An Empirical Investigation of Attitudes and Beliefs toward the Resurgence of Traditional Titles and Honors among the Igbos

Emmanuel Uwalaka
Department of Political Science
St. Louis University
McGannon Hall, Room 150
3750 Lindell Blvd.
St. Louis, MO 63108

Abstract

Using a proportionate stratified sample of 300 titled and non-titled respondents this study was conducted to tap into their attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of the proliferation of title taking in Igboland. Major questions of interest included: "who are traditional title holders?" "Why do individuals seek titles?" "Why do chiefs award such titles? "Should titles be given to 'diaspora' Igbos and foreigners?" An overwhelming majority of the respondents "agree" (85.2percent) vs. "disagree" (14.8 percent) that many people are taking traditional titles. Some respondents (44.5 percent) believe traditional rulers award titles "For economic gain;" A smaller number (25.3 percent) believe "It increases their status." On awarding titles to Igbos in diaspora, 56.9 percent "oppose" while 43.1 percent "favor." This study calls for efforts at conceptualizing the institution of title taking, and a more systematic understanding of the most important factors that make people seek titles.

Keywords: Chieftaincy; traditional title; honor; attitude; belief; perception; diaspora

1. Introduction

How traditional authority systems operate in the post-colonial state in Africa has been of major interest for scholars of Africa. In Nigeria, the number of traditional title holders, especially "chiefs," grows day by day. While traditional authority structures in Nigeria have been extensively studied (Vaughan 1991; Ekong 1985), scholars have paid less attention to the Igbos' traditional system (in Eastern Nigeria) than they have to those of theYorubaas in the West, and the Hausa-Fulani in the North. This stems in part from the conventional wisdom, which maintains that *Igbo EnweEze* – translated literally to mean, Igbos have no "chiefs" (July 1992, 305) – that is, decision-making among the Igbos is based on consensus. Since the end of the civil war, however, and "consensus" notwithstanding there has been a proliferation of traditional titles and honors among the Igbos.

This paper is an empirical investigation of the resurgence of traditional titles and honors among the Igbos, especially, as seen in EkwerazuAhiazu-Mbaise, Imo state of Nigeria. Major questions of interest include, (1) who are traditional title holders, (2) why do individuals seek traditional titles, (3) why do"chiefs" award such titles, and (4) what are the perceptions and/or attitudes of the general public towardchieftaincy institutions?This study is important because a re-examination of why individuals seek titles and why awards are made will provide useful information to policy-makers on how to stem the current proliferation. Also, a study of popular attitudes and perceptions about traditional titles and honors may provide us with useful descriptive and explanatory data on current "traditional" politics and inter-cultural studies of Nigeria.

1.1Who is a Traditional Title Holder?

The title of this paper suggests widespread use of titles to the point that the common man is confused. It is a common understanding that titles vary from one society to another based on the custom, tradition, and mores of each society. In pre-colonial Nigeria, the leaders of various traditional authorities were either called *'Emirs'* as in the centralized authority systems among the Hausa-Fulani, or *'Obas'*among the Yorubas. Colonial experience and the attainment of independence have at various times brought collaboration and friction on the exact roles of and names traditional authority systems should be called (Erediauwa 1985, vi-x).

However, in pre-colonial Igbo society a traditional title holder is someone confirmed with a title by his community in recognition of his excellent and honest achievement realized within his community. According to Onwubiko, it is good to know that titles are given within the Igbo political system to plough back excess resources of an individual into the community thereby converting potential communal traditional threats into a symbolic recognition for the community (1987, 87). A title holder in the traditional Igbo society, therefore, has to be defined in reference to what the individual has contributed to society. Therefore, we have '*NzeOkonko'* (a judicial orator), 'Nzeji' (a prosperous farmer), '*NzeOgwu'* (a prosperous herbalist), '*NzeNmuo'* (a spiritual leader), etc. Even in the olden days, within the Igbo social structure, we have '*Oyima*' which is a title given to people who have had a good number of children in a single family as a symbol of protecting the family structure. I have so far described some of the titles in traditional Igbo society. However, questions have been raised as to the place of current honorary chieftaincy title holders in Igbo society.

1.2 Honorary Chieftaincy Titles

Chieftaincy conferment, Ukpokolo states, "Is a common practice among the people of sub-Saharan Africa, the Igbo inclusive"(2009, 6). But leaders in traditional Igbo societies were not chiefs. We had "*Eze*" depending on the area or the "*Igwe*" and the "*Nze*" as the collaborating factor in the political association. According toOnwubiko, "The Igbo people have up till today not accepted the "chiefs." They have been told to translate what the 'chief' means to the Igbo people."However, one has to go back to the colonial period to understand the use of the term 'chief' in Igboland.

In spite of the myth perpetrated by the Europeans that African societies were not organized before their incursion into Africa, there were a variety of political systems (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940). The British under the "Indirect Rule" method were able to administer African societies through the leadership of the hierarchical (Khapoya 2010, 59-60) or Pyramidal (Schraeder 2004, 30) political systems as existed among the Buganda in Uganda, the Zulu empire under Shaka Zulu, the Fulani in Nigeria, and the Yorubas in Western Nigeria. While each society had different names for their leaders, British colonial administrators in the aggregate called them chiefs or kings.

But British colonial administrators had a different experience in Igboland where there was no tradition of a centralized political authority. Just like the Nuer of Sudan and the Kikuyu of Kenya, the Igbos practice a "republican system" of government which involves direct representation of elders in the community in decision-making. In order words, each community is autonomous. Their leaders come and go. They are not, in fact, structured according to one family inheritance. This is the Igbo democratic village type. When one sees a gathering of titled men in Igbo land, none sits behind the other whether you are "Nzeji" (a prosperous farmer) or "NzeOgwu" (a prosperous herbalist), or "NzeOkonko" (a judicial orator).They make up the "amala" (community representatives), or "ohanaeze" (the community). Since in the eyes of the British the Igbos lacked centralized political authority, they invented "warrant chiefs" and imposed them on the people. Since the colonial period, chieftaincy institutions and other forms of traditional ruler-ships in Nigeria have undergone several reforms under civil and military rules (Ade-Lawal 1984; Ekong 1985; Iheanacho 2006; Oladosu 1985; Orewa 1978; Sani 1977; Vaughan 1995).

One reform that is attributable to the current craze for chieftaincy titles was in the period between 1976 and 1978 that led to "the re-emergence of the Ezeship institution as a dominant constitution of governance" (Iheanacho 2006, 13). To enable us to understand this quest for traditional and honorary titles, we examine the literature and theoretical arguments.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Argument

In Nigeria, the incidence of corruption (Odekunle 1982), the 'Polarization of Society' (Graft 1988, 9-10), and the politics of exclusion (Ibid 181) have seriously hampered the modernizing programs of the national and regional governments. One of the major objectives for establishing local government authorities has been to bring politics to the grassroots, mobilize people toward national goals, and make services consonant with local needs. However, given this inability of the national and/or regional governments to deliver as promised, the quality of such services has suffered. There has been a loss of confidence in the system, with the result that many people now look inward and turn to what they know best – their traditional systems of authority. In a broader context, Williams explains the resiliency of the chieftaincy on the grounds that it "is the fortunate benefactor of an inefficient corrupt, and disconnected African state" (Williams 2010, 15).

The phenomenon is, also, symptomatic of the crises of political culture (Binder et al. 1971, 3-72) facing African countries. This observation did not escape General Sani Abacha, the former Nigerian Head of State, while inaugurating the constitutional conference in Abuja on June 27, 1974 said, "The 34 years of sovereign existence, had been years with crisis of legitimacy, crisis of succession, crisis of authority and crisis of nationally acceptable leadership" (West Africa 1994). The same sentiment expressed by the late Sani Abacha can be said of the current civilian administration headed by Goodluck Jonathan beset with seemingly insurmountable economic and security problems.

Since most leaders at the center have lost the confidence of their followers, many of these leaders take traditional titles so as to legitimize themselves to their constituents (Vaughan 1995, 4).Also, the effort by different national, state and local governments to politicize the chieftaincy institution to mobilize support for their administrations have also been noted by scholars (Usoro 1995; Iheanacho 2006, 15-17).

Politicians are not alone in seeking traditional titles: leaders of civil society (churches, women organizations, age groups, etc.) take traditional titles as means to seek power, status, and influence (Ukpokolo 2009, 6-7; Uzuegbu 1997, 6-7). Ukpokolo situates chieftaincy titles "within a cultural context" and thus "views them, not only as forms of identity creation, which includes the enhancement of self-esteem and self- worth for the conferred, but also as forms which relate the conferred with the realities of their socio-cultural and economic environments" (2009, 3). Chief Ogedegbe reacting to the debate on chieftaincy titles admits his traditional title puts him in a "special class." He states, "You don't operate as an ordinary man anymore. As a matter of fact you are supposed to be in the upper bracket of society and that lifts you from the commoner" (Ogedegbe 2007, 2).Uchendu agrees with the above positions by asserting that, "It is a fair assessment of the Igbo world to say that the most important commodity it offers and for which the Igbo strive is '*ozo*', or title system" (1965, 16). Given the Igbo belief in reincarnation, a titled Igbo thinks not only of his social position here on earth but also in the afterlife. His most important injunctions to his heir and family, Uchendu states are: "Do not shame my spirit. Do not let my enemies see my corpse. Give me good burial. For the Igbo, status- seeking is a cyclical process of death ... reincarnation, birth, and then death" (Ibid).

The arguments up to this point demonstrate a chiefly title, with all the trappings that go with it, is seen by the seeker as the first step to attaining social recognition, establishing legitimacy within the community, creating a base from which to mobilize supporters for an eventual political career and if the seeker is a businessman, securing a privileged position from which to attract government contracts. But I ask why do chiefs award chiefly titles? It is argued that awards are made by the chief to increase his power, status, and influence, but also for economic gain. Given the 'loss' of effective executive, judicial and legislative powers since political independence the award of chiefly titles to the highest bidder has been a good source of revenue for traditional chiefs. Ukpokolo notes "This is a reflection of cash economy of contemporary times," where "The monetization of politics from the national, state, to the local government levels has become a characteristic feature of modern Nigerian Society" (2009, 8).

How much it costs for one to receive a chiefly title borders on speculation and secrecy. The amount would depend if one is invited to accept the title or one 'buys' it. Ewokor (2007, 2) states "Honorary titles can often be bought by giving a donation of about $10,000 to one's home area." Also, one Chief Ibe expresses his concern on the cost of receiving titles by noting "It costs a lot to acquire a title. These days, in all you could spend as much $200,000 to $250,000 – minimum to become chief" (Ibid, 3). The bottom line is that no matter how much individuals spend to receive titles, the awarding of such titles is a good source of revenue. The more they receive, the more the revenue.

2.1 Diaspora Igbos

There is an increasing trend in conferring of chieftaincy titles on foreigners and Nigerians in the "diaspora." By diaspora I mean titles awarded not only to foreigners but, also, outside Igboland. These Nigerians are installed as chiefs, and they prefer to take permanent residence abroad. It has now become a growing trend in the institution of chieftaincy in Nigeria. The practice is quickly spreading across the country, especially among the Igbos.

A number of foreigners, mostly Americans and Europeans come to Nigeria to have chieftaincy titles bestowed on them. The towns and villages who engage in this practice of conferring titles hope and dream such visitors would contribute to the economic development of these towns and villages. However, quite often, the foreigners merely see the ceremony as a goodwill gesture.

Once they leave Nigeria at the end of their vacation, no one ever hears again from these honorary chiefs, and in most cases, their only memories of these events are the vacation pictures they took home with them.

Also, receiving honorary chieftaincy titles are those foreigners invited by Nigerian communities. In 2009, the Nkwerre community in Imo State, Nigeria made history when top American movie stars, Forest Whitaker and Danny Glover were conferred with honorary chieftaincy titles. DNA reveals Whitaker's ancestral root with Nkwere people. One way of looking at this event is that, it is an inducement that they can do some good in the community. In proclaiming the worthiness of Mr. Glover and Mr. Whitaker to be chiefs of NkwereEzeAnyiam-Osigwe states: (2009, 2)

Danny Glover is a member of our family for his attitude and ways of assistance to us. Being an Nkwere chief will help us socially, culturally and economically as our dream of a film village and film institute will be realized with Danny and Whitaker as chiefs of our town. They are good people. We present them as worthy of being chiefs of Nkwerre.

It is important, however, to remember Mr. Glover and Mr. Whitaker are capitalists. Capitalists do not sow where they cannot reap the benefits. The hope and dream of the Nkwere community for economic opportunities can only be realized in an environment free of corruption, adequate security of life and property, infrastructural development, and strong institutions. These cannot be said to exist in many Igbo communities.

Also, the conferment of chieftaincy titles on Mr. Glove and Mr. Whitaker can be said to be a gesture of goodwill and, thus, symbolic. In the spirit of Pan-Africanism, it promotes unity between black America and their ancestral land through cultural exchange. Miles believes entitling personalities outside Igbo-States is advantageous (1991, 20). It widens local identity to a national or international level. It, thus, legitimizes local tradition. However, the awarding of titles to foreigners or Igbos outside non-Igbo states of Nigeria has come under criticism. One contentious issue has been the awarding of the titles *EzeNdigbo* (meaning King of Igbo) in non-Igbo states of Nigeria. Ilomuanya (2009, 1) expresses his disapproval for such an exercise when he states: "A major desecration of the culture and tradition of Igbos in Nigeria is the rampant and illegitimate installation of *EzeNdigbo* in foreign land."

In traditional Igbo society, one important fact to note in taking any title is "*Idoalaozu*" (a background check). Titles are only given to rare indigenes. Foreigners do not take titles in the land as such. Titles are only conferred by the indigenes and not by outsiders. This is why there are questions over chiefs that are given by the government or their agents. They are recognized as chiefs being given by foreign elements. This is why you can take a chieftaincy title and live in New York, and you can be a chief in New York, chief in Kaduna or Kafanchan in Nigeria. But if you are an *Nze*, you must start at home.

Moreover, before you become an *Nze*, a thorough scrutiny of your background is undertaken. This is the "*Idoalaozu.*" "*Idoalaozu*," "*idoalaezeji*" or "*idoalaokongo*" means there must be a research into your background to know you are not a foreigner, you are not a criminal, and your ancestors have not committed anything that could have ostracized them from the community. Unless this is done and given approval, you cannot go ahead.

Equally, in the *ozo* title the first thing is "*Ejim'ogo.*" This is undertaken because this is an individual who is an ordinary person, and now he wants to take a title. Therefore, the first thing he had to do is the "ejim'ogo" to show "I'm innocent." Once you finish the "*ejim'ogo*" stage, you go to the "*ichuodachi*,"and *"ichuodachi"* means any amount of anything that would be an obstacle to you is going to be removed. If there is any catastrophe, any mishap in your family in traditional Igbo society, it is always taken as a way the gods are disqualifying someone from taking a title. People, who take titles within this context are ones who in are carrying the symbol of innocence and uprightness in them

What is at work then are three connected sets of developments, each with its own dynamic, but related to the others by circumstantial chains of causality: First, there is the very real and continued disintegration of the Nigerian polity, manifest not only by the parent inability of the country's leaders to find a formula for political unity and stability, but also by a gradual dispersion of the country's nexuses of national and regional power to its local and peripheral centers.

Second, as national leaders and institutions began to lose their legitimacy, there has been a concomitant, and gradual, reassertion of influence, authority, and even some power, by many of the country's traditional rulers. Not even Igbo land, where traditional authority was always diffused, could escape the trend.

Third, with the re-validation of traditional roles and positions, the symbols of those roles and positions, chiefly titles, acquired new political – and as it turned out, economic value. It is hardly surprising, then, that national and regional leaders, as well as local ones, would seek traditional titles not only to reinforce their own status and influence, but also that leaders with traditionally legitimate titles would, for the same reasons, create and distribute quasi-traditional ones.

This study proposes to focus on the third set of developments, arguing that the proliferation of chiefly titles represents one key – a latch-key, in effect – to an understanding of the rest.

3. Methods of Study

3.1 The Setting

The setting of my study is the town of Ekwerazu in Ahiazu Local Government Authority of Imo State of Nigeria. It is an appropriate area of the State for the study because of the acute confrontation between "traditional chieftaincy" and modern chiefs" over what roles each should play in the community and beyond.

3.2 The Sample

This study involved two different populations: (1) a sample frame, that is, a list of the study population was created for title holders. The list was developed from a register of traditional councils, which was available at the local government headquarters. From the list a random sample of 120 was chosen for the survey. (2) The other survey population was made up of all adult residents above 18 years old in the six communities that make up Ekwerazu. The communities were ranked according to size and population, and a sample of 180 was proportionately drawn.

3.3 Data Collection

Data for the study were collected in 2004 through: (1) face-to-face interview of 180 of non-title holders; (2) face-to-face interview of 120 title holders; (3) participant observation of local activities like meetings of traditional councils; (4) collection of different communities' chieftaincy constitutions; and (5) analysis and use of published and unpublished documents pertaining to chieftaincy matters.

3.4 Measures

3.4.1 Dependent Variable (Traditional Title holders and Honors)

This term is loosely defined to include those individuals conferred with titles by their community in recognition of their excellent and honest achievement realized within their community. Next are holders of chieftaincy titles. These are titles conferred on individuals by traditional rulers *(Ezes)* to honor or reward them for their services, and contribution to the community. Such individuals lack legal authority to confer titles on those who seek them. Names of traditional title holders and honors were drawn from the official register at the local government headquarters. To avoid missing individuals that might not have been registered, a title holder in a community was asked to identify individuals in the same community that enjoy similar statuses.

3.4.2 Independent Variables

Closed-ended questions were utilized to tap into respondents' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions on variables such as legitimacy, power, status, influence, economic self-interest, and thrust. First question asked non-titled respondents to agree or disagree that the institution of chieftaincy "Is perfect in every way?" The response was "agree" (64.7 percent) versus "disagree" (35.3 percent). The next question asked: The institution of chieftaincy "Gives real help in meeting social problems?" The response was "agree" (69.8 percent) versus "disagree" (30.1 percent). Also, another question asked: The institution of chieftaincy "Is necessary to the very existence of society?" The response was "agree" (81.2 percent) versus "disagree" (18.8 percent). The responses thus far demonstrate an overwhelming majority of citizens support the institution of chieftaincy. Conceptually, citizens believe in it and accord it legitimacy. (*See table 1.1below*)

On the question, "Do you think that many people are taking traditional titles"? More than two-thirds of respondents "agree" (85.2 percent) versus "disagree" (14.8 percent). This question was followed by "What in your opinion is the major reason why individuals seek traditional titles?" The response was "makes them feel important" (44.9 percent) versus "Gives them status in society" (27.6 percent). A smaller group of respondents 9.7 percent responded "Helps them to obtain legitimacy in society." Furthermore, respondents were asked: "What in your opinion is the major reason why traditional rulers award titles?"

Responses were: "For economic gain" (44.5 percent); "It increases their status" (25.3 percent); and "It increases their influence" (9.9 percent). The last three questions support the literature and theoretical argument (see, for example, Ukpolo 2009, 6-7; Uzuegbu 1997, 6-7; Ewokor 2007, 2). (*See table 1.2 below*)

In order to tap into people' opinions about conferring titles on Igbos in 'diaspora,' the question was asked: "How would you feel about anybody in your community receiving a title from a traditional ruler in another community?" A majority responded "oppose" (56.9 percent) versus "favor" (43.1 percent). By implication the majority opinion here can be extrapolated to include foreigners. Diaspora has been used in this paper to mean Igbos outside Igbo-states of Nigeria and foreigners. I have argued somewhere in the paper that titles are awarded to indigenes and carried out by recognized and respectful community traditional rulers in accordance with local customs. The Igbos, generally, are distrustful of titles received or awarded outside their communities. This is why Igbos conferred with titles outside their communities for one reason or another endeavor to receive one in their community. The Igbo say, "anaesin'ulomarammafuoama" (translated to mean: Charity begins at home), and this is the basis of title taking in Igbo land.

I had stated earlier in the paper that one of the reasons for establishing local governments in Nigeria is to bring governance closer to the people. I asked four separate questions dealing with social problems (*See table 1.3 below*):

At the local level, which institution … the local government authority or the traditional title holder … should have the responsibility of handling the following problems? "Resolution of local disputes, such as intra community disputes?" The response was "Traditional title holder" (46. 3 percent) versus "Local government authority" (42.3 percent). On "Land cases," the response was "Traditional title holder" (79.2 percent) versus "Local government" (6.0 percent). On "Marital problems," the response was "Traditional title holder (47.4 percent) versus "Local government (42.9 percent) and, finally, on the question "Contribute to positive change in the community," the response was "Traditional title holder" (38.7 percent) versus "Local government" (50.6 percent).

An examination of responses to the last four questions does not show much difference in resolving local disputes and dealing with marital problems between title holders and local government. In traditional Igbo society these issue areas were handled under customary law. One area of strength for title holders is in handling land cases. This is one area the modernizing programs of local governments have not penetrated. In many Igbo societies, land is attached to ancestral spirits. Communities and their leaders are, therefore, more informed in handling land disputes. However, it is informative that a little more than 50 percent are in favor of "Local government" on the question "Contribute to positive change in the community." It raises the question as to what factors explain this change in attitude. A correctional analysis could have helped here, but, unfortunately, this study did not utilize it.

4. Conclusions and Implications

A major shortcoming of this paper is that the study sample cannot be said to be representative of all Igbos in Igbo-states of Nigeria. The study helps scholars and decision makers have a feel about citizens' beliefs, feelings, and attitudes about title taking institution. Although I have used simple frequencies to report the percentages of respondents who hold opinions about traditional title holders, I would recommend future researchers adopt such statistical tools as: chi-square, t-test, and analysis of variance to determine statistically significant differences exist among subgroups of the survey.

A finding of more than two-thirds of the study sample stating it "strongly agree" (69.8 percent) that "many people are taking traditional titles" confirms the theoretical argument. It bolsters, therefore, some of the perceptions that there is a proliferation of titles in Igboland. This perception has led some individuals to use terms such as "bastardization,"[9] and "desecration"[10] of Igbo culture. Uzuewgbu has gone in length to make recommendations on "ways of controlling proliferation of titles" (1977, 9-11). While I believe sanity should be injected into title taking institution, systematic studies need to be undertaken to conceptualize and operationalize title taking in Igbo-states of Nigeria. Also, such studies will help to establish the most important factors that can help us explain and understand the phenomenon of title taking. However, any efforts to stem the tide of title taking has to wrestle with the fundamental Igbo philosophy "Live and let live (*egbebeluugobelu, nkesiibeyaebena, nkukwaya).*" This is at the heart of Igbo 'democratic culture' or egalitarianism.

Table 1.1: **Institution of Chieftaincy**

The following are statements about the institution of chieftaincy. Pleaseindicateyourlevel of agreement or disagreement using the following scale: (1) Agree and (2) Disagree

	Agree	Disagree
The institution of chieftaincyisperfect in everyway	64.7%	35.3%
The institution of chieftaincygives real help in meeting social problems	69.8%	30.1%
The institution of chieftaincyisnecessary to the very existence of society	81.2%	18.8%

Table 1.2: Thoughts and Feelings RegardingTraditionalTitleholders

I would like to askyousome questions about yourthoughts and feelings regarding traditionaltitleholders. Please respond to the following questions.

	Agree	Disagree
Do youthinkthatmany people are takingtraditionaltitles?	85.2%	14.8%

	Makesthemfeel important	Givesthemstatus in society	Helpsthem to obtainlegitimacy in society
What in your opinion is the major reasonwhyindividuals seektraditionaltitles?	44.9%	27.6%	9.7%

	For economic gain	Increasingtheirstatus	Increasingtheir influence
What in your opinion is the major reasonwhytraditionalrulersawardtitles?	44.5%	25.3%	9.9%

	Oppose	Favor
How wouldyoufeel about anybody in yourcommunity receiving a titlefromatraditional ruler in another community?	56.9%	43.1%

Table 1.3: Social Problems

At the local level, which institution – the local governmentauthority or the traditional titleholder – should have the responsibility of handling the following problems?

	Traditional Titleholder	Local Government Authority
Resolution of local disputes, such as intra-community disputes	46.3%	42.3%
Land cases	79.2%	6.0%
Marital problems	47.4%	42.9%
Contribute to positive change in the community	38.7%	50.6%

5. References

Ade-Lawal, Najeem. 1985. Constitutional Developments in Nigeria and the Political Role of the Traditional Rulers. Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies 18:40-55.

Binder et al.1971. Crises and Sequences.In Political Development. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Egwunwoke, Onu. 1992. West Africa.November, 23-29.

Ekong, E. Edong. 1985. Traditional Rulership in Contemporary Nigerian Governmental System and the Dilemma ofRelevance.Local Government and the TraditionalRulers in Nigeria.Ed. OladimejiAborisada. Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press.

Ewokor, Chris. 2007. Nigerians Go Crazy for aTitle. News.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/Africa/6924870.stm>7/05/12

Fortes, M. and Evans-Pritchard E. E Eds, 1940. African Political Systems. New York: Columbia University Press.

Graf, William D. 1988. The Nigerian State Political Economy: State, Class and Political Systemin the Post-Colonial Era. Portsmouth (N.H,): Heinemann.

His Highness OmoN'ObaN'EdoUkuAkpolokpolo, Eridiauwa. 1985. The Roles of Traditional Rulers in Local Government.Ile-Ife.University of Ife Press Ltd. Nigeria.

Ibe, Reginald. 2007. InEwokor, Chris. 2007. Nigerians Go Crazy for a Title.
         ews.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/Africa/6924870.stm>7/05/12

Ilomuanya, Ikechukwu. 2009. Why We Banned EzeNdigbo in Diaspora.
         http://www.codewit.com/?option=com_content&view=article&i...7/17/12.

Khapoya, B. Vincent. 2010. The African Experience: An Introduction. New York: Longman.

Iheanacho, Emmanuel I. 2006. Amumara Town Union and its Roles in Ezeship in Amumara Autonomous Community.EzinihitteMbaise. 1976-1992. Nsukka University of Nigeria. Research Publications.

July, Robert D. 1992. A History of the African People. Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.

Odekunle, Femi, ed. 1982. Nigeria: Corruption in Development. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Ogedebgbe, Luke. 2007. In Nigerians Go Crazy for a Title. News.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/Africa/6924870.stm>7/05/12

Onwubiko, A. Oliver. 1987. The Church and Culture in an African Community: A Study of aPattern of Inculturation. An Extract from the Thesis Defended in the Faculty of Theology of Comillas Pontifical University Madrid.

Oladosu, S. A. 1985. The Role of Nigerian Traditional Rulers in Nation Building: An Overview. In OladimejiAborisade, Ed. Local Governments and the Traditional Rulers in Nigeria.Ife-Ife: University of Ife Press.

Onwumere, Odimegwu. 2009. Sycophancy of EzeNdi-Igbo Title.September 27,
         http://www.modernghana.com/news/240793/1/sycophancy-of-eze-ndi-igbo-title.html>7/17/12.

Orewa, G. O. 1978. The Role of Traditional Rulers in Administration. Quarterly Journal of Administration. January: 151-165.

Osigwe, Anyiam. 2009. http://www.africansinamericanewswatch.com/a/p/news/news013>7/12/2012

Sani, Habibu. 1977. Traditional Rulers and Local Government. In SuleimanuKumo and AbubakarAliyu, eds. Issues in the Nigerian Draft Constitution. Zaria.

Schraeder, J. Peters. 2004. African Politics and Society: A Mosaic in Transformations. Canada. Wadsworth.

Uchendu, V.C. 1965. The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria. Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Usoro, U. 1995.Titles for Sale.Sunday Times, April 9

Uzuegbu, C. Ngozi. 1997. Proliferation of Titles in Igboland. A Paper Presented at an International Workshop Organized by the Hansberry Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Vaughan, Olufemi. 1991. Chieftaincy Politics and Social Relations in Nigeria. Journal ofCommonwealth and Comparative Politics. 29:313-326.

Williams, J. Michael. 2010. Chieftaincy, the State, and Democracy: Political Legitimacy in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.