DISSERTATION

Titel der Dissertation

Religion in the context of African/Igbo migration

From the pre-colonial times to the contemporary period

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DEDICATION

* To my mother Mrs. Ohajiriogu Beatrice and my late father Mr. Ambrose Uzuegbu Ohajiriogu; for showing me the light of civilization.

* To all who died on account of frustrations resulting from migration

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Religion in the context of African migration arose out of years of qualitative and quantitative research among Nigerian migrants' communities in Austria and the study of Religions among men and women of all walks of life. During the course of this research, many fruitful discussions, constructive criticisms and suggestions arose from colleagues and professors which contributed immensely to the formation of this work. Therefore, I am thankful to all my colleagues who contributed to the making of this work.

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ABSTRACT

African continent has many people with different languages religions and cultures. Among all the various groups in the African continent especially those residing in Nigeria, this work concentrates on the Igbo people living in the south-eastern part of Nigeria in West Africa. Many people from this group have found their homes outside the confines of Nigeria. This work traces somehow the origin of the Igbo people as it is documented from the ancient times till today. It uncovers further the belief-system of the people and their socio-cultural worldview.

African people generally are regarded as migrant people. The factors that gave rise to this belief are what this work is out to find. Using Igbo people as a case in point, it tries to unravel the life of the Africans before the advent of colonialism by unfolding their religion and life style in the ancient times and the role migration played to the ancient Africans in their belief system and vice versa. To achieve all these, it is necessary to throw more light into the economic activities of the ancient African/Igbo person; with particular reference to the goods and services that occupied their commercial life in the pre-colonial period.

In the ancient times, Religion and culture were closely related, hence it was not very easy to distinguish normal life from the religion of the people since *Chukwu* (God) was the determining factor of not only the activities in the African universe but also in the private lives of the individual. In such a traditional set-up, African life was stable; and there were not much cases of migration in the pre-colonial times. Migration occurred then only when there was explosion in the population or when there was not enough arable land to farm.

From the second half of the 19th century and especially towards the middle of 20th century, rapid and radical changes were noticed in Africa. These rapid changes started with the business transactions between Europeans and Africans and extended to slave trade which enveloped some parts of Africa during this time. In addition to this inhuman trade, colonialism was introduced, and later the evil of slave trade was surmounted. The long period of colonialism with its attendant method of indirect rule in Nigeria later gave rise to the constitutional evolution of modern Nigeria with its attendant formation of democracy.

The colonialists established some transport facilities which encouraged migration in the colonial era. In addition to the transport facilities, there was also the construction of roads and many rail way lines which were used to connect many cities and towns. The work of colonialists and those of the Evangelisers brought great changes in all aspects of African life involving the whole existence of African peoples and making their impact upon the religious, economic, political and social life. Thus, the Africans were estranged and alienated from their

own homes. The search for meaning in life, and the unfavourable socio-economic conditions have therefore led many Africans to leave their homes for various parts of the Africa and the world in search for meaning and also greener pastures. The roles religion has played during these processes of searching are the concern of this work. The Church in Africa has tried to soft-pedal this unbridled search for meaning in life by introducing another evangelization theology called inculturation theology.

The presence of Africans/Igbo in various countries in Europe testifies to the fact that African migration has not stopped even in our day. This work investigates further not only the pull and push factors for the modern day African/Igbo migration, but also examines how Religion helps modern African/Igbo migrants in their course of migration. It unfolds also the processes of establishing a new spiritual home in their places of migration with its attendant challenges. It is said that the Africans/Igbo are very spiritual and so the work investigates into the origin of the spirituality of African migrants and the relevance of religion to the Africans in their various places of migration.

ABSTRAKT

Auf dem afrikanischen Kontinent leben viele Menschen mit unterschiedlichen Sprachen, Religionen und Kulturen, die sich in verschiedene Gruppen unterteilen lassen. Diese Arbeit konzentriert sich auf die Igbo - Bevölkerung, die in Westafrika im Südosten Nigerias lebt. Der Großteil der Igbo - Volksgruppe lebt in Nigeria, aber viele haben ihr Zuhause auch außerhalb der Grenzen Nigerias gefunden. Untersucht wird die Herkunft der Igbo, deren Glaubenssystem sowie ihre sozio - kulturelle Welt – dokumentiert von alten Zeiten her bis heute. Dazu werden Afrikaner als *people on the move betrachtet*, sowie die Faktoren beleuchtet, die Anlass zu dieser Situation/Bestimmung geben.

Mit der Igbo – Volksgruppe als Beispiel, wird das Leben der Afrikaner, die Entfaltung ihrer Religion und Lebensweise in der Präkolonialzeit dargestellt. Ebenfalls ist es notwendig die wirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten der Afrikaner zu erhellen, insbesondere in Bezug auf die Warenwirtschaft und Dienstleistungen, die ihr kommerzielles Leben in der Präkolonialzeit bestimmten.

In der Präkolonialzeit sind Religion und Kultur eng miteinander verbunden, daher war es nicht ganz einfach die Religion vom normalen[/übrigen] Leben der Menschen zu unterscheiden. Der entscheidende Faktor war *Chukwu* (Gott), nicht nur im sozialen Leben der afrikanischen Welt, sondern auch im privaten Leben jedes Einzelnen. In dieser traditionellen Gesellschaft war das Leben der Afrikaner stabil und es gab nicht viele Fälle von Migration. Migration trat nur dann ein, wenn es eine Bevölkerungsexplosion gab, oder nicht genügend Ackerland für die Bewirtschaftung zur Verfügung stand.

Der rasche und radikale Wandel in Afrika wurde ab dem 19. und vor allem ab der Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts bemerkbar. Die raschen Veränderungen begannen mit den geschäftlichen Transaktionen zwischen Europäern und Afrikanern. Einige Teile des Kontinents wurden während dieser Zeit mit Sklavenhandel beschäftigt Zusätzlich zu diesem unmenschlichen Handel wurde später auch der Kolonialismus eingeführt, der das Übel des Sklavenhandels überwand. Erst später entstand die konstitutionelle Entwicklung des modernen Nigeria mit der damit verbundenen Einführung der Demokratie.

Die Kolonialisten förderten die Migration in der Kolonialzeit durch die Gründung von Verkehrseinrichtungen, wie den Bau von Straßen und Bahnschienen, die viele Städte und Orte miteinander verbunden haben. Die Tätigkeiten der Kolonialherren und der Missionare brachten große Veränderungen in allen Bereichen des afrikanischen Lebens und beeinflussten so das religiöse, wirtschaftliche, politische und soziale Leben. So wurden die Afrikaner von

ihren eigenen Häusern entfremdet. Die Suche nach dem Sinn im Leben, hat deshalb dazu geführt, dass viele Afrikaner von ihrer Heimat in verschiedene Teile Afrikas und der Welt migriert sind. In der Arbeit werden auch die Rolle und die Einflüsse der Religion während der Migration beschrieben. Die Kirche in Afrika versucht bis heute eine dauerhaftere Antwort auf die Sinnfrage durch die Einführung einer anderen Evangelisierungstheologie namens Inkulturationtheologie. Diese Theologie hat die Aufgabe der afrikanischen Gesellschaft ein neues Bewusstsein zu geben, und zwar durch Anerkennung und Toleranz ihrer Kultur und ihres afrikanischen Glaubens.

Zum Schlusswird das Wechselverhältnis von Migration und Religion am Beispiel der *African Catholic Community* in Wien dargestellt. Der Ursprung der Spiritualität der afrikanischen Migranten, sowie die unterschiedliche Push – und Pullfaktoren der heutigen Migration werden untersucht. Auch die Prozesse zur Schaffung einer neuen geistigen Heimat an ihren neuen Aufenthaltsorten und den damit verbundenen Herausforderungen werden entfaltet.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE WORK

0.1 MOTIVE, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Originally, the Religion of many African societies is African Traditional Religion. It is African in as much as it stems from the African environment. It is called traditional because its major interest and propelling factors are ideas and world-views revolving around African environment and culture. Today, on the other hand, the reality is that Africa is far more religiously diverse and dynamic. The result is the marriage of two or more religions in the 18th and 19th century that gave the whole continent of Africa a different world-view and religious orientation.

With the arrival of new religious groups, through evangelization and colonization, issues of faith and identity became critical. The situation became more critical owing to the series of deplorable governments in many countries of Africa as is evidenced in the poor socio-economic conditions in many African countries. As a result of this, many Africans took and still take to migration with the hope of searching for their true identity and building a home that corresponds to their own imagination.

After four years of pedagogical and theological studies in Austria, it became clear to me that most of the Nigerians in Austria are coming from the south-eastern part of the country (the defunct Biafra). Through my constant encounter with them, I discovered that most of them have either received new religious worldviews or are about to. Some of them who were ardent Christians at home or have strong Catholic backgrounds no longer see any meaning in religion. While a third group wishes to remain religious but does not see a religious home where they can practice their spirituality. Some change their religion and others join other Christian communities. These are the motivating factors for this study which I have embarked upon. Because of such interest in this area, I decided to embark on this research work, trying to explore the reasons why many people (even in the Bible) in the past undertook the project of migration. Using the Igbo tribe as a case in point, I wish to explore the push and pull factors of migration of African people even before the colonial times, by exposing the typical African traditional society.

Furthermore, with the aim of deciphering if there are similarities between the motives of the migrants in the pre-colonial, with those of the colonial, post-colonial and contemporary periods. More importantly, I intend to explore ways by which migrants in the contemporary times are constructing new homes in their places of migration. African/Igbo migrants today struggle with many of the same kinds of challenges that other immigrant faced earlier in history but then in African continent. Today, such experiences are being made outside the

shores of African continent. The challenges that are involved in the construction of such a socio-religious and cultural home in a foreign environment are one of the concerns of our project.

0.2 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

It is not very easy to study the continent of Africa as a whole, not even Nigeria with so many tribes, religions and worldviews. There is therefore need to define and limit the scope of this research by giving a panoramic view of the Nigerian society before its meeting with the Europeans through colonization and evangelization. It also runs through the colonial and post colonial period, paying special attention to the Igbo tribe and at the same time concentrating on the role religion has been playing to migrant Nigerians (the Igbo people in particular) within and outside the confines of Nigeria. It is true that the study centres on Igbo ethnicity and their migration within the confines of Igbo society in the pre-colonial period, migration in the colonial and post-colonial era revolutionized people's views of life and the world in general. In its general perspective, however, I wish to demonstrate here that whatever affects the Igbos in their migration tendencies affects however, the rest of the African people in the world who are also on the move. The world has become so global that the experiences of one group of people affect the rest of the other members inhabiting the same planet with them. In a nutshell, the task of this research work is to investigate the role Religion plays in general to the migrant Igbo people of Nigeria within Nigeria, Africa, and lastly in Europe.

0.3 METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

From my theological perspective, I applied the socio-anthropological research method of Hammersley and Atkinson who remark that socio-anthropological research is intense, long-term fieldwork concluded among a community of people.[1] A researcher is expected to go to the field; at least, for his/her initial research because being there is seen to result in superior work. A religious, socio-anthropological fieldwork differs in conceptualisation, and for the most part in practice, from other kinds of field researches because of its epistemology, history and socialisation. Borrowing an expression from the field of Cultural Anthropology, this research work is based on *"participant observation"*[2] which is a key method of study in

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[1] HAMMERSLEY, M. & ATKINSON, P., Ethnography: Principles in Practice, London 1995.
[2] Participant observation is a fundamental method of research used in cultural anthropology. It involves a researcher, or researchers, living within a given culture for an extended period of time, to take part in its daily life in all its richness and diversity. The anthropologist in such an approach tries to experience a culture "from

cultural anthropology introduced mainly by Barfield.[3] This is, however, not the only method applied. As a theologian with special interest in context-related theology, I applied other methods like: quantitative documentation; survey, textual, demographic, and other types of analysis, according to the local condition as well as the nature of the research in question.

Participant observation is key to the success of a research work of this sort having invested three years in field and research works, and having spent nine years in Austria, I was able to conduct intensive socio- religious research among Nigerian/Igbo migrants' communities in Austria. During the research period in Austria, I plunged into their daily activities as thoroughly as possible, being however, one of them. In my free times I accompanied some of them in their various undertakings, celebrated parties with them, visited them in their homes, and accompanied some of them to the villages in search of vehicles to buy which will either be transported to Nigeria or resold here in Austria.

Sometimes, the various parks in the neighbourhood were the meeting-points either to chat or to make music for us. Such meetings gave me the thought of forming an African Cultural Society, a club which had existed unofficially since 2006 until 2007, when I in conjunction with the members, decided to make it official by bringing it to the members of the public as a registered association for Africans and their friends (*Afrikanischer Kulturverein*)[4]. The formation of the African Cultural Society brought me all the more closer to the day-today-activities of the African/Igbo migrants: their living conditions and the life style that faces the community of Africans in the Austrian society. I was part and parcel of the society and participated in the hardship and the fear of insecurity that grips them from time to time.

Apart from being there, I again made use of documentaries, questionnaires as well as interviews. I did more of listening than talking, especially among age mates, students and academicians, especially priests who were either my colleagues in the university or former colleagues on whom I depended more for my research both here in Austria and in Nigeria.

Of course, when old people are talking, they need nothing but attention, which I gave to them in my discussions with them during my visits to Nigeria. In Okwe, Okigwe and Owerri (all in Imo State) I felt at home since these were the cities where I spent most of my time when I was in Nigeria and also whenever I travel to Nigeria. However, giving the fact that I travel at least once a year to Nigeria, I had the opportunity to continue to scout for relevant books and discuss with relevant people on matters regarding the realization of this work.

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within," as a person native to that culture might do. For more information, see http://www.qvctc.commnet.edu/brian/partob.html March 2009.

[3] BARFIELD, T., The Dictionary of Anthropology, Oxford 1997.

[4] For more information confer: www.bmigv.at/vereinswessen November 2008.

An expository method was applied to look into what is already on the ground in Nigeria, especially the possible factors and experiences of Nigerians that are pushing them to migrate. I compared these factors with other factors that encourage migration in other countries of the world and discovered many similarities in them.

Cardinal Antonio of Madrid observed that "religion is the greatest unifying factor…."[5] for many migrants. It is what gives migrants a sense of identity and belonging. That is why we decided to devote this work to the role Religion plays to African/Igbo migrants. As a result of this, we interviewed some religious experts like the various religious leaders in Vienna, the administrators and co-ordinators of the various migrant religious groups also in Vienna. It helped us to explore the various steps and phases in the construction and establishment of these religious centres that are scattered all over Europe using Austria (Vienna), however, as a case in point.

0.4 SOURCES: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this work, I have used materials from primary sources as well as some few secondary and unpublished works as they pertain to and concern our topic. I embarked on interviews mainly with experts like Church leaders, Priests and the co-ordinators of various religious groups. Many books from the fields of Cultural Anthropology, History, Philosophy and Sociology were used. In my point of view, these various fields of life are very necessary since the term, man, who is migrating has been variously defined by different fields of academicians. These various explanations and definitions include: *homo politicos, homo socialis, homo faber, homo religious, homo culturalis, animal rationis* et cetera. All these definitions go to show how complex the being of the human is. That is why I chose to integrate various fields of academic endeavours in the treatment of the African man in his migration tendencies.

That is not all, we made use of various Newspapers, Journals, Interviews, more important are the experiences gathered during all these endeavours which we tried to translate into words in this work. Various official documents of the Church, liturgical books and other collections have been chosen in reference to our topic. Since the topic is an African topic on one side, I allowed the works of many African intellectuals to feature in the work as a way of using their own ideas in their understanding of African culture, environment and man to put across my own thoughts. Some of such African intellectual giants, whose works continue to feature in

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[5] http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/new.php?n=6859, January 2008.

this work, include Chinua Achebe, (a Nigerian novelist, poet, professor and critic, born and bred in an Igbo village called Ogidi) and John Mbiti, (a Christian religious philosopher and Anglican priest whose teaching endeavour started in University of Makerere in Uganda through Germany). Other authors whose works contributed in the making of this research work include, Kalu, Dopamu, Onwuanibe, Njoku, O'Brien, Obi, Odoeme, Ogbu Kalu, Onwuejeogwu, Ozigbo Perham, Pottmeyer, Probst, Shorter, Tetlow, Udo Reuben, Ukwuegbu Bernard, Uzukwu, Wall, Zeleza, Zulehner, Figl, Polak, Arikpo, Awolowo, Julius Nywere, Cohen, Coleman, Ejizu, Adogame, Adepoju, Hollos, Ikenga Metuh and a host of other European, American and African authors.

With the help of the works of these and other authors whose works are mentioned and quoted during the research work, I am able to build up my own ideas by establishing the point and target I have set for myself in this research work. This target includes a reconstruction of the role of Religion in the context of African/Igbo migration from the pre-colonial times till the contemporary era by exposing firstly, the African Traditional Religion, which was the original Religion of Africans. Later, the role of Christian Religion to the modern African people is given a great attention since it is the contemporary Religion of many African/Igbo people in the contemporary period.

0.5 STRUCTURE AND DIVISIONS OF THE WORK

Our study of Religion in the context of African/Igbo migration is not only an academic exercise, but also an investigative endeavour into the reasons and motives for the migration of many Africans/Igbo people of Nigeria. Bearing in mind that there are not yet many sources that treat religion in the context of African/Igbo migration, we must point out that faith is a living phenomenon in the whole of Africa/Igbo Religions and cultures. In the African environment where the existence of God is taken for granted, their day-to-day activities are always associated with the different attributes and manifestations of God.

The African believes that the concept Religion is one of the non-empirical but existential phenomena[6]. Phenomenologically, Religion has nothing to do with the function of Religion for the human and social life but rather with what reveals itself in Religion. On the other

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6 The concept phenomena refers both to the objective and subjective elements which a person experiences. Applied to the study of Religion, this implies that phenomenologists are not concerned with the truth or falsehood of religious data within the logic of religious phenomena in general and individual belief systems in particular. What is important to them is the objective fact that people profess religious beliefs and express these in ritual form. Whether the beliefs are true or false, or whether the gods and spirits believed in exist apart from the believer or not, the religious attitude of the believer remains the same. See SAIBA, J.A., *Homo Religiosus* in Mircea Eliade: An Anthropological Evaluation. Leiden 1976.

hand, the essence of Religion does not lie simply in a place of existence or in a condition of the consciousness, but in the real transcendence of God and his act of salvation. That is to say, it is not merely the function of the Absolute in our *Dasein* out of which Religion can be defined, but it is in this context the salvation-seeking and possibly salvation-finding practice. This act of seeking for salvation and the satisfaction that is attached in this act of salvation-seeking is what keeps the African man alive and active in the field of religion. In reality, the concept called God can as well be identified with different names[7], as there are different languages and peoples in the world.

The work is divided into four parts:

Pre-Colonial African/Igbo religion and migration

Colonial and Post-Colonial African/Igbo Religion and migration

Contemporary African/Igbo Religion and Migration

Evaluation and concluding remarks.

This work draws attention in the first part, to the humane virtues and values that are imbedded in the phenomenon – migration. It draws particular attention on African/Igbo migration by pointing out the major tribes of Nigeria and at the same time focussing on the Igbo tribe fully since it is the tribe under study in this work. The origin of the tribe takes the greater part of the first part of the work where the Igbo religion and cosmology are extensively exposed. This is very important because religion was the only determining factor in the life of the African/Igbo people during the ancient times. Just as Mbiti indicated, it was then unthinkable for one to live outside his normal traditional setting where religion (African Traditional Religion) was the determining factor.[8]

The veneration of the ancestors which forms the hub of the African/Igbo traditional religion is very clearly brought to bear since the religious world view of the people revolves around the concept of re-incarnation where the ancestors play an important role. The role of the ancestors is strictly associated with the different social and religious institutions in a typical African traditional setting like the family, village and clan.

This section develops further by high-lighting the migration patterns in the pre-colonial Africa/Igbo and the position and role played by African Traditional Religion during the process of migration. The pull and push factors during this era are very interesting since they differ greatly from the pull and push factors during and after the colonial era.

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[7] SECKLER, M. "Der theologische Begriff der Religion", in: KERN, W. & POTTMEYER, H., Handbuch der Fundamentaltheologie, Bd. 1., Freiburg 1985, P. 173-194.
[8] MBITI, J. S., African Religion and Philosophy, Heinemann Second Edition, 1989.

Part two directs more attention particularly to the contributions migration has made and is actually making to homelands and receiving countries in Africa. Migration, as part of the dynamics of an ever-changing world, creatively redefines the host country as it redefines the immigrants. The section unfolds the historical discovery of Africa in the 15th century as an epoch-making event by the Europeans. Such discovery shattered the traditional conception that the world comprised only of the Roman Empire. It later on ushered in the era of *possibilities*[9]. The first contact Africans had with the Europeans was through the business transactions of people coming through the Sahara; where ivories and other ornamental jewelleries were sold to the Europeans by the exchange of money.

The first forced migration started when human labour was needed for the building up of the American continent especially in the different plantations in South America. It was what started human trafficking in Africa through which many Africans were transported to the new world. Pressure and opposition continued to mount and eventually with Lord Granville's Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the African slave trade was abolished by the 18th century, as far as Britain, her subjects, and her colonies were concerned. The desire to stop the slave trade and to introduce legitimate trade and Christianity had brought the traders, the missionaries and the British government into close co-operation and alloted a paternal role to the latter. Gradually, there was a shift of interest from slave trade to colonization and missionary activities.

The missionary work started with vigour and the African society started to change with immediate effect. The Gospel of Jesus Christ was proclaimed to the Africans who had until now, been at home and conmfortable with their Traditional Religion. This proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ shattered their African spontaneous convictions about religion and the world at large. However, the missionaries received a lot of support from the colonial masters which helped them also in the work of Christianization in Africa.

The colonial activities, on the other hand, gave rise to various colonial establishments like construction of roads and railways which in turn encouraged migration to different parts of Africa/Nigeria. Because of the increase in the population, there was a massive exodus into the developed cities of Africa/Nigeria in the post-colonial era where improved living conditions were available. The job opportunities were mainly located in the urban cities. These developed cities attracted many workers from the rural areas. Different religious groups were

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[9] *Possibilities* here means that even things that were regarded as impossible could be possible since no one ever thought that there could have been another world that was in existence outside the Greco-Roman world.
OZIGBO, R., "The Christian Missionary Penetration of Nigeria before 1900 A.D." in: Lux-Review of the African Association of St. Augustine, No. 10, Rome 1963.

concomitantly springing up in these growing cities as the missionaries carried their evangelical works to them. However, the work of evangelization was not goundly done since this culture and traditions of the many African tribes and communities were not fully taken into account and considered during the spread of the spread of the Gospel. As a result of shallow faith planted by the missionaries during the evangelization period, there was a great deal of cultural relativism where many Africans decided to establish a theology which would be properly African and more understandable to them unlike the one brought to them by the missionaries. This section comes to a conclusion by considering the meaning and relevance of inculturation theology in the African Church as a response of the present day Church in Africa towards curbing the cultural relativism which started even during the colonial and evangelization times but has continued to our present day.

The concern of the third part of the work is to investigate into the migration propensities of Africans/Igbo in the contemporary period especially in European societies. The hyper-technological development in the modern times makes global migration easier since everybody experiences the world today really as a global village, where whatever happens in one corner of the world, is heard, felt and experienced by the rest of the world within a short period of time. It makes briefly a historical analysis of the insertion of African migrants into the European society by exposing firstly what some uninformed African people think about Europe that accounts for the unquenchable desire to come to Europe.

The role of women in the field of contemporary African migration is given another thought in this section since women play very important roles in constructing and reconstructing the image of Africa at large in the area of migration. Some women have been known for their prowess in the area of migration in human history an example of which is their achievement in this regard even during the Biafran-Nigerian war. Some women, however, distinguished themselves through migration to the point of becoming the breadwinners of their families. Individual entrepreneurship and the important position money occupies in our present society lured some African businesswomen to set up lucrative casual-sex enterprises for young women in Europe. Many people even believe today, that when a man and a woman are canvassing for a job in the society, the woman has better chances of getting the job than the man.

The methods used by some Africans (men and women) in general in piercing the fortress of Europe are brought to bear in this section. Apart from the role of international criminal syndicates on trafficking who take undue advantage of the poor economic condition of many African families, the young women's discovery of the changes in European societies made the

journey to Europe for most of them very attractive. The result of such a discovery is clear: irrational quest to come and join in the hottest business that sells in Europe. This section develops further by focusing its search-light on the other pull-push factors influencing the contemporary African migration to various European societies.

The European society with its various forms of religious ideologies is another area that occupies this section where the European religious environment is brought to bear. This is done by unfolding the various religious groups in Austria and by concentrating on the religious environment of Austria (Vienna) which is the biggest state and city in Austria. Simply put, Vienna is a multi-cultural society which allows the existence and practice of various religions both Christian and non Christian. Such is the European socio-cultural environment which the African migrants meet at their arrival. The migrants must therefore live with people from other cultures and religions who have also migrated to various European countries.

Migration therefore brings Africans/Igbo to a realm, where identities compete, clash and impact each other at several levels. Apart from the various economic, cultural, and environmental influences that affect the African migrants, or put the other way round, in the face of the multiplicities of world-views, the African/Igbo migrants must try to construct a home for themselves in the new environment where they can continue to live like Africans and live out their culture and mentality. This was the case in the pre-colonial times as will be shown in the first part of the work, what the Western Igbo (the *Anioma* people)[10] did after crossing the Niger to found another Igbo group. They crossed with all they had and established a community that had similar characters and qualities with the old and original Igbo society from where they migrated; however, with some influences or adaptations resulting from their new environment. This process of constructing a home in the place of migration with its attendant hurdles and challenges are the concern of the last part of this section. The formation of African Catholic Community, its activities and roles towards the construction of this new home is exposed in the last part of the work showing how far the African migrants have gone in creating a niche for themselves in the Austrian/European environment where they live.

Part four preoccupies itself with the general summary of the work and its evaluation. At last, some concluding remarks regarding our research will also be made in this last section of our endeavour.

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[10] OHADIKE, D. C., *ANIOMA*. A Social History of the Western Igbo People, Ohio 1994.

PART ONE: THE PRE-COLONIAL AFRICAN/IGBO TRADITIONAL RELGION AND MIGRATION

An Exposition of the migratory propensities of the pre-colonial people of Africa and the role religion played during these early times.

1. 0 INTRODUCTION

Part one begins by showing the general understanding of the word migration and how the term should be understood in the work. The greater part of this section is devoted to a very short history of Nigeria, people and culture with special emphasis on the Igbo folk. Because of the nature of the sources available, this part concentrates on topics like Iboland's changing relationship with a wider world – with the impact of international trade, and the initial contact with the missionary activities in this region of the country.

As one of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria, the origin and traditional belief system of Iboland in the pre-colonial era is to be a great area of interest. Hence, the position, role and meaning of God *Chukwu* among other gods in the Igbo religious belief system will be brought to bear. The Igbo traditional religion, being one that revolves around the concepts, birth, death and reincarnation of the ancestors shall be given a greater attention. This belief in ancestors and their veneration reflect in Igbo cosmology.

The name Igbo, also spelt Ibo at times is used to identify and discuss this group of human beings from Nigeria around whom this work circulates. The work develops further by unfolding the migration patterns of the Igbo folk in the pre-colonial times. We shall also consider the reasons and the motivating factors for such migration.

Lastly, and more importantly, the work examines the position of religion to the Igbo people during the process of such migration in the pre-colonial times.

1.1 GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF MIGRATION

There are different definitions of the term migration as there are different authors of various books on the subject. In this work, our working definition of the term runs thus: Migration is the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary. According to the Nigerian Theologian Bernard Ukwuegbu, "It denotes any movement by humans from one locality to another, often over long distances and in large groups. Traditionally, it has been associated with some notion of permanent settlement, or at least long-term sojourn."[11] Furthermore, the catholic Bishops of Mexico and the United States in a Pastoral Letter defined a migrant as a "person on the move, either voluntarily or involuntarily, in the person's

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[11] UKWUEGBU, B. "The Judeo-Christian Redemptive History: An alternative framework for the migration debate" in: Bulletin of Ecumenical Theology, Vol. 18, Migration and relevance of Christian mission. Visibility of Invisible Africans, Nigeria 2006, P. 6-33, here 6.

own country, internationally, or both. Unlike refugees, migrants are commonly considered free to return home whenever they wish because their lives are not in danger there."[12] From the above definitions, migration is a natural human process which takes place from time to time in human history. It has become one of the greatest global phenomena of our days. Migration is, in the words of Benedict XVI, "one of the recognizable signs of the times today."[13]

According to the 2002 International Migration Wall Chart of the United Nations Population Division, 175 million persons are currently living in a country different from their land of birth. They make up 3% of the world's population. These numbers are spread among the continents more or less as follows, in order of magnitude: Europe (56.1 million); Asia (49.8 million); North America (40.8 million); Africa (16.3 million); Latin America and the Caribbean (5.9 million). Five countries with the largest number of international migrants in their population are the United States (almost 35 million), the Russian Federation (13.3 million), Germany (7.3 million), Ukraine (6.9 million) and France (6.3 million).[14]

While reasons that cause people to migrate may vary, migration from the earliest times until now "always implies an uprooting from the original environment, often translated into an experience of marked solicitude accompanied by the risk of fading into anonymity."[15] Bühlmann captures the phenomenon of migration more succinctly in other words; it involves a total eradication from the mother soil, a total sacrifice of everything that makes life protected and secure, and a wandering into the insecurity of the uncertain.[16] Such eradication from the mother soil is what many migrants in their places of migration are experiencing in our present world. Africa (Nigeria) is one of the continents that experiences great migration in our present times.

1.2 AFRICAN TRIBES - THE NIGERIAN CASE

Africa, as a continent, is characterized by divisions among various peoples of varying genealogies, histories, life and cultures. These various groups and divisions are regarded as tribes. Authors like Mbiti[17] prefer calling them peoples. This owing to the negative

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[12] Catholic Bishops of Mexico and the United States, A Pastoral Letter Concerning Migration, January 22, 2003, Nr. 24.

[13] BENEDICT XVI, Message for the 92nd World Day of Migrants and Refugees, 2006.

[14] HAMAO, S. F., "The Instruction *Erga Migrates Caritas Christi*: A Response of the Church to the Migration phenomenon Today", People on the Move, Nr. 97, April 2005.

[15] JOHN PAUL II, Message for the 87th World Day of Migration 2001, Nr. 2.

[16] BÜHLMANN, W., God's Chosen Peoples, Translated by Robert R. Barr, Maryknoll 1982.

[17] MBITI, J., African Religoins and Philosophy.

connotation of primitivity attached to the word tribes. According to Mbiti, an African socio-cultural anthropologist and theologian, African peoples/tribes "are estimated at around 3000, partly depending on where one draws the line in cases of closely related peoples."[18]

Nigeria is part of the African continent and her case is not treated in isolation of the rest of groups and peoples of Africa. Nigeria, the biggest and most populous country in black Africa gained her independence from Britain in 1960 and became a republic in 1963. Nigeria has the total landmass of 923,768 km². It comprises 36 states and the federal capital is Abuja. It forms a conglomeration of about 250 ethnic groups. Three among them are known as the major ethnic groups and they are: Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo.

Among the local African inhabitants, language and not dialect alone plays a special role, hence, Mbiti insists: "Each people have its own distinct language and not simply a dialect."[19] They may relate to one another or not but must fall into one of the categories of language groups found in Africa or elsewhere in the world. Nigeria on the other hand, with its imposing population represents most of the major tribes scattered all over Africa.

1.3 MAJOR TRIBES IN NIGERIA

Commenting on Nigerian languages, Isichei, a Professor of Religious Studies observes that Hausa and Yoruba languages are spoken in many other parts of Africa.[20] The Hausa language, in particular, has many similarities with the Arabic language, and it is not only spoken within the confines of Africa, but in many parts of the world. Despite the apparent similarities in life and activities among the natural tribes of Nigeria each group of people could be identified easily by the pattern of life they lead, facial appearances and even from body colours, figures or shapes, and more so from localization[21].

The Hausa for instance live in the North and Yoruba are occupying the south-western part of the country while the Igbo have their homes in the Southeast. In other words, each tribe has a particular area of its own, big or small which sometimes does not even depend on the numerical strength of the tribe. This is the reason why some areas of the country are densely populated and others are not so densely populated. In most cases, rivers, lakes, mountain ranges, thick forests and other natural characteristics may be used to demarcate the tribes.

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[18] MBITI, J. S., African Religion and Philosophy, P. 99.
[19] Ibid.
[20] ISICHEI, E., History of West Africa, London 1964.
[21] UDO, K. R., „Nigeria", in: MCHENRY R. (ed.)., The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th Ed., Vol. 29, Chicago 1992, P. 894-901.

More importantly, culture, worldview and way of life play a vital role in the determination of these tribes.

A very important distinguishing characteristic among people is culture. However, some features of common cultures are also expressible in customs, morals, ethics, social behaviours and material objects for cultivation, music, household, food and domestication needs. In Nigeria, the cultures of different tribes cut across one another that they may exhibit common traits in language and way of life. The socio-religious and political organizations differ from tribe to tribe but most often, they run along the same line and categories. The different institutions in the society such as family, age-grade, special persons in the society etc and institutions like marital customs, traditional way of governance, political personage like the traditional shelter, appurtenances, food and even drink, all are the things that help to shape the uniqueness of a given tribe in Nigerian traditional society.

Religion however, permeates the entire life of Africans.[22] Among the various tribes in Nigeria, there are probably more similarities in their religiosity and pious expressions than as differences just as found among other African ethnic groups and people even though systems may differ. Iroegbu (a philosopher-theologian) believes that the differences should not be underrated since Nigeria has different people that are very much diversified, and at the same time that have so much in common. That is why Nigeria is often described as a nation of many nations both in its past and as it is presently[23]. Let us briefly examine some of these peoples in Nigeria with their varying cultures and ideologies. The major tribes in Nigeria, as we pointed out in the last section are Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo.

1.3.1 HAUSA

Hausa is a term used to designate the people of northern Nigeria and also the language that is spoken in the northern part of Nigeria. The Hausa people are known all over Africa for their creativity in terms of business and also in handicraft. It is however, the most dominant ethnic group in Nigeria comprising of more than 30 million people and has the greatest number of states in the country. The Hausa speaking people are scattered all over West African countries like Ghana, Togo and Senegal. Collectively, they are large and diverse in West Africa and remain the most numerous Moslem people of the Sahara.[24]

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[22] MBITI, J. African Religions and Philosophy, 1975.
[23] IROEGBU, P., The *Kpim* of Politics. COMMUNALISM, Toward Justice in Africa, Owerri -Nigeria 1996.
[24] BURNS, A. History of Nigeria, London 1963.

Between Kanem-Bornu and Songhay are the city-states of the Hausa people which are today the central and western part of northern Nigeria. Indicating how old these cities are, Davidson writes: "Seven of these cities were chiefly inhabited by Hausa; and seven others were formed by close neighbours of the Hausa. Most of them arose soon after AD 1000 as small settlements, each surrounded by a defensive stockade".[25] These states according to Burn include Kano, Rano, Zeg-Zeg (Zaria), Daura, Gobir, Katsina and Zamfara, and to these were added later the Hausa Banza, who are called the illegitimate[26] Hausas.[27]

Islam is said to have come to Nigeria many years before Christianity. Islam in Hausa land began first in Borno (sometimes written as Bornu), a town in the northern fringes of Nigeria, in the 11th Century A. D. The religion came to Nigeria through the business contacts of the northern Nigerians with other people from other parts of Africa like Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. Kanem Bornu being the oldest and most ancient state in the northern part of the country, had trade relations with other African countries which warranted the inroad of the Islamic religion into the territory called Nigeria through the traders and other people having business interactions with them.

It was in the 15th century that Islam was firmly established in Nigeria and became forceful both in compulsion and spread. This was possible according to Burns because: "A form of government grew up based on the doctrines of Islam, with a well-organized fiscal system and a highly trained and learned judiciary, administering Muhammadan law with ability and integrity. Each state was ruled over by its kings…"[28] Today, it is difficult to distinguish the original Hausa culture from Islamic culture given that the Islamic religion has permeated into every aspect of their life. In short, Islam is the ideological force in the daily lives of the Hausa in the North, affecting their thinking and behaviour in their daily life and activities because they had strong rulers who were able to enforce the Islamic administration. Davidson compared the rulers of Northern Nigeria with Queen Elizabeth I. saying: "The best known ruler, the Emperor Idiris Alooma, who ruled between about 1571 and 1603, or at about the same time as England´s Queen Elizabeth I, strengthened his forces with a special corps of musketeers trained by specialist from Egypt"[29].

Among the Moslem communities, polygamy and concubinage are practised but polygamy is more common than concubinage. The family under this Moslem provision consist of the

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[25] DAVIDSON, B., Discovering Africa's Past, London 1978, P. 85.
[26] They are illegitimate since they are not originally sons of the Hausa.
[27] BURNS, A. History of Nigeria.
[28] Ibid., P. 47.
[29] DAVIDSON, B., Discovering Africa's Past, P. 85.

husband, his wives and concubines, where this is the case, the family includes also his unmarried children including some servants and other domestic employees who may be picked up from the distant relatives etc. The traditional family is therefore headed by males.[30] The Hausa lack cultural homogeneity as a result of which it may be misleading to speak of all the people of northern Nigeria as a Hausa or one ethnic group. It is just an agglomeration of different ethnic groups with, somehow, different languages and worldviews but having something in common among them. However, any Hausa man or woman is likely to assume this Hausa identity as soon as he or she travels outside his homeland. This is usually seen in religious or political matters especially in Nigeria where they rise as one to defend or protect all that matters in their common lot with unique cultural feelings. Their cultural solidarity and sympathy are extended to other Hausas or Muslims found elsewhere as the case may be.

1.3.2 YORUBA

This is one of the largest tribes in Nigeria. In the view of Alans Burns, a British and once governor of Nigeria in 1942, Yoruba is composed of "several clans, of which the chiefs are the Oyos, the Egbas, the Iges, and the Ijebus, while others of less importance are the Owus, the Ijeshas, the Ekitis, and the Ondos. The inhabitants of Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, are also of Yoruba origin."[31] Burns argues further regarding the exact point of origin, that there are no really written documents regarding this group of people. "Their ancestors have left them practically no written records or monuments, and their traditions, interwoven with myth and legend, are fragmentary and in many cases conflicting."[32] They believe that their ancestors came from the East – from Egypt or Arabia and some almost certainly did. Some of them hold firmly to this because they believe in the proverb: *Odo ki I san ko gbagbe isun* (A river does not flow so far that it forgets its source). The above proverb cited here is one of the many Yoruba proverbs that emphasize the importance of remembering one's origins. As Oyekan Owomoyela explains, the proverb means that "the flowing river always remains connected with its source, however far it might flow; otherwise it dies."[33]

Yoruba live in the western areas of Nigeria and form the second largest politically dominant ethnic group in Nigeria. They were the first to settle in these western areas called Nigeria

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[30] BURNS, A., History of Nigeria.
[31] Ibid, P. 28.
[32] Ibid., P. 25.
[33] OWOMOYELA, O., *A ki*: Yoruba Proscriptive and Prescriptive Proverbs. Lanham 1988, P. 268.
The proverb is used to remind people that wherever they might be, however, distant from their homes, and however high they might rise above their origin, they must always remember where they came from.

today. Isichei believes that "The word Yoruba first referred to people from Oyo and only later came to include Yoruba-speaking people generally."[34] The Yoruba have a common linguistic culture of the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo family, even though various dialects exist among them. They possess strikingly different dialects but gross cultural differences do not abound. Some recent discoveries in the origin of Yoruba identify them also as Sudanic people who, as it were, successfully imposed their rule on an indigenous population in the forest belt of present Nigeria. They established the ´Yoruba empire´ around the 15th century A.D. Other empires existing alongside with them were Oyo and Benin empires[35].

Just like the Hausa people, the people are called Yoruba and the language is also called Yoruba. The tribe has evidences of their language as well as samples of their culture found also among people living away from their original homes in West Africa. Mainly they are found in Togo, Sierra Leone and Ghana where they form a great majority of people. They could also be found far away in Brazil and Cuba. Above all, the greater part of the population could be seen in Nigeria. Other sources from about twenty years ago show the population of Yoruba people in Nigeria to be about twelve million, but many believe today that their population has grown twice or more probably over 10 million, most of them reciding in the south-western Nigeria, adjacent areas of Benin, and beyond in Togo.[36]

For Gunther "the Yorubas are one of the master tribes on the continent of Africa. They are a proud folk, claiming Nilotic descent and with an active culture. They are sophisticated people. Many are intellectuals and dreamers but strenuous beyond any comparison with the Bantu."[37]

Not only did they live in an advantaged geographical location with the seaport of Lagos – they were also able to take advantage of its communicational facilities with the outside world. They realized a history that set them on a footing of an organized and structured development aided by this external contact.[38] They believe that they can achieve more since they have Oduduwas as their founding father.

In their myth of origin, Ife has the honour of being the place where God created man, both white and black, and there can be little doubt that Ife was the first settlement of Yorubas in their present country. According to this line of thought Burns writes, "Ife remains to this day the spiritual headquarters of the race, and the sword of state has to be brought from Ife for the

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[34] ISICHEI, E., History of West Africa since 1800, London 1977, P. 69.
[35] The Federal Republic of Nigeria, A Publication of the Embassy of Nigeria, Bonn 1992.
[36] http://www.uiowa.edu/~africart/toc/people/yoruba.html April 2009.
[37] GUNTHER, J., Inside Africa, London 1955, P. 748.
[38] IROEGBU, P., The Kpim of Politics. Communalism.

coronation of *Alafin* of Oyo and some of the other Yoruba kings."[39] Each Yoruba sub group is ruled by a chief called Oba, who is normally supported and surrounded by a council of chiefs. The most powerful among them that determines and controls the greater activity of the tribe is the *Oni* of Ife who is also the spiritual leader and "the custodian of the holy city and the relics it contains."[40] He performs this function in conjunction with the *Alafin* of Oyo. The strength of this kingdom however, started going down during the era of slave trade, especially with Portugal and Spain, also with British traders and colonial agents and finally with the arrival of more foreign merchants and the missionaries. During this time, the Yoruba began gradually to wane in their fidelity to traditional customs and finally lost most of their cultural heritage in the bargain.

The Yoruba pattern of family life encourages the extended family system. Divorce is often practised and according to Burn, the rate has extremely escalated in the recent times in Yoruba land than in other parts of the country.[41]

The Yoruba make use of the word *compound* where more than one thousand people may form an extended family. This is because useful strangers who play an extraordinary role in the society are integrated into the family circle. The Yoruba people are mainly farmers who live in large pre-industrial cities. This is why most of them are classified as rural dwellers and do not reside in the cities even in times of low agricultural activities. Instead, they share the common fate of rural dwellers everywhere. As a result of this, they remain strangers to city life and at the same time do not enjoy the protection of the family.[42]

In the nineteenth century, there were tribal and inter-tribal wars which helped to shape both life and activities of the Yoruba people. Before these wars, farming communities extended out from cities and hunters served as guardians of boundaries while establishing and maintaining routes for trade. The pushes and pressures mounted by Fulani people (another Nigerian tribe) forced them to move southwards even to the point of shifting their strongest city Oyo to its present position in Nigeria.

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[39] BURNS, A. History of Nigeria, P. 29.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

1.3.3 THE IGBO PEOPLE OF NIGERIA

There are different accounts regarding the origin of the people of this tribe. Some of these accounts are dependent mainly on oral tradition. Some of them are however, to be found in some writings like the *Nsibidi[43] s*cript.
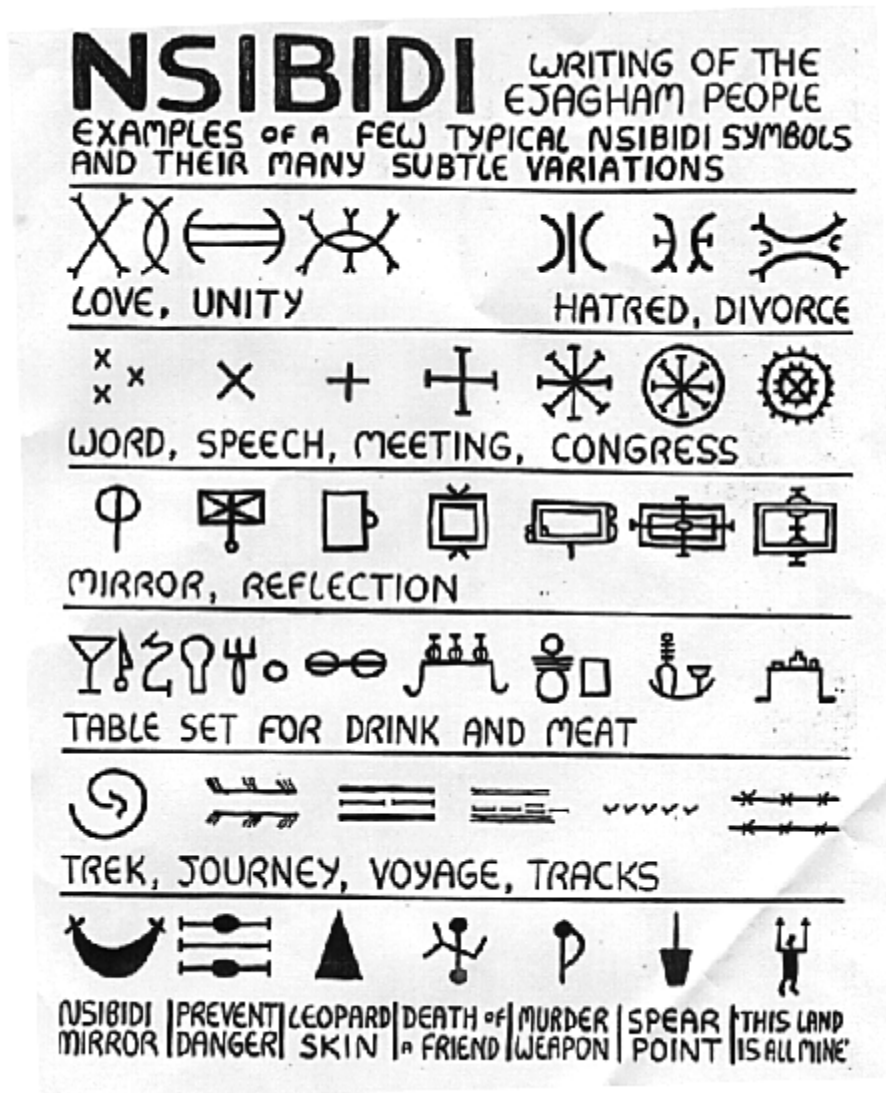
It is a system of writing adopted by some peoples in the southern part of Nigeria especially the Igbo. Such writing is seen in tombstones, secret society buildings, costumes, ritual fans, head-dresses, textile in gestures, body and ground painting. Most of the information available regarding Igbo tribe in the ancient times were preserved in such writings like *Nsibidi.*

For instance, processes of traditional marriage rituals or the position of family in Igbo soiciety. Sources from the past indicate that for the Igbo people, there cannot be a family

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[43] http://www.library.cornell.edu/africana/Writing_Systems/Nsibidi.html April 2009.

without traditional marriage. Here, marriage is not just a serious affair but it is also related to social, economic and religious aspects, which often overlap with one another. Just as Cardinal Francis Arinze writes: "It is not just the affair of the young man and his fiancé, but a long process between both families, entailing the marriage payments of the fiancé, religious ceremonies and sacrifice, and the celebration of the marriage itself."[44] In Igbo society, marriage is looked upon as a sacred duty that everyone must perform.

Some scholars are of the opinion that the Igbo people originated from Egypt, Israel, Mecca, North and East Africa. Others believe that the Igbo never migrated from somewhere because the greater bulk of evidences show that the Igbo people did not migrate from anywhere to their present position.[45] Adigwe, who researched on the beginnings of the Catholic Church among the Igbo, is of the view that the Igbo people are said to be a single people; meaning that they speak the same language in spite of the diversity of dialects, occupy a continuous tract of territory and are socially and culturally homogenous.[46]

The Igbo tribe has a common origin and the people have known themselves as coming from a common stock. Prof. Nwala (Nigerian social anthropologist) believes strongly "that the Igbo always have known themselves as a common people is a truth hardly needing a proof."[47] Their concept of the totality of the world is embodied in the expression *olu-na-Igbo*. The above expression embodies the concept of totality of the world and reflects no division in meaning and identity of the Igbo as one and undivided people. According to the explanation given by Nwala, "the *Olu* were the riverine in Igboland who were probably the latest immigrants into the Igbo territorial homeland while the Igbo were the heartland natives on who was vested the autochthony of Igboland."[48]

On the other hand, there has been a tendency for some authors to attribute a common ancestry to the Igbo folk, especially the Nri ancestral myth of origin[49]. There has also been a balance in this controversial axiom and out of this; Nri serves rather as one of the myths of origin in

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[44] ARINZE, F. Sacrifice in Ibo religion, Ibadan 1970, P. 3.

[45] In an Interview with Onuoha Duru of Nguru, aged 90, he maintains that the Igbo people are indigenous to the place they are found. The Igbo are the owners of this land. This land where you see the Igbo living now is where god the creator created them. All their migration ended within the confines of this land. They increased and multiplied to become town and villages. Every Igbo town knows how to race their origin. Go round and ask the elders of their towns. "We did not come from anywhere and anyone who tells you we came from anywhere is a liar." Interview with ONUOHA DURUJI, transcribed in: NWAHIRI, L.O., Nguru Mbaise before the coming of the British, history special project, Nsukka 1973, P. 55. This is also to be found in ISICHEI; E. A History of Igbo People, London 1976.

[46] ADIGWE, H., The beginnings of the Catholic Church among the Ibos of South- eastern Nigeria., Doctoral Thesis, Vienna 1966, Unpub.

[47] NWALA T. U., Igbo Philosophy, Lagos 1985, P. 15.

[48] Ibid., P. 16.

[49] The word Nri refers to the people who are related to *Eze* Nri. Nri is a town about 25 miles to the east of the bank of River Niger behind Onitsha in the south-eastern part of Nigeria.

Igboland and not the only one. Uzukwu, an Igbo cultural anthropologist, offers a strong backing to this effect and for him therefore, "The Igbo lack a common tradition of origin. Each village-group having a self-awareness of unity traces its origin to an ancestor and/or to a ritual event constituting it into an entity. The Nri myth of origin is one among other such myths."[50] However, Nwala, has a different opinion concerning Nri Myth of origin that claims that the Igbo people originated from one common ancestor. We are pressed from the scientific nature of these archaeological findings to believe that most probably, all the people who constitute the Igbo folk did not originate from one common ancestor.[51]

There are both oral and written explanations that trace the origin of the Igbo and the most tantalizing according to Okoye is an association of the Igbo to the Hebrew race.[52] This assumption is based on the fact that Igbo culture has many similarities with the traditional customs of the Jews. Similar customs are observed in marriage negotiations, child birth and circumcision, restitution, attitude to totem animals and taboos as well as hospitality to others, especially strangers.

Nwabu still observes that historians of Igbo culture have not agreed on their exact origins. They have located the Igbo originally around the Niger-Benue confluence; hence, due to population pressure, they migrated through the Niger. During the migration, the Igbo moved from Egypt, through the Sudan and southwards to their present location. Archaeologists have based some of their conclusions on Igbo child-naming and meaning of names assigned at birth. Naming/Circumcision ceremonies, for instance, are as important to Igbo as they were to the Hebrews of old. One has only to read the Old Testament to note the similarities between Hebrew customs and those of the Igbo in this as in many aspects of life.[53] Eboh agrees with Nwabu by holding that Igbo is said to be the split and lost group or tribe of Israel that refused to wander further north-east with Moses but preferred going down south-wards.[54]

With the help of enlightenment campaigns and official lectures during traditional festivals like Ahiajoku[55] more lights are being thrown on the possible origin of the Igbo people of Nigeria.

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[50] UZUKWU, E. E., "Nri Myth of Origin And Its Ritualization: An Essay in Interpretation", in: UZUKWU, E.E, (ed.), Religion and African Culture, I., Inculturation – A Nigerian Perspective, Enugu 1988, P. 92-94. here, 92.

[51] NWALA, T. U., Igbo Philosophy, P. 16.

[52] OKOYE, M., The Embattled Men, Enugu 1980.

[53] NWABU, N. Igbo and where they live, April 1997. Available at.: www.lioness.cm.utexas.edu March 2008

[54] EBOH, S. O., Ozo Institution in Igboland (Nigeria), Gospel of Christ and African Culture, Munich-Kinshasa, 1994.

[55] These unique lectures are organized by Igbo elite annually, bi-annually or sporadically, depending on the needs. They use them to discover and highlight the lost Igbo values in traditional life as well as to guard against misrepresentations of Igbo thoughts in the midst of modern and foreign influences.

The most recent of such lectures is the *Odenigbo*[56] introduced by Archbishop A.J.V. Obinna of Owerri Archdiocese in 1996. With the help of such lectures dealing on enlightenment programmes, the Igbo people are getting better informed concerning their place of origin.

In the same vein Chikwe maintains that "Nri in Awka (Anambra State) and Amaigbo in Orlu (Imo State) are the spiritual and ideological Headquarters of the Igbo who spread out from these centres to occupy their present locations."[57] Arguing against a putative ancestor or common origin, Dr. Njemanze, the traditional Ruler of Owerre, in another publication of the *Ahiajoku* lectures concludes that other historical accounts and linguistic evidences demonstrate that Igbo people must have moved south-wards to their present abode and could not have germinated from Nri. That means the primogenitor of the Igbo race, like the primitive man lived a migratory life, moving from one place to another. He might have been in places like Ogbunike cave, Awkuzu, Aguleri, Awka, Arochukwu and Amaigbo all of which are special and revered areas in Igboland and finally came to Nri where he lived till his death.[58]

But there is evidence that shows that not all the people living in the Igbo region are purely Igbo people. *Aro* for instance, is a group of other people who migrated from an unknown area and found their home in the Igbo speaking area. They mingled and lived with the people, gained fame and power and exercised a devastating influence that cost the original occupants and possessors of the land both their lives and traditional customs. The time and place of their migration are not known but they concentrated their major settlement in a place called Arochukwu today. Even though they scattered all over Igboland, they maintained always their ancestral name *Aro*. Ezekwugo, an Igbo religious anthropologist, buttresses this point like this: "Although they are today reckoned among the Igbo, and while they speak no other than the Igbo language, nevertheless they are not recognized as belonging originally to the Igbo race. Their very name *Aro* is certainly not an Igbo word,..."[59] Commenting on the same *Aro* group Isichei holds, "One of the most striking characteristics of the *Aro* was their wonderful

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[56] http://assumptamedia.org/Odenigbo%20lectures.html.

[57] Many Nigerians keep on criticising the irregularities that abound in the Nigerian society and the government at large. This they do in form of music, dance, and books. One of the people who undertook such task is Dan Chikwe the great, an author of a magazine in Nigeria titled DanChikweFlash. Here, he exposed not only the origin of the Igbo people but also went further to uncover the evils of the Nigerian society since after independence in 1960. The most interesting aspect of the work is the historical presentation of the ordeals and sufferings of the Igbo. The oppressive marginalization of the Igbo race since after the civil war has caused a lot of agonies and he challenges the Igbo to work collectively towards freedom. In the collection of various articles, the history of the Igbo and their achievement to upgrade Nigeria as a nation is paramount. See DANCHIKWEFLASH, Vol. II. 1997. P. 37.

[58] NJEMANZE, E. *Ahiajoku* lectures, Owerri 1997.

[59] EZEKWUGO, C.U.M., *Chi*, The true God in Igbo Religion, India 1987, P. 76.

talent for diplomacy. They built up excellent relations, both with the ´host´ of the Aro colonies, and with other Igbo communities whose interests were linked with their own."[60] They held prestigious position in Igboland because of their fortunes in business. Above all, they are in possession of a supreme *Juju* court which was used in settling many cases in the past.

The Essay of Rev. Correia around 1921, a Holy Ghost missionary who served in this area revealed some neglected truth about the concept of the supreme God which has been confused with the name attributed to the local tribal gods of the Aros. The Name *Chukwu*, for instance, was used to refer to a *demi-god* an oracle spirit of *Juju* shrine run by the Aro but was discarded and destroyed by the colonialists in 1902. Because of their witty attitudes and influences all over Igboland, the name of their tribal god became a household name for the supreme god of Igboland. However, there are other major groups in Igboland which are fully Igbo.

The archaeological findings of the greatest Igboukwu historian, Professor Thursan Shaw around Igboukwu area in Igboland show that a certain measure of civilization was already flourishing in some parts of Igboland with some degree of certainty as early as the ninth century, about 850 A.D. The findings here suggest that the Igbo could have originated from Igboukwu.[61] However, before we examine fully the stories of origin, the popularity of Nri myth of origin we shall take a look at the major divisions of the Igbo tribe.

1.4 MAJOR DIVISIONS IN IGBO LAND

The following are the major tribes found in Igbo area[62]

The Northern or Onitsha Igbo

Western or Nri-Awka

Eastern or Enugu

Onitsha town

Southern or Owerri Igbo

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[60] ISICHEI, E., History of West Africa since 1800, P. 103.
[61] SHAW, T., Igboukwu, An Account of Archaeological Discoveries in Eastern Nigeria, 1970.
[62] TALBOT, A., The tribes of the Niger Delta, London 1932.

Isu-Ama

Oratta-Ikwerre

Ohuhu-Ngwa

Isu-Item

Western Igbo

Northern Ika

Southern Ika

Riverine

Eastern or Cross River Igbo

Ada (Edda)

Abam-Ohafia

Aro

North- Eastern Igbo

Map showing the various divisions of Igbo Land[63]

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[63] The above map was taken from http://www.biafraland.com/biafra_maps.htm, April 2008.

1.5 NRI MYTH OF ORIGIN

Eri is the civilization hero of the areas controlled by Nri and the father of all Nri is Eri, whose origin is not known. However, tradition accepts that he came from God – *Chukwu* who sent him to the earth as the earth was not yet firm. There was disorder due to flood and there was no food as well. His first duty was to adopt the black smiths from Awka to dry the place. He then prayed to God – *Chukwu* (this is the Igbo word for God) to send food for the people. God in turn demanded a sacrifice of his first issues, male and female. He made the sacrifice and buried both the boy and the girl separately. After the burial, *Ji* – yam (Tuberous) and *nkwu* (palm tree) grew out of the grave of the son whereas from the grave of the daughter grew *Ede* – cocoyam (tuberous) and *akwukwori* vegetables. This particular event made Eri the owner and controller of yam, all the food and equally the earth that grows them. The gifts of the four market days in Igboland are further traced to Eri and these represent the four major *Arusi* (titular spirits) in Igboland and culture, namely *Eke, Orie, Afo, Nkwo.* Their positions and level of reverence differ from place to place. Some areas of Igbo land take *Eke* to be the supreme head among the four markets-days while many more regard *Orie* or even *Nkwo* as their major deity apart from *Chukwu.*[64]

Okoye Chukwudi presents another more appreciable theory of the origin of these market days. In his view, these four market days came into existence during the reign of *Eze* Nrijiofor I 1300-1390AD, the fifth *Eze* Nri in the line of succession. This Eze Nrijiofor was visited by four strangers in his palace. On their arrival, these four wise men or 'magi' pretended themselves to be deaf and dumb. They did not say their names or their mission to Nri. Each of them carried *nkata* basket known as *Abuokpa*. The King's servant brought them to the visitors' room until evening when the Eze went to attend to them. These visitors did not greet the Eze and did not also acknowledge the greetings of the Eze. The Eze presented *Oji*-kolanut[65] (See picture below)

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[64] Ibid.

[65] In Igbo tradition kola nut is symbol of togetherness, hospitality, love and life. That is why the Igbo say, he who brings Kola brings life in asmuch as it nourishes and fosters the healthy relationship between people. http://www.travelblog.org/Photos/266639.html. April 2009.

Here is a picture showing what Kola nut looks like in the Igbo land.

 to them which is the symbol of hospitality but they did not say anything.

At night, while they were sleeping, the *Eze's* soothsayers sent a rat to disturb them. When the rat was scatching at the basket of *Eke* and started to nibble at it, *Orie* woke up and said *Eke* wake up. When he answered him; *Orie* told *Eke* that a rat was trying to get to his basket. *Eke* woke up and the rat ran away. After a while, the rat applied the same trick on the remaining baskets, and in the same manner, all of them revealed each other's names. In the morning, the *Eze* went to the strangers' room to greet them and to perform the *Oji ututu* -morning kola nut rituals with its attendant morning prayer. The servant broke the kola nuts and the king called each of the visitors by their names- *Eke, Orie, Afo* and *Nkwo*. The visitors who were referred to as *O biara ije ekwughi okwu* –which means visitors that do not talk, were astonished when they heard their names being mentioned by the Eze. After that as it is normal in the early hours of the morning, the visitors asked for water to wash their hands and faces; and took the kola nuts that were presented to them. After chewing the kola nuts, they gave the King *ite ano*-four earthen pots and directed him to keep the pots in front of the Nri Menri shrine outside the *obu* -palace, with each pot facing the sun. *Eke* who was their spokesman, told the *Eze* that the first pot was owned by him, *Eke*, the second one by *Orie* the third by *Afor* and the last by *Nkwo*. He told the *Eze* that the four pots were sent down from heaven by *Chukwu* -God Almighty. He instructed the *Eze* that he and his people whom he ruled should be observing those names daily as market days, during which they should be buying and selling. These

market days are used in Igboland to count the native weeks- *izu*, months- *onwa;* and years-*Afo*. Therefore, *Eke, Orie, Afor* and *Nkwo* (four market days) make one *izu*-week in Igbo traditional setting. Other instructions that were given to the Eze include that the first name that should be given to their male children should commence with *Eke*, then *Orie*, *Afor* and *Nkwo*. That is why we have Igbo names as *Okeke or Nweke, Okorie or Nworie, Okafor* or *Nwafo*r, and *Okonkwo* or *Nwankwo*. In the same order, female children should be given names like *Mgbeke, Mgborie, Mgbafor* and *Mgbankwo*. The message was preached throughout Igbo-land by spiritual priests of Nri and they set up market squares in Igbo land bearing the names given by these visitors who came to Eze. The four strangers later told the *Eze* that they were messengers from God. Some foods were prepared for them but they did not eat them. In the noon, these *magi* of Igbo land disappeared from the *Eze* Nri palace like angels. The news spread throughout Igbo land and far west and north where it was observed to this day. Edo, Ogoja, Igala-Onoja, and Calabar peoples observe these market days in their lands, though they gave these market days different names to suit their dialects.[66]

This story from Okoye sounds reasonable but I am leaving it at the level of myth which is used to give a rational explanation of the beginning of these market days in Igboland since we do not have some other written account in this regard. But then it has helped us to realise that People were already living on the earth before the arrival of Eri, the civilizing hero. His ingenuity was supported by the geographical neighbours who then helped to create a chance for survival and he took a firm control of the land. Eri was a special mysterious being, whose emergence could only be explained from divine actions; he shared no divinity with God but was sent by Him. This unique relationship established the cosmological interpretation that explains creation involved in this myth, hence the bond between man and the sacred things. His position was equally special and ideal. He could influence God through prayer who in turn demanded an aggressive undertaking against violence aimed at stopping the menace and which indirectly involved self-annihilation. It implied a fatal attack on the children which again necessitated the opening of the ground that consumed them. The primordial ritual was through this means of aggression against oneself conducted and which, as a matter of fact involved the shedding of blood. This in turn established a bond between man and his creator on whom he depended for support as hero over land. His triumph over oppositions placed him as the hero and a covenant was finally established that allows no more shedding of blood, an

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[66] OKOYE, C. How Eke, Oye, Afor and Nkwo Market Days were introduced in Igboland. This article was posted to the website below. www.nigeriavillagesquare.com/articles/guest.../how-**eke**-oye-afor-and-nkwo-market-days.Novemver *2008.*

esteemed traditional taboo which the Igbo regard as the highest of all traditional regulations about human existence or life. From this perspective, other restrictions about life and shedding of human blood and other sanctions associated with it can trace their origin here, showing how blood is esteemed and respected in their traditional scale of values.

1.5.1 THE ROLE OF NRI IN IGBO TRADITION, CULTURE AND MIGRATION

Some authors are of the opinion that the Igbo are descendants of Nri and this has attracted the attention of many indigenous and foreign authors like Leonard, Shaw, Isichei, Onwuejeogwu, Obiechina, Uzukwu and Eboh[67] in the recent times. It was Leonard, a colonial officer who testified from his experiences among the Nri people that they are the "highest representatives of sacerdotalism in race."[68] Moreover, they are Kingmakers and have the general privilege of conferring royal and priestly titles and giving requisite ornaments to chiefs throughout northern Igboland.[69] In Igboland today, Nri has come to signify a culture and in the past, many towns for the sake of prestige associated themselves with Nri while claiming one form of relation and connection to Nri or the other. Among the Western and Eastern Igbo, some settlements claim relationship to the second son of Nri who migrated to Igala to the North-West of Igboland.

According to Eboh, this Nri culture probably sprang originally in the upper valley of River Anambra and later spread South-wards and West-wards. The family of Nri exists in Igboland even till today and among other things distinguishes itself in ritual ascendance. Furthermore, the term *Chukwu* – God, especially among the Igbo is believed to have developed from Nri culture and they possessed a theocratic monarch who controlled the earth-force.[70] One traditional Igbo proverb ascribed to a colonial official, Major Leonard which also found expression in the History book written by Isichei *A History of the Igbo people* goes as far as attributing Nri environments as a revered divine presence, and renders Nri community the only holy place which serves as entrance or passage through which the dead in other parts of Igboland pass the land of the spiritual. According to Leonard therefore: "The street of Nri family is the street of the gods through which all who die in other parts of Igboland pass to the

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[67] In the past, before the discovery of the system of writing Nri myth of origin has been transmitted orally. It depended so much on memory and the ability to narrate and the power to convince others through a person's words and understanding. But recent authors of our time place this narrative on the scientific level, conserving the core of these narratives, despite all arbitrary embellishments. This has been as a result of some scientific, ethnographic and archaeological works and discoveries conducted in Igbo land, especially among the Nri-Agukwu areas. For details to this topic, see UZUKWU, E.,E., "Nri Myth of Origin and Ritualization: An essay in Interpretation".

[68] LEONARD, M.A.G., The Lower Niger and its tribes: London 1909 which was reprinted in 1968, P. 35.

[69] Ibid.

[70] EBOH, S. O., "Ozo Institution in Igbo land."

land of the spirits."[71] Uzukwu´s affirmation of this fact follows after the confirmation of Shaw and Onwuejeogwu, who earlier revealed that both oral tradition and recent archaeology favour the recognition of religious and even political control of Nri over a great part of Igboland.[72]

The popularity of Nri Myth of origin lies not only in the relation of the origin of life like the creation of yam –*Ji,* cocoyam – *Ede*, and other foodstuffs and vegetable. This Igbo ancient myth of origin possesses all the more, the main important distinctive qualities of effective natures as direly suggested and insisted upon by Eliade[73], namely that, myth must be creative, foundational, revelatory and manifesting and these are the characters that qualify and render myths dynamic and operational. This distinction came out as a result of Eliade's attempt to distinguish myths from dreams and from fairy tales or even from philosophy.

The acceptance of myth as a community affair and not as a personal invention is necessary. Myth, as a community's relevant experience that should be sustaining[74] distinguishes Nri myth of origin from among other myths. The corresponding feelings generated by this particular Nri myth of origin manifests its effect further in some real human behaviour in the form of rituals that equally command participation. The men of Nri played important politico-ritual roles in most of Igbo settlements or communities, especially in the non-colonial periods when the Igbo lived unmolested by any foreign pressures. They wore the traditional *ichi sacrification* marks on their faces and could easily be identified. Above all, they were believed to possess some divine powers that served the needs of the community. Eboh has this to say further about them: "By the authority vested on them by the Eze Nri, they were believed to possess the power of cleansing the abominations of the earth, making and dissolving the Igbo code of avoidance and taboo, taught Nri theological philosophy and interpreted traditions, explaining and enacting any new regulations of rituals and political behaviour, arbitrating and making peace between villages, ordaining title-holders, and repairing pollutions against community."[75] It is therefore left for us to conclude that they are Agents of goodness and peace. They had the responsibility of reconciling people and establishing peace between them once again.

The priests from Nri moved from village to village with staffs of political and ritual significance in their hands unhindered, and were regarded as sacrosanct. Arinze writes about a part of Nri people called *Agu-chukwu* Nri who functioned as the centre of Ibo priesthood; a

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[71] ISICHEI, E., A History of the Igbo People, London 1976, P. 10.
[72] UZUKWU, E. E., "Nri Myth of Origin and its Ritualization".
[73] ELIADE, M., Myths, Dreams and Mysteries, London 1960.
[74] UZUKWU, E. E., "Nri Myth of Origin and its Ritualization".
[75] EBOH, S. O., Ozo Institution in Igboland, P. 80-81.

role which assigns them an undisputed power and priority throughout Igboland. Their position and influence as the priests of the whole Igbo race has helped a good deal to favour the national character of the Igbo as a people distinct from the other ethnic groups of Nigeria. They were symbols not only of unity but of divine control and to kill them was a great taboo. The restitution must be addressed and conducted accordingly, and it was expensive of course.[76]

This unique position of Nri survived all internal forces but suffered decline between A. D 1400 and A.D 1700 as well as under the British colonial administration. The final demise of this age-long tradition and hegemony of Nri according to Eboh is placed around 1911.[77] The process of annihilation culminated in the summoning of all the delegates of towns paying allegiance to Eze Nri. As they congregated at Ani Nri in Nri town, Nwala writes, an abrogation was ordered "of all the codes of abominations and taboos which bound these settlements together in the sacred Nri Hegemony."[78] In spite of the fall, evidences show that some ritual influences of Nri life, events and hegemony linger on and influence a good part of Igbo land till today and most often provide the ideological basis for various Igbo communities and life-patterns in things pertaining to God.

1.6 THE IGBO PRE-COLONIAL TRADITIONAL RELIGION

Like every other ethnic group in Nigeria, the Igbo are very religious. Their religiosity can be noticed almost in all aspects of their life activities. The people's understanding of religion is strictly connected with their understanding of life in general.

1.6.1 UNDERSTANDING RELIGION

The word religion has a world of meanings owing to the fact that there are so many religions that have existed since the history of mankind. It is therefore not very easy to have a unified definition of the term religion. However, there are some common characters in the different approaches to religion. These characters were already questioned by Smart thus: "is there some essence which is common to all religions? And cannot a person be religious without belonging to any religion? To search for an essence ends up in vagueness – for instance in the

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[76] ARINZE, F. Sacrifice in Igboland.
[77] EBOH, S.O., Ozo Institution in Igbo land.
[78] NWALA, T. U., Igbo Philosophy, P. 85.

statement that a religion is some system of worship or other practice recognizing a transcendent being or goal."[79]

In *Psychological Study of Religion* edited by Prof. Figl, which was published as a reprint in 1969, one sees about forty eight definitions of religion. These definitions can be reduced into three groups, namely the intellectual definition of religion, the emotional dimension of religion and the voluntary aspect of religion. These definitions capture the totality of one's personhood, his personality, will, feeling and intelligence.[80] In the same article, Figl, a researcher and Professor of religious Studies, suggested that for a proper understanding of the meaning of religion, one has to consider the original meaning of the word.

The word religion comes originally from the Latin word *religio* and was used in the antiquity before the birth of Jesus Christ which was later borrowed and used by the early Christians. According to Urban, the same word *religio* (Latin for religion meaning fear of god[81]) was used in ancient Rome in different ways: on the one hand as having the gods as its central figure and it was also used socially, politically and morally and as a power and behaviour of a Roman citizen.

According to Cicero a scholar and Roman statesman, the word religion comes from *relegere* which means "to pass on", or "to re-read". Religion in his understanding was a tradition, a set of beliefs and practices handed down from one generation to the next. For Lactantius, religion originated from *religare*, which means "to bind fast". Religion therefore is what binds human beings not only to each other but also to God or to gods. Hence the word religious, is seen as having something to do with the supernatural beings, that which binds human beings to the god(s).[82]

According to Rudolf Otto (1869-1937), religion is seen as the experience of the Holy.[83] He arrived at this definition after studying the life history of Martin Luther (1483-1536), he was fascinated by the human experience of the deity's presence (of God) as *mysterium tremedum et fascinans*, that is to say the awe-inspiring and attracting – appealing, enhancing- mystery.[84] His fascination was informed by seeing the reaction or response of the human beings in front of the holy, that means their total surrender and self emptying which is characterized by a

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[79] SMART, N., The World´s Religions. Cambridge 1989, P. 11-13.

[80] FIGL, J., „Religionsbegriff – zum Gegenstandsbereich der Religionswissenschaft" in FIGL, J., (ed.), Handbuch Religionswissenschaft. Religionen und ihre zentralen Themen, Innsbruck-Wien 2003, P. 62-80.

[81] URBAN, O., Religion der Urgeschichte, in FIGL, J., (ed.), Handbuch Religionswissenschaft, P. 88-89.

[82] FIGL, J. "Religionsbegriff".

[83] KING, W.L.," Religion", in: Eliade, M., (ed.), The Encyclopaedia of Religion 12, 282-293.

[84] Ibid.

deep raising of the heart, soul and mind in union with God, the most Holy one just as it was recorded in the Bible (Ex. 26, 33-34; Heb. 9,3).

The above definition is very close to the understanding of the religion according to Latin authors in antiquity. They understood *religio*, with its meaning as the fear of God, evolved from *re-ligare* which means "to link or to connect" and *re-legere* which means "to pay careful attention to" or "compliance to" the *religious* regulations. *Religare* has to do with a proper examination of one's personal understanding of God who is at the centre of his life.[85] Religion can therefore be said to be the phenomenon which links one to God and gods, where the person is expected to actively pay careful attention, as his duty, to/towards the particular gods in question. *Religio* unites passively humanity with gods and actively they are united with god through their duty towards them. These definitions of religion have either Jewish-Christian or the European tradition as its background. It never counted whether these religions were mono- or polytheistic, but their great concern was the belief in a God or gods who were believed to govern or control and dominate everything with their supernatural powers. Our present understanding of religion today developed after the Reformation under which a gradual understanding of a set of teachings came about which were either right or wrong.[86]

1.6.2 WHAT IS TRADITIONAL IN AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS?

Igbo traditional religion like every other African Traditional Religion comprises of the religious beliefs and practices of the African which has been in existence from time immemorial, and are still adhered to today by many Africans. Trying to give African Traditional Religion a definition Dopamu writes: "It is the indigenous religion of the Africans which has been handed down by their forebears."[87] Awolalu agrees with Dopamu that African traditional Religion is handed down in the following words: "When we speak of African Traditional Religion we mean the indigenous religion of the African. It is the religion that has been handed down from generation to generation by the forbears of the present generation of

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[85] FIGL, J. "Religionsbegriff".
[86] Ibid.
[87] DOPAMU, P. A., "Towards understanding African Traditional Religion" in: UKA, E. M., (ed.), Readings in African Traditional Religion. Structure, Meaning, Relevance, Future, Vienna 1991, P. 19-37, here, 21.

Africans. It is not a fossil religion (a thing of the past) but a religion that Africans have made theirs by living it and practicing it."[88]

The word *traditional,* according to Dopamu, in African traditional Religion, is there because the African Traditional Religion "originated from the people's environment and on their soil. It is neither preached to them nor imported by them. Africans are not converted into it. Each person is born into it, lives it, practises it, and is proud to make it his own."[89] Thus, the word traditional is used to distinguish African Traditiional religion from any other religion that has been brought to the people through missionary zeal and by propagation. African Traditional religion has no written literature or sacred scriptures or creedal forms. It is an essentially oral tradition. All we know about the religion therefore, comes to us through oral traditions-myths and legends, stories and folktales, songs and dances, liturgies and rituals, proverbs and pithy-sayings, adages, and riddles. Some of the oral traditions are preserved in Arts and symbols and emblems, names of people and places, shrines and sacred places.

Recently, there are many scholars and researchers who try to preserve the basic teachings of the African Tradition Religion (in writing) in the face of the Europeanization and Americanization which is menacing our present world. The aim is to preserve these oral traditions so that future generations can read and benefit from them.

1.6.3 UNDERSTANDING AFRICAN/IGBO TRADITIONAL RELIGION

The word religion as we have seen above conveys a completely different understanding in the mind of the Igbo from what it means to the European and the Jewish-Christian people. This is because one cannot speak of this religion without making reference to the philosophy of the people. That is to say, the religion of the Igbo/African people is strictly intertwined with the Igbo philosophy.[90]

The Igbo philosophy[91] finds its expression in the different institutions that are found in the Igbo area. Its ideologies are manifested in the rituals that are found in the religion. Regarding the worldview of Igbo people Nwala writes: "their worldview has a deep religious expression

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[88] AWOLALU, J. O. "Sin and its Removal in African Traditional Religion", in Journal of the American Academy of Religion, 44/2, 1976, P. 275.
[89] DOPAMU, P.A., "Towards understanding African Traditional Religion", P. 22.
[90] NWALA, T. U. Igbo Philosophy.
[91] However, philosophy is not equated with religion in Igbo thinking. Their philosophy like other world philosophical traditions is large in scope and approach even though it may be based on belief in god or any other supernatural being.

and their practical life and moral values are interwoven with religion."[92] Buttressing this view further, Adigwe maintains that the Ibo lives his belief and there are no acts of his that are not surrounded by some determinants. He is more conscious than the Christian that his actions can be either in accordance with the norms of his religion or not.[93]

Igbo traditional religion is an important aspect of the life of the Igbo people and is so complex that it is impossible to draw a clear boundary between the sacred and the profane, between the natural and the spiritual, the strictly social and the religious. It affects just the whole life of the community.[94] It is a way of life that involves reciprocal rights and obligations between the material world and the immaterial world of the spirits, the objective being to maintain harmony between both worlds, to ensure peace and prosperity for the people and the survival of their lineages through time.

There is no generally accepted form or place of worship in Igbo land. Each community in Igbo land has its own form and practice, especially places of worship and the things used in the worship differ from village to village; but the concepts are the same. However, Igbo world-view involves much more than religious expression even though religion for the Igbo explains in some unique manner some ideologies of philosophy. Both could be at the service of the other but philosophy in the modern sense assumes a rational critical approach to religion which is mainly based on faith.

1.7 SACRIFICE AND OFFERING IN AFRICAN/IGBO RELIGION

There is also the belief in African Traditional Religion that with sacrifices, the gods can be manipulated into doing one or two things for the living. Sacrifice is an offering of a sensible thing by a priest to God through immolation, in acknowledgement of His supreme dominion and man's subjection. (The priest is the public figure who acts for the community in this act of public worship). Sacrifice can also be defined "as an act of external and public worship, made up of things which the individual or community acknowledges as god's infinite excellence and avows his subjection to God."[95] As a result, there are oracles, and systems of

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[92] NWALA, T. U. Igbo Philosophy, P. 112.
[93] ADIGWE, H., The beginnings of the Catholic Church among the Ibos of South- eastern Nigeria. Doctorate Thesis 1966, Unpublished.
[94] MEEK, C. K., Law and Authority in A Nigeria Tribe, London, 1937.
[95] ARINZE, F. Sacrifice in Igboland, P. 33.

divination and numerous abstract forces which are personified and religiously manipulated through sacrifices, prayers, medicine and charms in order to achieve certain objectives.[96]

Religion according to Arinze, is therefore a tool that carries the genuine expressions and attitudes to god and other deities and creates in man the sense of respect and worship. Simply put, religion helps the traditional Igbo man to express what he believes in concrete action.[97]

Referring to Arinze´s definition of religion, Nwala sees Igbo religion as "the consciousness of one´s dependence on a transcendent Being and the tendency to worship Him … it is the body of truths, laws and rites by which man is subordinated to the transcendent Being."[98] Religion from the above definition implies three basic elements namely, beliefs, rites and code of conducts which are in accordance with the beliefs. Nwala later summarized his understanding of Igbo religious beliefs as"….the supernatural or transcendental beings on whom the traditional Igbo feel dependent for his being, life, survival and prosperity. They give him life, children, wealth and heath. They protect and prosper him. Consequently, he prays, sacrifices and worships them. He tries to live his life in accordance with what he believes these supernatural powers demand of him. He believes that if he fails to do this, just as a father punishes his erring child, the gods may punish him."[99]

Apart from the traditional prayer which the Igbos say, they also offer sacrifices since they believe that one could obtain his heart´s desires if he has the proper recourse to the ancestors, the spirits or the gods. The Igbo want to give something to make his prayer more expressive, more touching, more efficient. Even though the Igbo rarely or never sacrifice to God directly, they "believe that he is the ultimate recipient of the frequent sacrifices, offerings, and prayers made to the lesser divinities and the spirits. They regard these divinities as the intermediaries."[100] Ela articulates the same idea in other words: "Indeed, God is rarely the subject of sacrificial prayers, other than during the great seasonal sacrifices and times of calamity. God is addressed from time to time during the stress of difficulties in traditional daily life. From this observation, it is a short but quick step to conclude (and quite wrongly) that the cult of ancestors is the African religion, so much so that people thought that the God of Africa is a distant god who does not intervene in human affairs."[101] There are various types

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[96] NWALA, T.U., Igbo Philosophy.
[97] ARINZE, F., Sacrifice in Igbo Religion.
[98] NWALA, T. U. Igbo Philosophy, P. 114.
[99] Ibid., P. 115.
[100] MBITI, J. Concept of God in Africa, London 1982, P. 184.
[101] ELA, J. M., Mein Glaube als Afrikaner: Das Evangelium in schwarzafrikanischer Lebenswirklichkeit, Freiburg 1986, P. 23.

of Igbo sacrifice in African religion but we shall consider only two here for the purpose of our topic.

 a.) Sacrifice of expiation,

 b.) Sacrifice to ward off molestation from unknown evil spirits,

1.7.1 SACRIFICE OF EXPIATION

Expiation sacrifice is made when one commits an abomination against the land. Abomination, in the first place, embraces serious personal and moral crimes against Igbo morality. Although there are local variations, these acts are generally regarded as such: patricide, incest, stealing of yams and sheep, bestiality, wilful abortion, and suicide by hanging. The Igbo believe that sins make higher powers (deities, ancestors and *Chukwu*) to frown. If the offence is against the earth goddess, who is regarded as the special guardian of morality, such offence is called *Aru* (abomination) and can be cleansed with some rites under the leadership of a traditional priest. The Igbo therefore have a special criterion for grading offences. Such expiation sacrifice is called *ikpu ala* (removing an abomination). It is performed by a special priest from Nri.[102]

On the other hand, when one commits a minor offence, for instance, killing a fish in a river dedicated to a water spirit which is normally forbidden, the sacrifice is made differently. When sacred fishes are removed or harmed from water such act is esteemed "a great offence and remission must be sought by sacrifice. Such sacrifice is carried out by the offering of a white fowl. It is not killed, it is brought and released at the edge of the water and allowed to run wild. The culprit, meantime prays for forgiveness on the pleads that the offence committed was unintentional."[103]

1.7.2 SACRIFICE TO WARD OFF MOLESTATION FROM UNKOWN EVIL SPIRITS

The Igbo believe fully that there is no effect without a cause. This is more noticeable when a person is sick, when a chain of disasters surround him, and if the misfortune cannot easily be traced to human causes. In such a case, it is attributed to invisible powers. These invisible powers may be the ancestors, some known non-human spirits or spirit with shrine, priest and

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[102] The ordinary victim is a sheep. The earth goddess, *Ala* and the ancestors are invoked in such a sacrifice to forgive the culprit. Sometimes, the offender is required to speak out his sins aloud before the shrine and to smear his body with ashes.

[103] BASDEN, G. Niger Ibos, London 1966, P. 40. If such animal does not die or is not killed by anybody, we should call it an oblation. However in such cases some blood is often shed from the offerings or they are given some other mark.

cult, or some unknown *ajo mmuo* (bad spirit, devil). The molested individual finds out the cause through the help of a *dibi*a (diviner or fortune teller). The fortune teller informs the sick person that he is being worried by bad and wicked spirits. Such spirits have no shrines. Their names are unknown. The only way to be healed of such molestation is by offering a sacrifice. This type of sacrifice is always called *aja. Ichu aja*, in the strict sense of the word, means to offer such a sacrifice to the evil spirits and to them only. Such sacrifices are made without fun and without love. All that the petitioner wants is to be left alone by these evil spirits. He does not want any material gain from the spirits but only to be left alone by them. Hence, it is easier to understand the words of Basden, "Fear is the driving force, the sacrifices do not spring from any inherent desire to give, or from any spontaneous love to render honour or worship. Sacrifices furnish the only way to escape from the evil designs and activities of malignant spirits. Failure to perform propitiatory sacrifices would make life unbearable; every department would labour under imminent threat of possible disaster."[104]

In as much as this is the case in Igbo land, it is worth noting here that the effects of modernity is weighing heavily on such Igbo traditions that the modern Igbo man, because of civilization and some how lack of interest in traditional things, such norms are being gradually neglected since the modern man has a different interest which tends towards science and technology. Moreso, the growth and various improvement in the medical section renders such sacrifices worthless in many quarters since distinction between psychological problems can be made today from bodily ailments. This does not rule out the fact that there are still men and women who claim to be the custodians of the traditions handed down by our ancestors and are truly faithful to them.

1.8 GOD IN AFRICAN/IGBO TRADITIONAL RELIGION

The Igbo traditional understanding of God is very fascinating and contributes greatly to the structuring of the peoples' understanding of religion. God in Igbo tradition is better understood in connection with other deities. The recognition of a being higher than human beings, which influences and controls the destiny of man, has helped to establish the relationship between God and other deities.

In Igbo traditional religion, God has different names like *Chukwu*, *Chineke*, *Oseburuwa*, *Obasi, Ezechitoke* etc. There are other deities with other names like *Ala* or *An*i, the earth

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[104] Ibid., P. 55.

goddess and the custodian of Igbo morality. She punishes those who commit moral offences as well as unrepentant offenders. She is generally taken as a good mother.[105] Other great divinities are *Anyanwu*, the sun god who nourishes all living organism. His great servant is *Amadioha* the god of thunder who according to the belief of many people, lives in the sun. Many river has a god dedicated to it. In such a case, such a river and all its inhabitants are sacred and belong to that particular god. In the same vein, towns and villages are also dedicated to

one or more particular gods.[106] The picture below shows how such god or gods could look like.

This is a picture[107] showing the servant of the god of thunder, Amadioha and his wife where they are exhibited in a special shrine reserved for them. This art work is in an Mbari-Igbo, Umugote, Nigeria.

One can say that each village has its own separate deity depending on the needs and aspirations of the village. The Igbo people believe in an influential and powerful Supreme God who creates and cares, and this helps further to classify the roles played by the deities according to their categories and influences in the world.

The Igbo believes that *Chi* is a kind of group-self, or multiple-Ego which is able to manifest itself in several individualities at the same moment, so that many facets of the Ego are

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[105] UCHENDU, V., The Igbo of Southern Nigeria, New York 1965.
[106] ARINZE, F. Sacrifice in Ibo religion.
[107] http://images.google.at/images?hl=de&q=Amadioha+Mbari+Igbo+Umugote+Orishaeze&btnG=Bilder-Suche&gbv=2 February 2009.

evolved and are able to contribute their quota of experience simultaneously.[108] The word *Chukwu* is an Igbo word for God. The people themselves had no written documents like the bible about *Chukwu* but they worshipped him with their whole body and soul. This Igbo word for God *Chukwu*, is a combination of two words *Chi* and *ukwu* meaning a supreme God. *Chukwu* is sometimes associated with the sky- *Eluigwe* and sun *Anyawnu* and other major natural phenomena. The concept, *Chukwu* in the Igbo understanding of Supreme Being , is no longer out of place to say that the name *Chukwu* or *Chineke* of the Igbo people corresponds to the universal concept of the Supreme Being or God of the organized Religions like Judaism, Christianity and Islam etc. That means that the knowledge of a Supreme Being already existed among the believers of the Igbo traditional religion even before the arrival of Christianity in Igboland.

Here, like in other parts of West Africa, the Supreme Being is worshipped through intermediaries due to the fact that He is believed to be pure Spirit and invisible. Nevertheless, the people are convinced that He is not far from them since He sustains all life and He creates order. The significance of the Supreme Being therefore is felt in West Africa as the last court of appeal. Hence the Igbo say; *Okpe obie* – which means God´s case no Appeal.

Ejizu argued against those who believe that the understanding of *Chukwu* as a Supreme Being filtered into the Igbo land with the entrance of the English missionaries. He believes strongly that the fact that the Supreme Being is believed and not worshipped in greater part of West Africa is not a reason to say that the concept of a Supreme Being is a later introduction into the religion of the Igbo.[109] *Chukwu* and *Oseburuwa* are two proper names given to two local tribal gods of the Aro.

The Aro had far-reaching influence on the entire Igboland and beyond as already indicated. This helped them to spread their belief and worldview all over the Igbo region. To appreciate

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[108] TALBOT, P.A, Peoples of Southern Nigeria, Vol II. London 1967.

[109] Care must be taken not to confuse the Supreme Being with Sky gods like thunder. It is observed that insufficient research and lack of adequate knowledge of the language resulted in a number of wild speculations and misrepresentations by certain writers and ethnographers of the Igbo belief and practice regarding the Supreme Being. Some thought that the very concept, Supreme Being, owed its origin among the Igbo, as other African peoples, to the missionary influence. For instance, "The loan god hypothesis" of Sir A.B. Ellis and his like. Another example is Margaret M. Gree, who according to Ejizu, studied an Igbo village-group Agbaja, in Okigwe area of Igbo land, in the early 1930s, got mixed up with the Igbo traditional thought and language regarding this belief. In her confusion, she drew the funny conclusion thus: "As for *ci*, the spirit who creates people whose name as in *Cineke,* has been taken by the Christians to denote the Creator, it is difficult to know what the real Ibo significance of the word is. *Ci* and *Eke* together created an individual, but each person is thought of as having his own *Ci,* and whether, over and above this, there is any conception of a universal *Ci* seems doubtful." See EJIZU, C., "Continuity and Discontinuity in African Traditional Religion the Case of the Igbo of Nigeria" in: *Cahier des Religions Africaines*, 18, 1984, 197-214, part 199, P. 200.

the status of *Chukwu*, we have to throw light on the importance of Aro colonialism in Igbo history before the arrival of the Europeans.

Aro had awe-evoking grotto of *Chukwu* that attracted people from all works of life to Arochukwu. For just as the Greek went to Delphi, so the Igbo from everywhere were coaxed into *ije Chukwu*; they went to consult the oracle at Arochukwu. In this way the local *Chukwu* of the Aros gained influence and importance.[110] The missionaries adopted the names of these gods because of the theological undertone associated with them. As a traditional term, it has served this purpose even though the adoption has its unique history and consequence. Thus: "Originally, *Chukwu* was just one local god among many, one of a thousand and one of the Igbo *Juju* or *alusi* deities. His ascension to the status of chief god is attributed to three factors: the wide-spread distribution of the Aros throughout Igboland, the superior cleverness of the Aro people themselves and the awe-inspiring nature of *Chukwu´s* grotto."[111]

A further interpretation of the names given to this local god *Chukwu* shows that the meanings ascribed to them assume adequately the supremacy since it implies the recognition of other lesser gods, hence, *Chi-ukwu* - the great God. Among the Igbo therefore, *Chukwu* was held to be supreme among all their gods[112], having been influenced by the actions and thoughts of the original owners of this tribal god called *Chukwu* but which has become their universal God due to his supremacy.

According to scholars like Talbot, Achebe, Metuh, Isichei, Idowu, Arinze and Ezekwugo, who have devoted much time on Igbo traditional life, sacrifices are not directly made to the Supreme Being. Instead, they are made to deities as God's own manifestation and messengers, and such sacrifices are said to be ultimately received by God. He is supreme and others are only mediators and these share many aspects and attributes similar to His. For the Igbo, the Supreme God is also Spirit, First and Highest Being in the world-view, the creator who Himself is not created. He extends his fatherly care over his creatures. Talbolt describes him thus "A moral Being, Who will judge, reward or punish the behaviour of man."[113]

God in African traditional religion has different names in different areas in Africa. For the Zulu, he is *Unkulunkulu*, the great one, or *Inkosi Yezulu*, the chief of the Sky. The Yoruba use the term *Olorun* - King of the Sky or *Olodumare* to designate this high God. It is also generally believed that God is a transcendent and an immanent being, the one who controls

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[110] MBEFO, L. N Theology and Aspects of Igbo Culture, Enugu, 1997.
[111] EZEKWUGO, C.U.M., *Chi*, the True God in Igbo Religion, P. 70.
[112] Ibid.
[113] TALBOT, P.A., The People of Southern Nigeria, Vol. II, P. 42.

the universe and is responsible for all things and human affairs. As we have indicated above, his name is *Chukwu* in Igbo area of Africa.

In some belief systems in Africa, God is an androgynous being. *Kuiye* of the Batammaliba has both male and female genitals and is called "The Sun, Our Father and Our Mother." In Zimbabwe, *Mwari*, the god of fertility, is also androgynous. Theologians like Mbiti, Bolaji Idowu, and Gabriel Setiloane have articulated African perspectives on God using Christian theological categories. In the divine hierarchy, divinities and spirits are ranked below God. In the view of Metuh about Africans in general, Igbo beliefs about the relationship between the deities can be said not to be quite clear. The Igbo man may stop by saying that God created the deities, but it is not clear why and how this came about, although there are various myths and interpretations that try to give answer to such question. The cosmology of the Igbo can be better understood only in the interaction between man and the invisible world in his local environment. For the Igbo, there is the consciousness of the divine to control the activities of this world.

Metuh maintains strongly that the Igbo traditional religion recognizes two major different types or categories of divinities: the Supreme Being – god and the subordinate deities. Regarding the nature of their mutual relationship expressed in human actions, Metuh writes: "The Supreme Being though recognized as Creator and Lord of the entire universe, features less frequently in public worship and ritual than the deities who are many and feature in almost every aspect of African life."[114] A similar relationship is read in the Yoruba religion where their divinities are called *Orishas*. According to this religion, God sent the divinities *Obatala* and *Oduduwa* to create the world and all things in it. Some of the *orishas* are divinized ancestors; the *orisha Shango* was the fourth king of Oyo. The *orisha Esu* is a trickster who opens the path to other *orishas. Esu* rewards devotees and also punishes them when they go astray. *Orunmila* is the *orisha* of wisdom and divination while *Ogun* is the *orisha* of iron and war. The female deity *Oshun* is the goddess of water and revered as a great mother. Idowu summarised this by holding that there is a separation between the Supreme Being – *Oludumare* and the small gods, otherwise called *orisha*. These are only emanations of the Supreme Being and serve with delegated authority while sharing only some attributes of the *Oluwa* as the Supreme god is also and often addressed.[115]

In this religion, the spirits of ancestors are sometimes thought to interact with people. People offer sacrifice and pour libations to the spirits to ward off difficulties and attacks. Community

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[114] IKENGA-METU, E. "The Nature of African Theism", P. 111.
[115] IDOWU, E.B. *Olodumare*: God in Yoruba Belief, London 1962.

leaders consult ancestral spirits for guidance. Many Chiefs in different African tribes including Igbo offer wine to the ancestors before they drink. In addition to ancestral spirits who may bless or punish people, there are hosts of other spirits, who may be mainly malicious. Such are called *Wimbum*. Among the *Wimbum,* a group is called *nyirr* which often bother people at night.[116]

For the traditional Igbo worshippers, the divinities are in fact as real as experiences and expressions show. They have become ends in themselves instead of means to an end. These deities are identified with various objects and idols in the traditional Igbo religion and this has in turn given rise to idol worship of varying forms. Despite the various names given to them in different regions, there is a consensus that the Supreme Being remains above other deities. Traditionally, his powers are manifested through some natural occurrences like thunder, rain, rainbow etc.

1.9 MAN IN AFRICAN SOCIETY

Every African society has its myth of creation especially the one narrating how human beings came into existence. In his book, *Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythus der afrikanischen Völker[117],* Baumann attempts the colossal task of analysing 2000 of these myths. Generally, majority of African peoples place the creation of man towards or at the end of God's creation. In the view of Mbiti, man also comes into the picture as husband and wife, male and female. "It is generally acknowledged that God is the originator of man, even if the exact methods of creating man may differ according to the myths of different peoples."[118] As a matter of fact, an important corollary to the study of man, which cannot be dealt with in detail here, is the mythical theory of West Africans that man came into existence because God created him; hence, he is not the result of evolution which brought him from the lower form of animal to a higher one. This belief presupposes the religious influence of the West Africans in their conception of man.[119] From this point of view, one argues that man, in his constitution, has religion as an important aspect of his life. Without man, there can therefore, be no religion at least in the sense that we have it today. For Idowu, religion as an ultimate nature is the whole person that is involved in it. It is the whole person who receives the stimulus of spiritual communication. It is also the whole person that responds to that

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[116] a href="http://science.jrank.org/pages/11038/Religion-Africa-Gods-Spirits.html">Religion - Africa - Gods And Spirits November, 2008.

[117] BAUMANN, H., Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythus der afrikansichen Völker, Berlin 1964.

[118] MBITI, J., African Religions and Philosophy, P. 91.

[119] OPOKU, K. A., West African Traditional Religion, Nigeria 1978.

stimulus.[120] From his point of view of origin, human being has a spark of the divine in him and and lives in a universe that is full of forces.

The Igbo understanding of man maintains a balance between man's personal identity as a unique individual and his collective identity as a member of his society. The meaning of his life will be found in his search for harmony and balance in the life of the communal relationship with others. Iroegbu furthered this view by raising the ordinary understanding of communalism as commonness of life, to a new status. For him, "it is the organization of society in which the community is the foundation of political life, and in which the autonomy of the individual is assured."[121] Nyom complements this view point by asserting that man in Africa has to do with the followings: African solidarity, African sense of community and togetherness, hospitality of the African great family, union of the joy of life with the endeavour for perfection in the practice of spirituality.[122] Life is, therefore, unthinkable if not in relation to African values where the community is the custodian of these values.

1.10 MAN'S RELATIONSHIP TO GOD IN THE WORLD

The concept *Chi* explains vividly man's relationship with God in the view of Igbo. *Chi* is understood as emanating from God, and the Igbo believe that God made them and placed the individual in their care. In the Christian religion, it could be compared with the Guardian Angel who accompanies one wherever he goes. In the thoughts of the traditional Igbo, they are taken to be in charge of controlling fortunes and misfortunes contained in the destiny-package of persons entrusted to their care, thus rendering them an extension of the divine providence of both human beings and things.[123]

The foundation of Igbo understanding of God has two major principles, the principle of creation which shows man's origin while *Chi* involves His absoluteness and man's utter dependence on God for existence and welfare. In Igbo thinking also, this knowledge is necessary for proper evaluation of what the person expresses by words or actions. That is to

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[120] IDOWU, B., African Traditional Religion: A Definition, London 1991.

[121] IROEGBU, P., Communalism: Toward Justice in Africa. For him, three principles constitute the pillars of communalism: Belongingness (which demands that all persons be treated equally as members and none as a stranger), Equal Substantive Liberty, (this declares that all be given equal opportunity to contribute and share in the socio-political and economic life of the community) and lastly, Integrity (this balances the first two. It demands integral development.). There is however a network of relationships among these three principles.

[122] NYOM, B., "Der eigenständige Beitrag der afrikanischen Spiritualität", in: MUSHARHAMINA, M.C., (Hrsg), Afrikanische Spiritualität und christlicher Glaube: Erfahrungen der Inkulturation, Freibug 1986, P. 59-69.

[123] METUH, E., "The nature of African Theism: Analysis of two Nigerian Models", in: IKENGA-METUH, et al., (ed.), Nigerian cultural heritage, Onitsha 1990 P. 107-118.

say, every belief in gods or spirits influences the mind of the Igbo and is at the same time related to the empirical issues of life. The expression of this relationship comes from the inner workings of the mind and from the seat of motivations. *Chi-na-eke*, which means the God who creates, is the same who brings man into being, and at the same time, endows him with his nature and destiny. Each individual person according to Igbo thought has a relationship with god through this *Chi* or *Uwa* which is the destiny package, which can be good or bad. This understanding accounts for the unique creation of every individual by God, man becomes what he must be or is denied what is not his fate – *Ekere*.

God is great and his relation to the world is that he is the origin of all, and he has no origin Himself. That is why the Igbo can only invoke His ultimate power and protection as the Supreme Being especially when all else have failed them.[124]

In the view of Okoye, the relationship of man with god generally, involves more than mere religious thinking. It embraces further all aspects of human life and activities. For him, such a relationship involves: "... a system of philosophy in which theology, politics, social theory, land-law, medicine, psychology, birth and burial rites were all logically concatenated in a system of beliefs so that to subtract one item from the whole is to paralyse the structure of the whole."[125] The Igbo therefore believe that god knows, sees and controls all that goes on in his creation and will judge each person as his conducts deserve.

The belief in the omnipresence of God in the world influences the Igbo in his different aspects of life which helps him greatly to live a life that is worthy of emulation. This consciousness is all the more expressed in the names the Igbo give their children. Most of these names are theophoric indicating the various attributes of God, such names include *Chukwuma*- God knows,[126] *Chiebuka* – God is great, *Chiegboka* – God has intervened etc.

More importantly, man's relationship with God especially the interaction between the gods and man can be better understood by studying the diagram below[127]:

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[124] NWALA, T. Igbo Philosophy.

[125] OKOYE, M., The embattled men, Enugu 1980, P. 9.

[126] *Chukwuma* is only the abbreviation of *Chukwumazuru ihe nile*- meaning that God knows everything. That means, the Supreme God knows even things that have not yet come into existence and as father, he means only good for his children and will not allow anything bad or disastrous to befall his children. He is simply all-knowing and is in control of everything for the good of his beloved ones.

[127] This diagram explains the relationship between the Supreme Being, deities and other created things including human beings. It is extracted from my master's thesis with some improvement made on it. OHAJIRIOGU, A. C., *Mystagogie und Inkulturation Lösungsansätze für Europa und Afrika, Diplomarbeit* St. Pölten 2004 Unpub.

God

Spiritual
Beings, Deities
and Ancestors

Biological Beings

Created Things

The human Person
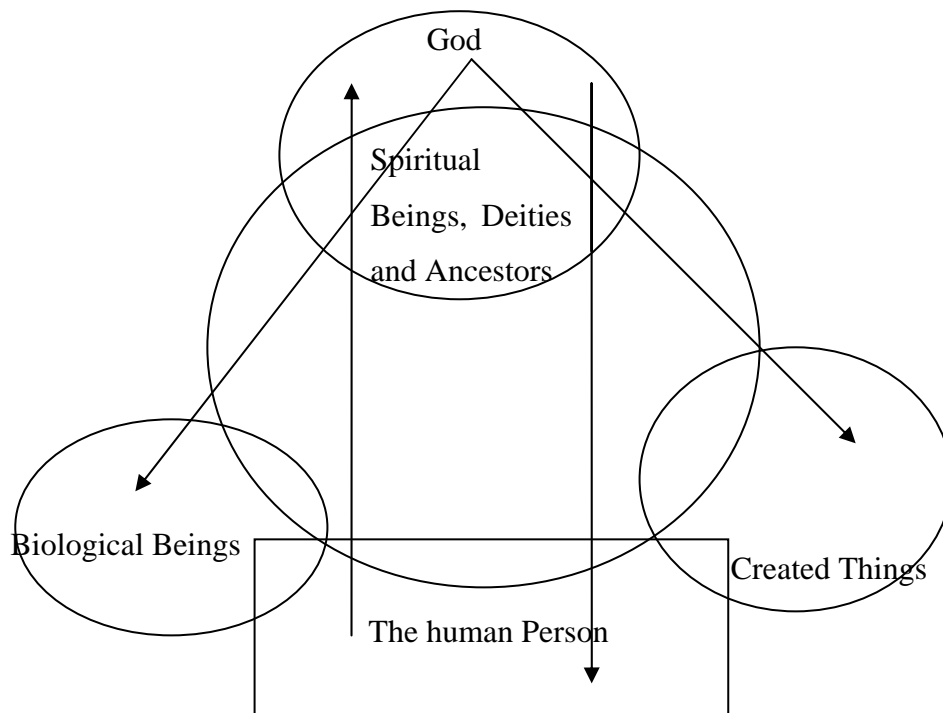
It is a presentation of the inter-relatedness between God, (the great one and creator of all things), the gods (his messengers and intermediaries) and man, the created being, and other created things in the universe of God.

1.11 IGBO TRADITIONAL WORLDVIEW (COSMOLOGY)

The core of Igbo traditional cosmology consists of a continuous reaction or chain of events between the invisible world of spirits, *ala muo* and the visible world *uwa* and all these together continue to influence each other. Metuh believes that there are spirits of various kinds which inhabit the world. There are "*Chukwu*, the creator God, the deities, *muo* which manifest themselves through natural phenomena such as: sun, sky, thunder, earth etc. There are also the spiritual forces A*rusi*, titular spirits of the clans; ...the Ancestors ndichie and ogbunike, and the evil wondering spirits of the dead."[128] In the view of Ejizu, Igbo cosmology consists of three-tiers which are intimately related but distinct series of worlds each of which is well inhabited.[129]

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[128]METUH, E. "The Nature of African Theism", P. 119.
[129] EJIZU, C.," Continuity and Discontinuity."

a.) The sky above is the abode of the Supreme Being, *Chukwu/Chineke*, and such major divinities as *Amadioha, Anyanwu-* the thunder and Sun Spirit respectively.

 b.) The earth *–Ala*, is the home of the earth goddess, and minor deities like *Edo, Idemili, Mkpukpa, Nkwo*, nature Spirits, and of course of human beings.

c.) The ancestors and myriads of spirits-forces (good and evil), inhabit the under-world. The Igbo refer to this three decked universe as *Elu* (the sky), *Ala-mafu* (the earth), and *Ala-muo* (the spirit-world[130]).

Hierarchically, the Supreme Being is the highest reality of the Igbo traditional religious thought structure, followed by the major divinities and then the nature spirits and myriads of other spiritual forces. Man is pre-eminently the focus of the Igbo vision of the universe and the main pivot of the traditional religious outlook.[131] The peaceful co-existence of the Supreme Being, divinities and ancestors is reflected in the Igbo belief that anyone who pays proper religious attention to the gods and to the spirits has the right to be protected by them.

The Igbo believe in purely material causes of certain phenomena but only as a subordinate to spiritual interpretations.

In the final analysis, the traditional worshippers follow almost every explanation with ultimate cause traced to God himself or the spirits and the ancestors.[132] Even when it is evidently clear that a situation has been created by a human cause, the question remains so important for the Igbo which demands to explain further. In such a case, a medicine man is consulted who is believed to be the intermediary between the living and the dead especially the ancestors; who in turn consults the ancestors to know the reason for such a situation.

1.12 THE VENERATION OF ANCESTORS

The influence of ancestral worship in Africa is very pervasive, and devotional concerns over them loom so largely in the primal religious structures that other religions, if they wish to have roots in Africa, must reconsider their positions on them. The ancestors are believed to be very active in the day-to-day activities in African life. Jahn believes that although they are

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[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ancestors are among the group of the spiritual beings who were one time human beings and later disincarnated and revered in Igbo traditional religion. They are people who have made it in the Spirit-land and are being venerated by their descendants. They are regarded as the elder members of the family. As spirits, they have enhanced power, which they are believed to use mainly to protect the interest of their families, or clan. In the hierarchy of Beings, after the Supreme Being, and the deities, are the ancestors. See OBORJI, F., Trends in African Theology since Vatican II: A missiological Orientation, Rome 1998.

dead, they are not yet gone. They are experienced in the thickening shadows. The ancestors are not under the earth. They are in the tree that rustles and are sometimes experienced in the wood that groans. Those who are dead are never gone. They are in the breast of the woman and also in the child sucking the mother's breast. They can as well be experienced in the fire brand that flames in the forest. They are in the house.[133]

For the traditional Igbo/African, death is seen just as a mere passage from the human world to that of the spirits but a continuation and an improvement of this present life. According to Ogbu, such passage "enhances the spiritual powers so that one could now operate in the human environment and especially in the human family as a guardian, protective spirit/power/influence."[134] The phenomenon of death in Africa attracts a great explanation. The African is a firm believer in life after death; that is, the existence of the individual in an incorporeal, yet real form, in a life beyond. The whole fuss about decent burial ceremonies and ancestral worship reveal Africans' conviction that the dead exist as individuals in the spirit world. From the spirit world, the ancestors who are now released from the restraints imposed by this earth and who are now possessors of limitless potentialities can exploit these for the benefit or to the detriment of those who still live on earth. The diagram[135] below explains the different spheres of existence in the African society.

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[133] JAHN, J., *Muntu*, An outline of Neo-African Culture. London 1961.
[134] OGBU, K., "Ancestral Spirituality and Society in Africa", in OLUPONA, J. K., African Spirituality, Forms Meanings, and Expressions, New York 2000, P. 54-84, here 54.
[135] Ibid., P. 56.

SKY – The Creator Supreme Being

– The Major Divinites

EARTH

– Earth Deity   – Adult Roles

– Nature Spirits   – Adult Titles: ascribed

– Human Spirits   – Initiation into Secret Societies

– Old Age Roles   – Profession-Guardian Spirits

LAND   HUMANWORLD

WATER   WATER WORLD

– Water Spirits

DEATH   ANCESTRAL WORLD   BIRTH/REINCARNATION

SPIRIT   – Evil Spirits

WORLD   – Unreincarnated Spirits

– Ancestral Spirits

Hence, survivors pay respect and acts of recognition to these ancestors in order to be favoured. In the words of Idowu, "The deceased ... still remain the father and mother which they were before their death, capable of exercising their parental functions, though now in a more powerful and unhampered way, over their survivors. The Yoruba say still *Baba mi* ('my father') or *Iya mi* ('my mother'), when they speak of their deceased parents. Although they speak of bringing the spirit of the deceased into the house, they rarely say that I am going to speak to the 'spirit' of my father, what they say is, I am going to speak to my father."[136] The individuality of the deceased father or mother is recognized as existing in the spirit world from where it maintains unbroken family relationship with the living off-spring. In the face of this, one agrees with Ogbu that the reality of the "dead-among-the-living attracts so much religious devotion that in many African societies the ancestors occupy more devotional attention than God/Supreme Being"[137]

The belief systems of veneration of the ancestors derive their rationale from the concept – *Ilo uwa* reincarnation. The Igbo convince themselves that a child is a reincarnate of a dead

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[136] IDOWU, B., *Oludumare*: God in Yoruba Belief, P. 192.
[137] OGBU, K., "Ancestral Spirituality and Society in Africa", P. 54

ancestor if that child exhibits human features or characteristics of the living-dead. The occurrence of child prodigies *ebibi uwa* with their reincarnate intellectual and physical acquisitions is used by Africans as proof for their belief in reincarnation. Godfrey Hudson refers to this as "the strange genius... brought from former lives in which mastery of their subjects had been attained."[138] In fact, according to Ohadike, the entire religious system of Igbo people "revolves around the concept of birth, death, and reincarnation. The idea of resurrecting after death, on or before the Day of Judgement, only to proceed again to hell or heaven did not exist."[139] Instead, the Igbo inhabitants believed that when elders died, they "usually do not go away for good, but lurked unseen, looking after the welfare of the living members of the lineage."[140]

If a baby boy was born soon after the death of his grandfather, this child could have been no other person than the old man, reincarnated, and might be named *Nnadi* or *Nnamdi* which means father is back. Likewise, if a baby girl was born soon after the death of a paternal grandmother, she might be named *Nnena*, which means father's mother is back. The Igbo word, *Ahamefule* (may my name never be lost) captures the idea very well that no one would like his name to be erased from the land of the living. The Yoruba call the child who is born immediately after the death of his grandfather *Babatunde* (father has returned) and the girl born immediately after the death of her grandmother *Yetunde* (mother has returned). Ogbu believes that ancestral beliefs therefore underscore certain social ideals: "the vibrant reality of the spiritual world or 'an alive universe', the continuity of life and human relationship beyond death, the unbroken bond of obligations and the seamless web of community."[141] He stresses this idea further by adding that the sense of the *communitas* stands above the individual even in death.

Opoku adds also a cogent element that "ancestral beliefs act as a form of social control by which the conduct of individuals is regulated. The constant reminder of the good deeds of the ancestors act as a spur to good conduct on the part of the living, and the belief that the dead can punish those who violate traditionally sanctioned mores acts as a deterrent. Ancestral beliefs, therefore, represent a powerful source of moral sanction for they affirm the values upon which society is based."[142]

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[138] HUDSON, G. Lecture Notes: The School of Wisdom Adyar-India 1962, P. 172.
[139] OHADIKE, D. C., *Anioma*, P. 102-103.
[140] Ibid. P. 103
[141] OGBU, K., "Ancestral Spirituality and Society in Africa", P. 55.
[142] OPOKU, K.A., West African Religion, Singapore 1978, P. 39.

It is believed that when one dies, his spirit wanders about till it joins the company of the already departed forefathers. But not all the departed ones join the forefathers. For some reasons, some of the departed may not be qualified to join the *Revered Company* of ancestors. Those who can join such company are those who lived, in the words of Isichei, "well spent lives"[143], died in socially approved ways[144] were given correct burial rites and now living in the world of the dead, which mirrors the world of the living.[145] The deceased must have the requisite qualifications, and some conditions must have been fulfilled before one attains the status of an ancestor. These criteria vary from place to place. However, parents who never lead a good life during their life time are not regarded as ancestors. The title ancestor is based on the fact that the parent was morally good and, thanks to his death, is in a supernatural state. Ohadike gives conditions of not being able to reincarnate as follows: "Among those who could not were persons who died a 'bad death' ('say, by suicide'), childless persons, people with violent and criminal dispositions, strangers, and all people with doubtful origins."[146] Igbo people believe also that infants could also reincarnate, but these were usually babies who had put their parents through unnecessary pain during child birth. These babies often died soon after birth only to come back to the same parents, on account of which they were called *ogbanje*, meaning, those who come and go. However, if the right diviner is consulted at the right time, "the *ogbanje* could be stripped of its power to return to the world of the dead."[147]

But generally, in many African countries, distinctions are made from departed ones who are ancestors and those who are not.

The Igbo, according Metuh for instance, call the ancestors *Ndichie* and call the departed who have not attained ancestor-hood, *ogeli* (wanderer). The former are venerated as good spirits and the later are generally regarded as malignant spirits and are driven away by rites of exorcism.[148]. For Arinze, ancestors are not called *Ndi muo* (sprirts), this name being reserved

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[143] ISICHEI, E., A History of the Igbo people, P. 26.

[144] For instance, some of the interviews I conducted in my home town Okwe in Onuimo Local Government Area, Imo State, confirmed that to die in a particular market day is socially not acceptable. Mazi Agbarakwe Ohajiriogu (22.07.08) observes thus "When one dies in some market days, he/she is said to have died a good death but if one dies in a market day like *Eke*, the death is said to be a bad one. One week in Igbo land lasts four days and these four days correspond to the popular four market days namely *Eke, Orie Afor* and *Nkwo*. In this region, *Eke* is regarded as the first among all the gods that govern the region. Eke day is highly respected because *Eke* is the biggest market around the region which everybody must visit to buy and sell things. Not to visit the market on a market day is not to love the land and it is viewed also as lack of respect. Also to die on this day is not good sign for the land. It is a sign that one is not happy being in the land of the living and the god of the day which is Eke will not allow him/her to reincarnate. The origin of these four market days has already been discussed as we were treating the origin of Igbo tribe.

[145] ISICHEI, E., A History of the Igbo people.

[146] OHADIKE, D. C., Anioma, P. 103.

[147] Ibid.

[148] METUH; Comparative Studies of African Religions, Nigeria 1987

rather for the non-human Spirits or *umu alusi*. Their proper names are *Ndichie* which means those of old, those of antiquity.[149] The Ibo family, according to Arinze, is not made up of only those who are still living in the flesh alone but the unseen ancestors are part of the family and are every inch interested in the activities of the family. This applies to many other tribes in Africa. "The Ibos invite them to the family meal for, according to Ibo etiquette, it is highly unkind and impolite, and it is a sign of enmity, to refuse another person an invitation to a meal taken in his presence."[150] Parrinder confirmed the real presence of the ancestors in West African religion by observing that they are not just dead heroes like Julius Caesar and Napoleon, but "they are felt to be still present, watching over the household, directly concerned in all the affairs of the family and property, giving abundant harvest and fertility."[151] The Igbo believe that the ancestors are able to do such things because they have survived death and are now living in a spiritual world but still taking a living interest in the affairs of their families. Oborji buttresses the role of the ancestors thus: "They jealously maintain discipline in the families, and may inflict punishment on those members whose behaviour threatens the existence and progress of the family. As members of the family, ancestors are invited to be present and participate in most family activities."[152]

The reason for the veneration of ancestors in Igboland is because of the Igbo belief that they are happy in the land of the spirits and also are nearer to the gods. The ancestors and other spirits are regarded as the custodians of public morality, and also "safeguard against any perpetual alienation of the traditional family land."[153] The ancestors take immediate responsibility of the various departments of human life, sustaining life, multiplying births, restoring health, giving wealth and rich harvest, in short, giving protection to human and providing him with the necessities of life.[154] A typical Igbo man prays in the early hours of the morning before he begins his day where he invites the ancestors to oversee the affairs of the family.

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[149] ARINZE, F. Sacrifice in Igbo land, Ibadan 1970.
[150] Ibid., P. 19.
[151] PARRINDER, G., West African Religion, London 1954, P. 125.
[152] OBORJI, Trends in African theology since Vatican II. P. 146-147.
[153] ARINZE, F., Sacrifice in Igbo religion, P. 19.
[154] EZEANYA, „The traditional Igbo Family and the Christian Family" in: OKOLO, C. B., (ed.), The Igbo Church and Quest for God, Obosi-Nigeria 1985, 53-72.

1.12.1 IGBO MORNING PRAYER

Prayer, as a universal phenomenon is one of the principal acts of worship by which individuals and groups of various religious convictions and affiliations "establish communication and express homage to deities or beings which exercise supreme influence in both their private and public lives."[155] Prayer in African traditional religion is said by the father of the family and by other members of the family who are not living in the family directly where the father of the family officiates. Before this prayer is said, certain rituals must be observed like washing of the hands and face, there must be a white chalk (*ogu nzu*[156]) which is a symbol of innocence, the *Ofo*[157], *Ofo* is the symbol of the Forebears as well as of unity.

Ofo is inherited and kept by whoever is the eldest surviving male member of the individual group or family as the case may be. Apart from the family leaders, the heads of the lineage of every level of social organization among the Igbo are the *Oji-ofo,* the holders of the *Ofo* symbol who wield a lot of influence. The *Ofo* Object in the form of a carved stick is the sceptre of power that commands reverence and represents the ancestors. *Ofo* in its application demands sincerity, truthfulness and personal integrity on the possessor since it is a great symbol of authority one receives from his own father. It is an age old symbol which is also called the staff of God. It is the central symbol of spirituality and a sign of sacred authority. It remains an emblem symbolizing the link between God and man.

Another sacred symbol is the *Ikenga.* It has its origin in the Igbo culture and has an important connection in the spiritual and psychical dimension of the culture and the individual; it is timeless and is perceived as a psychic force that underscores success. There is the interpretation that *Ikenga* is the destiny whose unborn soul works out for itself with the help of its *Chi,* before it incarnates in the physical realm. It symbolizes a personal shrine of man's

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[155] NDIOKWERE, N., The African Church today and tomorrow, Vol. II Enugu 1994, P. 52.

[156] IFESIE, E.I., „Prayer in Igbo traditional Religion" some Traditional Models (A Case Study)" in: UZUKWU, E.E., Religion and African Culture, Enugu 1988, P. 73-91, P. 81.

[157] EJIZU, C., *Ofo*: Igbo Ritual Symbol, Enugu 1986. *Ofo* is very important in such a prayer session because every Igbo believes he owes greater responsibility to all whom they are related especially through consanguinity and affinity. A relation however, distant, has a moral claim for the care and maintenance of the members of the extended family. Should this responsibility be neglected, the members of the family whose responsibility it is would be taunted by the society for the negligence of duty. Ogbalu , an Igbo autographer states in this regard "… from the family responsibility, it spreads to the *umunna*, to the village and finally to the town in lesser and lesser degree. On the inter-town level, it does not exist except to person´s relations in that town (e.g *nwa di ala, ndi ogo, ndi ikwu nne, umunne or nna- ochie*). A sense of loyalty and responsibility to a person, or groups of towns, federate or confederate, clan or otherwise for purposes of war and peace or religious worship in the case of clans existed only as long as that understanding lasted." See OGBALU, F.C. Igbo Institutions and Customs Onitsha 1973, P. 7-8.

right hand. It is a symbol of justice and equity in a communal and social context, a reminder of one's sacred obligation to honour those we cross paths with on the journey through life. Apart from *Ofo*, such prayer is said with kola nuts, a seat or animal skin for sitting and sometimes wine and an elephant tusk. Other vital Objects of prayer like *Ofo*, include water, *Nzu* and *Omu-nkwu-* young palm frond. They are very important in making the prayer efficacious. The *Ofo* is the symbol of truth and authority, the kola nut is a symbol of shared meal, *Nzu* the Phallic chalk is the symbol of innocence and *Omu Nkwu* symbolizes peace and water is a symbol of purity.[158] The father of the house breaks the kola nut, chews it and spits a part of it on the *Ofo*, and throws out some part of it to the invisible spirit out there, while reserving the greater part of it for the people who are present for the prayer. Arinze summarized the Morning Prayer pattern as follows: "Greetings and salutations are made in this invariable order: to *Chukwu*, the spirits, and the ancestors. Then he makes petitions for himself, his family, his kindred, and his property. This is accompanied with curses against his enemies: may *Chineke* -God repay them! He prays thus while knocking his *Ofo* on the ground several times."[159] A typical Igbo Morning Prayer[160] of a righteous man runs thus:

Greetings	*Chineke (Ezechitaoke), ekene.*	God, greetings.
	Ani, ekene; Igwe, ekene ...	Ani, greeting; Igwe, greetings
	Taanu oji.	Take Kola, all.
	Ogbuefi nna m, Ononenyi ...	Ogbueji, my father Ononenyi … Take
	Taanu oji	kola all.
Petition	*Onu kwulu njo gbaghalu,*	Forgive the mouth that speaks evil
(to God)	*Onu kwulu mma gbaghalu*	Forgive the mouth that speaks good.
	Mmefie adi mgbaghalu ama adi	Without offence, no forgiveness
	Anyi na-ayo ndu na nka,	We ask for life and old age
	na ubosi oma, tata bu Eke.	For a good day today, Eke-day
	Nye anyi olili na onunu	Give us food and drink
	Nye anyi omumu di jina di ede ….	Give us children and rich harvest ….
	Okafo be m ka o muta	May my son Okafo get a son,
	Nwa nwoke, kpata ego.	may he get money.

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[158] ILOGU, E., Christianity and Igbo culture, Leiden 1974.
[159] ARINZE, F., Sacrifice in Ibo Religion, P. 25. Arinze however opined also that whoever adds the cursing part of the prayer show himself an upright man. The wicked people usually omit this section of the prayer.
[160] Ibid. 25-26.

	Ka ndi be ya fekwaa ya,	May his children serve him,
	ka o si fem ...	as he has served me….
Curses	*Ka ndi na-ekwu mma,*	Both those who speak good of me
	Ka ndi na-ekwu njo	And those who speak evil of me,
	Ife onye na-elolu mmadu,	As a person plans for others,
	ka Chineke na-elolu ya	so God plans for him.
	Onye si Okafo be m amutana nwa,	If anyone says that my son Okafo shall beget no child.
	nwa nke ya amutana.	Let his own son get none.
	Onye si ani be m pue ata,	If anyone tells my compound to grow
	Nke be ya pue elo	wild grass, let his own grow fungus.
	O bialu ga-egbu m gbue onwe ya;	Let him who comes to kill me kill himself.
	ochu okuku nwe ada.	A fall belongs to the chaser of the fowl.
Conclusion	*Onye m na-eme joro o*	The person, whom I have not offended
	Na-eme m, nya adinalu ya mma	and the he offends me, let him suffer.
	Onye si m nwua,	If anyone tells me to die,
	Nya bulu okuku uzo nakpue ula.	Let him go to bed before fowls.
	Egbe belu, ugo belu	Let the kite perch, and let the eagle perch.
	Nke si ibe ya ebena nku	Whichever says that the other must not
	Kapu ya	perch, let his wings break off!

Such prayer is offered in the early hours of the morning before one begins his daily undertakings. The morning prayers are offered by the head of the family at the family´s ancestral shrine or before a *Chukwu* symbol, if he has one. Ancestors are believed to intercede for the living in the land of the spirits while men intercede for them here on earth, hence the common aspect of Igbo prayer after invocation of the great grand fathers, *na-achulu anyi be ndi muo, ka anyi na-achulu unu be ndi mmadu* (intercede for us in the land of the spirit while we intercede for you on earth). The belief of Igbo in the ancestors is really very strong especially in the role they play to their various families.

The International Theological Commission recently acknowledged this communion and constant exchange between the living and the living-dead in African Traditional Religion in general. For this commission, the idea of a family union of souls through death is not foreign to many African Religions and offers the opportunity for inter-religious dialogue with them.[161]

Among the Igbo of Nigeria, there are three names which express the different forms of prayer in the pre-Christian African traditional society and these include *Ekpere, Ayiyo and igo Ofo.*

1.12.2 *EKPERE*

In this prayer form, one has a sense of asking persistently as well as with resignation. This sense of resignation "is seen in the humility and lowly state of the desperate petitioner before the Almighty but benevolent God."[162] The addressee may or may not grant the request. The petitioner pleads with God, the deity and the ancestors using various appellations, including gesticulations to attract sympathy and hearing from the one being addressed. When God is addressed in such a prayer form, the petitioner uses different appellation to express the attributes of God like *Dike na agha* (strong/mighty one in battle), *Okaa Omee,* (God of action), *Omere oha* (One who is extremely generous to all and sundry) *Ochiri ozuo* (one who feeds the hungry, great multitudes of the needy) *Omepuru onye ona ara* (benevolent God, helper in desperate cases) *Eze udo* (king of peace).

1.12.3 *AYIYO*

The word *Ayiyo* comes from the Igbo word *iyo* which means to beg, to ask for a favour or forgiveness. Various means are applied by the Igbo (by the petitioner) to get the favours asked. With the various means, he can quicken or accelerate the action of the donor/Master and to attract his sympathy. He can do this by paying unscheduled visits often with gifts and in the company of his relatives and friends who are expected to speak on his behalf in case he wants to borrow something or to be witnesses, in case he wants to repay what he wishes to borrow. He brings along with him, gifts like wine, cock, yams or fruits. After the presentation of kola nut by the host and some quantity of the wine taken by all present, the petitioner narrates his story and the purpose of his mission. An example of such prayer pattern is the visit which Okonkwo made at Nwakibie's palace, as we read in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*. Here, as narrated by Achebe, there was a wealthy man in Okonkwo's village with huge

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[161] The Irish Theological Quarterly, 58, 1992, 209-243.
[162] NDIOKWERE, N. African Church Today and Tomorrow, Vol. II.,Enugu 1994, P. 53.

barns, nine wives and thirty children. He was Nwakibie and was in possession of the highest but one title which a man could take in the clan. Okonkwo on the other hand was poor and was in need of tubers of yams. He took a pot of palm wine and a cock to Nwakibie. On reaching Nwakaibie's palace, two elderly neighbours were sent for, and Nwakibie's two grown-up sons were also present in his *Obi* (palace). Nwakaibie presented a kola nut and an alligator pepper, which was passed round for all to see and then returned to him in accordance with the tradition and he broke it praying: "We shall all live. We pray for life, children, a good harvest and happiness. You will have what is good for you and I will have what is good for me. Let the kite perch and let the eagle perch too. If one says no to the other, let his wing break."[163]

Through this prayer pattern, *ayiyo*, Okonkwo received from Nwakibie more seed yams than he had expected. The Lord, (Nwakibie), was so impressed by Okonkwo's humility and tact. He was so generous to Okonkwo and in his very words, "I shall give you twice four hundred yams. Go ahead and prepare your farm."[164]

1.12.4 *IGO OFO*

In the view of Ikenga Metuh, *Igo ofo* is used in some contexts of Igbo traditional prayer with sense of 'to pray'.[165] This form of prayer is used when one wants to make a hazardous journey, the head of the family says, *agam agoro gi ofo* (I will be praying for you. You will go and return safely. No harm laid on your way will affect you.) People pronounce prayer or *ofo ogologodu* (long life), *ofo agam na ihu* (progress), *ofo ije oma*, (safe journey), *ofo mkpuru nke afo* (fecundity). In a nutshell, such prayers are said for longevity, progress, fecundity and prosperity with the *ofo* symbol. The symbol may not always be there, but the intentions are clear. The *ofo* can be used for supplications of deliverance from evil, sudden death, accidents and witchcrafts.

In the view of Ejizu, there are some situations in life where the heads of the family lineage (*ofo holder)* are called upon to use their *ofo* symbol for the pronouncement of formal blessing on some deserving persons, either members of the immediate community or otherwise (the picture below shows what a typical ofo symbol looks like).

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[163] ACHEBE, C. Things Fall Apart, London 1958, P. 13.
[164] Ibid.

[165] METUH, E.I., African Religions in Western Conceptual Schemes.
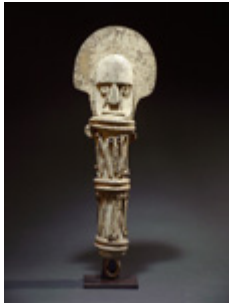
In most of the cases, the above picture is what ofo looks like in Igbo land where it is mostly used as a religious symbol.[166]

As pronouncements of blessing or petitions are made, it is usual for the *ofo* holder or the leader of the prayer group to tap the *ofo* on the ground, while all present answer *ihaa* or *isee*, meaning let it be so or Amen. Ejizu summarizes the role of *Ofo* in Igbo traditional religion thus: "The *ofo* itself dramatizes the spiritual basis of even the most secular matters even today, for its power represents the authority of the high God, *Chineke*, channelled through lineage ancestors, *Ndichie,* without whose support and concurrence man dare not act. Thus the ultimate sanction for human activity– law making, war, buying and selling, changing village sites, planting or harvesting, making and using 'art' – does not come from living men but from supernatural beings."[167] From his research study carried out in Igboland, Ejizu outlined "the features"[168] of *Ofo* in ritual texts for different life`s events and occasions:

- The traditional Morning Prayer

- Blessing Rituals for specific occasion

- Naming ceremonies

- Cursing texts

- Oath-taking

- Settlement of disputes

- Ritual texts made at sacrifices.

In Akan traditional religion on the other hand, worship is characterized by prayer and sacrifice. But prayer standing on its own and within the corporate public spoken and chanted

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[166]   http://images.google.at/images?gbv=2&hl=de&q=Ofo+in+Igbo+religion&sa=N&start=0&ndsp=20 November, 2008.

[167] EJIZU, C.I., *Ofo*, Igbo Ritual Symbol Enugu, Nigeria Fourth Dimension 1986, P. IX.

[168] Ibid., P. 80

words, spontaneous and informal, accompanied by drink offering. As Brookmann pointed out, prayers in Akan worship are mostly petitionary, requesting for health, longevity, prosperity, peace, riches and children. There are also intercessory prayers for deliverance from evil and ills of this life and invocation of abundant material blessings. Akans also recite invocatory curses or imprecations against their enemies.[169]

1.13 PLACES OF WORSHIP IN IGBO TRADITIONAL RELIGION

Igbo people have no Temples, Synagogues or Churches made out of stones for the purpose of worship or other religious functions. But they have sacred places in which official sacrifices, prayers and other sacrifices are performed. There are sometimes some awe-inspiring trees that are used as shrines where sacrifices can be offered.

Oracles and cults are very essential in the life of the traditional Igbo for both their religious and political needs. These are sacred places that exhibit symbols of divine presence and control. In the view of Chigere such "places have influence even beyond Igbo land for their social and economic roles and importance manifested in the life of the people, collectively and individually."[170] Commenting on such places of worship, Nwala writes: "They were of religious, economic, political and social importance in the life and culture of the traditional Igbo. Indeed, no attempt to understand the traditional Igbo world is complete without an understanding of the role such oracles play in the traditional life. They were the media of 'communication with the supernatural forces' as well as means of social control."[171]

The oracles are structured that every Igbo man understands what they mean. They correspond to what the Igbo man believes and does in his general life-pattern and thought. Thus Nwala continues "their nature portrays the religious bias of Igbo traditional world-view."[172] Cults, temples, oracles and shrines are therefore taken as sub-elements of rites, which are prominent features of traditional Igbo worship. Magic, medicine and charms are also elements of Igbo ritual and they are sometimes associated with shrines and oracles to render them more awesome and reverential.

In the pre-colonial time, oracles, shrines or cults offered very lucrative business in Igbo land and they were scattered all over the place. Prominent among them were the *Chukwu* and the

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[169] BROOKMANN-AMISSAH, J., Theology of Prayer in an African Culture – Possibilities for Inculturation. (A paper presented at the Third CIWA, Theology Week), Port Harcourt Nigeria 1992.
[170] CHIGERE, N. H., Foreign Missionary Background and indigenous evangelization in Igboland, Munster 2001, P. 73.
[171] NWALA, T. U. Igbo Philosophy, P. 85.
[172] Ibid.

*Ibini Ukpab*i of Arochukwu which were associated with Long *Juju*, *Igwe ka ala* of Umunnoha in Owerri and the goddesses like the *Agbala* of Agu-Ukwu, in Awka, *kamalu* of Ozuzu, *Odo* of Nsukka and *Idemili* of Nneobi.[173] Because of the religious role they play, they were regarded as the final court of appeal in Igbo land. Their functions included: confirming and giving religious sanctions to ordinary judgements, deciding disputes, detecting criminals, revealing causes of serious illnesses or natural calamities and told futures and secrets that were concealed from the ordinary person with competence and efficacy.

However, Igbo people dreaded the acts of wickedness conducted around these *Jujus*. They were never real traditional, religious and purely pilgrimage centres as some historians tend to portray them. Visits made to them were only when people were in search of solutions to some difficult situations in life. The Missionaries frowned at their existence and, in fact, that led to their demolition in the beginning of the 19th.Century.

1.14 SOME SOCIAL AND TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN IGBO SOCIETY

Most of the traditional institutions in Igbo Land are arranged around the Igbo worldview, history and common experiences. The institutions in the traditional Igbo life which will be discussed here are those that will help us to understand the social life/stratification in the Igbo cultural society. Such institutions like the family, the village, town and clan.

1.14.1 THE FAMILY

The basic unit of Igbo life is the village which is made up of different families. Through this basic unit of life, the Igbo retained their identifiable uniqueness as a people and the effects of this reality on their local features are reflected in both their lives and their social organizations.The position of the family in the life of humans cannot be overemphasized. "The future of the world and of the Church passes through the family."[174] Apart from being the cell of the community, it is also the fundamental cell of the society. "In Africa in particular, the family is the foundation on which the social edifice is built."[175] Ifemesia observes that "The family is the bed-rock of every social and political community. It is a

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[173] EZEKWUGO, C.U. M., *Chi,* The true God in Igbo Religion,.

[174] JOHN PAUL II, Apostolic Exhortation *Familiaris Consortio* 22 November 1981, Nr. 75, AAS 74 , 1982, 173.

[175] JOHN PAUL II, Post Synodal Apostolic Exhortation Ecclesia in Africa of the Holy Father John Paul II, Owerri-Nigeria 2000, Nr. 80.

cradle of life and natural environment for growth and well-being of all its members, particularly the young children and the young people" [176]

The family in Igbo/African traditional life is the first natural society where human beings are called to develop themselves. An Igbo family comprises of two configurations namely the nuclear and the extended families. Mbiti explains more the content of a typical African family thus: "In traditional society, the family includes children, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, brothers and sisters who may have their own children, and other immediate relatives."[177]

Thus, family in Igbo/Africa is more than the father, mother and children of the nuclear house hold. Ndiokwere in turn writes that the extended family system in its global application and more importantly in reference to the biblical concept of brother's keeper is "the bedrock of African community life and survival. It is a cherished value Africans cannot afford to lose, whatever the foreign influence they have imbibed."[178] In general, the family is a mini-political structure which serves for order, growth, maturity and the overall discipline and upbringing of the child in character and personality form. Obiefuna captures the functions of an African family in the following terms, "The traditional African depends on the family for his or her full growth, religiously, morally and economically."[179] Each member of the family contributes as much as he can to see that other members of the family are properly integrated.

Ndiokwere argues that the African lives in a community. His father is not just the person biologically responsible for his conception. His mother is not necessarily the woman who physically gave birth to him. He may have as many as fifteen fathers and ten mothers. In the ideal situation, each one of these would treat him as his biological father or mother would. As he has several mothers and fathers, obviously he has many more brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces. In fact, in some African languages, the words cousin, aunt, uncle do not exist. As such, one's father's brother is one's father and one's mother's sister is one's mother. Therefore the African family is very much extended.[180]

Some children who are picked from distant family and neighbours are also regarded as members of the family. There is no discrimination for such children, although they are not immediate members of the family but in this case, they are always properly integrated into the family as full members. They receive the same security and protection granted to the original members of the family. Africans in general distinguish between a nuclear family and an

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[176]IFEMESIA, C., Traditional humane Living among the Igbo, Enugu 1979, P. 55
[177] MBITI, J. African Religions and Philosophy, P. 104
[178] NDIOKWERE, N. Search for Greener Pastures, P. 285.
[179] OBIEFUNA, A. K., Put out into deep water: Catholic Church in Eastern Nigeria 1885-1985, Enugu 1985, P. 16
[180] NDIOKWERE, N. Search for Greener Pastures.

extended family. A nuclear family comprises of the most basic structures of a typical traditional African family namely, father, mother and immediate or direct children. As a result, there is a strong relationship and interaction between the immediate child and his parents. Such social interaction is very important for the development of the child.[181] There may however, be a situation where a man has more than one wife (polygamy). In this case, each mother or the wife of such a family becomes the root and centre of the relationship while the stronghold taken from the father weakens. Many reasons can lead a man to marry more than one wife in a typical African traditional family. In the past, a big household was regarded as a strong source of manpower for the cultivation of yams and other edible crops. Hence, riches were measured with the number of yam barns and the number of wives a man had, since having many wives entails having also as many children as possible.[182]

The word *extended* used in extended family has a wider usage and it is preferred and also applied to express the meaning of this unique Igbo traditional idea of the family fully. A family may include two or more brothers, in a patriarchal society or sisters, in a matrilineal society, as well as all their children living in one compound or close to one another. In a typical traditional Igbo family, the extended family is understood as a patriarchal group comprising of a man, his immediate brothers and their families, who trace their common descent back even to the fourth generation. In other words, there is more than one nuclear family within an extended family. The members of this type of nuclear family can come together for special solidarity to convince the members of the extended family to seek physical and social, as well as the moral and general well-being of all her members.

In each of the nuclear families, the husband remains the head of the individual families and according to Ejizu, the oldest man among them leads the family as the overall head and holds the O*fo.[183]* Since this leadership and authority provisions by the *Ofo* symbol is designated to the oldest man extends also to families of the wives (women) who have married into the extended family otherwise called community, this oldest man becomes automatically the possessor of the community's *ofo.*

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[181]IKEGBUSI, J. P., Christian Parents as primary catechists of the child through the promotion of a Christian family culture which is complemented by the catechesis in the parish. A reflection on the problems of learning and living the Christian faith in the family in Igbo land/Nigeria, Munster 1989 .

[182] ALIGWEKWE, P. E., Continuity of traditional Values in the African Society. The Igbo of Nigeria, Owerri 1991.

[183] EJIZU, C., *Ofo*: Igbo Ritual Symbol, Enugu 1986.

1.14.2 THE VILLAGE/TOWN

The second institution which serves as a force of unity, order, leadership and the formation of personality in Igbo land beside the family is the village. Isichei sees the village as the basic unit of Igbo life. "The village was a small face-to-face society,"[184] which makes the practice of true democracy very possible. Democracy as it exists today in the western world is full of limitations since governments can make decision that many citizens disapprove of. The average citizen has effectively no power to alter the network of regulations that governs him. One of the things that struck the first western visitors to Igbo land was the extent to which democracy was truly practised. An early visitor to a Niger Igbo town said that he felt he was in a free land, among a free people.[185]

Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish a village from a town. Many villages that have a common history or experiences come together to make up a town. Ifemesia believes that urban centres are yet to assume their own meaning in Africa. He sees urban centres in the light of solidarity and apart from that as a source of communal development as well. For him therefore, various villages together make up a town, which in most cases is the highest potential unit, centre of development and also of cooperative activities.[186] There is a strong tendency to one another among the Igbo fostered through the village or town solidarity as the case may be. Kinship and neighbourhood are cherished social values. The members recognize that one's neighbour is one's Kinsman irrespective of the lineage-gap. The expression *onye agbata obi bu nwanne ya, (*a person's neighbour is his brother) clarifies the idea better.

1.14.3 THE CLAN

A clan is a sub-division in Igbo traditional society. It has original founders or fathers who may have been forgotten in the course of time, where the genealogical line suffers a break through loss of memory. A clan has totemic history whereby one animal or plant or object must serve as totem or the sacred (untouchable) object and must be considered sacrosanct and treated as such to avoid taboos. These totems are strictly respected in this area in question to avoid desecrating the land. These totems are visible symbols of unity, kinship, belongingness,

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[184] ISICHEI, E. A History of the Igbo People,, P. 21.
[185] Ibid.
[186] IFEMESIA, J. P. Christian Parents as primary catechists oft he thought the promotion of a Christian family culture.

togetherness and affinity.[187] Some clans trace their origin to some women who distinguished their personalities in the past. Such clans are known from the names they bear or from the names members of the clan bear. Exogamy[188] as opposed to endogamy is uncommon among the clans of Igbo land except for serious historical and customary reasons. Almost every clan has its own distinguishing character like dialects, and people from a particular clan bear similar names. Just like what we wrote in the beginning regarding the various tribes, one is born into a clan which in turn belongs to a tribe. One does not and cannot change his clan even though it may be possible through marriage, especially on the part of the woman. In such a case, the weakness of membership to the original clan may be clearly felt since the woman is now tied to her husband and automatically to his clan.

For some administrative purposes, clans command a very big influence and authority in the present Igbo land. A clan comprises of sub-clans otherwise called gates, or wards. In the past, such units were used in settling both private and public conflicts. The units encourage solidarity in times of war and catastrophes, natural and unnatural disaster.

In the pre-colonial era of the Nigerian peoples and history, significant and strong authority stemmed from the family and gets weaker downwards the ladder of community relationship and governance. Another important institution in the African traditional setting is the masquerade.

1.14.4 MASQUERADE

The word masquerade in Igbo language is *Mmonwu,* which is taken from two different Igbo words – *Muo* (spirit) and *onwu* (death). Masquerade involves essentially covering or masking. Through this method the masquerade presents a different identity. For Onyeneke, a masquerade in Igbo traditional setting is an actor or performer whose personal identity is physically concealed, and to whom another identity is attributed in the world of spirits in the direction analogously indicated by its shape or by the form of physical performance. The spirits of the community are therefore through masquerade understood as making fresh and temporary appearance among the living.[189] The pictures below show a masquerade[190] getting the attention of everybody in a village square.

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[187] MBITI, J. S. African Religions and Philosophy

[188] Exogamy is a practice in marriage whereby a man is not allowed to take a wife from the communities that are found in his own clan. At the same time, a woman is forbidden to join any man in marriage that belongs to the same clan where she is born. One can marry outside and not within the clan where they belong and this must be explained from some social or historical reasons. At times the reasons are not clear but the principles and regulations are maintained as a part of the people's custom.

[189] ONYENEKE, A. O., The Dead Among the Living: Masquerades in Igbo Society,

A typical picture of a masquerade performing in a ceremony in Igboland where all the gathered people are keeenly watching.

One can comfortably say that the ideology of most Igbo masking is rooted in the closeness and interpenetration of the worlds of the dead and the living. In such presentation, there are always elements showing some ontological relationship with the land of spirits which is the proper *home* of the masquerades. No wonder Aniakor says that it is through masking that each African society traces itself back to its origin and the essence of things. This is done through the content of masking affecting presence; the mask is an artistic projection of a people's image of reality as perceived and as it touches on the most important aspects of their understanding of the universe.[191]

The masquerade is like a cult which is reserved however for the few initiates, and is full of secrets and no women and children dare presume to approach a masquerade or have dealings with the companions when they are on display. As a result, it is seen as a sign of maturity and trust to be a member of the masquerade cult.

Enugu 1987.

[190] Nowadays masquerades are used during Christmas period to entertain people. This masquerade comes from the south-eastern part of Nigeria which is the main area of survey in this work. The picture was posted to the site above by BBC News, indicating at the same time that "The spirits and ancestors of the community are embodied in masquerades, costumed performers who parade through the town." BBC Wednesday, 6th August, 2008. newsimg.bbc.co.uk/media/images/44894000/jpg/_ November 2008

[191] ANIAKOR, C "Igbo Art as an Environment: The Example of Mask Headdresses", in Nigeria Magazine, Vol. 53, No. 4 October/December. 1985.

The process of initiation is called *ima mmuo*. In the process, the candidate will learn symbolically the physical manoeuvres and gestures of a masquerade. The initiation process is described as a journey into the land of the spirits after one has moved out of this or human sphere. It involves doing extra-ordinary things and taking noble risks. The nature of this rite of initiation involves a heroic task which can not be carried out by the ordinary and uninitiated person. When the person goes through the rigours and difficulties associated with the initiation, he remains a special figure in the land of the living. He can then join the rest of initiated colleagues to accompany the masquerade in its public outings.

Masquerade plays various important roles in Igbo traditional setting. Onyeneke outlines the key functions of masquerade in Igbo society as follow:

1.) Community conscience and especially as a village police,

2.) Gender differentiation,

3.) Socialization and

4.) Entertainment.[192]

Furthermore, Chinua Achebe in his famous novel, *Things Fall Apart*, rehearses the traditional roles of dance entertainment of masquerade, its role as a minister of justice and a judge of final appeal because it is the repository of the spirit of the ancestors in a way that is hidden from women and children.[193] All in all, the role of masquerade in traditional Igbo society goes beyond entertainment. And it contributes immensely to social life and peace of the traditional society. The various institutions discussed here represent the typical traditional African setting. These institutions influence both the cultural lives of the people and their religious lives.

1.14.5 AGE GRADE

This is one of the socio-cultural institutions in Igbo land used in the administration of the community before the advent of the colonial masters and the Christian religion. Here, people of the same age or sometimes within two or three years period identify themselves and come together to form an organization called age-grade. In the view of Eboh, "Age grade refers to a

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[192]ONYENEKE, A. O., The Dead Among the Living: Masquerades in Igbo Society.
[193] ACHEBE, C. Things Fall Apart.

group of persons having an age relationship of a wider span of years informally brought together through social, political and ritual functions in the society in which they are part."[194]

In such a group, people of similar age share the same responsibility with the members of their age grade. It is one of the associations that gives the individual some sense of belonging and a sense of collective responsibility and contribution towards the general development of the society. The age-grades have been the main agents of development in the town, especially those in the diaspora. They also played the role of a guard fly in its traditional role of policing the community and enforcing law and order to everybody.

1.15 IGBO TRADITIONAL RELIGION AND PRE-COLONIAL MIGRATION

The pre-colonial African society was very religious one. The Igbo remains the same both at home and in their places of migration. The Igbo carried not only his social worldview around but also his religious worldview accompanied him wherever he went. In short the words of Mbiti makes it clearer: "Wherever, the Africa is, there is his religion: he carries it to the fields where he is sowing seeds or harvesting a new crop; he takes it with him to the beer party or to attend a funeral ceremony; and if he is educated, he takes religion with him to the examination room at school or in the university; if he is a politician, he takes it to the house of parliament."[195] Although there is no specific African word for religion, "it nevertheless accompanies the individual from long before his birth to long after his physical death."[196] In Nigeria and in Africa at large, during the pre-colonial era, no one was converted from the religion of one tribe to another, since each tribe had almost its own religion. Mainly the determining factor of one's religion was where one was born especially the religious group of the parents.

However, Africa at large had almost a common belief system. It is not common to hear that one is converted to the religion of another tribe. One has to be born in a particular society in order to participate fully in their religious life.[197] What is rather common is the exchange of religious cultures and beliefs through normal interactions and contacts that take place between the tribes.

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[194] EBOH, S. O. Ozo Institution in Igboland (Nigeria), Gospel of Christ and African Culture, Munich-Kinshasa, 1994, P. 51.

[195] MBITI, J. S. African Religions and Philosophy P. 2.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.

In the pre-colonial times, sometimes a group of people may decde to break away from an already existing group with the sole aim of establishing another new group in a different place altogether. In such a case Mbiti maintains that they break away with all they have like culture, worldview, mentality and way of life, concepts and expressions which may be possibly modified or left intact depending on their experiences during the course of movement.[198] Ohadike consolidating the view that Africans, especially the Igbo people were migrating with all they had writes: "Wherever they settled, the early inhabitants of *Anioma* endeavoured to reproduce the social, political, [religious][199] and economic practices of the communities from which they had been extracted."[200] These issues explain further, why fundamental concepts, values, beliefs and certain expressions stretch wide in Nigeria and beyond.

What Idowu says about Yoruba religion is equally true of Igbo traditional Religion and in fact of African Traditional Religion in general. According to him, God is present in all the undertakings of Africa: "The real Keynote of the life of the Yoruba is neither in their noble ancestry nor in the past deeds of their heroes. The Keynote of their life is their religion. In all things, they are religious. Religion forms the foundation and the governing principle of life for them. As far as they are concerned, the full responsibility of all the affairs of life belongs to the Deity. … Through all the circumstances of life, through all its changing scenes, its joys and trouble, it is Deity who is in control."[201] This view of Idowu's is further strengthened by Mbiti in the following words: "Traditional religions are not primarily for the individual but for his community of which he is a part. …To be human is to belong to the whole community, and to do so involves participating in the beliefs, ceremonies, rituals and festivals of that community. A person cannot detach himself from the religion of his group … Therefore, to be without religion amounts to self excommunication from the entire life of society, and African peoples do not know how to exist without religion."[202]

The Africans in general were very faithful to their religious traditions before the arrival of Christianity in Africa. They held tenaciously to the tradition handed over to them by their ancestors. Information from Rev. Julius Spencer, George T. Basden and many other Christian missionaries confirm this faithfulness to the African religion. The two missionaries observed in Onitsha that each time they preached against certain indigenous practices, the people often

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[198] Ibid.

[199] This word "religious" in the quotation was not originally used in the same context by Ohadike. It was added by the author because since the Igbo people were reproducing a prototype of the society from which they migrated, it is arguable that they also reproduced their religion.

[200] OHADIKE, D.C., *Anioma*, P. 215.

[201] IDOWU, E. B., *Oludumare*: God in Yoruba Belief, London 1962, P. 5.

[202] MBITI, J.S., African Religions and Philosophy, P. 2.

responded: "It is the custom of our ancestors and we their children will be regarded as degenerated ones if we should either swerve or depart from that which has been handed down from countless ages back."[203] The above response according to Ohadike was given in "Onitsha, Okpanam, Asaba, Ubulu Ukwu and other towns of the Lower Niger."[204] This response of Igbo people from different areas shows that the people could not imagine being separated from the socio- religious tradition and culture they received from their ancestors; irrespective of the geographical location inhabiting them. Put the other way round, migration was not able to separate them from their religious belief-system. Ohadike showing how religious the Igbo environment was, and how unthikable life without the religion was opines, "*Anioma* culture was a religious culture, life outside this culture was unthinkable for the Igbo. Their religion was the hub of their entire being. To remain faithful to their religion was to lead a worthy life, to live in peace with the ancestors, to enjoy good heath, and to have many children and good harvest."[205] During this time to break religious taboos or to dissociate oneself from the religious practices of one's community, irrespective of where one is, was to incur the wrath of the higher beings. That means, if one migrates outside his community because of one reason or the other, he is expected to obey the religious rules and offer sacrifices to the gods at the right time. Distance from one's original place of birth does not free one from his religious obligations.

The Igbo worldview was defined by a hierarchy of invisible forces from which they could not easily escape, no matter where one is. Ohadike captures this in the following words "a man's *Chi* followed him all the days of his life, and could be benevolent or malignant. A man with a good *Chi*, *onye chi oma*, was always successful in his endeavours, while a man with a bad *Chi* was, generally speaking, an unfortunate man, *onye ajahu* who often laboured without reaping."[206] The Igbo people however, do not believe that a man's destiny is strictly conditioned and determined by his *Chi*. Instead they were convinced that no matter how good or bad a person's *Chi* is, without hard work, there will be no success. The importance of hard work is emphasized in the saying *onye kwe, Chi ya ekwe*, literally meaning, if a person says yes, that person's *Chi* says yes also.

There is contact between the Igbo people and their medicine men because of their belief that these medicine people can always intervene and intercede for them in matters of the spirit. They pray and offer libation for the protection of the family members both at home and

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[203] OHADIKE, D., *Anioma,* P. 97.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid. P. 98.
[206] Ibid.

elsewhere. They emphasize also the reign of harmony between one and his *Chi* without which there is no success in life. Ohadike puts it thus:- "Most private prayers, sacrifices and invocations were directed towards chasing off misfortune and keeping oneself in a state of harmony with one's *Chi*."[207] During the process of migration, one remains an integral part of the family since he would be prayed for during the family prayers. When he offers prayers from his place of migration, he prays also for the family especially for the possessor of the family's *Ofo* which is a symbol of authority received from the ancestors just as we have indicated above. *Ofo* is very important in such a prayer session because every Igbo believes he owes greater responsibility to all their relatives, especially those related to him through consanguinity and affinity. A relation however distant has a moral claim for the care and maintenance on the members of the extended family. Should this responsibility be neglected, such members of the family whose responsibility it is would be taunted by the society for their negligence of duty. Ogbalu, an Igbo autographer states in this regard: "… from the family responsibility spreads to the *umunna*, to the village and finally to the town in lesser and lesser degree. On the inter-town level, it does not exist except to person's relations in that town (e.g *nwa di ala, ndi ogo, ndi ikwu nne, umunne or nna- ochie*)."[208] Ogbalu underscores the important role the family plays in Igbo traditional setting. It is not only the seat of religion, but also the connecting point of all the members of the family irrespective of their place of migration.

1.15.1 PATTERNS OF PRE-COLONIAL MIGRATION

In the pre-colonial times, there were series of patterns of migration in various small African communities like in the Igbo community in Nigeria. In the view of Adepoju a social anthropologist for UNESCO in West Africa, such migrations were aimed "at restoring ecological balance and, more important, of individuals in search of subsistence food, better shelter and greater security."[209] In the pre-colonial era, movements we regard today as international migration, occurred over a wide area, were restricted only by warfare.[210]

In the view of Ohadike, migration in the pre-colonial era was sometimes a gradual process; a practical example is that a journey that began from Benin City, or its vicinity, to Issele-Ukwu

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[207] Ibid.
[208] OGBALU, F.C., Igbo Institutions and Customs, Onitsha 1973, P. 7-8.
[209] ADEPOJU, A., „Migration in Africa" in: BAKER, J. & AKIN AINA, T., (ed.) ,The Migration Experience in Africa, Sweden 1995, P. 87-108, here 87.
[210] HANCE, W. A., Population, Migration and Urbanisation in Africa. New York 1970.

and Onitsha, a distance of sixty or eighty miles, took several generations to complete.[211] That means, the journey was started but was completed step by step. Ohadike advocates a change of identity for the Igbo people on the west side of the River Niger to replace the identity given to them by the colonial masters: "the Western Igbo people"[212] with a new identity – *Anioma*.[213] This name according to Ohadike was chosen by Ibo people themselves. Originally it was called *ndi Anioma,* which literally means those who live on the good and prosperous land, a term that they coined in the 1970s when they began to agitate for their own separate state within the entity known as Nigeria. If that is the case, Ohadike argues that *Anioma* people may therefore be rightly regarded as a branch of the wider Igbo community who live on the western side of the broad valley of the lower Niger. They have rights to be regarded as the descendants of those Igbo men and women who, because of a combination of land scarcity and population growth, began to cross the Niger in the ninth century A. D to occupy some inviting sites of the west of the river.

However, long distance trading transactions during this period was another factor that caused the Igbo migration. The reasons for these migratory movements have been variously explored by the different African scholars. For Tade Aina, migratory process in the pre-colonial era involved a multiplicity of patterns. Some migrants moved directly to their areas of destination, others utilized step-migration moving from smaller settlements to larger ones. Writing about migration in Nigeria in this period he maintained: "In the Nigerian case, the situation characterized by farmers and other agriculturally-based people moving from areas of land-hunger, or different ecological zones such as the savannah or Sahel region, into the forest belt."[214] Rural migrants during the pre-colonial era operated as traders, craftsmen and artisans. Furthermore, according to Udo, migration in the pre-colonial times was characterized by short distances due to general insecurity, the subsistence character of the economy and the poor state of transportation. These were the reasons responsible for the relatively small numbers of people involved in movements in pre-colonial times. The main purpose of these migration movements was the search for farmland, hunting grounds, and grazing lands.[215]

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[211] OHADIKE, D.C., *Anioma*,

[212] Ibid. P. 15.

[213] Ibid. P. xvi.

[214] AINA, T. A., „Internal Non-Metropolitan Migration and the Development Process in Africa" in The migration Experience in Africa, BAKER, J., P. 41-53, here 48.

[215] UDO, R.K., „Migration and Urbanization in Nigeria", in CALDWELL, J., (ed.), Population Growth and socio-economic Change in West, London 1975.

1.15.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRE-COLONIAL MIGRATION

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) opines that, pre-colonial movements of Africans as explorers and labourers were unsystematised and entire villages, tribes and clans are known to have moved to escape the ravages of internecine warfare, or to avoid unfavourable agricultural and climatic conditions resulting in famine and drought.[216] That means that dispute and conflict among groups are likely causes. Isichei on the other hand affirmed that in more densely populated parts of Nigeria/Igboland, the traditions reflect a constant struggle to balance the unequal elements which often depreciate the fertility of the land and increased the scarcity of water. Thus when the pressure on land grew too great, a section or village group would migrate a short distance.[217] She notes however, that in the pre-colonial era, the Benin Empire was invaded and a number of communities were forced to or opted for migration.[218] According to this story, dispute ensued between the Oba of Benin´s family and the Umu Eze Chima clan, which made the clan to migrate eastward. As a result, these migrants founded a number of western Igbo towns, which still preserve a sense of common identity with the rest of Igbo people. Through this research, Ohadike (a historian who studied the western Igbo, whom he identifies as *Anioma* people), has shown that these early movements of the people of Igbo should not be conceived as large-scale migrations. They were instead, occasional breaking up of family groups due to civil disturbances, land exhaustion, wanderlust, or the desire to fulfil certain ritual obligations, and the departure of some of the members to some uninhabited districts nearby. He therefore, chooses to regard these movements not as migration per se but as "diffusion."[219]

Against this background, Onwuejeogwu identifies the pre-colonial movements as Migration.[220] In my opinion, these movements could be regarded also as migration because they fit into our definition of migrations. Migration in the pre-colonial era was due to dense population coupled with the fact that farming was not very lucrative because the soil has been subjected to centuries of surface erosion and leaching.[221] There is a consensus according to Adepoju that most moves of this kind were based on the attraction of fertile land for

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[216] ECA, International Migrations: Population Trends and their implication for African Population Studies No. 4. Addis Ababa.

[217] ISICHEI, E., The history of Igbo People, London, Macmillan 1976.

[218] Ibid.

[219] OHADIKE, D.C., *Anioma,* P. 12.

[220] ONWUEJEOGWU, M.A., "An outline account of the dawn of Igbo civilization in the Igbo Culture Area", in: *Odinani* Museum Journal, Vol. 1. 1972.

[221] ONWUEJEOGWU, M. A., "The Evolutionary Trends in the History of the Development of Igbo Civilization in the Culture Theatre of Igbo land in Southern Nigeria", in: *Ahiajoku* Lecture. Owerri, 1987, P. 18.

farming.[222] For Akin Aina, the reasons offered as causes are multiple and contain tremendous variety. They include the following[223]:

1. Catastrophes such as wars, droughts and floods

2. Unequal developments, that is, regional inequality of economic development and incomes

3. High population pressures

4. Low agricultural productivity

5. Poverty and hunger in certain specific regions

The attraction coming from the towns as centres of education, higher incomes and social amenities and the importance of ethnic flows, assisted by voluntary associations in towns and cities should not be forgotten here. Many problems necessitated the migration towards the western side of the Niger. According to Ohadike, many people migrated as a result of offence they committed against the law of the land. He is further of the view that though most people of *Anioma* or western Igbo traced their origin from towns in Nri and Awka, the population explosion they experienced along with soil deterioration in the earlier centuries were the main causes. He suggested also that such migrations westward must have been inspired by the search for material wealth and spiritual freedom. According to him, most founding fathers are described as exiled hunters or travelling ritual specialists.[224]

Isichei consolidated Ohadike's position by observing that Asaba the present capital of Delta State is a typical example of a town whose founder was a hunter.[225] But in the view of Onwuejeogwu, the founder of Asaba was Nnebisi who came from Nteje in the Anambra valley. Ohadike, maintaining a different position sited Asaba traditions and recalled that the first settlers in Asaba were Ezanyanwu and his descendants. Later, the parents of Nnebisi joined the Ezanyanwu descendants. The father of Nnebis was Ikenga, an Igala man, and his mother was an Igbo woman from Nteje near Awka.[226] For Ohadike, Nnebisi was a hunter from Nteje whose migration westwards appears to have been largely influenced by economic needs.[227] He opined that large numbers of western Igbo or *Anioma* people are certain of the origins of the first men and women who founded their towns and villages.

Another hunter called Amacha founded Abbi, another western Igbo town, who came from Achala in eastern Igbo land. Amacha, according to Ohadike, had crossed over to the western

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[222] ADEPOJU, A., (ed.) Internal Migration in Nigeria in Nigeria: Proceedings of the Seminar on Internal Migration in Nigeria, University of Ife Nigeria, 1976.
[223] AINA, T. A., "Internal Non-Metropolitan Migration", P. 48.
[224] OHADIKE, D.C., *Anioma,*
[225] ISICHEI, A history of Igbo People, 1976.
[226] OHADIKE, D.C. *Anioma,*
[227] Ibid.

side of the river during one of his hunting expeditions and decided to stay rather than return to Achala. Another version from Abbi tradition was that Amacha first stopped at Aboh, where the inhabitants who spoke his language, welcomed him. At Aboh Amacha fathered several children, among whom were Ogwazi, Aninta, and Okolo. After staying at Aboh for many years, however, Amacha decided to move further inland. Accompanied by his sons, he left Aboh and made brief stops at Umuolu, Ashaka and Utchi and finally arrived at the present site of Abbi. According to this tradition, Abbi is the shortened form of *k´ anyi biri n´ebeni*, which means "now let us settle here."[228] Amancha became the common ancestor of the maximal lineage of Elovie and Umia, while the common ancestor of the Okwere maximal lineage was Udu, a native of Ubulu-Ukwu who had joined Amacha and his family at Abbi. In fact, the traditions of origin of many western Igbo towns suggest that their most ancient founding fathers came from some already established Igbo settlements. Some from the east and others from the west of the Niger; these first settlers were later joined by migrants from Benin, Idah, Ijaw and Urhoboland.[229]

Igbouzo town is another example of its kind, whose founder is characterized as a law offender migrant or the undesirable in the community. In Afigbo's view, law breaking was another serious reason for migration in the pre-colonial African society. They were forced to abandon their original home for another place where they are expected to begin a new life. This type of migration which Afigbo featured within this period, that is, when criminals, law offenders or victims of sacrifice in the communities were forced to migrate outside their clans was also common in the pre-colonial African society.[230] A similar migration was reported by Ohadike where he buttressed the fact that Umejei, the son of Ikenga, the king of Isu founded Igbouzo. Oral tradition affirms that Umejei left Isu because he committed an offence against his people. It seems that Umejei´s wife had a lover, and when Umejei heard of this rumour, he questioned her several times about it, but on each occasion the wife denied the rumour. Umejei then nicknamed her *Ishinta ana ago*, that means Ishinta who is always denying.[231] Both Ishinta and her lover soon ran out of luck and were caught by Umejei. Overwhelmed with uncontrollable rage, Umejei killed the man. Isu is a town north of Awka, and according to the tradition, killing whether wilfully or accidentally was a serious transgression against the earth goddess *Ani*. Umejei´s father Ikenga the king of Isu ordered his son and the senior sister,

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[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.
[230] AFIGBO, A. E., Ropes of Sand, Nsukka 1981.
[231] OHADIKE, *Anioma,*

Onuoha to migrate (exile).[232] His father prepared a pot of medicine and asked Onuoha to carry it on her head. Other members of the family volunteered to accompany Umejei and Onuoha. Those who volunteerd included Onuoha´s husband, Anyala Obum, his younger brother Abala, Oko, Ishisagwu and Ewulu. They were instructed to migrate across the Niger River and to settle wherever the pot of medicine falls since each of these volunteers was given a pot of medicine and was asked each to settle down anywhere that pot fell.[233] As they crossed the Niger, the pots of these migrants fell, one after the other, and each brother cleared the bush where the medicine pot fell and built his settlement as had been instructed. Umejei, Onuoha and her husband Anyala Obum, founded the nucleus of the town that became known as Igbouzo.[234]

At this point of our investigation into the migratory patterns of the Nigerians especially the Igbo, we shall observe that a similar event was simultaneously taking place almost the same period in the United Kingdom. Williamson´s discussion on the process of deportation of the convicts during the British expansion to Australian colonies and the circumstances leading to colonization could be compared with what was happening within the Igbo expansion. They seemed similar in a way but differed a bit because while that of the Igbo was based on oral tradition, that of the British government was based on real documented and recorded facts. However, Williamson observes that De Brosses, in the middle of the eighteenth century, even suggested a penal settlement, arguing in the optimistic fashion of the time "criminals tend to cure one another of crime, and disorder destroys itself."[235] Australia became penal settlements for British criminals. The above comparison between the Igbo and the British expansion to Australia seemed to have some similarities suggesting that at any period or era, an act of criminality against a community is not welcome. It often brings about compulsory migration or exile, whether forced or voluntary, as we have seen in the case of Britain and during the pre-colonial Igbo kings.

On the side of the Igbo, the convict was armed with native medicine and clear instructions were given. This seems to suggest that these pots of medicine served as source of legal claim of the acquisition or future claim of ownership or as a weapon to use against the already existing inhabitants. On the other hand, the British convicts were legally convicted, described

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[232] Ibid.

[233] Ibid.

[234] A second oral tradition makes no mention of Umejei sister and her husband. Instead of the sister carrying the pot, Umejei himself bears his burden. The instruction from his father is simple: "Wherever this pot of medicine falls from your head will be your new home." Ashinze of Umuodafe, Igbouzo, a titled man, age c. 77 interviewed on September 9, 1974 as reported in Ohadike, D. C., *Anioma.*

[235] ROGGERS, J. D., (ed.), A historical Geography of the British Colonies, Australasia, Vol. VI., 1907, 18.

as "undesirables" arranged to get rid of, in order not to contaminate the race or the community. Such has to be deduced from the action of the pre-colonial Igbo ´king´ irrespective of the fact that the person involved was from the royal lineage. While the British employed their existing penal code to convict those men and women, the Igbo relied on the traditional authority invested on their *Eze*[236] (King) who acted in accordance with the law of the land to demand compulsory exile of the convict.

The Igbo convicts were not sent away in a systematic and organized way, and the destination was also not clearly defined. This is in contrast with the British treatment of convicts, where the place and means of deportation were provided. The common factor was that both had been given the mandate to settle and colonise either through arms or the power of medicine.

1.15.3 PRE-COLONIAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES: CHARACTERISTIC OF THE IGBO PEOPLE AS MIGRANT ETHNICITY

The pre-colonial Igbo communities engaged in different forms of economic activities. They did not concentrate only on migrations in search of arable lands and hunting grounds, wars, politics and cultural evolution alone. Their main occupations were agriculture, weaving and dying cloth, with fishing and trading as auxiliary activities. A good number were craftsmen and a few were spiritual specialists.[237] Morrill puts it nicely this way: "everywhere the Igbo are famers. In the south, they may also fish, and in the north, they may have larger number of animals, but everywhere, they till land. The staple crops are yams and palm oil and everywhere, they provided the backbone of the diet."[238] Agriculture was the major economic activity of the Igbo people giving the fact that it was engaged upon by a good number of Igbo people. The pre-colonial Igbo agriculture was very efficient. This is based on the description of Flint as "perhaps the most efficient in Africa"[239] and he thinks it was largely for this reason that Igbo population "developed a density per acre only matched in Africa by that of the Nile valley."[240] The agriculture was very intensive as shown by the fact that using such simple tools as the machete and the hoe the Igbo reduced to either grassland or palm bush vegetation,

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[236] *Eze* means King and is the constituted leader of a clan; he is the custodian of law and order and the protector of the Igbo´s traditional morality.
237 OHADIKE, D.C., Anioma, Ohio 1994.
238 MORRILL, W.T., "Immigrants and Associations: The Igbo in Twentieth Century Calabar." in: FALLERS, L.A., (ed.), Immigrants and Associations. The Hague-Paris: MOUTON, 1967, 154-187, here P. 155-156.
239 FLINT, L.E., Nigeria and Ghana. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1966, P. 63.
240 Ibid.

which most authorities think must have been originally tropical rain forest. It is also seen in the system of land ownership under which, firstly, there was no free born without a piece of land over which he enjoyed some rights, and secondly there is no piece of land, not even that over which stood bad bush, without an owner. It was the role which agriculture played in the life of the pre-colonial Igbo that determined the great importance, which they attached to land, as well as the key place which land and its spirit-force (*Aja-ala* or *Ana*) occupied in their lives.[241]

Falola confirms that farming was not the only economic activity the Igbo engaged in during the pre-colonial times: "keeping livestock, small-scale fishing, hunting, protecting trees, collecting such products as mushrooms, snails, insects and edible fruits."[242] Nwachukwu shaded more light on Falola's view by indicating that some Igbo families kept livestock such as "goat, sheep, dogs, fowls and other domestic animals and children are mainly, responsible for feeding the animals or taking them out to pasture."[243]

The Igbo are adept traders because they combined trading with farming. Some communities were known for their outstanding achievements in trading. The Aros and the Nri were farmers and traders. Of course, one of the major reasons for British presence in Nigeria was commerce. This trading was one of the factors responsible for the division of labour. The movement of goods was both within social units where they were internally distributed and special units where they were kept before being transported outside the vicinity of production. Traders employed people to carry their wares and assured their security.[244]

Dike and Ekejiuba, for instance, affirmed that "trade was the life-blood of the Aro people. Unlike other groups east of the Niger, such as the Nri who were diviners and priests, or the itinerant travellers of Awka who were blacksmiths, doctors and craftsmen and thus were specialists in other trades and professions, the Aro depended mainly on trade for their livelihood."[245] They went further by asserting that the Aro were at a strategic point in the hinterland trade with the coast. They gradually emerged as the foremost middlemen of interior commerce. This is not to say that the Aro originated inter-market traffic among the Igbo, Ibibio and other ethnic groups in the region. Indeed, long-distance trading in pre-colonial

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241 AFIGBO, A., Ropes of Sand,

242 FALOLA, T., LAWUYI, O.B., "Not Just a Currency: The Cowries in Nigerian Culture", in: West African Economic and Social History: Studies in Memory of Marion Johnson. Wisconsin: University Press 1990, P. 85.

243 NWACHUKWU, C.C., "Labour and Employment in the Traditional Igbo Society" in: *Ahiajoku* Lecture, Igbo Economic, Owerri Government Printer 1989, P. 3

244 Ibid.

245 DIKE, K.O.,& EKEJIUBA, F., (ed.), The Aros of Southern Nigeria, P. 94.

eastern Nigeria predated the emergence of the Aro as an organized group but the Aro were more involved in a very special way in the area of commerce especially in the hinterland.[246]

In the Igbo society, the oracle system helped to promote trade. The Eze Nri, the Awka and the Aro were the three most successful groups of Igbo long-distance traders who manipulated the oracle for economic reasons. The Eze Nri and Awka traveled as priests' doctors and craftsmen, without fear of molestation. While the Aro succeeded more than the others in building a network of trade routes and in establishing depots in many parts of Igboland. The Aro traders were feared because of the powerful charms which, as the people believed, they had. It was an offence against the gods and man to hurt, molest, kidnap or kill any Aro trader or his agent.[247]

1.16   INDIVIDUALISM   AND   TRADITIONAL   AFRICA COMMUNALISM

European societies are essentially different from African traditional societies. European societies are collectivist societies. In the view of Egbeke, "they are societies bringing together into a collectivity a number of individuals who remain individuals in society."[248] A European distinguishes himself from the others and claims his autonomy to affirm himself in his basic originality. But an African society is a community in that it lays more emphasis on the solidarity of the group and on the communion of the members than on the autonomy and the contribution and needs of the individual. It would be wrongly understood to think here that the individuality of persons in an African traditional setting does not have meaning to the community; instead "it does not primarily conceive of the person as an individual but as a member of a kind of *mystical body* within which he can achieve his full development, his originality and his total potential."[249] Iroegbu goes on to explain the moral unity between this mystical body thus; "Private good is defined in the communal good. In communalism, the private good is always related to, and is in part constrained by, and determined by the communal good. An *a priori* conceived or independently set private end is not

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[246] ALAGOA, E.J., "The Niger Delta and its Neighbours, 1600-1800", in: AJAYI & CROWDER, (ed.), History of West Africa, 1976, Vol. I 293-294.

[247] UKWU, U.U. „The development of trade and marketing in Igboland",in: Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria 3, Number. 4 1967, 647-662.

[248] EGBEKA, A., "Individuality in an African Communal Universe" in: OGUEJIOFOR, J.O., (ed.), Africa Philosophy and Public Affairs, Enugu 1998, P. 379-395, here 380.

[249] RUCH & ANYANWU, K.C., African Philosophy Rome 1981, P. 230.

conceivable."[250] In the West, on the other hand, one's talent is accepted as one's own. This assumption is categorically stated by Locke in his second Treatise on Government when he maintains that "every man has a property in his own person. This nobody has any Right to but himself. The *labour* of his Body, and the work of his hands, we may say, are properly his."[251] The difference between European societies and African traditional communities lies more on where these two groups place their emphasis.

The collectivist society bases its solidarity on the activities of the individual, African communal society bases its solidarity on the group. For Iroegbu, community underlies the ideas of sociability, exchange, inter-subjectivity and reciprocity among the members of a given society. "In community, there is an important fact of relatedness which the members have with one another, a fact which makes, not only for the possibility of the community itself, but even for the identity of the individual members of the community."[252] The second aspect of the community is its concrete expressions as are found in the family, socio-cultural associations, religions, the State, etc. Communalism looks at these existing communities. In the Nigerian case, the basic and most elementary political community is the *Umunna (*which we have already treated as we were dealing with the various traditional institutions in Africa). African communalism is existential which is founded on the belief that all human beings are members of one family of human kind; it is the traditional concern for persons and their well-beings. It presupposes that while the family is the unit of an African community, everyone in that community is his brother's or sister's keeper. The kinship system is "the theoretical basis of African communalism which expresses itself on the social level in terms of institution such as the clan underlying the initial equality of all and the responsibility of many for one."[253] Communal goods orientate both individual and communal aspects of morality and politics. Everybody is expected to consider himself as an integral part of the whole and to play an appropriate role toward the good of all. Hence co-operation is not only voluntarily given, but more importantly, it is institutionalised in several ways. This comparism between individualism and African communalism is here to help us appreciate all the more the interconnectedness of the things in a typical African environment.

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[250] IROGEGBU, P. Communalism, P. 50
[251] LOCKE, J., Two Treatises on Government, LASLETT, P. (ed.), Cambridge 1980, Section 28.
[252] IROGEGBU, P. Communalism, P. 48.
[253] KWAME NKRUMAH, Consciencism: An Ideology for Decolonization, London 1964, P. 69.

1.17 SUMMARY

We have seen in this first part of the work that there are different ethnic groups in Nigeria with varying histories, world-views and ideologies. The Igbo people who are the focus of our study are one of the ethnic groups in Nigeria with their own world-view. Their origin can be traced even before Christ although there are different accounts of origin. What is very important in all the accounts is that the people are one, have a common language and have substantially a common culture. However, there may be variations in culture from one village to another. But substantially, all the various cultures have things which unite them.

Regarding the Igbo traditional religion, every member of each locality is inescapably bound up with the religious systems of the community. This religion is strictly intertwined with the socio-cosmological world-view of the people. It is therefore possible to group the Igbo belief systems under three heads.[254]

1. These are those beliefs and religious practices which were uniform throughout the region, as illustrated by the belief in *Chukwu, Chi, ani, ifejioku, iwaji, ilo uwa.*

2. Some beliefs and practices were peculiar only to particular towns and were not exactly represented elsewhere, examples being the *mkpitima* deity of Issele- Ukwu together with such festivals as *iwaji,* which were widespread but based in the individual towns.

3. The last were the numerous deities, beliefs and religious practices which, even though they were familiar to everyone in Igbo land, were confined only to particular families. Among these were *Ofo* and *ikenga.*

Igbo environment was very religious but on the whole, like political institutions, the Igbo religious practices were highly decentralized and autonomous. Every town had its own beliefs rituals, and ceremonies. An important characteristic of these beliefsystems is that all the religious cults in Igbo area showed friendliness to one another. Commenting on the friendliness and tolerance shown by the different cults in African traditional religions, Talbot noted that "Consideration towards the convictions of others and respect for their sacred symbols are expected from strangers and are naturally accorded by these. This tolerance in religious matters is one of the 'Negroes' most attractive qualities."[255] This was a strong feature of the African traditional religions which the European-trained missionaries of the nineteenth century grossly misunderstood and cared so little to study.

The worship of Ancestors occupy a great position in the African/Igbo Traditional Religion. They are dead forebearers who are still treated as parts of the family since they have assumed

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[254] OHADIKE, D. C. *Anioma*, P. 103.
[255] TALBOT, The Peoples of Southern Nigeria, P. 27-28

a spiritual and higher status through death. As a result of this, they are able to play various godly and angelic roles to their various families like protecting the family from harm, increasing the fertility rate and punishing those who bring bad names to the family. Thus, they are constantly invoked during the various forms of prayers to be playing these roles for which they known. Simply put, the life of a true African does not come to an end even at death since he is transformed to a spiritual being which renders him also very useful to the living.

The Supreme Being is not directly worshipped in African Traditional Religion but through his intermediaries. These intermediaries play the role of his servants who interact with human beings and send words to the Supreme Being. There is interconnectedness between the Supreme Beings, the deities and other created things. This interaction is what holds the African cosmology and religious world-view together.

On the other hand, migration in the pre-colonial Africa was not very common but became necessary when rapid population growth and soil deterioration in the Igbo heartland compelled many groups of people to fan out in all directions. Igbo people migrated to all directions East, West and North and South and all retained their Igbo traits and tried to reproduce the Igbo society in their new places of migration. The need to reproduce the original Igbo society in the new places of migration was the attempt to retain the Igbo identity; a society where religion is the most important and determining factor for most of the activities of the people. This reproduction is not done without some adaptations resulting from the new environment where they found themselves. Ohadike confirmed this in the following words: "Although certain changes were introduced when non-Igbo groups began to arrive from the sixteenth century onward, the agricultural practices, belief systems, and political ideologies of *Anioma* remained essentially Igbo in character."[256] One of the influences of the environment to the migrant Igbo could be seen in the enthronization of an *Eze* by the western Igbo; where it was originally not in the culture of Igbo to have an Eze. As a result we have even today an *Eze* in a city like Onitsha. This was learnt through the contact of the western Igbo with their Benin neighbours who had *Obas* and a centralized system of administration which led to the fact that the western Igbo decided to have an *Eze,* which in turn developed a centralised system of administration. Such a centralised system of government is a feature which originally did not belong to the Igbo people since they were originally known to be living in small autonomous communities with elders as the leaders of the communities.

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[256] OHADIKE, D. C., *Anioma,* P. 215.

One of these identifying characteristics of Igbo migrants was an apparent inability to establish a strong centralized traditional government that would unify a large group of clans.[257] Another feature was the tendency to cling to values derived from strong ties to ancestors. Ottenberg described the other characteristics as having "a strong attachment to the cult of achievement, the tendency to live in well-organized village structures centring on a system of age groupings and secret societies, and a marked discrepancy between the roles of men and women in social life."[258] Equally important was the profound respect for seniority of age, so that decisions in judicial matters were made by elders and important persons "acting as a group, rather than as a single person."[259] While the Igbo people evolved their own system and custom, they nonetheless maintained strong cultural and religious ties with the Igbo people from where they migrated. These ties remained strong through the activities of Awka traders and craft-persons and, more especially, in the words of Ohadike, "through the activities of travelling Nri spiritual specialists who were the main carriers of Igbo cultures. It was easy for the travelling Nri to come to *Anioma*, not only because of its proximity, but also because most *Anioma* settlements were initially founded by men and women whose original homes were situated in the immediate Nri-Awka neighbourhoods."[260] The activities of these travelling Nri were proscribed by the British colonial government in 1911 and since then the entire Igbo land has been left in a state of ritual siege.[261]

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[257] OTTENBERG, S., Leadership and Authority in an African Society: Afigbo Village-Group, London 1971.
[258] Ibid., P. 3.
[259] Ibid., P. 112.
[260] OHADIKE, D.C., *Anioma*, P. 216.
[261] Ibid.

PART TWO: RELIGION AND MIGRATION IN THE COLONIAL AND POST COLONIAL AFRICA/IGBO

An exposition of the patterns and causes of migration in the colonial and post-colonial Africa/Igbo

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In this section we shall expose the first meeting of Nigerians/Africans with Europeans, especially the voyages undertaken by various people at various times in order to find a more accessible and more comfortable root to the continent of Africa. This root was later on discovered which made the journey to Africa easier for the voyagers who had established business contacts with Africa and would want to continue their business transactions with the region.

Originally, these were businessmen/traders who were only interested in commerce (buying only material things from Africa selling the ones from Europe). Later on, the purchasing of only material things did not last long as the traders found human trafficking more lucrative than the buying and selling of ivory, gold and other related goods. Hence there was a radical shift in the transaction that encouraged the buying and selling of human beings like ordinary goods.

In the 18th century, human trafficking was abolished. Nevertheless, the abolition of slave trade ushered in the colonial powers in Africa. The activities of the colonial masters and the different roles played by various Africans and more especially Nigerian elites that led to independence from the colonial powers are great areas of interest in this section.

The role of the missionary activities during the colonial and evangelization process will also be brought to bear in this part of the work. Having however, a separate project in Nigeria (that of evangelizing and spreading of the good news), some of their activities were encouraged and sustained by some of the colonial establishments like the building of roads and construction of railway lines. The influence of these colonial establishments on migration during this period will be explored and brought to bear in this part of the work.

Our task here is further to unravel some of the activities of the colonial masters which influenced migration during the process of evangelization. In doing this, we shall also see in this section that migration and search for meaning in life were just the effects of the colonial period; this search was so necessary since the spontaneious convictions of the people were rendered worthless that the people never knew again what was right and what was really not correct. Some authors would prefer to express this period of colonization and evangelization as the meeting of two different cultures through their religions.

The effects of the evangelisation and colonization: expressed itself fully by the introduction of a great change in the traditional African society. This change was unconsciously brought

about through the colonial powers and through the planting of the faith which brought about somehow, the introduction of western culture in many African countries. As a result of the new cultural order, the African is uprooted from the normal African traditional order, which revolves around the African culture, having the African traditional religion as its foundation. In the face of the new Order, the African people were then in search of orientation. This search for meaning in life is the reason for wholesale migration in the face of new order, which has continued to torment many Africans till today.

The post-colonial migration deals with the aftermath of the colonial and evangelisation processes. It exposes the patterns of post-colonial migration with its attendant increase in the population of the people. It goes on to unfold the incompatibility of the Nigerian traditional societies which were merged together by the colonial powers under the umbrella of the country that is called Nigeria today. This incompatibility exemplified itself in the Nigeria-Biafra war which took place in 1966-1970.

In the absence of the colonial masters and the missionaries, the Africans were no longer able to get a proper spiritual and religious orientation giving the fact that all the religious institutions and structures that were in existence before this time, had been either rendered worthless or valueless by the evangelizers. There was a religious and spiritual crisis which led to the rise of cultural and religious relativism. This cultural relativism expressed itself in the emergence of many African instituted churches; with each group developing its theology which in belief is more suitable for the African man. As a result, there were many syncretic mixtures of faith and religiosity. This is noticed even today in the clarion call for inculturation in the African Church.

2.1 NIGERIANS IN CONTACT WITH EUROPEANS

The discovery of Africa and America in the 15th century was an epoch-making event by the Europeans which at the same time shattered their traditional view of the world as comprising only of the Roman Empire. This discovery ushered in an era of possibilities.[262] The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks on 29th May 1453 which at the same time ended the caravan trade route to the East was responsible for further expeditions by Prince Henry of Portugal who won the title of "Navigator" on account of his explorative activities in this line. Queen Isabella of Spain, on the other hand, was looking for other ways of entering into India.

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[262] OZIGBO, R., "The Christian Missionary Penetration of Nigeria before 1900 A.D" in: Lux-Review of the African Association of St. Augustine, No. 10 Rome 1963.

Columbus Christopher in turn had made his way westward and came to America in 1492 and Vasco da Gama who went eastward reached the Cape of Good Hope in 1498[263] and eventually came to India. For Spain and Portugal, the world was to be their private property.

Above all, Portugal had enjoyed the exclusive rights to explore the seas through the Papal Bulls.[264] This right (of exploration and conquest of Indies by the African sea routes to the south and east) was conferred to Portugal by Pope Nicholas V in 1454. Relying on this authority, the King of Portugal commissioned Fernao Gomez to explore the coast from Sierra Leone eastward year by year, and in 1472, Ruy de Sequeira, the commander of the one Gomez's teams reached Lagos and consequently Benin in the same year.[265] As such, he could be regarded as the first European in recorded history to come to southern Nigeria. However, a year after his arrival, in "1472 Fernao do Poo discovered the island which is called after him … and on the mainland the Kingdoms of Benin up to the Cabo de Catrina … and he who made this discovery was a dependant of his majesty and he was called Sequira."[266]

According to the same record, nine years after the entrance of the Portuguese into the southern part of Nigeria, two Englishmen John Tintan and William Fabian, attempted a voyage to Benin. This move was viewed as a provocation against Portugal and also more importantly a violation of the Papal Bull as King John of Portugal warned King Edward VI of England.[267] In 1485, Joao Affonso d'Aveiro, a Portuguese made his first organised journey to Benin with a ship which was built on the Gold Coast (Ghana). However, there are disputes among historians whether Benin was arrived at this date or not.[268] He was well received by the Oba. He came back to Portugal with loads of pepper and also with the chief of Gwato as Bini[269] ambassador to the Court of Portugal. He was warmly welcomed and he told the King that when a new Oba was to be appointed, a powerful king of the interior (probably the Oni of Ife), was consulted, with gifts and hinted that this king was a Christian.

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[263] PLETICHA, H.,& VOCKE, R., *Geschichte aus erster Hand*. Würzburg 1963.

[264] The Bulls were: *Romanus Pontifex*, (8th January 1455) and *Inter Caetere* (13th March 1456). Full text in: DAVENPORT, F. G, European treaties bearing on the history of the United States, 1917, I.

[265] BLAKE, J. W., Europeans in West Africa. London 1942

[266] Ibid., P. 6.

[267] Nigeria/Ministry of Information: Nigeria Handbook, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos 1953. Other quotations from this book will be abbreviated thus: Nigeria, Nigeria Handbook.

[268] But then it is not the task of the work to go into such details whether Benin was first reached in 1486, 1485 or 1484 instead of 1472 as most contemporary historians now hold. The inconsistencies in these dates may be explained with the fact that there was an outbreak of war between Portugal and Castile in May 1475, and thus probably must have seriously interrupted the progress of penetration since West Africa experienced some military and naval operations during the war. This state of affairs lingered on till 1479 and so it can be presumed with certainty that Benin was reached before the war.

[269] Benin is abbreviated sometimes as Bini for it was easier for the people to pronounce than the Benin. Until today, some indigenes of the area use the Bini instead of Benin.

After his return from Portugal, the chief of Gwato made concessions to the Portuguese for the building of houses on Lagos Island. Up to now, the Europeans have been living in their ships. Joao *Affonso d'Aveiro* that opened up this way, died on the coast later. With the passage of time, the influence of the Portuguese began to dwindle and this declining influence was facilitated by the 18th century reformation that started to molest Europe. This was at the same time followed by the decline of Papal influence. As a result, other European nations started having their sway into West African trade; Dutch, Prussians, and English.

The English people later started playing a dominant role. One of the great steps was a British expedition of 1553-1560 consisting of three ships namely, the Prime rose, the Lion and the Moon led by Captain Windham with Antonio Pinteado, a Portuguese as Pilot and a wealthy Londoner merchant, Nicholas Lambert. It was the most daring and tragic expedition because among the 140 people who made the journey in the three ships, only 40 saw their fatherland again. However, the expedition did reach Benin and established trade links with the *Oba* of Benin.[270] It was about this time that Leo Africanus made his famous journeys in Morocco and the Kingdoms of the Western Sudan. Nine years later Sir John Hawkins commanded the first English voyage for slaves in West Africa though he did not reach beyond Sierra Leone.[271] From this time on, there was a horrible traffic on human beings in the African continent until its abolition in the 18th century. The effects of this trade on the African social and religious life are being felt until today, not only in the continent of Africa but also beyond the confines of the African continent.

2.2 PRE-COLONIAL SLAVE TRADE

Slavery is an age-old practice. It was already recorded in the biblical story of Noah and Ham. Noah was ridiculed by his youngest son Ham while he was drunk. When he recovered from his drunken state, Ham was punished by Noah for watching him and making fun of him while he was naked. Noah said to Ham, Cursed be Cannan, a slave of slaves shall he be to his brother.[272]

It is then pertinent to understand the meaning of slavery within the Igbo/African context. According to Uchendu, an *Ohu*[273] (slave) is a person bought with money, expected in addition

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[270] Nigeria, Nigeria Handbook, London 1953.
[271] Ibid
[272] For more information, see Gen. 9.
[273] *Ohu* is the Igbo word for a slave.

to render services to his master at whose discretion it is also to use the persons bought for some other purposes for which he so wishes. Explaining who an *Ohu* is he writes,"an *Ohu* was a slave. Slaving and slavery has a long history in Igboland"[274] For Kathleen Simon slavery means that the person affected is no longer a freeman or freewoman, but just a property.[275]. This understanding is based on the definition of slavery given by the League of Nations in 1925 which runs thus: "Slavery is the status of condition of person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised"[276]

In his book, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria* Ayandele observes that before the arrival of the Europeans in Africa especially in Nigeria, there was already the practice of slavery. "Whether in the Niger Delta or in the Ibo country or in Yoruba land, slaves were a principal source of investment in which wealth consisted. Also the possession of slaves added dignity to a man and gave him position among his neighbours."[277] The slaves were responsible for the execution of business activities in the Niger Delta. (The area called Niger Delta today comprises of Rivers State, Cross River State, Akwa Ibom State, Delta State, Edo State [Niger Delta] and the five major Ibo states namely, Anambra, Enugu, Imo, Abia, Ebonyi). In Yoruba land, farming, trading and house hold activities were the responsibilities of the slaves. According to records, most of the slaves in the Niger Delta were of Ibo origin and by the middle of the nineteenth century they had out-numbered the Ijaw and Efik, twenty times in the Efik society.[278] In Yoruba land, the population was dominated by slaves and the well-to-do had an average of 250 slaves each, mostly of Hausa stock.[279] Thus, slavery during the time had a different meaning and status in history.

2.3 SLAVE TRADE WITH THE EUROPEANS

Sources available, both oral and written especially from the documents of Pereira, show that slave trade in West Africa was very heavy in two regions in Nigeria in the 17th century, namely in Niger Delta and in Iboland. After the arrival of the Portuguese in Niger Delta about 1470, there were changes in the regions where they arrived. Their major aim in Niger Delta was just commerce for there they bought ivory, pepper, and slaves. Some of the slaves were

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[274] UCHENDU, C. The Igbos of Southern Nigeria, Wimston 1965, P. 88
[275] SIMON, K., Slavery. Hesperides Press, 2006. (a republished version).
[276] League of Nations, Geneva Convention, Art. 1
[277] AYANDELE, E. A., The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914, London 1966, P. 331.
[278] WADDELL, H., Journals, Waddell to Somerville, 22 Jan. 1855, See AYANDELE, E. A., The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914, London 1966.
[279] C.M.S. CA2 /056, James Johnson's Annual Report for 1879, See also AYANDELE, E. A., The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914, London 1966.

captured during the western Igbo wars with Benin.[280] This trade however, reached its highest point in the 17th century. Sugar plantations especially were begun in America and the need for labourers increased. That was how slave trade was introduced in West Africa especially in the sea coasts of south-eastern regions of Nigeria around the 17th century.[281] As a result of the Portuguese exploration under Prince Henry, the Navigator, which started in the 15th century, the ports of Bonny and Calabar were invaded by most European slave merchants towards 1676. Germans, English and Portuguese were all involved in the race to catch slaves from these regions. At the start, Portugal had monopolized the business but since the Portuguese economy could not absorb large numbers of slaves, the numbers they purchased were low, other slaves were destined either to be exchanged for gold on the Gold Coast or to work on the newly established plantations of San Thomè.[282]

Some other European countries according to Fortmann's account later on joined in the same business; all came up with vigour and set up rival forts with competitive spirit in view. However, it was the Germans who really succeeded in disbalancing Portugal.[283] An estimate of about 12 million slaves, including men, women and even children were carried away from West Africa as slaves to various destinations in Europe and America. The long-term significance of the advent of the Portuguese was in the view of Isichei two-fold. Firstly, the Western side of Africa lived in a relative isolation, separated from Asia and Europe by two oceans, the sand ocean on the north, and the Atlantic Ocean to the south. In the 15th century, Sahara was easier to cross. Secondly, contacts with the outside world were taking place across the desert. But the arrival of the Portuguese in this area transformed the situation of the coastal peoples "from a subsistence economy, remote from the mainstreams of trade, they moved to a position in the forefront of trade. They were offered, and seized, new opportunities for acquiring wealth and power."[284]

Iboland was one of the areas of West Africa most seriously affected by the slave trade. Ibos were exported as slaves throughout the period of the trade. According to the research of Prof Isichei, among the first recorded Igbo slaves was one Caterina Ybou, who was sent to San Thomé, who remained there until the end of the slave trade in the 19th century. In the sixteenth century, the total number of West Africans enslaved expanded considerably,

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[280] PEREIRA, D. P., *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, (translated and edited by George H. T.Kimble, Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, LXXIX, 1937), See also ISICHEI, E., The Ibo People and the Europeans, Oxford 1970.
[281] ALIGWEKWE, P.E., The Continuity of traditional values in the African Society.
[282] PEREIRA, D. P., Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis,
[283] FORTMANN, P., The Geography of African Affairs, London 1974.
[284] ISICHEI, E., The Ibo People and the Europeans, P. 44-45.

especially after 1640, when sugar was introduced to the West Indies.[285] During this period, some of the slaves came from a place called Whydah[286] while most of them were coming from the Delta region of Nigeria.

According to the reports available from the British commercial company by Curtin, between 1678 and 1698, the figure of slaves bought by this company alone from the Delta regions – Benin and part of Igbo land was estimated at 6000.[287] The exact number of slaves is not known but that they were transported to various parts of the world is, according to Aligwekwe, not known for different authors give different estimations[288]. For instance, French Barbot who visited the area twice between 1678 and 1682 wrote of "that vast number of slaves which the Calabar Blacks sell to all European nations…"[289] In the same report he estimated that the annual number of slaves bought by the Europeans was reaching 15000 and 20000 and for the Igbo as a people, the truth reads: "Three quarters of the slaves from Bonny were Eboes (sic) probably 16000 yearly within the period 1800-1820."[290] In the 18th century, the largest number of slaves was exported by the English people who drew the bulk of their slaves from the bight of Biafra. Probably the years 1730 to 1810 covered the period of the slave trade's most serious impact on Igbo land.[291]

In the 19th century, according to the findings of Isichei the trade continued, but it is clear that throughout the period of slave trade most of the slaves that were sold at Delta port were Ibos, though some were Ibibios, and those sold in the western Delta were mainly Urhobos.[292] On the contrary to these findings, Captain Adams observed that none of the slaves purchased at Bonny in the late eighteenth century came through Igbo land from the north, avowing that he knew nothing about Igbo land's northern neighbour, "but it is certain that there are not any slaves sold at Bonny, that pass from the interior through it."[293]

2.3.1 AFRICAN SOCIETY IN COLONIAL PERIOD

The Iboland of those days was made of small independent states that were densely populated, and as such were susceptible to exploitation of all kinds. It lacked the strong centralized

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[285] DAVIES, K.G., The Royal African Company, London 1957.
[286] Ibid.
[287] CURTIN P.H., The Atlantic slave Trade, A Census, London 1966.
[288] ALIGWEKWE, P.E., The Continuity of Traditional Values in African Society.
[289] BARBOT, J. A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea, vol. V in Churchil's Voyages and Travels, London 1746, P. 381, Cited in ISICHEI, E. Ibo and European P. 46.
[290] TALBOLT, A., People of Southern Nigeria, Vol. II London 1967, P. 185.
[291] CURTIN P.H., The Atlantic slave Trade, A Census, London 1966.
[292] ISICHEI, E., The Ibo People and the Europeans, London 1970. See also IKIME, O., Niger Delta Rivalry, Itsekiri-Urhobo Relations and the European Presence 1884-1936, London 1969.
[293] ADAMS, J. Remarks on the Country extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo, London 1823, P. 129.

government which enabled some African states to defend their own citizens and obtain wealth by raiding those of others. This local and suburb character of the Igbo communities led the little Igbo states to wage wars on each other which later gave rise to hatred and bitterness to each other. Many Ibo were captured in wars, during the intertribal wars among the Nigerian indigenes due to boundary disputes and other interpersonal conflicts. There were also ceaseless hostages and sell of captives during the slave trade. Apart from the Yoruba who live along the coasts of Eastern Nigeria, Moslem invaders who advanced their spheres of operation from the North also pressed and pounded upon the Igbo for the same deal. Sometimes, slave-raiding gangs came in by surprise and made games out of the Igbo people like many other Africans of this area, especially from the borders and coastlines.

The situation is better articulated by Pita Nwana in his book *Omenuko*.[294] Omenuko is a simple story of African slave trade as it was practiced among the Igbo in the Southern Nigeria before the colonial period. The prosperous businessman Omenuko was never a slave trader by profession. But he was forced into the business as a result of a flood disaster that ruined his business mission as he lost all his merchandise in the flood. Being abjectly poor, depressed and bankrupt, he and his attendants would not return home with only stories of woes and misfortune. He and his attendants did not give up on the way from reaching their destination. They continued their journey until the end which was a very big market place visited by foreign merchants. It was here that he struck a deal with one Igbo businessman who used to keep large number of servants. This wealthy husband man offered Omenuko money in exchange of the seven young men who had served him for years as attendants during his business missions. Among the seven were two of Omenuko's nephews. The businessman kept these young men as his domestic servants. They were never sold to the Arab and European slave traders who paraded the coasts of West Africa in search of African slaves and indeed they never left the borders of Igbo land. By selling his attendants, Omenuko has broken the laws of his native land. It was an abomination to sell or exchange human beings for money or any other commodity in Igbo land. When the news of Omenuko's crime reached his countrymen, he knew he was in a very big trouble. As Omenuko fled the land and went into exile, young men went on rampage, demolishing his home and vandalising whatever is visible around his compound. Not until Omenuko made reparations was he allowed back to his native land and only after many years in exile. He was required to rescue the young men he sold into slavery. It was only after he had reclaimed the people he had sold that the chains of ostracism were removed from this evil man and he was able, once again, to associate with his kin. The

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[294] NWANA, P., *Omenuko*, official orthography edition, Enugu 1976.

chief priests and the elders of the land offered sacrifice to cleanse the land which Omenuko had desecrated by selling his own kinsmen into slavery.[295]

Many African writers have maintained that with the exception of a few African chiefs and slave dealers who collaborated with professional European and Arab slave dealers, professional slavery was not common in pre-colonial Africa. "Where such was practiced, during the inter-tribal wars, captives became servants of the conquerors and could be redeemed with ransom money or property."[296] This resembled the ancient Hebrew concept of slavery. And where this was allowed, it was only foreigners who could be transformed into slaves in the modern European concept. What represented slavery in the pre-colonial Igbo community was a caste system called *Osu*[297] into which certain persons were born. Although some associate the understanding of *Osu* with slavery in some parts of Igboland, *Osu* is nothing to compare with slavery in the Euro-American situation.

The social effects of the slave trade on Iboland depended very largely on the methods by which the slaves were captured. Writing about these methods, Dike in conjucnction with Isichei believes that the majority were obtained through the powerful oracle located at Arochukwu.[298] The Aro dominated directly in the distribution of foreign goods as well as the assembling of slaves for sale to the coastal middlemen. But Afigbo is of the opinion that it was not everywhere the Aro operated or exercised influence that they acted as dominant middlemen traders. "Along the coast for instance where people were even keener and more sophisticated, the Aro limited their activity to taking European goods from the coastal peoples

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[295] Unfortunately, most Igbo children read the book with relish and believe that slave stories like *Omenuko* are fairy tales but elders of Igbo land confirm that the situation was exactly how it is described in the book, *Omenuko.*

[296] NDIOKWERE, N. Search for Greener Pastures, Igbo and African Experience, Nebraska 1998, P. 241.

[297] The *Osu* (victim of the caste system, a human being dedicated to the gods) is discriminated against and does not enjoy equal rights of citizenship as the Freeborn. It is however, not the task of this work to go into details on the issue of *Osu* since many African authors like Onwubiko and Ndiokwere have made a detail research on them. Shortly put, *Osu* bears a specific connotation and designates persons or a group of people who have been stigmatized as social outcasts. *Osu* is a person sacrificed to a deity by a community, a group of people or a family. The *Osu* system was rooted in the ancient practice of human sacrifice in Igboland. Like the Scape goat in the Judaic religion, the *Osu* was meant to bear the sins of other people who would have faced the wrath of the gods offended by the sins of a community. Often a whole community was involved, and individuals contributed to the common purse used to procure a slave/Osu, who was dedicated to a patron god. It was believed that the *Osu* or *Osu's* ancestors and descendants were forever consecrated to the service of a particular god because the *Osu* and his descendants were the special property of the particular god. Other people (freeborn) regard them as taboos for all purposes, especially marriage. But this was strictly speaking in pre-Christian Igboland. Today, the belief still holds in many Igbo communities that a freeborn should not marry an *Osu* but many Igbo with Christian and civilised world-view are fighting this ancient and inhuman practice. It remains a big challenge and a hard nut to be crushed in Igbo speaking area of Nigeria. The word *Ohu* on the other hand, does not directly translate into the English term slave. The *Osu* caste system is a decadent practice among the Igbo of Nigeria. Ibid.

[298] DIKE, O., Trade and Politics in the Nigeria Delta 1830-1885, Oxford 1956,

in exchange for slaves and to being the agents of their oracle."[299] The majority may have passed through the Aro trade network, but according to Isichei, "it seems that the oracle, of its nature, was unsuited to supply slaves on the massive scale required by the trans-Atlantic trade, since each individual case required careful prior preparation, and an elaborate ritual."[300] Many authors believe that most Ibo slaves were obtained by kidnapping. Isichei indicated further that "The great Bulk of them were such as had been taken in piratical Excursion, or by Treachery and Surprise."[301] A practical example of this is Olaudah Equiano who was kidnapped at the age of ten, in 1755, and his autobiography gives a vivid account of the prevalence of kidnapping at the time.[302] This method of kidnapping was further confirmed by another Ibo slave, David Okparabietoa, who was kidnapped elsewhere in Iboland a century later, who was forced into becoming a deacon in the Anglican community.[303] Another trader called de Cardi, whose experience of the Delta extended from 1862 to 1896, took time to interview slaves on how they were captured; most of them reported that they were kidnapped.[304] The picture below is that of Olaudah Equino who was also kidnapped during this time.

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[299] AFIGBO, E., Ropes of Sand, P. 240.

[300] ISICHEI, E., The Ibo People and the Europeans, P. 48.

[301] Ibid.

[302] EQUIANO, O., The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano (abridged and ed. Paul Edwards), London 1967.

[303] 'Autobiography of David Okparabietoa Pepple, Niger and Yoruba Notes 1898. Cited by ISICHEI, E. The Ibo People and the Europeans.

[304] DE CARDI, C.N., 'A Short Description of the Natives of the Niger Coast Protectorate', Appendix I in Mary Kinsgley, West African Studies London 1899.

Olaudah Equiano
or
GUSTAVUS VASSA,
the African

Eighteenth-century Ibo. Olaudah Equiano, autobiographer and merchant seaman.[305]

Apart from the wars and kidnapping, enslavement filled the role which capital punishment and transportation supplied in the England of the day, and was not in itself, less humane. In many African societies of that time, there was nothing like prison where offenders could be convicted or punished. A society which lacks prisons has no alternative than to exile, enslave or execute its offenders. But the great weakness of enslavement as a punishment for crime is that any system which makes an economic profit in this way must almost inevitably lead to the multiplication of offences and conviction of the innocent.[306]

2.3.2 CRUSADE AGAINST THE SLAVE TRADE
After a long period of man's inhumanity to man in the form of slave trade, William Wilberforce who was the leader of British national Parliamentary anti-slavery cause launched a big crusade against the business. He worked towards the emancipation of slaves which is

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[305] ISICHEI, E., The Ibo People and the Europeans, P. 48.
[306] CLARKSON, T., The substance of the Evidence of Sundry Persons on the Slave Trade, London 1789.

regarded as an epoch-making event among his parliamentary achievements.[307] Before this time, there were many private and public undertakings to stop the slave trade which has yielded nothing. The abolitionist tendered their request officially and challenged the British parliament to put a stop to the inhuman treatment and also to outlaw the shipment of Africans across the Atlantic sea-routes and waters to Mississippi, which was the major depot for this obnoxious trade-deal on fellow human beings. In the view of Shillington[308], the most important factor prompting the abolition of slavery and the slave trade at this time was the struggle of Africans themselves to obtain their own freedom. In England, the small band of eighteenth-century abolitionists were joined and stimulated in their struggle by the campaigns and publications of Olaudah Equiano and Ottobah Cugoano (see the picture below).
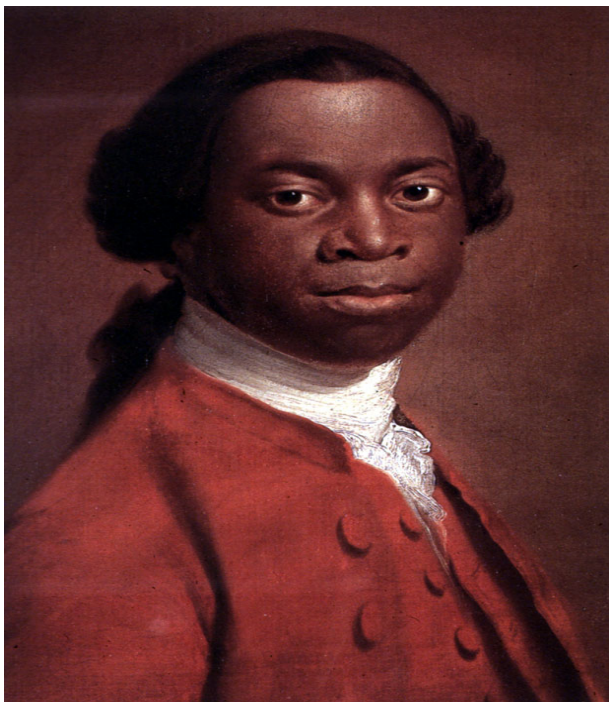
Ottobah Cugoano – one of the front-liners of the anti-slavery crusade

The picture above is that of Ottobah Cugoano, one of the front liners who fought tirelessly with Olauda Equiano for the abolition of Slavery and slave trade.[309] Both men were ex-slaves from West Africa who had gained their freedom in England and became active in the anti-slavery movement. Broadly educated and anglicised in culture, both produced books in the

[307] WALL, A., "David Livingstone 1813-1873: Awakening the Western World to Africa", in: ANDERSON, G., (ed.), Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of the Leaders of the modern missionary Movements, New York 1994, P. 140-147.
[308] SHILLINGTON, K., History of Africa, London 1989.
[309] hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu see also www.blackhistorymonthuk.co.uk February 2009.

late 1780s publicising the evils of the trade and strongly condemning the system of slavery. Equiano's autobiography became a best-seller in his day as he toured England making speeches and selling copies of his book. Cugoano proposed in 1787 that a British naval squadron should patrol West African waters to suppress the trade. "The eloquence of these Africans, speaking and writing from their own personal experience, played more than a minor part in the movement for abolition."[310] In opposing their enslavement and the slave trade, "Africans used both the pen and the sword."[311] These Africans however, received a tremendous support from other abolitionists who helped towards the eradication of slave trade.

In 1807, Britain passed a law on the abolition of slave trade which was followed by France ten years later. Despite the regulation and interdict on slave dealings, the transaction continued. The treatment of slaves during the time in many places became more brutal than it was during the normal era of slave trade like in Mauritius on the Indian Ocean, near Madagascar whose laws supported all sort of indignities and cruelties in South Africa and elsewhere. For some people, the trade was a very big source of income while others saw it as an unfortunate necessity.[312]

As a result of this indecisive attitude on the part of Britain on the proper enforcement of the regulations of the abolition of slave trade, some more humanitarian minded personalities like Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton emerged with some ideas and suggestions of concrete solutions to extinguishing the trade. His solutions were contained in *The New African policy* otherwise regarded as the real solution to the problem of slave trade. The true ransom for Africa, according to his solution, which is to be found in her fertile soil in this regard, is African agricultural projects and development. Such were to be introduced to undercut the slave trade at its source, resulting also in providing much more profitable access to the Western manufactured goods that Africans clearly wanted.

In 1821, as the leader of anti-slave movement, was tireless until 1838 when the House of Commons approved the emancipation of all slaves within the British dominion. Unfortunately, records showed that in 1837 and 1838, more slaves were still crossing the Atlantic than when Willberforce launched his campaign fifty years earlier.[313] Governments after him reacted and the result was the famous Niger expedition of 1841 and so the fruit of his entire effort was succinctly described by Wall thus: "The slave trade, demonstrably the

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[310] SHILLINGTON, K., History of Africa, London, P. 234.
[311] Ibid.
[312] WALL, A., "David Livingstone813-1873: Awakening the Western",
[313] Ibid.

enemy of a Christian enterprise in –Africa, could be extinguished by calling forth Africa's own resources, and by this means agricultural development and enhanced trade would help to produce conditions in which Christianity would spread. Such developments would in turn lead to literacy and thus to printing, to a new technologies in Africa, to roads and transport to new forms of civil organization – in fact, to 'civilization."[314] That is to say, the slave trade which hinders the spread of the Christian faith to the hinterlands should be eschewed by anxiously embarking on Christian programmes that will break out of its narrow geographical confines so as to penetrate the interiors. A clear programme must be established toward proper evangelization, which must have to be incompatible with the reigning conditions created by the exploitative trade so far, whose aim was to foster the supply of slaves. To this effect, Buxton advices further: "Let missionaries and school masters, the plough and the spade, go together, and agriculture will flourish; the avenues to legitimate commerce will be opened, confidence between man and man will be inspired, while civilization will advance as the natural effect, and Christianity will operate as the proximate cause of this happy change."[315] Buxton's major aim was show another avenue through which the people could be doing a healthy business that would not be inhumane to man. This, he achieved by encouraging and initiating another type of trade to the people. Christian influence can then accompany this nature of trade to create a new climate that excludes slavery which could at the same time soften other ugly features of African life and practice. Simply put, "only Christianity could cure Africa's ills or foster civilization there, but commerce in which Africans, holding the rich resources of their land would be equal partners, could open the way."[316] The sole aim of the exercise was therefore to strangle the unholy slave trade by the development of African agriculture. When this sector of the economy is properly developed, the western world could rechannel their attention from buying slaves to buying African agricultural products and selling the consumer goods are obviously welcome in Africa.

For many Africans, it was a big vantage to experience something different than the menace and impediment perpetrated by the Arabs or even the Boers who were expelled from their Cape colony, their original base that time and from where they spread over South and East Africa. For other Africans especially those who were making profit from the slave trade, it was a very big loss as reported by the Divisional Commissioner, Opobo, Mr. Murray "I saw an Aro man at Azumini and he informed me that the stopping of human sacrifice striking at

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[314] Ibid., P. 142.
[315] BUXTON, T. F., The African Slave Trade and its Remedy, London 1836-1840, reprinted in 1867, P. 511.
[316] WALLS, A., "Thomas Fowell Buxton 1786-1844: Missions and the Remedy for African Slavery", in: ANDERSON, G. et al (ed.), Missions Legacies: P. 11-17, hereP. 14.

their slave trade … meant such a large pecuniary loss to the Aro tribe that all the families have assembled and sworn to prevent the Government from advancing any further into the interior."[317] As God would want it, healthy and mutual trade contacts between Africa and Europeans were established. This was concretized in the establishments of various projects like the one executed by Livingstone in 1856 at the bank of the Zambezi River. This was a basin and a principal source of slaves and he introduced agricultural development through plantation and to undermine the strength of the human trafficking.

2.3.3 THE IGBO SOCIETY AND THE FREED SLAVES

The export of slaves from Igbo land continued for many years after 1807. Dike believes that it was in the 1830s, after the British naval blockade became effective, that most Delta ports ceased exporting slaves. The transaction of slaves continued in the hinterland of Nembe-Brass, because of its remoteness and lack of accessible road to this zone. The export of slaves stopped here in the 1850s as well.

The end of trans-Atlantic slave trade meant that slaves became cheaper, and sometimes, indeed, super-abundant[318]. This was particularly evident on the slave trade routes, such as Niger, from where the transportation of slaves to the North in the nineteenth century was made.[319] About five and six hundred slaves were sold in one year at the Bank of Igara, the slave market situated on a sand-bank in the Niger, between Asaba and Onitsha.

Many people still had the responsibility of accumulating slaves along the slave routes, such as Nike and Uzuakoli.[320] Such accumulation of slaves in a time when it was impossible to export them had many negative consequences. It encouraged the sacrifice of unsalable slaves in religious ceremonies. As it were, human sacrifices were at this time common, to placate the gods for one misdemeanour or the other. Alternatively, many Ibo communities could employ them in collecting palm oil – the new export industry or in agriculture.

The findings of Isichei show that Osomari was estimated to have a population of six to eight thousand or twenty thousand, if the slaves on the surrounding farms were included.[321] In the Delta states, the existence of a large number of slaves created great problems. There was not

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[317] See Extract from Mr. Murray's Report on Opobo dated 3.7.99 in C.S.O.1/13, Vol. II, P. 465-466. Cited by AFIGBO, A., Ropes of Sand, P. 249.
[318] CROWTHER, S., & TAYLOR, J., The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger. Journals and Notices of the Native Missionaries accompanying the Niger Expedition of 1857-1859, London 1859.
[319] Ibid.
[320] FOX, A. J. & HORTON, The Ohu system of slavery, A Short History.
[321] ISICHEI, E. The Ibo People and the Europeans.

only a crisis of authority but also an economic crisis in this area; for while in the Ibo interior, slaves were self supporting, growing their own food on their own farms, in the Delta, most food had to be imported. The economic problem was solved by the growth of the palm oil trade. The slaves who would have been sold now enriched their masters in other ways, by performing the tedious jobs involved in collecting the oil from the inland markets.

The Igbo slaves in Delta responded to their predicament in one of the following ways. One was the path of individual mobility. This in turn could be by rising to traditional goals, the accumulation of wealth through trade. The second was the activities of the missionaries. After the establishment of missions in Delta, in 1866, another possible avenue of mobility presented itself in mission teaching and western education- a structure of value quite different from the traditional Delta society.

2.4 NATIONALISM, COLONIALISM AND INDEPENDENCE

Throughout the 19th century, attempts were made to explore Africa not only through the middlemen who secured their monopoly on the basis of their exclusive knowledge of conditions in the interior and the fact that the climate was too unhealthy for the Europeans to penetrate beyond the coastal fringe.[322] However, as Britain's trading interests grew in Nigeria, so did the desire of her merchants to trade direct with the markets of the interior. Throughout the 19th century, attempts were made to reach not only the coast but also the mainland of the area watered by the majestic River Niger – whose course had been a long standing puzzle for many. The expeditions undertaken during 1795-1830 (from Mungo Park) to the two Landers revealed to both Europe and the world, the true course of the Niger.

In 1832 Macgregor Laird of Liverpool led a naval expedition to explore the Niger with the aim of opening up the river by treaties for legitimate trade. His two ships, *Alburkah* and *Quorra*, were the first two iron steamships ever to be built as ocean-going vessels. Commercially however, the expedition was a disaster, accompanied by a heavy death toll from malaria. Only nine of the forty-eight Europeans on the expedition survived. Nevertheless, it did sail up the Niger as far as the confluence and beyond.[323] On account of these losses of lives, the British government decided to abandon further attempts until 1841

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[322] For detailed studies of the movement in Britain for the abolition of the slave trade see: CLARKSON, J. T. History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade 2 Volumes, London 1808.
[323] MACGREGOR LAIRD & OLDFIED, R.A.K., Expedition into the Interior of Africa, 2 Vols., London 1837.

when success was struck at by Dr. Baiki. He made use of quinine against tropical disease, which later stimulated interest again. Dr. Baiki and Liet J. H. Glover of the Royal Navy, (later known as Sir. John Glover, Administrator of Lagos State), set out in the "Day Spring" but met disaster at Juju Rock at Jebba in 1857.[324] With this event, any attempt to establish authority on the Western coast found no more echo in the English House of Commons. Nevertheless, efforts were not given up. But since already in 1849, a British Consulate was established for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, with John Beecroft, governor of Fernando Po, as the Consul, to regulate legal trade between the Ports along these coasts, it was surely better to wait and see the progress of things. The Consul was successful in regulating this trade, despite the fact that the slave trade was still raging in spite of all abolition acts. But above all British interest in Nigeria was growing.

The most important aspect in the European contact with Nigeria and the first major step taken by the Europeans (Great Britain), in the 19th century to acquire economic and political domination over the peoples of Nigeria, can be characterized by the British occupation of Lagos in 1861. It is true that the horrors of the slave trade which was still molesting the Lagos Coastlines at this period that led to its bombardment by the British in 1851, but it is also true that this bombardment was meant to clear the way for occupying this territory. Ajayi insists that it should be known that what had prompted the British to take this step "was not just the philanthropic desire to destroy the slave trading activities of the Portuguese and Brazilians there, but also the economic desire to control the trade of Lagos from which they had hitherto been excluded and from where they hoped to exploit their resources of the vast country stretching to and beyond the Niger."[325] From now onwards, the British penetration of the interior became more regular. During this period British expansion was personified in Sir George Dashwood Taubman Goldie – a man who has been called the "founder of Nigeria". He arrived in the oil rich Rivers in 1877, and by 1879 Goldie had combined all the British trading interest into the United Africa Company. By 1886 he had not only defeated but also absorbed two rival French companies and established the Royal Niger Company Chartered and Limited on a firm basis.[326] As its founder, Deputy Governor and Political Administrator, Goldie was the Royal Niger Company. Prior to 1885, Goldie's company concluded thirty-seven treaties with native rulers to strengthen the British claims to the Lower Niger. In 1885 Goldie's emissary, Joseph Thompson, obtained treaties from the Sultan of Sokoto and

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[324] NIGERIA, The Nigeria Handbook, London 1953.

[325] AJAYI, J.F.A., "The British occupation of Lagos, 1851-1961", in: Nigeria Magazine no. 69, August 1961, P. 97.

[326] FLINT, J.E., Sir George Foldie and the making of Nigeria, London 1960.

Gwandu which formed the basis of claims to the Protectorate over the entire Fulani Empire. Without doubt, it was his endeavours that enabled Great Britain to claim supremacy of interests in the Niger valley. Thus, according to Dike and Onwuka, he can be said to have won Nigeria for the British Empire.[327] The British interest was formally and officially acknowledged in 1885 under the General Act of Berlin Conference through the establishment of a Protectorate over "the territories on the line of coast between the British Protectorate of Lagos and the right of Western banks of the Rio del Rey"[328] and "the territories on both banks of the Niger, from its confluence with the River Benue at Lokoja to the sea."[329] This is how the oil Rivers Protectorate came into existence. In 1886 the Royal Niger Company became the National African Company and in 1893 the oil Rivers Protectorate was extended into the hinterland as the Niger Coast Protectorate.

Lord Lugard concluded treaties with Abeokuta which recognized the independence of Egbaland, and Oyo on behalf of the Royal Niger Company. Other numerous treaties were also concluded, some of them, however with doubtful validity. Military measures were often taken to protect and to consolidate such treaties. Bida and Ilorin for instance were occupied by troops of the Royal Niger Company in 1897 and in the same year a British Government expedition was sent against the city of Benin and its ruler removed.[330] With such measures, there was not much difficulty towards penetration. On the 1st of January 1900, the "Nigeria" proposed by Miss Shaw (Lady Lugard, wife of the first governor General of Nigeria) was officially adopted for the Niger Coast Protectorate and the territories of the Royal Niger Company, now under the control of colonial office. These two territories became the Protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria and these were finally amalgamated on the 1st of January 1914 under the title of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria with the capital at Lagos.[331]

2.4.1 COLONIAL ERA IN NIGERIA

With the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria in 1914, the first step to a united Nigeria was taken. Through this unification, the foundation of central administration for the whole of Nigeria was laid, although the Northern and the Southern Provinces

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[327] DIKE, & ONWUKA, K., Trade and the opening up of Nigeria in: Nigeria Magazine. A special Independence Issue, October 1960.

[328] MEEK, C. K., Land Tenure and Land Administration in Nigeria and Cameroon, London 1957, P. 6-7.

[329] Ibid.

[330] Ibid.

[331] BURNS, A., History of Nigeria, . See also MEEK, C. K., Land Tenure and Land Administration in Nigeria and Cameroon, London 1957.

continued to be separate administrative units for many years. Sir Friedrick Lord Lugard who was the High Commissioner for Northern Nigeria between 1912 and 1918 became the first Governor-General of Nigeria.[332] The British Government introduced the system of Indirect Rule through the Governor-General of Nigeria, Lord Lugard. What is indirect rule?

2.4.2 SYSTEM OF INDIRECT RULE

Indirect Rule is a British system of governing through the already-existing authorities. When Lugard became the Governor General of Nigeria, he maintained that only by giving formal recognition to the existing political system and the rule of the Fulani emirs[333] could he exercise effective executive control over such a vast territory, therefore once he subjugated each Emir, he promptly reinstated him on terms.

The Nigerian cultural Anthropologist Arikpo has it thus, "Every Emir was handed a Staff of Office by Lugard at an installation ceremony, which left the Emir and his subjects in no doubt as to the source of his new authority."[334] Lord Lugard's aim was to win the response of the natives through their own men for Europe. The British government believed passionately in what Lugard called "the dual mandate in Africa" which according to the explanation of Marioghae, means "Europe was to supply Africa with the benefits of western civilization and Africa was to supply Europe (and the colonizing power in particular) with the raw materials and resources."[335] Lugard arrived at his aim through the system of indirect rule.

This type of administration has the concept that the local chiefs shared in the Government, although the power of the local chief was now very much subjected to the colonial administration. In the North for instance where this system was most intensely applied, the Emir was no longer sovereign, for now he held power by the grace of the colonial government. The extent of his powers is succinctly described by Fitzpatrick thus: "His authority was reduced by the knowledge that, if he stepped over the uncertain boundary of rules for good government laid down by the British, he could be deposed."[336] His overlord on the other hand, at Sokoto or Gwandu had exercised a similar restraint on his exercise of

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[332] MEEK, C. K. Land Tenure and Land Administration in Nigeria.

[333] Emir means a chieftain originally commander, chieftain or leader, usually in smaller states. The word is always used in reference to a group of people. It came later to be used as title for governors or rulers. The rulers lost their autonomy or independence with the advent of the British indirect system of government owing to the fact that they were no longer allowed to exercise independent powers without recourse to the British government.

[334] ARIKPO, O., The Development of Modern Nigeria, London 1967, P. 43.

[335] MARIOGHAE, M. & FERGUSON, J., Nigeria under the Cross, London 1965, P. 10.

[336] FITZPATRICK, J.F.G., Nigeria's Curse – The Native Administration. National Review no. 502, December 1924, P. 618.

authority. For Arikpo the policy of Indirect Rule thus depended for its success on the existence of three factors: A stratified society consisting of a ruling aristocracy and a peasantry or as rank and file of the population. There was a degree of social inequality which prevented a person of a lower class from advancing to a higher one and some identity of interests between the ruling class and the occupying power. "In the principle, under the Indirect Rule system of government, British political officers themselves were supposed to perform no executive functions. They could intervene to see that the Native Authority took action where necessary without them taking the action. They were advisers and superintendents who left the day-to-day work of administration to the control of Nigerians whose claim to authority was based on tradition. All three factors existed together in most of the emirates in the Northern Provinces."[337]

In the Southern province, however, this system was reasonable among the people of Yoruba who had already a long standing traditional indigenous line of chiefs, but disastrous among the Ibos, whose loose political system did not suit such a system.[338] Despite the success of this administrative system, it introduced some level of tribal consciousness and with a small staff and revenue. Lord Lugard, however, introduced almost unbroken peace and order over a vast, long-isolated area, won the support of the chiefs, abolished slave-trade and opened the way for the development of communications and trade.[339]

One can summarize that the philosophy of the Indirect Rule as it was practised in Nigeria was the ensurance of minimum interference with native society. It can rightly be said, that its main purpose was to create favourable conditions for trade and also to ensure what is considered to be the basic essentials of human behaviour.[340]

2.4.3 THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISTS

Europeans under the administration of Lord Lugard were not allowed to own land in Nigeria. Such legislation of Lord Lugard which prevented the Europeans from owning land in Nigeria released Nigeria of the settlers' problems. The result was that the passage to self-government was eased, because the economic security of Europeans was not threatened, as it has been felt to be threatened in Kenya and in Rhodesia.[341]

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[337] ARIKPO, O., The Development of Modern Nigeria, P. 45-46.
[338] MARIOGHAE, M. & FERGUSON, J., Nigeria under the Cross, London 1965.
[339] PERHAM, M." Lugard" in: Nigeria Magazine. A Special Independence issue, October 1960.
[340] CROWDER, M. The Story of Nigeria, London 1966.
[341] MARIOGHAE, M. & FERGUSON, J., Nigeria under the Cross.

Nigerian nationalism began as a protest movement. It arose soon after the First World War from the desire of the small group of British-educated Nigerians to participate in the public affairs of the Colony, and to be accorded greater social recognition by the colonial civil servants. In 1920 some Nigerian lawyers, doctors and merchants from Lagos and Calabar participated in a conference held in Accra, Ghana, by a body known as the National Congress of British West Africa. The purpose of the conference was "not to organize any anti-government movement but to help the work of the government in a loyal and constitutional manner."[342] Above all, voices of agitation were raised asking for a constitutional change, a change which had to affect a transfer of political power from a British bureaucracy to an African legislature.[343] Very important resolution was made in the conference in Ghana which was embodied in a memorial submitted to the King through the Secretary of States for the Colonies.[344]

One of the outcomes of the Accra Conference was the emergence between 1920 and 1922 of two political parties in Lagos – the Nigerian National Democratic Party and the People's Union to contest elections for the new Legislative Council which was established in 1923.

The nationalist movement was at first promoted by non-Nigerians like Edward Blyden from the West Indies who sought the cultural emancipation of the Negro, J. P. Jockson, a Liberian who edited the *Lagos Weekly Record*, a paper that was used constantly to attack the British administration, thereby playing the role of the conscience of the society by keeping both the rulers and the ruled uneasy. By this time, Herbert Macaulay was already agitating against the government in Lagos even before Lugard became the Governor General.[345]

With the development of time, Barrister Casely-Hayford's National Congress of British West Africa founded in 1920, as delegation was sent to the secretary of State for the Colonies, demanding simply for greater African participation in the legislative, administrative and judicial angles of the government, with the sole aim of integrating them into the government that would gradually put an end to the colonial rule, however, in a modified manner.[346] For two decades, the parties were not strong enough to attract the trust of the people. It was not until the late 1930s when the economic situation in Nigeria was deteriorating that the

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[342] ARIKPO, O. The Development of Modern Nigeria, P. 56.

[343] HODGKIN, T., The New West Africa: Towards Self-Government in British West Africa, London 1953.

[344] Memorandum of the Case of the National Congress of British West Africa for a Memorial based upon the Resolutions to be presented to His Majesty the King Emperor in Council through the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies London 1920.

[345] CROWDER, M., The Story of Nigeria, London 1966.

[346] HODGIN, T., The New West Africa: Towards Self-Government in British West Africa;
The people were just in search of a real political power to manage their own affairs without leaving power in the hands of a single person appointed by an alien power, however paternalistic he may seem to be. See also C.P.P. Message from Tufuhene Kwame Nkruma to members of the Assembly, 1951.

nationalist fire was once again rekindled. This economic deterioration of the country coincided with the return of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe from America in 1937. The growth of nationalism during these years was influenced by two factors: the development of an indigenous newspaper industry and the emergence of the 'Tribal Improvement Unions'.

In 1937, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe established the *West African Pilot* in Lagos, and the following year the Nigerian Youth Movement began to publish a newssheet, the *Service*, which was later converted to a daily newspaper called the *Daily Service*. According to Arikpo, "These two papers devoted most of their columns to uninhibited political propaganda against colonialism…. Both newspapers, daily dramatized the political, economic and social disabilities imposed upon Nigerians by the colonial administration and urged Nigerian Youths to acquire political education and national consciousness to enable them to 'throw off the shackles of imperialism' at the earliest possible moment."[347]

On another important note, the Tribal Improvement Unions came into prominence about the same time as the Nigerian-owned press. As their name suggests, their original purpose was the social improvement of their respective tribal areas. "Their members were the young men and women who migrated from the rural areas to take up paid employment in the urban centres. First, they gathered together on Sunday afternoons to entertain themselves. Then they began to think of improvements for their villages."[348] They believe that empowerment can only come through education. As a result, they taxed themselves, to raise money to award scholarships to their deserving youths to acquire secondary and overseas-university education.[349]

The cloud of agitation and provocation has gathered thickly enough – and a reaction accordingly was no matter of surprise. Just before the end of the Second World War, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had succeeded in forming the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (N.C.N.C) in Lagos in August 1944. The aim of the new organization was: "to extend democratic principles and to advance the interests of the people of Nigeria and the Cameroons under British Mandate; to organize and collaborate with all its branches throughout the country, to adopt suitable means for the purpose of imparting political education to the people of Nigeria with a view to achieving self-government; to afford the members the advantages of a medium of expression in order to secure political freedom, economic security, social

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[347] ARIKPO, O., The Development of Modern Nigeria, P. 59.
[348] Ibid.
[349] Ibid.

equality and religious toleration in Nigeria and the Cameroons under British Mandate, as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations."[350]

Above all, the most prominent feature of Nigerian modern time among the Nigerians themselves has been the quest for things indigenous. This had necessitated the spirit of adaptation which was noticeable in the mainline churches immediately after the civil war which served as a borderline.

Most of militant nationalists had often made further demands on the established Christian churches for more adaptations to Ibo life, religious ethos and traditional practices.[351] Cultural relativism has so far followed and where the church did not satisfy the natural urge for traditional things, the Igbo returned their attentions elsewhere to express themselves in their nature and style. Various associations, religious and secular emerged in Igbo land as a result of these self-conscious feelings. For the Orthodox churches, therefore, the acquisition of indigenous features was nearest to the need and solution while the ground was uninterrupted as many Igbo indigenous prophets emerged and began forming various Christian sects with traditional background.

2.4.4 CONSTITUTIONAL EVOLUTION OF MODERN NIGERIA

Ostheimer opines that the federation of Nigeria, as it exists today, has never really been one homogenous country for its widely differing peoples and ethnicities are still in search of a basis for true unity.[352] Against this background, Arikpo observes that "Nigeria is neither a geographical expression nor a historical accident because, in spite of the bewildering variety of languages and customs found in the country, the people themselves are the progeny of two racial strains, Negroid and hamititc, between which there has been continuous miscegenation for more than a thousand years."[353] For Madiebo, the colonial Lords had to keep the country as one entity in order to effectively control their vital economic interests concentrated mainly in the more advanced and politically unreliable south.[354] Awolowo on the other hand, is of the view that the word Nigeria is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not. Obviously, the people of Nigeria had little or nothing to do with the creation of the boundaries that surround them. On the northern

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[350] The Constitution of the N.C.N.C., Lagos 1945, P. 1.
[351] Ibid.
[352] OSTHEIMER, J.M., Nigerian Politics, New York 1973.
[353] ARIKPO, O. The Development of Modern Nigeria, P. 13.
[354] MADIEBO, A. The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafran War, Enugu 1980.

borders, the final agreement was made between Britain and France at the conclusion of an era in which a variety Of Nigerian *Ezes*, *Obas* and chiefs were cajoled or forced into accepting British authority.[355]

Despite these varying opinions about the country called Nigeria, the amalgamation of the various protectorates took place in 1914. After the amalgamation, the two autonomous provinces produced separate budgets and mobilised their own police, health services, prisons, and other basic functions. Some powers were centralised under Lord Lugard who was the Governor General including railways and coal mines, the military, treasury, telecommunications and judiciary, but Lugard tried to federalise the administration of most of the activities. To balance this apparent recognition of the diversity within Nigeria, however, we should recall that the two provinces were themselves arbitrary creations. Another problem was that the amalgamation was effected primarily as a measure to reduce the overall costs of the new railway connecting the North with the coastal areas.[356]

In 1922 Clifford instituted a Constitutional Legislative Council where some southerners were elected into the council while the northerners were excluded in British Africa. The south-dominated the population of Lagos and began immediately to compete in the organisation of political machinery to win the three elective positions that were to represent that city. The northerners that were not given such an opportunity, however, continued to assume that budgetary allotments would be decreed for them and were not a subject of political contention.[357] The non inclusion of the northerners brought a very big problem in the administration of the country. As a result, there was a demand for the establishment of a new council where everyone and every part of the country would feel accepted and involved.

The Richards constitution of 1947 in answer to the demands of this council, proposed as its aim, "to promote the unity of Nigeria, to provide adequately within this unity for the diverse elements which make up the country and to secure greater participation by Africans in the discussion of their own affairs."[358] The most important feature of the new constitution was "the inclusion of the North in the central legislature, a move that in itself could do nothing but further the unity of the country."[359] However, at the same time regional councils were created for the North, East and West. Though they were mainly confined to discussion, their creation has subsequently been severely criticized as being the foundation of tribalism in Nigerian

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[355] AWOLOWO, O., Path to Nigeria Freedom, London 1947.

[356] ADEMOYEGA, W., The Federation of Nigeria: From Earliest Times to Independence, London 1962.

[357] OSTHEIMER, J.M., Nigerian Politics, New York 1973.

[358] Proposal for the Revision of the Constitution of Nigeria: Cmd. 6599 1945, P. 6. Cited also by CROWDER, M. The Story of Nigeria, London 1966. P. 273.

[359] Ibid.

politics. Onwuka articulates it thus "Undoubtedly the Richards Constitution is a dividing line in Nigerian Constitutional development. Before it, the keynote in Nigerian politics was unification towards a centralized state and the realization of a common nationality…. But with the Richards Constitution this tendency towards unification was on the whole arrested…."[360]

Through this inclusion, the political awareness of the north was stimulated and the people became active in Nigerian politics. Their leaders saw the threat posed by the more politically advanced south. The gap between educational and social levels of North and South was remedied in the Richard's Constitution, but by then North and South had already been set on differing courses.[361] It will be remembered that the 1947 Constitution carved Nigeria in three Regions and each of the Regions had its own political party namely The Action Group (A.P) in Western Nigeria and the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.) and corresponding to N.C.N.C which is predominantly Ibo in the East.

In 1954, an agreement was reached whereby Nigeria received a new constitution of federal character. Under this, each of the Regions was to be given extensive measures of self-government. Lagos would be the capital of the Federation, with a Federal House of Representatives and a Federal Supreme Court. The Cameroons under British Trusteeship would remain part of the Northern Region of Nigeria and the Southern Cameroon would remain in the federation as quasi-federal territory.[362]

In 1945 some Yoruba students in London formed the *Egbe Omo Oduduwas*, or Society of the Descendants of Oduduwa, a cultural organization which soon took on the character of a political party. One of these students was Awolowo, who had already enunciated his own political ideas in *Path to Nigerian Freedom* which he completed in 1945, though it was not published until 1947.[363] 1n 1939 Nigeria was divided into four administrative units: the colony of Lagos, and the Western, Eastern, and Northern Provinces. The Power of these Provinces grew, and in 1951 these designated Regions were becoming constituent units in a quasi-federal system.[364] 1948, all British efforts were geared towards supporting and encouraging regional or ethnic thinking.[365] Richards Constitution reaffirmed this division in 1946 while the central direction from Lagos remained strong. However, the retention of

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[360] ONWUKA, K., 100 Years of British Rule in Nigeria 1851-1951, Lagos 1957, P. 43.
[361] EZERA, K., Constitutional Development in Nigeria, London 1960.
[362] CROWDER, M. The Story of Nigeria, London 1966.
[363] AWOLOWO, O. Part to Nigerian Freedom.
[364] DIAMOND, L. D "Nigeria: Pluralism, Statism. and the Struggle for Democracy" in: DIAMOND, L & LINZ, J. et al (ed.), Democracy in Developing Countries 2: Africa, London 1988. P. 35-38.
[365] COLEMAN, J.S., Nigeria: Background to Nationhood, California 1963.

Regional divisions did strengthen the groundwork for the sectional nature of Nigerian nationalism.[366] Until this time, the people of the Northern provinces did not participate in the Legislative Council. This not only accentuated the separate development of that region, but also meant that during the most crucial twenty-five year period of Nigeria's development (1922-1947) there was no crucial central representative institution, which could have become an instrument of inculcating a sense of Nigerian unity. In fact, before 1947, there was little opportunity for a Nigerian to feel that he or she was under a common government, which commanded his or her obedience, allegiance and loyalty.

The situation was worsened by the educational system which aimed at cultivating a love of tribe, as well as by the system of native administration. As a result of vigorous anti-colonialism coupled with the three years of strong criticism, Richards' Constitution was forced to shorten its long period. Richards later resigned as Governor and the resignation brought plans for a new constitutional formula under the leadership of MacPherson.

He (MacPherson) in 1951 transformed the regions, (which had been merely administrative division) into complete political and governmental systems with executive councils and legislative assemblies. The most important effect of this constitution was the attention each of the new politicians gave to his own region with the aim of building a formidable political front that would be able to match the forces of the oppoosition parties.[367]

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[366] OSTHEIMER, J.M., Nigerian Politics, New York 1973.
[367] DIAMOND,L. D "Nigeria: Pluralism, Statism, and the Struggle for Democracy"

A MAP SHOWING THE VARIOUS TRIBES IN NIGERIA
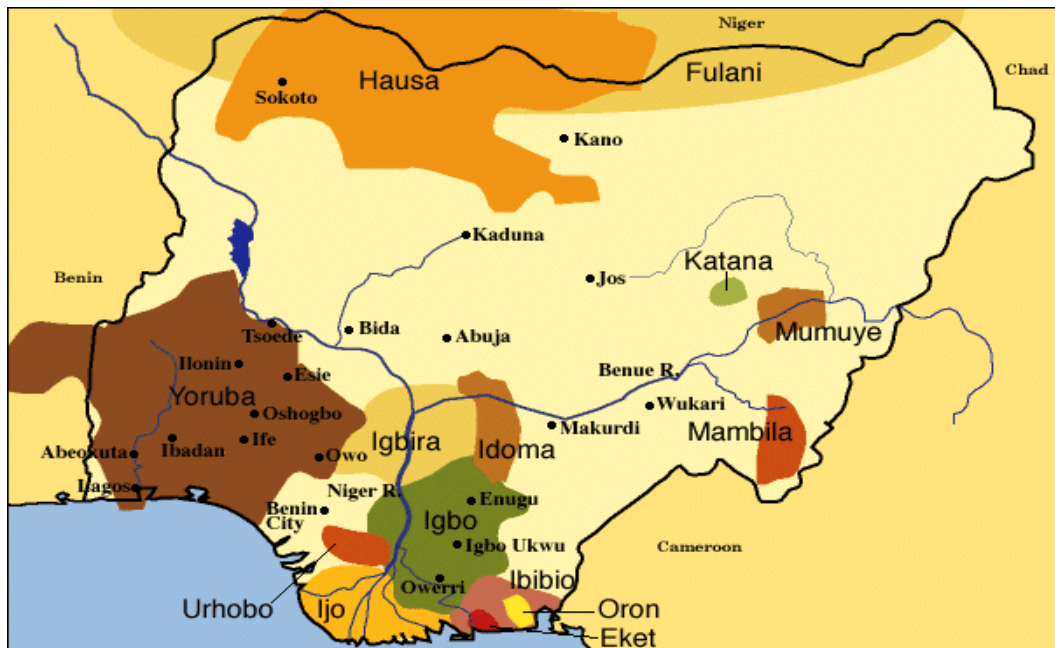
This Map[368] shows the four regions of colonial Nigeria with their

………… Regional Boundary and

…………. International Boundary

There was a conference in London on May 21, 1953 where the major criticisms of the Richards constitution were debated once again and its pitfalls were enlarged. This conference decided that there was no need to insist on uniformity in the structure of the Regional Governments, and so the majority delegation from each Region (the N.P.C. for the North, N.C.N.C for the East and the Action Group for the West) submitted proposals for its own Region. Arikpo summarised the main features of the Regional proposals thus: "the existing Regional legislature should be expanded and their *ex-officio* membership reduced; the office of Premier was created, and the number of elected members in the Regional Executive Councils was increased."[369]

This conference eventually gave rise to Lyttleton Constitution of 1954. It was a turning point in the history of the administration of Nigeria in that the nature of the Nigeria's government was turned substantially away from central power toward confederated power. It is important to understand how the various participants contributed to these constitutional discussions.

In 1946, before and during the formation of the groups, the British statesmen played a central role in every stage of decision-making, especially on the two previous constitutions which

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[368] www.uiowa.edu/.../toc/countries/Nigeria.html November 2008

[369] ARIKPO, O. The Development of Modern Nigeria, P. 80.

have been discussed already. But in the drafting of the Lyttleton Constitution the nationalists' influence dominated while the British played the role of a referee.

At the same conference, Sir Louis Chick had been commissioned to devise a system of revenue allocation based on the need, on the one hand, to provide the Federal government and Regional governments with an adequate measure of fiscal autonomy within their own sphere of government, and on the other hand, the importance of ensuring that the total revenues available to Nigeria are allocated in such a way that the principle of derivation is followed to the fullest degree compatible with the reasonable needs of the Federal government and the Regional government.[370] The conference accepted Sir Louis Chick's basic proposal which Crowder articulated thus: "that all import, excise and export duties should be federal matters; that all import duties on motor spirits and half the import duty and excise on tobacco should go to the regional governments on the basis of consumption, that half the net proceeds of all other import duties should be distributed to the regional governments on the basis of 40 percent to the West and 30 percent each to the East and North; that mining taxes should be collected federally and distributed to the Regions on the basis of derivation; that income tax should also be collected federally and distributed on the basis of derivation."[371] This constitution gave in to the decentralization of powers and structures and the central power can only intervene when openly secessionist statements were made by one of the parties. The constitution was seen as the first truly federal system since Nigeria came into existence in 1914, and "was the handiwork of Nigerians."[372] It was also described as "the kernel of all further constitutional changes, which culminated in the establishment of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on October 1, 1963."[373]

In Nigeria, ethnic groups consider each other as mutually powerful threats. Britain, with no written constitution of its own, hoped that constitutional provisions would hold Nigeria together, long enough for a sense of mutual identity and experience to provide a more permanent bond. But the damage caused to the group cannot just be healed with a written document. This marks the end of nationalists struggle with Britain which was followed by an inevitable national Independence, the goal to which all these struggles of these years directed all hopes and aspirations.

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[370] Report of the Fiscal Commissioner on the Financial Effects of the Proposed new constitutional arrangements, Cmd. 9026, London 1953.

[371] CROWDER, M. The Story of Nigeria, London 1966, P. 287. The Author goes to cite *West Africa* (a very important Journal during this time) as stating in its editorial at the time that the Endorsement of the Chick's report means that there will be economically as well as politically three "Nigerias".

[372] EZERA, K., Constitutional Development in Nigeria, London 1960, P. 66.

[373] ARIKPO, O. The Development of Modern Nigeria, P. 82.

2.4.5 DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL FORMATION IN NIGERIA

The 1954 constitution marked the end of nationalist struggle with Britain, for the next six years, until the achievement of independence on October 1, 1960. The nationalists in Nigeria preoccupied themselves not so much with wrestling power from the colonial government as dealing with the day-to-day administration and development of their country as well as settling the basis on which they would co-operate with each other. It was thought that Nigeria would develop democratically because the nationalists never liked demagogy. Most African leaders were so convinced that democracy would operate very well in Africa giving its traditional set up. Julius Nyerere, a great African leader from Ghana, strongly believed in the democratization of Africa bearing in mind that democracy, in its true sense, is as familiar to the African as the tropical sun. "We in Africa, have no more need of being 'converted' to socialism than we have of being 'taught' democracy. Both are rooted in our own past, in the traditional society which produced us. Modern African socialism can draw from its traditional heritage the recognition of the 'society' as an extension of the basic family unit."[374] The African understanding of democracy was based on their conception of village democracy in traditional African setting where each person has the right to express his view.

Considering the importance of the differences between the ethnic groups in Nigeria, it is important to make some contrasts on this large scale by referring to cross-national surveys of politically relevant attitude in which Nigerians are one of the several comparison groups.

According to Horowitz, democracy deals with inclusion and exclusion, access to power, to the privileges that go with inclusion and the penalties that accompany exclusion. In a country like Nigeria, ethnic identity provides a clear line to determine who will be included and who will be excluded. Today, the line has appeared unalterable, being in and being out may quickly come to look permanent. In Nigeria, the situation has tendency to conflate inclusion and in the government with the inclusion in the community and exclusion from government with the exclusion from the community.[375] The map[376] below shows the major cities and states of Nigeria during the colonial era.

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[374] NYERERE, J. K., Ujamaa – Essays on Socialism, Oxford 1977, P. 12.
[375] HOROWITZ, D., "Democracy in divided Societies" in DIAMOND, L & PLATTNER, M. F., (ed.), Nationalism Ethnic Conflict and Democracy, London 1994, P. 35-55.
[376] www.faa.gov/.../index.cfm?countryCode=ni November 2008.

Enugu was then the capital city of Eastern Nigeria, just as it is located between Makurdi and Calabar.

From above argument and more importantly, for an average Nigerian, a political leader is good only if he is able to patronize members of his family at the expense of other families, to promote the cause of his ethnic group at the expense of the nation, and if need be, to defend the wrongs of a brother at the expense of justice.[377] What is therefore common in Nigeria is partisan politics. Inkeles' discovery of 'participant citizens', led him to assume that "the concepts which had been fashioned for the study of political orientation in more developed nations provide a meaningful basis for measurement of the political attitudes, values and action of the common man in developing nations."[378] An understanding of the traditional democracy and participant citizenship is essential for a grasp of politics in Nigeria. The traditional village organisation is based on family units, rather than central authority and their basic concerns have little to do with modern productive goals and its typical product. A stable environment in which family units can survive flourishes in conjunction with traditional values. This is a contrast to the modern educational and industrial systems, which may not look very democratic, but are analogous setting to the modern developing country with its

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[377] WILLIAM, D. & TIJANI, A. (ed.) Shehu Shagari: My vision of Nigeria, London 1981.
[378] INKELES, A., "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries", in The American Political Science Review, Vol LXIII, 4, 1969. P. 1120-1141.

more definite collective goals and national purpose.[379] It was on this line that Eke suggests that Nigeria is suffering from a crisis of citizenship.[380]

The formation of Nigeria's political parties was based on nationalistic instincts among Nigerian nationalist movements. This was the period of the actualisation of the opposing ethnicities, the growing and flourishing of the colonial seed. Karl Deutsch's view on nationalism puts Nigerian nationalists in serious doubt.[381] The greatest irony in the lack of political community in Nigeria is that in order to become modern, Nigerians are in the "greatest hurry to extract sacrifice from their people."[382]

This was made evident during the period of constitutional development; where each party was associated with a distinctive attitude on the subject of a desirable constitutional framework for Nigeria. The National Council for Nigerian Citizens which was initially known as the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon N.C.N.C preferred a unitary government, and the Action Group of Nigeria (A.G) and the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.) advocated for federalism, with the N.P.C usually insisting on wide powers for regional units. Its aim was to reduce the fear of the Northern elite that the independent Nigeria might elevate the more educated southern elite to a position of dominance over the entire country. As a result of that, the Action Group of Nigeria (A.G) insisted that federalism was necessary to protect cultural – group interest. This led the party to advocate for the creation of three new states or regions out of the already existing regions in order to accommodate cultural diversity, a programme that would inescapably entail a redress of the present constitutional balance in favour of a stronger central government.[383] However, as from 1948, the N.C.N.C. had already accepted the idea of a federal structure. It is fair to say, however, that the N.C.N.C supported federalism as a necessary rule of order under present conditions, and not from the conviction that permanent and serious limitation on the powers of the central government are intrinsically desirable.

Political competition during the colonial era reached its peak in the federal elections of 1959. Before then, Nigeria had conducted three regional elections in the East, two each in the North and West, and one in the federation as a whole. The subsequent regional election had tightened the grip of the ruling parties, but in the 1954 federal elections, the N.C.N.C won not

[379] Ibid.
[380] EKEH, P.P., "Citizenship and Political Conflict: A sociological Interpretation of the Nigeria Crisis" in OKPAKU, J. (ed.) Nigeria: dilemma of Nationhood, New York 1972, P. 76-117.
[381] DEUTSCH, K. W., Politics and Government: How People Decide their Fate, Boston 1970.
[382] OSTHEIMER, J.M., Nigerian Politics, P. 6.
[383] SKLAR, R.L., & WHITAKER, C. S., "Nigeria" in ROSBERG, G. C. (ed.) Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa. Los Angeles 1966, P. 597-654.

only in the East, but also in the West, joining the N.P.C in coalition of expedience at the centre. When the office of federal Prime Minister was created in 1957, N.P.C President Ahmadu Bello chose to remain the Premier of the North, and the party's vice-president, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, became the Prime Minister.[384]

- The Map[385] is showing the 36 states existing in the present Nigeria today.
The FCT (the Federal Capital Territory Abuja) has always been in the middle of the country.

2.5 MIGRATION IN THE COLONIAL AFRICA

The colonial African migration is greatly influenced by some colonial establishments which were the determining factors of the activities of Nigerians and migration in the colonial times. The British migrants, having conquered and subdued the different parts of the country called Nigeria, took over the control of all commercial activities, and administered them as a separated country until in 1914.[386] Nigeria was divided into two by the colonial masters and was administered differently. The two separate "countries", namely, the protectorates of North and South, were amalgamated later in 1914 which saw the birth of the entity known as

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[384] DIAMOND,L. D "Nigeria: Pluralism, Statism, and the Struggle for Democracy".
[385] www.glpinc.org/.../Nigeria/Nigeria-Overview.htm November 2008
[386] GAMBARI, I.A., "British colonial administration" in: OLANIYAN, R., (ed.), Nigerian History and Culture, London 1985, 159-175.

Nigeria[387] today. Even though there had been amalgamation, the British government still encouraged separate and isolated administration of each other and in some sense, rival services in fact not one but two Nigeria.[388] These rival services and rival establishments helped greatly to influence the movement of people during the colonial times. These colonial establishments include:

Monetization of the economy

Introduction of cash crop economy

Establishment of an immense network of excellent transport system

Introduction of educational system

2.5.1 MONITIZATION OF THE ECONOMY

The introduction of monetary economy in the colonial times made life totally different for many people in Africa. Such western monetary system created a drastic shift in the interest of the local people of Africa. Its impact and consequences was the major and as such, the most prominent feature that made the character of Igbo migration very notorious because of the increasing monetization of the economy.[389] It is worthy to mention here that there has been money in circulation before the arrival of the colonial masters, but the usage of money before now, and its circulation was restricted to certain areas of life and the exchange rate varied from place to place.[390]

Polanyi distinguished major uses of money which he labelled as general and special purpose money. The pre-colonial monetary system, according to Bohannan, was serving as special purpose money and that the general purpose money was rare. He affirmed that it was only with the impact of European world and the extension of trade that the general purpose money was introduced.[391]

2.5.2 INTRODUCTION OF CASH CROP ECONOMY

The monetization of the economy gave money a very important value in the African society. A wide variety of local resources such as land, trees, and animals and expressed their new importance in monetary terms. In fact, a major change in Africa came with the introduction of

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[387] Ibid.

[388] Ibid.

[389] MABOGUNJE, A. L.,"Migration and Urbanization" in CALDWELL, J.C., (ed.), Population Growth and Socio-economic Change in West Africa, New York 1975, 153-168.

[390] Ibid.

[391] BOHANNAN, P., "The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy", in The Journal of Economic History, Vol. xix, 4 December 1959, 491-503

money economy to a vast and large expanding world market.[392] It was therefore difficult to purchase anything without money. Such monetization of the indigenous economy and the distortion of the traditional society were forces, which compelled the people to go in search of money. The colonial policies such as forced labour, foreign currency, taxation and artificial scarcity were reasons responsible for the members of the local population to migrate to areas of new colonial activity for longer or shorter periods to work or trade.[393] Money was allowed to permeate into the very marrow of African cultures that the people were no longer able to distinguish how far money should go into their cultural foundations. This was all the more exemplified in the fact of connecting money with marriage rituals, an affair that was hitherto done only with material things like yams and animals. Therefore, the acceptability of money as bride-wealth made it possible for a young man who is enterprising enough to obtain a wife for himself without depending upon father or relatives as it was the case in the past.

In the face of such situation, an Igbo person who has been caught by the wind of time requires money in order to live a modern life.[394] In order to get this money, the Igbo people migrated more to the urban cities in order to take active part in the contemporary global migration. The Igbo people were very zealous and eager to swim with the modern economic current. This quest to be involved in the new monetary economic system has attracted the Igbo people all kinds of cynical remarks from other tribes. It also accounts for the strong anti-Igbo feelings among the ethnic groups bordering Igboland.

2.5.3 TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

The construction of roads for the transportation of cash crops introduced in Nigeria for export, and a network of railways and other infrastructures helped immensely to facilitate migration during the colonial period. It facilitated movement of people from the interior to the coastal areas and also movement of goods from interior to coastal areas for export and imported British manufactured goods from the coasts to the mainland.[395] After 1920, roads and motor vehicles came to play an important role in facilitating closer spatial integration. And since the end of the Second World War, aeroplanes have also become of increasing significance. All

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[392] MABOGUNJE, A.L., "Migration and Urbanization", see also MBITI, J., African Religions and Philosophy, London 1989.
[393] OHADIKE, D.C. *Anioma.*
[394] LITTLE, K., West African Urbanization, Cambridge, 1970.
[395] ISICHEI, E., A history of Igbo People.

these various means of transport came to be used by an increasing number of people migrating from one part of Nigeria to another.[396]

Some important cities in Igbo area were chosen by the British government as railway routes. The route chosen passed through Aba and Umuahia, which laid the foundation of their future growth, and in 1916 the construction reached the mining areas of Eungu State.[397] The construction of these railways and roads was accomplished through the use of forced labour imposed on the local people, especially on the Igbo people. Even when the railway construction started from the North to the East, the Igbo settled along the route, wherever there was a camp. The picture below shows the two trains used during the time under consideration.

1. Diesel Locomotive and Mainland Locomotive[398]   2. Diesel Locomotive[399]

The railway camps were built to help the workers on the roads, and the Igbo who came to work on the railway line mainly inhabited these camps. The workers (mainly men) came first

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[396] MABOGUNJE, A. L. "Mgiration and Urbanization"

[397] ISICHEI, E., A history of Igbo People, 1976.

[398] The train was built by English Electric in 1955. The first Diesel Locomotives to be used on the Nigerian Railways. It was intended to be travelling between Zaria and Kano where water supplies had been a problem since the railways were first laid there. Similar locomotives were sold to Ghana, New Zealand and Jamaica. See "The Nigerian Railway Corporation", Online: **www.topforge.co.uk/Photographs/NRC.htm** November 2008

[399] This was introduced in 1958 by the same company Electro Motive Division of the General Motors to a standard export design (G12). At double the power of the 1001 class and in a somewhat larger number, these are the first of the big push of dieselising the Nigerian Railway. The class worked the first diesel hauled 'Limited' express out of Lagos in 1961 and were soon handling the trains from Lagos to the north. See also "The Nigerian Railway Corporation".

of all singly and after some time, they brought their wives, younger brothers and sisters usually to help them in domestic work. This view was strongly supported by Hollos who observed that women migration during the colonial era was primarily to join their husbands.[400] Adepoju confirmed this further by writing that up to the late 1970s, "women migrations have often been regarded not as free decision makers but rather as followers of men, being dependent on the decision and act of migration by their husbands."[401]

However, there were some Igbo people who were not workers in the railway station but settled down around the camps with their families and began farming around the camp.

2.5.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF COLONIAL URBAN MIGRATION

There was a great move during the colonial times from the rural areas to the urban areas as a result of the new colonial establishments which attracted people from the rural to the urban areas. Such movement from the villages to the urban centres entailed, to some extent, a movement to another system of logic and living situation. Just as Njoku observed "It was a movement from a life defined from the point of relationships to a life defined by the acquisition of capital"[402]. Since the acquisition of money was the only way to guarantee one's needs, and since one of the only ways to acquire money was either to trade with the European or to work in their services, Africans moved from the villages to the cities simply to make money.[403]

The Igbo migration during colonial period was the continuous participation in their tenacity to search for a better place for their survival. As we saw in the discussion of their migration movement in pre-colonial time, it is understandable that in colonial period, they continued and were more persistent in their migration. In pre-colonial period, their migratory propensity

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[400] HOLLOS, M., "Migration, education, and the status of women in Southern Nigeria", in American Anthropologist 93, 1991, 852-870.
[401] ADEPOJU, A." Migration in Africa", P. 95.
[402] NJOKU, U.J „African Communalism: From a cultural model to a culture in crisis" in: Bulletin of ecumenical Theology, Migration and relevance of Christian mission, P.59-80, here, P.67.
[403] Ali Mazrui differentiates between the growth of European and African urban centres. "In the history of the Western world the growth of cities occurred partly in response to fundamental changes in production. Urbanization followed in the wake of either an agrarian transformation or an industrial revolution. But in the history of Africa urbanisation has been under way without accompanying growth of productive capacity. In some African countries there is indeed a kind of revolution – but it is revolution in urbanisation rather than in industrialisation, a revolution in expanding numbers of people squeezed into limited space, rather than a transformation in method and skill of economic output." See MAZRUI, A. A. The Africans. A Triple Heritage, Boston 1986, P. 15.

was prohibited by lack of an adequate road system but as soon as these barriers were removed during the colonial period[404], they increased their migratory propensity. Migration in Igboland as we have observe from our earlier discussion was mainly a rural-rural movement at the early period until about the 1950s when it became a rural-urban migration as many communities developed into townships.[405]

The census conducted in Nigeria during the colonial era showd that Igbo people scattered all over the country and out-numbered almost the other three major ethnic groups. Basing his conclusion on the 1952-1953 censuses, Udo opines that the Igbo are the most migrant ethnic group in Nigeria. At the time of the census, Igbo migrants were found in all the administrative division of the country. The Yoruba, who are as migrants as they are essentially traders, were found in all but 4 of 93 divisions in the country, while the Hausa were also found in all the divisions though in small numbers than the Igbo.[406]

Adepoju summarises the factors that influence colonial migration thus, "To summarise, the introduction of international currencies, the development of transport and communications systems, and of internecine warfare, and labour conscription encouraged labour migration. Also the development of tracks, roads and railways to link the hinterland to the capital cities and ports further contributed to the process. By opening up large tracts of land, they reduced the physical efforts hitherto necessary for long-distance travel, accelerated the pace of existing migration, provided employment and quick transmission of messages and information about the range of opportunities in the different areas, and thus intensified migration."[407]

2.6 VARIOUS MISSIONARY GROUPS DURING THE COLONIAL ERA

Various scholars interpret differently the activities of the missionaries in Nigeria. In the view of Balandier, Nigeria, just like every other colonial society is ethnically split – by divisions which have their origin in native history. This lack of unifying history of Nigeria was utilized by the colonial power and complicated by the arbitrary allocation of territory as well as by the imposition of administrative boundaries. As colonial society is Nigeria not only ethnically divided but also spiritually since the denomination of each region of the country was

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[404] ISICHEI, E., A history of Igbo People.
[405] UDO, R, "Migration and Urbanization in Nigeria", in CALDWELL, J.C., (ed.), Population Growth and Socio-economic Change in West Africa, London 1975, 298-307.
[406]Ibid.
[407] ADEPOJU, A."Migration in Africa", P. 91.

determined by particular that is spreading the Gospel in that region. These "divisions may have existed prior to European colonization, as a result of successful Islamic invasions, for example; but , in many places, colonization introduced religious confusion, arousing antagonism between Christianity and the traditional religions, and supporting the various Christian denominations against one another."[408] Nigeria is a typical example of a colonial entity where there is ethnic balkanization and spiritual division.

Before the European conquest however, waves of successful Islamic invasions turned the greater part of Northern Nigeria into overlay societies.[409] The number of religious groups in Nigeria which increased the depth of the divisions in the society includes the various types of African traditional religions based on land cult and the cult of the spirits of ancestors. Animism is very particularistic. A wide variety of Christian Churches: the Roman Catholic Mission (R.C.M), the Church Missionary Society (of the Anglican Church of England), C.M.S., the Primitive Methodist Church, later merged with the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, the Sudan Interior Mission, the Church of Scotland Mission, the Basle Mission. Other denominations connected with Christianity were: the Faith Tabernacle Congregation, the Christ Apostolic Church, the Holy Divine Order of Cherubim and Seraphim, the God's Kingdom Society, the Aiyetoro Community of Christ, et cetera. The anti-Imperialist, anti-Christian and Protest Movement include the National Church of Nigeria and the Cameroons. These various religious groups competed with each other and with the traditional religion and Islam. It is just normal to believe that the people who experienced these moments of competition coming from various Christian denominations, Islam and African Traditional Religion could not have had a better image of Religion and Christianity in particular other than one where only the fittest survive and the unfit are eliminated from the surface of the earth.

2.6.1 ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS AND SCHOOLS

There was a great need for literate employees by the colonial firms and government since teachers and clerks were elite of the new age. In British colonies like Nigeria,Christian Missions had almost a monopoly over education. In 1942, they controlled 99 percent of Nigeria's schools, and 97 percent of all students were in mission schools.[410] The colonial

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[408] BALANDIER, G., The Sociology of Black Africa, Social Dynamics in Central Africa, London 1970, P. 30.
[409] TRAPPE, P., Sozialer Wandel in Afrika-südlich der Sahara, Hannover 1968.
[410] ISICHEI, E. History of Christianity in Africa.

education since the beginning of the colonial period had a tremendous impact on the people.[411]

Western[412] education has been making a great impact in Nigeria. But then, before this time, there was an African system of education. However, as Rodney asserts, the colonisers did not introduce education as such in Africa, they rather introduced a new set of formal educational institutions, which partly supplemented and partly replaced those, which were there before.[413] Education in traditional Africa had a focus and an objective. The product was an individual who was honest, responsible, skilled, cooperative, and conforms to the social order of the day. Fafunwa summarizes African system of education in the following words, "Education in Old African was an integrated experience. It combined physical training with character-building and manual activity with intellectual training. At the end of each stage, demarcated either by age level or years of exposure, the child was given a practical test relevant to his experience and level of development and in terms of the job to be done. This was a continuous assessment which eventually culminated in a 'passing out ceremony', or initiation into adulthood."[414] He further categorized seven cardinal objectives of traditional African education which include: to develop the child's latent physical skills, to develop character, to inculcate respect for elders and those in position of authority, to develop intellectual skills, to acquire specific vocational training and to develop a healthy attitude towards honest labour, to

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[411] COLEMAN, J.S., Nigeria: Background to Nationhood.

[412] Western education as distinguished from traditional African education is employed here to refer to formal and systematic instruction in subject's characteristic of the curricula used in Western countries (reading, writing, and arithmetic as core subjects, to which are added courses in the humanities, arts, and sciences). This system of instruction was designed to standardise the training of young people not only in the values of a modern industrialised and commercialised society, but also in the necessary skills for meaningful participation in that society.

[413] RODNEY, W. How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Enugu 1984.

Every society whether simple or complex has its process of enabling its people, especially the young, to recognize and manifest their latent potentials. Africa before its contact with the Western civilization had a rich educational systems. The young man who followed this educational system developed himself and eventually contributed to the development of society. Functionalism was the guiding principle of education in ancient African society. Education was a means to an end in itself. Social responsibility, job orientation, political participation, spiritual and moral values were important aspects of African education. One can rightly say that the society had an Aristotelian understanding of education - a workman learns by doing; (one becomes a bricklayer by laying bricks. Learning for Aristotle was an exercise of learning-by-doing). The young people engaged in education by taking part in some ceremonies, rituals, imitation, recitation and demonstration where they learn the basic things of life and of the society in particular. For instance, they actually and practically participate in farming, fishing, weaving, cooking, carving, knitting and so on. There were recreational subjects which included wrestling, dancing, drumming, acrobatic displays, racing and others. These recreational activities were normally carried out in moonlight nights and the venue was always the public square. There was also a system of intellectual training. The courses were local history, legends, the environment, poetry, reasoning, riddles, proverbs, story-telling, story relays and others.

[414] FAFUNWA, B. History of Education in Nigeria, London 1974. P.16

develop a sense of belonging and to participate actively in family and community affairs, to understand , appreciate and promote the cultural heritage of the community at large.[415]

According to Gammbari, during the colonial time, "religion, education and generally literacy made great strides in the south, much less so in the north"[416] because the people had already knowledge of what education was all about, however, in a typical African sense.

The Missionaries established a high school to promote their missionary apostolate. The schools were meant to be a house of formation and for the training of future teacher-Catechists, particularly itinerant ones who would accompany the missionaries in their treks and sojourn, acting as their interpreters, assistants and close collaborators. Nnabuihe confirms this by saying, "Because of Mr. Ephraim Agha's great ability to translate both the Westminster Hymn, The Penny Catechism and the Bible into Igbo, he has become a very close collaborator of Rev. Fr. Lejeune."[417] The catechists were expected to conduct some liturgical exercises and reunion for the faithful in the absence of the missionaries who were charged with the responsibility of administering and managing the schools. The high School had at its initial stage a population of about 20 Students.

The Igbo were eager and ready to embrace the western education and this eagerness was easily discovered by the colonialists. The Igbo's hunger for education was properly articulated by Crowther thus: "… the Ibos are very emulative: as in other things, so it will be in book learning. Other towns will not rest satisfied until they have learned the mystery of reading and writing, by which their neighbours may surpass or put them in the shade."[418] This quest for education was greatly utilised by the colonialists during the colonial era.[419] In other words, the basis for the establishment of colonial schools by the missionaries according to the view of Isichei, was not in the actual sense to alleviate the peoples' illiteracy but to train them because they were needed by commercial firms. Thus Isichei went on to assert that "the government (and the commercial firms) needed clerks, storekeepers and so on."[420]

However, in 1902 the school in Onitsha counted 90 boarders and 300-day pupils. The boys' school, were a great success unlike the girls' schools, which had many difficulties among which were marriage problems. Many young men were at the time avoiding girls that went to such schools because, according to them, such girls were very intelligent and could prove

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[415] Ibid.
[416] GAMBARI, "British colonial administration", P. 162.
[417] NNABUIHE, F. C., The History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nigeria, Rome 1983, P.180.
[418] CROWTHER, S. & TAYLOR, J., The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger, London 1968, P. 432.
[419] ISICHEI, E., The history of Igbo People.
[420] Ibid., P. 172.

very stubborn to manage in marriage.[421] The girls lagged very far behind boys in receiving formal education. Statistics have shown that in the South-Eastern Nigeria, there were in 1905, 22 boys' schools as against 2 girls' schools.[422] In the old Onitsha-Owerri Vicariate, there were in 1948, 116,972 school boys, and only 23,946 school girls; 866 boys in the Primary Schools against 64 for girls.[423] This imbalance in the educational opportunity for boys and girls affected the conversion of many girls and the role of women in the church in the twenties and thirties. Most of the early converts were boys. The teachers and catechists were drawn from the male sex. The girls had many inhibiting factors not only from the traditional culture but also from the Church. An eye witness opines to this notion thus. "There is one important point that must not be overlooked. It is useless to give girls a Christian education unless we are prepared to stand by them in the hour of trial. The native girl is absolutely dependent on her family: she is in many cases only a financial asset to be sold to the highest bidder … If she is really married to a Christian husband, things may go well with her, but few have the chance to contract a real marriage."[424] Girls were subjected to more stringent laws than boys before they were admitted into the Catholic Church. It is noticed that the most common and strictest law for the African was that no girl born of heathen parents could be baptized until assurance was given that she would contract a Christian marriage. This law in the view of Nwosu was made to check the frequent lapse of girls into paganism as a result of marriage.[425]

The Schools later attracted the government's interest. One contributing factor to Rev. Fr. Lejeune's success in the field of education was his readiness to accept government directives and policies. Whereas the C.M.S (Church Mission Society) restricted them to teaching the natives to read the Bible in their native tongue, the Catholic missionaries were already teaching English. When Ralph Moor, the Governor of Lower Niger, wanted such subjects as English, Mathematics, Book keeping, Accountancy, Carpentry and Secretarial studies to be included in the school curriculum, Rev. Fr. Lejeune, promptly implemented the government

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[421] ADIGWE, H.A., The beginning of Catholic Church among the Igbo of South Eastern Nigeria.
[422] ISICHEI, E. The history of Igbo people.
[423] Ibid.
[424] MAGDALEN, M. „Education of Girls in Southern Nigeria" in: International Review of the Missions, (17 July, 1928). P. 511. The Church made the situation of the girls worse by making such a teaching and legislation, especially for the mission countries, that anyone desiring to become a Christian must undergo a period of probation and special preparation which include special courses in the essentials of Christian life, a rejection or parting with heathen beliefs and practices, and an acquisition of Christian virtues. This period is known as the Catechumenate. Depending on the current legislation, it usually lasted from two to three years or more, depending on the background of the aspirant and the progress he or she made in acquiring Christian knowledge. For the situation in Southern Nigeria in the twenties see "Circular letter No. 10 of August, 1924 for the Vicariate apostolic of Southern Nigeria". C.S.E. N554/05.
[425] NWOSU, V.A., The laity and the Growth of Catholic Church in Nigeria: The Onitsha Story 1903-1983, Onitsha 1990.

proposals. Thus, by 1902, the mission had thirteen primary schools belonging to her with about 800 pupils. English was taught and workshops were in operation. The government relied on the missions for the provision of basic education in the colony. Because of this, Sir Ralph Moor wooed the missions with offer of grants-in-aid for mission education, provided the missions pledged to abide by the rules laid down by the government on education.[426]

More schools were later opened by Rev. Fr. Lejeune after making sure that the old ones were functioning efficiently. Apart from the subjects stipulated by the government, he laid more emphasis on religious instructions, catechism, sacred chant and the lives of the saints. These facts were reflected in the Report of November 1904 – December 1905. The missionaries and colonial masters saw however, the fruits of the establishment of school immediately. The products of this establishment helped in enhancing the progress of their missionary activities. This became more evident in the translation of some of the liturgical books that were used in the liturgical services.

Before this time, the missionaries had no Igbo books. To help them in hearing confessions, they had a list drawn up in Igbo of mortal and venial sins. Mr. Ephraim Agha the chief Catechist and his translation committee worked on the available liturgical and catechetical texts into the Igbo language, particularly from the Penny Catechism.[427] Other works were published after this translation by the Mother house in Paris in 1901[428] like *Katekism nk' Okwukwe.* These works helped to improve the work of evangelization. Most of these works were printed in Strasbourg in 1903 for the Roman Catholic mission in Onitsha. Fr. Lejeune made its use mandatory in all Igbo mission stations of his Prefecture. This Catechism book later became almost the Catholic Bible for the Igbo Christians at the time and it was, in terms of its beautiful turns of expression, very popular. It was a joy to learn to recite it in its rhythmic sing-song manner.[429]

The relative few missionary priests available were over-laboured and exhausted because of the numerous jobs which they did. Frantic requests were made from Rome and Paris for reinforcements, but these were met with scepticisms that the stories and statistical figures emanating from the numerous reports and correspondences of the missionaries could be

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[426] OZIGBO, I., Roman Catholicism.

[427] A Catechism of Christian Doctrine approved by the Archbishop and Bishops of England and Wales published in 1899 was commonly termed in Nigeria Penny Catechism.

[428] STREIT, J. DINDINGER, (ed.), *Bibliotheca Missionum*, 18 (1880-1909), (Freiburg 1953), 510-511. More information can be found in GANOT, A. *Katekism Ibo*, Roman Catholic Mission, Onitsha lower Niger, 1901.

[429] OZIGBO, I., Roman Catholicism, P. 279.

fabricated.[430] As hope was not secured, the missionaries undertook the task of training local teachers who will take up some supervisory work from the priests as well as take care of the pupil-teachers being recruited from upper primary classes.[431]

Traditionally, the African family consists of the father, mother and the children living, sharing and working cooperatively together in shared and mutual large family relationship and functions. On the other hand, the activities of the missionaries entailed, at times, the taking away of one or many members of the family. According to Crowther and Taylor, their emphasis was then to run boarding schools in which the children would be socialized in different values and ethos far away from what was obtained in traditional Igboland. Through the introduction of the boarding school system therefore, local etiquette and social behavioural patterns began to wane and respect or homage given to kings and elders were regarded as humiliating and idolatry. Such attempts to establish new world-views in the minds of the Africans also led the missionaries to the erection of small Christian villages where the young Afrincans could be properly taught.

2.6.2 BUILDING OF CHRISTIAN VILLAGES

The building of Christian villages was a method used by the missionaries to win converts to Christianity. The cases of ex-slaves in Sierra Leone or Liberia were good examples and through these means, the evangelizers aimed at carving them out in order to avail them new surroundings and cultural structure that is different and devoid of local corruptions. The mission theology of the Holy Ghost Fathers at the time was just to gain people on their side, and this, of course, influenced their missionary methods. The Christian village project, which was the main thrust of their first missionary strategy in Igboland as in other parts of Africa was not a merely convenient means of resettling purchased and converted slaves. By a way of description, "Christian villages were a Roman Catholic device made famous by the works of Jesuit Fathers in Paraguay, where the Father made mass conversions of Indians and established them in little theocratic states absolutely ruled by the Fathers."[432] It was designed

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[430] Ibid., P. 12. It was then reported that bishop Shanahan was an extremely good and graphic writer. The wealth of information in his reports in the C.S.Sp. Archives in France is simply overwhelming. There was scepticism about his reports because of his inexplicable delay in upgrading the status of his Prefecture. As a result of this, most of his reports were treated with levity. Less successful C.S.Sp. Prefecture in other parts of Africa at the time was promoted to Vicariates (Sierra Leone 1903, Bagamoyo 1906, Kilimanjaro 1910).
[431] Ibid.
[432] NWOSU, V.A (ed.), The Catholic Church in Onitsha. People, Places and Events (1885-1995), P. 18.

to be camps where converts could be sheltered from the influence of the non-Christians society and equipped with the *civilization pefectionee.*[433]

Within the province of Lower Niger mission, there were Christian villages established in Onitsha, Aguleri, Nsugbe and Nteje. Those who came to occupy these villages were converted Christians, those who rejected or were rejected by their communities, freed slaves, outcasts, run-away slaves and social outlaws. In the view of Obi, apart from bought and freed slaves, "Emigrants and converts also built their houses around the mission house to flee persecution or to escape the allurements in the open village communities."[434] The missionaries put up clusters of houses where these persons were quartered. They were close to the mission station, and they gradually developed into a village, distinct from indigenous villages. These villages were strictly under the direction of the missionaries. The missionaries supervised both the spiritual as well as temporal affairs of the villages. The first two Christian villages were established at Onitsha and Nsugbe.[435]

The inhabitants of this village were made to live a life different from the inhabitants of the neighbouring village. In Nigeria in general, the various pioneer missionaries of both Upper and Lower Niger Prefectures like Fathers Chausse, Zappa and Lutz employed the Christian village strategy in both Missions. For the Fathers, it involves the selecting of a group of fresh catechumens or already baptized persons and bringing them to the mission quarters in a small community for the purpose of strict teaching and training. Rules and regulations were equally made for them to obey and the whole effort emphasized discipline. This approach of evangelization encouraged making them appear different from the rest of their kit and kin. The only aim was "… for the special purpose of teaching them the Catholic doctrine and Christian living, away from the neutralizing influences of the non-Christian local religious practices."[436] Consequently, men and women, boys and girls, breach babies and their mothers, who would have been killed according to native custom and tradition, were not merely tolerated but were rehabilitated as well and given assurance of life, freedom and security.[437] Immunity from law and customs was accorded to the Christians even against the will of the masses. Culprits, hardened criminals and outlaws began to run to the Christian villages in order to flee the arm of justice or escape from customary sanctions. The Christians saw the incompatibility between the traditional life and the one run by Christian missionaries

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[433] METUH, E., EJIZU, C, Hundred Years of Catholicism in Eastern Nigeria 1885-1985, 1985, P. 162.
[434] OBI, C., A., "Background to the Planting of Catholic Christianity" in: OBI, C.A., (ed.), A hundred Years of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nigeria 1885-1985, Onisha 1985, P. 18.
[435] OZIGBO,I., Roman Catholicism 1988, P. 66.
[436] OBI, C., A., "Background to the Planting of Catholic Christianity", P. 21.
[437] Ibid.

especially in the admittance of thieves and robbers and they kicked against it and complained bitterly against it.[438]

The Christian village which was very typical in Igboland was founded on December 3, 1891. It was founded on the baptismal day of king Idigo.[439] It emerged at Aguleri where converts were earnestly encouraged to emigrate from traditional villages to minimize contamination from traditional society, and thus supposedly make the practice of the Christian religion easier.[440] These Christian villages were far removed from the indigenous villages, from the traditional Igbo family set-up. It was a creation of the missionaries. It was not a Christian village considered from the normal social structure built on the *Umunna*[441] system. In order to make the catechumens feel totally at home in the Christian village, they were offered land near the mission to build their own houses. This village also served many purposes. It was believed to be a model of Christian community, where the protection of the early members of the church was assured and a take-off ground for the missionaries towards the evangelization of the whole nation. The assistant parish priest of Aguleri (Rev. Father. Reling) confirmed this in his letter to the Superior of the Holy Ghost Fathers that in taking possession of the station at Aguleri, their first concern was to build a Christian village.

The converted Christians were highly instrumental towards the progress and spread of the Gospel. They helped in the conversion of other Natives and in interpreting for them what the principles of Christian faith is all about. With joy about the progress of this method, the missionaries reported that they were compensated for these multiple trails; as the number of Christians or catechumens has risen to about two hundred.[442]

2.6.3 IGBO TRADITIONAL BELIEF SYSTEM AND CHRISTIANITY

The doctrine of the death of the Son of God contradicts the Igbo concept of God. It contradicts also his uniqueness, greatness, supremacy, might and above all, his immortality as He is perceived at the same time through the delegated intermediaries or various natural

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[438] Ibid.

[439] Ibid., Many years before his baptism, Chief Ogbuinyinya Idigo had invited the missionaries many time in his private house. His action of initiating a typical Christian village was not a surprise to the missionaries. In deed Chief Ogbuinyinya Idigo lost whatever traditional powers or privileges he previously had in order to be a Christian and to help in evangelizing others. He was baptized after Christian village was established.

[440] AJAYI, W. O., The History of the Niger and Northern Nigeria Missions, 1857-1914, (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Bristol, 1963).

[441] *Umunna* is the smallest socio-political group in the Igbo structure (literally children of the same father), called kindred. An *Umunna* comprises of descendants male and female from a common ancestor of several generations back. The number of generations depends on the size of the group and the strength of their unity. The *Umunn*a is characterized by constant fission and fusion. See METUH, E., African Religion in Western Conceptual Schemes: The problem of Interpretation, 1991.

[442] OBI, C., A., "Background to the Planting of Catholic Christianity", P. 53.

phenomena according to the Igbo concept. The concept, God among the Igbo has a sharp contrast to the new Christian concept in some aspects. The adherents of Igbo traditional religion recognize and believe strongly in the philosophy of good for good and evil for evil, but the new religion teaches about a God who can tempt the righteous even with evil and losses; thus a good God who can permit evil and subjects his follower to test. The God who stops and punishes evil immediately in the traditional understanding is now said to keep watch over the good and evil men.

In the eye of the Igbo, every pain and suffering is punishment; they come from the titular spirits/gods and not from God himself but the Christians say it must be endured, then it is a sign of trial to our faith, which will be used to purge out sins. For the followers of African traditional religion, life does not have an end but remains in continuum through re-incarnation. For the new evangelisers on the other hand, the doctrine of Resurrection should be used to replace that of re-incarnation; while the teaching of Resurrection remains incomprehensive and incomprehensible both for the Christians and for the new converts. For the Igbo traditional religion, as one lives here on earth so he dies and so he re-incarnates, good or bad, rich or poor and above all, kind or wicked, hence the various burial rites and demonstrations which accompany the dead in Igbo land are very important since they influence the mode of re-incarnation.

The Christian presentation of blood through the death of Jesus Christ on the cross as a means of salvation was milder to accept since the Igbo know much about blood sacrifices of various natures and use them daily in their traditional religion. In the same way, Prayer, sacrifice and offering are domestic daily needs of the Igbo and they could see them rightly in the liturgy of the mass as a good alternative or substitute. Forms and patterns of prayer however, differ in the two religions, for one is traditional or African and the other is either Christian or modern. In the Igbo traditional piety especially, god is requested to bless the good people and punish evil men. We saw this in the first part of the work while dealing with the Igbo Morning Prayer where the good people are blessed and the bad ones cursed. Ndiokwere affirms it thus: "While good men are blessed at prayer, evil men are cursed."[443]

Igbo tradition is a tradition where everything that happens in life must have a cause and such cause is usually interpreted in the light of God, the gods or spirits. In the traditional understanding of human relationship to God, sickness and other forms of misfortunes are interpreted and traced back to the spiritual world of god and the spirits. That is why the native healers are always busy in their efforts to overcome them by the traditional means of prayer,

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[443] NDIOKWERE, N.I., African Church Today and Tomorrow, Vol. II., P. 63.

sacrifices and rituals as the case may be. In other words, there must always be prayers, rituals and sacrifices which are among the only possible means of both social and moral order.[444]

However, there are some areas of the missionary teaching that are more compatible with the belief of the traditional worshippers. Such areas were comfortably integrated into the belief system of the Africans. The new religion introduces some methods of genuine human behaviour in quite another understanding as the Igbo know and practice in their local and traditional milieu. When the traditional Igbo prays, his prayers revolve around material goals, in fact his values , prayer and relationship to Gold are conceived traditionally as revolving around worldly goals and this is a peculiar character f Igbo spirituality.

The social conflicts arising from the contact with the European and the new religion are such that they present dichotomy between body and soul, heaven and earth. Wealth and material well-off are always traditionally regarded as godly favours and blessings but the new religion has taught the Igbo somehow to ignore it in the hope of future and remote treasures. In other words, fleeing from the world is among the goals of Christian religion and this discourages the Igbo from seeing life in its global and all-embracing form, whereas in the traditional Igbo religion, acquiring and amassing of wealth in this world is a sign of nearness to god and a greater place in the next life hereafter.

The Christian believes that God speaks to him through his bible while the Igbo traditional believer believes that the voice of God can be heard through the voice of the *dibias*[445] and other medicine men and, according to their life-circumstances and situations which are also changeable. The daily challenges and demands from tradition and cultural living regarded as Customs are even stronger in the eye of the Igbo than the Ten Commandments found in the bible. That is why the Igbo do more adaptation to custom and tradition in order to fill up their religious gap in matters of ethics and morals and these can tear the same person apart in himself because the religions developed from different cultural backgrounds.

Also intercessions for and of the dead are believed and practised solely but the expressions and actions of the same create dualistic differences and effects against general harmony in co-existence. There is hardly a traditional thought about the end of time as in the Christian religion, except the individual end of existence hereafter by the famous Igbo traditional

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[444] CHIGERE, N., Problems of evangelization in Nigeria. (The cultural Heritage and the Indigenous Clergy). L.S.T. Dissertation, Munster 1996.
[445] *Dibias* are the intermediaries between the living and the spirit world. They are diviners through which information from the spirit world could be received. They also have the possibility of prescribing therapeutic medicine to people who are sick.

understanding of customary re-incarnation of the dead. On the other hand, the doctrine of End of time, most often regarded as eschatology is quite significant in Christian life.

Colonialism rubbed the Africans even of their diviners, who were revered in the original African pre-colonial society. Isichei reports about one Alexander Ubuechi of Issele, a man who has attained most of the leading roles available in an African traditional society. He was a skilled craftsman, a diviner, and titled man. One day after hearing a sermon concerning hell in the church, he went home and expelled his four wives and was baptized. After his death in 1903, the missionaries acclaimed him to be Saint.[446] Through such means, many African societies lost not only their diviners but also their traditional medicine men and women. And as a result, Iboland´s/Africa's confrontation with an alien culture, its conquest and the experience of alien according to Isichei "created a spiritual and intellectual crisis – a phase of that history of thought in Africa which still awaits its historian. The missionary presence – and the success of British arms, with which they were inevitably associated – challenged the inherited certainties of traditional religion."[447] The strangeness of the European culture with their teaching during the colonial era is more depicted in the Reflections of Ezenwadeyi of Ihembosi which was recorded by Arazu thus:

"Government is teaching now

Saying that *Chukwu*

Is not fixed to a spot;

That where we go to consult *Chukwu*

Is fake …

And we cannot tell

Whether they are telling the truth

Or deceiving us."[448]

The spread of Christianity in Igbo land and elsewhere of Islam has been explained as a dimension of that enlargement of scale. The remoteness of the traditional High God, and the active role of lesser spirits, reflected the essentially local nature of traditional life. As the walls protecting the microcosm dissolve, local spirits lose their validity.[449]

The presence of mutually antagonistic missionary societies on the other hand created its own problems during the colonial era in Africa. The denomination (confession) of many

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[446] ISICHEI, E., The Ibo People and the European.
[447] Ibid., P. 180.
[448] Reflections of Ezenwaddeyi of Ihembosi, recorded by Fr. Ramyond Arazu. C.S.Sp., September-October 1966. See also ISICHEI, E., The Ibo People and the European.
[449] HORTON, R., "African Conversion" in: Africa, April 1977, P. 85-108.

individuals in Africa was decided by chance, the denomination of the school attended, or the mission established in his area; all these were determined by the type of missionaries located in your own area. That means, you belong to either Evangelical or Catholic Church depending on the type of missionaries that are located in your own area. You do not have the possibility of choosing one from the other.

About 1904, there was a movement aimed at the revival of traditional religion and the reconstruction of its long neglected groves and shrines.[450] The major aim was to revamp the neglected traditional religion which is purely natural to the Africans. The solution to the situation in the view of Isichei "was perhaps that of ecclecticism – a personal synthesis of elements of the old and new."[451] Religion according to her was just one dimension of these uncertainties that emanated as a result of the meeting of these two cultures and religions.

The overthrow of the traditional political system, by the power of the colonialists with their different values and irresistible technology, the rapid rise of those with skills which could be utilized in the new system - all these seemed to have put the entire inherited African traditional order into question. "Traditional society was based on a network of commonly accepted values, duties and expectations. Now the fabric was threatened."[452]

The work of the Ibo novelist Chinua Achebe *Things Fall Apart* derived both its title and its epigraph from the imagery of a European poet. Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; mere anarchy is spread all over the world. Achebe Chinua narrates in his book the story of a man called Enoch. He was suspected of killing and eating the sacred python of his town. This man, went further to desecrate and unmask E*gwugwu*[453] (masquerade) in public whereby in the legendary of Umuofia community (of Things Fall Apart), *Egwuwu* was believed to be "the ancestors of the clan who had been committed to Mother Earth at their death"[454] but who emerge, "as *Egwugwu* through tiny ant-holes"[455] during the celebrations of great ancestral feasts or when invoked by the community. "One of the greatest crimes a man could commit was to unmask an E*gwugwu* in public, or to say or to do anything which might reduce its immortal prestige in the eyes of the uninitiated. And this was what Enoch did."[456] This story of Enoch is one instance of how adherence to either the missionaries or colonialists led

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[450]Niger and Yoruba Notes. A record of work in Western equatorial Africa. 1904.

[451] ISICHEI, E.,The Ibo People and the European, P. 181.

[452] Ibid.

[453] *Egwugwu* is not any type of masquerade but one used to protect the customs and traditions of the community. It is a symbol of cult whose tradition is protected by its members who are mainly the elders of the community. None members of such cults are not allowed to near or speak about *Egwugwu* in the public giving the fact that they are uninitiated and so do not know the principles of the cults.

[454] ACHEBE, C., Things Fall Apart, London 1958, P. 131.

[455] Ibid.

[456] Ibid.

Africans to turn against their own people and their own ways of life. Thus, the whole life of Africans during this time was radically affected, even their religiosity.

2.6.4 AFRICAN RELIGIOUSITY DURING THE COLONIAL ERA

During the colonialist era, the two Universalist Religions (Christianity and Islam) were dominant. Both made their greatest progress both in the urban centres and in the rural villages particularly those of the South. In the East, Christianity remained unchallenged by Islam, while the reverse was true of the far North where Islam was the major Religion that remained unchallenged. In the Western Region, Islam overtook Christianity despite the earlier initiative of the later religion in most of this area. Islam was very successful in Yoruba land, where Christian missions had been active since the middle of the nineteenth century.[457] The success of Islam in these areas was attributed to its independence from the colonial power and also of being an almost exclusively African controlled religion.[458] Above all, Islam in West Africa had generally tolerated "the traditional beliefs and customs of the people it converted whereas the Christian missionaries insisted on a complete abandonment of traditional customs even where these were only remotely connected with traditional religion."[459]

The Anglicans had a similar project like the Moslems, in that, they had the ambition of creating an African-run Church under the leadership of Samuel Ajayi Crowther who was made a Bishop in 1864, but this project was later abandoned in 1890 for one of a missionary church in which leadership would be in the hands of missionary clergy and Africans would only act as their assistants. The African churches are still European in character and in leadership; it was after the post-war era that the Christian churches of foreign origin started to integrate Africans fully in the Leadership positions. Another important development in the Christian churches in Nigeria during the colonial period was the growth of syncretistic churches, notably the *alladura*[460], which sought to combine elements of traditional religion with those of Christianity.

Such was the success of the two Universalist religions after the independence that nearly two-thirds of the population, then estimated at 36 million, were either Muslim or Christian.

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[457] TRIMINGHAM, J.S., Islam in West Africa (report to the C.M.S. & Methodist Church Council), London 1953.

[458] Ibid.

[459] CROWDER, M. The Story of Nigeria, London 1966, P. 310.

[460] The word *Alladura* is a Yoruba word "meaning one who prays". Generally, it refers to a set of churches that form a powerful religious movement among the Yoruba in western Nigeria during the first decade of this century. See PROBST, P. "The Letter and Spirit: Literacy and Religious Authority in the History of the *Aladura* Movement in Western Nigeria" in: Africa: Journal of The International African Institute, Vol. 59, No. 4, 1989. P. 478-495.

Traditional religion was very strong at least in the rural areas where the influence of the two dominant religions was not felt. Indigenous religions have of course been at a disadvantage because with rare exceptions none of them was a missionary religion and they were confined to one particular ethnic group. Their strength depended on regular access to their shrines and priest, so that the emigrant was usually cut off from the life-blood of his religion. [461]

2.7 SOCIAL CHANGES IN AFRICA

It is very important to mention at this juncture that the pre-colonial African society (Igbo society) was not an Erastian state.[462] On the contrary it "was a community in which the worldly and the other-worldly, the political and the religious were closely bound together. As a result, political and economic life was underpinned by a religion centred on the worship of a pantheon of gods and the veneration of the ancestors."[463] In this society, Afigbo argues further that simple issues like both sexes going nude until puberty was not just a matter of irrational attitude to garments but was bound up with the traditional codes regulating morality and sex behaviour which were underpinned by religious sanctions. The missionaries insisted that all age groups should be wearing clothes at all times, but that was for the Igbo a much more fundamental issue than it was for the missionaries. For the Igbo, conversion to Christianity was not just an exchange of new ideology for the old but involves exchanging one form of social life for another.[464]

Along the same line of changing the fundamental basis of Igbo society, schools were used as instrument for mobilizing support for Christianity and by the same token for withdrawing support from the old social order. It was all the more crucial because only young people, the future generation who were not yet fully integrated into the traditional culture of Africa were recruited to the schools. In that case, the first generation Christians had limited attachment to their traditional culture, and in fact from the beginning tended to pitch them against it. As a

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[461] CROWDER, M. The Story of Nigeria, London 1966. An obvious exception to this general situation is the Yoruba religion which has not only survived in the New World among former Yoruba slaves, but has even gained adherents. A Yoruba Temple was said to have been opened in New York.

[462] Thomas Erastus (September 7, 1524-December 31, 1583) was a Swiss theologian best known for a posthumously published work in which he argued that the sins of Christians should be punished by the state, and not by the church with-holding the sacraments. A generalization of this idea, that the state is supreme in church matters, is known somewhat misleadingly as Erastianism.

[463] AFIGBO, A., Ropes of Sand, P. 340.

[464] Ibid.

result, "while time and death thinned down the ranks of the defenders of the old order, the ranks of the Christians were progressively being augmented."[465]

Apart from being an instrument through which a large fraction of the new generation was indoctrinated against the local culture, it also tended to withdraw them physically from participation in those celebrations and social processes by which the values of the group were transmitted from generation to generation. That is to say, school children left their homes early in the morning where they spent most of the day being indoctrinated and they came back late in the day too, worn out to follow their non-school going colleagues in local activities like the age-grade, secret societies and other traditional rites even if they had been qualified and inclined to participate.

However, it did not get long for all to realize that the education is a means of getting ahead in the new world ushered in by the colonial rule. The children, whether outcasts or slaves "who were used as guinea pigs to probe the import of that institution, within a few years, learnt enough English and Arithmetic to be employed as clerks, messengers etc. in the government and commercial firms, and as teachers and agents in the schools and churches. By so doing, they acquired a new economic and social status beyond the wildest imagination of their parents and elders, thus becoming objects of admiration and envy."[466]

The results were clear, even parents who had rejected the education started sending their children to school. For example, Easterfield reported about the grandmother of E. Kalu Uku of Aro Chukwu who was an uncompromising opponent of the new way, who however, decided that it was wise to send the young boy to school in order to enable him get on in life. Remember, Kalu, she advised, that you have only to learn enough to be able to make your way in the new world while taking care "not to go to church."[467] Kalu was meant to learn about the good things from the school without taking to the religion of the missionaries. But then, it was impossible for Kalu to accept one and reject the other. After schooling, he was consumed by not only the educational structure of the missionaries but also their religion.

2.7.1 REASONS FOR THE CHANGES

In a traditional African setting, the rhythm of life is determined by the African religion whose foundation is the African culture and worldview. By the second half of the twentieth century, rapid and radical changes were being noticed in many facets of life in the whole of Africa and

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[465] Ibid. P. 341.
[466] Ibid, P. 342.
[467] EASTERFIELD, M., "Seeds in the Palm of your Hand", in: West African Review, December 1952, P. 1365-1369.

so, no study of Migration in relation to Africa would be complete without mentioning these radical changes that enveloped the whole of Africa in this period. Many writers have been emphasizing only the social aspects of these changes but for Mbiti "the changes are total, involving the whole existence of African peoples, and making their impact upon the religious, economic, political as well as social life."[468] We have demonstrated in the first part of this work, how religious the African traditional society was, and that the universe was seen as a religious universe. Consequently, "modern changes in Africa have come upon religious societies, affecting their religious attitudes and life and being affected by this traditional religiosity."[469] Many factors contributed to the rapid changes in the traditional African society.

2.7.1.1 WORLD REVOLUTION

The world was caught up in a revolution that was so dynamic that it could no longer be entirley controlled by human beings. It was a human revolution that no part of the world could remain indifferent to, including Africa. Europe and America experienced this revolution three to five generations back but the people in the then Africa were experiencing this revolution in the first generation. However, Africans were neither physically nor psychologically prepared for this revolution. Simply put in the words of Mbiti, it was a revolution coming from "science and technology, modern communication and mass media, schools and universities, cities and towns."[470] Mbiti continues to observe that the African and his image of the universe were, therefore, disrupted by the changing universe. It was a revolution of world-view and this revolution had also some immediate causes which included: evangelization and European expansion into Africa.[471]

2.7.1.2. EVANGELIZATION

By way of definition in the view of the Church, the word Evangelization is defined "in terms of proclaiming Christ to those who do not know Him, of preaching, of catechesis, of conferring Baptism and the other sacraments."[472] It means therefore bringing the Good News into all the facets of life, "and through its influence transforming humanity from within and

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[468] MBITI, J. African Religions and Philosophy, P. 211.
[469] Ibid.
[470] Ibid.
[471] Ibid.
[472] PAUL VI., *Evangeli Nuntiandi*, No. 17.

making it new."[473] Its purpose is therefore this interior change, and if it had to be expressed in one sentence the best way of stating it would be to say that the Church evangelizes when she seeks to convert, solely through the divine power of the message she proclaims, both the personal and collective consciences of people, the activities in which they engage, and lives and concrete milieu which are theirs. Against this background, Mbiti is of the view that the Christianity that came to Africa "was not simply carrying the Gospel of the New Testament" but came "as a complex phenomenon made up of western culture, politics, science, technology, medicine, schools and new methods of conquering nature. The Gospel by its very nature is revolutionary, but Christianity in its modern return to Africa is the main carrier of all the elements of this world revolution."[474] Pope Paul VI has already indicated that "the Gospel and therefore evangelization are certainly not identical with culture, and they are independent in regard to all cultures."[475] Mbiti, on the other hand, opines that the Gospel and Christianity are not synonymous at certain points. During the course of evangelization, missionaries established and pioneered schools which later became the nurseries for change: "they sowed the Gospel, they sowed Christianity and perhaps unawares and unintentionally they sowed also the new revolution. It was the young men and women in these schools who assimilated not only religion but science, politics, technology and so, the same young people were the ones who became detached from their tribal roots. Those attending schools also became the vehicles for carrying the new changes and introducing them to their villages."[476]

Western medicine and knowledge of hygiene was however introduced by the missionaries the importance of which was originally not appreciated by the Africans. The advantages coming from the western medicine made the African to be more open to receive the western culture and education. Through this introduction of western medicine, infant mortality rate was drastically reduced and some diseases like Smallpox, Malaria and Stomach ailments which had been the major causes of death to many Africans were brought under control. As a result of better and improved health care system, there was a great growth in population which had its other attendant problems[477] which are, however not within the scope and limitations of this work.

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[473] Ibid. no. 18.

[474] MBITI, J., African Philosophy and Religions, P. 212.

[475] PAUL VI., *Evangeli Nuntiandi*, No. 20.

[476] MBITI, J., African Philosophy and Religions, P. 212. One can also see the effect of these changes in the imprisonment of the sacred Python in box by the son of Ezeulu after returning from the catechism class. See ACHEBE, C., Arrow of God, Nigeria 1989.

[477] MBITI, J. African Religions and Philosophy, 1989.

The Christianity that evolved in Ethiopia, a properly and authentically African Christianity deserves to be given partiicular emphasis here. . This Christianity was very dynamic producing intellectual giants like Tertullian, Origen, Clement of Alexandria and Augustine. The Church in Ethiopia has always enjoyed a leading and privileged position until the socialist revolution in 1974. This Church was cut off from the rest of the Christendom for so many years, an action which helped the faithful to develop the Church in such a way that it was able to acquire a uniquely African background. Mbiti describes these uniqueness in the following words: "Round churches, many saints, frequent fasts and monthly feast, a big place given to the Blessed Virgin Mary, observance of many Jewish practices, order of Deacons, priests and bishops, seven sacraments, a rich liturgy, a powerful but rarely well-educated clergy, and a Monophysite theology are the main characteristics of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church."[478] The Church is regarded as being 'African' in the sense that these features have evolved over many centuries and reflect a background that has not been imposed from outside. Trimingham elaborates more on the element which points to the fact that the Ethiopian Church is purely African; the Christians there "believe in a whole host of evil spirits. For protection against these spirits, everybody carries amulets, which are magical prayers and formulae written by priests on scrolls or in little booklets and carried in leather cases around the neck and arms, and Muslims will be found wearing these Christian amulets as well as others obtained from their own holy men."[479] This type of Christianity could be a source of encouragement for the rest of the countries in Africa. It demands however, some sense of commitment and preparedness to confront the challenges that will be arising from such task. The movement for inculturation today should be taken more serious so as to know which areas of African life that should be inculturated and which area that should not be taken into account in the wave of inculturation.

2.7.1.3. EUROPEAN EXPANSION INTO AFRICA

The expansion of Europe into Africa exposed African peoples to changes that have already taken place in other places in the world. The expansion into Africa reached its climax with the Berlin Conference in 1885 where the major powers of Europe politically shared out the whole of Africa apart from Ethiopia and Liberia. This African conquest by Europe meant, among other things "the arrival of European settlers, businessmen, gold and diamond diggers, colonial administration, the founding of new cities, the construction of railways and roads, the

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[478] Ibid., P. 224.
[479] TRIMINGHAM, J. S. Islam in Ethiopia, London 1952, P. 28.

introduction of new laws and new economic system."[480] By so doing, the continent of Africa started to experience a total transformation where the European settlers tried to make the continent resemble Europe in many respects. Consequently, European names started to replace the African names used for individuals, towns and villages. European names used to substitute African names were names like Mini Englands and Mini Germanies, Mini France and Mini Italies.[481] One will no longer wonder why so many Africans are curious to see "larger England" and "bigger Germanies" "maximum France and main Italy". I think that, such attitude has encouraged migration greatly not only during the immediate post-colonial times but also today since so many Africans wish and long to see the original cities after which the great cities in Africa for instance Lagos in Nigeria were built.

European and American control over Africa is mainly economic and ecclesiastical, together with the subtle influence of mass media. Today, Russia, China and Japan are making inroads into Africa. What happens in America, Europe and Asia has its great impact upon Africa, so that the peoples of our continent are increasingly involved in the peoples of the world; an assertion which confirms that the world has truly become a global village.

2.7.2 FORMS OF THE CHANGES IN AFRICAN SOCIETY

The change in question here is one that affects all aspects of life in Africa. It affects all the nooks and crannies of the society. The word detribalization has been used to describe it which according to Mbiti means "that traditional life is deeply undermined, so that the tribal identity is fading away since other identities are making claims on the individual and the community."[482] This fading away of identities is witnessed among the Igbo, for instance, Sierra Leone where many re-captives were settled in the nineteenth century. Professor Echeruo in his Ahiajoku lecture titled *A Matter of Identity*, describes the Igbo people in Sierra Leone as less clannish than the Aku or the Yoruba who he said were particularly noted for their solidarity. But curiously enough, the Igbo community would not define itself exclusive as Igbo. Expressing dismay writes: "I was thoroughly dismayed to find that in 19th century Sierra Leone, the name Ibo, spelt variously as *Eboe* or *Heebo* was used as a group name for people who in their homeland lacked the coherent nationhood their name implied."[483] The explanation or part of the explanation for this lack of identity according to Echeruo may lie in

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[480]MBITI, J., African Religions and Philosophy, P. 212.
[481] Ibid.
[482] Ibid., P. 213.
[483] ECHERUO, M. A Matter of Identity, in *Ahiajoku* Lectures 1979, P. 4.

Igbo peoples' own refusal to acknowledge a common ancestor, in their centripetal search for origins. This lack of common origin contributes greatly to the various means of searching for meaning in life among the Igbo.

2.7.2.1 CHANGE AND FAMILY LIFE

Family in the life of every nation is basic and fundamental. The quality of the family life in any country reflects, in a nutshell, the true worth of the society. In the words of Green, "every civil society more or less reflects the state of its families. If the families are peaceful, without tension, loving the religiously devoted god, it is likely that the nation in question will be peaceful, happy, just and secure."[484] In the African traditional life, the family is the kernel and nucleus of both individual and corporate existence. It is the area where a person really experiences personal consciousness of himself and of other members of society. Arinze articulates this idea thus: "The family is the cell of the social, economic procreative, educational and religious life of man. God has endowed this fundamental institution with the qualities, values and purposes which are crucial for the continuance of the human race, for the personal progress and welfare, temporal and eternal, of the members and for the dignity, stability, peace and prosperity of human society as a whole."[485] This institution with all its dignity is now, the "most severely affected part of African life."[486] It is so because one finds two different worlds existing in one family in Africa; namely, the European world and the African world. The children from such family may be attending universities while the parents are illiterate and are concerned mainly with cultivating their fields with wooden sticks. There are different sets of expectations from the members of such family: economic standards, cultural concerns and world-views. The new change exhibits itself in the form of clothes, houses, food and moral behaviour. The educated members of the family live modern life while the uneducated maintain the typical traditional African life.

2.7.2.2 CHANGE IN THE INDIVIDUAL PERSON

Modern change has brought the African man in a totally new traditional life. The change forces some of them to go and work in gold mines and other factories and industries abandoning their land and homes and relatives. This sudden detachment from the land, in

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[484] GREEN, M. M., Land Tenure in Igbo Village, London 1941, P. 2-3.
[485] ARINZE, F. Living our Faith, Lenten Pastorals 1971-1983, Onitsha 1983, P. 171.
[486] MBITI, J. African Religions and Philosophy, P. 213.

which they were mystically bound, and the thrust into situations, where corporate existence has no meaning, has produced dehumanized individuals in the mines, industry and cities. The Igbo people of Nigeria believe that no one can be detatched from the land because no one can live on the air. The earth goddess is so essential in Africa especially in Igbo that one cannot afford to offend her. Professor Echeruo succinctly writes in this regard, "One divinity, however, was beyond the capriciousness of Igbo men: that divinity is neither *Igwe*, nor even *Chukwu*, but *Ala*, the goddess of the earth. She was the one deity which no man or woman and no community could afford to offend, much less discard. If ever there was a supreme god among the Igbo it was Ala."[487] One sees therefore the position land occupies in the life of Africans especially the Igbo people of Nigeria.

The change in question here means that the individuals "are severed, cut off, pulled out and have no firm roots any more. They are simply uprooted but not necessarily transplanted. They float in life like a cloud. They live as individuals, but they are dead to the corporate humanity of their fore bearers."[488] The change alienated him both from the traditions of his society and from his roots. Unfortunately, he is involved in the change and at the same time he is alienated from the same change. He is in between two positions: on the one hand, the traditional solidarity which gives him land, customs, ethics, rites of passage, customary law, religious participation and a historical depth, and on the other hand, a modern way of life which, for him, has not yet acquired any solidarity.[489] The change offers him a hope for the future, an aspiration and an expectation. He uses and wishes to use every available opportunity to realize this future and aspiration either in his immediate environment or outside his immediate environment.

2.7.2.3 THE CHANGE IS CULTURAL

The traditional cultures of African people originally had little or no room for change. The change tries to plant a form of culture which is not only alien but also shallow to the African soil. "It is a culture of the alphabet and comics, of pop music and the transistor radio, of television and magazines with pictures of semi-naked women, of individual and economic competition, of mass production and ever accelerating speed of life."[490] African people are

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[487] ECHERUO, M., A Matter of Identity, P. 7.
[488] MBITI, J. African Religions and Philosophy, P. 214.
[489] Ibid.
[490] Ibid., P. 217-218.

forced to live in two separate cultures which do not unite to form one. It is a new culture where one is forced to adapt to and make oneself comfortable.

2.7.2.4 URBANIZATION AS INSTRUMENT OF CHANGE

In the pre-colonial Africa, urbanization was unknown. The people lived in villages, village-groups and clans with the result that respect for religion, law and custom was induced partly by the sanctions of reward and punishment and partly by the influence of the family, elders and near-kinsmen. This also made it possible for peoples' lives to be organized around such customs and cultures. Living in anonymity like we have in urban cities today was unknown. Each person was either known by his family name and as a result, could always be reached at when needed or through the elders of the village. But the introduction of urban cities in Igbo settlement today makes it impossible to retain the traditional Igbo social life. Through the urbanization process, places like Port Harcourt, Aba, Umuahia and Enugu became so populated that the construction of railways in these cities and towns encouraged migration all the more.[491] The construction of railways brought in many non-Igbo people who were needed to work on the trains and maintain the subsidiary services. The coming of these people created new needs which were met partly through increased migration from the villages and partly through old settlers broadening their outlook and expanding their business. For instance, in Enugu, the opening of coal mines attracted many from rural villages in Igbo land. In these areas, Igbo elements found themselves compelled to adopt styles of life quite different from what they came with from the villages.

Equally important were the urban centres far away like in Yoruba and Hausa lands. One sees a wide–ranging travel which was made possible by the colonial administration. "Some Igbo elements, especially long distance traders and purveyors of specialized skills like the Aro, Nri, Umunnoha, Nkwerre and Awka had travelled extensively among the Igbo and their immediate neighbours (Edo, Ijo, Ibibio, Ogoja, Igala) in the pre-colonial period. But never before did Igbo businessmen have as much opportunity for travel as they had under colonial rule."[492] By the second decade of the century, precisely in the 1940s the Igbo people were so adventurous in the area of migration that their presence felt among the Yoruba and the Hausa was becoming a raging storm and causing disquiet on the part of the host communities. During this long distant journeys, new items of food were brought in, new ways of preparing

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[491] AFIGBO, A. Ropes of Sand, Nsukka 1981.
[492] Ibid., P. 346.

old items (like the making of *moi moi* from beans etc.) and new forms of dress, (like those of the Yoruba and Hausa) were imported. Also the farther away from home the Igbo travelled, the more they unite on the basis of which they organized their lives in the new centres.

3.0 POST COLONIAL AFRICAN RELIGION AND MIGRATION

There was a growth in the population of the people after the colonial period which made it necessary that people should move to gain space where they could live. This demographic problem encouraged migration. It is important to mention that land was still a very big factor even after the colonial time since not all the people in Africa assimilated fully the message of the era. The system of owning land through inheritance was still predominant even though the colonial era tried to bring every land under the custody of the government. Such system was greatly felt more in the developed cities where the interest of the government was more, than in the rural areas where the authority of the village was greatly felt. Above all, most people in the village however, had never learnt to accept the system of the colonial time as one which would stand the test of time.

Nonetheless, the system of inheritance differed from one place to other owing to the fact that there were many ethnic groups in Nigeria which had no common history and similar life's experiences. As a result of this, each group of people had its own approach to life which made it impossible to establish a common system for all the ethnic groups in Nigeria. Thus, the traditional African societies in Nigeria were so incompatible that they never agreed to do things together because of their differences to things of life. This incompatibility of the different African traditional societies exemplified itself in the different worldviews each of the tribes possessed. As a result of the differences in *weltanschauugen*, the first Republic could not stand the test of time and was confronted with Nigerian Biafran war. This war scattered all the more, the efforts of the colonial masters to establish a unified and independent Nigeria. The war claimed more than three million lives from both sides (Biafra and Nigeria). After the war, the young Nigeria started again to battle with the problem of integrating the parts of the country that lost the war and to rebuild and rehabilitate the casualties of the war. It was then later that the true nature of the evangelised Africans started to appear in that; they were confronted with greater challenges resulting from the Nigerian-Biafran war which they could not cope with. There was nobody who could in this circumstance nurture the new faith brought by the missionaries; thus each group of persons

started establishing religious movement that will be able to fill up the religious gap which has been created. Thus, there was a tremendous growth of cultural relativism. This expressed itself through the establishment of different cultural and religious movements which, in turn, gave rise to the emergence of different prophets and preachers who went from city to city proclaiming the gospel of Jesus Christ according to their own understanding, and winning many converts.

As a result, migration in the post-colonial Africa was characterized mainly by internal movement of people particularly within the continent of Africa. In this period, there was a shift in the method of migration, since the colonialist had introduced capitalist money economy and developed some urban cities in many African countries like Nigeria. The establishment of money economy attracted many people to migrate to places like the developed cities. The post-colonial migration was mainly characterized by the movement of men and women to the few urban centres that were then in existence. Rural-rural migration was also noticeable but then migration during the post-colonial period consisted largely of considerable rural-urban component in the 1950s.[493]

3.1 PATTERNS OF POST-COLONIAL MIGRATION

Generally the patterns of internal migration in Nigeria during this period were the movement of large population in the Northern provinces and in the two most industrialised southern provinces. In fact, the direction of flow of migrants was mainly South to North, and the migrants consisted largely of Southern Nigerians especially Igbo, going to the developing Northern cities like Kano and Plateau provinces like Jos. Apart from the South to North migration, flow of rural-urban, there has been a substantial flow of rural-rural and rural-urban migrants from the Northern states into the three Western states of Lagos, Western and Mid-Western Nigeria.

In the view of Udo, if one takes a close look at these movements, one would see with ease that migrants were drawn from very densely populated areas with over 800 persons per square kilometre as well as some medium density areas with 400-800 persons per square meter. As a result, the environmental and economic situations reveal that the significant push factor in these migrations were not merely the high numerical densities, but the pressure of population

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[493] UDO, R. „Migration in Nigeria", in: Nigeria Magazine, CIII, 1970, 616-624.

on available resources such as farmland, forest products and fish.[494] Migration during the period involved not only the movement of individuals from one place to another, but also the maintenance of ties between migrant individuals and those who stayed back. Trager observes further that as far as memory can perceive, migration among the Igbo has been a constant movement of people from one part of the country to the other, and sometimes even outside Africa.[495]

3.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS IN THE POST-COLONIAL AFRICA

The Population of Igbo People in the colonial era was a matter of estimation as there was no accurate population figure in Nigeria. According to the 1963 census, the Igbo were estimated at roughly five million, and if one takes a look at the present population estimate for Nigeria which is about one hundred and forty million[496] then the people must have been then some where between 12-15 million. Igbo tribe is not just one of the biggest ethnic groups in Nigeria but also it belongs to one of the largest single ethnicities in the whole of Black Africa. The tribe occupies a comparatively small terrestrial space within latitude 5-7 North of the equator and longitude 6-8 east of the Greenwich Meridians.

The Igbo region is densely populated because of the natural wealth of Igbo land.[497] Nzirimo has highlighted the demographic and population impacts which have affected certain sections of Igbo land, where there was a high rate of migration. He attributed the causes of such migration to three factors namely, the land hunger, which affected the Igbo people around Onitsha, Awka, Okigwe and Orlu, the dearth of fertile land which affected people around Abatete, Alor, Nnobi, Nnewi and Oraukwu communities and the rising cost of farmland around Oguta environment.[498]

However, some part of Igboland suffered from soil leaching and population density, others like Abakiliki and Anam people fiercely resisted migration. They were blessed with fertile land and therefore, there was increase in the production of agricultural items. As a result, they

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[494] UDO, R. „Migration and Urbanization in Nigeria: "in CALDWELL, J., (ed.), Population Growth and Socio-economic Change in West Africa, Columbia 1975, 298-301.

[495] TRAGER, L., „Women Migrants and hometown linkages in Nigeria: Status, economic roles and contributions to community development" in: Population studies (UAPS), Dakar 1993, 1-9.

[496] http://www.prb.org/Articles/2007/ObjectionsOverNigerianCensus.aspx, August, 2008.

[497] OGUEJIOFOR, J.O., The Influence of Igbo Traditional Religion on the Socio-political Character of the Igbo, Nsukka 1996.

[498] NZIRIMO, I., Study of Mobility among the Igbo of Southern Nigeria", in International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 1965.

were able to maintain a high level of subsistence existence similar to that obtained during the pre-colonial times.[499] They were able to generate enough funds through agriculture to buy some of the goods produced by the colonial masters. Because of their ability to produce what would sustain them, there was no pressure or need for migration.

Movement during this period was short termed and male dominated. Jarmon observes that demographically, massive rural to urban migration had contributed to an exploding population in the cities. Economically, systems of land tenure and subsistence agriculture have been eroded and are being superseded by new economic forms, which are tied into the modern world economic system.[500] As a result, great attachment to agriculture was no longer seen as modern endeavour. However, each ethnic group has its own peculiarities and stipulations towards land since it occupies a very important position before all Africans. In Nigeria, the different traditional societies interpreted the role land plays in their lives differently. Therefore, the new laws on land affected mainly cities where the government had more interest..

3.3 INCOMPATIBILITY OF NIGERIAN TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES

We saw in the first part of the work the three main ethnic groups in Nigeria where we observed that there are more than two hundred and fifty ethnic communities. We also indicated in the previous section that these ethnic groups have relatively nothing in common with one another before they were brought together by the colonial powers. The population density, ecological condition and cultures differ from one to another. These widely environmental and cultural factors are contributory to the heterogeneity of Nigerian cultures. Seligman classified the inhabitants of Nigeria in two racial groups: the original "true negro" inhabitants, and the descendants of the Hamitic races.[501] Okehie-Offoha believes that there are between three hundred and fifty to four hundred and fifty ethnic groups within the borders of Nigeria. These range from small ethnic groups with populations of a few thousands to national groups of nine millions and above. Each of these cultures tries to retain its socio-cultural and religious world view.[502]

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[499] NNOLI, O., Ethnic Politics in Nigeria, Enugu 1980.
[500] JARMON, C., Nigeria: reorganization and development since the Mid-twentieth century, Leiden 1988.
[501] SELIGMAN, C. G., Races of Africa, London 1966.
[502] OKEHIE-OFFOHA, "Introduction" in: OKEHIE-OFFOHA, M. &SADIKU, M. N., (ed.), Ethnic and cultural diversityin Nigeria, Africa Press 1996, P. 1-7.

Hence each ethnic group has been living and organising their lives independently before the colonial history started in Nigeria. Achebe argues that the founder of Nigeria had the intention of establishing a multicultural society where each person will find a home and at the same time retaining its authentic cultural background. This multicultural society was however institutionalized. This institutionalization came during the process of amalgamation of North and South by the British and the establishment of separatist divide and rule system by the colonialists created the ethnicity within the context of what is today, Nigeria as a Nation.[503]

The reaction of Igbo to the colonial establishment was well described by Eriksen: "Some ethnic groups moved to town or regional centres where they are brought into contact with people with other customs, languages and identities and where they frequently enter into competitive relationships in politics and the labour market. Frequently, migrants try to maintain old kinship and neighbourhood social networks in the new urban context and both ethnic quarters and ethnic political groupings often emerge in such urban settings. The speed of social and cultural changes can be high; people tend to retain their ethnic identity despite the fact of having moved to a new environment."[504]

There are so many prejudices among the ethnic groups in Nigeria especially among the three major ethnic groups. For instance, the Yoruba are perceived as dirty, conniving, and conspiratorial a lot. The Igbo are shifty, money-centred and potential robbers. The Hausa/Fulani are lazy, ignorant beggars and herdsmen. This is not surprising because the frontiers and the colonial states were therefore artificial European units created by the imperial powers according to consideration of their own strength vis-a-vis each other. They bore no relation to the history, ethnic cohesion or traditions of the Africans living within them.[505]

The Yoruba are made up of several kingdoms and tribes. Sometimes the kingdoms are antagonistic to each other, but they all have a common cultural background.[506] The Igbo consist of widely differing tribes which interact, but are politically independent of each other. The largest political entity in the Igbo area is the village group.[507] The Hausa are intermingled and superimposed with the Hamitic Fulani invading overlords. The upper strata "are steadily absorbing the negro blood of the Hausa."[508] The Hausa speak the Hamitic language but "must

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[503] ACHEBE, C. The Trouble with Nigeria.
[504] ERICKSEN, T.H., Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives London 1993, P. 8.
[505] HATCH, J., African Emergent. Chicago 1974, 33.
[506] SMITH, The Kingdoms of the Yoruba, Ibadan 1968.
[507] JONES, G. I., the city states of the Niger Delta, London 1965.
[508] SELIGMAN, C. Races of Africa, P. 50.

not be regarded as a single race"[509] or stock, rather "they are people of diverse origin now united in speaking a Hamitic language, but recruited over centuries from neighbouring tribes."[510]

Adding to the pluralistic complexity, are the dualistic cultures which prevail around borders of the large national group. Subsistence economy exists side by side with modern integrated enterprise. Nigeria is, in fact, a pluralistic society; in a double sense, colonialism imposed another concept of pluralism which continues to reflect in its political arrangement.

Coleman distinguishes four types of political systems among the divergent political traditions of Nigerian heterogenic cultures. This distinction is done "in terms of scale and degree to which political authority is centralised and operates continuously through explicit institutions of government:

large-scale states,

centralised system of chieftaincy

dispersed tribal societies

small autonomous local communities"[511]

In his view, these systems were indigenous to be autochthonous cultures. The creation of Nigeria by the colonialist was the fostering at the large-scale of ethnic consciousness and ethnic conflict.[512] The colonial migrants created a situation in Nigeria whereby within a few years after independence in 1960, the country experienced one political crisis after another until in 1966 military rule which terminated the democratic experience.[513] Melson and Wolpe argue that the political crisis in Nigeria could not be traceable neither to poverty nor to the simple fact of cultural diversity and the reasserting of traditional tribal antagonisms. The group frustrations, which underlie communal antagonisms, are as much a reflection of change and the blocking of new aspirations as they are of impoverishment. Again, inter-group conflict is seldom a product of simple cultural diversity and, in the Nigerian case, there is little that is traditional about the contemporary pattern of political divisions. On the contrary, Nigeria's political crisis is traceable directly to the widening of social horizons and to the process of modernisation at work within the national boundaries.[514]

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[509] Ibid.
[510] Ibid.
[511] COLEMAN, J., „The Politics of Sub-Sahara Africa" in: GABRIEL A., & COLEMAN, J (ed.), the Politics of Development Areas, Princeton 1960, P. 247-368, here 247.
[512] DIAMOND, L., Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria: Failure of the First Republic, London 1988, P. 25.
[513] GAMBARI, I.A., „British colonial administration" in OLANIYAN, R., (ed.), Nigerian History and Culture, London 1985, 159-175.
[514] MELSON, R., & WOLPE, H., (ed.), Nigeria: Modernisation and the Politics of Communalism. Michigan 1971.

Tonnies sociology could help us to understand better or to situate the agglomeration of the entity called Nigeria, because the socio-political and ethnic groups in Nigeria reflected a society-like *Gesellschaft* which is a word he used to refer to groups that are sustained by an instrumental goal. *Gemeinsschaft* on the other hand refers to groupings based on family and neighbourhood bonds and ensuing feelings of togetherness. *Gemeinschaft* may be exemplified by a family or a neighbourhood in a pre-modern society while *Gesellschaft* by a joint-stock company or a state in modern society, that is the society when Tönnie lived.[515] This inevitably affected inter-group behaviour and the ability to surmount crises. In such a situation, National unity and National tolerance of opposing views and interest suffered as a result.

The emergence of a community-like society at the centre began only after the civil war in 1970, which was over-simplified in the slogan 'one Nigeria'.[516] What has been described as a community-like society in Nigeria is influenced by religious and ethnic background. This is because among the Nigerian communities, political affiliation and the casting of one's vote is not determined by what an individual is capable of achieving for the common good of the community but is based on religion. In fact, Christianity has constantly subjected the Igbo people to religious denominational conflicts whenever election is at hand. C.M.S (Church Mission Society) member who had much longer been drilled into political manoeuvres than the R.C.M. (Roman Catholic Mission) always take the lead. In the post-independent Nigeria, each group was more concerned with the member of his religious group irrespective of the person's political constitutions. What is important is that the candidate comes from his denomination and nothing more. Such understanding affected the Nigerian polity so greatly that bitterness and antagonism led to the destruction of the first republic.

3.4 THE FIRST REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA AND ITS DEMISE

The war between Nigeria and Biafra after independence contributes greatly to Igbo migration today. The turn of events caused by the 30 month war in Nigeria, and the significant effects that abound in the present moment, viz: social, religious, political or commercial are crystal clear and need no second thought or doubt.[517] Six years after the independence of Nigeria from Great Britain a great war raged. It was Biafra, the former Eastern Region versus the rest of the country Nigeria. The leading protagonists were Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu and Lt.

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[515] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferdinand_T%C3%B6nnies, February, 2009.
[516] GAMBARI, I. A., „British colonial administration" 172-173.
[517] RICHARD, J., Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria, the rise and fall of the second Republic, Ibadan 1991.

Col. Yakubu Gowon as leaders of Biafra and Nigeria respectively. A series of developments formed the background of the events that triggered off the coup of January 15, 1966 in Nigeria. According to Kirk-Greene, it was shadows from Nigeria's past and not a sudden darkening moment which broke upon Nigeria on 15 January, 1966.[518]

Paden distinguished five concepts of special importance which he believes gave rise to the war and these are communalism, competition, conflict, violence and value congruence. He identified communal violence in Nigeria as stemming more from competition, based on a similarity of values than from a conflict in cultural values. In his view, communalism could be summarised as ascriptive identities, adherence to cultural norms and values, and loyalties or obligations towards member to an identity group which tend to be relatively diffuse rather than specific or contractual. There are four categories of communal groups: racial, religious, linguistic and ethnic.[519] Paden believes that competition is an active but regulated pursuit of goods, resources or goals, in which two or more units strive with each other for maximisation of benefits through regulated interactions. And any breakdown in this kind of regulation of competition may lead to violence.[520] That was the case of Nigeria and so the factors that germinated the Nigerian-Biafran war in 1966.The demise of Nigeria's First Republic and the coming to power of the military did not occur unexpectedly. The seeds of decay had been sown before and during the life-time of the First Republic.

The amalgamation of Nigeria had occurred in 1914 but in several respects, it was not a true and proper amalgamation. The Southern and the Northern provinces were separately administered till about 1946. For Ozigbo, "the repeated tinkering with the Constitution in 1922,1946,1951,1954, 1960 and 1963 did not aim at affecting genuine structures for a united, peaceful and progressive Nigeria. The 1951 Constitution introduced ethnic politics in Nigeria."[521] As a result of this, many political parties were formed including Northern People's Congress (NPC) The Action Group (AG) and the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). The NCNC has been the national political party.

In the opinion of Diamond, the demise of the first republic was a result of poverty which was at its peak in the nation. This was orchestrated by the low level of national development and the narrow based modern economic institutions, opportunities and talents presented obstacles to rapid economic growth, which had provided fertile soil for mushrooming corruptions and

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[518] KIRK-GREENE, A.H.M., Crisis and conflict in Nigeria, London 1971, Vol. I.
[519] PADEN, J. N., „Communal competition, conflict and violence in Kano", in: MELSON, R. & WOLPE, H., (ed.), Nigeria: Modernization and the Politics of Communalism, Michigan 1971, 113-144.
[520] Ibid.
[521] OZIGBO, I., History of Igboland in the 20th Century, Nigeria 1999, P. 143.

waste. Poverty so to say did not generate corruption, stagnation, or polarisation and violence. These resulted from the interaction of an underdeveloped economy and an oversized state. The extreme weakness of the indigenous entrepreneurship and scarcity of social mobility and expanding stock of resources and rewards controlled by the state generated an extreme dependence of class formation on political power. As a result of this, a class of politicians and administrators were produced whose most important motivation was the advancement and entrenchment of their class interests. Through manipulation of power, they could reap vast rewards with little investment and even less risk.[522] In addition, the increasing intolerance and anti-democratic behaviour intensified conflict and eroded the people's faith in the Republic. Furthermore, the large scale of opposing ethnicities inflamed and polarised political crises. Lastly on the night of January 16, 1966 the President announced the handing over of the government to the armed forces under the leadership of the Supreme Commander, General Aguyi-Ironsi who later on appointed regional governors.

On the 29th of July, 1966, the North pre-empted the situation by staging a counter coup which toppled the government of Major General Ironsi. His regime made some remarkable changes in Nigerian society. Among other policies implemented, was the sudden turn against drug peddlers, which was a growing menace and the death penalty on anyone, found growing hemp and ten years imprisonment on anyone smoking it.[523] He also banned political parties for a period of three years, and abolished the four political regions. Among other things, he unified the public services and introduced a new development programme. This announcement was unfortunately followed by an outbreak of serious ethnic rioting throughout the North. The threat of unified government filled the North with alarm and all the old fears came to the surface. Thus, they started massacring Igbos.[524] This act of massacring the Igbo during this time was known as *araba*[525] test riot. It was a riot targeted against the Southern Nigerians on May 29, 1966 in all the major cities of the North.

The Head of State, on an official visit to Ibadan, was killed together with his host, the military governor of the Western Province, Lt. Col. F. Adekunle Fajuyi. The military officer in charge of Ibadan at the time was H. Joe Akhan (a middle Belter).[526] Rank and files of the Eastern

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[522] DIAMOND, L., Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria: The Failure of the First Republic, London 1988, P. 319-321.

[523] OZIGBO, I., History of Igboland in the 20th Century, Nigeria 1999.

[524] Ibid.

[525] *Araba* is the Hausa word for secession. Various versions of these *Araba* placards were collected at Brigade headquarters and sent down to Lagos, but even this gave Lagos no cause for a deep reflection on the matter.

[526] Middle Belt is a term used in Nigeria to designate the region of the country that is located at the middle of the country. All the people living around this area are regarded as the people of the middle Belt since they do not

region living and working in Ibadan, Ikeja, Lagos, Kaduna and Kano were massacred. The core of the coup was at Ikeja where Murtala Mohammed and Gowon masterminded the flow of events. After the coup, Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon became the new Head of State and Supreme Commander of the Nigerian Armed Forces on August 1, 1966.[527]

The Northerners embarked on a wholesale slaughter of civilians of Eastern Nigeria in the North. Easterners in Lagos and Western Nigeria were harassed and killed. As Ozigbo puts it "About 3000 Easterners mostly Igbo, returned alive to the East as refugees, many of them maimed, dispossessed and incapacitated. It has been said that these people lost their property worth 40 million pounds in Northern, Western and Mid-Western Nigeria and Lagos."[528] According to other reports, Southerners were beaten up and their cars smashed by the Northern mobs. It was a well planned rioting backed up by all the Northern politicians, the Emirs and more importantly the Governor of the North – Katsina. The Spirit of secession shown by the killing of Igbos took place in different times within the same year that the Igbo started questioning the need of their answering Nigerians.

In the quest for peace, the military leaders of the Northern and Southern provinces, Gowon and Ojukwu (and the rest of the Federal Military Council) met at Aburi, Ghana, on 4th and 5th January, 1967. In Aburi (Ghana), they reached at a number of decisions on modalities to move Nigeria politically forward. In order to protect the interest of its own people, the Eastern Nigerian Government passed a couple of Edicts. These Edicts were the Registration of Companies Edict, the Revenue collection Edict and the Court of Appeal Edict. A 9-point agreement was made at Aburi with its apogee being the establishment of a con-federal system of administration. But on reaching home, the head of State, Lt. Col. Gowon, rejected the Accord. The Lagos civil service asked Gowon not to implement the Aburi Accord. Ojukwu (the Governor of Eastern region) was right in his objections but Gowon made no effort to explain his change of mind. Tension mounted as the situation was stalemated. The failure to implement the Aburi Accord helped to accelerate the Biafran secession. As a reaction against non implementation of the Aburi Accord, the East on March 31, 1967 appropriated all the federal revenues collected in the Eastern Region.[529]

The leader and Governor of Eastern Nigeria, Ojukwu threatened that the Eastern region would secede, if Gowon attacked or blockaded it. The stalemate that endured from October 1966 to

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belong to the three major tribes of the country but wish to maintain their distinguishing characteristic, cultures and names.

[527] CLARK, J. D., Yakubu Gowon, London 1987.
[528] OZIGBO, I., History of Igboland in the 20th Century, P. 149.
[529] Eastern Regional Government, *Edict on Revenue Collection*, Enugu 1967.

May 1967 multiplied acts of commission and omission that propelled the country to the civil war. All through those months, the country was in a political suspense. The situation degenerated when the federal government, through Gowon, imposed economic sanctions against Eastern Nigeria, by suspending all Nigerian Airways Flight to the East and halting all postal and money order transactions. The diplomatic passports of thirty prominent Igbo people, alleged to be lobbying against the Federal Government overseas were cancelled. Prominent among the people whose passports were either ceased or cancelled include: Dr. K. O. Mbadiwe, Dr. Pius Okigbo, Francis Nwodedi, Flora Azikiwe and a number of diplomats suspected to be engaed in arms purchases abroad.[530]

Meanwhile on 25th May, 1967 the Consultative Assembly of Eastern Nigeria met at Enugu. The meeting lasted for three days. It was here that the Assembly decided on the declaration of Biafra's independence from Nigeria and under the name of the Republic of Biafra.[531] The Assembly mandated Ojukwu to declare Eastern Nigeria a free, sovereign and independent Republic of Biafra. Ojukwu announced (May 1967) that he possessed the biggest army in black Africa. He obviously had been preparing for war seeing that he had earlier claimed that the East had only 120 guns in July 1966. It had no core of military officers, no outlay of arms and ammunition, no money. What it had in abundance were thousands of willing youth eager to enlist in the Biafran army. The maps below show the position of Biafra in the Nigerian map.

[530] OZIGBO, I. History of Igboland, 1999.
[531] ACHUZIA, J.O.G., Requiem Biafra, Enugu 1986.
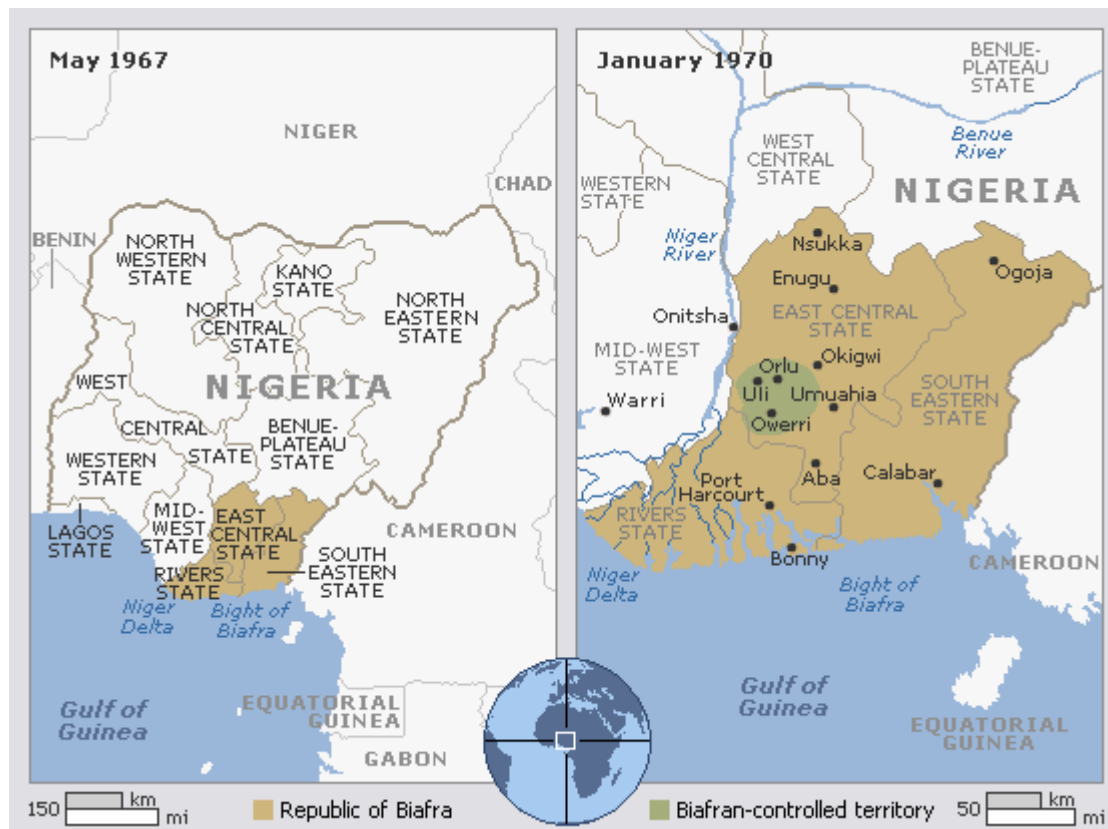
Here are two maps; one showing the location of Nigeria and Biafra between 1967 through 1970. The zone of Biafra is shown again in the Nigerian map and the other (right) showing in a broader form of the region of Biafra with its major Airport at Uli which is a town in Anambra state today that is very close to Orlu.[532]

3.4.1 THE IMPACT OF BIAFRAN WAR ON IGBO PEOPLE

After the time Nigeria declared war on Biafra in July 1967, the Igbo had attained a high degree of economic prosperity, modern industrial growth, educational advancement and social sophistication.[533] All these collapsed during the 30 months of brutal warfare. Biafra was forced to surrender unconditionally, fearing the worst consequences. They had forfeited all expectations of justice and rights as Nigerian citizens. The Nigerian government accepted the

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[532] The above map is taken from: encarta.msn.com/.../republic_of_biafra.html, February, 2009

[533] EMEH, B. B. O Eastern Nigeria in Retrospect, Nnobi 1967. Phenomenal progress in agriculture, Industries and social amenities was made during the Okpara regime (1959-1965). The economic Exploits of the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation (ENDC); its oil palm, rubber, cocoa and cashew plantations and the farm settlements at Uloma, Zouwani, Igboariam, Boki, Ohaji and Abak. The industrial layout and factories at Port-Harcourt, Aba, Onitsha Enugu, Calabar, Umuahia and Owerri and the enhanced public utilities (road, pipe-borne water, schools, rural electrification and medical facilities) attest to the vastly improved standard of life in pre-war Eastern Nigeria. The Igbo controlled the federal police and Air force.

surrender and pledged there would be no victor and no vanquished (no winners and no losers) in the new, united Nigeria.[534]

Ojukwu, the Biafran warlord stated clearly that Biafra was not a separatist movement as some of the Western propagandists made it to appear. It was rather a reflex of self-preservation the Nigeria- Biafra war reflected. He opined that Nigeria reached a stage in its National development when the war became inevitable. However, whichever way one views the Nigeria-Biafra war, it was a necessary step and a milepost in our agglomerate development.[535] The people of Biafra were convinced of the justness of their cause. They never doubted for one moment that justice would prevail eventually and victory would be theirs. It was this faith in their ultimate victory that kept Biafra slugging on for three years in spite of heart-breaking setbacks, to the astonishment of the whole world.

In the view of Achebe, immediately after the war, "Nigerians of all other ethnic groups will probably achieve consensus on no other matter than their common resentment of the Igbo."[536] Modern Nigerian history has been marked by sporadic eruptions of anti-Igbo feeling of more or less serious import; but it was not until 1966-1967 when it swept through Northern Nigeria like "a flood of deadly hate"[537] that the Igbo first questioned the concept of Nigeria which they had embraced with much greater fervour than the Yoruba or the Hausa/Fulani. "The Civil War gave Nigeria a perfect and legitimate excuse to cast the Igbo in the role of treasonable felony, a wrecker of the nation."[538] Some hard-liners in the Cabinet of Gowon who wanted some pounds of flesh from the defeated Biafra enunciated decrees that made life for the Biafrans very difficult. An example of such figure was Obafemi Awolowo, the then Federal Commissioner for Finance. Under his guidance a banking policy was evolved which nullified any bank account which had been operated during the civil war. This, according to Achebe, "had the immediate result of pauperizing the Igbo middle class and earning a profit of four pounds for the Federal Government Treasury."[539] The memories of the war are still in the minds of many people until this day. A lot of Nigerians harbour sad memories of that period because many families were erased out of existence during the war.

One of the most devastating impacts of the civil war is that Igbo saw themselves, rightly or wrongly, as the largest ethnic minority in Nigeria whose problem in the present Nigeria is that

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[534] TAMUNO, T. N. & UKPABI, S.C., (ed.), Nigeria Since Independence The First 25 Years, Vol. VI, The Civil War Years, Ibadan 1989. See also Gowon's broadcast on January 15, 1970 shortly after accepting the Biafran formal surrender at the Dodan Barracks, Lagos.
[535] OJUKWU, E. O. Because I am involved, Enugu 1989.
[536] ACHEBE, C. The Trouble with Nigeria, Enugu 1985, P. 45.
[537] Ibid.
[538] Ibid.
[539] Ibid., P. 46.

of identity as Echeruo pointed out in the 1979 Ahiajoku Lecture.[540] Having shown extraordinary prowess in wrestling the military strength of Nigeria for three years, and more importantly, after losing the war, the Igbo indulges in a form of self-pity. A people that was over fifteen million by 1970, seemed powerless to ensure that those who exercised authority over them did so with justice. For many years since after the war, the Igbo workman, professional, businessman and woman have watched the progressive degradation of the Nigerian labour market, now partitioned by politics, into thirty- six nearly watertight labour markets. Igbo intellectuals that had sought to bring their intellectual energy to the service of the wider Nigerian community has found themselves unwanted by other communities outside of his or her own home. Paul Obi-Ani argues that the numerous economic and social injustices heaped on the Igbo by the victorious federal government of Nigeria is aimed at keeping the Igbo people down and delaying their full reintegration into the political economy of Nigeria, thereby marginalizing them.[541]

A good deal of the Igbo improvements since 1970 has largely been fruits of self-help and individual determination with little or nothing coming from the central government. This individual determination is what has kept the Igbo man strong because it is in the culture of Igbo people to be self-determinant. This, according to Achebe, is the origin of national resentment of the Igbo in the face of the rest of Nigerians. The Igbo people were custom-made to grasp the opportunities, such as they were, during the white man's dispensation. And the Igbo did so with both hands owing to the open and outreaching culture they have. "The Igbo culture being receptive to change, individualistic and highly competitive, gave the Igbo man an unquestioned advantage over his compatriots in securing credentials for advancement in Nigerian colonial society."[542] Although the Yoruba in the view of Achebe "had a huge historical and geographical head-start, the Igbo wiped out their handicap in one fantastic burst of energy in the twenty years between 1930 and 1950."[543]

The Nigerian military government under the Northerners, who actually ruled as black colonialists, gave the Kingship (*Eze*) a new status and imposed federal character by mandating every town especially in Igboland to produce a King (*Eze*) who will be representing the town in national matters. This was a re-incarnation of the NCNC manifesto of 1954, however, with a different face. In the new manifesto, our Emirs and *Obas*, *Obongs* and *Etuboms*, *Obis* and *Amayonabos* are sovereigns in their own regards and rights. This is

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[540] ECHERUO, M. A Matter of Identity, in Ahiajoku Lectures 1979.
[541] OBI-ANI, P., Post Civil War Social and Economic Reconstruction of Igboland 1970-1983, Enugu 1998.
[542] ACHEBE, C. The Trouble with Nigeria, P. 46.
[543] Ibid.

the verdict of our history. And accordingly, our national rulers must fit into the position of Constitutional Monarchs.[544] This statement was never in favour of Igbo people since they lived in decentralized communities without having a common leader. It was simply a reflection of the interest group within the party whose traditional political set up was based on these traditional rulers. It was not surprising since the leader of the party in the person of Nnamdi Azikiwe, (an Igbo man coming from Onitsha) happened to belong to that part of the Igbo who claimed descent from Benin and had established a kingship system under the title of *Obis* in some part of Igboland especially in Onitsha. As a result of this, every Igbo town was forced to present a king or *Eze* or chief to their state military governor within a period of time. It was something very new in Igbo society especially in the areas that had never known the meaning of a king or *Eze.*

The real problem with Igbo since Independence according to Achebe is precisely the absence of the kind of central leadership which their competitors presume for them. This lack has left them open to self-seeking, opportunistic leaders who offered them no help at all in coping with a new Nigeria in which individual progress would no longer depend on the rules set by a fairly impartial colonial umpire. "The lack of real leaders in Igbo land goes back, of course, to the beginnings of colonial administration. Once the white man had crushed Igbo resistance it was relatively easy for him to locate upstarts and ruffians in the community who would uphold his regime at the expense of their own people."[545] Since after those days, the mentality of an average Igbo leader has not been entirely free from the collaborating Warrant Chief syndrome. "The bankrupt state of Igbo leadership is best illustrated in the alacrity with which they have jettisoned their traditional republicanism in favour of mushroom kingships. From having no kings in their recent past the Igbo swung round to set an all-time record of four hundred 'Kings' in Imo and four hundred in Anambra! And most of them were traders in their stalls by day and monarchs at night; city dwellers five days a week and traditional village rulers on Saturdays and Sundays! They adopted 'traditional' robes from every land, including … the ceremonial regalia for the Lord Mayor of London."[546]

3.4. 2 THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH DURING THE BIAFRA WAR

The Nigeria-Biafra war was an acid test of the seed of Christianity sown by the missionaries. It was a time to verify the strength not only of the faith of new converts (Nigerians) but also

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[544] TAMUNO, T. N The responsiblity for crime control in Nigeria, Ibadan 1985.
[545] ACHEBE, C. The Trouble with Nigeria, P. 48.
[546] Ibid.

the faith of the missionaries who were preaching the gospel. The experiences of the Biafran-Nigeria war could be best described in the words of Archbishop Arinze as "violence against Nigerian's ancient and proud reputation for hospitality towards strangers within her gates."[547] Sojourners were killed by their Hosts as the misunderstanding escalated especially in the North where most Igbo people have lived and served long. The war situation was so deplorable that Nwosu paints it thus: "Thousand of Christians with their pagan brothers and sisters ran pell-mell in utter confusion and desperate efforts to save their lives and property. (With heavy luggage on their heads, and infants tied loosely on the backs or dragged along beyond their delicate paces, screaming and hooting for help they [the refugees]) thronged aimlessly to unknown destinations for safety … within short time the mission was completely deserted and towns and villages became as silent … as a cemetery."[548] Mbon describes the period differently, observing that it was: "A period of acute anxiety, of social and economic uncertainty and depression, of insecurity and danger to life and property, these war years led hundreds of Nigerians to seek refuge and protection in these movements [the new religious movements[549]]. During this period, prayer meetings and sessions of fasting were a common sight all over the country, particularly in the urban areas which were the main targets of the warring factions."[550] As a result of this influx of people who were desperately looking for protection and security in the midst of political and social upheavals, the new religious movements enjoyed tremendous increase in their membership and church buildings or places of worship.

The situation and experiences during the war were determining the type of pastoral method that was offered to the people during the war. Accordingly, Ozigbo who describes Onitsha Archdiocese as the centre of Igbo church opines that "the 30 months of the Nigerian civil war were devoted mainly to routine pastoral ministrations and general struggle for the needed human survival."[551] The impact of early and later war-time evangelization in Igbo land in general complemented the cultural forms of life and solidarity and this waved the situation a good deal as events among the Igbo populace revealed during the crisis. Many were dislocated as a result of the war. The most unfortunate dioceses affected were Enugu,

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[547] Speech of Archbishop Arinze to Catholic Bishops of Nigeria, Dec. 22, 1966. Appeals for recourse to prayers were therefore further made both jointly and individually.
[548] NWOSU, V.A., "The civil war years: A time of great trial" in OBI C. A., (ed.), Hundred years of catholic Church in Eastern Nigeria 1885-1985, P. 357-392, here 361.
[549] The words in brackets were added by the author.
[550] MBON, M. F., Brotherhood of the Cross and Star. A New Religious Movement in Nigeria, Frankfurt 1992, P. 257.
[551] OZIGBO, I.R., Igbo Catholicism , P. 25.

Abakiliki, Umuahia, Port Harcourt, Ogoja and some of them were totally deserted.[552] Owerri diocese was partially affected and as a result of that, many people found refuge in the Orlu area of the diocese, designated as the central kernel of Igbo land, which became the only safe harbour where almost all Igbo and most of the other Biafra citizens and war refugees assembled to wait for their last sentences and extermination. We shall not go into detail in exposing other facts regarding the war because it is beyond the scope of this work to make a detailed exposition of the Nigeria-Biafra war. But suffice it to mention that religion in general played a very great role not only in keeping the hope of faith but also actively showing the people that it is there for them by coming to their aid in such desperate moment in life.

The Church did this by directing its members and resources towards giving immediate help to areas where they were greatly needed. Each Christian and various pious associations and other organizations in the Church denied themselves of some comforts in order to help their needy countrymen to satisfy some of their basic needs during the war times. All hands were then set on deck to seek the best solution out to meet up with demands of the most basic and urgent needs of the people. Both the clergy and laity never rested in some communities where they were bundled and quartered unprepared. To sum up, the Church convened a decisive and special meeting in Benin to discuss how best the aids could be further given to the refugees throughout the country without discrimination. Other Christian denominations and non-Catholic Christians sent their various representatives to this meeting where important issues and decisions were made.[553]

However, many Nigerians flocked into the existing new religious movements which were springing up in every corners of the country. This massive growth of religious movements was because the people were helpless and were in search of security as a result of which many memebers of the established churches and others were rushing to such religious congregations to find some security. As a result of this massive upsurge of religious movements, Barrett, observed in the mainland part of the former Cross River State that "the greatest concentration of separatist churches in Africa"[554] is to be found in Nigeria.

Through the help of many good-minded people, many foreign international organizations were alerted and were properly informed about the situation in Biafra part of Nigeria. The UNICEF and UNESCO repaired well over 800 school buildings in the years between 1970

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[552] Ibid.

[553] This helped greatly in making all-embracing and comprehensive decision as special records in the Arch diocesan Archives in Onitsha indicate.

[554] BARRETT, D., Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements. Nairobi 1968, P. 121.

and 1973. The government had taken all schools from the missions and individual as proprietors in 1970.[555] This in effect marked the beginning of the events that eventually culminated in the total commitment of the faithful to this war period and even thereafter.

The political upheaval in Nigeria coupled with the war brought a new line of thought and approach to life to many Nigerians. The Nigerian people started re-thinking about the activities of colonial powers and the effects of the new religion brought to them by the colonial powers. Not being fully integrated into the new system of thought brought by Christianity and the colonial masters, however, with its attendant world view, they resorted to developing new trends of religion which in their own view will suite their African background. This gave rise to various forms of cultural relativism.

3.5 RISE OF CULTURAL RELATIVISM IN AFRICAN SOCIETIES

In many African countries, the traditional religion controls and lays the basis of behaviour in that given society. That is why it is said that the life of traditional African is weaved together into a socio-politico-religious harmonious whole without a significant distinction from secular and mundane activities and the religious ones.[556] That is to say, the spiritual and the temporal life of traditional Africans are regarded as a single whole, one demanding reciprocally the influence of the other. This forms the background of the rise of cultural relativism that has captured many Igbo people since the 20th century, which is more defined and realized in the most religious re-definition and adaptations to suit their religio-cultural background once again, in which the crux of Igbo life and living are clearly found. Put the other way round, "the traditional religion of the Igbo is the carrier and the preserver of their traditional life, customs and culture and to neglect this is to render their life not worth living."[557]

Some apparent attacks on Christianity by the Igbo of Nigeria were not directed on the Christian principles but on the methods applied by some of the missionaries during the process of evangelization, which were replete with foreign cultural superiority just as their colonial counterpart did. The problem most often is not doctrinal but more or less that of self-expression and fulfilment, without which the people are no longer at ease but at bay with their life-wire, life-worth as well as traditional living. Igbo people living, for instance, in the urban

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[555] East Central State, Public Education Edict, No. 2 Enugu 1971. Anambra/Imo State, Government White Paper on the Report of the Administrative Board of Inquire into the operations of the State Schools Management Board, Enugu 1976.

[556] CHIGERE, N. H. Foreign missionary background and indigenous evangelization in Igbo land.

[557] Ibid., P. 341.

cities who are so prominent in the church are not completely satisfied when this prominence remains only within the confines of the church without its extension to the social dimension of the society. The prominent Igbo feels a lack in him if his prominence revolves only within the ecclesiastical confines without its traditional and cultural undertone. In other to fill up this gap, those living abroad form themselves into a unified force to encourage the tolerance of traditional cultural events in their local village Church communities. Through this method, some have succeeded in reviving certain lost cultural life back into the Church activities. Nonetheless, the Igbo have come to realize that faith and living in Christian religion can be better sustained by inculcating African elements into the Christian religion in Africa.

Sometimes a group of people from the same tribe may create within themselves another association called town unions. This is what has been called Local Governments in the new present administrative strategies. "It is some of these clan unions from the towns, who go back to the village to demand that the Churches incorporate features of Ibo traditional culture into the Christian way of life, as means of their recovering what they regard as their lost identity as Ibos and as Africans."[558] One of such lost Igbo traditional element is child dedication and burial rites. The birth and dedication of a child, and burial ceremonies are celebrated in a typical Igbo traditional setting. Christians have been advised to avoid such ceremonies because, according to Christian teaching, they are pagan practices. Such understanding makes light of some of the rights and privileges granted to our ancestors (mediators between the living and the dead), and presents the African practices as derogatory.

During the era of Christian revolution, many Africans were very quick in discarding most of the traditional artefacts even those inherited from the great grand fathers. But today, in this epoch of cultural revivalism, many Christians are going back to most of the old African traditional practices and customs. An example of such practices is the practice of second burial[559] ceremony of dead relatives.

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[558] MBEFO, L. J.P., John Paul II and Nigerian Catholicism, Enugu 1982, P. 95.

[559] Second burial is a burial rite accorded to a dead person by the members of his family. As I was informed during a second burial of our neighbour in the 1990s, the dead is remembered once again in a special way. Certain rituals are performed which will enable him to get properly settled in the land of the dead. It is believed that without these rituals, the dead person will not be fully integrated in the group of the ancestors of the community who have already died before him. Moreover, it is a disgrace on the family if the members are unable to perform such a burial rites for their dead relative. However, my father told us that, without such rites, the dead person could come out and begin to torment the living especially those who should have performed such burial rites.Ibid

3.5.1 EMERGENCE OF NEW AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RELIGIONISTS' MOVEMENTS

The study of contemporary Africa's new religious movements over the years shows that many scholars are a little uncomfortable with the Marxist theory (in its true economic reductionist fashion) that these movements are consequence of socio-economic and political dissatisfaction on the part of Africans under colonialism and apartheid. Our discomfort with this theory arises from the fact that most of these movements came into existence after the days of colonialism and cannot, therefore, be said to have emerged because of and in protest against the colonial situation – which was characterized by racial conflict, economic exploitation or political and cultural repression.

When we take Nigeria as a case in point, one sees with ease that Nigeria has never been an apartheid country neither has she any more the need to fight under the garb of "religious revolution" against colonialism. In this connection we agree with Enang who opines that the rise of African Independent Churches was not as a result of political repression or economic exploitation., "… political factors cannot hold as there is no political tension between a foreign political oppressor and a hidden or open gang of frustrated nationalists who find outlets for their political self-expression in the AIC [Annang Independent Churches[560]]. Political independence went smoothly in Nigeria."[561] Despite this, there is a great proliferation of new religious movements in West Africa and especially in Nigeria.

However, in Central and Southern Africa there have been religious movements that came into existence in response to the oppressive conditions of colonialism. One has in mind here such movements like Kinbanguism in the former Belgian Congo (now Zaire) and other Zionist and Bantu/Zulu movements in South Africa, such as the Nazareth Baptist Church in natal and the original conditions for the colonial era that Oosthuizen has observed that "the founding of the Thembu Church by Nehemiah Tile … was not only a reaction against missionary paternalism but also against the actions of the Cape Colony Government of the 1880s …. The largest indigenous church among the Zulu, the Ibandla lamaNazaretha (The Church of the Nazarites) started off as a liberation movement."[562] But these are just few examples that do not justify bringing all the African new religious movements as a bunch of protest movements. For, even in contemporary South Africa, the situations are said to have changed, as Oosthuizen reports:

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[560] Added by the author.

[561] ENANG, K., Salvation in a Nigerian Background: Is Concept and Articulation in the Annang Independent Churches. Berlin 1979, P. 328.

[562] OOSTHUIZEN, G.C., „The AIC and the Modernisation Process", in OOSTHUIZEN, G. C., (ed.), Religion Alive: Studies in the New Movements and Indigenous Churches in Southern Africa, Johannesburg 1986, P. 223-245, here 233.

"Most of the AIC [African Independent Churches] are not politically oriented. The attitude is different from that of the Ethiopian movement of the last century and the beginning of this century in South Africa when these Churches were closely associated with the national aspirations of the black man in this country and then they played a significant role in the formation of the African … National Congress in 1912. When the Zionist Churches started to proliferate after the 1930s, political issues receded into the background in most of these Churches in South Africa …. They just do not get involved in party politics and believe that if the members are happy in a spiritual and socio-economic sense; this is of primary concern for their well-being …. Most of the AIC adherents do not indulge in political activities …."[563]

The theory that emphasizes the religious factor in the emergence of African new religious movements is very relevant in this aspect. Two important front liners of this theory are Harold Turner and Lamin Sanneh. Turner is of the opinion that the foremost factor in the study of the phenomenon of new religious movements on a world-wide scope is that the religious motive for the birth of Africa's new religious movements remains "the profoundest clue"[564] to understanding these movements, and that all other considerations are "inadequate signs of their inner religious reality."[565] Sanneh on the hand, buttresses the religious foundation of African new religious movements, and maintains that "even in that volatile political atmosphere"[566] of the colonial and early post-colonial days, "it is a striking fact that African Christian spokesmen were concerned with the religious implications of the threats that confronted them."[567]

It is interesting to observe that the religious dimension of Africa as a causal factor for most African religious movements is in itself a very complex matter. Generally, it involves the discrepancies between the Western missionary cultures which were transported to Africa with Christianity and African culture which cannot be separated from African traditional religion especially in the areas of family life (for example, in the question of polygamy), ethics, Church or religious leadership, theology and liturgy. Mbon maintains that we should see in the sects the expression of a demand for the Church to be more African, but it may be more important to recognize in them the demand for the Church to become Christian.[568] From the above, one can therefore conclude that in situations where African Christians could no longer

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[563] Ibid., P. 234, 236.
[564] TURNER, H. W., Religious Innovation in Africa: Collected Essays on New Religious Movements, Boston 1979, P. 38.
[565] Ibid.
[566] SANNEH, L., West African Christianity: the Religious Impact, London 1983, P. XIII.
[567] Ibid.
[568] MBON, F., Brotherhood of the Cross and Star, A New Religious Movement in Nigeria.

cope with the strains and stresses imposed on them by the foreign cultures, they developed the need to stand out from the parent mission Churches to establish Churches or Movements in which they could not only feel at home but also find a home. Peel consolidated this view by writing stating that African Churches among the Yoruba were still exotic institutions, and would remain so if they do not "... purge themselves of their adventitious and inessential European cultural trappings."[569] Similarly, the massive Pentecostal/Charismatic revivals of Church provide another example that has continued with great intensity through decades and covered the entire continent of Africa.

3.5.2 TYPES OF RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Kalu distinguished five types of religious movements in Africa in general. He laid more emphasis on the method of its beginning which, in turn, determines its goals and objectives.

TYPE 1

This consists in a situation whereby, a diviner or religious leader from the traditional context would shift base by appropriating some aspects of Christian symbols and message to create a new synthesis or to create an emergent religious form that could respond to the felt needs of the community.[570] Such was witnessed in Kongo where Kimpa Vita started as an *nganga*, traditional diviner, a member of the *Marinda* secret cult to claim possession by a Christian patron saint, St. Anthony. People perceived her as an *angunza* or Christian prophetess, but her claims became too messianic for the authorities to suffer and she was executed as a witch.

TYPE 2

Here, a prophet would emerge from the rang of Christian tradition, emphasizing the ethical and pneumatic components of the canon to intensify the evangelization of the community or contiguous communities. Sometimes the tendency was to pose like an Old Testament prophet sporting a luxurious beard, staff, flowing gown and the mixed imagery of the cross. Some would try to inculturate aspects of traditional symbols or ingredients of the Christian solution would predominate in most of their practices.

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[569] PEEL, J. D.Y., „Syncretism and Religious Change" in Comparative Studies in Society and History, No. 2 1968, P. 121-141, here P.128-129.

[570] KALU, O. U., "A Trail of Ferment in African Christianity. Ethiopianism, Prophetism and Pentecostalism" in: KOSCHORKE, K., (ed.) African Identities and World Christianity in the Twentieth Century, Wiesbaden 2005, P. 19-47.

TYPE 3

One finds a group of African indigenous Churches which arose all over Africa at different times before the First World War and especially during the influenza epidemic of 1918. Example of such is the *Aladura* in West Africa, Zionists in Southern Africa, and *Abaroho* in Eastern Africa. Some caused rivals and others did not. The earliest or classical ones emerged from mainline Churches by recovering the pneumatic resources of the translated Bible. Later, new forms appeared that had no linkage with missionary Churches. They institutionalised quickly into Churches and equally deployed traditional symbols as in the category above but to a larger degree. Soon differences appeared based on the dosage of traditional religion in the mix: some messianic leaders claimed to be one or the other of the Trinity, the revivalists promoted the ideological significance of indigenous religion by privileging the resonance with Christian symbols, while vitalistic tapped occult powers, and the nativistic are virtually indigenous cults operating with Christian symbols and paraphernalia. Thus, many forms operate beyond the pales of Christianity. According to Ogbu, "the sub-typology is as wide as the range and enduring contributions to African Christianity are immense."[571] Some worship on Sundays while others are Sabbatarians. Equally, its character is complicated by the fact that some are political while others are safe religious havens for the brutalized Africans.

TYPE 4

This group has a puritan and fundamentalistic expression of Christianity witnessed within the boundaries of the mainline denominations challenging the regnant affirmations and seeking to enlarge the role of the Holy Spirit within their faith and practices. The degree of the challenge may include doctrine, liturgy, polity and ethics or any permutation. Many attract enough mass support to become revival movements. According to Kalu, "they resemble type 2 in many ways but they reject the traditional cultural ingredients that some in this category utilize."[572] Examples include the Ibibio Revival that occurred within the *Qua Iboe* Church in Eastern Nigeria in 1927, the *Kaimosi* revival that occurred within the Friends Africa Mission/Quakers in Western Kenya in 1927.

TYPE 5

The current face of Pentecostalism in Africa was catalyzed by charismatic movements, led by young people from mainline Churches from the late 1960s in some parts of the continent but

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[571] Ibid., P. 29
[572] Ibid.

more especially in the 1970's. Dijk puts the case of Young Born Again in Malawi "During the early 1970s the populace of some of the townships of Malawi's city, Blantyre, witnessed the emergence of a new religious phenomenon. Young boys and girls, referring to themselves as *aliki*, preachers, began to attract crowds by conducting large revival meetings. These young people, some of them still in their teens, travelled from one place to another, and in fire and brimstone sermons strongly denounced the sinfulness and evils of everyday urban life."[573]

The issue became more eloquent in the 1980s, in all denominations and most countries like Ghana, the Republic of Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Congo Brazzaville. In these countries, it challenged the predominance of either voodoo or changed the face of Roman Catholicism.

In all these various types, "there is an intense religious experience, a vision, a dream that may issue in prophetic speaking and actions, healing and community building. Some operated as solo prophets whose charisma drew people to a new understanding of the power of the gospel, others formed new faith communities, still others operated as movements with inchoate leadership but each affected the interior of Christianity just when colonial ideology colluded with missionary control and triumphalism."[574]Not all the religious zeal was necessarily Christian like the Rosicrucian.

3.5.3 ROSICRUICIAN

The history of this religious movement dates back no further than the early 1600s. In 1614 a curious pamphlet entitled the *Fama Fraternitatis* appeared in Cassel, Germany. The *Fama* tells a story of a young man who wandered through the Near East learning the mystical wisdom of the Arabs and Egyptians and finding much enlightenment there. On coming back to Germany, he decided to share this secret knowledge with his people who only scorned and made fun of him. He was able to win people with whom he formed a group called the Fraternity of the Rose Cross, building a temple called the *Spiritus Sanctus*. This group consisted of "only eight members at the beginning; all men, all bachelors and all virgins."[575] The agreement among them was simple:

a.) They should profess only to be healers and act in that capacity whenever requested for no payment.

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[573] DJIK, R.V. "Young Born-Again Preachers in Post-Independence Malawi. The significance of an extraneous identity" in: GIFFORD, P., (ed.), New Dimensions in African Christianity, Nairobi 1992, P. 55-79, here, 55.
[574] KALU, O.U, "A Trail of Ferment in African Christianity. Ethiopianism, Prophetism and Pentecostalism", P. 30.
[575] http://www.straightdope.com/mailbag/mrosicrucian.html, February, 2009.

b.) They would have no uniform or habit but would adopt the customs of the country where they lived.

c.) They would meet once a year at the *Spiritus Sanctus*, or send a note excusing their absence.

d.) Each person should find someone to be his successor

e.) The letters "C.R" would be their seal and mark, and

d.) The fraternity would remain secret for 100 years.

The spread of this movement was very rapid since education enabled many people to access newspapers and magazines that connected Africa, Asia and Europe. As Kalu puts it "A number of cultic and esoteric religious organizations advertised their wares in magazines and catalogues, often distributed for gratis. It became the pastime of the literate few to search newspapers, catalogues, and magazines for advertisements, and place mail orders for amulet, charms, rings and other cultic paraphernalia that ensure success in examinations, promotions in work places, and personal security in the competitive and enlarged market created by emergent modernity and urbanity."[576]

In Calabar in the South-East of Nigeria, Olumba Obu was a leader of a prayer band and possessed the powers of miraculous healing that attracted many to his religious movement. That was the beginning of the Brotherhood of the Cross in Nigeria. The influence of the Brotherhood of the Cross in Nigeria started mainly from Calabar and spread throughout the country. According to Chigere "Both internal and external grievances have helped to multiply the divisions and membership of this religious sect that took from Olumba Obu."[577] In his view, their places of worship are built like those of the Christians and they prefer calling their prayer and healing centres the name Bethels.[578] However, the group adapts itself to the environment where they found themselves.

3.5.4 GODIANISM

This is also called *Chiism*, *Ofufechi* and *Okeblani*. It is a religious movement which was established in Nigeria in 1948 by a former Catholic priest called Kama Onu Kama Onyioha.

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[576] KALU, O.U, „A Trail of Ferment in African Christianity. Ethiopianism, Prophetism and Pentecostalism", P. 30.

[577] CHIGERE, H. M.V., Foreign Missionary Background and indigenous evangelization in Igbo land, P. 347.

[578] Bethel is the name of a prayer and healing centre in America which was started in 1972. Leader Olumba Obu sent some of his close adherents to this place in America to learn the art of shepherding a flock. But unfortunately, after learning the art in America, when they come home to Nigeria, there is always problems giving the fact that each member wants to be a leader of own his own folk. This has led to separations and among the folk and bickering and bitter literary attack between the leaders of the group. For more, see Ibid.

He believes that Africa is the only continent in the world that has suffered a religious schism. Godianism is the human attempt through the help of science to rediscover the divine anew. The main teachings of the religion are contained in the book *Nkomii* writen by the founder. This book exposes some African cultural and philosophical views, and has been described as being a philosophical reflection on African traditional religious customs. According to the founder, no one is created by *Chineke* to be destitute. If one listens to himself inwardly, he will identify who he is in terms of his *Ikenga* (talents). The proper interpretation of this talents leads to the hallmark of his *Akaraka* (destiny) which is the ultimate happiness which culminates itself in the service from which all living creatures will derive happiness, consolation and peace of mind.

The religion holds that *Chineke* (God) is the creator of the universe. It also describes Igbo language as being one of the languages used by *Chineke* to communicate with mortals, including the faith's book called *Nkomi*i. In his view, God is just there as the God who is impersonal, non-immanent, transcendent, all powerful, creator and sustainer of the world. Hence, the mode of adoration and worship is godianism, which means the worship of God only but through the intermediaries since knowledge of him is unthinkable.

A similar religious movement in the time is Eckanker, but the later has no African origin since it stems from Eastern scientological influences[579] but both of them are monotheistic in character. Godianism explains the relationship of God with his creation, that is, God as he is understood in the traditional African set-up, and he does not need any of the Christians or Hellenistic categories for the simple understanding of his existence. The reason for all these religious movements, in the words of Ndiokwere, is search for security. "On the social and spiritual level, formation of secret societies and associations, including Freemasonry, Rosicrucian Brotherhood, Mormonism and all kinds of Knighthood has been reduced by search for personal security or for a more satisfying religion."[580] That is how most of the religious movements arose.

However, that is not new in history since about the first half of the nineteenth century, a wave of evangelical enthusiasm swept through America. Methodists, Campbellites, Congregationalists, Mille rites, Shakers and others followed one another with revival meetings, setting the whole districts in a religious ferment and awakening the most violent controversies. Frenzy and hysteria became the order of the day. New religions and freak cults with crazy beliefs sprang up like mushrooms during that emotional period. Similarly, in

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[579] GEORGE, M., et al (ed.), Dictionary of Cults, Sects, Religions and the Occult, Michigan 1993.
[580] NDIOKWERE, N., Search for Security, second edition, Benin Nigeria 1995, P. 111.

Africa the formation of autonomous religious movements has continued to generate concern in many Church circles within and outside the African church.

3.6 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROLIFERATION OF THE NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

There were various religious movements which arose in the colonial Africa. Various factors that gave rise to their emergence include: socio-political reasons, search for security and some difficult theologico-moral reasons.

3.6.1 SOCIO-POLITICAL REASONS

The socio-political factors arising from oppression and struggle against colonialism in Africa, which gave rise to the emergence and growth of the Independent Religious Movements led to the rejection of almost everything African. The early missionaries and colonial masters regarded almost everything African as primitive, unreliable, dubious and this attitude of theirs really baffled many Africans who saw such an affront as humiliating. As a result of this, the struggle for political independence has extended to struggle for religious freedom. Just as Ndiokwere puts it "More so, because the European brand of Christianity was neither satisfying to the Africans nor did it provide answers or solutions to certain African problems. Where Christianity has however been accepted, African religious leaders believed that changes were necessary to accommodate African values and cultural heritage."[581] As a result of this disenchantment on the part of Africans and their religious leaders, many decided to establish their own churches or religious movements and organize such in what they consider to be truly African fashion. For such African leaders, it was not important to join the white man's religion in order to be saved. Thus, where political movements were restricted by the colonial overlords, recourse was taken to religious movements. "There has, for long, therefore, been a painful search for something more satisfying and meaningful to the Africans, especially in the religious sphere. It was really to affirm the people's struggle for self-sufficiency and independence to handle their own affairs."[582] In South Africa where the oppressive apartheid system lasted for a very long time, the indigenes never embraced the religion of their oppressors. They remained faithful to the religion that was natural to them and which they understood better.

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[581] NDIOKWERE, N. I., The African Church Today and Tomorrow Vol. I, Prospects and Challenges, Onitsha Nigeria 1994, P. 36.
[582] Ibid., P. 37.

3.6.2 SEARCH FOR SECURITY

In the view of Ndiokwere, many people join the various new religious movements because the movements are more flexible, tolerant and sympathetic with the *fallen Christians*. These are Christians who do not live up to the expectations of their Christian faith and therefore are not found worthy to participate fully in most of the activities of the established Churches. A polygamist, for instance, is regarded as a fallen Christian. Likewise, someone who combines some traditional life with the life of a Christian, like visiting a medicine man, is no longer worthy to participate fully in the religious life of the community. Such people are discriminated against and consequently, they looked for congregations where their personalities would be acknowledged, since it is necessary to identify with a particular religious group. Such places of refuge are found in the new religious movements.[583] The leaders of New Religious Movements encourage their adherents who have been expelled from their Churches to join their new movements. They are encouraged to come and receive shelter in the new churches for Christ came to save sinners and not to condemn them.

Above all, many Africans believe in the existence of evil forces which hover around and have the possibility of interfering with the activities of men. These evil forces disrupt the normal course of life, thus causing insecurity of life and property. In Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa, the presence of one who claims a spiritual authority to deal with these evil forces is decisive. Such a person "has the principal function of destroying all demonic powers and influences and thus assuring those who come to consult him that they are free to go about their business without fear of harassment from any quarters."[584] As long as one is not in the position to control certain spiritual forces one describes as diabolical, one is bound to feel insecure and therefore is ready to migrate thousands of kilometres where these religious movements are, in order to find the long desired security. This idea is succinctly summarized by Ndiokwere thus "Surrounded by hostile forces, seen and unseen, menacing him and often the entire household, the African will cross rivers and mountains in search of answers to his problems. In this type of religious vagrancy, he rarely discriminates. He does not mind the type of religion he joins. His main preoccupation is to achieve success, get a reasonable solution to his problem."[585]

Another Nigerian Theologian (Mbefo) makes a similar observation while assessing the impact of the New Religious Movements and Traditional Religion on the Christian Church, and the challenges posed. In his view "Catholics betray instability in their belief. Compared with their

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[583] Ibid.
[584]NDIOKWERE, N. I., Search for Security, P. 19-20.
[585] NDIOKWERE, N.I., The African Church Today and Tomorrow, Vol. I., P. 38.

contemporaries, who still continue the African Traditional Religion from which they were converted, Catholics betray equivocation and imbalance in crisis. Many still consult fortune tellers when they want to embark on a project. The same is true when a well-thought project flops or there is sudden death or happening that seems otherwise unaccounted for."[586]

From this perspective, many do not see any contradiction in practising both Traditional Religion and Christian Religion. Indeed, some claim that Christianity has not succeeded in assuring their security through their understanding of life and the world in general. Search for security has therefore contributed immensely to the spread and growth of new religious movements in Nigeria and in Africa at large.

The traditional Igbo of Nigeria may condone such contradictory religious attitude and hypocrisy by maintaining that *anaghi ano ofu ebe ekiri mmanwu* meaning that one does not stay at a spot to get a good glimpse of the masquerade.[587] That leads troubled Nigerian Christians at the weekends to visit Elele – Catholic Prayer Ministry of Holy Spirit, with big jerry cans of water for blessing. They buy assorted Elele souvenirs, car stickers and other stickers for door posts. These stickers are placed at all imaginable places and even on trees, no doubt for protection of the materials things and all who use them. At the same time our worried Christian may be a member of a secret society or other unapproved cultural associations. The vagrant nature of our people's religious affiliation and commitment would prove that this suggestion should provoke fear and therefore must be given serious consideration. It is not understandable why a Christian who goes to mass in the morning is seen in the house of a witchdoctor in the evening with his amulet in the pocket and at the same time wearing the scapular around his neck.[588] The picture[589] below is a clear presentation of the Christian described above.

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[586] MBEFO, L., "Pressures on the Missionary Church", in: Bigard Theological Studies, Vol 9, No 1.

[587] This saying means also that one can combine different religious currents in as much as they will help him to realise the aims he has in life.

[588] NDIOKWERE, N. I., The African Church Today and Tomorrow, Vol. I.

[589] NKWOTA, R. of CAS creation in God's Providence Printers of Mushin Lagos, Nigeria is the artist of the above art work. Similar posters and signs are very popular in the whole of West Africa indicating the various religious dimensions of Africans. http://images.google.de/imgres?imgurl=http://farm1.static.flickr.com/165/422271007_c41cda845f.jpg%3Fv%3D November, 2008.

Some ethnographers use the theory of pallelism to explain the above picture. This is a process of giving two unrelated and perhaps unconnected views or beliefs a similar form in order to have a definite and more defined pattern. In our own context, the African is in search of a spiritual balance; the old form of spirituality having been rendered worthless through Christianization and colonization, he needs a definite form of belief. I am quite convinced that the African likes the old religion (African Traditional Religion) and would not like to separate himself completely from it. At the same time, he would want also to identify himself with the new Religion (Christianity), giving the glories that are associated with it. Thus, he is able to reach at a compromise by combining the old and the new in order to have this spiritual balance.

It expresses the religious activities of the Africans who bring gifts like chickens which are to be slaughtered at the shrine of the medicine man. Such shrines are decorated with skull and bones, dead animals, bare-breasted women, dark clothes etc. When such gifts are presented to the medicine man, they are used for one spiritual activity or the other. This is the popular conception of fetishes, juju, voodoo and traditional African religions. The bible which he is holding on the other hand, shows the multiple religious dimension of the African man. It is superstition as testified here by the clay idolatry of the mumbo-jumbo mask. This has been a century old campaign in proselytizing of Africa in the encounter with Christianity and Islam.

3.6.3 THEOLOGICAL AND MORAL QUESTIONS

Among other reasons that have facilitated the rise of the new religious movements include the questions concerning marriage including polygamy, Christian burial meaningful liturgy and inculturation. In the view of Ndiokwere, the Catholic teaching on monogamy is not entirely acceptable to the African and again the Church's refusal to baptize and accord befitting Christian burial to polygamists and their wives could not be tolerated. "Childless marriage, as far as Africans are concerned, is undisputably a disaster."[590] As far as one would like to stretch this controversy, the typical African does not see anything sinful about taking a second wife, especially when the first wife fails to produce the desired offspring, for instance the male child. From the research made by Ndiokwere, (a catholic priest), in many healing homes and prayer centres, many men interviewed especially those that never got male children, believe strongly that taking a second wife "is not a matter of sexual promiscuity but it is a necessity"[591] Mbiti confirms this in the following terms "If the first wife has no children, or only daughters, it follows almost without exception that her husband will add another wife, partly to remedy the immediate concern of childlessness, and partly to remove the shame and anxiety of apparent unproductivity. To be productive, in terms of having children, is one of the essential attributes of being a mature human being. The more productive a person is, the more he contributes to the existence of the society at large."[592] Polygamy should here be understood in its popular sense, namely, the state of marriage in which there is one husband and two or more wives. Polygamy is a custom found all over Africa though in some societies it is less common than in others. The custom fits well into the social structure of traditional life, and into the thinking of the people serving many useful purposes. As Mbiti observes, it raises the social status of the family concerned.

Some Christians who are confronted with such theological questions do not hesitate to visit a spiritualist who may be a visioner, or a psychologist, a wise man, speaker in strange tongues etc. He may possess other qualities that may impress his followers, thus being in the position to demonstrate an initial experience of an overwhelming spiritual confrontation. "They pay rapt attention to the stories told by their clients and try to bring relief to frustrated souls"[593] by assuring them that there is hope for them in the kingdom of God. The number of adherents to

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[590]NDIOKWERE, N. I., The African Church Today and Tomorrow, Vol. I., P. 39.
[591] Ibid.
[592] MBITI, J. African Religion and Philosophy, P. 139.
[593] NDIOKWERE, N. I. Search for Security, P. 20.

such religious movement continues to grow as more and more condemned sinners seek refuge in their prayer houses.

In Igbo speaking areas of the Nigerian Church, it is a calamity to be expelled from one's own Church group. The consequences are great and naturally it has for long been a powerful means of controlling laxity in the Christian faith, and also a very powerful weapon for assuring order, stability and purity of Christian beliefs and practices. "Exclusion or expulsion from Christian community means also exclusion from the sacraments and other Christian activities and privileges. The worst is that such a victim of ostracism is denied Christian burial if he happens to die in such a state."[594] In order not to be expelled from the Church many use every available means to remain with the folk while some take extreme decision of leaving the Church. In some cases, such people who left the Church join other churches or even found their own Churches where they would determine what happens. In his own view, Ayandele opines that in the context of Christian Church in Nigeria, polygamy per se need not have caused any schism. This was because the majority of polygamists on whom all Christian missions depended for financial support, were elected to stay with the alien Churches that had prestige. "Moreover, they were given some status in the C.M.S and Wesleyan Churches and there were instances when they were offered positions of responsibility in the Church."[595] Polygamy per se tended to occasion a schism for instance in Yoruba land in the eighties when the institution was seriously discussed by the affected educated Africans, who hoped that the Lambeth Conference[596] of 1888 would understand the institution in the context of African society. The conference rejected the proposals of reconsideration to polygamy and the matter was dropped. Polygamy therefore, "should be seen as the effect rather than the cause of the establishment of the African Churches. It was after their creation that some of them like the United Native African Church and Bethel African Church, in an effort to make Christianity indigenous, accepted polygamy as a respectable institution."[597]

In an African community like that of late nineteenth-century Igbo where a sense of history was growing, many educated Africans believed that there was logically a necessary connection between the permanence of institutionalized Christianity in the African

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[594] NDIOWKERE, N. I. The African Church Today and Tomorrow, Vol. I, P. 39.

[595] AYANDELE, E.A., The missionary impact on modern Nigeria, P. 201.

[596] The Lambeth Conference is a world-wide conference for Anglican Communion. In this conference, each national or regional Church of the Communion is governed by its own Synod. The Lambeth meeting was not called Council or Synod but a conference because the resolutions passed by a Lambeth Conference do not have legislative authority in any Province, until they have been approved by the provincial synod of the Province concerned. It is not an executive which imposes doctrine or discipline but it is a forum where the mind of the Communion can be expressed on matters of controversy.

[597] AYANDELE, E.A., The missionary impact of modern Nigeria, P. 202.

environment and the degree of indigenization attained by the propagators of the faith.[598] In the view of Ayandele, the evangelisers were mistaking acculturation[599] for indigenization during the spread of Gospel.

3.7 CHALLENGES FROM THE NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS BEFORE THE CHURCH

The presence of the new religious movements in Africa was a very big challenge to the orthodox Churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church. The Bishops were fully aware of the influence and impact of these new religious movements in Africa that they made it a point of interest in their synod's *Lineamenta*.[600] In the synod, the Bishops recommended for a close study of the issues that are menacing the African Church. Among these issues include looking into the factors that are making the New Religious Movements in Africa to thrive so well, and some times, more than the established Churches. James Okoye a Nigerian theologian articulates in his contribution "Inculturation and theology in Africa"[601] the reasons why these New Religious Movements are very progressive in most of the countries in Africa.

Those Catholics who go to Prayer Houses seem to be saying that the Catholic Church is, for them, not a House of Prayer (cf Is. 56.7). It is, therefore, suggested that the main cause for the sprouting of these churches has been cultural dissatisfaction with the established churches.

The New Religious Movements stress the power of God and Christ, the power of prayer, Concern for the Angels and Spirits they borrowed from the Africans culture.

They have redefined the use of fasting and other techniques for endorsing vision-experiences, which at the moment enjoy great prestige in the culture.

They stress personal choice and participation. Liturgy is derived from experience, and culturally meaningful symbols are used. Each person is known by name and feels accepted.

Singing is prayer by all, not a cosmetic and impersonal extra by a choir.

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[598] Ibid.

[599] Acculturation is a process in which members of one cultural group adopt the beliefs and behaviours of another group. Although acculturation is usually in the direction of a minority group adopting habits and language patterns of the dominant group, acculturation can be reciprocal – that is the dominant group also adopts patterns typical of the minority group. But in the case of the missionary activities in many places in Africa, it was not the case since Christianity was just like an imported goods which should be sold to the consumers without any regard to their own cultural background.

[600] *Lineamenta*: The Church in Africa and her Evangelising Mission, Towards the Year 2000, Rome 1999.

[601] OKOYE, J., "Inculturation and theology in Africa" in Mission Studies, Vol. 14, No. 1-2, 1997, P. 64-83.

The prophet's life-style speaks. He/she studiously avoids social occasion and personal meetings and cuts down on travels and absences. He pays real attention to clients in a non-evaluative listening which convinces his client that 'my problem is his problem'.

The prophet binds himself to a period of fasting and other practices of spiritual training to dispose him to achieve the desired goals with clients.

However, irrespective of the deficiencies in the methods of inculturation in the new religious movements, Ndiokwere maintains that the established Churches can learn a lot from them. It is in fact the ability of the New Religious Movements to succeed where they established Churches have failed that has continued to encourage their growth among Africans. For the Africans, there is therefore no meaningful religious movement that can afford to ignore these issues and continue to attract followers.[602]

For Mbefo, African Christians have great expectations from their religious leaders; since a Church which cannot heal diseases is, for them, no church at all.[603] Okere, another Nigerian theologian observes that the leaders and theologians of the established Christian Churches are responsible for the proliferation of religious groups in Africa. "Since we have been theologically dormant, the faith of our people remains pre-critical and shallow. No wonder we are paying heavily for it by the embarrassing haemorrhage from our ranks in favour of innumerable sects promising answer to questions we are too timid to pose."[604] Another great African theologian, Ikenga Metuh[605] made a summary of these grievances in an address to the Catholic Theological Conference of Nigeria held at Owerri, Nigeria thus: The problems of African established Churches continue to multiply because the methods and priorities of their evangelization programmes are defective. Lack of depth in the faith of African Catholics is seen in their tendency to mix up Christian and traditional non-Christian practices and in the frequencies of dissertations from the Church for the spiritual churches which emphasize this worldly goals and fundamentalism. Many also desert the established Churches because they find their disciplines and liturgy alien. If this is true, then the whole area of inculturation needs a thorough study and a practical implementation of the outcome of such studies.

For Mbefo, the desired goal of religious freedom which many Africans have been searching for, beginning from the time of evangelization until today, has been reached at by the New Religious Movements. Through their movement, the people have been re-evangelized. "It

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[602] NDIOKWERE, N. I. The African Church Today and Tomorrow, Vol. I.
[603] MBEFO, L., „Pressures on the missionary Church" .
[604] OKERE, T., An address to the first Catholic Theological Conference of Nigerian Priests, April 1985.
[605] METUH, I., An Address presented at the Catholic theological Conference of Nigerian Priest in Owerri, April 1991.

could be that the Indigenous African Churches that are now taking over from the Missionary Churches will be in a better position to meet the objections of the foreignness of Christianity canvassed for, by their compatriots. They would then be missionaries to themselves. They are those who accepted the Church as God's will for them and equally accepted their native cultures as the providential matrix within which they have to bear Christian witness."[606] Shortly put, the New Religious Movements are known to have made tremendous impact in the area of inculturation. They are bolder, more adventurous than the established Christian Churches, which have for long remained cautious, slow, suspicious and conservative. Such posture has not produced positive results in the development and growth of the Christian faith in Africa. That is why inculturation is a necessity not only for the growth of the established African Churches but also to minimize the rate at which people migrate from one place to another in search of meaning and acceptance in life. What is then inculturation?

4.0 UNDERSTANDING THE TERM INCULTURATION

The word inculturation is derived from the word culture. The first root of the word is from the Latin verb *colo-ere-lui-cultum* which means to till the ground, to soften the naturally rough ground in order to make it fruitful for planting crops. A tilled soil provides a good environment for seed or crops to grow, mature and fruitify. For Onwuanibe, a Nigerian anthropologist and theologian "culture is tillage, an agricultural term in its root meaning, and it has been transferred metaphorically to the domain of the human mind and environment to denote the creation of suitable environment for the growth, maturity and fruition of human life."[607] Culture is also derived from another Latin root *cultus* which means worship.

Considering the two-fold definition of culture, it is a holistic phenomenon which has been defined variously by cultural anthropologists and philosophers. Thus Taylor defines culture as "the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art; morals, law custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[608] This definition expresses the all embracing character of culture from the point of view of cultural anthropology. In order to enrich or expand this definition, Iwe sees culture as "the fabric of ideas, beliefs,

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[606] MBEFO, L., "Pressures on the missionary Church", P. 69.
[607] ONWUANIBE, R.C., „The Church and cultural development" in: ONWUANIBE, R.C., The Relevance of the church in the 21st century Nigerian society, Enugu Nigeria 1995, P. 57-77, here, 60.
[608] TAYLOR, E., The Origins of Culture, New York 1958, P. 1.

skills, tools, aesthetic objects, methods of thinking, of eating and of talking as well as customs and institutions into which each member of the society is born. In short, it includes the way each individual makes a living, the music he plays, celebrations and festivals, modes of communication and transportation, the house we live in and the food we eat."[609] Therefore culture touches every aspect of human life, technology, economics, social system and structure, education, politics, language, and religion. The environment of man is not only physical but highly moral and spiritual. It is culture which shapes or forms society by creating forms of infrastructures and the super-structures for the enhancement of human life. In this sense Mondin observes that culture is "the spiritual form of society."[610]

When culture refers to the cultivation of personal qualities in terms of intellectual, moral and physical attainments, it is personal culture. It is societal when it embraces the forms of society as an artificial environment in terms of infrastructures, and symbols of civilization. Further distinctions of culture could be elitarian, pedagogical and anthropological aspect of culture as these refer respectively to the acquisition of knowledge, which distinctively categorizes a group, to the result of education as a cultivation of sound mind in a sound body and to the achievement of man as such in his way of life.[611]

4.1 UNDERSTANDING INCULTURATION THEOLOGY

The word inculturation was initially used by an American Anthropologist of the 20th century, Melville Herskovits. He used the term inculturation to express the meaning and all that cultural education of a person involved.[612] Joseph Masson S. J., a Belgian Jesuit theologian, on the other hand, gave the word a theological undertone when his thought in missiology needed clarifications amidst the missionary problems rising from cultural disparities. Massen was however, influenced by his teacher Pierre Charles who applied it earlier in 1953 but his concern was on Enculturation. Masssen used the word in his article *Ouverte Sur Le Monde* where he emphasized the importance of this terminology in the missionary actions of the church as well as for Christendom in general. Before the second Vatican Council, such terms as adaptation, accommodation, contextualization, indigenization and acculturation were used. Each of these terms has its use in inculturation and none of them, as such, can be substituted

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[609] IWE, N.S.S., Christianity, Culture and Colonialism in Africa, Port Harcourt 1979, P. 183-184.
[610] MONDIN, B., Philosophical Anthropology, Rome 1985, P. 51.
[611] ONWUANIBE, R.C., „The Church and cultural development".
[612] The New Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. 17, New York 1967.

for inculturation. But adaptation[613] gives the impression of an extrinsic activity, accommodation gives the impression of a syncretic practice and contextualization gives the impression of the gospel preached and moderated within and by a given context. Indigenization, on the other hand, is often associated with nativism and the process of domestication of the Gospel. Acculturation gives the impression of the replacement of foreign cultural elements with native ones, but some missionaries replace different African cultural elements with their own without asking if such replacement is properly done or not.[614] The term inculturation assumed a theological significance as it was taken over by the church's theologians who applied it in their expressions to mean the on-going dialogue between the gospel and the cultures. This is just an attempt to differentiate it from the anthropo-sociological reasoning as it was earlier understood but the effect was only peripheral.[615] Inculturation in its proper workings has become a great help to the church today in the greater and wider encounters with nations of varying cultures and customs. Shorter has a good understanding of this term as well as its implications and on the emergence of it in the Church's theological vocabulary. "The term inculturation, as applied to Christianity, denotes the presentation and re-expression of the Gospel in forms and terms proper to a culture. It results in the creative reinterpretation of both, without being unfaithful to either."[616] The above assertion implies a decentralized model of the Church in the new era of evangelization. That is to say, inculturation aims at making the church so homely and local, more than ever in each particular culture where the Gospel is preached. The sense is to create a situation whereby the Church is allowed to be able to grow not only in recognition but also in allegiance and cooperation with the entire family of God's people without losing its particular identity.

Arrupe Pedro, the Superior General of the Jesuits, charged his companions to work towards inculturatrion. He pointed to its importance, as it does not portray Euro-centric connotations which are implicitly contained in terms like adaptation, acculturation and others, as already mentioned. In his view, "Inculturation is an incarnation of Christian life and of the Christian message in a particular cultural context, in such way that this experience not only finds

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[613] Adaptation, anthropologically defined is the process whereby a population establishes means of existing and surviving in a specific environment. In theological and missionary circles it means an adjustment process whereby a selection of certain rites and customs are made, purified and inserted within apparently similar Christian rituals in order to meet up with the cultural requirement of the region in question. See CHUPUNGCO, A. J., Cultural Adaptation of the Liturgy, NY 1982.

[614] ONWUBIKO, A. O., Missionary Ecclesiology. An Introduction, Enugu 1999.

[615] SHORTER, A. E., The African Synod. A personal response to the Outline Document, Nairobi-Kenya 1991.

[616] SHORTER, A.E., "Inculturation, theology of" in: New Catholic Encyclopedia, Second Edition, Vol. 7 2003, P. 388-389, here 388.

expression through elements proper to the culture in question (this alone would no more than a superficial adaptation), but becomes a principle that animates, directs and unifies the culture, transforming and remaking it so as to bring about a new creation."[617] Effectively, inculturation appeared for the first time in an official Church document in the Message of the People of God, delivered by the Synod of Bishops of 1977. "The message refers to Catechesis as an 'instrument of inculturation.' Pope John Paul II has since used the word several times, for example in his apostolic exhortation on Catechesis (1979) and the Christian family (1981)."[618] Inculturation simply means the task of making Christianity in all its aspects our own, truly African. To the cultural understanding of evangelization Pope John Paul II has added many insights of his own, not least in his letter of 1982 to the Pontifical Council for Culture, when he wrote the memorable words: "A faith which does not become culture is a faith which has not been fully received, not thoroughly thought through, not fully lived out"[619] Pope Paul VI believes that the Gospel has never accomplished its mission "If it does not take into consideration the actual people to whom it is addressed, if it does not use their language, their signs and symbols, if it does not answer the question they ask, and if it does not have an impact on their concrete life"[620] Accordingly, Pope John Paul II says on catechesis: "We can say of catechsesis, as well as of evangelization in general, that it is called to bring the power of the Gospel into the very heart of culture and cultures. For this purpose, catechesis will seek to know these cultures and their essential components; it will learn their most significant expressions; it will respect their particultuar values and riches. In this manner it will be able to offer these cultures the knowledge of the hidden mystery and help them to bring forth from their own living tradition orginal expressions of Christian life, celebrations and thought."[621]

The Archbishop of Abuja, Nigeria, Onaiyekan maintained that for appropriate reception of Word in Nigerian Church, the word inculturation must be understood in two paradigms. Firstly, "the Church is at home in our culture, and speaks our language so that we can hear the wonders of the Lord in our own tongues, (Acts. 2:11) and modes of expression. We can call this the Pentecost paradigm in reference to what happened in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost when the same gospel message proclaimed by the Apostles, was understood by all

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[617] ARRUPE, P., Letter on Incultration, A Paper presented to the congregation of the Society of Jesus, Rome 14th May 1978, P. 96.
[618] SALDANHA, J., The teaching of John Paul II on Evangelisation, 1985.
[619] Letter to Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, 28 June 1982, *L'Osservatore Romano*, P.1-8.
[620] PAUL VI, Evangelization today, No. 63.
[621] JOHN PAULL II., Apostolic Exhortation on Catechesis in our time. *Catechesis Tradendae*, 10 October 1979, No. 53.

the nations of the earth, each in his own or her own language."[622] Secondly, "that our culture be at home in the Church, and be admitted into and accepted as full-fledged member of the variegated richness of the universal Church. We call this the Epiphany paradigm: every culture brings its treasures from all parts to the feet of Jesus, as the wise men from the East did on the day of Epiphany. As we bring to Jesus the best of our culture, we acknowledge their limits and human imperfections. In this understanding, inculturation demands that we have a basically positive appreciation of our culture, especially those connected with religion, rather than see it as the devil's work from which a few positive elements may be salvaged."[623] Nwachukwu, a Nigerian theologian understands inculturation as the assimilation of the word of God by the people of God. It entails welcoming Christ, his Gospel, his Church, his body as a person and feeding him with the ways of life of the people (culture). In his view, through inculturation, the culture becomes Christian and Christ grows in the culture. The culture, the food, which is assimilated, becomes inseparable from the body of Christ. This is an analogy that reduces to absurdity the argument that the inculturation should begin with "deuropeanization" or "de-westernization" of the Good News.[624] Another theologian Odoemene has described inculturation with a wonderful African imagery. For him it is like marrying African values with Christianity. "Marriage involves a dialogue between two families, kindred, or clans which is concluded as a covenant or pact. Inculturation involves a dialogue between the whole way of life of Africans (especially at the deepest level where the crucial issues of life are faced), and the Christians message. The end product is an intimate bond between African cultures and the Christian message."[625]

4.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF INCULTURATION IN AFRICA

In Nigeria, the leaders of various religious faiths have multiple aims regarding inculturation especially as a means of evangelization. Among other major aims is to reform the theological basis of the Church transported to Africa by the missionaries particularly in Nigeria. The Archbishop of Abuja puts it succinctly thus: Its major aim is: "To make us better Christians, men and women of faith, live in harmony with oneself and with one's culture. It is certainly

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[622] ONAIYEKAN, J., „Inculturation in the African Synod: Some Random Reflection" in: The Catholic Witness, Ibadan Nigeria 1997, P. 2-5, here 3.
[623] Ibid.
[624] NWACHUKWU, F. A., „The Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation, Ecclesia in Africa" in: Shalom, 12 1996, 4-11, Part 9.
[625] ODOEMENE, N. A., "A Critique on Inculturation and Methodology " in : Inculturation and the mission of the Church in Nigeria, Port Harcourt Nigeria 1992, P. 102-110, here 105.

not so as to offer us a cheaper brand of the gospel message, easier to live: a gospel that does not challenge us to conversion of mind and heart. If that were the aims of inculturation, it would not have been worthwhile of the Church to pursue it, nor could it have been considered an essential dimension of evangelisation."[626]

The missionary work in Igboland did not stop with the exit of the missionaries. It has always been continued and modified to suit the demands of the present day. It is all the more needed since fresh converts are made every now and then who would like to receive the message of Christ in our modern language. Many Igbo theologians are aware of the importance and need for the bringing of the Gospel to the cultural door steps of the people in Igboland. In other words, a thorough and reciprocal openness is needed essentially for the Gospel to be real and effective.

4.3 INCULTURATION AND THE DOCUMENTS OF THE CHURCH

The inculturation process like culture which is authentic in character should lead to an integral development of the human person to the good of the community and mankind. "Therefore one must aim at encouraging the human spirit to develop its faculties of wonder, of understanding, of contemplating, of forming personal judgements and cultivating a religious, moral and social sense."[627] Inculturation becomes necessary in order to realize these aims. Its major aim in Nigeria is to reconcile believers and non believers. More importantly, it has the objective of bringing the message of Christ to the people of God in Nigeria, so that the people will be at home with the message of Christ.

In the view of the fathers of the Second Vatican Council, the history of evangelization has been and continues to be a process of cultural adaptation, of "communion with various cultural modes,"[628] Inculturation remains "a living exchange . . . between the Church and the diverse cultures of people."[629] The council noted that the Church profits from the treasures buried within the diversity of human culture and that "from the beginning of her history, [the Church[630]] has learned to express the message of Christ with the help of the ideas and terminologies of various peoples, and has tried to clarify it with the wisdom of philosophers, too. Her purpose has been to adapt the gospel to the grasp of all as well as to the needs of the

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[626] ONAIYEKAN, J., „Inculturation in the African Synod", P. 5.
[627] GAUDIUM ET SPES, Nr. 59.
[628] Ibid., Nr. 58.
[629] Ibid., Nr. 44.
[630] Added by the author.

learned, insofar as such was appropriate. Indeed, this accommodated preaching of the revealed Word ought to remain the law of all evangelization ['lex omnis evangelizationis']. For thus, each nation develops the ability to express Christ's message in its own way. At the same time, a living exchange is fostered between the Church and the diverse cultures of people."[631] In the face of this, inculturation is just a necessity to evangelization. As a result, the fathers of the Second Vatican Council have five documents that are exclusively dedicated to inculturation, indicating the necessity of dialogue between religions.The documents are:

a.) Lumen Gentium, (Dogmatic Constitution on the Church)

b.) Gaudium et Spes, (Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the modern world).

c.) Nostra Aetate, (Declaration on the relation of the Church to non-Christian Religions)

d.) Ad Gentes, (Decree on the Church`s missionary activity)

e.) Dignitatis Humanae, (Declaration on religious liberty).

One finds in these documents elements of inculturation. These documents affirm the need to recognize "elements of truth and grace"[632], within traditional religions, the importance of the "treasures which the bountiful God has distributed among the nations of the earth"[633] the existence in natural religions and native cultures, of a ray of that Truth which enlightens all men, the recognition that the Holy Spirit has been at work in these cultures from the beginning[634], the presence of the treasures of the ascetical and contemplative life[635] and the presence of "Seeds of the Word"[636]. The relationship between the message of Christ and human cultures makes it pertinent that every effort must be made to ensure a full evangelisation of culture, or more correctly, of cultures. They have to be regenerated by an encounter with the Gospel.

John Paul II's encyclical *Redemptoris missio* (December 7, 1990) emphasizes the necessity of inculturation of the faith as a serious and urgent ecclesial duty, especially today. Other post Vatican II papal documents that advocated the same idea include *Evangelii Nunctiandi,* (December 8, 1975), *Redemptor Hominis* (1979), Dialogue and Mission (10 June 1984), Word Day of Prayer at Assisi, (27 October 1986), Theses on Interreligious Dialogue (April 1987), *Redemptoris Missio* (7 December 1990), Dialogue and Proclamations (19 May

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[631] Ibid.
[632] Ad Gentes, Nr. 9.
[633] AG. 11.
[634] GS. 11, AG. 4.
[635] AG. 15,18.
[636] LG. 17; AG 11.

1991)[637]. The need for inculturation is to highlight the implementation and appropriation of the decisions of a council in the local Churches. Inculturation is so basic and fundamental in the Church that the fathers of Vatican II further asserted: "Living in various circumstances during the course of time, the Church, too, has used in her preaching the discoveries of different cultures to spread and explain the message of Christ to all nations, to probe it and more deeply understand, and to give it better expression in liturgy celebrations and in the life of diversified community of the faithful …the good news of Christ constantly renews the life and culture of fallen man."[638] The above passage which gives the meaning of inculturation shows the necessity of inculturation especially in a developing mission country like ours.

A lot has been done to rectify the short-comings of early missionaries in Nigeria in terms of deeper studies in Nigerian cultures, in using the native tongues (languages) in the Church celebrations, and in music. These areas are very necessary for the Nigeria/Igbo Church to help it discover itself in its cultural environment. The Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity unlocks the door for pluralism of theologies. This shows the transitional character of Vatican II but it also means that the Nigerian Church must read between the lines what it means to call Vatican II transitional and what Vatican II itself had in mind.[639] The fathers of the council were fully aware that the church is a migrant, which should also have a theology for migrants in their respective areas of migration.

4.4 INCULTURATION AND THE CATHOLIC CHARISMATIC RENEWAL MOVEMENT

There are different groups moving under the name Charismatic movement but the one acknowledged by the Catholic Church has the word "Catholic" attached to it. This group (Catholic Charismatic Renewal) contributes immensely in the area of inculturation in Africa especially in Igbo/Nigeria. This movement emphasises the roles of the Holy Spirit in the church. The Catholic Charismatic Renewal believes that the function of the Holy Spirit is experienced in the concept of inculturation in Africa and it fosters communion in the Church. Laurentin confirms that the Catholic Church is strongly behind the movement. "The Holy See has been favourably inclined towards the movement, even if in a discreet way."[640] There have

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[637] ONWUBIKO, O., Missionary Ecclesiology.
[638] The Church Today, Nr. 58.
[639] POTTMEYER, H.J., „A New Phase in the Reception of Vatican II: Twenty Years of Interpretation of the Council", in: ALBERIGO, G., (ed.), The Reception of Vatican II, Washington 1987, 27-43.
[640] LAURENTIN, R., Catholic Pentecostalism, London 1977, P. 16.

been discussions and debates on the roles and functions of the Holy Spirit especially regarding its charisma. A Nigerian theologian Onoyima opines in this regard that Vatican II, in its Church constitution promotes the role of the Holy Spirit.[641] Through the efforts of this movement, the inculturation principles of Vatican II were able to be expressed in the African mode of worship. Such is observable when presenting gifts to dignitaries or to members of the community on special occasions. Such presentations are accompanied with singing, clapping, drumming and dancing, as a natural sign of expression of the African personality which is later on transferred to the African Liturgy.[642] Such lively presentations make the liturgical celebration more understandable and lively for the worshippers. In many parishes in Igbo/Nigeria, the offertory procession within the mass is accompanied with singing, clapping, dancing. The gifts of the people are presented to God in a lively atmosphere, which in turn, elevate the hearts of the faithful.

The Catholic Charismatic Renewal creates more opportunities for organizing national general conferences for the deeper understanding of the functions of the Holy Spirit. The last conference attracted an estimated 50,000 people from all over the country, and recorded over 17,000 communicants at each Eucharistic celebration.[643] Through such lectures, the public is better informed and many students become more active Church members since they are able to understand more, what the Liturgy is all about. These students graduated from the university and became itinerant teachers and helped greatly in the spread of the Gospel. The result is, when people are better informed about the activities and exercises of the Church, they have lesser desires to seek for meaning in life. They appreciate their things and environment more than when they have less idea or no knowledge of how the Word of God should be understood and interpreted.

4.5 SUMMARY

We can observe here that migration in the colonial period did not start actually during the period of colonization, but earlier during the time of business transactions between the Africans and the Europeans. It was originally a business contact which was, strictly speaking, aimed at: material exchange of goods like gold, jewelry and other valuable ornaments. But then after the discovery of the new world, that is when the need for human labour became

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[641] ONOYIMA, T., The Catholic Charismatic Movement and the Church, Enugu 1984.
[642] UZUKWU, E.E., Liturgy: Truly Christian: Truly African, Kenya 1982.
[643] FANIRAN, J.O., "Charism and Authority: A Case Study of the Charismatic Renewal in the Nigerian Church", in: The Nigerian Journal of Theology, 7, 1993, 63-76.

very needful in the world discovered by Christopher Columbus, Africa became the source where cheap labour could easily be found. The race of slave trade started and hit greatly the southern part of Nigeria, as a result of which migration from this part of the country started with the transportation of slaves to the newly discovered world. The slave trade was however stopped towards the end of the 18th century; but before this time, many Africans were still on the road to their places of slavery. Those that had not yet arrived, settled where they found themselves after the abolition of slave trade, some of those that had arrived their destinations, were transported back to the continent of Africa, for instance Sierra Leone. Isichei is therefore, correct by observing that any mention of the industrial growth of Britain or America, which ignores or minimises the colossal suffering and injustice meted on the African migrants (slaves) is totally incomplete.[644]

However, the first Christians were the freed slaves who could not be transported out of Africa after the abolition of slave trade. Having lost their original homes, they found succour under the umbrella of the Christian villages built by the missionaries where they were separated from the rest of the people and were given lessons regarding the Catholic Faith, the Bible and God. The mission stations and its environs were constituted strong areas of migration during the period of evangelization as many people from different areas saw such areas as points of attraction where one could discuss matters perturbing his soul.

After the abolition of slave trade, an alternative trade which would engage the minds of slave dealers was discovered, that is agriculture. The English people helped tremendously in the development of agriculture in Nigeria so that people could find an alternative means of livelihood. The establishment of agricultural structures was concomitantly done with the establishment of colonial structures. Colonialism helped therefore the English people to refashion their business strategy in Africa; since most of the agricultural products from Africa were transported to Europe where they were refined and canned and later on were transported back to Africa as European goods meant to be sold to the Africans.

The success of colonialism in Nigeria was as a result of the system of indirect Rule used by the British Government. Through such governmental system, the British people were able to enter fully into the fabrics of the people, to learn and understand the people better and also to rule them according to their own minds. This they did through the immense support of the Christian religion and western education. Professor Isichei has no difficulty in assessing the total significance of the colonial experience. "To Marxists, and others on the left, colonialism was purely and simply the vehicle for economic exploitation. Apparently creative aspects –

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[644] ISICHEI, E. The Ibo People and the Europeans.

such as education and the construction of communications – are dismissed, either because of their inadequacy, or because of their subordination to the political and economic needs of the colonial powers. To others, [like the author[645]] the benefits brought by colonialism are so evident that to ignore them seems a curios and wilful doctrinaire blindness."[646] After many years under colonial rule, the spirit of nationalism started to develop in the minds of many Nigerian elite. These educated Nigerians later started struggling for the independence of Nigeria which was gained in 1960.

Africa is said to have taken part in the world revolution through colonization. America and Europe experienced such revolution about five generations ago. Part of this revolution came to Africa through evangelization and European expansion to Africa, especially during the colonial era. The effects of such revolution are very tremendous, part of which is migration.

Colonial era helped to radicalize the migration propensity of Africans through the establishment of certain structures that encouraged migration. There was an immense network of excellent transport system. Money was made to acquire a new value and meaning before the Igbo/Africans who decided to look for it with every available means. In their search for money, they found themselves scattering to all parts of the country and even outside the confines of Nigeria. Above all, urbanization introduced a new living environment strange to a typical African environment which was previously protected from all western influence. The growth of urban cities which was facilitated with an excellent road network and with railway construction greatly encouraged migration during the era.

A very important point worthy to be mentioned is the evangelization and education process which freed the people from their traditional understanding of life and exposed them to a strange environment where (through the power of education) they were forced to question most of their basic and religious convictions. Education enabled them to perceive the world differently by taking part in the newly established order since, without education one cannot flow with the current of the structures of civilization. All these introduced a great change in a traditional African society that the African continues to search for more meaning in life, having been uprooted from his normal environment where religion and life in general were interpreted mainly from religious perspectives. I think that the Africans were migrating during this period without having clear and distinct religious convictions. This resulted in the meeting of two cultures (European and African on one side) and different religions

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[645] Added by the author.
[646] ISICHEI, E. The Ibo and the Europeans, P. 183.

(Christianity and African Traditional Religion on the other side). The foundation for such migrations, in my own view, is search for meaning and proper orientation in life.

Nevertheless, colonialism as it affected Ibo people had both creative and destructive elements. Shillington, the freelance historian and prolific English writer, compared colonialism in Africa with "a royal crowned-mighty python"[647] that descended from the British imperial monarchical world to swoop the whole of African continent including Nigeria. This swooping was so heavy that it affected all facets of African life including their religious stronghold. In another understanding, I believe that the African in such a situation was psychologically confused that he was no longer in control of most of his decisions and actions; since the most important issues bordering him were not only to save himself from the clutches of that python but also to free himself from that particular environment to a new one where he will have a clear sense of purpose to continue his normal life. Shillington expresses his opinion clearer with the picture below.[648]

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[647] SHILLINGTON, K., History of Africa, London 1989, P. 335.
[648] Ibid.
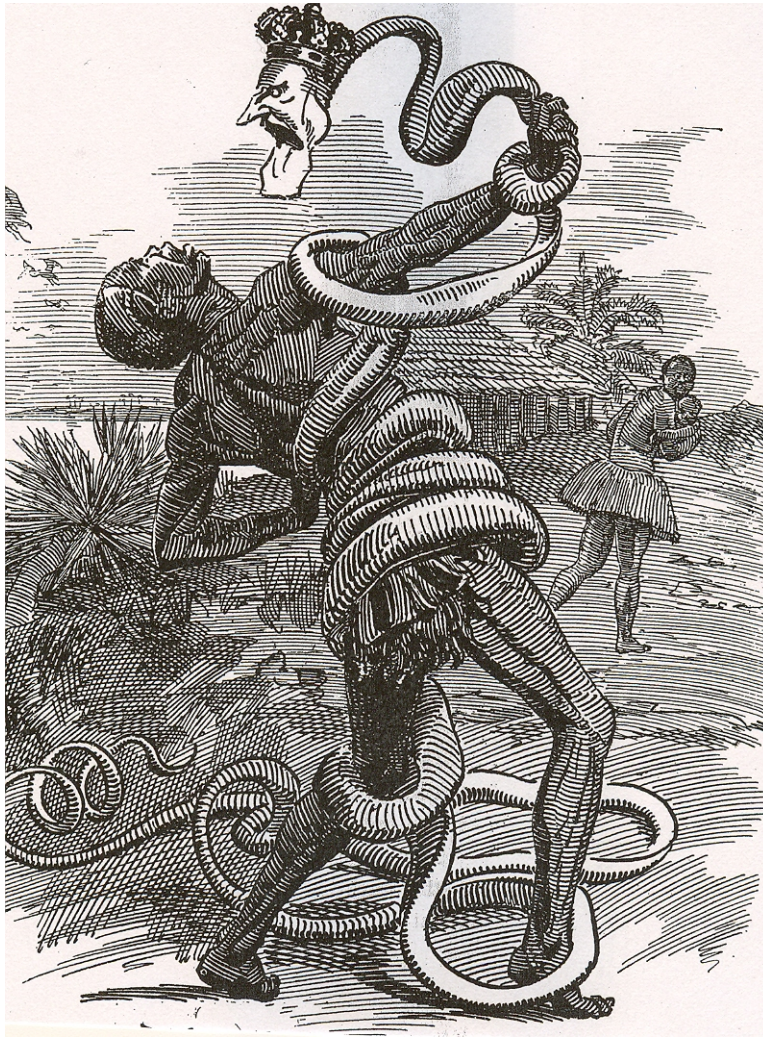
 Afigbo recorded that of all the communities invaded by this crowned-python, the Igbo people put up the strongest resistance.[649] After giving up unwillingly, the Igbo tactfully turned to master the whole newly introduced system of the colonialist. By so doing, they were in all the colonial establishments as efficient workers, thanks to their natural ability to adapt to any given situation coupled with their achievement motivation. Their ability to adapt to different situations has always attracted criticisms to them. Cohen confirms this that Kanuri people "are ambivalent about Igbo people. In general, Igbo people are disliked, mistrusted and even despised… Yet Kanuri grudgingly admire Igbo people for their Western education, salaried jobs, and higher standards of living…"[650] However, the Igbo socio-political system played a great role in this regard. Having mastered all the new methods of the colonialists, the new methods became a mobilising factor towards the colonial migration of the Igbo people. Thus they began to migrate like birds to all parts of the country where the new urban set-up was

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[649] AFIGBO, A., Ropes of Sand.
[650] COHEN, R., "Social Stratification in Borno". in: TUDEN, A.& PLOTNICOV, L. (ed.), Social Stratification in Africa. New York 1970, P. 243.

established. There, they were the qualified groups to occupy the so-called colonial white-collar jobs, ranging from clerks to university professors. Many migrated not as the educated group but as labourers in the case of railway constructing workers.[651]

Nonetheless, we have lingered over the struggles of the missionaries, whose endeavours loomed large in the study. I acknowledge their tireless efforts to plant the faith and the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Africa. Some authors criticise the missionaries for their undoubted paternalism, while others (I inclusive) have chosen to emphasize equally their undoubted altruism and self sacrifice since they believed that they were giving their best to Africa. It remains to be said that their lack of respect for African culture remains incomprehensible. The shallow method of the evangelization gave rise to different forms of cultural relativism which is seen today under various umbrellas like the rise of different religious congregations in Igbo/Nigeria today whose approaches to Christian Faith appeal to the African more than the approaches of the established Churches. As a way to balance the noticed deficiencies in the evangelization methods, the Church in Africa speaks of inculturation theology with which she intends to harmonize the Christian Religion in its western character with the African culture so that the Africans who continue to leave the Catholic faith for African Independent Churches will see reasons either to come back or to remain with the established Churches.

The urbanisation period and continuous urban migration of people to participate in the new market economy (introduced by the colonial powers) became the period when ethnicities were actually given birth to in Nigeria. The various ethnic groups struggled to share in the governmental establishments and the business in the urban cities. At first, it was migration to the cities and job creation that determined the task of the post-independent government. Later, people from the same region sharing the same religion started forming groups where their religious lives and ritual could be practised. The massive influx in the cities brought about urban population explosion and lack of sufficient infrastructures to cope with the volume of urban migration especially in cities like Onitsha, Port-Harcourt, Jos, Kano, and more importantly Lagos.

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[651] ISICHEI, E. A History of the Igbo People.

PART THREE: RELIGION IN THE FACE OF THE CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN/IGBO MIGRATION

An exposition of how Religion helps migrants in finding a new home in the face of contemporary migration

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The migration tendencies of the African/Igbo have not known an end even in our contemporary period. The intensification of contemporary international migration, the cross-influxes of migrants across geo-cultural boundaries, is not unconnected with local and global factors that dominate the nexus of migrants' homes and new host contexts. In seeking how a particular community transforms as well as reproduces itself in a foreign environment, this section ventures into the realm where identities compete, clash and impact each other at several levels. It looks into the historical emergence and growth of African/Igbo migrants in Europe. The African insertion and assertion in European societies necessitates further insights on how and to what extent Africans oscillate between resilience and transformation in Diaspora. The section provides brief insights into the complexities of contemporary African/Igbo migration, by exposing the socio-religious and economic realities of home and host cultural contexts, against the backdrop of African/Igbo negotiation between continuity and transformation in their cosmologies and ritual praxis. To achieve all these aims, we shall expose what some Africans think about Europe (*before they* begin *their dangerous journey to Europe)* and some of the means used to pierce the fortress of Europe. The European individualism and her religious environment which is a contrast to the African traditional society will be exposed here; and at the same time African individualism which is connected with African communalism. The experiences by the African migrants after their arrival in Europe will also be brought to bear using African Catholic Community in Vienna as a case in point. The mutual and reciprocal romance between Religion and migration especially between the host environment and the immigrants will be a great concern of the last part of the work. In it, we shall investigate how far the African migrants have been integrated into the European society by exposing the the meaning, activities, roles and importance of religious migrants communities and their contribution towards the project of integration. At last we shall give also some possible suggestions that could help facilitate the work of home constructions in the place of migration.

5.1 EUROPE FOR UNINFORMED AFRICANS

In order to situate properly the material, social and intellectual investment made by many untutored Africans/Igbo in their quest to come to Europe and sometimes to America, an understanding of what they think that Europe and America look like is very necessary. For

many Africans who wish to come to Europe, it is a land flowing with milk and honey where many people are very rich. But this is not the case for there are millions of European citizens who are miserable, who are poorer than the African peoples of the Third World. To show that life is not all that rosy in these developed continents, health insurance is still seen as luxury in some developed countries like United States which Barack Obama wishes to eliminate in his tenure. Vanguard (a Nigerian Newspaper) captured it thus, "The concept of expanding eligibility for Medicare and State Children's Health Insurance Programme (SCHIP) to cover more families and workers is probably the highlight of the Obama health package."[652] This goes to demonstrate that even in the developed countries, some pictures which some Africans have about them are far from what the situation really is. But the difference between the developed and the developing worlds is clear, there is a constant need to better the situation of the citizens in the developed countries as also indicated by Vanguard, "The aim is to make it mandatory for every American child to have health care coverage while adults would obtain coverage either privately or through the government. Obama also plans to create a new public insurance programme that would make it improbable for any American to be denied Medicare because of joblessness, illness or pre-existing conditions."[653]

It is the project of this section to expose the fact that each continent is the architect of their own fortune or misfortune. The salvation or destruction of the Africa lies with the Africans.[654] The Africans are, however, correct in one hand in their imagination that in many developed countries, roads are relatively in perfect condition because the government through the constructors of the roads maintain and keep them in perfect condition. There is constant supply of electricity which is a pre-condition for any serious development. Without it, there will be no communications as it is functioning round the clock in Europe. One finds his every day need in a nearby store without having to travel many kilometres to get them. The Europe which is used as a dream continent has basically good government where many people use the chance given to them as an opportunity to serve the people. In fact many take it as a vocation to lead the people to greater heights. The judiciary is functioning and people's rights are most of the times granted, and where the corrupt practices of both the government and the citizens are exposed with the aim of deterring others from doing the same and more importantly, with the intention of establishing a decent, liveable and just society where the citizens can take as a

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[652] OGUNDIPE, S., "Obama seeks health insurance for all" in: Vanguard, 11. November 2008. Also available at http://www.vanguardngr.com/content/view/21417/80/, April 2009.
[653] Ibid.
[654] The salvation cannot come through migration but by making Africa to look like the countries where the Africans wish to migrate.

their homes. Health facilities as well as health insurance are parts of basic needs of life in Europe. These are the establishment which help the citizens to lead a fulfilled life and which enable the citizens to realise their life's potentials. Actually, these are some of the baits that continue to attract many Africans to Europe and America and sometimes, many uninformed and uneducated Africans begin a journey without having an idea of where the journey is leading them and what they would be encountering along the way. Most of them never knew that there are also beggars and jobless men and women in these continents with big names. Bearing in mind only the rosy part of the developed countries, they begin their journey.

5.2 TRAVELLING TO EUROPE

In the pre-colonial times the major reason for migration was search for a fertile land where the people could cultivate and plant their agricultural products. The colonial establishments determined the movement of people during the colonial and partially post-colonial times, since their establishments became the major sources of employment which, in turn, gave a new meaning to the worldview of the time. Nowadays, there are so many other factors that determine the contemporary migration to Europe ranging from economic, political, social and religious. The causes and reasons for migration are so complicated that Zeleza writes "the causes, courses and consequences of contemporary international migration systems are tied to complex social networks that have arisen as a result of the long processes of globalization and transnationalization in which Africa, including its educational institutions and cultures, has been involved and implicated."[655] Kalu captures the complex dynamics of migration condition in an article titled *The Andrew Syndrome: Models in Understanding Nigeria* where he identifies four phases of the problem of migration in Nigeria: the home based conditions that compel emigration, the journey, the diasporic condition and the prospects of re-entry.[656] Medically, Andrews Syndrome is a disease characterized by pulmonary infiltrations of *eosinophils* and blood *eosinophilia.* In the case of Kalu, it refers to a paid television advertisement by the Nigerian government to checkmate the flow of emigration in the 1990s. It pictured a frustrated looking Andrew at the International Airport *checking out* of the country.   This idea is clearer in Samura's 45 Minute film documentary *Exodus from Africa-*

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[655] ZELEZA, P., „Contemporary African Migrations in a Global Context" in: African Issues XXX/I, 2002, P. 13.
[656] KALU, O., „The Andrew Syndrome. Models in Understanding Nigerian Diaspora". Paper presented at a Seminar, University of California at Davis, December 2004. This was later published in OLUPONA,J. K. & GEMIGNANI, R., (ed.) African immigrant Religion in America, New York 2007, P. 61-85 but my quotations are taken from the unpublished paper.

an Immigrant's journey where he out listed the plight of irregular African migrants in Spain to international attention. He accompanied the migrants from sub-Saharan Africa in their attempt to break and breach the walls of fortress Europe and pave way for the greener pasture. In a rhetorical tone, Samura queries: "Have you ever wondered what it would be like to pack up your bags and leave the country you call home? Once you've squirreled away enough money and decided on your destination, there are other, more daunting aspects of moving to deal with. The emotional ordeal of leaving behind your family, your community, your friends – indeed, your whole culture, is huge .... People who move not because they choose to but because they have to, because the place they are leaving behind offers them nothing, no future, and no security whatsoever.... These people head for the West with no proper documentation, with the worst means of transportation and are at best aiming for a bizarre and dangerous means of entry into an unknown land .... thinking that once they get here, all their problems will be solved. This journey that keeps claiming thousands of lives of desperate Africans is now on the increase."[657] A similar project was undertaken by two Austrian women Kreuzer und Milborn who accompanied some Nigerian girls (these girls are however not Igbo girls) to their homes with the aim of unravelling the plights of migrants travelling from Africa to Europe. In their book titled *Ware Frau* where they documented their findings from a Nigerian Joana Adesuwa Reiterer whom they accompanied to her home town in Benin City; a neighbouring tribe of the Igbo. Joana's husband allegedly brought her to Austria to join the work of prostitution which she refused to do, as a result of which their marriage relationship was ended.

The summary of this section of the book is that so many women are on the move because of the collapse of the Nigerian economy.[658] This idea is better put by the Nigerian ethnologist who comes also from the same region (Benin) with Joana Adesuwa thus: "The human trafficking of the 21st century has renewed the past idea that Benin City was the centre of slavery even though the means of transportation and destination may be different today."[659]Another attractive motive in making the journey to Europe is the growing knowledge of the existing sex market in the European Union, which was made known through the constant contact in mid-1980 by the Nigerian business women who discovered this lucrative sex business in Europe. It was actualised through the international connections

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[657] SAMURA, S., „Sorious Samuras Africa" available at: http://www.sorioussamurasafrica.org/exodus.htm, April 2008.

[658] KREUZER, M., & MILBORN, C., Ware Frau Auf den Spuren moderner Skalverei von Afrika nach Europa, Salzburg 2008.

[659]IFEKWUNIGWE, J. O., Recasting Black Venus in the new African Diaspora, in: Women's Studies International Forum, Vol. 27, Issue 4, 2004, P. 401.

of certain businessmen, known as the human traffickers/Mafia whose major commodity was to bring women from the developing nations of the world like Africa, Asia and South America into the developed nations as commercial sex workers. Not all African women involved in this trade understood the type of job their visit to Europe would offer them. As Ndiokwere[660] reported, some have attempted suicide when they learned about the type of job they have come to do in the white man's country. Many Nigerian women who believed that the middle men were helping them to further their education in Europe and America are shocked when they learn about the type of job that is awaiting them. An example is a medical student who was in a group of the recruited would-be prostitutes, who according to Ndiokwere, violently pleaded with the police and Italian immigration officials in Rome to send her back to Nigeria. With the help of the Nigerian embassy in Rome, the student and a couple of other decent women in the group were flown back to their fatherland.[661] One can therefore understand why many Africans take to prostitution as soon as they come to Europe or America. This was all the more confirmed by the recent report from *Punch,* one of Nigeria's most widely read newspaper that "Eleven suspects accused of forcing 150 young Nigerian girls into prostitution in Europe after helping them to enter the Netherlands as asylum seekers went on trial in a Dutch court on Monday. These 11 people will have to answer to charges of human trafficking and being members of criminal organization."[662] In his research, Ndiokwere estimated that "more than 90 percent of African women who roam the streets of Rome, Austria and other European capitals are imported slave-prostitutes. While in some of these cities public prostitution is banned and those caught are sent to jail, many of the prostitutes enjoy maximum protection from security officials, most of whom patronize the women. Some of these women are Igbo and Nigerians."[663] The map below shows the various countries in Europe where the African migrants travel to with the hope of making their life's situations better.

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[660] NDIOKWERE, N. Search for Greener Pastures.
[661]Ibid.
[662] Punch, Nigeria most widely read Newspaper, Tuesday, 11 March 2009.
[663] Ibid., 263.

Here is the map of Europe showing the few countries that attract some of the African migrants. Not all the countries shown in the Map are however, attractive to the migrants. The attractive ones are already indicated in the work.[664]

He however, observed that some of these women who claim to be Nigerians are not Nigerians but claim to be from Nigeria with the aim of smearing the Nigerian image. Such a situation is also being experienced today in Europe where some African people would engage in one misdemeanour or the other and when asked their place of origin, they claim to be Nigerians.

5.2.1 SOME AFRICAN WOMEN IN THE FIELD OF MODERN EUROPEAN MIGRATION

The patterns of women and men travelling from Africa are almost the same. Nigerian women migrants belong to the group trafficked into Europe and America through the sponsorship of the organised international Mafians. Migration among the Nigerian female group is considered as business entrepreneurship within the current global economic migration

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[664]http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/eu.htm March, 2009.

process. Various researches and perspectives show that the acceleration of migration stems first of all from the high rate of unemployment caused by economic depression in many African countries like Nigeria. Another believes strongly that the pull factor was the growing knowledge of existing sex market in the European Union countries, which was made known through constant contact in the mid-1980s by the Nigerian business women who discovered this lucrative sex business. This was actualized through the international connections of certain businessmen, known as *human traffickers*/ Maffia whose major stock in trade was to bring women from the developing nations of the world into the developed nations as commercial sex objects.

Mirza and Strobel, agree that the pauperisation as a social group or the global pauperisation of the community as a whole causes the proliferation of prostitution among girls and young women. Experience has also shown that the casual sex work is linked to increasing standards of living and in each case to increasing consumer aspirations of urban citizens.[665] It has also been observed that the colonial past of Nigeria explains why young girls and women have easy access to Europe especially to the Anglophone post-modern pop culture, as it is broadcasted by video and TV (MTV). At the same time, the products and services of this modern culture are available in the city's shops and boutiques. As a result, for many of the Nigerian young women, the degree at which they cultivate dreams about a better life exceed their incomes even if they get decent jobs.[666]

What is common from most of the stories told by many migrant girls is that a good number of them come from very poor homes. They have received promises either to be sent to school or do the work of a baby-sitter. Some, however, were ignorant of the kind of job that awaits them on their arrival in Europe especially Italy, Belgium, Germany, Austria or America. The story of Florence, a Nigerian girl who was trafficked to Spain which was reported by Kreuzer and Milborn makes it clearer: "I was 17 years when I was in Benin City in the school and was asked by a friend if I would like to do the work of a baby-sitter in Europe.... The friend organised the papers, a passport document which has another person's name but my picture in it. Everything went fast and in one week time I was on my way… The Trolley drove me to Kano."[667] Florence waited in Kano for three days in a house in the company of five other girls, all coming from Edo State, Nigeria. The journey continued to Niamey where the girls were sold. "We were sold for the first time in Niamey. We stayed two weeks in the house and it

[665] MIRZA, S. & STROBEL, M. (ed.) Three Swahili women: life histories from Mombassa, Kenya 1989.
[666] Life style aspirations of urban women, in IDOC *Internazionle*: 12.
[667] KREUZER, M., & MILBORN, C., *Ware Frau, P. 120.* The Translation was made by the writer.

seemed that there was a problem. The trolley-driver started taking the girls one after the other. I was the fourth person. He handed me over to a tall man, wearing a cap and long blue-black clothes. He paid so much on my behalf because I was a virgin."[668] It was a terrible night for her as she tried to run back to her mother but was caught by the trolley-driver, who bit her almost to death. They were driven later in a white pick up to Mali. They crossed the boundary of Niger and Mali on foot at night without light. The last city they crossed, according to her, before the desert was called Gao[669]. In Gao they hid themselves for the first time. It was here that the ravages of a refugee started- before one notices that they are coming from a different place. She continued the story "We landed at a Ghetto for the first time. The Ghettos are either beside the road or in the desert but are separated from the small villages around. They are meeting points for people crossing the desert. Here, there is a meeting point for people coming from the same country, and so one has the opportunity of being with Nigerians. Every Ghetto has a leader who must be paid for the services he renders. It is the responsibility of the leader to organise the food and the traffickers who will help in the continuation of the journey. We stayed almost three months in the desert because our owner had not much money. The traffickers who know the routes in the desert are very expensive. One night, a trafficker came and took us through the desert. One day the journey started again with a bus through the desert. But the sand was much that we had to continue the journey on foot. The first phase of the journey lasted for seven days through the desert. It was a group of sixty people with the majority coming from Nigeria and some from Ghana. Each person was given a gallon of water and a loaf of bread. The desert was like a hell. During the day, it is too hot to run and the robber sandals I was wearing, melted as a result of the heat that it was sticking to my foot. The Trafficker later gave me a pair of leather sandals he got from one of us who fell and died. I took it because I had no other alternative. Many corpses were lying along the road; some of them were only skeletons while others have just died. Most of them were Africans. In such a case, one takes the clothes of the dead and leaves his body behind.

The next phase of the journey lasted two weeks. This time, the group has become more than 100 people and the traffickers were armed; armed so as to protect the group from external aggression. The Algerians believe that Nigerians travel with a lot of money and so they attack the African groups from time to time. We hid ourselves all the more in Algeria than in Mali because the Algerian police were very tough and thorough in controlling the passers-by. We

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[668] Ibid.

[669] Gao is a city in Mali which lies in the North-eastern part of the country. It is popular for its role in human trafficking being the connecting point between West Africa and North Africa. It played this role in the ancient time during the period of slavery and it has retained the function in the modern times.

walked through Magnia to the last town in Algeria before entering Morroco. I was already nine months on the road and would need more fifteen months before arriving Europe. After crossing the boundary of Morroco, I was handed over to another Trolley-driver in Magnia where we stayed for five months. Later we travelled to Tanger. We spent one year here before we could get a boat which took us to Madrid. The price from Magnia to Madrid was €2000 for women and €1000 for men. After arriving on the Bank of the sea, we were taken up by a lorry which brought us to Madame."[670] The above first hand story from Florence unfolds the experiences and ordeals the African men and mainly female encounter in their quest to come to Europe.

It is also believable that since 2002 this sense of playing ignorant of the kind of job that is available in Europe, ceases to be an accepted view since it has been noted that, among those practising prostitution as a job in Austria, not all were trafficked. There are others who migrated through contact or arrangement by friends who are in the business and have given them information on its lucrative nature, and assisted them to migrate to join in the business. Such people are happy being casual-sex[671] workers (people who engage in sex simply sex for a short period of their life as against what permanent sex workers do as a profession or a carrer.)

From the areas where this migration is rampant, new migrants must have witnessed the marvellous progress made by the women who migrated before them. Such women have various investments in their areas like purchasing private houses, plots of land or having even some transport vehicles. These and other related investments must have attracted other women to join so as to record such tremendous progress in their lives.

It is not our aim to suggest that all African migrants to Europe and elsewhere follow this hazardous course. There are, in fact, a remarkable number of skilled migrants, students, business people and professionals that have been attracted and drawn to love, settle and work in Europe, the U.S.A and elsewhere legitimately and legally. In order to understand African migration properly, one must carefully balance the two sides of the coin. Africans in Europe cut across these different dichotomies of skilled/unskilled, documented/undocumented, temporary/permanent, male/female, and adult/children migrants.

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[670] KREUZER, M., & MILBORN, C., *Ware Frau* For more details, read the book especially pages 121-130. This is the story of one who survived such excruciating experience while searching for the *Promised Land*. The experiences of those who felled and died by the wayside are unknown and their own pains and views of the journey are also unknown.

[671] Sexual relations not involving a love relationship, especially brief encounters, or an encounter on one ocassion. See, Websters New Millenium Dictionary of English, Preview Edition, 2003.

5.2.2 CATEGORIES OF AFRICANS IN EUROPE

Kalu differentiated the various categories of African scholars in Europe. The first group was trained over sea under the ideology of questing for the wonders of Europe, many returned home and helped in training others. The second group undertook undergraduate programmes at home and travelled out in pursuit of graduate studies. Many from this group in his view stayed abroad while some of them returned temporarily. In his view, this tendency "was driven by limited upward mobility, economic crisis that affected remunerations and widespread political repression that constrain academic freedom."[672] The third group experiences the harsh immigration laws in the western world and on account of no scholarship; they had no other alternatives than to be trained in the national universities under very difficult conditions. Most of these universities had no relevant books and necessary laboratory equipment for their courses and had not the guidance of senior lecturers in their studies. Such people, after studying in such an environment are always disappointed if they are not employed. Such graduates use every available means to come to Europe where they believe that they will get job and begin a more decent form of life. When such succeed in coming to Europe, most of the time they are disappointed because the Europe they expected to see is always different from the Europe they encounter on arrival.

Akhtar believes that the presence and arrival of migrants to any given country stirs up mixed feelings ranging from paranoid anxieties to idealization. The newcomer might be seen as an interloper who would deprive the natives of economic opportunities and life resources, or, as an unconsciously revered messianic leader who would solve the problems of the existing community. Such feelings result always from prejudice and xenophobia on the one hand and excessive kindness followed by disappointment and rejection on the other.[673] The former begins from the Port of entry into the country of destination. No warm embrace from anybody, and there is no gentle and virtuous man or woman, black or white to welcome the migrant. Rather, serious interrogations by suspicious custom and immigration officials and security agents point to serious troubles ahead. These interrogations and investigations are complicated by hours of tortuous searching of the new-comers' belongings, including the sole of his shoes and even some private part of the body. Kafka brought this idea clearly in his book *The Castle*[674] where the animosity of the villagers toward the protagonist, a surveyor who had supposedly come to work in the castle, is indeed striking. Even those who promise to

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[672] KALU, O. „The Andrew Syndrome" P. 3.
[673] AKHTAR, S., Immigration and identity, London 1958.
[674] KAFKA, F., The Castle, New York 1999.

protect him, say "You are not from the Castle, you are not from the village, you are not anything. Or rather, unfortunately, you are something, a stranger, a man who is not wanted and is in everybody's way, a man who is always causing trouble."[675] However, it is not the task of this work to delve fully into the migration laws of Europe or the different laws guiding different countries in Europe since it is beyond the scope of consideration. We wish here to expose the situation of migrants and fate of migrants on their arrival to their places of migration. We shall just confine ourselves within the spheres that will enable us to arrive at our aim in this work, namely by exposing the religious life of Europe which the African begins to encounter some weeks, if not immediately after arrival.

5.2.3 MIGRANTS' MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE AND EVANGELIZATION

Revival is phenomenon in the history of the church that occurs from time to time. Such Revival is spurred by powers from above with the various gifts of the Holy Spirit. This Spirit of Revival is that which ignites, "burns itself out and then re-emerges in some altered and surprising form, in constant cycles of migration and renewal."[676] Such spirit is that which encourages the migration of the missionaries even outside the boundaries of their continents. This accounts for the reason why some Africans/Igbo leave their home countries for various regions in Europe.

Wallace seemed to have known this when he wrote in the 1960s that new religions are constantly being born. Every year about the globe, dozens of new cults add their voices to the cry of the variously emerging new religionss. The newness of such religions resides in the attitude of their membership, their members could be newly inspired people who have decided to forsake the way of the world and have come together to form a community of believers; (those who are born again in Christ) all with the view of forming a good and just society.[677]

Such was also witnessed during the time of Reformation and Counter-Reformation that sent Puritans to New England, Quakers to Pennsylvania and Jesuits into the wilds of South America. The Apostolic zeal of the missionaries of the 19th century inspired pious adventurer to travel to Africa to spread the seeds of the Gospel. Today, the process is reversing itself as

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[675] Ibid, P. 62.
[676] The New York Times April 8, 2009.

[677] WALLACE, A. F., Religion: an anthropological view, New York 1966

many missionaries are migrating from Africa to Europe with the aim of helping to re-spread the seed of the Gospel which was brought to Africa many years ago. This is manifested in the number of foreign seminarians that are seen in the various seminaries in Europe and also that most of the European parishes are occupied by priests from other continents. That is not all, there university Professors, Lecturers and teachers in various areas in many European institutions of higher learning, all working in the various theological areas. Most of the scholars mentioned above could be seen not only in Austria but also in various parts of Europe where they are contributing in various ways to the dissemination of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, the presence of African/Nigerian preachers in Europe who are constantly invited to do delivery ministry or preach in revival crusades attest to the fact many missionaries come from Africa to Europe. Moreso, most of the Churches in Africa/Nigeria, have branches in various parts of Europe where their Chief Shepherd are always invited on special occasion to perform some religious exercises

In as much as there are many genuine missionaries coming from Africa to Europe, there are still some Africans who because of economic hardship and other unfavourable immigration laws in Europe, see religion as the only avenue to begin a more decent life in Europe. Such are ready to abandon their original religious denomination for any other one that is ready to promise and give them a better form of livelihood. Such Africans become preachers over night and begin to go from house to house looking for converts for this denomination. In the face of such a situation, Christian religion in some European countries today is becoming a commercial venture. In the face of this, it means that the African/Igbo religious identity is not only double, but has entered also in the era of settlement syndrome. Religion played significant role during European migration in 19th century,[678] so also it plays similar role to current African/Igbo migration into Europe. Sometimes, it is disguised because some of the migrants had no religious intention before migrating, see it however later as a favourable means of survival and stick to it.

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[678] WALKER, M., Germany and the Emigration 1816-1885, Cambridge 1964.

5.3 THE EUROPEAN SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT: THE AUSTRIAN CASE

Austria is a country harbouring many mountainous territories of the eastern Alps. It has many snowfields, glaciers and snow-capped peaks, the highest being the Grossglockner (12,530 ft, 3,819m). It has a land area of about 31,942 sq (82,730 sq.km); total area of 32,382. It has nine states with the population of 8,205,533. The map[679] below shows the boundaries between Austria and her neighbouring countries like Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Italy, Czech Republic, Switzerland and Germany.
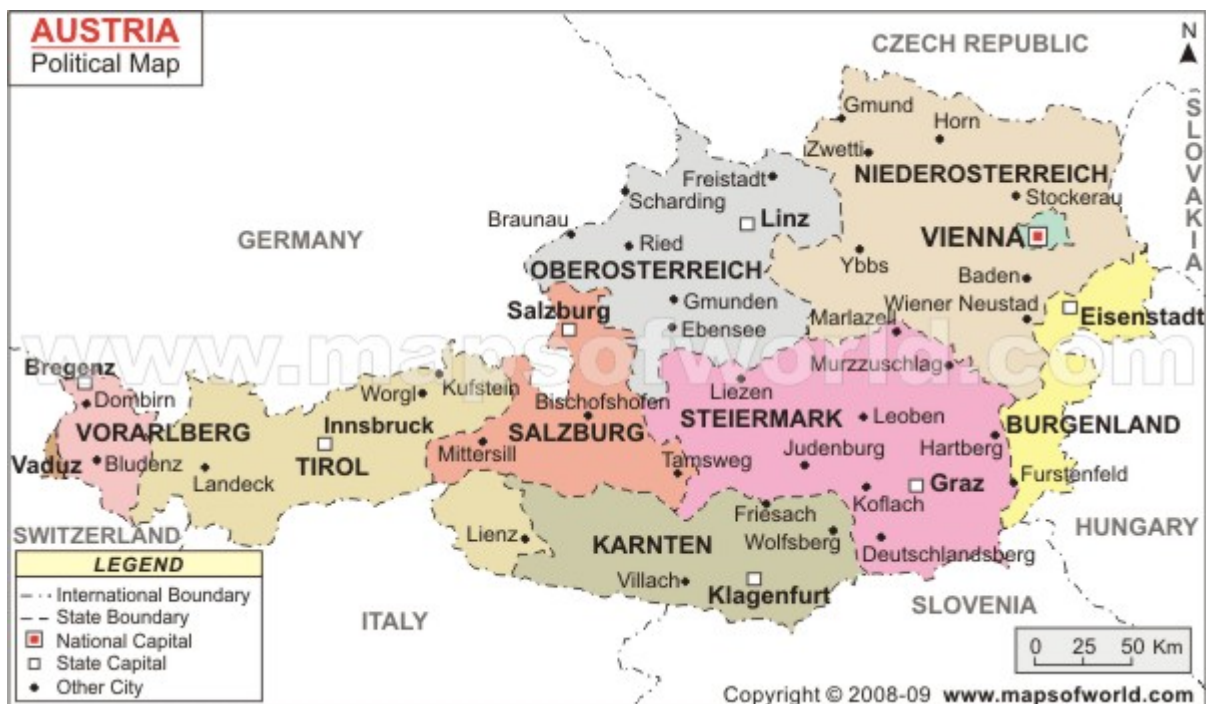
Religiously, "Austria was and is a country with Roman Catholic majority."[680] The environment of Austria is punctuated with religious furniture like statues and crucifixes, artwork and towering Church buildings. Although these features of religiosity are not always used in the Austrian environment in their religious sense, they stand as testimonies to the

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[679]http://www.mapsofworld.com/austria/austria-political-map.html, April 2009.
[680] ZULEHNER, P. & POLAK, R., Religion- Kirche-Spiritualität in Österreich nach 1945. Befund, Kritik, Perspektive., Vienna 2006, P. 13.

historic strength of the Church in Austria. The Catholic liturgical calendar still influences the Austrian way of life. For instance, there are restricted hours of work on Sundays, and other Catholic holy days of obligation like the feast of Christ the King which is always combined with the *Corpus Christi (Fronleichnam)*, feast of Ascension, Feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary are observed as holy days of obligation and as a result are work-free days. However, these feast days are seen by some people as simply convenient breaks from work, they are nonetheless, lingering reminders of Austria's Roman Catholic heritage. Helfert summarised the Catholic character of Austria of the past in the following words, "In Austria, as in all those European states which have accepted Christendom as the basis of their constitution, baptism is the necessary condition for civil rights and for full civil legal status."[681]

Christianity in Europe is, moreover, divided into several denominations, namely Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Protestantism. These denominations emphasise the various fundamental values of Christianity, and this has had a formative influence on European history in recent centuries. "Protestantism advocates freedom. Catholicism is sceptical of freedom and advocates for justice. For Orthodoxy, neither freedom nor justice is of prime importance; it is chiefly concerned with keeping the heavens open."[682]

As the seat of the Holy Roman Empire, Vienna, the capital of Austria, served as the hub of the Counter-Reformation since "Luther's teaching found fertile soil in Vienna."[683] Austria had staunch Roman Catholics, who, fearful of losing their powerful dynastic grip, the Habsburgs unleashed their *re-catholicization* of a nation that in the early decades of the Protestant Reformation had seen some 80-90% of the population embrace the Protestant faith. We shall not expose fully in the work the activities of reformation and counter-reformation here since it is beyond the area of our consideration. But it remains to be said that much has changed in the Church and Austrian society in the years since the initial Reformation and Counter-Reformation, but one still sees the foot-prints of these periods on the sand of time in many Austrian towns and states.

The reformation and counter reformation of in the 16th century resulted in many Austrians either being killed or driven out of the country. Those remaining were either converted back to the Catholic Church or went underground with the exception of some isolated villages.

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[681]HELFERT, D. J., Darstellung der Rechte, welche in Ansehen der heiligen Handlungen dann der heiligen und religiösen Sachen sowohl nach kirchlichen als nach Österreichischen-bürgerlichen Gesetzen stattfinden, 3rd Edition, Prague 1943, P. 18.

[682] ZULEHNER, P. „Religion in Austria", P. 49.

[683] LOUTHAN, H., The Quest for Compromise: Peace makers in Counter-Reformation Vienna, Cambridge 1997, P. 4.

Two centuries later, as the Habsburg Empire expanded to include territories of various ethnicities and religious backgrounds; an Edict of Tolerance was signed in 1782 which granted Protestants some measures of religious freedom. However, it was not until 1961 that the Evangelic Church A.B (Lutherans) and H.B (Reformed) were granted official recognition by the Austrian government. The same recognition was extended to the Church, in the post-war era, which however, did not stop the sharp decline in the membership and Sunday attendance.[684]

Since the 17th century, orthodoxy has been a catchword in the Austrian environment since the Habsburgs welcomed them as a bulwark against the invasion of Ottoman Empire. This orthodoxy was greatly supported by the fall of communism that the whole of Austria especially the capital city Vienna has more ethnic representations of orthodoxy than any other city in the whole world. Various nationalities found their home in Vienna with a total of 93,294 members only in Vienna and 179,472 throughout Austria.[685]

One cannot write about the religious history of Austria without commenting on the Austrian Jewish population from which according to Zulehner und Polak "130.000 were expelled and 60.000 were killed during the National Socialism."[686] In 1938, there were about 180,000 Jews living in Austria but after 1945 the *Israelische Kultusgemeinde* could not count up to 6000 members, where most of these were sick, weak, old and psychologically demolished. Yet today's Jewish minority of 7000-8000 has become again a "very visible group among the different parts of Europe which is made possible through massive migration from Eastern Europe and from America."[687] The experiences of the Second World War led to a systematic destruction of faith through the slaughter of many believers. The subsequent decades after the Second World War have seen the decline of religion. The effect is seen also in the decline of the membership to institutional Roman Catholic Church and Protestant Churches.

Since 1812, there are laws in Austria that granted Moslems not only the freedom of worship but also the right to organise and regulate their internal religious affairs. In the present Austrian society, "there are 338.998 Moslems and 121.149 are living in Vienna thereby constituting about 7.8% of the Vienna population. From the population in Vienna, more than 96.052 have already naturalized in Austria."[688] Emphasizing the influence of Islam in Europe,

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[684] www.statistik.at February 2009.
[685] ZULEHNER, P. & POLAK, R., Religion- Kirche-Spiritualität in Österreich.
[686] Ibid. P. 19.
[687] Ibid., P. 20.
[688] Ibid., P 21. For more information to the religious-sociological situation of Moslems in Austria, see GARTNER, Der Islam im religionsneutralen Staat; Weiss, Leben in zwei Welten; Heine, Islam zwischen Selbstbild und Klischee availabel at http://www.derislam.at March, 2009.

Zulehner writes, "Islam has already had a lasting influence on parts of Europe, especially the Balkans and certain districts in European cities such as Berlin-Kreuzberg and Vienna's tenth district (where in one single parish there are three rival mosques for people of three different nationalities)."[689] That means Islam has also strong roots in Austria since many Moslems migrated to Austria for many years and have built Mosques which are scattered in the big cities and states of Austria. The most elegant of them in Vienna is in Hubertus Damm where many Austrian citizens and other Muslim migrants go for worship while other non-Muslims visit the site as a result of curiosity in order to see how Islamic worship takes place.

5.3.1 SHIFT FROM THE MAINLINE CHURCHES

Originally, Austria was a well known religious country where most of the people were practicing Catholics. After the Reformation and Counter Reformation, the religiosity of the people took another dimension that the Catholic population in Austria became less than 70% of the general population of Austria. The loss of the Catholic members across Austria which was rated about 20,000 per year in the 1970s has turned to some 40-50,000 per year in the 2000s.[690] The table below shows the growth and losses of the mainline Churches during the centuries in Austria, with those without religious affiliation (*ohne religiöse Bekenntnis*) rising drastically. In fact those without religious affiliation now make up the second largest population in Austrian religiosity, behind Catholicism.

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[689] ZULEHNER, P., „Religion in Austria" in: BISCHOF, G. et al. (ed.), Religion Austria. Contemporary Austrian Studies Vol. 13, 2005, P. 37-62, here 49.
[690] www.statistik.at *Volkzählung* 1900, 1971,1981,1991,2001.

Austrian Population with respect to religious affiliation 1900-2001

Year	Roman Catholic (%)	Protestants (%)	Moslem (%)	Other Religions (%)	Without religious affiliation (%)	Unregistered
1900	91.6	2.7	0.0	5.4	0.2	0.2
1971	87.4	6.0	0.3	1.5	4.3	0.6
1981	84.3	5.6	1.0	2.0	6.0	1.0
1991	78.0	5.0	2.0	2.9	8.6	3.5
2001	73.6	4.7	4.2	3.5	12.0	2.0

The information above shows how multifarious religion has become in Austria. "Today, however, Austria is tightly woven into a European megaculture influenced as much by its similarities as by its differences. What Europe has in common as far as religion is concerned is the great diversity of types of *Weltanschauung*, not only individual ones but also those of whole nations."[691] We shall then observe that Austria is a multicultural, multi-religious and multiethnic society which was made possible through their recent history of migration by which so many foreigners found their way into Austria and built new homes in the Austrian society.

Furthermore, different people in Austria have different opinions on matters regarding God and other issues that are related to him. This is confirmed with the statics made in Austria where people gave answers to certain questions regarding God and his existence.[692] The table below explains it better.

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[691] ZULEHNER, P. „Religion in Austria", P. 49.
[692] Europäische Wertestudie- Österreich 1999.

TO WHICH OF THESE QUESTIONS DO YOU BELIEVE/AGREE WITH

Questions	Answers
There is a lively God.	28%
There is a higher Being or a spiritual Power	49%
I do not know correctly, what I should believe in	13%
I do not believe that there is: God, any supernatural Being or a spiritual Power	7%
Undecided	3%

A similar survey claims that 83% of Austrians believe that there is a God, while only 16% believe there is heaven and 37% believe that there is hell. This is significant as we bear in mind that 70% of Austrians are self-professed Roman Catholics, and 88% are affiliated with one of Austria's 13 officially recognized religious communities[693]

LIST OF RECOGNISED RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS IN AUSTRIA

a. Roman Catholic Church

b. Greek Catholic Church

c. Evangelic Church Ausgburg Confession and Helvet Confession

d. Old Catholic Church

e. Armenian Apostolic Church

f. Koptic Orthodox Church

g. Syrian Orthodox Church

h. Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day-Saints (Mormons)

i. Methodist Churches

j. New Apostolic Churches

k. Buddhist religious communities

l. Religious community of Isreal

m. Islam

5.3.2 NEW AGE RELIGIOSITY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON EUROPEAN SOCIETY

Many Christians in western societies and other parts of the world come always in contact with different aspects of the New Age. The term new age has different explanations and definitions

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[693] PRETTENTHALER, M. & BRUNNTHALER, C. *Religion Bewegt*, Vienna 2006.

but it should be understood as a term used to explain a momentous turning point in history. For Astrologers it is the age of Pisces which has been dominated by Christianity.[694] Some prefer to speak about paradigm shift or an intensive desire for change. Such desire for change is expressed in "the rejection of modernity underlying this desire for change."[695] The New Age is, in fact, a free-flowing spiritual movement; a network of believers and practitioners who share somewhat similar beliefs and practices, which they add on to whichever formal religion that they follow. Naisbitt believes that such situations are experienced in turbulent times, in times of great change, when people head for the two extremes: fundamentalism and personal, spiritual experience. Such groups have no membership lists or even a coherent philosophy or dogma that is why it is difficult to define or measure the unorganized New Age movements. But in every major U.S. and European city, thousands who seek insight and personal growth cluster around a metaphysical bookstore, a spiritual teacher, or an education centre.[696]

It is also described as a modern revival of pagan religions with a mixture of influences from both eastern religions and also from modern psychology, philosophy, science, and the counterculture that developed in the 1950s and 1960s.[697] New Age is a witness to nothing less than a cultural revolution, a complex reaction to the dominant ideas and values in western culture, and yet its idealistic criticism is itself ironically typical of the culture it criticizes. The New Age is definitely a heterogeneous movement of individuals; most graft some new age beliefs onto their regular religious affiliation. The influence of New Age cuts across continents, and is affecting many people in our present day, and more importantly, the religiosity of the people.

5.3.3 CONSUMERISM AND RELIGION'S CONSTRUCTORS

Zulehner uses the term *religion composer*[698] to describe a group of believers who, are neither remaining in official membership with a recognized church nor are completely out registered. Such people pick and choose from the teachings of that church as well as from other traditions

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[694] Jesus Christ the Bearer of the water of life. A Christian Reflection on the "New Age." Promulgated by the Pontifical Council for Culture, Pontifical council for interreligious dialogue, February 3, 2003. Also available at http://www.ourladyswarriors.org/teach/newagereflect.htm#14 Janurary, 2009.

[695] Ibid.

[696] NAISBITT, J., & ABURDENE, P., Megatrends 2000, New York 1990.

[697] Irish Theological Commission, A New Age of the Spirit? A Catholic Response to the New Age Phenomenon, Dublin 1994, Part 3.

[698] ZULEHNER, P., "Religion in Austria", P. 44.

and philosophies, and compose their own spiritual world view.[699] The diversity in spiritual belief is not simply on a societal level but more importantly on the individual level. This explains why individualism is on the increase in the European society. One of the megatrends of our time according, to the research of Horx, is *re-spiritualization*[700] which expresses itself in a multi dimensional form. The world is so materialistic that many people are estranged; people with spiritual needs and desires are looking for "an exodus in the ego"[701]; which is responsible for the high sense of individualism today. Branden sees the term individualism as a psychological and ethical concept which holds that "a human being should think and judge independently, respecting nothing more than the sovereignty of his or her mind; thus, it is intimately connected with the concept of autonomy. As an ethical-political concept, individualism upholds the supremacy of individual rights."[702] Figl, commenting on the uniqueness of the the individual person opines, "Human person is a part of nature but then in its essential quality, is above it. Man is therefore very important, because his individuality is outstanding from the rest of the things in nature."[703] Thus, human being is, therefore, the yardstick for all other values in life. Because of this, some people think that they can exercise the quality (autonomy) in religious matters. Hence the subjectivization of religious matters is what Berger calls "the compulsion to heresy"[704], which means a situation whereby one is forced to choose and individuals seek only things that are convenient to them and to their religious understanding. The result of such understanding is seen in the growth of a number of esoteric bookstores and trinket shops in the recent times.

In consumerist Europe, consumer-based spirituality sells. This should not however, suggest that, there are no people from this region who have very high spiritual convictions, but to say that there are also other extremes.

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[699] An example of such was a discussion I had in train while travelling to Vienna with a university of Salzburg professor whom I encountered in 2007 who declared himself to be *Evangelisch* (Protestant). This professor described further his relationship to his spiritual mentor, a Roman Catholic nun who specialized in Zen Buddhism.

[700] HORX, M. "Megatrend Religion" StdZt 221, February 2003, P. 87-96.

[701] WEIS, H.W., Exodus ins Ego: Therapie und Spiritualität im Selbstverwirklichungs-milieu, Zürich 1998.

[702] BRANDEN, N., Individualism and the free society, Part I., November 1994. This is also available in http://freedomkeys.com/collectivism.htm, January 2009.

[703] FIGL, J., „*Ganzheitliches Denken am Ende der Neuzeit. Romano Guardinis These und die gegenwärtige New-Age Diskussion*" in: FIGLE, J. & WALDSCHÜTZ (ed.), Ganzheitliches denken. Festgabe für Augustinus K. Wucherer-Huldenfeld zum 60. Geburtstag, Vienna 1989, P. 35-46, here 37.

[704] BERGER, L.P., Der Zwang zur Häresie, Frankfurt 1980.

Zulehner outlisted eight "ideological"[705] religious dimensions showing the various forms of subjective religiosity in Austria/Europe especially since religion became a private affair in the Austrian society. These various religious creeds go to show the various beliefs of the people in European/Austrian society.

HUMANISM: Opines that if God exists, then, this is solely in people's hearts. God is that which is valuable to human beings. One does not have to be Christian in order to be a human being.

NATURALISM: For this group, life is ultimately determined by the laws of nature and is part of the evolution of nature. Nature is also the higher power, the cycle of human beings, nature, and the cosmos. There is no answer as to whether there is anything beyond our world.

FAR EASTERN: This philosophy of life is expressed in a belief in reincarnation, which is not only the belief that we will be born again and that death is only a transition to another existence but includes the belief that how we behaved in a former life affects our present life.

ATHEISM: Belief in the non-existence of God, and that even if there is a god, we human beings cannot perceive Him. In any case, death is the end of everything.

THEISM: Theists believe in a higher Being, a God who wants to be here for us, who cares for each one of us and who determines the course of the world. They believe in life after death.

CHRISTIANITY: A group of believers in Christ who expressly accept the teachings of Jesus Christ. They believe in his Resurrection, that God shows Himself to us through Christ and that he will restore His Kingdom.

There is another group who believe in God but not in the Christian sense: Strangely enough, this is a separate category of believers.[706]

ANOMIE: A world view which holds that there is no sense in life.

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[705] ZULEHNER, P. "Religion in Austria" P. 44.
[706] The research (Zulehner) did not explain how this group believes in God but not in the Christian sense. He just mentioned it that way in his reach work.

According to Zulehner, these eight world views form the foundation of four different philosophies in Austrian/European society. The first group is made up of very committed Christians. They are 27% of those he interviewed. The second group accepts certain Christian beliefs, but think that god cannot be understood in the Christian sense. This group tends towards the far eastern elements, but is also the most humanist and has a medium percentage of naturalists. The third group are the naturalists and they tend to be non-Christian humanists with a faint inclination to theism. Neither far eastern philosophies nor atheism mean anything to them. 30% of those interviewed belong to this group and this is the group where Anomie is frequently encountered. The last group which he described as *would be atheists*[707] hold naturalistic, humanist, and atheistic beliefs, but few of them are believers. 13% of the people interviewed belong to this category.

 Possamai emphasizizes how the rise and expansion of the capitalistic enterprise has greatly affected the psyches of the modern societies and individuals. As the consumerist mentality migrates from the economic realm to the spiritual realm, it takes on varied expressions, from the attempts of religious institutions to appeal to the desires of their religious consumers (such is common in American evangelical mega-churches) and in the productions and consumptions of new Age products. Austria has begun to see the evidences of the former. Possamai sees the appeal of New Age spirituality in post modern societies as "hyper-consumer religions ... consuming products for gaining and enhancing sensations. They can visit a *New Age* healing centre for a few days, participate in a *vision quest* and be initiated in shamanism, buy crystals and indigenous paraphernalia, learn astrology…"[708] Summarily, the consumer is his or her own authority in deciding what to consume, in other words, there is a reliance on a guidance that justifies the religious values of these commodities. In the post modern times, there are two extremes. Firstly, the New Age spiritualities are perceived as having no boundaries in their consumption. Secondly, consumers from some religious groups need to be guided by a recognised authority.

This description of the European religious environment is what the African migrant meets on his arrival to Europe. He meets a world which is radically different from what he has been used to in Africa. The fact that hits him most is the individualistic form of life which has become very normal in many European states. His crisis begins here since he has found himself here and would also want to spend the greater part of his life in such a society. The

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[707]ZULEHNER, P. "Religion in Austria", P. 45.
[708] POSSAMAI, A., Religion and Popular Culture, Vienna 2005, P. 49.

migrants begin to come together to see the possibility of reproducing another African environment like the migrants in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa.

5.4 THE CONSTRUCTION OF AFRICAN COMMUNITIES IN EUROPE: THE AUSTRIAN CASE

The environment described above is the one where many migrant communities in Austria and Europe find themselves on their arrival. It is on one hand an ethnic society and on the other hand, as a result of migrations from different parts of the world, it has turned into not only a multi-ethnic but also multi-cultural society since each group of people migrate here with their religion, culture and world view. The African/Igbo migrants who were used to either the Christianity as it is practised in Africa (African Christianity) or at home with African Traditional Religion, find themselves now in a multi- cultural and multi-religious community. They are also confronted with the challenges of either establishing a new home in this environment or getting assimilated into the already existing tradition of the new environment. However, different migrants react differently to this situation because while some assimilate into the already existing tradition, others try to reproduce a new Igbo environment in their place of migration. The later face the challenges of creating their own identity in the face of other identities.

Identity is essential to understanding society and politics insofar as human actions and behaviour are often geared toward representation of themselves. "Identities are not only constructed but are constantly produced and reproduced through social practices and identity discourses."[709] In a stable environment, where there is widespread consensus on notions of the collective self and what is to be valued, identities remain relatively stable. However, when values are continuously questioned and challenged, identities become contested and remain constantly in flux. The varieties of these identities are developed in the various Christian communities that are found in the host country. In the case of Austria, the Celestial Church of Christ, Cherubim and Seraphim, various Pentecostal Churches, Vienna International Christian Centre and various African Catholic Communities. For such Africans in their places of migration, religious attachment becomes very supportive since they have the need to identify with a religious group that seems to give them spiritual consolation, which is very essential for their struggle to stay on. The preachers in such religious communities often seem to

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[709] KHAN, M., "Constructing the American Muslim Community" in: HADDAD, Y., et al. (ed.), Religion and Immigration. Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Experiences in the United States, US 2003, P. 175-198, here 176.

understand the predicament of their listeners. They always touch on their live's experiences in Europe which include their motives and purposes of migrating into Europe. Such motives include; to make their lives better and be able to plan better for their future in their countries of origin. In such a case, the preachers emphasize on having patience, and on its relevance in life. This is common with many migrant communities and the type of preaching that is given to them which often they appreciate much since the preacher seems to identify with them in in their predicament.

5.4.1 THE FORMATION OF AFRICAN CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

It is not always very easy to form a community with a true identity in the new place of migration; a lot of factors come into play in this regard. The psychological outcome of immigration depends upon the magnitude of cultural differences between the adopted and the home country. Akhtar summarises such differences thus, "Such differences involve a wide range of dimensions, such as attire, food, language, music, wit and humour, political ideologies, degrees and varieties of permissible sexuality, extent of autonomy versus familial enmeshment, the premium upon self-assertion versus self-effacement, subjective experience of time, the extent and nature of communication between sexes and between generations and so on."[710] In the case of Europe/Austria, such factors are seen influencing and determining the ability of or inability of migrants to find a new home in their place of migration.

Religion is a factor that helps migrants greatly in this act of founding a new home. One of the experts interviewed during the course of this research, the former overseer of African Catholic Community[711] observed how religion has helped the African immigrants towards finding a new home here in Europe/Austria. Among other things he emphasized is how religious the African immigrant are and the source of their religiosity in his view is strictly connected with African Traditional Religion (which we have already fully exposed in the first part of this work). To understand the spirituality of African migrants "one must go back to the background, the background is African Traditional Religion... by nature, the Africans are religious."[712] Most of the African migrants in the African Catholic Community are from Nigeria and precisely from the Igbo speaking area of Nigeria which is the area of our concentration in this research work.

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[710] AKHTAR, S., Immigration and Identity. Turmoil, Treatment, and Transformation, New Jersey 1999, P. 19.
[711] The English speaking African Catholic Community is in *Siebenbrunnenfeldgasse* 22-24, 1050 Wien. The picture was taken by the researcher on 8.03.09 shortly before the end of the holy mass.
[712] Interview with OGUNBANWO, L, 5th January 2009, P. 1

The priest responsible for the community confirms that the community is called African English speaking community, "but we have 80% to 90% of Nigerians in the community and more than 75% of them are Igbos...... Before the end of the mass you will hear one or two Igbo songs. It is not a written law; but by the time they will finish choosing the songs (for the mass), you will hear one Igbo...the Igbo culture in the place is part of this migrant community."[713]   Below are some pictures showing Africans and their worshipping commununity in Vienna.

Here is the Logo of African Catholic Community in Vienna

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[713] Interview with ORJI, J., regarding African migrants in the African Catholic Community in Vienna, 24.02,2009, P. 4.

This is the front view (Entrance door) of the Church: Kirche zur Auferstehung Kirche

The aim of the formation of the community is to fill-up the religious vacuum created by migration on Africans. Initially the community was established for all the Africans in Vienna, both French-speaking and English-speaking Africans. With time, as the community started growing, and moreso, giving the fact that there are many languages in Africa, there arose the need to split the community between African French-speaking Catholic Community and African English speaking Catholic community. But then the Logo of the communities remains the same since the two communities have things in common.

The notice board shows some of the activities of the parish where the African Catholic Community is guest to.

Here are some of the Africans coming out from Church immediately after the mass. Middle is Mr. Akunobi (a Nigerian) chatting with the researcher (left) and at the same time holding one of his daughters who is chatting with a family friend whom she has not seen for some time now.

The Church remains a meeting point for most of the African migrants.[714]

Another cross-section of Africans streaming out of the Church immediately after the mass to enjoy the scarcely-seen sunshine in Austria during the winter period.[715]

[714] Photographer: HENEIS, J., on 08.03.09.
[715] Photographer: OHAJIRIOGU, A.C. on 08.03.09.

Here are some of the people exchanging pleasantries after the mass, while some new ones are gradually being introduced into the European environment.

Mr. Okonkwo Jude, (left) one of the founding fathers of the African Catholic Community interacting with one of his friends after the mass. Behind them are also other Africans who are engaging in the same project of interaction. There are also some Austrian friends who

admire the activities and lives of Africans in Vienna and such are seen in the African Catholic Community almost every Sunday.[716]

Orji (the Chaplain of the African Catholic Community) observes that the formation of such migrant community is not an easy task because "during the forming stage, one can date it back to 1970s when there were no set down structures and then later they (Africans) continue to grow."[717] Initially, it was like the meeting point of friends, and of people coming from the same continent who meet to talk about their experiences in their place of migration. This act of coming together is in agreement with the African understanding of the individual person *I am because we are*, meaning, the individual must always be connected with the community in order to live a fulfilled life if not, he cannot properly exist. This is African individualism which we have high-lighted above. O'Brien confirmed this further by observing that "Individualism is almost always linked to community, arising from the desire to find others who share one's experience and/or one's convictions. Community is where people pray, worship, find a sense of belonging, and work toward objectives arising from shared faith."[718] The African remains the same religious being both at home and in his place of migration. This view was more consolidated in an interview where Ogunbanwo laid bare the background of the religiosity of the African migrants "And this is the background, this African Traditional Religion is the socio-cultural context of an African wherever he/she is. That is why you can even talk of these African Churches here in Vienna because Africans want to go anywhere with their values, with their religion, with their culture and they want to express that in whatever they.... do."[719] These issues explain further, why fundamental concepts, values, beliefs and certain expressions stretch wide in different African migrant communities not only in Europe but also in the whole world where there are Africans.

O'Brien believes that the quest to form a religious community is a universal phenomenon among migrants. Immigrant Catholics, Protestants, and Jews even the poorest, almost always experienced in migration "a new sense of freedom, and almost always they chose to help form communities, often religious ones, with their own people."[720] These new communities are very important for the migrants because in the view of Smith, through the formation of such

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[716] The pictures where made by the writer on on 08.03.09 during and after the the Sunday mass.
[717] Interview with ORJI, J., P. 2.
[718] O'BRIEN, D. J., "The Changing Contours of American Religion", P. 20.
[719] Interview with OGUNBANWO, L., P. 1
[720] O'BRIEN, D.J., "The Changing Contours of American Religion", P. 20.

communities, "folk memories are brought to bear on new aspirations."[721] The explanation of the words used by Smith is very important since each of the terms conveys something special in our study especially in the lives and new situation of the migrants. The word *folk* suggests peoplehood – with its complex of symbols and values, loyalty, and solidarity – and almost always stand in self-conscious opposition to the individualism of European culture. The African religious community affords the African migrants the opportunity to experience their peoplehood in Europe. *Memories* catch the people's determination to remain themselves and to express to others and pass on to the young the traditions and symbols, even the language, that gives meaning to their experience. *Brought to bear* expresses the deliberation, the voluntary action that community building requires. However, much Church, might look like one at home, each was and is different because these people constructed it. It is theirs, almost always in a way different from what that meant at home. Finally, *new aspiration,* suggests and perhaps this is the most important point about the future that ethnic associations arose from hope as well as memory. All these are true of the various African religious communities formed in Austria especially African Catholic Community. Speaking about the African Catholic Community Ogunbanwo maintains "this religious community affords them the opportunity not only to develop spiritually, religiously but also to appreciate more their [African[722]] values. You see them coming to Church with their African attire, you see them coming together sharing ... So I think, the religious communities provide that environment to nurture and develop more these African values ... like respect for elders, the value of ...sharing, of what we wear, the value of how we train our children, these are values that are in African cultural environment."[723] From the above quotation, one sees all the aspects and characteristics of a community formed by migrants according to the definition of Smith (*folk memories are brought to bear on new aspirations*.)

5.4.2 THE ROLE OF AFRICAN CATHOLIC COMMUNITIES TO AFRICAN MIGRANTS

From the information we have already from the African Catholic Community, one can say that the roles and importance of religious migrant communities cannot be over-emphasized. It is a spiritual vacuum-filler. Life is particularly difficult for many African migrants because of various reasons like the declining European economies, retrenched welfare systems, cultural gaps, xenophobia at individual and institutional levels, acute unemployment, police

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[721] SMITH, T. L., „Religion and Ethnicity in America," in: American Historical Review No. 83, 1978, P. 1155-1185, here 1155.
[722] Added by the author.
[723] Interview with OGUNBANWO; L., P. 2.

harassment and brutality, dashed hopes, stress, loneliness, extended family expectations from home, and mounting unpaid bills and mortgages. "Under these distressing conditions, many Africans find spiritual, psychological and material succour in the church. Through elaborate rituals, [during liturgical exercises[724]] a sense of identity, security and protection is provided for members."[725] The community helps to cushion the pains and strains of unemployment by serving both as an employer and as a channel of information for job opportunities at both formal and economic sub-sectors of the society. Adogame maintains that, the Church vicinity plays a double role both as a religious (spiritual) and social centre "where religious rituals and extra-religious activities take place contemporaneously. It is a forum where socialization occurs, where social contacts and networks are built; where new migrants interact with older ones; where new migrants are socialized into the new society through language instructions and teaching them survival strategies and tactics in the new hostile context, where information about new jobs, vacant accommodation is freely exchanged; where formal and informal business deals are negotiated and contracted; where to buy African food and other items." [726] Such places where people from the same country and the same home are seen are very important since they fill up the gap created by the families and friends who are left at home. Grinberg believes that any discussion where home food comes into question plays a great role to immigrants since "it symbolizes the earliest structural link with the mother or the mother's breast. Thus the immigrant may vehemently reject the new country's local dishes and nostalgically seek out the foods of his own country... Refuge in food is sought to ease his anxiety, thus recreating an idealized breast that is generous and inexhaustible, with which he tries to compensate for the many losses during the move."[727] Therefore, the Church vicinity remains the area where information like the places where one can get such African food, where to be acquainted with in-formal channels of sending remittances home; where the latest news from home and gossips are debated; where new acquaintances such as partners for marriage are sought. The religious community in the view of Adogame "is also an avenue both for negotiating adaptation to the new cultural context as well as for reinventing and reinvigorating cultural, ethnic and religious identity."[728] This idea was corroborated by

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[724] Added by the author.

[725] ADOGAME, A., "Engaging the Rhetoric of Spiritual Warfare. The public face of *Aladura* in Diaspora" in: Journal of Religion in Africa34/4 2004, P. 493-522, here 505.

[726] ADOGAME A, "African Instituted Churches in Europe. Continuity and transformation.", in: KORSCHORKE, K., et al. (ed.), African Identities and World Christianity in the Twentieth Century, 2005, P. 225-244, here 230.

[727] GRINBERG, L. & GRINBERG, R., Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile, New Haven 1989, P. 79.

[728] ADOGAME A, "African Instituted Churches in Europe. Continuity and transformation.", P. 230.

Kraljic (who is the director of Catholic Communities from Africa, Asia and Latin America in the Arch diocese Vienna) in an interview thus, "Well, my experience with these communities is that the celebration of the faith, of worship, is a central moment also of cultural identity. So they come together on Sunday not only for Mass, but just for being together, and to ... celebrate first the holy Mass, and then their being together."[729] Below are other pictures confirming the opinion of Kraljik.

Here is a cross-section of Africans enjoying their togetherness in the Agape hall immediately after the mass.

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[729] Interview with KRALJIK, A., African migration, religious rituals and integration in Vienna, 12.12.08, P. 3.

Here are other groups of people who are quietly enjoying the presence of other Africans while eating cakes and drinking tea.

To my greatest surprise, very important office matters are discussed in such a meeting since each of them is very busy during the week and does not have time to come to office which normally takes place on Wednesday. I saw the priest signing baptismal certificates and other vital documents in such an organised rowdy gathering. He is really flexible and ready to move with the people in their own way.

Children are not left out in such a gathering since they are also integrated in the community. They have their own way of catching their fun however, in their own capacity. There is not much programme for them always, but being what they are, they create always a programme for themselves; playing, running around, making noise and simply being happy.

Kraljic believes that the liturgical activities afford the African migrants the opportunity "to meet people from their cultures, from their countries, to exchange their experiences, their problems, and they will also find help, support from others, get some information of what is going on, where they can find work, jobs, and apartments, whatever."[730]

Related to this is the appropriation and contestation of ritual time or time for the celebration of the holy mass. In the eyes of the non-members of the community, worship and ritual services are unusually prolonged running between two to three hours. Most members are not in a haste to return home on Sunday because the church vicinity represents for them borrowing the expression Adogame *a home away from home.*[731] Orji (the priest who is the over-seer of the African Catholic Community) in an interview, confirmed also that the mass lasts long in the community. "Normally we start at 11.00 with the rosary and then mass follows immediately after the rosary and the mass lasts between two to two and half hours

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[730] Ibid.

[731] ADOGAME, A., „A home away from Home. The proliferation of the Celestial Church of Christ in Diaspora – Europe" in: Exchange. Journal of Missiological and Ecumenical Research 27/2, 1998, P. 141-160.

which is normal as an African community."[732] The picture below shows a cross-section of people during the mass.

A section of the community lining up during the offertory procession to deposit their own gift/money in the common basket,[733] which is exactly the way offertory processions take place in a mass celebrated in an African Soil.

From my own experience from the African Catholic Community in Vienna, the African migrants are patient on Sundays during the mass and are not in haste to go home because they fill also very comfortable around the Church vicinity, This is because, for them, the Church vicinity is the sanctuary of the Lord. The Sanctuary therefore "...is an opportunity for them not only to develop their relationship with God but also to develop their relationship with their fellow human beings all around them. Not only Africans but also this community (Austrian Community[734]) they have come to find themselves."[735] One notices here, the influence of African Traditional Religion where the creation of God is seen as a totality

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[732] Interview with ORJI, J., P. 12.
[733] The picture was taken by the researcher during the mass on 8.03.09.
[734] Added by the author.
[735] Interview with OGUNBANWO, L. P. 3.

without distinguishing sacred zones from profane zones. That accounts for the reason why certain secular exercises are also integrated in the liturgical activities which the people understand without any question.

Here is another section of the community going to the Altar with joy accompany with the melodious bandmusic which invites all the faithful to shake their bodies in thanksgiving to God.

5.4.3 AFRICAN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AS VEHICLES OF INTEGRATION

The term Integration is variously understood. According to the definition of Work Force Services, "integration is a dynamic, two-way process in which newcomers and the receiving society work together to build secure, vibrant, and cohesive communities. As an intentional effort, immigrant integration engages and transforms all community stakeholders, reaping shared benefits and creating a new whole that is greater than the sum of its parts."[736] Such dynamic exercise takes for granted that both parties have common understanding of life and that there is means of communication which is very important. Language is the pre-requisite for every form of integration where migrants and other forms of settlers are involved. The religious communities help the Africans to integrate into the wider Austrian environment in

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[736] http://jobs.utah.gov/refugee/integrate.asp, April 2009.

that the communities avail them the opportunity to live out their culture and temperaments in that community. On Sundays, the African migrants come to mass in a parish provided for them by the Arch diocese of Vienna with their Austrian friends and wives. The importance of such place of worship was succinctly described by Kraljik thus "It is therefore necessary for them to have the chance to sing, to dance, to use drums, and …whatever is important for their cultures. A church must be ... warm enough and also big enough for them. And there must be place for coming together."[737] Through it, the Austrian wider society has the opportunity to have an idea of how Africans are and how they organise their liturgical services on Sundays where "drumming, songs and music are accompanied with dancing."[738] This shows that the Africans "here (in Austria[739]) culturally and socially; we have no problem being here."[740] The hospitality of Africans is shown even during the mass since visitors are especially welcomed. The interview with Ogunbanwo makes it clearer, "The Africans' hospitality to foreigners is great.... when you have just a bed, (and a visitor comes[741]) you will leave that bed for a foreigner and you sleep on the ground."[742] He (Ogunbanwo) believes that the African Catholic Community is open to be integrated which is manifested greatly in African community, the sign of which include the many "lots of people coming in every year to visit our community to see how we worship... this lively worship"[743]

On the other hand, for a healthy integration to take place in any given environment, Ogunbanwo believes that there are three pre-requisites which such society must possess namely, the community must be "welcoming, holding and believing."[744] For him, a *welcoming* society is one which is ready to welcome strangers on arrival. This is seen when "a new comer comes... There is need to create a welcoming environment because when you talk of how the people are integrating, it holds on this."[745] His understanding of the second term *holding* is strictly connected with the provision of basic infrastructures that will enable the strangers to confront the challenges that will arise from the new environment. "...a holding community, holding environment, where they can really grow and live to the challenges not only welcome them but provide an environment where they can rise up to the challenges.."[746]

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[737] Interview with KRALJIK, A., P. 4.
[738] ADOGAME, A., "Engaging the Rhetoric of Spiritual Warfare. The public face of *Aladura* in Diaspora" P. 511.
[739] Added by the author.
[740] Interview with ORJI, J., P. 7.
[741] Added by the author.
[742] Interview with OGUNBANWO, P. 5.
[743] Ibid. P. 6
[744] Interview with OGUNBANWO; P. 5.
[745] Ibid.
[746] Ibid.

Thirdly, *believing* for him means creating an environment "where they can easily get into transformation; a transforming environment is that where people are able to see the faith, in the people and be able to turn over."[747] I notice the relative realization of these qualities in African Catholic Community since the initiative to give such a community the chance to exist was taken by the Late Cardinal König, the former Bishop of Vienna. "At the very beginning, it is an initiative of the Arch diocese of Vienna which dates back to the time of Cardinal König. It was during his time that he saw the need to integrate immigrants. ... He wanted to give the opportunity for everybody to worship his God in a language that he is at home with."[748] Nonetheless, Ogunbanwo believes that he (as a person) is fully integrated in the Austrian wider society since he is working in one of the parishes in Lower Austria. But then many African migrants are not as fortunate as Ogunbanwo who enjoys such a total integration in a pluralistic Austrian environment. Among other factors militating against the integration of Africans in Orji's view include the language. The language is very difficult since "there are Africans who never had basic education at home"[749] before coming to Europe. For such people to learn the German is very difficult.

5.4.4 THE RELEVANCE OF RELIGION TO AFRICAN MIGRANTS

Migrant religious communities are in constant negotiation between old and new worldviews, split between tradition and modernity, maintaining and constructing old and new identities.[750] The migrant religious communities assimilate notions of the global, they make conscious and concerted attempts to reinterpret and reconstruct, via religious ideologies, symbols and praxis, the cosmos that surrounds them especially being in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural European environment. For Adogame, the religious communities "are conduits for the self-insertion and integration of members into the new cultural environment. They also represent, self-evidently, channels for reinventing and maintaining local, religio-cultural identity."[751]

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[747] Ibid P.5,& 7.
[748] Interview with ORJI, J. P. 1.
[749] Ibid. P. 4.
[750] VENTER, D. (ed.), Engaging Modernity. Methods and Cases for Studying African Independent Churches in South Africa, Westport 2004.This edited volume demonstrates how African Independent Churches in South Africa are engaging modernity and the role churches play in negotiating the complex terrains of politics, society and the economy in the era of globalization.
[751] ADOGAME A, "African Instituted Churches in Europe. Continuity and transformation." P. 235.

Apart from being a unifying factor and spiritual centre for the migrants, the African Catholic Community engages in many activities[752] that will enable migrants to get themselves integrated into the Austrian wider-society. Among other roles that are played by the community in this regard include:

-Organising different kinds of enlightenment and seminars where the African migrants are informed about the goings-on in the wider Austria society; with particular reference to some government decisions concerning the African migrants.

-Another thing the community is doing to help migrants is to let Africans see themselves as Africans; treat themselves as Africans. To reach at this, the community creates opportunities for the members of the community to see themselves every Sunday, to eat, drink tea and eat bread together and interact with one another. In such a gathering, those who can speak German and read German Newspapers and those who listen to the news; have the opportunity to transmit the information which they have gathered to others who do not have time or have such opportunity to get the information directly from the media.

-Above all, the community established a German course programme for the members to come and learn ... the language which will facilitate her work of integration into the Austrian society. The community bought all the materials that will make it possible for the migrants to learn, she also employed a teacher, and installed boards which the teacher can use to teach. This course is however free for the members.

-A very important role that needs to be emphasized is the joint mass which the African Community has with the (host) Austrian community on some big feasts like Palm Sunday. *Auferstehung Christi Kirche* is a normal Austrian Parish where the Africans celebrate also their own mass, after the host parish must have finished celebrating their mass. In such a mass where the two communities combine, the functions are shared between the two communities. The two priests, (one from the African community and the other from the Austrian community) officiate the mass while the songs and other roles are shared to the members of the various communities. During the procession which normally accompanies such feast, each group take their turn to select and sing the hymns. This is for me a practical example of integration; it is a dialogue in action. It is integration in its highest order where the two parties agree to accept and tolerate each other in their worldview and mode of operation.

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[752]Interview with ORJI, J., P. 4

Such joint exercise with the Austrian society has helped greatly to shape the African identity and has contributed to the transformation of European society from a melting pot to a multicultural milieu. It also helps the African Christians to maintain their distinctiveness without having to sacrifice too much of themselves and their cultural background in order to become acceptable and be included in the European mainstream.

Beyond just occasional joint worship services between the African Catholic Community and the Austrian Catholic Community; or more importantly, beyond the introduction of drums in worship, how can the Austrian Community benefit from the vibrant spirituality of the African communities in her midst? On the other hand, how can the African Catholic Community with their vibrance learn from the organised but quiet spiritual life of the Austrian Community? In this regard our strategy recommends strongly the awareness of who each of the groups really is and who the neighbours are. Migration makes some migrant religious communities so complex that the problem of Adjustment will always be there.

There is the strong need to acknowledge the reality of cultural differences in the backgrounds of both host and migrant group and this is why it is necessary to iron out those things which host countries share in common with the migrant groups and those that divide them. This is possible if the two groups agree to work out the norms of social cooperation, notwithstanding their differences. We, therefore, suggest the ideal of "committed dialogue"[753] as a key to success for our concerns. "This is a dialogue consciously engaged by parties of different groups and convictions under the conditions of mutual respect, toleration, mutual trust, impartiality, and commitment to the terms of dialogue in the spirit of sacrifice."[754] In such a dialogue, there will be mutual trust and respect coming from the two communities, with each appreciating and respecting the other. The parties can live harmoniously and happily even with their differences if both are able to recognise the other, first as human beings, and partners and whose co-operation and contribution is necessary for the peaceful co-existence of the society. This project has not been fully realised between the African and Austrian communities at large. Integration is therefore an on-going process where each party is expected to question and re-examine every now and then their *modus operandi* and *modus vivendi*. Religion as we have seen in the case of African Catholic Community makes all these possible.

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[753] EKENNIA, J. "Committed Dialogue as a Response to Pluralism," International Quarterly, Vol. XXXVI., No. 1, March 1996, P. 85-95.
[754] EKENNIA, J., „African Communalism and Political Rationality: A Critique" in: OGUEJIOFOR, J., (ed.), Africa. Philosophy and Public Affairs, Enugu 1998, P. 348-365, here 362.

5.5 MUTUAL INFLUENCE BETWEEN RELIGION AND MIGRATION

The terms Religion and Migration are understood differently by different people as we have shown in the work. These terms (religion and migration) are variously related since each exercises a great influence on the other. Migration on one hand plays many religious roles to migrants:

a.) It avails migrants the opportunity of finding people with the same cultural interests

b.) It gives migrants (believers) meaning in life and sense of direction.

Some researchers in the area of migration believe that religion has been overtaken with time and is no longer needed even by migrants. Moreover, in today's age of science and modern marvels, many people question still the relevance of religion not only to migrants but also to the world in general, since science has answered many question which were once in the domain of magic and religion.

The psychological, sociological and antrhoplogical research on the subject of religion has provided rich information as to why religion is still an important part of many peoples' live. It is inevitable in as much as it "provides what is essentially a security blanket and a sense of certainty in an uncertain world."[755] Baumann clarified more the role religion plays to migrants thus "Religious life has a great meaning for foreigners, it is used as a replacement for the lost home country."[756] Religion deals with the toltality of a person's life in as much it is tied deeply into his culture, family, and heritage. "It is an important means through which many people and more especially migrants form an identity within their new society. It provides "a great mechanism for anxiety relief"[757] and allows people to better cope with personal tragedy and harships that we all go through in life.

Religion and migration are highly related in the view of Baumann because migrants do not only take material things to their place of migration, they also take life style and various forms of social forms to these areas. They take religious rituals along with them. This can as

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[755]GIESEKE, C.,
http://media.www.theindependentutsa.com/media/storage/paper1093/news/2006/11/27/Editorial/The-Importance.Of.Religion-2507534.shtml

[756] BAUMANN, M., Religion und ihre Beduetung für Migranten, Antrittsvorlesung 2002

[757] GIESEKE, C.,
http://media.www.theindependentutsa.com/media/storage/paper1093/news/2006/11/27/Editorial/The-Importance.Of.Religion-2507534.shtml

well be lost if the migrants allow themselves to assimilated in the culture of the new place of migration. Thus, if they do not practice the culture of their home lands, they will be consumed by the new environment and so lose their original culture and religion.[758]

Migration therefore helps migrants to be more conscious of their religious life and religious rituals. It gives them the opportunity to reflect over their belief system and to give a rational justification to this belief system. Shortly put, migration makes religion to be consciously practised and newly perceived from a new perspective. One is brought to think and re-examine his spontaneous religious convinctions in the place of migration.

Furthermore, migration helps toward the preservation of religious cultures in the place of migration. Baumann believes that this can be done in different forms. The first line of thought argues from the perspective of retaining the original religious rituals from the home country without amendment or adaptation. According this line of thought, it is only through this method that religious rituals and traditions can be well protected and hand down to the younger generation without alterations. The second line of thought emphasizes the need to adapt the religious rituals to suit the new environement. According to this view, such religious practises would be easier to obey if it is adapted to the existing environment and situation. In all these currents of thought, Baumman sees migration as a great chance for change which should not be underrated. It gives room for growth of every religion since the religion is practiced in an environment different from the one which it is used to.

Religion helps the migrants to stablize in the new environment.

Finally, it is already obvious that there is a concomitant influence between religion and migration. Migration influences religion in the area of adaptation and contextualization. It makes fashions religion to be responsive and open to the realities resulting from the new place of migration. Religion on the other hand helps migrants to find a home as quickly as possible by making it possible for them to find a new identity, a new group of people that have similar religious world-view and facilitates the establishment of a community, more especially a community of believers which gives room for easy integration.

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[758] BAUMANN, M., Religion und ihre Beduetung für Migranten, Antrittsvorlesung 2002

5.6 RELIGION AND MIGRATION IN AFRICA AND EUROPE: A COMPARISON

It is not very easy to juxtapose the role of religion to African migrants in pre-cololonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa with the contemporary migration in Europe because of various reasons. Firstly, the then African environment was very religious and it was African Traditional Religion that was determining everything in the African environement. Religion was life and no life was thinkable without religion. Above all, the idea of God was prevalent in everything the African/Igbo were doing.

Migration was differently understood as it is understood today. Then, it was a movement to a short distance, which most of the time took a very long time. Then, there were not big cities and the various forces of nature were playing great roles in the African world-view. The African/Igbo migrants could easily found a new Igbo society similar to one left behind. It was easier to construct altars and offer libations to the gods of the land wherever one was; since the belief was that one migrates with his world-view, belief and religion. As a result, the connection with one's family remains unbroken since prayers and sacrifices were made both for the members of the family at home and those that are their places of migration. This was possible because there was no other religion competing with African Traditional Religion.

The European expansion to Africain former centuries according some scholars like Emmer was a period of transporting modernity and westen culture to other parts of the universe.[759] It was an encounter with western modernity and western civilisation, which brought about enormous changes to African continent. For the Africans/Igbo, it was a time when the seed of migration was sown through colonization and evangelization. This moment in history is so important since it created the background through which the historical development of actual migration and its current globalisation should be understood. Things are still changing since there is an obvious mismatch between the three levels in Africa which conflict with one another namely, political, national and cultural. The experience of the world in Africa today is made up of this conflicting phases since the people do not really know where one begins and where it the stops.[760]

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[759] EMMER, P.C. & MÖRNER, M., (ed.), European Expansion and Migration: Essays on the International Migration from Africa, New York 1992.

[760] COQUERY-VIDROVITCH, C., „The Exportation of the European idea of the Nation-State to Africa", in: European Review, Vol. V., 1997, P. 55-73.

It was clear that in the pre-colonial Africa, there were states with long standing history. These states varied in scale from microstates to long lasting empires. In Nigeria, there were well-established states and empires like Hausa-fulani and Yoruba. Benin Empire was already very strong. On the other hand, there was Igbo decentralised state system, which many scholars identified with modern democracy.[761]

In the colonial era, migration was mainly revolving around the different areas where the colonial establishments were vested like the schools, the new urban cities where the various industries, around the railway stations where the railway workers lived with their families. This time, there was a strong attempt on the part of the Africans to embrace Christianity without properly asking themselves the implication of such enthusiastic embrace of Christianity. However, in the various urban areas like Port-Harcourt, Lagos and Enugu where the Igbo migrated, there was a mixture of the new religion (Christianity) and the old one (African Traditional Religion).

In any case, Religion was playing the same role of vacuum-filler from the lacuna created by the abandoned African Traditional Religion. Here, the distance could have not been possibly strongly felt since the migrants had the opportunity of going home from time to time, to consult with the members of the family. Moreover, they had not much cultural challenge like the present day migrants who left their homes for an environment with a different language and culture. However, I believe strongly that it was a period of religious confusion. A period when they had no clear religious sense of purpose since most of them were made to believe without truly examining the object and subject of belief. Thus there was a combination of the old the new religions.

In the contemporary period, in the era of global migration religion becomes all the more important since the phenomenon religion is more important to people who are not in their homes for various reasons. Above all, being religious is a very important quality of many migrants. Williams Raymond confirms this thus "immigrants are generally religious, more religious than they were before they left their homeland. Religion is one of the important signs of identity that helps them to retain their individual consciousness and to remain together as one group."[762]

David O'Brien believes that terms like family and community come into mind whenever issues regarding migrants are discussed; reason being that migrants are separated from such

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[761] COLEMAN, J. S., Nigeria: Background to Nationhood, California 1963.

[762] WILLIAM, R.B., Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan: New Threads in the American Tapestry, 1988, P. 11.

natural institution as a result of migration. Naturally, human beings have the tendency to look for people with whom they can remain in communion especially those coming from the same region, area and country with them. Emphasising this social quality of human beings he writes, "One may stand alone before God, one may experience the necessity to choose, but people also seek out others."[763] This act of seeking for others leads to the formation of various migrant communities like the ones formed by Africans in Austria which help the African migrants not only to maintain their identity but also "to find room to nurture it"[764] and through such communities, the African migrants "are able to discover more whom they are."[765] This is more experienced in the European migration in the contemporary times where the African migrants a confronted both with harsh immigration laws in Europe and also with so many challenges resulting from the culture, language and the environment in genral. The African migrants in Europe are bound here to experience the relevance of religion in their place of migration since it is necessary and more needed here then the internal migration taking place within one's country of confines of Africa.

5.6 SUMMARY

The work of enlightenment is a life's programme since each person needs it in every area where one is not an expert. On the strength of this, we think that migration in the contemporary times opens more avenues not only for people on the move but also for those left behind as we have discovered in this section of the work. In the eyes of the uninformed Africans, Europe is a land flowing with milk and honey; which explains the rush and the unquenchable desire to travel to Europe. The zealous desire is seen in some people's attempt to use both orthodox and unorthodox means to break through the fortress of Europe which, when they succeed in making such a break-through, their joy is destroyed by the reality of true and real Europe which they see. In the eyes of the well informed Africans on the other hand, Europe is just a normal continent with its ups and downs.

It is also a known fact that many people are forced to migrate because their home does not offer much to them. Sometimes in their search for greener pastures, they end up finding dried pastures whose quality is poorer than those left behind at their place of origin.

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[763] O'BRIEN, D.J., „The Changing Contours of American Religion" in: Religion and Migration. Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Experiences in the United States, HADDAD, Y.Y., et al (ed.), 2002, P. 19-32, here 20.
[764] Interview with OGUNBANWO, L, P. 1.
[765] Ibid, P. 2.

Unfortunately, some uncritical African men and women (especially) are those who fall prey to the modern form of slavery in the field of migration today. Giving their gullible nature and unexamined preparedness to believe the promises made by their madame and middle men; they are the bearers of the burdens of the ravages of migrations.Most of them are forced by the economic situation they find themselves in, to work as sex hauwkers in many European cities.

The various categories of Africans in Europe and America must be properly considered since all the African migrants have different backgrounds and various histories of migration. There are certainly pockets of migrants that experience relative upward social mobility and can boast of good jobs in their chosen professions. Some have even attained intellectual excellence and greater heights in their businesses to become employers as well as captain of industries. Many of these may have, to a large extent, been integrated into their host European society through naturalization and other processes. However, a large number of the migrants is less-opportuned and remains perpetually in a limbo fiction. The personalities of African migrants vary so much ranging from students, workers, ambassadors, professors and refugees. The sharp contrast between European and African environment is very clear since the world-view; *modus operandi* and m*odus vivendi* are all different and continues to differ from one another. The African migrants are surprised with the European nations they meet on their arrival. They meet nations which, according to the American Professor of history and Religious Studies, (Jenkins), "are presently undergoing historic transformations that mark a real crisis for the continent's traditional religious alignments."[766] They meet a Europe with many indices suggesting a sharp decline of religious practice among old stock Europeans, whose ancestors would have described themselves not only as Christians but also as strong Catholics. Pointing to the religious crisis in European cities, Novak opines, "The Europe that is declining in population is ..., less religious, less pious, more mundane, wealthier, more consumerist, more universally close to living *etsi Deus non daretur* (as if God does not exist). A very large part of the *European crisis* is the crisis of the Enlightenment."[767]

The African/Igbo migrant meets just European societies which they thought were only Catholic societies since Christianity was brought to African by the Europeans. They meet Europe with so many religious ideologies, with some ideologies professing a belief that has nothing to do with God. The withdrawal of personal religiosity from an organized Christian

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[766] JENKINS, P. God's Continent, Oxford 2007, P. 1.
[767] NOVAK, M. „Troubled Continent" 2006. Available at www.michaelnovak.net/Module/Article/ArticleView.aspx?id=156, January 2008.

church is experienced which leads to the withdrawal of Religion as a whole. Above all, the present Europe is one in which most of the European nations are seriously experiencing the return of Islam since many Muslim migrants have entered Europe and have found their new homes there. Such is the host environment where the African migrants find themselves. They (the African migrants) are therefore expected to find their new home in such a pluralistic society with different cultures, ethnic ideologies, worldviews and religious orientations. In order to reach at all these, there are so many hurdles and challenges that must be confronted. First the African migrants, faithful to their tradition of communalism in Africa, have gradually after a long period of time, formed various African Communities; such are always religious communities like the African Catholic Community, which serve various purposes to them.

Here they meet to share their experiences from the place of migration with one another and to receive psychological care from one another through their discussions. The community plays not only spiritual role but has also socio-cultural roles to the African migrants. It is in such community that they experience and live out their *Africanness.* They form various clubs and associations which correspond to those at home and organise various activities that give them the sense of being at home here in their place of migration. In their religious communities, migrants are encouraged not to lament much here but to use their past experience to make meaning out of the present for the future. Most of the migrants in the community compare their conditions with the exilic metaphor that resonates well that all human beings are *pilgrims* and *foreigners* in this mundane world. The world is seen as a market place and they are only temporary sojourners in the journey through life. Heaven is seen as the ideal home where all the worldly problems will have no place any more. They console themselves here asserting that all human beings, whether Africans or Europeans, are all foreigners in this world.

Above all, the African Catholic Community helps them to get integrated into the wider Austrian society by not only creating the opportunity for them to come in contact with the citizens of the host country (outside being seen on the road), but also they advertise their culture through their liturgical activities. Through such means, the host environment is able to see something good in them and gradually begin to appreciate them. Finally, integration is an on-going process which demands re-examination and reconsideration from time to time. It is a life's project and should be given such attention, if not, the essence of the project will not be completely achieved since new challenges continue to emerge from the two societies from time to time.

PART FOUR: GENERAL EVALUATION, SUMMARY, CONCLUDING REMARKS AND REFERENCES

6. 0 GENERAL EVALUATION

Giving the multiplicities of peoples and ethnic groups in the African continent, it is very difficult to make a study that will cover all the religious and social world-views of the whole continent. Since the various ethnic groups have similar experiences and other things in common, it is reasonable to study the various religions and social experiences of these people by exposing the experiences of one of the ethnic groups. That is exactly what we have done in this work by exposing not only the country Nigeria with its multifarious ethnicities but also the Igbo people of Nigeria and their history as an example of a group in Africa whose experiences are used to make general proposition about other African ethnic groups. Although there are varied accounts regarding their (Igbo) place of origin, many authors agree that they are one people, being bound with the same language, although the cultures may variously differ, they still have a lot of things in common.

African/Igbo Traditional Religion with all its rituals and practices was the determining factor for most of the life's activities of the people in the pre-colonial Africa. It was then unthinkable to exist in a society devoid of norms and religious rituals which guide and guard the activities of the people. Most of these rituals were determined by the African culture and religion. The position of *Chukwu* and the function of other titular gods were influencing greatly the life of the people. There was a constant interaction between the great and high God *Chukwu*, his intermediaries (titular gods), the human beings, biological beings and other created things.

The belief in the veneration of ancestors remains the hub of African Traditional Religion. The whole religious system of African Traditional Religion revolves around concepts like birth, death, and reincarnation. With this, one can understand why ancestral worship is regarded as the crux of the traditional religion of the Africans. The ancestors are linked with the family through regular prayers said by the family members before the shrine of the family. All these influence the members of the family irrespective of where they are or might be. In this Religion, it is believed that one cannot run away from the ancestors and *Chukwu* since they are spirits and therefore invisible and determine the activities of the living people. There are five interrelated groups of socio-cultural elements which pervade most of African communities and their religious world-views; they include:

    a.) The concept *Chukwu* an indigenous name for the Supreme Being – Invisible, Sovereign and Benevolent

    b.) A moral sense of justice and truth, and knowledge that there exists good and evil.

c.) The belief in the existence of the human soul and that this soul does not die with the   death of man.

 d.) The existence of spirits – good and bad – and the belief that communion with the Supreme Being is possible through the intermediation of these spirits and of the ancestors who are believed to be interested in the well being of their living descendants.

 e.) The existence of myths as rational and philosophic explanations to justify the continuance of some religious practices, the order they follow, and the use of specific symbolic objects as concrete means of strengthening the relationship between man and the transcendental realm of existence, the celebration of all these feast and festivals for the purpose of their continuity and culture transmission.

The pre-colonial Africans practiced a lived religion where whoever flouts a religious tenets risked being antagonized not only from his social environment but also from the gods of the land who were the custodians of morality. Such was the the socio-religious world-view that influenced them in the pre-colonial time which was also taken along with in their various areas of migration.

Hunger for farm land was the major reason for migration in the pre-colonial times since most of the Africans were subsistent farmers. Migration was also necessary whenever there was an increase in a given population. In order to balance the insufficient land available, a group would opt to migrate to a nearby zone where they would establish another community, or develop a society similar to the one left behind. Such migration was characterized by farmers moving from either unfertile region to fertile ones. The infertility of the soil had always forced people to migrate in search of a place to live and to farm.

The Igbo were also known to have been very active in business transactions since they were believed to be naturally business oriented. The Igbo believes that this world is a marketplace hence the saying *uwa bu ahia.* This world view according to Agozino and Anyanike can be explained literally to mean that the Igbo think so because trading is a prominent occupation among the Igbo. It could also mean that a marketplace is the epicenter of the community's social and business interaction. This could as well be the reason why the weekdays in Igbo are named after the four market days.[768]

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[768] AGOZINO, B. & ANYANIKE, I., "*IMU AHIA*: Traditional Igbo Business School and Global Commerce Culture" in: Dialectical Anthropology, Springer Niederland, 22 August 2007, P. 233-252. See also http://www.springerlink.com/content/y0804454663m8357/

In the pre-colonial times, the Igbo also engaged in various economic activities like weaving, dying of cloth, which were later taken to various towns where they were needed and consequently sold. The Igbo had also men and women who had special spiritual talents. These spiritual specialists were moving from one place to another settling cases and conferring titles and to the deserving sons of the communities. They exercised tremendous influence on the people since they were highly trusted and believed by the people as servants of *Chukwu*. Some hunters in their hunting expeditions have founded some villages which later on grew into bigger towns.

Inter-tribal wars also encouraged migrations to various areas in Igbo land in the pre-colonial times. In any case, in their various places of migration in the pre-colonial times the Igbo/African tries to reproduce another African/Igbo society in his place of migration including religion. Since he knows what was obtainable in the original society, he tries in the new place to remain in communion with the ancestors by offering them the necessary sacrifices that were due to them. Such practices and rituals were normally transferred to the younger ones born in such places of migration. Through such methods, another Igbo society is brought into existence.

We shall not forget to observe that the new environment has always exercised some tremendous influence on the Igbo migrant. The new migrants have sometimes reshaped some of their cultural traits to suit the host environment. This was brought to bear in the case of the Western Igbo who, being influenced by the Bini people, decided to have their own *Eze* which was initially not typical of the Igbo people and culture hence the saying *Igbo ewe Eze* (which means that the Igbo have no King). Traditionally, the Igbo have no kings but were influenced by their Bini neighbours who have traditional system of kingship like Oba. The Igbo have however, started nowadays to constitute and institute the cult of *Ezeship* because of its need and urgency in the Nigerian political arena. The motive of this new culture is to establish a somehow centralized system that will govern the tribe so that the Igbo can speak with one voice in political issues. As a result of that, each autonomous community in Igbo region today has an *Eze* who represents the community before the government. Because the practice of having an Eze is not originally in Igbo culture, the Igbo people do not find it easy today to follow the instructions of an elected king. It remains a very big challenge since they (the Igbo) are used to listening to the council of elders in their respective villages.

In the colonial and post colonial times, we are confronted with the expansion made by Europe to Africa through evangelization and colonization. Actually, this expansion started informally through the business contacts of Arabs and Europeans from Sahara desert. Then it was a

purely normal business transaction, chraracterised only by exchange of goods and services. After the discovery of America, there was much need for labourers who would be used to build up the newly discovered continent. Through however the dangerous co-operation of the indigenous Africans, many Africans were sold to slavery and many were at the same time kidnapped and were also carried to the various parts of Europe and America where they and their descendants were forced to use as their new home after many years of hard labour. This could be regarded as the first migration of Africans to Europe and America. Slavery and enslavement remains a dark point in the history of Africa and the world today which many Africans are forced to live with.

With the coming of the Europeans to Africa, things took another direction. It was through this process (colonization and evangelization) that Africa was integrated into the revolution[769] that has been confronting the world for many centuries. Such revolution was experienced in Europe many centuries ago but it reached Africa through colonization and evangelization. The colonial administration helped greatly towards the formation of Nigeria as a political entity. The introduction of a new order (the western system of life and world-view) through colonial administration had a great influence in the Africa traditional society. Through the establishment of excellent road network and the founding of many vibrant new cities, the attention of people was drawn to those areas since it was easier then to travel to those cities. These roads and rail ways formed the bedrock of migration directly or indirectly during the colonial times as it was no longer difficult to connect one city from another.

The role of the missionaries through the establishment of schools and the zeal to plant the Gospel of Jesus Christ on firm ground directly encouraged migration during the colonial and evangelisation era. The quest to help the missionaries in their missionary work, for instance to translate their sermons, show them the roads leading to various villages, and the establishment of mission houses and Christian villages, all encouraged migration in this period. It was unavoidable because the missionaries in their missionary activities were also determing the behaviour and movement of the people.

Above all, the quest for learning was awoken in the people and they started looking for the missionaries wherever they went. The missionaries were seen not only as the harbingers of wisdom but also as people with charitable minds since they built many Christian villages where outlaws and outcasts found a home. The construction of schools, dormitories and teachers`quarters played great roles both for the missionaries and for the colonial masters.

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[769] Mbiti calls it a revolution that came through science and technology.

It was in the schools that the seeds of change in the African societies were sown. The younger ones learnt much about the new order (western system of life through education) and could no longer integrate themselves again in the normal African traditional society. The consequences are clear: search for meaning in life and meaningful existence. This quest for meaningful existence pushed them to leave their traditional homes for the new cities where there were job opportunities that correspond to their academic attainment. Most of them found fulfilment in the jobs created by the colonisers and the missionaries. Others continued the search for meaning and fulfilment not only within the confines of Nigeria but also outside the confines of Nigeria. Unfortunately, many Africans are still in search of this meaning and fulfilment in life until today.

Many Africans who were not satisfied with the religion brought by the missionaries founded the new ones they believe had African background and gained so many disciples. The reasons for their dissatisfaction were that the Christian religion had nothing African in it and more importantly, the colonisers and missionaries found nothing good in the culture and religion of Africans. These new religious movements started appealing to the emotions of the African people by integrating some African elements in their liturgy and preaching. Most of them were itinerant preachers who continued to gain followers from the mainline Churches. These itinerant preachers move about with their adherents and establish Churches and where they worship with their followers.

The leaders of the mainline Churches however, have risen to confront the challenges posited by these African Independent Churches. These leaders are confronted today by the loop-holes of the missionary times. They have acknowledged that the missionary evangelization was not very properly done and they are filling the gaps today through new evangelization processes which are done through the auspices of inculturation theology. It is a theology that integrates the good cultural elements of the Africa into the Christian tradition with the aim of making the Gospel truly indigenous so as to be able to stand the test of time. This is still a task that many African theologians and scholars are confronted with and they are seeing it as a challenge that should be adequately treated.

I wish to observe that in the colonial and post-colonial era, Africans were religiously confused and were lacking a clear sense of direction and orientation. The picture in the book of Shillington (the popular English historian) showing an African who is being attacked by what he (Shillington) calls a royal mighty python which descended from the British monarchical

world[770], suggests that there was a missing link in the minds and heads of many Africans. They were psychologically, sociologically not in the position to decide which line of action they should take as a result of the pressures inflicted on them by colonisation. In such a state of mind, I believe that both those that migrated to the cities and those that remained in their traditional homes had a syncretic mixture of religion. They never knew which religion was true and which was not since their spontaneous convictions were brought into question by the presence of the missionaries.

In the contemporary times, the migration tendencies of Africans increased as a result of unfulfilled dreams since the expectations of many Africans grew in the recent times, especially after having embraced colonisation with all its western cultures and influences. These unfulfilled expectations came as a result of various forms of bad government which has held the continent of Africa captive for many years now. Such bad "governments have reduced many Nigerians to the status of wanderers across the continents of Europe and America where unfortunately they are seen as cheap labour force for meinial jobs and are at the beck and call of their masters."[771] The coming out of Africa from this situation in the view of Clinton "depends on responsible governments that reject corruption, enforce rule of law and deliver results to their people. This is not just all about good governance, this is about good business."[772] Shortly put, Africa needs a serious economic liberator through whose leadership the Africans will have some sense of fulfilment; an enabling economic environment where the youths will get jobs after a long period of education. This will satisfy their yearnings and will make them find happiness and peace at their own homes. Such a liberator will be "one who will transcend his particular religious faith and convictions and implement constitutional laws with the spirit of dedication, altruism and patriotism."[773] Furthermore, such a liberating government will curb the various forms of human trafficking and smuggling which are prevalent and particularly worrisome forms of modern and contemporary migration. Within Africa, some of the principal victims of these crimes are children between the ages of 12 and 16, many of whom are recruited and sold into prostitution or forced labour.

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[770] SHILLINGTON, K. History of Africa. See also page 198 of this work where the picture of the African man is copied with the royal mighty python.

[771] OHAJIRIOGU, A. C., "Politics of Hunger in an economy of affluence" in: The Torch, No. 132 December 2006-June 2007, Enugu 2007, P. 12-14, here 14

[772] A speech presented by CLINTON, H., "Africa needs good governance" which is available at http://www.tpegypt.gov.eg/NewsDet.aspx?news_id=1081, 6th August, 2009.

[773] OHAJIRIOGU, A. C., "In search of a messiah" in: The Pointer. Nigerians in Bondage: in search of a political liberator, Vol. VIII, No. 1 December 1997/98, P. 5.

Today, migration is also a major challenge affecting the fundamental fabrics of African traditional societies. Africa is experiencing a fundamental change in its social and cultural heritage. As Mbiti puts it "Now a new and rapid rhythm is beating from the drums of science and technology, modern communications and mass media, schools and universities and towns."[774] The African man must dance the music of his age whether he likes it or not. The modern African migration is one of the ways of taking part in such musical drama which is affecting the traditional cohesion in the African society. The effect of such migration is clear, family members are separated from the rest of the members of the family if not forever, temporarily.

Above all, the African in diaspora are confronted with another value system in their place of migration especially in areas where marriage and family have different positions in the value system of the host society. Similar to this devaluation of family values is what we indicated in the first part of the work, that in the pre-colonial Africa, it was unthinkable for a woman to migrate to some other place alone. Women migration came into existence in Africa during the colonial times only with the intention of joining their husbands or family members living in the big cities. But nowadays, women are making waves in the area of migration since an increasing number of women are travelling independently which shows that African traditional patterns and roles are fading, and more importantly, these migrations are heading towards societies with more fragmented families.

Many Africans migrate to the urban cities in their countries with the intention of improving their standard of living only to realise that the urban cities do not have answers to their problems. They abandon the rural areas consciously with the aim of running away from poverty in these areas. Nonetheless, the rate at which urban cities grow in Africa does not correspond with the rate at which job opportunities grow. Kettlers puts it more succinctly thus, "The continent is experiencing urbanization rates which are twice as high as those seen during the industrial revolution in Europe. Cities like Lagos (Nigeria) and Kinshasa (DRC) have grown by a factor of 40 in the past half century whereby the last decades saw impressive numbers of arrivals. These urban areas are marked by poverty and insufficient or inadequate basic services"[775]. In such a situation, the Africans look towards Europe which, using the

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[774] MBITI, J., African Religions and Philosophy, P. 211.
[775] KETELERS, J. Missio. Beyond Migration. German-African dialogue on Migration and Development: aspects and challenges for Politicsa and Churches. Available at http://www.icmc.net/pdf/Presentation%20Ketelers%20Missio%20-%20October%202008.pdf January 2009.

expression of Jenkins, they think is *God's Continent*[776] with the aim of achieving the desired better life.

On reaching the so called continent of God, they are disappointed on realising that there are also beggars in European societies. Moreover, the processes used by some uninformed and inexperienced Africans who are most of the time not educated to make their journey to Europe are terrible. Some walk through the desert while others are crossed with the help of cars, water vessel and other transport-vehicles. The worst is that most of them die on the road without getting the normal burial rites which is granted even to the worst people in a traditional African society.

However, the socio-religious environment that the migrants meet at their destination is certainly different from perhaps what they expected to see. The African migrants meet a multi-cultural European society with various peoples, religions, mentalities and world-views. Having abandoned their homelands, they have no option than to try to establish a new home in their host country. Such project of establishment of a home is not very easy. Jenkins expresses it thus, "When people move to a new country, they form institutions that allow them to combine together for mutual support and to help them share and transmit the values of their familiar societies. Commonly, the most important of such institutions have been religious..."[777] Emphasizing the relevance of such institution in another section of the same book Jenkins writes; "A society marked by constant movement, by frequent uprooting and replanting, by ever-growing cultural diversity is more accustomed to seek the institutional support of religious bodies, and also to accept the spiritual ideas presented in that environment."[778] Religion plays the role of a vacuum-feeler and assures the migrants of a brighter future and gives them the type of hope they need to keep on moving in such a difficult situation. Such is seen in the establishment of various African religious communities in the various European societies. Such religious houses are very important for migrants because "the involvement in migrant churches produces a much greater degree of active religiosity than was common in the home country."[779] Such is seen in the formation of African Catholic Community in Vienna which has helped many African migrants to, once again, find meaning not only in their place of migration but also in life in general. It serves not only as a religious centre but also plays some cultural and social roles for the African migrants. In fact, most of the migrants regard such religious centres as their new home since it

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[776] JENKINS, P. God's Continent, Oxford 2007.
[777] Ibid., P. 51.
[778] Ibid., P. 53.
[779] Ibid., P. 52.

provides them the opportunity to see fellow African/Igbo migrants and to share some experiences with one another both those coming from home and those resulting from the environment where they live.

Above all, the relationship between the African Catholic Community and the Austrian parish where the community has found a home should be emphasized. First, the establishment of such a relationship by the Church leaders of the Arch-diocese of Vienna should be praised since it is the most important support migrants need namely, support from the powers that be so that they (migrants) can find a place through which they could be integrated into the new society. This is made possible through the Austrian parish *Auferstehungskirche Christi*. Both parishes (the Austrian parish and the African Catholic Community) celebrate a joint holy mass once or sometimes twice in a year. What could however, be intensified in my opinion is to increase the number of times the two parishes have joint liturgical activities without restricting it just to once or twice in a year which is the case with *Auferstehung Kirche Christi* in Siebenbrunnenfeldgasse and African Catholic Community in Vienna. When the interaction between the host the migrant parish is increased, it will give more chance for mutual understanding between the two groups. Moreso, they will learn through such contacts to appreciate each other more. Finally, the project of integration is an on-going process. It can only be sustained through constant meetings, discussion and interactions.

6.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Our endeavours have been geared towards finding the role of religion in the context of African migration. This we have arrived at by showing the relationship between migration and religion and more especially the role of religion to African migrants. This work among its objectives has been also to find out why so many Africans/Igbo are migrating outside the confines of their homes. In doing this, we made a presentation of the origin of the Igbo people of Nigeria by exposing the different ethnic groups in Nigeria especially the Igbo ethnic group which is the major ethnic group we are considering in this work. The various accounts of the origin of Igbo ethnic group have things in common like, common language, relatively a similar culture, however, with some variations which are noticeable from one place to another. This culture is strictly interwoven African Traditional Religion.

This religion is inherently monotheistic having God *Chukwu* as the Supreme Being. Divinities are messengers of God and may not be a force on itself. African Traditional Religion is

culturally structured, as part of the cultural heritage of Africans. That means it belongs to the African people.[780] The religion does not only receive meaning and value from African culture, but it gives also meaning and value to African culture too. Its features include the maintenance of the continuity of the people's traditions and customs, God and his worship, evil, ethics, moral principles and salvation. Some other features are African arts and symbols, music, dance, drama, myths and legends, and other aspects of African philosophy. It is a religion where the veneration of ancestors occupies a pride of place in their worship since the ancestors are regarded as living-dead who are still integral members of the immediate family. The ancestors play veritable roles to the living and see to the continuity of the lineage of the family. It is believed that they can punish offenders and reward the good people with blessings.

In as much as religion is not culture and culture is not religion, yet, we can as well affirm that there is no religion without cultural elements and there is no culture without some impact of religious influences. In other words every religion germinated from a cultural medium which is ethnic to each race. Hence African Traditional Religion has retained its essence from time immemorial. This religion works hand in hand with various traditional institutions in African society which enables the Africans to practise their religion fully and live it out as well. It is difficult to separate religion from the normal life of Africans. Thus, God is seen in every endeavour of the African. They (Africans) worship God in spirit and in truth. This is what we mean when we say that Africans are always with their religion wherever they are. According to Adedeji, "They are twenty four hours religious. When Africans are working, playing, sleeping, walking, eating, talking, resting and so on, they are always there with their religion."[781] Shortly put, Religion pervades every aspect of the life of Africans.

In the ancient times especially in the pre-colonial period, various ecological reasons gave rise to the migration of people from one part of Africa to another. Africans/Igbo migrated from their original home to the various parts of Nigeria in order to maintain ecological balance. Owing to the fact that the pre-colonial Africans were subsistent farmers who were more interested in producing food mainly for eating and sometimes for selling, the search for fertile soil was the major motivating factor for their migration in the pre-colonial period. Above all, varios forms of disputes and wars warranted also the migration of people to other direction.

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[780] MBITI, J., Introduction to African Religion, Heinemann 1986.

[781] ADEDEJI, G.M.A, "God, Evil, and Salvation in African Traditional Religion" in: The Nigerian Journal of Theology, June 2000, Vol. 14, P. 41-54, here 44.

Okanga observed that the European incursion into Africa with their colonization project was the major thing that brought about enormous changes in African environment. These changes are the roots of the untold migration that is menacing Africa today. The danger of such incursion is noticed in the bringing together of different ethnic groups which have indepently existed before the arrival of the Europeans; and as such had nothing in common.[782] The effect of this almagation of African traditional societies is felt in the Nigerian-Biafran war which took place between 1967-1970 where many people lost their lives and properties. The Igbo (being the major Biafran tribe, and more importantly, Ojukwu, the Biafran war-Lord being an Igbo) were accused of having caused the war. This is why the Igbo tribe is hated in Nigeria today by other tribes. On account of the war, Igbo people were totally condemned, meted with series of human right abuses, restriction of freedom and liberty. Ojukwu believes that his attempt to correct the wrongs in Nigeria was nicknamed secession.[783] The Igbo were perceived in Nigeria as a threat to nationhood. Consequently, the Igbo should be dealt with since they kept on through their educated elite playing the role of the guard fly in the Nigerian society. They started playing such role even during the colonial period and which brought them dislike from the colonial masters. Such dislike was also taken over by the other tribes in Nigeria. Achebe puts it thus: "Nigerians of all other ethnic groups will probably achieve consensus on no other matter than their common resentment of the Igbo. They would all describe them as aggressive, arrogant and clannish. Most would add grasping and greedy."[784] I believe that this national hatred and its effects like marginalisation are the major causes of the migration of many Igbo people outside the confines of Igbo region and Nigeria at large. Many Igbo therefore do not take Nigeria as their real home since after the Nigeria-Biafra war. Achebe describes the situation differently "The civil war gave Nigeria a perfect and legitimate excuse to cast the Igbo in the role of treasonable felon, a wrecker of the nation."[785] Thus, they (Igbo) spread out like wild birds all over the world looking for greener pastures. This they did by leaving their geographical area in Nigeria since the zone was marginalised and almost completely abandoned by the government having lost the Nigerian-Biafran war. They started heading for the North and West where there were better economic environment. The Igbo migration was facilitated by the colonial establishment (which provided the various means of transportation to them, like the establishment of railway stations where the trains were not

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[782] OKANGA, E.C. P., *Njepu Amaka* – Migration is Rewarding. A Sociocultural Anthropological Study of Global Economic Migration, Frankfurt 2003.
[783] ODUMEGWU, O., Because I was involved
[784] ACHEBE, A., The Trouble with Nigeria, P. 45
[785] Ibid.

only used in carrying goods to various parts of the country but also in transporting human beings from one city to another.)

Igbo supported and embraced the colonial establishments especially schools since they were known for their cleverness in the area of education; this endeared them much to the Europeans. The same eagerness shown in education was also recorded in the area of religion. They abandoned their traditional religion for the new religion and supported greatly the dissemination of the teachings of the new religion. But all these efforts of the Igbo brought more confusion later in the Igbo society since the people abandoned their religion without serious preparation for the new one.

During the mission ary era, the Church vicinities and Christian villages were the major areas of migration, since the offenders of the traditional laws who were expelled from their various communities were admitted in the various Christian villages. Those who committed various abominations from different villages were normally either expelled from the village or were ostracised. The villages established by the missionaries were serving as meeting-point or places of refuge for outlaws since they found shelter and protection under such villages. In fact, the first Christians were extracted from such group since they became obedient to the rules given by the missionaries in the Christian villages.

The new urban cities were attracting people from the rural areas since there were more job opportunities in these colonial cities than in the rural areas. In these cities, people from the same vicinity were meeting themselves and trying to combine the quantity of understanding they had about Christianity with African traditional religion.

In the contemporary times, migration is characterized by a massive exodus outside the confines of Africa/Igbo to Europe which many uninformed Africans/Igbo believe is a continent flowing with milk and honey. This conception of Europe vanishes after entering Europe. Such Africans migrate to Europe for economic revitalisation. However, some Africans migrate with the intention of disseminating the word of God in Europe while majority left with the aim of finding better terrain for survival. Many of the Africans/Igbo not being fully informed about the European political, social and religious landscape abandoned their homes only to be either taken as refugees in Europe or begin to do some menial jobs which they would not have done in their country of origin. Worst is when one reflects on the various dangerous paths taken by Africans/Igbo in crossing the fortress of Europe. The European religious landscape today is totally different from the expectation of many African migrants who most often expected to have seen God's own state since Christianity came to Africa from Europe but are confronted with the multifarious and multi-religious atmosphere

that characterise the European communities. Having found himself in such an environment, the African migrant is bound to develop his life and abilities in such an environment which he is not used to. Moreover, the strains of the language with its attendant shock coming from the European culture are factors that he has to overcome before he can begin to struggle to find a new home in the place of migration.

However, the process of finding a new home is a Herculean task since it involves much work. This has exemplified itself in the formation of African Catholic Community in Vienna. Africans/Igbo are naturally religious and are ready to carry their religion wherever they go, even across the shores of Atlantic Ocean. In Vienna, the Africans/Igbo have been able to reproduce another African/Igbo parish where they practice their Christianity which has many African elements. In this community, we see how migration influences religion and vice versa; since the African/Igbo learn much from the host Catholic Community and have also integrated many new things into their own liturgy. This is experienced every Sunday immediately after mass where Africans assemble in the *Agape* hall where they extend the liturgical celebration with drinks and meals and other forms of communications. Migration makes religion to be open to change. This was confirmed in the interviews I conducted.

We can therefore conclude that the amalgamation of the different African traditional societies in Nigeria by Lord Lugard in 1914 and more especially bringing these societies into one sovereign nation in 1960 brought in power tussle in Nigeria and in many other African countries where such colonial process took place. This made Nigeria a political battle field, where different systems of government were forced to be changing the baton of leadership from regime to another. As a result of political instability with its attendant lack of trust on the part of the citizens, terms like patriotism started losing its meaning in the face of Nigerian citizens; who felt exploited and forgotten by their leaders.

Igbo practice of religion in their context of migration as part of the current global world migration processes should not make us blind of some Igbo some qualities tha specific to Igbo as an ethnic group. Our research gives evidence of some characteristics that are not only typical of Igbo migrations when properly analysed, but also give actual Igbo migration some specificity when considered in together.

First is the fact of historical migration tendency, rooted in pre-colonial but accentuated in colonial and post colonial times. Second, there are three major factors which are the concrete motivating factors for the migration namely, education, business (search for greener pastures) and religion. Religion became more attractive as it became a source of living for many and more importantly, with the establishment of various African Independent Churches which has

branches all over the world. The mainline Churches have however, always maintained links with the young Churches in Africa through their missionaries. The African Independent Churches maintain also links with its other branches all over the world by sending missionaries to Europe and other places where these branches are. The mainline Churches send also their seminarians and priest to study in Europe and also to help the European Church in the dissemination of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Some of these African missionaries are seen working in various institutions in Europe like schools, hospitals and universities and the priest are in the parishes either as assistant parish priests or parish priests. Migration, based on the business stimulus, is always grounded on individual decision making, even if with household motivation. Most of these migrations are geared towards economic betterment of the migrants and their families; however, even where this is not originally intended, migration has been a great source of economic revitalisation in Africa/Igbo especially Nigeria. The question remains, how can this wave of migration be brought to an end? I believe that the only lasting remedy to these migration waves in Africa is that Africans/Nigeria and more especially Igbo need a new sense of direction, *new colonization.* By this, I mean a situation whereby the Africans/Igbo have to re-define and re-evaluate their values to see if it still stands the test of time. I mean a re-colonisation of Africa, by Africans themselves, a *new colonization* where the minds, hearts and the cultural values of the African people will be re-looked at and given its pride of place in the face of this wave of migration. It should be a *re-colonization* that will take into account the dignity of living in a traditionally religious environment like that of Africa. Such type of orientation can re-brand the Psyche of Nigerians so that they can find a real home in their home lands. Such re-colonisation will instil some sense of national pride in the minds of Nigerians which is presently lacking; not only in the mind of many Nigerians/Igbo in diaspora but also those that are living within the confines of Nigeria.

In a contribution in *Nigeriancuriosit*y (a programme where curious Nigerians express their anxiety about the dangerous state of the nation), a Nigerian opined that Nigerians suffer from *Persistent Psychological Paralysis (PPP).* According to the author, this disease "represents the current national psyche and its sufferers are so beaten down that they are unable to realize that:

Their situation must change, and/or

They can change their situation"[786]

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[786] http://www.nigeriacuriosity.com/2008/10/persistent-psychological-paralysis.html

I believe that other symptoms of this disease are expressed through a sense of constant and pervasive powerlessness, general feelings of hopelessness, despair and fatigue over the country's state of affairs. The hopes of Nigerians have been dashed by a confluence of intersecting factors including our leaders, corrupt officials and apathetic citizens. As a result, Nigerians have lost trust on their leaders and have individually taken the fate of their lives on the hands. Every Nigerian knows what this sickness is and it stems from Nigeria's history as a nation and specifically, the modern history of post independence in 1960. I believe that through the process of *new colonization* coming from Africans/Nigerians themselves where the leaders (government and its officials) are prepared to tell themselves and the African citizens the truth about governance by using the natural resources in Africa/Igbo for an authentic development (structural and human), which will in turn bring the wave of migration to a stop. When this is done, the Africans will have no need to leave their homes for other places, for they will be comfortable. Religion shows its various faces in the various experiences of the African migrants. Through migration, the ability of Religion to adapt to various situations is made manifest. It accompanies the migrant and remains a hope-giving-factor in the face of all the psycho-somatic and traumatic experiences the migrants have, both during the period of migration and during the prozess of finding a new home in their place of migration.

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