—Tanzania and Botswana are the two that quickly come to mind.



the former. They are products of the socialization processes provided by their respective indigenous society. It is indeed the socialization that they receive in their formative years that prepares them for the various roles that they play in the course of their life. That fact is too important to be ignored in the quest to explain the roots and causes of political instability in society. Eckstein makes it evident that the framework from which the E-G scheme was derived is purposely steeped in psychological and sociological tenets absent in the theoretical perspectives that inform orthodox arguments about political instability. The social-psychological crux of his argument that: “men are able effectively to perform political roles if their previously learned norms and behavior substantially prepare them for such roles, and if the norms and practices demanded by their concurrent social roles do not create strains or painful ambivalences and contradictions with their political ones” (Eckstein 1969: 278).

Given that indigenous society in each of the nationalities that constitute the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state has not disappeared. Further more, given that the norms and behavior that make crucial difference in any political roles played by individuals are still those that they learn in the early years of life (Goddard 1906, Hall 1914, Hill 1930, and Adorno, et al 1950 in Hyman 1959: 17-36), the E-G scheme-derived arguments made in the study to the effect that the combination of the diverse nationalities with their own respective authority patterns in the supra-national state produced latent internal conflicts that continue to manifest and exacerbate themselves is sociologically and logically valid.

We have applied a combination of frameworks—Eckstein and Gurr’s, Weberian, and mine to understand and present the analysis of why there is political instability in the

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“‘Nigerian’ supra-national state. What we carried out here is an interdisciplinary undertaking that straddles political sociology and political science.

## **Section Two**

### **Hypotheses, Independent Variables, and Findings**

#### *The Four Hypotheses*

The above assertions are captured diagrammatically in their succinct essence in Figure 1.2 (in Chapter One) which is repeated below as Figure 6.2. The left and right sides of that diagram encapsulate elements of three principal factors that relate to the independent and dependent variables respectively—see Chapter One. Furthermore, aspects of the same three factors are contained in the four study hypotheses, below. The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state is a multi-national entity. A critical variable for multi-national polities is the degree of heterogeneity among its constituent nationalities.

**Hypothesis # 1:** *Given a high degree of social, economic and political heterogeneity among diverse societies in the Niger basin that were then compelled to constitute the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state by the British, the chances that political instability will prevail in the supra-national state during and after colonial rule is exceedingly high.*

**Hypothesis # 2:** *(i) Given the high heterogeneity in the governmental authority patterns of the constituent nationalities in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state the possibility that political instability will ensue in the latter during and after colonial rule will be quite high. (ii) The greater the heterogeneity in the non-governmental authority patterns of the constituent nationalities in the supra-national state the greater the*

*political instability that will ensue in the supra-national state during and after colonial rule.*

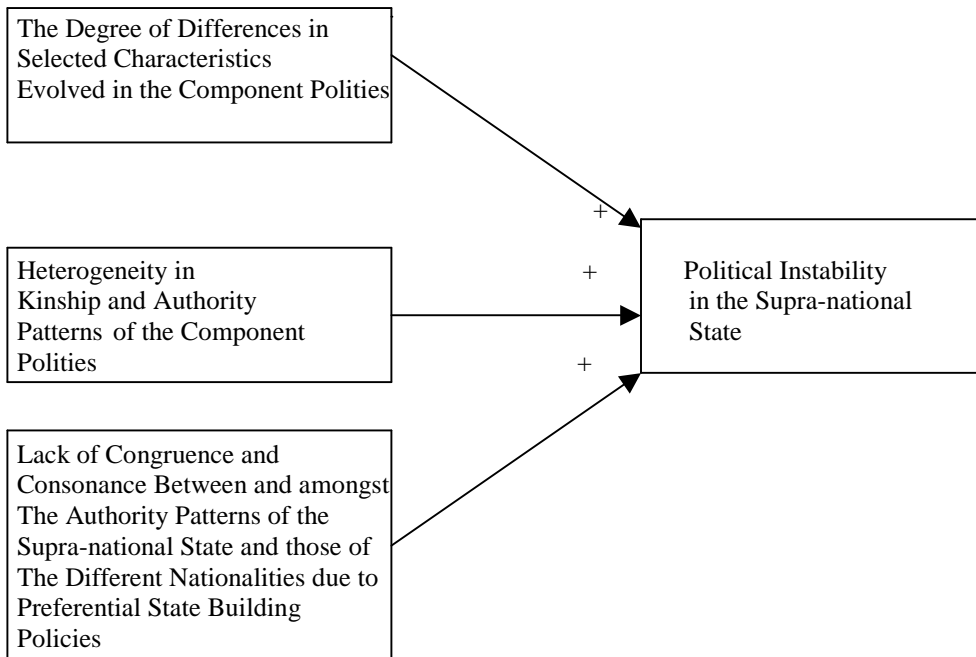


Figure 6.2 Factors that contribute to political instability in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state. The direction of arrows and plus symbols indicate causation and positive relationship respectively

**Hypothesis # 3:** *The greater the disparity between the authority patterns in the supra-national state and the authority patterns in its various constituent parts (nationalities), the greater the political instability that will prevail in some of the constituent nationalities during and after colonial rule.*

**Hypothesis # 4:** *The more an intervening power imposes a supra-national state via preferential policies and alliances towards one of several existing nationalities that are socially and politically diverse, vis-à-vis the others, the greater the political instability that will prevail in the resultant supra-national state during and after colonial rule.*

**Hypothesis 1** is essentially the application of some of the Weberian insights as updated by the works of Charles Tilly on the role of conquest in the formation and transformation of states in the West. As can be observed, the insight about the role of conquest in state building can be applied to African nationalities as well but with differential success.

In contrast, **Hypotheses 2 and 3** are derived from Eckstein's framework for describing the authority patterns in kinship structures as well as various political units that make major decisions affecting the nationality. **Hypothesis 2** focuses on the differences between three major constituent parts whereas **Hypothesis 3** focuses on the congruence with the authority patterns of the supra national state and is item one in box three because it represents a British state building policy.

Finally, **Hypothesis 4** represents a unique formulation by me to indicate the unintended consequences of state building by an external power in an environment inhabited by diverse and distinct nationalities. Support for mass education on the one

hand and yet a preference for the language, culture and religion of the Hausa-Fulani on the other created an inevitable social schism within the supra-national state and partly explains the incidence of large number of coups d'etat for instance after independence. But again, education, recruitment patterns into the army, stratification as reflected in supports of elites, and cultural preferences are standard sociological concepts that appear to be missing from the Weberian and Eckstein frameworks relative to power, that is power hierarchies and the congruence framework. My framework represents a way of coding colonial nation-building policies in a succinct way and provides a method for understanding internal contradictions. In particular, given the widespread belief in sociology dating from Lipset (1959, 1960, and 1981)<sup>158</sup> that education is one of the four indices<sup>159</sup> that help to establish economic development as the basis for democracy and by implication political stability, the consequences of mass education policies in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state take on added significance. Education can also create a basis for political instability especially in situations that approximate the circumstances that obtained in the Niger basin where there were conscious initiatives by a colonial power to micromanage education policies.

### *The Importance of the Independent Variables*

Figure 6.3 shown below summarizes the evidence for the four dimensions of influence relations and the ranking of each of the three nationalities that form the core of

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<sup>158</sup> *Political Man: The Basis of Politics* by Seymour Martin Lipset was first published in 1959 and 1960 by Doubleday & Co. In 1981 the expanded and updated edition was published by Johns Hopkins University Press. The one used here is the expanded and updated edition.

<sup>159</sup> The other three indices listed by Lipset (1981: 31) are wealth, industrialization, and urbanization.

<i>Variables</i>	Nationalities		
	<b>IGBO</b>	<b>YORUBA</b>	<b>HAUSA-FULANI</b>
<u>Differential social and political variables</u>			
1. Size of polity	Small	Large	Large
2. Standing army	Absent	Absent	Present
3. Conquest	No	Sometimes	Yes
4. Written records	Yes, not extensive	Absent	Yes
5. Centralization	Absent	Present	Present
6. System of socialization	Indigenous and functional	Indigenous & functional	Islamic, dogmatic, reflecting received tenets
7. Kinship patterns	Intra-group	Intra-group	Inter-group
<u>The four dimensions of influence relations</u>			
<i>Directiveness</i> (General)			
1. Regimented (+)	Absent	High	Very High
2. Mid Point	High	High	Absent
3. Permissive (0)	Very High	High	Absent
<i>Participation</i>			
1. Participant (+)	Very High	Very High	Very Low (near absent, only creative)
2. Non-participant	Absent	Absent	Very High
<i>Responsiveness</i> (Overall)			
1. Autocracy (+)	Absent	Very Low	Very High
2. Mid Point	High	High	Absent
3. Alterocracy	High (but not absolute)	High (but not absolute)	Absent
<i>Compliance</i> (Dispositions)			
1. Submissiveness (+)	Very Low	Low	Very High
2. Allegiance	High	High	Low
3. Indifference (0)	Very Low	Low	High
4. Opposition	Very Low	Low	High
5. Insub-ordination	Very Low	Low	High
<u>British State building Policies</u>			
1. Authority patterns of supra-national state	Incongruent/inconsonant	Incongruent/inconsonant	Highly congruent/consonant
2. Colonial education	Widespread	Widespread	Elitist, micro-managed
3. Recruitment into military forces	Not favored	Not favored	Highly favored
4. Alliance with British	Absent, or personalized	Absent, or personalized	Present, with ruling classes
5. British support for language, culture, religion	Absent	Absent	Present, quite high
6. Proportion in officer corps (after it was opened to indigenous men)	Substantial and significant	Quite few	Very few

Figure 6.3: Summary of variables

our analysis on each one of them. We established the basis of each nationality's ranking on the various aspects of the dimensions of influence relations in Chapter Three. In the first box, one can observe the great differences in the other social and political variables amongst them. Their size of polity in each of them varies in terms of small for the Igbo and large for the Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani respectively. There are variations between them on the presence or absence of standing armies, written records, socio-political centralization, system of socialization, and kinship patterns. The Igbo whose political formations were not conquest-based had no need for standing armies. Interestingly, the Yoruba who exploited warfare for state building found no need for standing armies. The Hausa-Fulani is the out-layer case on this variable. The standing army was a consistent feature of the socio-political order amongst them. Centralization, which features in the political arrangement of the Yoruba, transcends the social, economic, and political fabrics of society in Hausaland beginning from the era when the Habe *Sarkis* asserted themselves as authorities over society. The systems of socialization, i.e. religion and education amongst the Igbo and Yoruba evolved as indigenous and functional components of society but in Hausaland they canalized into bureaucratic tools for the control of society by rulers. Unlike in Igboland and Yorubaland, religion provided the basis for a 'disciplinary revolution' in Hausaland which aided rulers in state building and transformation. In Hausaland Dan Fodio's Fulani clan was able to engender the equivalent of a social situation that approximates what Philip Gorski (1993: 271) described as a 'social revolution', i.e. a situation in which "a 'rising' carrier group uses disciplinary institutions to cement its status and domination" and produces "rapid and fundamental social transformation" by so doing.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Calvinism according to Philip S. Gorski played a similar role in Europe by instilling

The variations in kinship patterns in the three nationalities are evidently clear. The same is true about the ranking of each of the three on the different colonial policies that we rightly designated as state building measures. We have already discussed each one of them detail in Chapter Five. Political performance in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national is greatly impacted by this array of independent variables.

*Findings about Political Instability: Testing the Hypotheses*

What then are the roots of political instability and their locations in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state? The answers to this puzzle are evident in the analysis in the preceding chapters. **Hypotheses 1** and **2** suggest that when different societies that (a) achieved discernable development in their social, economic, and political organizations, and (b) exhibit great heterogeneity in their governmental and non-governmental authority patterns are forced into a supra-national state particularly, by an external power, chances of political instability in the latter are bound to be high. Furthermore, they suggest that the processes through which societies evolve and transform their polities are as important as the type of social, economic, and political system and organization that they evolve. Both hypotheses are strongly supported by the findings in the analysis in chapter three. The analysis indicates that the Igbo, the Yoruba, and the Hausa-Fulani evolved their distinct socio-political system and organization differentially. The Igbo, who evolved democratic, village-based socio-political system and organization eschewed warfare and conquest as state building devices. On the other hand, the Yoruba who utilized warfare

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“an ethic of self-discipline within individual believers [who] invented a variety of institutional strategies for maintaining collective discipline within the church’ [and by so doing, they] promoted social reforms aimed at increasing popular discipline” (Gorski 1993: 266).



and conquest in their state building and transformation activities (Ajayi and Smith 1971, Akintoye 1970, Akintoye 1966, Smith 1969, Johnson 1921) were able to evolve centralized and large political organizations, with built-in functional, constitutional and broad democratic structural stipulations. In the absence of any evidence that shows that there was any form of intermingling of peoples in both the Igbo and Yoruba *homelands*, one can posit that each of the two nationalities evolved a society of kins.

The exceptions were the Hausa-Fulani who evolved extensive centralized and large-scale political systems and organization through warfare and conquest. Their highly centralized political system was exceptionally autocratic and controlling of society and its members. For the reason that it was heterogeneous in every sense of the word, the Caliphate Empire is best described as “a society of racial communities” (Huntington 1982: 8) built through warfare and military conquest.<sup>161</sup> The Fulani Caliphate Empire was a supra-national state in its own right. Evidence abounds as proof that it experienced its share of political instability. From available evidence we can infer that political instability in the Caliphate state derived mostly from its diverse composition, and the fact that the Fulani relied primarily on military force and coercion to build, transform, and administer the diversity of peoples that composed it (Last 1967: 228-231, Smith 1960: 100-2).<sup>162</sup> Particularly noteworthy is the fact that political stability in the Caliphate Empire was mostly experienced in areas where there were similarities in kinship patterns developed through marriage within and between ruling Fulani clans and their Hausa

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<sup>161</sup> Several distinct nationalities and racial groups, i.e. the Fulani and Negroid groups were incorporated into the Fulani Caliphate state.

<sup>162</sup> The ‘Fulani system of government’ was faced with a considerable measure of ‘political competition’ that often degenerated to serious instability over attempts by Fulani political actors to appropriate political authority by force (Smith 1960: 100).

allies. Last documents countless revolts and rebellions in the Caliphate after the death of Fodio during the period 1817-59, which he dubs the era of consolidation and the one that followed, 1859-1903, which he called the 'period of security and settlement' (Last 1967: 63-141).

The analysis in Chapter Three further shows that warfare and military conquest have a double-edged capacity to aid state building and transformation on the one hand, and to promote the potentials for political instability in a polity on the other. That double-edged capacity was evident even amongst the Yoruba who share a common language and other cultural traits including the myth of a common forbearer, etc. The political instability that led to the demise of the Old Oyo Empire in the late 1800s can be traced to warfare and conquest.

Evident in the analysis too is the finding that political stability in pre-colonial polities in the Niger basin derived mostly from shared kinship patterns and was anchored in the authority patterns that existed in each respective nationality. That evidence is profound amongst the Igbo, Yoruba and in Hausaland before the Fulani *jihad*. Political stability did not stem from the conquest and domination that prevailed in Fulani-ruled Hausaland. Instead, both phenomena enabled the Fulani to merely replace the Habe kings as autocrats and overlords in post-*jihad* Hausaland. Simply put, we found that the absence of consonance and congruence in the authority patterns<sup>163</sup> that prevail in and between component units that constitutes a polity would usually breed separatist crises of all types in a polity's body politic.

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<sup>163</sup> Included here are the sorts of social authority patterns that evolve between distinct peoples through marriage and are epitomized by kinship networks.

Based on the aforementioned findings we can rightly argue that there is a similarity between age-old quests by conquered polities in the Old Oyo and Caliphate Empires to reassert their political independence and the ones later mounted by nationalities for self-determination in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state. The quest by nationalities in the supra-national state to reassert their political autonomy is evident in the incidents of political instability that are regular features of politics in the latter. In the colonial period members of most of the nationalities embarked on various forms of creative acts of political participation that ranged from armed resistance, revolts, riots, to rebellions and attempts to secede. The story is similar during most of the post-colonial period. There have been coups d'etat, attempted coups, coup plots, assassinations, regional rebellions, and a secessionist civil war. Since British intervention and the imposition of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state, the incidence of creative acts of participation in each nationality has been a function of its members' perception of the authority that they associate with either the British or the supra-national state. The Igbo and Yoruba in particular, and also the peoples of the Niger delta, that have a negative perception of authority in the supra-national state have tended to engage in creative acts of participation more often than the Hausa-Fulani whose perception of that authority is positive. In a related vein, we found that while there was resistance against colonial conquest in each nationality, there was an inverse relationship between political centralization and scope of political organization and degree of resistance in any given nationality.

Resistance against colonial conquest was stiffer in Igboland and non-Caliphate parts of the upper Niger than in Yorubaland and Caliphate Hausaland. Hence, there were

more incidents that involved British military forces in Igboland than there were in Yorubaland and Caliphate Hausaland. Those incidents were all armed resistance against British conquest and occupation. These findings are supported by the results from a census of incidents of political instability that occurred in the supra-national state in period 1861-1904 as presented in Table 6.1. Table 6.2 clearly shows that in the lower Niger and parts of the upper the Igbo and other nationalities sustained their armed resistance against colonial occupation. In Hausaland non-Fulani peoples of Satiru and Hedeija embarked on an extensive armed revolt in 1906 which the British and the Fulani ruling classes suppressed together (Adeleye 1972). In the period 1914-1959 which witnessed the consolidation of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state during colonial rule Table 6.3 shows that the incidents of political instability had expanded in context and sophistication to include riots, demonstrations, armed revolts and rebellions, strikes in all nationalities except the Hausa-Fulani. In the period 1960-present, which coincides with the era of post-colonialism, Table 6.4 shows that the incidents became even more sophisticated to include assassinations, coups and coup attempts, states of emergency, population contentions of all sorts, secession attempts and threats, etc. Figure 6.1, which presents a matrix of the incidents and the periods that they occurred, elucidates the point further.

Aspects of the analysis in Chapter Three fore-shadow **Hypothesis 3**, which suggests that great disparity between the authority patterns of a supra-national state and those of its constituent nationalities is a recipe for political instability in the former. The findings in that analysis indicate that the governmental and non-governmental authority patterns of the Igbo and the Yoruba are soundly democratic. Evidence of that can be

Table 6.1: Output from a census of incidents of political instability in the supra-national state in the periods 1861-1903. Summary: § Igbo, ‡ Yoruba, † Core Caliphate parts of Hausaland, μ Other parts of Hausaland and the upper Niger. Sources: Multiple; see Chapter Four.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Nationality Involved</b>	<b>Target</b>	<b>Type of Incident</b>
1886-1899	§‡†μ Nationalities in the in the upper and lower Niger	Britain's Royal Niger Company	Several acts of armed resistance numbering about fifty (50)
1894	The Itsekiri in the lower Niger	British Authority	Several acts of armed resistance numbering about thirty (30)
1897	The Bini in the lower Niger	British Authority	Several acts of armed resistance numbering
April-May 1899	The Bini, in the lower Niger	British Authority	Several acts of armed resistance numbering
January-February 1897	μ Bida (Upper Niger), ‡ Ilorin (northern Yorubaland, lower Niger)	British Authority	Armed resistance
February-March 1900	μ Tiv in the upper Niger	British Authority	Several acts of armed resistance
August-September 1900	μ Yola in the upper Niger	British Authority	Several acts of armed resistance
February-May 1900	μ Kaduna, μ Gurara, and μ Okwa in the upper Niger	British Authority	Several acts of armed resistance numbering about three (3)
December 1900 and January-February 1901	μ Bida/Kontagora in the upper Niger	British Authority	Act of armed resistance numbering about two (2)
March-May 1901	Ishan/Ulia, lower Niger	British Authority	Several acts of armed resistance
November 1901- March 1902	§ Arochukwu and the Igbo heartland, lower Niger	British Authority	Several acts of armed resistance numbering about thirty (30)
1902, 1903	§ Ogwashi Ukwu, § Onitsha, § Ezi Asaba in western Igboland	British authority	Several acts of armed revolt numbering about three (3)

found in the fact that all four dimensions of the influence relations, i.e. *Directiveness*, *Participation*, *Responsiveness*, and *Compliance*, in their respective authority patterns configure in a manner that ensures that the forms and practice of authority in their society is democratic.

On the other hand findings in the same analysis show that authority patterns in Hausaland have been autocratic ever since the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries when the

Table 6.2: Output from a census of incidents of political instability in the supra-national state in the periods 1904-1913. Summary: § Igbo, ‡ Yoruba, † Core Caliphate parts of Hausaland, μ other parts of Hausaland and the upper Niger. Sources: Multiple; see Chapter Four.			
February-March 1906	† Satiru, upper Niger	The British and their allies, the Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt
April 1906	† Hadeija in Hausaland, upper Niger	The British and their allies, the Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt
February-March 1906	Tivland, upper Niger	British Authority	Several acts of armed resistance
June-August 1906	§ Owa and § Agbo in western Igboland, lower Niger	British Authority	Two (2) armed revolts
November-December 1906, December-February 1907	μ Chibuk, upper Niger	British Authority	Armed resistance
December 1908	μ Yonkwala and surrounding nationalities, lower and parts of upper Niger	British Authority	Armed resistance (3)
November 1909-May 1910	§Ogwashi Ukwu and other parts of western Igboland, lower Niger	British Authority	Three (3) guerrilla insurrections

Table 6.3: Output from a census of incidents of political instability in the supra-national state in the periods 1914-1959. Summary: § Igbo, ‡ Yoruba, † Core Caliphate parts of Hausaland, μ other parts of Hausaland and the upper Niger. Sources: multiple; see Chapter Four.

August 1914	‡Egba Yoruba in the lower Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state and its authority	Extensive demonstrations, riots
November 1914	Warri, Kwale, Urhoboland, and western Igboland, lower Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state and its authority	Armed rebellion
November 1914-February 1915	§Onitsha, §Udi, §Okigwi, §Afikpo, §Bende, §Aba in the Igbo heartland in the lower Niger, and parts of the neighboring μ Igalaland in the upper Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state and its authority	Seven (7) armed rebellions
November 1914	μ Kabba, ‡ Ilorin, μ Mada, μ Nasarawa—the “semi-Islamized” parts of the upper Niger that were forced into the new Caliphate areas in the upper Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Three (3) armed rebellions
1914	† Hausa-Fulani ruling classes	The British	Anti-amalgamation agitations
1915	μ Kontagora, upper Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt
1915	μ Kano, μ Bornu in Hausaland, upper Niger	The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt
1915	μ Kano, μ Bauchi,	The ‘Nigerian’ supra-national	Armed revolt

	μ Bornu	state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	
May 1915-1916	μ Muri in the upper Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt
1915	μ Montoil, in the upper Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt
1915	† Sokoto Emirate	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Armed revolt
October-November 1916	‡ Oyo Yoruba, in the lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state, its authority and the <i>Alafin</i>	Armed revolt
1916	Calabar, lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its authority	Messianic anti-colonial movement
1918	‡ Egba Yoruba, lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its authority	Armed revolt
1929	§ Igbo, and all the nationalities in the southeast, lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its authority	Extensive anti-taxation uprising
1929	μ The Tiv, upper Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Extensive armed revolts
1939	μ The Tiv, upper	The 'Nigerian' supra-national	Extensive armed



	Niger	state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	revolts
1948	μ The Tiv, upper Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Extensive armed revolts
1949	§ Enugu, and other ‡ townships in the lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its authority	Strikes (36) involving 47,000 workers
1950	§‡ Townships in the lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its authority	Strikes (26) involving 26,000 workers
1953	‡ The Yoruba, lower Niger	The British and the 'Nigerian' supra-national state	Secession threats
1957	§ Townships in southeast lower Niger—Enugu, Onitsha, Port Harcourt	The British and the 'Nigerian' supra-national state	Extensive riots

Table 6.4: Output from a census of incidents of political instability in the supra-national state in the periods 1960-1990. Summary: § Igbo, ‡ Yoruba, † Core Caliphate parts of Hausaland, μ other parts of Hausaland and the upper Niger. Sources: multiple; see Chapter Four.

1960	μ The Tiv, upper Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	Extensive armed revolts
1962	‡ Yorubaland, lower Niger	The Action Group, the Yoruba political party and its leaders	State of emergency
1963	μ The Tiv, upper	The	Extensive armed

	Niger	'Nigerian' supra-national state, its authority and the favored Fulani ruling classes	revolts
1963, 1964	§†† μ All	The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the ruling Hausa-Fulani political party	Serious political crisis
1965	μ The Tiv, upper Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state and the NPC	Secession threats
1966	§† The Igbo, Yoruba, lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state and the NPC	Coup d'etat, assassination
1966	The Ijo in the lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its authority	Secession attempt in the name of the Delta Peoples Republic
1967	† Hausa-Fulani	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its authority, and the Igbo	Coup d'etat, assassination, pogrom, riots
1967-1970	§ The Igbo, lower Niger	The 'Nigerian' supra-national state and its authority	Secession, in the name of the Republic of Biafra, civil war
1975	† Hausa-Fulani, upper Niger	The military regime controlled by officers from Middle Belt nationalities	Coup d'etat
1976	μ Nationalities from the Middle	The military regime controlled	Attempted coup, assassinations

	Belt in the upper Niger	by Hausa-Fulani officers	
1983	† Hausa-Fulani officers	Civilian government (elected)	Coup d'etat
1985	† Hausa-Fulani officers	Military regime headed by another faction of Hausa-Fulani officers	Coup d'etat
1986	† Hausa-Fulani officers	Military regime headed by another faction of Hausa-Fulani officers	Coup plot
1989-present	The Ogoni, and the other less populous nationalities that inhabit the oil-producing Niger delta	Military regimes controlled by the Hausa-Fulani, the authority of the supra-national state	Popular, and contentious agitation and demand for autonomy and control of the oil wealth mined in their homeland
1990	‡ Officers from nationalities in the lower Niger	The military regime controlled by Hausa-Fulani officers	Coup attempt-very bloody

ruling groups and their leaders founded and transformed the old city states, which were later conquered by the Fulani during the *jihad* at the turn of the nineteenth century. With influence relations that were devoid of the dimensions of *Participation* and *Responsiveness*, the practice of authority in Hausaland is characterized by regimented *Directiveness* and coerced *Compliance* both under the *Sarkis* and under the Fulani. The analysis and findings in chapter four equally support **Hypothesis 3**. They were used to establish that the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state was imposed through warfare and conquest and that its authority patterns are remarkably congruent and consonant with the

Figure 6.4: Matrix of incidents of political instability.

	<b>Nationality Involved</b>	<b>Type of Incident</b>	<b>*Number of Incident</b>	<b>Scope of Incident</b>	<b>Estimated Number of people Involved</b>	<b>Nature of Incident</b>
Invasion / Conquest 1861-1904	All Nationalities	Wars	118	Wide-spread in specific communities that were invaded rose to defend themselves	Soldiers or able-bodied men were mobilized by the communities that were invaded	High intensity and defensive
Subjugation 1904-1913	Igbo, Tiv, and non-Fulani nationalities	Armed revolts	4	Widespread in specific groups or communities mobilized co-ordinated attacks to re-establish their freedom from colonial subjugation	Communities or groups in communities	Highly intense, spontaneous and offensive uprising
		Guerrilla warfare	3	Specific communities	Mobile and scattered irregular forces	Sporadic attacks on colonial, mission, and mercantile outposts
		Armed resistance	Several	Specific groups	Communities or groups in communities	High intensity and defensive
Period of De Facto Colonial Rule 1914-1958	Igbo, Yoruba, and non-Caliphate areas	Demonstrations	Several	Wide-spread in specific groups or communities	Communities or groups in communities	Relatively organized and non-violent aimed at protesting some specific actions of the colonial regime
		Riots	Several	Wide-spread in specific groups or communities	Communities or groups in communities	Spontaneous, short-lived and violent in response to specific colonial policies
		Armed revolts	Several	Widespread in specific groups or communities mobilized co-ordinated attacks to re-establish their freedom from colonial subjugation	Communities or groups	Highly intense, spontaneous and offensive uprising
		Armed rebellion	Several	Specific groups	Groups or communities in groups	Attempts by identifiable communities in groups to regain their autonomy

		Strikes	62	Organized labor in townships	73,000 workers	Organized disruptions of the economy aimed at bringing pressure to bear on the political and economic authority of the colonial regime
		Secession threats	Few	Specific groups	Leaders	Threats by leaders of specific groups to leave the supra-national polity
Post-Colonial Period 1960-Present	All	Armed revolts	Several	Widespread in specific groups or communities mobilized co-ordinated attacks to re-establish their freedom from colonial subjugation	Communities or groups	Highly intense, spontaneous and offensive uprising
Post-Colonial Period 1960-Present Continued	Igbo, Yoruba, others	State of emergency	One	Wide-spread in Yorubaland	Entire nationality	Formal declaration of emergency in response to real threats to public order
		Major government crises	Few	Wide-spread in the nationality concerned	Entire nationality	Rapidly developing situation that threatened to bring the downfall of the regime
		Armed revolts	Several	Widespread in specific groups or communities mobilized co-ordinated attacks to re-establish their freedom from what they considered to be subjugation by the supra-national state	Communities or groups	Highly intense, spontaneous and offensive uprising

		Strikes	Several	Organized labor	Millions	Organized disruptions of the economy aimed at bringing pressure to bear on the political and economic authority of the colonial regime
		Secession attempts	Two	Specific group	Leaders (self-appointed)	Unsuccessful attempt to leave the supra-national polity
		Secession threats	Few	Specific groups	Leaders	Threats by leaders of specific groups to leave the supra-national polity
		Assassinations	Several	Directed at individuals	Identifiable plotters	Politically motivated murder of a political figure by a group
		Pogrom	Several	Directed at members of a nationality	Leaders and members of nationalities	The systematic and organized killing of members of a nationality through mob actions
		Riots	Several	Wide-spread in specific groups or communities	Communities or groups in communities	Spontaneous, short-lived and violent in response to specific colonial policies
		Coups d'etat	Six	Directed at the regime of the day	Identifiable plotters	Sudden and illegal displacement of regime by a relatively small, elite group in the armed forces without mass participation
		Attempted coup	Two	Directed at the regime of the day	Identifiable plotters	Sudden and illegal attempt to displace regime by a relatively small, elite group in the armed forces without mass participation
		Coup plot	Few	Directed at the regime of the day	Identifiable plotters	Plot to displace regime by a relatively small and elite group in the armed forces

		Civil war	One	A nationality	Entire nationality. Lasted for 36 months and cost more than one million Igbo lives.	An identifiable nationality attempted to form a new polity based on boundaries of its nationality.
		Popular contentious activities	Nationals in the lower Niger	Wide-spread	Through various apex organizations and movements	Agitations and activities aimed at realizing the restructure of the supra-national state in a SNC

\*These numbers were derived from several sources which did not reflect all incidents of political instability that have taken place in the supra-national state.

autocratic authority patterns of the Fulani-ruled Caliphate Empire. Our findings further show that due to the autocratic traits in the authority patterns of the supra-national state, conflicts and issues that develop therein are seldom resolved peacefully within what Tsurutani (1968: 930) in an heuristic note on how to conduct comparative political analysis about stability and instability in polities called “the existing institutional framework for decision-making”. In situations where such a scenario obtain, the state according to Tsurutani (1968: 911) hardly “enjoys genuine support” beyond limited parts of the polity. In the case of the Niger basin “genuine support” for the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state beyond the core of the Caliphate society is sparse.

Eckstein’s congruence-consonance framework from which **Hypothesis 3** was derived suggests in part that “a government will tend to be stable if its authority patterns are congruent with the other authority patterns of the society of which it is a part” (Eckstein 1992: 188). That suggestion is underscored by the finding that a high degree of smoothness ensued in the practice of colonial authority in Hausaland sequel to the

alliance that developed between the Fulani ruling classes and the British a little after colonial conquest of the former.

For reasons implicit in **Hypothesis 3** and in the analyses in chapters three and four, we found that from its inception the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state “did not enjoy the confidence of a large section of the community, especially in the South, but the case of the North was a different matter” (Osuntokun 1971: 172). It is explicit from Tables 6.1 and 2 that political instability preceded the consolidation of the supra-national state in 1914. They demonstrate that after the consolidation of the supra-national state the armed resistance provoked earlier in Yorubaland, Igboland, and Hausaland and elsewhere in the Niger basin by attacks against indigenous peoples by British-led forces quickly turned into more serious incidents of political instability. Information contained in Table 6.1 clearly shows an escalation from localized resistance to more serious and widespread incidents of political instability such as armed revolts, rebellions, demonstrations, riots, etc. In Igboland and Yorubaland those revolts “were mainly directed against illegitimate rulers or illegitimate powers granted them by the colonial government” (Osuntokun 1971: 173). But in Hausaland, they “were less serious and were caused by the resentments harbored against the British by princes who had failed to secure thrones because of their hostility to alien *Nasara* rule” (Osuntokun 1971: 173).

The suggestion in **Hypothesis 3** that the disconnection between non-identical governmental authority patterns in a supra national state and its constituent nationalities translate to durable source of friction that breeds political instability is evident in the information in Table 6.1. The post-colonial period in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state is characterized by increased rate of different incidents of political instability. Political



instability is no longer manifest in local revolts, demonstrations, strikes, and the like. It acquired more serious dimensions as indicated by secession attempts, coup plots, coups d'etat, assassinations, civil war, pogroms, etc.

The scenario of instability in the supra-national state is captured in Figure 6.5 below. The direction of the arrows indicates causation and association. The analysis in chapter five supports **Hypothesis 4**, which suggests that political instability is inevitable in a supra-national state that was imposed on socially and politically diverse nationalities by an external power through state building policies that favored one or more of them. The analysis suggests that when state building is accomplished in that manner it is bound to breed resentment of the ally or allies of the external power by the nationalities that felt shut out during and after the course of state building. When colonial rule ends, it further suggests that the resentment will intensify especially if the favored nationality or nationalities institute a repressive hegemony over the rest.

Aspects of the findings in the analysis in Chapter Five show that indirect rule was implemented to favor and sustain the autocratic authority patterns of the Fulani rulers particularly because of their resemblance with those of the supra-national state, which were autocratic in both character and logic. They further show that the motive to preserve the autocratic authority patterns in the Caliphate society inspired the amalgamation, which aided and abetted the extension of those same patterns to Igboland, Yorubaland, and the rest of the Niger basin. We established in the analysis that the end of colonial rule was a virtual transition to Hausa-Fulani rule in the Niger basin.<sup>164</sup> By

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<sup>164</sup> Today any individual who is employed in the federal civil service or state-controlled corporation is mandated to furnish a letter of attestation and good conduct from the traditional ruler in his community before he or she can commence his/her employment.

manipulating the outcome of the 1952-3 'national' census<sup>165</sup> the British were able to relinquish political power to the NPC on their conviction "that a 'Nigerian' government controlled by conservative Northern politicians would be more 'stable' and favourable to its interests" (Luckham 1971b: 208). Amongst other things, we have established that with the amalgamation, the norms that supported and guided the practice of autocratic authority in Hausaland were extended under the aegis of the supra-national state to all nationalities. Preferential implementation of indirect rule and the amalgamation buoyed the Fulani rulers and encouraged them to develop a strong sense of identification with the British and the cause of colonial rule. So strong and deep was their identification that they strongly opposed the quest by the Igbo and the Yoruba to achieve a quick termination of colonial rule. Their reluctance and the eagerness of the others to terminate colonial rule produced enduring animosities that augured badly for political stability in the supra-national state. For instance attempts by politicians from lower Niger nationalities to sell their demand for immediate termination of colonial rule to inhabitants of Hausaland during a tour of cities in the upper Niger provoked riots that targeted residents from the lower Niger. This was in 1953, and Hausa-Fulani political leaders who believed that anti-colonial campaign jeopardized their authority incited those riots (Luckham 1971a).

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<sup>165</sup> That census exercise generated the crisis and acrimony that affected the conduct and outcome of 1963 census. The supra-national state did not recover from the inter-group

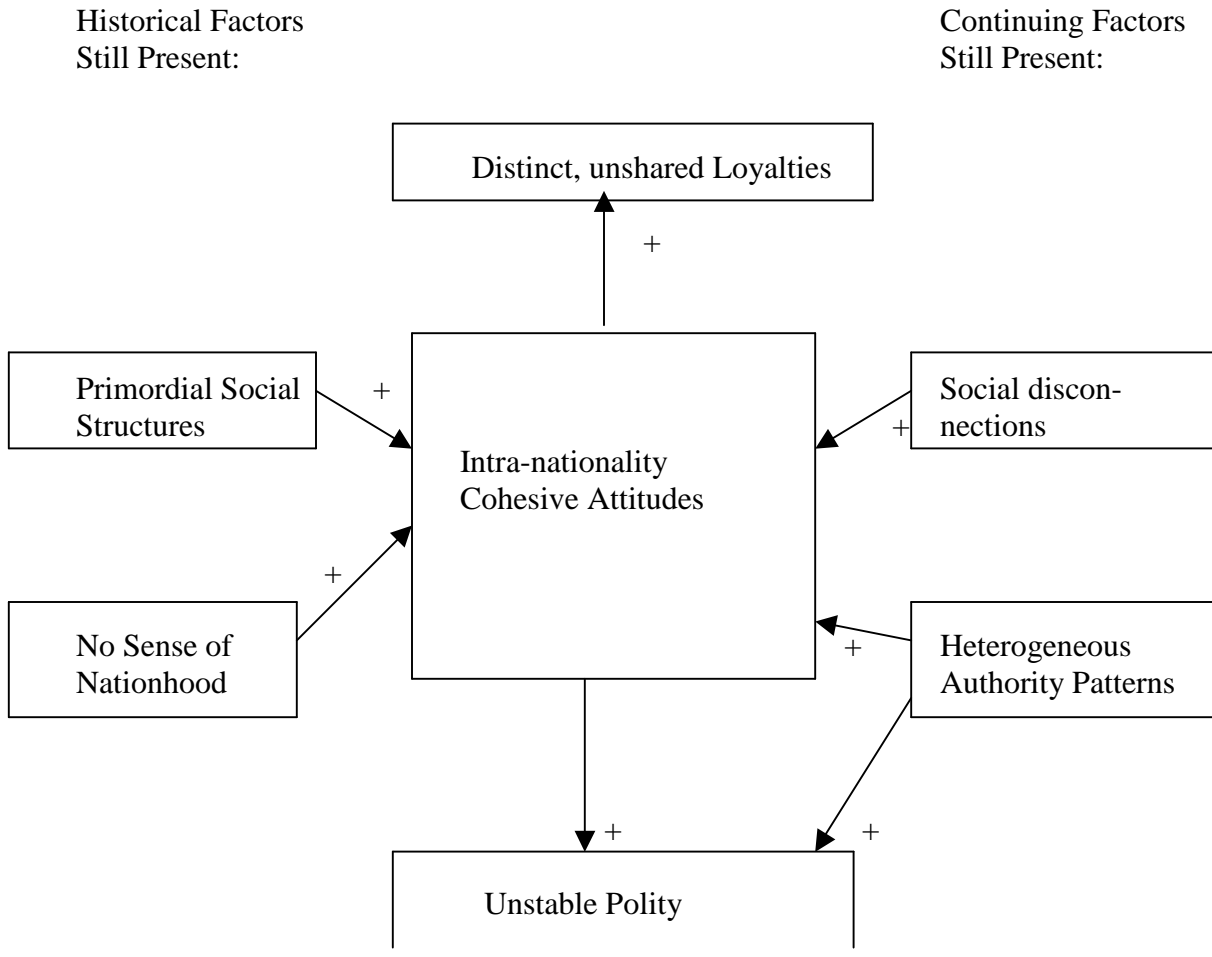


Figure 6.5: A legacy of instability from diverse factors  
 Source: Eckstein (1992: 182), with some modifications

We found in Chapter Five that preferential implementation of colonial policy on education continues to breed political instability in various ways in the supra national state. It is due partly to differences in the implementation of colonial education policy in the upper and lower Niger, that the authority of the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state is perceived differently by the Igbo and Yoruba on the one hand, and the Hausa-Fulani on the other. The different forms of socialization and preparation that individuals from the

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animosity created by the outcome of both census exercises.

three nationalities who played major roles in government during the immediate post-colonial period received through western education influenced their worldviews and expectations of each other.<sup>166</sup> Those disparities tended to influence their attitudes towards one another and their perceptions of the authority of the supra-national state when they assumed positions of power and authority in the supra-national state (Nicolson 1969).<sup>167</sup> The contents and nature of socialization in western education received by all political actors from Hausaland hardly prepared them sufficiently for the political roles that most of their counterparts and members of the larger society in both Igboland and Yorubaland expected of them.<sup>168</sup> Although it is not proven here, it is likely that their

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<sup>166</sup> Recall the dialogue that we reproduced in Chapter Five that took place between Nnamdi Azikiwe and Ahmadu Bello as reported by John Paden (1986: 3) in which the latter responded to the suggestion by the former that they forget their differences with the reminder that it is only by recognizing that they are Christians/Easterners and Muslims/Northerners respectively that they can forge a viable polity together.

<sup>167</sup> Nicolson argues that Frederick Lugard and the personalities whom he attracted and surrounded himself with to further his state building in the Niger basin were mainly products of the immediate epoch in English life. They came from “the ruling and officer classes, the gentry, and those who sought identification with the gentry” (Nicolson 1969: 125). Not only were they conservative, they were also highly disdainful of the modern industrial age and everyone—lawyers, traders, missionaries, etc.--who were associated with it. There was indeed an ongoing schism in English life at the time involving those conservative elements and those who were associated with the modern era which was closing in fast on the immediate era. That schism became projected to state building in the Niger basin. Because of the Fulani ruling classes and their feudalistic and autocratic authority patterns, the upper Niger attracted “the attention of the consciously ‘superior’ classes, the officers and gentlemen—and that helped to repel and antagonize the rest, the traders and missionaries busy and influential” (Nicolson 1969: 126) in the lower Niger. “It was in [the upper Niger] far removed from civil influences of traders, lawyers, missionaries, and an established civil service tradition, that the military class gained the upper hand, and superimposed itself on the existing form of rule by the Fulani Emirs, themselves a military ruling class” (Nicolson 1969: 127). They were bent on instituting policies that would “convert ‘education’ into a means of autocratic discipline, ... replace ‘unreliable’ and ‘half-educated’ Southerners in the railways and in the civil service [with] West Indians in large numbers, and ... muzzle the Lagos press” (Nicolson 1969: 214).

<sup>168</sup> The truth of this assertion is underscored by the fact that the majority of political actors from Hausaland and the rest of the upper Niger are still members of the Fulani ruling classes and those who identify with what they represent.

chronic failure to meet the expectation of the Igbo and Yoruba can partly be attributed to their previous socialization in those ‘norms and behavior’ that are only suitable for the practice of autocratic authority.

The fact that the practice of authority in Hausa-Fulani Caliphate society are steeped deeply in a ‘patronage-clientage system’<sup>169</sup> (Tibenderana 1989: 72), and were all accommodated in the supra-national state, produced the situation in which Hausa-Fulani political actors often initiated policies to enhance the proportion of upper Niger personnel in the army and civil services. It is probably because “the use of public office or authority for private gain” (Smith 1964: 164) is condoned and accepted as an inherent component of governance in Hausaland that more often than not, in the other nationalities amongst whom such norms do not guide “relations of political solidarity and rivalry, and relations between rulers and ruled,” (Smith 1964: 164) the perception is that Hausa-Fulani political actors exercise authority in undemocratic, corrupt and intolerant ways in the supra-national state. This line of argument may rightly require us to furnish evidence why the same assertion should not be made about political actors from nationalities in the lower Niger. In the absence of concrete evidence, it is still logical to point out that client-patronage connections are not a common part of authority patterns amongst the Igbo and Yoruba.

The January 15, 1966 military coup, and subsequent events which epitomized poor political performance in the supra-national state, can be used to further the response

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<sup>169</sup> The patron-client system “is an exclusive relation of mutual benefit which holds between two persons defined as a socially and politically unequal, and which stresses their solidarity” (Smith 1960: 8). It disposes all classes of people in Hausaland to the control and direction of influential individuals (Watt 1983). The claim that British colonial rule sent the system into decline (Tibenderana 1989) is discredited by Yeld (1960) and Smith (1960, 1964).

made above. The junior officers of Igbo and Yoruba origin who planned and executed that event were mainly provoked by their perception that the conservative leaders of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)—the Hausa-Fulani party that controlled power in the supra-national state, exercised their authority in a corrupt manner (Luckham 1971b: 391). A year before that coup, it was the same perception that fueled a wide-spread rumor among senior officers in the army who were mostly Igbo that the Fulani defense minister would introduce compulsory retirement to pave the way for junior officers from upper Niger nationalities to take their places (Luckham 1971b). The bid by the Igbo in 1967 to secede from the supra-national state and found a brand new state that they called the Republic of Biafra can be traced to the failure of Hausa-Fulani political actors who controlled authority in the supra-national state to meet their expectations of egalitarian leadership devoid of corruption (Luckham 1971a: 401).

Eckstein's assertion (1969: 278) on the importance of previously learned *norms* and *behavior* in preparing political actors for future political roles, and the importance of their 'concurrent social roles' not confronting them with demands of 'norms and practices' that 'create sharp strains or painful ambivalences and contradictions with their political roles', can be applied to the Hausa-Fulani. The involvement of the Igbo, Yoruba and the other nationalities whose authority patterns are democratic and who were not recipients of conservative socialization prompted them to *Responsiveness* demands on Hausa-Fulani political actors. Another assertion made by Eckstein, that the nature of socialization received by political actors could lead to a situation in which "the norms and practices demanded by their concurrent social roles, [could] create sharp strains or political ambivalences and contradictions with their political ones" (Eckstein 1969: 278),

could logically be applied to Hausa-Fulani political actors in their practice of authority in the supra-national state. Preferential formulation and implementation of colonial education policy have not augured well at all for political performance in the supra-national state.

We found that Britain's colonial education policy in the Niger basin constituted an integral aspect of its state building undertaking (Gutteridge 1970) which produced a durable and self-perpetuating imbalance in western education between the nationalities of the upper Niger and those in the lower Niger. Aspects of our findings in chapter five show that from the outset nationalities in the upper Niger have lagged far behind their counterparts in the lower Niger in western education. In the 1958-65 period for instance, only 3,557 out of the 7,037 boys from the upper Niger who sat the final secondary school certificate examinations passed. In contrast, 30,906 out of the 50,343 boys from the lower Niger who sat the same examination in the same period passed (Miners 1971: 117). It cannot be over-emphasized that some of the crises that bedevil inter-nationality relations since the end of *de facto* colonial rule in the Niger basin can be traced to Britain's colonial policy on education in the area. No aspect of the structures of the supra-national state has escaped the crises that stem from this state building policy. But it is particularly notable that the ones that take place in the army have each time quickly blossomed into coups, coup plots and attempted coups that wrack the supra-national state from time to time. It's not just in the military that the imbalance in the possession of western education between the nationalities has contributed to crises that impact negatively on political performance in the supra-national state. The Igbo, the Yoruba and others often complain that by virtue of the worldview held by Hausa-Fulani political

actors, the grip on political power in the polity translates to a hegemony that retards the collective progress of other nationalities. Hence, their relentless campaign for a Sovereign National Conference (SNC) to restructure the polity and devolve political power back to nationalities who would then co-exist in a confederate polity. Since the late 1980s that agitation has grown increasingly militant and more contentious.<sup>170</sup>

More than any of the other three state building policies analyzed in chapter five, we found that the policy of preferential recruitment into the military forces of the supra-national state is the one that transformed a principal state institution into a tool that is adopted every now and then by members of nationalities who resort to creative acts of participation when they could no longer tolerate the normatively impeded channels of *Participation* in the polity. In Chapter Five we alluded to the aspect of the E-G scheme which highlights the destabilizing potentials of creative acts of participation in a social unit by members who lack access to normatively provided channels of *Participation* and used it to give credence to our assertion about the reaction of nationalities who are averse to how authority in the supra-national state is practiced. We can cite instances with some of the military coups that have wracked political performance in the supra-national state to underscore the validity of the Eckstein-Gurr scheme on the destabilizing and subversive potentials of creative acts of participation in societies with impeded channels.

The January 15, 1966 coup took place at a time when most nationalities, particularly in the lower Niger believed that it was impossible to remove the NPC, the conservative Hausa-Fulani party from power through normatively approved means, i.e. a

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<sup>170</sup> Since the 1980s most of the nationalities in the lower Niger have established respective apex movements or organizations through which they champion the struggle for restructuring.



free and fair democratic election. We will resort to a projection that is neither demonstrated nor demonstrable to make argument here. Members of other nationalities believed that it was only by creative and extra-ordinary means that the corrupt, nepotistic, and tribalistic regime of the Hausa-Fulani politicians whose leader we learnt was socialized to dress and act to intimidate people (Paden 1986) must be terminated. Hence the vocal calls in the media at the time for the army to intervene (Luckham 1971a and 1971b). Who else harkened to those calls, if not Igbo and Yoruba officers in the army! They did, but not on “tribalistic lines” (Luckham 1971b: 391). According to Luckham, “Many army officers, like other groups of southern intellectuals, tended to attribute all the political shortcomings of the regime to the Northern People’s Congress’s control of the political life of the Federation” (Luckham 1971b: 41). Perhaps their attachment to the ‘norms’ that guide the practice of authority in their indigenous society may have motivated them to take creative measures to terminate the monopoly of power by the NPC, which they saw as an obstacle to national unity (Luckham 1971b). Twenty-four years later, in 1990 a similar factor may have motivated other middle ranking officers from the lower Niger who acted creatively to oust the dictator General Ibrahim Babangida from power. Their first order of business was to eviscerate core Caliphate parts of the upper Niger from the supra-national state pending the acceptance of an unconditional undertaking by their Hausa-Fulani ruling classes that they were willing to denounce hegemony and accept to co-exist democratically and harmoniously with other nationalities.

Issues concerning the motives of the makers of the January 15, 1966 and subsequent coups need be raised and addressed here. Conventionally, the cycle of coups

in the supra-national state is attributed to competition for the control of state power and the resources that it makes available to senior officers and their civilian allies. It is true that aspects of the aforementioned conventional explanation have indeed motivated coups and coup plots in the supra-national state. However, an analysis that factors in relevant social science findings on the organization of the military and civil-military relations in society in the examination of the military establishment in the 'Nigerian' supra-national state, i.e. its origin/role in colonial conquest, the policies that guide the recruitment of personnel into it and its composition, suggests that conventional explanation of the motives of military coup-makers is rather insufficient.<sup>171</sup>

My informed assessment is that conventional explanation is mostly derived from the position that universally and institutionally the military establishment is uniquely the same, rigidly conservative and undemocratic. Going by all that we have already established about the plurality of society on the one hand, and the plurality of authority patterns and the norms and values that guide the practice of authority in each of the diverse nationalities that constitute the 'Nigerian' supra-national, it is rather self-limiting to box its military establishment into one analytic civil-military relations framework. Our preference is for an analysis that properly situates the possible sociological of norms and values possessed by the indigenous men who enlisted in the officer corps when it was opened up to them on the subjective and objective imperatives of a military institution that was established and commanded exclusively by Englishmen.

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<sup>171</sup> Findings from the analysis conducted by B. J. Takaya and S. A. Tyoden (1987) on two failed coups that took place in 1976 and 1986 respectively are quite revealing. The list of those executed for their participation or involvement in those two events indicated that all of them were members of non-Fulani nationalities in the upper Niger: all were Christians from southern Zaria and the Middle Belt.

It is on the strength of the above that we are inclined to argue further as follows. In civil-military relations studies, it is true that generally, the army is a segmental unit of society with a reputation of not functioning by democratic norms and practices. It is equally true that because of “the importance of order, hierarchy, and division of functions” (Boene 1990: 14) in the discharge of its assigned role in the polity, the army functions by authority patterns that are, in general, the antithesis of democratic authority patterns. However, apart from Samuel P. Huntington (1957)<sup>172</sup> who argued otherwise, there are several other scholars who study military organization who believe that military organization and officership is not static, that they change in response to changing social conditions (Janowitz 1960, Lason 1974, Boene 1990). These other scholars have argued in their own studies that notwithstanding the rigid and stratified a symmetry as well as authoritarianism that characterize the military organization, it is not just “military authority and career experiences [that] condition the perspectives of its leaders” (Janowitz 1960: 15). These scholars believe that the perspectives of both officers and enlisted men are shaped by their social background. Janowitz (1960), one of the foremost authorities in the study of civil-military relations, believes that “the objective, normative and subjective aspects of military service” (Boene 1990: 17) are not cast in stone, i.e. they are prone to changes.<sup>173</sup> Bernard Boene (1990: 19) who lined up support for

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<sup>172</sup> See Huntington, Samuel P. (1957). *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Boene (1990: 23) described the book as the embodiment of “somewhat outlandish conservative, promilitary stance” by Huntington.

<sup>173</sup> See Janowitz, Morris (1960). *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait*. New York: The Free Press. Boene (1990: 23) praised the book for its “penetrating analysis ... effective combination of thorough empirical research, Weberian concepts and theory, functional analysis, pragmatic realism and democratic concerns” and for being consistent with existing facts about military organization and exposing new ones.

Janowitz with his own published findings argued that in the period 1870-1950 in Europe “social origin” and “self-selection of authoritarian personalities” are partly responsible for the very “substantive conservative ideology” of the military in that part of the world that Huntington in his own work used as the basis of his argument that everywhere, at all times, the military—its officer corps particularly—is inherently authoritarian and conservative. Thus, the officer corps is composed of two Weberian ideal type components: those who are basically concerned about practicing their profession, the advancement of their careers, etc.; and those who are in contrast more idealistic, and driven by social concerns. The corps can be seen as coalescing into the elite “highest ranking officers” (Janowitz 1960: 6), and the “lower-ranking officers” (Janowitz 1960: 6) who wield a lot of power, and “influence the outcome of military decisions” (Janowitz 1960: 7) mostly because their senior colleagues rely on their advice and special skills (Janowitz 1960). According to Janowitz, it is “the elite concept”, which derives from “the formal structure of the military establishment ... [that also] makes it possible to distinguish those members [of the officers corps] who use their skills to achieve social and political ends from those who are content to practice their profession for personal and immediate rewards” (Janowitz 1960: 6-7). Janowitz’s argument that shifts in “the social base of officer recruitment” (Boene 1990: 21) and the diversification of the membership of the officer corps amongst other factors tend to affect the content of the conservatism that characterize military organizations seemed to hold true in the case of the army in the supra-national state. There is no doubt that “[t]he colonial government in Nigeria created a military organization ... which was modeled on the British army in organizational format and professional training” (Luckham 1971b: 1). But the opening of the officer

corps to indigenous men was one of the events that we can equate with the kind of shifts that Janowitz talked about. In the case of the supra-national state the shift in “the social base of officer recruitment” was largely responsible for remodeling an army that was basically established for conquest and colonization. Luckham (1971b: 1) sees that remodeling as the violation of “the Sandhurst formula of political neutrality of the military”, but rightly attributes it to “pressure from the primordialisms of tribe and region”. To assume that indigenous men who were socialized from childhood to respect and cherish different social norms and values and behaviors that can be associated with them would be transformed for good into the British officers they replaced because of the socialization they received in the army is not plausible.

The officers who planned the coup of January 15, 1966 fall into the category of officers “who use their skills to achieve social and political ends”.<sup>174</sup> They fit Janowitz’s description of “lower-ranking officers [who] wield considerable power” and were prepared to exercise it for a desired purpose different from advancing their personal careers (Janowitz 1960: 7). If one removes the Fulani leaders who controlled authority in the supra-national state at the time and replaced them with the British, leaving every other thing untouched, my assessment is that the coup could still have taken place.

Officers and men from the upper Niger in the army, who were not immune to the circumstances that prevailed in their own social background either, simply perceived the

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<sup>174</sup> The deployment of the army under the command of at least three of the leaders of the 1966 coup in Tivland in the period 194-65 marked the very first time when a military deployment in that area was not characterized by pillage. The fact that the only seats won by any of the parties that opposed the NPC in the upper Niger in the 1964 federal elections was in Tivland adds credence that those officers who commanded the deployment actually used “their skills to achieve social and political ends” (Janowitz 1960: 6-7). Miners (1971: 178) allege that their “distaste ... in the employment of the

January 1966 coup as an unconscionable conspiracy against their leadership. We can attribute their perception of that event partly to their strong attachment to the ‘norms’ that guide the practice of authority in the Caliphate society. As far as they were concerned what the peoples of the lower Niger considered as corrupt, nepotistic and tribalistic misuse of power was basically the patronage-clientage system, one of the components of their authority patterns at work. Without it most of them could not have been in the army to begin with. Their counter coup that took place in July 1966 was not an act of participation at all. It was a quintessence reaction by soldiers from upper Niger who acted to avenge the death of their benefactors who lost their lives in the previous coup. Luckham (1971b: 1) sees their reaction as a conflict with “the undertone of populist (sic) revolt of junior officers and NCOs [from the upper Niger] against the high command [mostly Igbo]”, that broke out in the army “which aligned officers of different regions and ethnic groups against each other”. Their initial resolve to “secede en masse from” (Luckham 1971b: 391) the supra-national state was on the grounds that it had fallen into the control of members of nationalities—particularly the Igbo—that do not share their worldview on power and authority.<sup>175</sup>

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Army on such tasks may well have been one of the reasons which led them to take part in the conspiracy”.

<sup>175</sup> The coup which entailed the systematic annihilation of the Igbo in the army and the subsequent pogrom of Igbo residents of cities in the upper Niger immersed the supra-national state in a 37-month long war of succession with the breakaway Igbo dominated Republic of Biafra. The war which was prosecuted like a *jihad* by a War Council based in the Hausa-Fulani city of Kaduna (Ochoche 1987) helped the Fulani aristocracy classes to assume effective control over the army—the main factor that makes a critical difference in the power-authority equation in the supra-national state. Ever since, it has been a Gramscian situation: ‘The “normal” exercise of hegemony ... characterized by the combination of force and consent’. Whenever they find it too risky to utilize force they utilize ‘corruption-fraud’ instead, to ‘enervate and paralyze any antagonistic nationality in the supra-national state’ (Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del Carcere*, in Perry Anderson, “Editorial”, *NLR*, 17, Sept.-Oct. 2002: 8).

We can also raise and address a hypothetical question which could help us to further examine the motives of coup-makers in the supra-national state: Did the leaders of the 1966 coup for instance, make plausible claims that they were motivated by a desire to restore democracy? In the address that he made on the radio at midday on January 15, Major Nzeogwu was specific. “Our enemies” he said “are the political profiteers, swindlers, the men in the high and low places that seek bribes and demand ten percent, those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers and VIPs of waste, the tribalists, the nepotists, ...those that have corrupted our society and put the ‘Nigerian’ political calendar back by their words and deeds” (in Kirk-Green 1971: 126).

Another issue that touches on the motivation of particularly the January 15, 1966 coup makers who were mostly Igbo is the one that says that their intention was to impose a hegemony that favored the Igbo. Hard facts tend to show otherwise. In 1966 the composition of the category of the officer corps where the coup-makers came from favored the Igbo and Yoruba against upper Niger nationalities. That was because of the principal reason that beginning from 1944 when the British War Office opened up the corps to indigenous men up until the eve of independence in 1959, few men from the upper Niger had the requisite qualifications in western education to merit acceptance into the corps. We established in chapter five that colonial education policy was responsible for the education gap that exist between the nationalities in the upper and lower Niger. Data furnished by Miners (1971) and Luckham (1971b) in their study of the army in the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state show that before independence, out of the 57 indigenous men in the corps, a mere 14% (8) were from the upper Niger, while 86% (49) were from

the lower Niger.<sup>176</sup> More than sixty-five percent of those 57 indigenous men were Igbo. In January 1966, 86% (46) of the senior members of the corps were Igbo (32) and Yoruba (14) respectively. The 1958 and 1959 cohorts from amongst which came the leaders of the 1966 coup number a total of 36—twenty-seven (27) were from the lower Niger and only nine (9) were from the upper Niger. Hence, Ruth First in her study of the January 15, 1966 coup argues that it “was not an Ibo coup with motives of tribal domination. It was a coup inspired by widespread political grievances” (First 1970: 300). She believes that “the coup grew out of the angry ... political purposes of young officers, who shared the disgust of their generation at the iniquity of the politicians, not least their use of the army to further their purposes” (First 1970: 300). A planned deployment of the army by the Hausa-Fulani-controlled NPC central government to quell political riots and uprisings in Yorubaland over the outcome of the 1964-5 elections—which it rigged in favor of its allies in Tivland and Yorubaland—was partly responsible for inciting the coup plotters to strike at that time (Miners 1971). As Major Nzeogwu, one of the planners of the coup disclosed in a newspaper interview, “The public is still largely unaware of the fact that a gigantic military operation over the Western Region was to swoop down on that territory on January 17. The incident that was associated with January 15 today was to take place sometime later, that is the following month. When therefore the significance of the state of emergency due to be proclaimed on January 17 was made known to us, it became inevitable that the operation of January 15 must necessarily take place before the dawn of January 17” (Nzeogwu, *Nigerian Tribune*, July 2, 1967 in Luckham 1971b: 41).

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<sup>176</sup> All but one (Hassan Usman Katsina) of these individuals hailed from non-core Caliphate areas of the upper Niger. The others were Kanuri (4), and the Middle Belt (3)—See Miners (1971: 39 and 51).



Similar arguments cannot be made about the July 1966 coup makers. The principal actors in this coup were all members of the cohort that benefited from the extraordinary efforts made by Hausa-Fulani leaders to reshape the officer corps in their favor. The ring leader of that event—Murtala Muhammed—was the nephew of the defense minister, who was a Hausa-Fulani (Luckham 1971a and 1971b).

### **Policy Implications**

We posed a range of theoretical questions in Chapter One to guide us in the study. Each of those questions raised issues that we tried to explore in the course of our discourse. One of the issues raised by some of the theoretical questions concerns the persistence of indigenous authority patterns into the present in the various nationalities that constitute the ‘Nigerian’ supra-national state. We argued in the study that it is plausible or “intuitive” but not proven that they persist. The search for evidence that they persist could be an important topic for future research. But the issues raised by those questions have policy implications as far as state building in the Niger basin is concerned.

The findings in the study support the assertion that state building in the Niger basin is incomplete. For state building to be successful it must reflect the realities and aspirations of the inhabitants of any given geographical space. In an environment like the Niger basin where the age-old configuration of societies is in terms of the distinctiveness of the inhabiting nationalities attempts to organize them under new socio-political arrangements must acknowledge and accommodate their respective social and political distinctiveness. To do that is the only way through which the specific political elements or the “internal authority relations” (Eckstein 1969: 277) of their ‘non-governmental

institutions' which serve as the basis for 'governmental stability' in societies can be accommodated.

Like racial and ethnic groups or 'communities' nationalities 'have moral rights and claims (Van Dyke 1971 and 1974) and obligations that must be recognized in societies (Huntington 1982). The Jeffersonian model of organizing the affairs of inhabitants of the state in Western Europe and North America is unsuitable for the Niger basin. The distinct political systems and socio-political organization of the inhabitants of the Niger basin are indeed part of their 'moral rights and claims' that the British were unwilling to accommodate across the board and without bias. To say this does not imply that one is oblivious of the aims and motives of European colonial intervention in Africa. Europe's state building endeavors in Africa were meant to establish the institutional structures that could promote and perpetuate the control and exploitation of Africans. As we established earlier, in our discourse on the practice of authority in Hausaland during the time of the Habe kings and in the post-*jihad* period under the Fulani rulers, control and exploitation of society by rulers can only take place in undemocratic polities.

What prevailed in the Niger basin is typical of the British in the rest of the continent where they intervened in state building. The French, who went about their colonial intervention in Africa in a slightly different style, were still able to arrive at the similar end products (Mair 1969, Crowder 1964). Speaking in comparative terms of European colonial intervention in Africa, after the British the French are the next set of Europeans whose involvement and activities produced legacies that reshaped the socio-political lives of a big proportion of distinct African peoples. Like the British, the heterogeneity of Africa's socio-political landscape compelled the French to formulate a

policy of indirect rule as an integral component of their state building repertoires in the parts of the continent that they acquired and converted into their colonial possession. But unlike the British who harnessed the authority patterns in nationalities where the practice of authority is authoritarian, the French preferred to dismantle all indigenous authority patterns to pave the way for the vast supra-national polity into which they molded all their West African possessions.

The policies that the French formulated to facilitate the imposition of that huge monolithic colonial polity which functioned as an appendage of the French Republic included those that divided indigenous nationalities into artificial cantons in the bid to suppress their traditional authority patterns and influence relations. The social Darwinian mindset “that French civilization is necessarily the best and need only be presented to the intelligent African for him to adopt it” (Crowder 1964: 203) guided their colonial policy of molding Africans into Frenchmen. They succeeded in instituting and transforming the commensurate patterns of authority and influence relations, which enabled them to practice authoritarian authority through assimilated Africans during colonial rule.

## APPENDIX 1

Appendix 1: The configuration of socio-political and economic systems and organization amongst the Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani.

Nationality	Variable	Measurement	Source Type	State of Variable in Each Nationality			
		The Pre-Colonial Period		Measures Present	Measures Absent	Measures Strongly Developed	Measures Weak/Not Well Developed
	Socio-economic development	1. Exchange system 2. Written Records 3. Some of schooling	Secondary sources such as monographs and historical records				
IGBO				1	3	1	2
YORUBA				1	2 and 3	1	
HAUSA-FULANI				1, 2 and 3		1, 2 and 3	
	Political development	1. Tax system 2. Standing army 3. Civil bureaucracy	Secondary sources such as monographs and historical records				
IGBO					2 and 3		1
YORUBA					3	2	1
HAUSA-FULANI				1, 2 and 3			
	Patterns of political instability and conflict in the region	1. Conquest and expansion beyond one nationality boundary into another 2. Resistance against such conquest 3. Resistance against absorption by another nationality	Secondary sources such as monographs and historical records				
IGBO					1, 2 and 3		
YORUBA				1	2 and 3		1
HAUSA-FULANI				1, 2 and 3		1, 2 and 3	
	Kinship and authority patterns	1. Unique 2. Peculiar	Secondary sources such as monographs and historical records				
IGBO				1 and 2		1 and 2	
YORUBA				1 and 2		1 and 2	
HAUSA-FULANI				1 and 2		1 and 2	

		The Colonial Period					
	British alliance	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Authority patterns left intact</li> <li>2. Religion, culture and system of socialization encouraged</li> <li>3. Language encouraged</li> <li>4. Institutional structures left intact</li> <li>5. Leaders left in place</li> <li>6. Non-hostility to natural rulers</li> </ol>	Secondary sources such as monographs and historical records				
IGBO					1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6		
YORUBA					1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6		
HAUSA-FULANI				1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6			
	Authority pattern of the 'Nigerian' supra-national state	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Legal/rational features</li> <li>2. Bureaucratic features</li> </ol>	Secondary sources such as monographs and historical records				
IGBO							1 and 2
YORUBA							1 and 2
HAUSA-FULANI							1 and 2
	Disparity in patterns of socio-economic development	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Quick in embracing Western system of education and culture</li> <li>2. Quick in making economic progress</li> </ol>	Secondary sources such as monographs and historical records				
IGBO				1 and 2		1 and 2	
YORUBA				1 and 2		1 and 2	
HAUSA-FULANI							1 and 2
						Favored	Not Favored
	British Preferential Policies	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Recruitment into the army</li> <li>2. Census of 1952-3</li> </ol>	Secondary sources such as monographs and historical records				
IGBO							No

YORUBA							No
HAUSA- FULANI						Yes	

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### **EDUCATION**

Doctor of Philosophy Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park, 2004.  
Dissertation: *“Roots of Political Instability amongst Indigenous Societies, and in the “Nigerian” Supra-National State, 1884-1990: A Longitudinal Comparative Historical Study”*, co-directed by Professors Jerald Hage, and Ted R. Gurr.

M.A. University of Maryland, College Park  
Sociology, 2000.  
Thesis: *“Protecting the State from Multiple Societies: A Sociological Study of Military Intervention in Domestic Politics in Nigeria”*.

M.A.I.S. George Mason University, Fairfax, VA  
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Thesis: *“Africa and Eastern Europe in the Eyes of The New York Times A Content Analysis ”*, directed by Professor Anita Taylor.

M.Sc. University of Nigeria, Nsukka  
Sociology of Mass Communication, 1988.  
Thesis: *“The Mass Media and Development: A Content Analysis”*, directed by Professor Cyril Nwanunobi.

B.Sc. (Hons.) University of Nigeria, Nsukka  
Sociology/Anthropology, 1984.

### **AWARDS AND HONORS**

•Goldharber Student Travel Assistance Award 2000 and 2002  
*This award is extended to graduate students to enable them travel to Conferences and make presentations. I received the award on two Occasions—1998 and 2000.*

- Women In International Security (WIIS) Participant 2000

*I was one of thirty graduate students—and the only male selected from a pool of more than a hundred and fifty applicants from the US and all over the world to attend the Eleventh Annual Summer Symposium on the theme: Security Implications of Sustainable Development.*

- American Sociological Association (ASA)-National Science Foundation (NSF) Travel Grant Award 2002

## **EXPERIENCE /TEACHING AREAS**

Will develop and teach course in comparative sociology, military sociology, qualitative research methods, social and political conflict, bases of violence and their impacts on societies, etc.

- 2003-Present Instructor, SOCY 100—Introductory Sociology, and SOCY 105—Introduction to Contemporary Social Problems.
- 2001-2002 Research Assistant, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, Maryland, College Park with Professor Lory J. Dance.
- 2000 Teaching Assistant, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park. Undergraduate teaching assistant in SOCY 305—Scarcity and Modern Society, SOCY 431—Principles of Organizations with Professor Kurt Finsterbusch.
- 1999-2000 Research Assistant, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park.
- 1999- Contributing Editor, TheNews magazine, Lagos, Nigeria. Report stories and write an opinion column twice a month.
- 1989-1990 Staff Writer, ThisWeek magazine, Lagos, Nigeria. Performed various reportorial duties during the duration.
- 1986-1990 Freelance Journalist, West Africa magazine (London), The Guardian (Lagos, Nigeria). *Contributed regularly to these publications for the duration of time.*
- 1984-1985 Instructor, Ogun State University, Ago-Iwoye, Nigeria. Undergraduate Teaching in the B.Sc. Program in Sociology and Politics.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

- Ejiogu, E.C., “Roots of Political Instability in an Artificial “Nation-State””: Case of Nigeria”, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 42. No.3. 2001 Pp. 323-342.

- Eight Contributions on: (i) ACHEBE, Chinua, (ii) ENAHORO, Anthony, (iii) FANON, Frantz, (iv) MACHEL, Samora, (v) NAMIBIAN Nationalism, (vi) NYERERE, Julius, (vii) SARO-WIWA, Kenule, (viii) SOYINKA, Wole in Alexander J. Motyl (editor-in-chief) *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* San Diego San Francisco New York Boston London Sydney Tokyo: Academic Press, 2000, Pp. 1, 142, 159, 311-2, 356-7, 378-9, 458-9, and 504.

- Ejiogu, E.C., “African Women and the Military: An Analysis of the Combat Roles of Women in Two Wars of National Liberation on the Continent—South Africa and Namibia”, in *Women in Uniform: Perceptions and Pathways*, (eds.) Kathryn Spurling and Elizabeth Greenhalgh. 2000. Canberra: School of History, University College of NSW, Australian Defence Force Academy, Pp. 174-195.

### CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- “Historical Statistics as Text: Unusual Indicators of How Ordinary British Folk Reaped From the World-Economy, 1800-1960, presented at the American Sociological Association annual meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, 2003.
- “Projecting the Future: Some Likely Outcomes of High Minority Representation in the US Military”, Presented at the International Sociological Association XV World Congress of Sociology, Brisbane Australia July 7-13, 2002
- “External Intervention in State-Building and Capitalist Transformations in Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Angola, Kenya, Zimbabwe, and the Republic of South Africa”, Presented at the ISA XV World Congress of Sociology, Brisbane Australia July 7-13, 2002
- “Protecting The State From Multiple Societies: A Sociological Study of Nigeria’s Civil-Military Relations”, presented at the American Sociological Association, 95<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, August 11-13, 2000.
- “Broadening African Security and Sustainable Development: The Post-Colonial State As Obstacle”, Women In International Security (WIIS) 2000 Summer Symposium, June 15—20, 2000, Annapolis, MD.
- “Tripartite Processes: Contentious Resistance Against the Nigerian Post-Colonial State in the Niger Delta”, presented at the Southern Sociological Society Annual Meeting, New Orleans, April 19-22, 2000.
- “Roots of Political Instability in an Artificial “Nation-State”: The Case of Nigeria”, American Sociological Association, 94th Annual Meeting, Chicago, August 1999.

- “African Women and the Military: An Analysis of the Combat Roles of Women in Two Wars of National Liberation on the Continent—South Africa and Namibia”, Women in the Military, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, May 11-15, 1999.

- “African Women and the Military: An Analysis of the Combat Roles of Women in Two Wars of National Liberation on the Continent—South Africa and Namibia”, 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Feminist Graduate Students Conference, University of Texas, Austin, March 11-13, 1999.

### **PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS**

- Fellow, Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (IUS).
- American Sociological Association (ASA).
- International Sociological Association (ISA).
- Women In International Security (WIIS).

### **OTHER JOB EXPERIENCES**

Have worked in various capacities as a human services personnel and special educator to individuals with disabilities and middle and high school students.

### **REFERENCES**

Available upon request.