

Moving While Keeping-on-a Social Anthropological Study of Mobility in African

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Key words: Mobility, identity, kinship, competition, solidarity, understandable, movement

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Page No.: 77-84

Volume: 17, Issue 1, 2020

ISSN: 1683-8831

Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences

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Abstract: In Africa, mobility is an important aspect of identity struggle that is understandable through external domains of social relationship. Individuals or groups engage in a competitive struggle for affluence and influence through movement. That would perhaps give them the potentials to compete and demonstrate their strength with other members of the society. Besides, there is never a permanent relocation in African society. Periodic returns to the land of origin are encouraged which 'keep' people abreast with their socio-cultural environment. The returns are mainly during festive periods such as Christmas, new yam festivals, Muo festivals, marriages and funerals. The article explores the interconnection between the 'moved' and the 'stayed' in the society that 'keep-on' the kinship network. Ethnographical studies on Igbo kinship and many other exploratory research studies done on Igbo culture and tradition served as theoretical and methodical framework. Through the intersection of Lee's theory on migration, this study therefore analyzes the rationale behind the concept of 'moving while keeping-on' in Igbo society by identifying and qualifying their values in socio-cultural expansion.

INTRODUCTION

That human society has continued to experience change and progressive development is an incontestable social fact. Largely because human beings, right from the early days, have always found a way to improve their realities, thus, making and remaking their society through various ways. How this has continued to happen is purely dependent on the particular realities of the different human societies and their prevailing culture of motivation for success for achievement and for material gains. Consequently, the drive towards the development of human society has resulted to movements either that of people or ideas. The research strategy on mobility is not

just characterized by industrialization but stretched back to the early history of man. The movement of people to new locations such as new homes, cities or even new countries of destination has been part of human quest to achieve success. In fact, there has been constant search for comfort and sustainability in human history. The growth of opportunities elsewhere has necessitated movement; economic demands have also given new leaf to movement.

In Africa as soon as direct colonialism became an obsolete practice and many African states embraced self-governance; African leaders became enmeshed in the business of making and remaking their socio-cultural life. In Nigeria for instance, the independence constitution

created regions whose main goal was to harness their particular regional qualities for the progress of the collective whole country. Although, a civil war ensued between 1967 and 1970 that would affect the cohesion of the entire regions of the country, yet each geo-political zone has continued to find ways that can hasten their arrival at both political and developmental paradise.

Consequently, in the South-Eastern part of Nigeria (The geo-political divides in Nigeria are made of 6 regions. The South-East constitutes the center of the old Eastern Region (Biafra) that are predominantly the Igbo ethnic group. The region went into war with Nigeria with the intention of forming an independent state. The war lasted for three years from 1966-1970. Though it was a failed war on the Biafra side, there are perceptions of marginalization years after the war) inhabited by the Igbo people, a region that bore the brunt of a brutal 3 years of civil war. The people have strongly continued to be involved in the struggle of making and remaking their lives since the post war-ravaged era. Okafo opines that.

The picture that emerges is that in the midst of a national booming economy, some Igbo rural communities, particularly those hit by the ravages of civil war are wallowing in retrogressive economy. Rather than develop whatever potential that exists locally, these depressed centres depend mainly on the financial inputs from sons abroad. A situation of artificial monetization is created since few opportunities for earning wages are available locally.

The picture painted by Okafo seemed to be the remote quest for firmly integration of the Igbos into the world economy. It was unfortunate that a society that was characterized by its highly development-oriented potentials just saw itself in disorientation after the civil war as all developmental potentials were retarded^[1].

Amidst all these set-backs occasioned by the civil war, anthropologists have continued to pose questions as to how the Igbo people have successfully re-written the history of their economic, political and social fortunes in a so short a period. How did the Igbos rise from the ruins of the war to set their region as the leading light of social enlightenment and economic emancipation in Nigeria as compared to other nations that have experienced the same feat? What is responsible for the continual strive for both social and economic gains with gusto and gusto by Igbo people? These questions are important in the understanding the social structure of Igbo society, the concept of movement in Igbo cosmology and how movement has helped to transform the socio-cultural climate of Igbo village life. Thus, the study of movement in Igbo society embraces also the fact that movement is a paramount phenomenon in any given society but has a peculiar character in Igbo society.

This study is focused on the following objectives to establish the concept of mobility in Igbo culture and to

explain the assumption of social interconnection between the out- and in-movement in the changing realities of Igbo society. Ethnographical studies on Igbo kinship and many other exploratory research studies done on Igbo culture and tradition served as theoretical and methodical framework. The research approach aims to uncover the ways kinship relationships have affected movement in Igbo society. Kinship is to be understood as a means of societal adjustment in the community life towards a solid aristocratic expansion of social network. The study is partitioned into three sections. Section one dwells on the background of the study and what informed the research interest, section two handles the concept of movement as it pertains to African cosmology while section three comprises the pros and cons of mobility in Africa with particular reference to Igboland. The ways in which movement has affected and reconstructed social relationship is considered in the conclusion.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Background of the study: The use of the word 'Igbo' in this research refers both to people, language and culture. The people are concentrated predominantly in the Southeastern part of Nigeria within the Southern Coast of West Africa. Igbo Region is the most densely populated in West Africa. With the limited space for commercial farming, the people are mostly engaged in commerce for their livelihood. The Igbo settlement pattern and the business enterprise have necessitated the movement of people from one location to the other in search of better living environment, especially after the crisis of civil war. According to Onwuejeogwu^[2] "movements and migrations may be regarded as critical in the demographic circulation in the Igbo culture area". In other words, for the pursuit of basic needs of life, demographic changes have characterized the Igbo society.

It is important to note that when the Igbos move out of their ancestral homes, it does not imply that they have abandoned or forgotten the relic structure that precipitates their being or origin; rather it is a system of 'keeping-on'. Keeping-on implies a way of enriching the progenitors' home and culture as a constant point of reference, a system of creating and recreating the environment. There is that ontological feeling of attachment to the 'home' as material and affective space that draws people back to their 'lived experiences' and 'social relations'^[3]. But the movement of people is also quite evolving which may result for few as a 'journey of no return' (The axiom 'journey of no return' means the mobility attitude of remaining and naturalizing in a migrated environment without any thought of returning to the original place of birth or descent. This group may prefer to be buried in their place of domicile) but still in contact with ancestral home and for many it could be that of self-actualization.

Whichever way, there is the ideological formation that places the individuals in relationship with their place of settlement as well as their native land through constant remittance.

However, one of the fundamental methodological problems that confront anthropologists in the study of movement of people is when it concerns the specificity of their motives, so as to comprehend individual interests. This is because any conclusion a researcher draws from any particular findings could easily be refuted by another study. What usually suites the common narrative is the shared cosmological features that transcend individual motives, drawn from an ethnological approach based on 'pull factor' of life exigencies^[4, 5]. The drive to immediately improve the economic fortunes of their respective families down in the villages^[6], propelled by the evident affluence of those who already acquired wealth, has been the key pull factor and the singular most driving force responsible for movement in the Igbo society. It is based on this that the concept of 'moving while keeping-on' in Igbo society is to be analyzed in this research. The concept is understood as a methodical movement of people and culture in order to enrich the progenitors' or indigenous environment with both human and material resources.

African cosmology and movement: In African cosmology, there is a constant interaction between the visible and invisible worlds of reality that constitute a major part of movement. The starting point and goal of the social relationships are to create harmony and cohesion between the 'visible' and 'invisible' worlds of reality^[7]. Eboh^[8] is of the view that in Igbo society, life is conceived as an "inter-relationship between the visible material world and the world of the spirits. It is a constant and close interaction, a communion and communication between the two worlds". In the same way, Metu^[9] sees the Igbo vision of the universe as "one fluid, coherent unit in which spirits, men, plants and animals and the elements are engaged in continuous interaction". The Igbo conception of the universe is in fact a continuous interaction of beings both the visible and invisible whereby the activities of the invisible world manifest in the visible through various phenomenal experiences^[10]. These experiences that make the interaction of beings in the universe possible manifest in the kinship relationship. And this interaction abhors any demarcation in-between the two worlds of existence. As it were, Igbo cosmology as noted by Eteng is the reflection of the Igbo historical, social, religious and material existence that accounts for the meaningful state of Igbo community development and social welfare.

Furthermore, the Igbo kinship structure is constituted both by the living and the dead members of the family^[11-13] and this constitution influences the character

of social relationships in the community. Mbiti^[12] clearly explains that "it is kinship which controls social relationships between people in a given community: it governs marital customs and regulations, it determines the behavior of one individual towards another". Igbo kinship system is traditionally defined by its patrilineal relationship epitomized in an unequal hierarchy of lineages of various levels and origin forming villages and towns. However, Paris^[14] remarks that.

[...] the inequality of hierarchy does not imply injustice as long as trust exists among those who interact with one another and as long as all share a common dedication to the paramount value of maintaining harmony within the community.

For Radcliffe-Brown^[15], kinship is based on descent which is a social relationship between parents and children as distinguished from physical relationship in terms of consanguinity. Two persons who are kin are related either in one way or two ways of formation of kinship relationship. It is either one is descended from the other in a unilateral sense or both are descended from a common ancestor. Descent systems assure of lineage continuity and it is believed that lineage does not die but its members die and are replaced or regenerated through birth^[16]. This is because each new birth in the lineage is regarded as providing a vehicle for its expansion. And the desire to perpetuate the lineage results in the large kinship descent.

Kinship system also depends on the pattern of residential community. Describing the pattern of Igbo settlement, Okafo states that.

The bulk of the Igbo territory was however broken up into hundreds of villages separated by large groves and forests. These rural villages formed the settlement fabric of Igboland and the trends in their transformation from within and without are considered essential for understanding the Igbo settlement organization of today. The territorial pattern of settlement differentiates one Igbo community from the other. Each community or town as it may be called is residentially aggregated by villages. Thus, the internal organization of each village in Igbo community consists of different 'clans' or 'sub-clans' or 'kindred' with their specific ancestral names either dispersed residentially or corporately together in an area^[7].

The issue of land possession is also very important in kinship relationship in Igboland. Land is held mostly in common in Igbo traditional society, either by villages or by clans or by families. Each clan is entrusted with specific portions of land (Ala or Ani in Igbo language that could be translated as Earth goddess) but the original owners remain the ancestors. The land which stands as the centre of kinship relationship, public morality and the domain of fertility is allocated to different families through their descent groups^[7]. Echema^[17] was right when

he stated that 'Ala' takes a prominent place in Igbo culture. It is regarded "as the chief guardian of morality and the controller of fortune and economic life". This system of land ownership unites the descent groups with their ancestors. Thus, any available space of land acquired by the individual through the community consent is pressed immediately into use for cultivation, otherwise another would acquire the land.

The understanding of wealth distribution through inheritance in Igbo society is linked to family life. Caldwell *et al.*^[18] define inheritance as "a system whereby property which is usually communal, remains within the lineage or clan and normally passes between members of the same sex". This system is determined by the relationship between the parents and their children, between grandparents and grand children and by extension between visible and invisible worlds of reality. Kayongo-Male and Onyango^[19] explains further that as a communal variety, the system of inheritance links the extended family in strong reciprocal aid relationship. To the extent that the traditional social protection of inheritance is embodied in the customary laws, the preservation of such laws is transmitted to the male-side of the family in the case of patrilineal system of kinship or to the female-side of the family in the case of matrilineal system.

In conceptualizing African cosmology-kinship system, the unique relationship between the visible and invisible, the material and immaterial worlds which governs the spiritual life of the African Imagination Paris emphasizes that.

The 'spirituality' of a people refers to the animating and integrative power that constitutes the principal frame of meaning for individual and collective experiences. Metaphorically, the spirituality of a people is synonymous with the soul of a people: the integrating center of their power and meaning. In contrast with that of many other peoples, African spirituality is never disembodied but integrally connected with the dynamic movement of life. On the one hand, the goal of that movement is the struggle for survival while on the other hand, it is the union of those forces of life that have the power either to threaten and destroy life [...] or to preserve and enhance it.

From Paris' assertion, it could be inferred that African spirituality which the Igbos are not excluded from has to do with the whole life setting of the people. It shapes the goal of their religious worship and movement. In no small measure, it is a communication between the living and the dead that makes the two worlds of reality participate in the single ordering of the universe. This ordering of being creates a strong link between the place of origin and the place of destination in African mobility. It follows that Igbo cosmology affects movement that ever propel the individuals to stick to the values of moving while keeping-on.

Moving while keeping-on-the pros and cons: The underlying patterns of transformation in the society depend on the movement of people, ideas and goods. People often gained viability through contact with other societies. From the findings, both male and female were eager to move out from their immediate environment in pursuit of greener pasture. The majority of them were from the class of unmarried people between the age of 16 and 45 years where they strongly believed that movement is part and parcel of human existence and there are benefits attached to that in the sense that it enhances the socio-economic life of the people. From the findings also, it is absurd for one to restrict oneself to a particular geographical area but must have wider scale of accounts from other cultural settings. Born, bred, aged and deceased in a single environment were seen as a lack in human existence. Study also revealed that such actors would have no new stories to tell their ancestors when they would meet in the world-after. By that very fact, the virtuous dead or the ancestors would not know the happenings outside their society except if someone who joined them would tell of one's adventures in the foreign lands.

The values that movement promotes in the Igbo cosmology cannot be over-emphasized especially after the civil war. Cosmologically, movement could be complementary or innovative. By complementary, it involves the creation of new ideology, whereas innovation creates new relationships. In both ways, they are motivated by many pull factors: socio-economic forces such as trading and farming, ceremonies, entertainments, education, etc., political goals and environmental constraints. The followings constitute the research findings of moving while keeping-on.

Quest for survival: Quest for survival is based both on economic and cultural factors. The opening up of the world economy, the understanding that the growth is not confound in a particular space and propelled by the civil war, the search for survival rose to a great height. The primary focus, here is Igbo rural environment dominated by peasant farmers with little or no opportunities for economic elevations. The 'logic of scarcity' suffices at this juncture in the quest for survival due to the fact that the limitations propel demands that will cause a mismatch between the equilibrium of forces.

In a bid to struggle out of scarcity, there is that old saying in Nigeria that the 'Igbos love money'. That assertion does not imply that other ethnic nationalities in Nigeria do not love money as much as the Igbos but rather presents the Igbos' oriented struggle for survival in the midst of scarcity. An average Igbo person is very resourceful and also receptive to changing situations in life as evident in every part of the society where they migrate. There is always that instinct of economic survival in his environment. Just like Nwala^[1] presents that.

The primary principle of self-preservation and self-survival dominates all human and other forms of natural existence. Desire is the psychological impulse to survive. Everything and every action is geared towards the ultimate goal. General human outlook on life is a reconciliation of this basic principle and the stark realities of human experience.

The majority of those who flee from the rural community due to limited space for cultivation and other business-like ventures represented the highest number of the moved. They are people between the ages of 20 and 35 years. Remaining in the villages according to them would worsen their situations. No doubt, the difficult situations would always compel people to look for means of survival and if that cannot be achieved on the immediate environment, there is the tendency of moving to other better environments. This is the case if there are limited or no opportunity in one's present residence.

Quest for survival is also seen among the village dwellers that have persons of school age. For instance, it was reported that as children reach the school age, many families may decide to leave their kindred in order to provide their children with better educational opportunities. Those schools may offer high quality education and more educational options. As such academic pursuit often takes people to different cities and countries that provide them better opportunities. Again, findings show that when one is presented with the opportunity of attractive career advancement, higher salary, stable job, better working conditions, etc., these are likely to initiate movement.

Notwithstanding that many Igbos migrate to other environments due to economic hardships, yet they are guided by strong ethical values grounded on their religiosity. On the strength of the Igbo traditional morality based on the responsibility of individuals towards the supernatural beings, Ndukaihe^[20] observes that "sanctions of reward and punishment from the spirits, nature gods and ancestors are stronger motivating forces for the Igbo man to pursue his moral/ethical goals". In fact, a critical assessment of the traditional moral order of Igbo cosmology conveys its deep connection with the fundamental faith understanding of religious rites and principles born out of the desire to free oneself from the wrath of the gods or deities. Freeing oneself from the wrath of the gods encompasses both religious and moral obligations that are unbounded by any cultural space.

If an Igbo man is in the foreign land, he will always be guided and try not to deviate from the cultural norms as there are consequential effects even though there could be exceptions. There is the belief that any crime committed anywhere that the wraths of the gods will always manifest. This belief assumes the guiding moral principle of Igbo's social coexistence.

Maintenance of kinship ties: If a person travels out of the local community, he or she is expected to come back home more enriched than as before. There is always specific reason for the trip. Such trip is noted for its adventures. Sometimes the departure of the individual is greeted with missed feelings due to the uncertainties of the journey. But the relatives would always be in waiting of his/her return. That is why there is high spirit of jubilation when a person comes home either for a visit or final return. A display of generosity is shown by the returnee through the sharing of gifts (i.e., as a gift exchange) in return to the offered prayers during his or her absence^[21]. That implies that there continued to be a link between place of residence and former home.

There is never a permanent relocation outside the environs of the Igbo society. Periodic returns are encouraged and sacrosanct. It occurs mainly during festive periods such as Christmas, new yam festivals, Muo festivals, marriages, funerals, etc. There is this interconnection between the 'moved' and the 'stayed' in the society in order to maintain the kinship network. Gilbert and Reynolds^[22] make this point clear as implied to Igbo cosmology when they say that.

[...] diaspora, exile and migration are nothing new. But what is new about these communities is that since, the 1960's they have often been able to maintain connections with the places they have left. They have their feet in two worlds-their place of residence and their former homes. These two worlds remain important to them when compared to other African nations such as Cameroon or Congo and Liberia that experienced long period of wars. It is evident that Igbos who migrated out in search of economic opportunities are still considered part and parcel of their kindred. Their periodic visits to their villages would prove this point. The kinship ties also make some of them to look for spouse or get married in their cultural settings.

On another note, the conscious realization of individual of being in a foreign land would make him/her to think home, especially when the foreigners are unaccommodating to his or her culture, beliefs and values. Home return becomes an ideological shift that derives its meaning from the two factors that inform the basis of explanation. It is either one returns home alive or returns as a dead person. But it is more heroic to return home alive notwithstanding whether one has achieved one's goal or not. Even though one might be cajoled by one's peers of failures but would be helped by the kinsmen to adjust to the new community life in the case of one that returned impoverished.

Familial reciprocity: The Igbo kinship system emphasizes inclusiveness with enduring character of material and ideological interests of the members. Though not everyone must move because some must keep watch

over the community but the 'have-gones' have the duty to take care of the 'remained' through remittances. Kayongo-Male and Onyango^[19] aptly describe the import of familial reciprocity when they state that "the members of the extended family are linked in strong reciprocal aid relationships which entail complex rights and responsibilities". The reciprocity portrays an action of solidarity. For instance, if one member of the family finds his feet in business or goes abroad there is that strong tendency of incorporating other members of the family either in the business or helping to join him in abroad. When the two options are not promising, there is the resort of establishing them in their indigenous community. From the findings, it is likely that about 70% of Igbo people who marry people from foreign countries would often have problem with their spouses if there were no basic understanding on the familiar reciprocity of Igbo culture. It is also the reason why most of the 'foreigners' would not likely understand why they (the Igbos) should be sending their limited resources to the people at home. In Igbo and in most African cultures, kinship operates as a principle of mutual reciprocity among individuals through the distribution and preservation of community values. It means that what affects one kin-member affects the others and what affects all can only be surmounted through one's contribution to the communal responsibilities. Thus, the individual in the community sees him/herself not as an individual per se but as part of the living community with mutuality of purpose^[11]. This conception does not imply that the individual has no definitive role in the community; rather the individual finds his/her meaning and relevance in that community in which he/she belongs. Of course, reciprocity is regarded as a fundamental aspect of Igbo cultural values^[16].

In a research essay by Adeshokan^[23] published in Stears Business online on June 11, 2018; Adeshokan under scored the drive in the Igbo cosmology responsible for movement in Igbo society. According to him, the Igbo ideology of Lekotanwanneg in woke loosely translated as "watch over your brother" as a familial reciprocity principle was largely responsible for the way Igbo business men took up young boys from different parts of Igbo communities as apprentices in the Imu-Ahiascheme. Those business men helped to train many young boys in a trade that brought money and wealth to their respective families and communities. No doubt the Igbo apprenticeship has today become one of the biggest informal venture capital in the world. As a familial reciprocal formation, the apprenticeship scheme has become a huge luring means of going into business to make money and achieve wealth and move up the social ladder. Quoting Festus Nworah an electronics business man in Idumota Market Lagos, Adeshokun^[23] states that "Imu-Ahia is important because, before the war, many parents believed in school but even the school is not

working out for anybody. We are taught to trade to look for quality, we operate cooperative societies here in Idumota and we are reminded to send money back home to have our house in the East". The building of home applies also to people who lived abroad. The call to build houses at home does not necessarily stop at that it is a way of reminding the people in foreign lands not to forget their ancestral homes. The essence of bringing wealth back home portends the communal coexistence of the clan members.

Competition and identity struggle: Movement in the social life of the Igbo is not without its motivation and alluring drive that results to construction of identity. The cultural allegory of movement in Igbo cultural setting of Nigeria suggests that it is only the lazy ones in the society stay at home while their mates move in search of greener pasture. It suggest that movement and adjustment are important aspects of 'identity struggle'^[14] that are understandable through external domains. Individuals or groups engage in a competitive struggle for influence and affluence through the acquisition of power and wealth. That is why some people are driven to the lands of the Foreigners out of shame of continuous stay in the indigenous land in pursuit of wealth. Interestingly, the Igbo people have always been an independent minded people. This was largely responsible for the republican way they governed their society in the pre-colonial times, creating a close-knit relationship that gave rise to healthy competition among her ever-energetic youths who continuously strived to outdo each other in the struggle for power and wealth.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As the psychologists continue to investigate on how the human sight is responsible for the ever increasing cravings of human desires, what is seemingly clear is that in the Igbo society, this rush to succeed is down to how the youths are continuously motivated by the wealth of their friends and neighbors. From the findings, young people who had earlier left the villages for the city/Foreign land for greener pastures usually make donations in the village and also splash money around when they 'arrive' home in intimidation of those that based at home^[24]. For instance, there are several cases (even now) of many young boys who after just primary education willingly decide to quit schooling for business. Many times the intension is to make money like one of their village friends who left the village a few years ago and now owns a car and a big house under construction in the village. Today such thought is still responsible for why many Igbo young people decide to quit school and learn a trade as a quick means of wealth acquisition.

The competition for power and wealth is meant to have influence on the people in the community but not above the community because no individual is above the community. In other words, the acquisition of power and wealth are important aspect of identity struggle. To have control over others depended on the powers individuals and groups have gained. Lack of wealth and power meant an accumulation of debts. In the study of Chambri society, Errington and Gewertz^[25] observe that “men seek to acquire power sufficient to free themselves from debt and to match the power possessed by other men”. Consequently, individuals or groups could engage in the competitive struggle for influence and the attending quest for chieftaincy titles as signs of affluence. When the competitive power within was exhausted, the only alternative was to import from neighboring clans or societies in order to out-power the others. The importation as consequent of movement therefore provides for the people new avenues of power and wealth expansion.

CONCLUSION

The study has gone far to x-ray the import of mobility in Igbo society and how it is affected by the cosmological order. People move and at the same time keep in close touch with the indigenous society. Such closeness has deepened to the level of influence be it socio-political or economic influences. When people achieve positions of status and power in a social environment, they influence the society and take advantage of their positions to remodel the society. Long before now, life was lived in the society based on the strength of character prior to the crisis of civil war. This way of life has been unfavorable to some group of persons in this present period who have definitely come to get used to the system, since, they consider it, the possible way of belonging to the community in the 21st century. Hence, they would have no choice than to face the challenges of migration.

It is pertinent to state that it is a common knowledge that movement brings encounter and encounter brings innovation and innovation sustains progress in the society. Human beings have the capacity to borrow new ideas and skills from another culture just to enrich their own society. The recognition of this fact helps to understand why people migrate in Igboland. An Igbo adage states that Onyeije Kaonyeisiawo which literally means that a ‘sojourner is greater than a grey-haired man’. This idea has to do with the values placed on movement as part of the transformation of the culture.

However, there are some negative aspects of movement in Igboland. Apart from the fact that some Igbo young people have turned to different forms of crime all in a bid to live in affluence and prestigious life an obvious harm which the idea of movement brought with it is the glaring neglect and shouting apathy towards education and learning because of limited opportunities they seem

to create in the Nigerian society. Although, contemporary Igbo youths, especially, the male youths are beginning to re-imbibe the culture and the desire to acquire university education, many are still much more interested in the seemingly quicker root of making money through migration to Europe, America and Asia. Without overlooking the necessity of movement, there is however a greater need for internal innovation that would promote self-reliance in Igbo society as further area for research. There is therefore an urgent need to take the innovative drive down to the nooks and crannies of Igbo villages and continue to positively change the world view of the average Igbo young people that rely only on migration as the ultimate source of livelihood.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful for the help of the editor and Anonymous referees in refining this study.

Funding: This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial or not-for-profit sectors.

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