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IMAGINING THE NIGERIAN NATION THROUGH THE *WEST AFRICAN PILOT*  
1960-1966

By

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B.A., Loras College

A Thesis  
Submitted to the Faculty of  
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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of

Master of Arts  
In Pan-African Studies

Department of Pan African Studies  
University of Louisville  
Louisville, Kentucky

August 2016

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A Thesis Approved on

July 13, 2016

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Dr. Mawuena Lo

## DEDICATION

This is dedicated my mother and father for whom without, this thesis would never  
have been started nor completed.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my parents for helping me along my scholarly journey. Next, I thank my professors whom have stood by me through the good times and bad. I would especially like to thank Dr. Fleming, Dr. Logan and Dr. Rajack-Talley. Serving on my committee was not easy, and I appreciate all the help each one of you has provided me along the way.

## ABSTRACT

### IMAGINING THE NIGERIAN NATION THROUGH THE *WEST AFRICAN PILOT* 1960-1966

By

David Zintak

August 5, 2016

The independence era in Nigeria, ushered in after 1960 and ending in 1966 with the fall of the civilian-elected government in a military coup, was a pivotal juncture in the construction and imagining of the nation and the citizen. Ideas of what a citizen should act like, dress like, and what mindsets were proper to hold were discussed frequently in the media. One critically important media outlet during the independence era was the *West African Pilot*. The *Pilot* is generally considered an influential nationalist publication during and prior to this era. This thesis explores how Nigeria was imagined through the *Pilot*. It focuses on the complexities of citizenship which were discussed through the paper's articles, columns, and advertisements, with due attention to the products the advertisements attempted to sell. My argument contests the homogeneous notion claiming that the *Pilot* only contributed to the hardening of ethnic identities and allegiances leading into the civil war in 1967. Instead, the articles, columns, and advertisements in the *Pilot* suggest multiple



Imaginings of citizenship not solely based on ethnicity, but also gender and consumerism.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The seven year period between official independence and the onset of civil war marks an important era in Nigerian history. This era, commencing in 1960 and ending in 1967, saw official end of British colonialism, the beginning of the Nigerian citizen, the birth of Nigeria's first republic in 1963, and the end of the civilian government after military coups in 1966. These turbulent years were initially characterized by a jubilant mentality stemming from the downfall of the empire. However, the mood quickly soured after the birth of the republic, as the civilian government settled and seemingly continued inherited colonial mentalities of exploitation, corruption, and nepotism. According to Frederick Cooper, this continuance of colonial legacies among the ruling elites was common throughout post-colonial Africa.<sup>1</sup> Nigerian elites ostensibly followed along the same exploitative path, as many government officials looted the literal and figurative coffers in order to purchase luxury homes and cars. Moreover, they bullied voters either through strong arm-tactics or through softer political maneuvers centered on ethnic affiliations, and seemingly catered to international concerns while ignoring their Nigerian constituency. Following independence, the initial excitement and hope faded away, and eventually the country erupted into an ethnic-fueled conflict in which Biafra attempted to secede from Nigeria. The outbreak of civil war outwardly suggests the failure of the

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick Cooper. *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*. (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2-4.

national project, which had focused, at least rhetorically, on the unification of Nigeria and the Nigerian people.

Yet despite the deemed failure of the civilian and military governments to unite the people—which as Toyin Falola generally explains occurred as a result of ethnic politics—the era is historically important in terms of the formation and solidification of citizenship and the Nigerian citizen’s identities. With the onset of official independence, the national citizen was officially born in a political sense. For the first time, Nigerians were officially citizens of Nigeria; they were no longer subjects of the British Empire, nor citizens of Britain or the British Commonwealth. These changes did not figuratively occur over-night, although it is generally clear that the country was not completely prepared for independence in terms of Nigerian national identity formation as is suggested by the breakdown of the civilian government in 1966. Moreover, despite official political independence, Nigerian historians seemingly unanimously agree that the country was not politically, socially, or economically fully independent from Britain.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the infant country’s leaders were not prepared for the political, social, and economic complexities which arose from official withdrawal from the empire. The British left Nigeria with the legacy of colonial exploitation, which required immediate and intense attention by post-colonial Nigerian leaders. It is not a logical stretch to understand much of the country’s post-colonial failures through the lens of British political, social, and economic hangovers.

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<sup>2</sup> See the following:

Adebayo Oyejide. *The Transformation of Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Toyin Falola*. (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2002); James Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958), 145. For Africa in general see:

Frederick Cooper. *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*. (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

These years saw the emergence of the Nigerian citizen, yet simultaneously ushered in questions of whom was the Nigerian citizen. Although this question had begun to circulate prior to independence, especially after 1957, the year Nigeria became self-governed, through nationalist driven media outlets, the hunt for solutions to this question intensified with political independence. As, Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton highlight in *A History of Nigeria*, following independence, the search for a Nigerian nationalism, Nigerian culture, and a Nigerian identity intensified.<sup>3</sup> Elites and the government sought the formation of a national cultural identity in order for the country to become unified and socially independent. This question was responded to by numerous different groups and people whom provided various suggestions as to how to unify, if to unify, or the positives and negatives to unification attempts or lack of attempts.

The British left-over legacies are numerous and have been explored by multiple scholars of Nigerian history. First, the British left a country, which consisted of many different group affiliations and identities, previously unified through and against British exploitation, to be ruled as a unified entity. The anti-colonial sentiment which unified the population ostensibly died when the country became officially independent. This left Nigeria in an urgent political and social situation with potential for group division because the ideology which had generally bound many of the people together had been hypothetically fulfilled. This dissolution of the identity glue, left politicians and elites the monumental task of creating a Nigerian citizen and Nigerian cultural identity. However, while political officials may have recognized the supposed need for a unified people, they evidently found the path to political power much easier by catering to ethnic and regional

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<sup>3</sup> Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton. *A History of Nigeria*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 158-160.

affiliations, which were either sprouted or strengthened during colonialism.<sup>4</sup>

Rhetorically, many sources, spanning newspapers to politicians' speeches supported the formation of a unified Nigerian citizenry. However, even this unification themed rhetoric in the media began to seemingly cater to smaller group affiliations based upon imagined ethnicity and region as the years progressed marched toward the Biafran conflict.<sup>5</sup> The rhetorical dream of creating the inaugural official Nigerian identity had seemingly failed, as ethnic and regional identities reigned supreme over the national identity.

Another British ideological left-over was the function of the economy. The British had developed Nigeria as a dependent colony and a source for extractive economic practices. In other words, the British had built the infrastructure and economic ideology of Nigeria to support natural resource extraction. The Nigerian economy was far from an industrial giant, rather its' major income was produced through the export of palm oil, agriculture, and oil which the latter was growing in importance.<sup>6</sup> The British had demanded a Nigeria which would produce resources which were considered important for the development of Britain more than Nigeria. The British legacy imprinted on the Nigerian economy was that it left a country with an absence of workers with the industrial skills theoretically important for economic development. It left an economy based on agricultural and natural resource dependence. Even the infrastructure

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<sup>4</sup> J. N. C. Hill. *Nigeria since Independence: Forever Fragile?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 44-48.

<sup>5</sup> I expand on this point throughout the rest of the thesis. However, this statement stems from the arguments put forward by:

G. O. Olusanya. *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria 1939-1953*. (Lagos: Evans Brothers, 1973), 17-19; O. Obasanjo. *My Command: An Account of the Nigerian Civil War* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton. *A History of Nigeria*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 136-185.

developed by the British was designed for resource extraction along the rivers, by the shore, and on the roads of Lagos, Port Harcourt, and other important cities.<sup>7</sup>

The economic impact of British imperialism and the profit driven imperial businesses like the United Africa Company, had further impact on the social identities of Nigeria. This coupled with the British colonial policies of indirect rule, to produce economic inequalities and hardening group identities. In broad terms, the country had been divided into three political regions by the British. The north was not as highly dealt with in terms of economic and political development due to many factors which many scholars indicate was influenced by the strong political and social system already practiced in the North due to Islam's strength in the region. In the north, the indirect rule politics dictated a non-interventionist stance by the British towards northern Nigerians so-long as taxes were collected and British political, social, and economic interests were left undisrupted. Thus, broadly speaking, the North maintained an identity based upon Islam, and was not nearly as affected as the other two regions.

In the western and eastern region, Christianity and British educational systems were more commonplace—with the east being more subjected to British education. The educational advancement among eastern and western Nigerians catapulted them to more skilled jobs and more government positions, which were better paid jobs. Eastern and western Nigerians dominated Nigerian bureaucracy and the economy. Later, in the 1950s through 1970s, the growing economic prominence of oil, which was located mostly in the Eastern delta region, had political, social, and economic ramifications. With income

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<sup>7</sup> Gareth Austin. African Economic Development and Colonial Legacies. *International Development Policy / Revue internationale de politique de développement* [Online], 1. 2010, Online since 11 March 2010, connection on 01 August 2016.



disparity increasing between the east, west, and most populous north, independence brought bubbling ethnic and regional tensions into the political arena. The British had developed a country with the east and west having economic and social advantages, due to incorporation into the British economic and social system, which held an advantage over the heavily agricultural, yet more populous, northern region in incorporation into the international economy. Furthermore, the east certainly benefitted from the oil wealth, which became a highly charged political discussion in post-colonial Nigeria over the oil wealth's distribution.<sup>8</sup> Ethnic and regional tensions eventually boiled over into the civil war.

These reasons provided by scholars argue the causes of the civil-war while simultaneously highlighting the complexities of Nigerian identity and citizenship. These complexities hinge upon the hardening of ethnic and regional identities as the markers of group affiliations critical for the function of the Nigerian political, social, and economic system. This brief history suggests that the national project of cultural and identity unification failed when the east declared its' secession. Yet, these group affiliations argued by scholars as rising from the colonial era, and strengthened during the six years after independence do not provide the subject of the Nigerian citizen the complexity the subject historically deserves. With the war's roots being partially based upon the contested idea of the Nigerian citizen, especially concerning whom was a citizen; what rights, liberties, and benefits should a citizen receive; and if there existed a Nigerian culture and group identification bond, the historian must investigate further into the formation of the national citizen after independence. The historical register necessarily

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<sup>8</sup> Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton. *A History of Nigeria*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 136-185.

requires histories demonstrating the complexity of the Nigerian citizen. These historical inquiries can possibly lead to more nuanced understanding of nationalism in Nigeria, the history of the Nigerian citizen, the growth of group identification, the causes of the civil-war, the causes of cultural division, as well as influence broad historical discussions surrounding post-colonial citizenship, the significance of independence in Africa, and citizenship of Africa to name a few.

### *The West African Pilot*

With citizenship operating as an important discourse in the years following independence, it is vital to explore the mediums through which it was discussed and debated. The media was mostly responsible for providing Nigerians access to the discourse on citizenship. By 1960, the media consisted mostly of radio, television, and newspapers with the first two growing steadily in terms of listeners and viewers. Radio and television had loosened the iron grip formerly held by newspapers, however, during these years, newspapers retained an influential presence in Nigeria and Africa. The newspapers were far from homogeneous in terms of message and political leaning. Samuel Idemili argues that after 1951, newspapers began to cater to certain political parties and leaders while denigrating the opposition.<sup>9</sup> His argument is certainly provided fortitude due to the fact that many of the political leaders were also the owners of their respective newspaper businesses.<sup>10</sup> While other scholars have asserted different dates as

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<sup>9</sup> Samuel Okafor Idemili. *The West African Pilot and the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1960*. (The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980).

<sup>10</sup> Samuel Okafor Idemili. *What the West African Pilot did in the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1957*. (Black American Literature Forum, 1978).

to the beginning of the newspaper media's catering toward political party and ethnic interests instead of a unifying Nigerian nationalism, it appears nearly unanimously that at one point during the 1950s, this shift occurred and introduced an era of political and ethnic partisanship. The newspapers were one of the key media outlets fueling this partisanship.

This research focuses on the *West African Pilot*. The *Pilot* was an influential newspaper founded in 1937 by the future president of independent Nigeria, Nnamdi Azikiwe. The paper began as a nationalist publication and sought to provide Nigerians with an indigenous owned media outlet from which they could challenge British colonialism and imperial politics. It was published daily and was printed in English. The paper was generally considered a success from the onset, and quickly became an enormously popular newspaper.<sup>11</sup> It did not always support total independence from Britain, but then shifted its stance in 1949 thanks in-part to how the British dealt with a miner's strike in which they ended up murdering over 20 miners whom were protesting.<sup>12</sup> The paper was celebrated as one of the leaders in demanding independence from Britain from then onward.

The *Pilot* is considered by Idemili as the most nationalistic paper in operation during and after the 1950s.<sup>13</sup> In other words, the *Pilot* was considered the least politically and ethnic prejudiced newspaper following the major newspaper's ideological shift to political and ethnic bias. It is clear from my research that by 1960, it may have retained a

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<sup>11</sup> Lai Oso. "The Commercialization of the Nigerian Press: Development and Implications," *African Media Review* 5, no. 3 (1991): 44-46.

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Okafor Idemili. *What the West African Pilot did in the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1957*. (Black American Literature Forum, 1978), 89.

<sup>13</sup> Samuel Okafor Idemili. *The West African Pilot and the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1960*. (The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980), 418.

rhetoric of national unity, but also participated in political and ethnic “mudslinging.”<sup>14</sup>

While national unity remained a rhetoric in the paper, and not the exact reality, the *Pilot* still played an important role in independent Nigeria’s discussions on citizenship. It was certainly concerned with the discourse of citizenship—which its’ large readership consumed and digested during the independence years.

The large readership highlights the popularity of the paper during the 1950s and 1960s, but these overall numbers are possibly misleading when attempting to examine the paper’s impact on Nigerian consumers and society. Idemili clarifies that while the paper hit its apex of popularity in the 1950s, the paper began to experience declining sales during the years after independence. Idemili and other scholars’ works on the Nigerian media during this time highlight multiple possible reasons for the declining readership including press restrictions, increasing ethnic and political leaning in the articles, and lawsuits.<sup>15</sup> This slower decline eventually hit a wall after the military government imposed press restrictions in June 1966. The paper continued to be published into the war, however Idemili explains that the war-time paper was considered “a joke” due to pages missing, poor printing, poor editing, and partial stories and reports which it published.<sup>16</sup> The paper may have continued during the war, but its prominence fell after 1966.

Idemili’s journal article and dissertation serve as the only two scholarly works specifically dealing with the *West African Pilot*’s history and the paper’s influence on the

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<sup>14</sup> This is a term used by Idemili means that the newspapers verbally attacked opposing political parties and ethnic interests which did not align with their supported group.

<sup>15</sup> Lai Oso. “The Commercialization of the Nigerian Press: Development and Implications,” *African Media Review* 5, no. 3 (1991); Samuel Okafor Idemili. *The West African Pilot and the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1960*. (The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980).

<sup>16</sup> Samuel Okafor Idemili. *The West African Pilot and the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1960*. (The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980), 418.

movement for Nigerian nationalism. Idemili argues that the *Pilot* greatly influenced the movement of Nigerian nationalism early, then contributed to the hardening of political and ethnic affiliations after the 1950s.<sup>17</sup> However, his scholarship leaves a few critical issues without significant attention. First, it does not take into account the complexity of the paper. He does not mention the occurrence of the paper's women's pages, which catered to a gendered audience. Next, he does not consider the meaning of the advertisements which occurred quite frequently in the paper. An examination and analysis of the contributions helps to better understand the multi-faceted ways in which the *Pilot* played a role in the discourse and construction of nationalism in Nigeria. Lastly, Idemili centers his focus on the years 1937 through 1960. His epilogue briefly examines the *Pilot* after 1960 into the 1980s, but he focuses this section more in accordance with the general Nigerian media during these years. Thus, his scholarship leaves open discussions on the complexity of the newspaper's role in the imagination of nationalism.

This gap in the scholarship is what my thesis looks to explore. The *Pilot's* inclusion of advertisements and women's pages add new dimensions to the *Pilot's* history as well as the history of Nigerian nationalism. The advertisements and women's pages provide alternative views which complicate the notion that the *Pilot* simply contributed to the hardening of political and ethnic affiliations during the independence years. Additionally, the advertisements and women's pages not only highlight different views rooted in transnational citizenship and gender, but also acted as sites where the meaning of Nigerian nationalism and the Nigerian citizen could be debated.

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<sup>17</sup> Samuel Okafor Idemili. *The West African Pilot and the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1960*. (The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980).

This thesis is concerned with exploring these alternative sites of negotiation and is based upon scholarship concerning nationalism and the use of advertisements in Africa. It is broadly based on Benedict Anderson's notion of nationalism which he defines as an imagined community.<sup>18</sup> It is from Anderson's exegesis of nationalism that the importance of my research is anchored. The independence years altered discussions over citizenship and nationalism due to the official changes independence created. For the first time, Nigerians became citizens of independent Nigeria and Nigerians came to politically rule over their own affairs. These years saw elites and the government work towards answering the question of who was a citizen. However, my research shows that more people had access to the debate over citizenship, and that Nigerian nationalism was not simply the product of the elites' vision. It highlights not only the participants and their influence in the imagining of the Nigerian nation, but also highlights the process through which imagining the nation was performed through.

The advertisements and women's pages acted as sites in which the debate over who constituted a citizen could be held. This idea and methodology for using advertisements is rooted as a source of data for research in Timothy Burke's, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women*, and Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar's works, *The King of Drinks*, "The Rise of Branded Alcoholic Drinks in West Africa," and "Who Belongs to the Star People." Burke lays the groundwork for analyzing advertisements and commodities as vital sources for the study of African social history. Burke contends that the commodities acted as social indicators of nationality which allowed the discourse of nationalism to be

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<sup>18</sup> Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities*. (London: Verso, 2006).

opened to a wider audience.<sup>19</sup> By purchasing certain commodities and rejecting others, Africans enacted an agency in determining their identities.

Van Den Bersselaar's works further Burke's argument surrounding the importance of commodities. Van Den Bersselaar argues that advertisements act as sites of identity negotiation. He argues that capitalist corporations which make the commodities attempt to make a profit by either creating a demand or catering to perceived ideological demand already in place.<sup>20</sup> Thus, the advertisements aid in the understanding of the perceived ideologies of the corporations but also highlight the acceptance, denial, or alteration of these ideologies by the intended market through their willingness to purchase the products. Van Den Bersselaar claims that the people of the intended market enact agency through their consumptive habits.<sup>21</sup>

The *West African Pilot* was a commodity which allowed consumers a voice into the construction of Nigerian nationalism and the Nigerian citizen. Aside from being a commodity itself which was either purchased or denied, it contained advertisements which opened the discourse of nationalism to be consumed and debated among Nigerians. The *Pilot* during the independence years focused a large portion of its attention on the Nigerian citizen. The advertisements and the women's pages aid in demonstrating the complexity of Nigerian citizenship and simultaneously highlight Nigerian agency in the imagining of nationalism. The imagining of the Nigerian nation

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<sup>19</sup> Timothy Burke. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), 1-16.

<sup>20</sup> Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar. *The King of Drinks: Schnapps Gin from Modernity to Tradition*. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007); Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar. "Who Belongs to the 'Star' People? Negotiating Beer and Gin Advertisements in West Africa, 1949-75." *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 3 (2011): 395-405.

<sup>21</sup> Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar. "The Rise of Branded Alcoholic Drinks in West Africa." In G. Klantschnig, N. Carrier, & C. Ambler (Eds.), *Drugs in Africa: Histories and Ethnographies of Use, Trade, and Control*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

through the content of the paper *Pilot* thematically links the following chapters of this work.

Chapter two explores the political imagining of the Nigerian citizen through the articles and columns of the *Pilot*. It is concerned with the meaning of political citizenship and examines the political mindsets a “good” citizen should hold—according to the editors of the paper.<sup>22</sup> This chapter delves into the political myths the paper espoused. It specifically details the myths published in the paper discussing the country’s foundation, the political duties of the citizen, and the changing notion and allegiance to political parties. Chapter two sets the foundation for the remaining two chapters, which more critically evaluate the responses and influence to the published version of the imagined Nigerian nation and citizen.

Chapter three examines the content and role of advertisements in the *Pilot* and their connection and importance to the imagining of the Nigerian nation. It sheds light on the complexities of imagining the citizen through the lenses of consumers and producers. It provides a brief history on the occurrence of the “independence product,” then looks at the lasting theme of selling citizenship. It argues that imagining the citizen was contested through the purchase and sale of advertised images of what the product could bestow. This chapter also expands on how researches of African history can better use advertisements as sources of data.

Chapter four explores the advertisements and articles in the *Pilot* directed at a female audience. This chapter examines the boundaries of negotiating the Nigerian

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<sup>22</sup> The word “good” used as a prefix to the word “citizen” was a common occurrence in the *Pilot*. It is a word which helps explore what a citizen was expected to think or perform from the perspective of the creators of the paper. These characteristics and the performance of these expectations are the subject of the remainder of this work.



female citizen. It highlights the importance and complexities of female citizenship in Nigeria. Chapter four demonstrates female agency in the construction and imagining of the Nigerian nation and further details the agency enacted by “everyday” Nigerian women in the determination process concerning what mentalities and duties a “good” woman held and performed. This chapter seeks to blur-the-lines of group constitution as consumers of multiple ethnic, regional, and gender groups bought and participated in the negotiation of the *Pilot’s* version of citizenship.

## CHAPTER 2

### POLITICAL CITIZENSHIP 1960-1966

The *West African Pilot* provides a reference point for the study of Nigerian nationalism and the construction of the Nigerian citizen during post-colonial years spanning 1960-1966 for two important reasons. Benedict Anderson argues, newspapers and print capitalist ventures were the corner stones for the modern nation. These print ventures were the tool through which the nation was imagined.<sup>23</sup> The *West African Pilot* allowed readers to view into the important issues of the day. What articles it published, the places the articles ostensibly originated, the temporal location of the articles, the instructions and demands it made, and what discourses it pushed into debate were read by thousands of Nigerians (50,000 copies were published daily at its peak in 1950).<sup>24</sup> The articles provided information which shaped how the discourse of citizenship was entertained and constructed by the journalists, editors of the *Pilot*, contributors, and the readers. The published articles sought a tertiary formation of an imagined, unitary Nigeria. In the post-independence period, as in the years prior, the paper actively expressed the need for a unified Nigeria.

The *Pilot* was also a business. Aside from the rhetorical goal of creating a unified nation, Azikiwe mentioned that the papers' function was to sustain a business created by

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<sup>23</sup> Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities*. (London: Verso, 2006).

<sup>24</sup> Nnamdi Azikiwe. *My Odyssey*. (Praeger, 1970), 303.

Africans for Africans.<sup>25</sup> Thus, more broadly, the paper's goal was to remain profitable, while also providing jobs for Africans in an enterprise which allowed an African voice to be heard. In the sense that it was a business seeking profit, the *Pilot* could either sell a demanded product or create a demand. As an enterprise, the *Pilot* shaped the discourse of nationalism as it sold a certain brand of nationalism. The citizen it created or espoused was a consumer. Furthermore, it sought the achievement of the goal to reach a larger consumer base—Nigerians. What the Nigerian citizen wanted or who was the Nigerian citizen, were questions the editors of the *Pilot* dealt with and attempted to provide profitable responses. The way the *West African Pilot* characterized Nigerian nationalism and the Nigerian citizen is of utmost important to both my work and the broader discourse concerning African nationalism.

The following chapter specifically explores the **political** construction of the Nigerian citizen after independence in 1960 and ending prior to the outbreak of civil war in 1966. This political citizenship was imagined and negotiated through multiple sources. The chapter begins by characterizing the laws which made legal Nigerian citizens i.e. the constitution and citizenship acts. It then moves into the political concerns contained inside the *West African Pilot* following independence and ending with the just prior to the onset of the civil war. The paper acts as a source which illuminates the political imagination supported by Nigerian elites and read by a multitude of Nigerians, as well as demonstrates the complexity of Nigerian citizenship. The *West African Pilot's* published columns, news reports, and articles show that being a citizen of Nigeria was not simply a passive acceptance of legally defined citizenship, but rather that being a citizen ostensibly

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<sup>25</sup> Nnamdi Azikiwe. *My Odyssey*. (Praeger, 1970), 303.

required active participation in various endeavors. It seemingly required being informed of certain issues and taking certain political stances. Citizenship seemed to require a mindset—a mindset shared by a unified Nigeria. However, this mentality was only for some “Nigerians.” Furthermore, the mindsets and information consumed by readers of the paper, was not simply passively accepted. Instead, readers processed the information and negotiated the meaning. This negotiation will be further discussed in the fourth chapter. This chapter discusses the changed political geography in Nigeria following independence. Lastly, it highlights the various, and seemingly often competing voices which negotiated the meaning of political citizenship and what it meant to be Nigerian.

After detailing the legal Nigerian citizen through the political laws which defined citizens as such, the chapter moves into the political meaning of citizenship as read in the *West African Pilot*. However, since this is not a survey or journalistic attempt to simply label all the characteristics of politically oriented articles, it must be focused through a certain lens. The lens I use to explore the political concerns of the Nigerian citizen is the meaning of “progress.” “Progress” was used rhetorically in the *West African Pilot* in as a measurement of political, social, cultural, and economic development and achievement. Progress was intimately tied to the information being received by readers of the paper. Progress was defined in terms of improving infrastructure, economic conditions, personal (in addition to family and national) health, consumption, business, international politics, and freedom—to name a few. The idea of progress is further explored in chapters three and four. Yet this chapter examines the dimensions of the politics of progress and progressive politics. The Nigerian citizen, as sold by the *West African Pilot*, was intimately connected with Nigeria’s imagined political progress.

After independence the concern and goals of the *West African Pilot* changed, and so did the meaning of progress. The articles published in the paper before 1960<sup>26</sup> were intended to form a community of Nigerians opposed to British colonialism.<sup>27</sup> However, after 1960, with Nigeria becoming independent and supposedly the controller of its own destiny the focus continued the rhetoric of unification, democracy, and freedom from Britain, but altered the arguments for why unification, freedom, and democracy were needed, and also added in regards to what was progressive for the state to actively accomplish. The newspaper's columnists began to define progress in terms of freeing the country further as well as gaining international political (economic as well, although this is not the focus of the chapter) power. To borrow notions from Antonio Gramsci, progress was being tied to Nigerian hegemony<sup>28</sup> in international politics. Therefore citizenship was intricately connected to a concern for Nigeria's international power as well as a homogeneous free community.

### Constitutional Citizenship

“The Independence Act” of 1960 introduced the designation of Nigerian citizen and Nigerian citizenship. Later in 1963, “The Constitution of the Federal Republic of

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<sup>27</sup> It can also be argued that 1957 was the turning point, as in 1957 Nigeria was virtually guaranteed independence. However, due to the limitations of time in performing this research and the radical implications of actually achieving independence, I maintain the year 1960 as the date of that change. The constitution and political proceedings were enacted then as Nigeria actually became an independent state. For a more detailed look into the changes of 1957 see:

Nnamdi Azikiwe. *My Odyssey*. (Praeger, 1970), 289-291; Samuel Okafor Idemili. *What the West African Pilot did in the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1957*. (Black American Literature Forum, 1978).

<sup>28</sup> Antonio Gramsci. *Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. (Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds., 1970), 7-10.

Nigeria” incorporated the requirements for citizenship put forth by the “Independence Act.” The “Independence Act” and later constitution defined three basic avenues for attaining citizenship. The first was by birth, the second was by registration, and the third by naturalization.<sup>29</sup> Citizenship was based on familial lineage and territorial belonging extending from the former protectorate of Nigeria or the Colony of Lagos.<sup>30</sup> “Every person born in the former Colony or Protectorate of Nigeria, was on the thirtieth day of September 1960 a citizen of the United Kingdom or a British protected person shall become a citizen of Nigeria on the first day of October, 1960.”<sup>31</sup> However the very next subsection details that “provided that a person not become a citizen of Nigeria by virtue of this subsection if neither of his parents nor any of his grandparents were not born in the former Colony or Protectorate of Nigeria.”<sup>32</sup> Therefore the Constitution immediately grounded citizenship to territory and to family belonging under British rule.

Furthermore, a citizen of Nigeria could have been born outside the former Colony of Protectorate provided his father was born inside the former Colony or Protectorate and was a citizen of that entity. However, if dual citizenship issues arose, a Nigerian citizen, with a few exceptions, had to pick belonging solely to Nigeria over dual citizenship or they would be terminated as a citizen of Nigeria.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> *Nigeria Independence Act, 1960*. July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1960; London; Her Majesty’s Stationary Office; [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1960/55/pdfs/ukpga\\_19600055\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1960/55/pdfs/ukpga_19600055_en.pdf)

<sup>30</sup> *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. October, 1963; <http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/WPFD2009/pdf/Nigeria%20Constitution.pdf>

<sup>31</sup> *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. October, 1963; <http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/WPFD2009/pdf/Nigeria%20Constitution.pdf>

<sup>32</sup> *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. October, 1963; <http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/WPFD2009/pdf/Nigeria%20Constitution.pdf>

<sup>33</sup> *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. October, 1963; <http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/WPFD2009/pdf/Nigeria%20Constitution.pdf>

Section eight designates the people who can apply for citizenship. Applications for citizenship were needed to be sent in by October 1962.<sup>34</sup> This section mainly deals with people under 21 years of age and women. People under 21 could have their legal guardians apply for them and citizenship be granted pending parliamentary approval. Women would become citizens based on making application (which would be approved or denied by Parliament), if their husband became, or would have become a citizen but death prevented it, a citizen on October first, 1960.<sup>35</sup> Thus, sex played a role in the determination of citizenship. Being married to a citizen was the way to be granted an application for citizenship in Nigeria among women entering into the new independence period. Men could be naturalized but women needed to be registered.

Lastly, Nigerian citizenship as defined by the “Independence Act” and the constitution also maintained or bestowed Commonwealth citizenship. Membership in the Commonwealth was not denied upon Nigeria gaining official independence. Rather, Commonwealth citizenship stayed with those already deemed citizens of the Commonwealth. Citizenship was even attained for those still considered “British Subjects” by the “British Nationality Act of 1948.”<sup>36</sup> Even though men and women of Nigeria became citizens of independent Nigeria, they remained citizens of the Commonwealth. Additionally, this was not considered dual citizenship, which would have violated the Constitution’s ardent denial of dual citizenship.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. October, 1963;  
<http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/WPFD2009/pdf/Nigeria%20Constitution.pdf>

<sup>35</sup> *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. October, 1963;  
<http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/WPFD2009/pdf/Nigeria%20Constitution.pdf>

<sup>36</sup> *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. October, 1963;  
<http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/WPFD2009/pdf/Nigeria%20Constitution.pdf>

<sup>37</sup> *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. October, 1963;  
<http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/WPFD2009/pdf/Nigeria%20Constitution.pdf>

Therefore, the bestowal official constitutional citizenship by the constitution was based on: territorial belonging, birth inside Nigeria's former colonial boundaries, patrilineal descent if born outside the Protectorate or Colony of Lagos, familial descent the former family was born inside the former Protectorate and Colony, sex, and a woman's marriage partner's legal claim to citizenship. Upon entering into the independence period, women had to be registered through an application process. Furthermore, marriage was the step for women to gain citizenship in the colony.

Essentially, upon birth, naturalization, or registration, the people living inside the spatial borders constructed by the colonial powers as Nigeria (formerly called the Protectorate of Nigeria or the Colony of Lagos), were granted, or could apply for citizenship. All maintained citizenship in the Commonwealth. Yet, this official political citizenship is only part of the complex avenues citizenship and Nigerian identity were negotiated and bestowed by the citizens, non-citizens, and citizens of the Commonwealth operating inside (and even those going through citizenship processes abroad) Nigeria. The political identity may have seemingly changed overnight (or through the application process) but territorial belonging, sex, and familial descent founded on a governmental document were only a few forces shaping Nigerian identity formation. Furthermore, the bestowal of constitutional political citizenship did not significantly alter the transformation from subject to citizen in the minds of the new officially anointed citizens, despite the massive rhetorical change.

The special independence issues of the *West African Pilot* in 1960 and 1963, allow further exploration into the making of political "Nigerian" identity. The columns offer insight into what should be desired by the Nigerian citizen, and how the country



should progress. The history of the development of Political parties and an understanding of the history of the development of the constitution were published inside these issues. While the word for word constitution was never published in the paper, the history leading up to the constitution and the history of political parties demonstrated the writers commitment to independence as an aesthetic for the outside to judge. The demand for democracy was not simply about giving the people the chance to participate in the government. Rather, it was a demonstration of liberal values which were to show the world that Nigeria was free and legitimate. While the constitution abruptly changed the status of the Nigerian people to free, the writers of the *West African Pilot* showed that freedom was also a demonstration, by the people, of freedom on the international stage. Thus the citizen was a vehicle for Nigeria's status abroad to be measured. The citizen required an identity which included advocacy of democracy, strong nationalist sentiment, and belief in modern progress.

### Political Citizenship in Independent Nigeria 1960-1963

The history of official political Nigerian citizenship begins in the colonial period when the label of "Nigerian" entered the spatial lexicon. Nigerian citizenship was shaped through a variety of official colonial, and eventually Nigerian state, policies which defined what it meant to be a citizen and whom could carry the title of Nigerian citizen. What was constructed was an understanding of citizenship which was based on genealogical and spatial origin as well as sex and marriage. Nigerian citizenship intertwined heavily with citizenship in the former protectorate of Nigeria and Colony of

Lagos in addition to the British Commonwealth. The constitution itself seemingly borrows greatly from the *Nationality Act of 1948*.<sup>38</sup> This official base was one mode influencing the construction of a Nigerian community and identity.

However, this official political citizenship and identity experienced alternative dimensions excluded from constitutional citizenship. The *West African Pilot's* columns, editorials, and news reports help demonstrate that political citizenship was more than just being born in Nigeria or having family hail from the former Nigerian territory. It was an understanding of Nigerian history. Citizenship was also an ethic and demonstration. It was an allegiance to work toward and maintain freedom which was progressive for the country. Citizenship, was intended as a transformation of status and identity. No longer officially British “subjects,” Nigerians had the opportunity to determine the future of their country—or so it was written.

Political affiliation with citizenship in Nigeria officially started in 1949. “The British Nationality Act” of 1948, which was enacted on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1949, altered the determination of citizenship in the United Kingdom and its’ colonies.<sup>39</sup> The act officially changed the political status from “British subjects” in the colonies to citizens of the “United Kingdom and Colonies.”<sup>40</sup> The act designated the move toward assigning national citizenship for the respective colonial spaces. In other words, the colonial protectorates, dominions, and states comprising the commonwealth would begin to issue

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<sup>38</sup> This is a simple observation. It is not to say that there exists absolute similarity between the two, but for a reader of both, the language and guidelines granting citizenship seem very similar. However, it is not the object of this paper to debate the similarity of the two documents. For further reading on this issue see:

Nwogugu, E.I. *Recent Changes in Nigerian Nationality and Citizenship Law*. (1976).

<sup>39</sup> *British Nationality Act, 1948*. England, 1948; J. A. Dole;  
[http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1948/56%20/pdfs/ukpga\\_19480056\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1948/56%20/pdfs/ukpga_19480056_en.pdf)

<sup>40</sup> *British Nationality Act, 1948*. England, 1948; J. A. Dole;  
[http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1948/56%20/pdfs/ukpga\\_19480056\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1948/56%20/pdfs/ukpga_19480056_en.pdf)

citizenship to its constituents despite remaining part of the British Empire in an attempt to remove the possibly incendiary term—subjects. The change to citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies was the key point of this Act. Politically, the British Empire no longer contained “British subjects.”<sup>41</sup>

This transformation was critical in terms of political records and documentation, but removing “British subjects” from colonial identities was more problematic. This removal of “subject” status from identity was still evidently a concern in Nigeria on the eve and aftermath of independence. The ideal of being free and having freedom was a significant concern for the writers of the *West African Pilot*. Independence issues of the *West African Pilot* lauded nationalist organizations, especially the NCNC and the later Zikist movement, for freeing the country. Yet many columns looked ahead in terms of independence. For these writers and columnists, independence did not guarantee Nigerians their freedom. They wrote pieces which demanded or suggested measures to be taken by the government in order to secure freedom for the Nigerian people.

In the first Independence issue of the *West African Pilot*, a special correspondent, G. M. U. Nwagbara, wrote a column titled, “The Aftermath of Independence.”<sup>42</sup> The author warned about giving freedom back to the British. “The journey to independence,” cannot see Nigerians “put ourselves (Nigerians) in a position where we spend our money on the road to London to settle our disputes.”<sup>43</sup> The author warned about the pitfalls of maintaining forms of British or international control by the likes of the “United Nations, the International Labor Organization, or the International body of Jurists.”<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> With the exception of a few people. The *Nationality Acts* of 1948 and 1958 demonstrate this point.

<sup>42</sup> “The Aftermath of Independence.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>43</sup> “The Aftermath of Independence.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>44</sup> “The Aftermath of Independence.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

In order to ascertain Nigerian freedom and achieve internal and international aims, the author suggested that they (the Nigerian government) “strike while the iron is hot.”<sup>45</sup> The author continued by claiming: “He that lays his hand to the plough and looks back shall not be fit for the kingdom, and should surrender immediately.”<sup>46</sup> While the author believed that freedom had been won in independence,<sup>47</sup> he advocated for the government to maintain this achieved freedom. Lastly, he contended that a free and peaceful Nigeria had the power to influence the Eastern and Western power blocs. He wrote: “this giant of Africa, born today, can bring moral pressure on the mad men of the East and West for the peace of the world.”<sup>48</sup> Thus, maintaining freedom was important both internally and internationally, and Nigeria had a “moral” place to occupy in the international community as it was considered a powerful international player.

By 1963, the issue of freedom’s achievement was still being discussed in the *West African Pilot*. September 1963 saw the debate over changing the official name of Nigeria and Nigeria’s institutions. On the verge of becoming a republic on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963, the *West African Pilot* had published numerous columns debating changing the name of Nigeria. Reports and columns indicated that many Nigerians felt that the official name for the state was not “Nigerian” or “African” in origin and thus a symbol of continued foreign (British) domination.

Dr. Kalu Ezera, a Member of Parliament and a professor and Dean of Social Studies at the University of Nigeria, had petitioned Parliament to change the official state

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<sup>45</sup> “The Aftermath of Independence.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>46</sup> “The Aftermath of Independence.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>47</sup> He states in the first line after the title that freedom has not easily or cheaply been won.

“The Aftermath of Independence.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>48</sup> “The Aftermath of Independence.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

name to Songhay.<sup>49</sup> He advocated for the name change debate to be opened up to the public by use of the press—which saw this plea enacted.<sup>50</sup> The *West African Pilot* stated that Ezera’s reason for this name change stemmed from the sentiment that Nigeria was to become a republic and free, yet the name was “imposed by an imperialist power” which “did not have an origin in Africa.”<sup>51</sup> The renaming of the country was to be seen as an act of independence from the former colonial master. Even three years after official independence, freedom and independence were still being negotiated. The official change to republican status renewed a tired debate over Nigeria’s freedom.

However, Dr. Ezera’s petition was not accepted by the state, and faced criticism and resistance by most of the writers of the *West African Pilot*. S. O. Jaiye challenged Dr. Ezera’s petition in his article, “Changing Nigeria to Songhai,” in which he argued that Dr. Ezera’s suggestion is “very wrong.”<sup>52</sup> He states:

No one can give any short story of the Songhay Empire and the people who ruled the Empire. All information about the Empire was given by our Imperial Masters. Is that all the knowledge we the present generation have? What a reason!<sup>53</sup>

In critiquing Dr. Ezera’s appeal, Jaiye’s opinion piece demonstrates that history plays a pivotal role in the determination of the name for which an identity could be rooted. Not understanding the history of the Songhay Empire was problematic for the people of Nigeria, and thus changing the name to Songhay was too idealistic. For Ezera, the name change represented greater freedom, but for Jaiye, there was no freedom in naming the

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<sup>49</sup> He stated the name would reflect a history not imposed by the British. His research demonstrated that the Songhay Empire constituted part of Nigeria and thus, was a more appropriate African name for the state.

<sup>50</sup> “New Name for Nigeria.” *West African Pilot*, September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>51</sup> “New Name for Nigeria.” *West African Pilot*, September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>52</sup> “Changing Nigeria to Songhai.” *West African Pilot*, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>53</sup> “Changing Nigeria to Songhai.” *West African Pilot*, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

state after a historical Empire few Nigerians knew about—and those who did, understood it through British histories of the Empire. In this sense, the writer effectively challenged Imperial codes of knowledge, and critiqued the Eze's idea through the prism of the meaning of freedom.

Other articles offered similar attitudes toward the name change while adding more suggestions. Davey Nayakor's article, "The Name 'Nigeria' is Colonial Badge, also denounced Eze's proposal. He proposed that Nigeria's name should be changed to "Nigiria, Nyjiria, or Negerea...as it is as promising as it is progressive."<sup>54</sup> He contended:

Changing Nigeria's name to Nigiria or Nyjiria or Negerea is suggestive to the universal acceptance and awareness to the new type of republicanism we may agree to adopt. Secondly it shakes off the stains of imperial dictatorship and fosters a new sense of maturity in our national government. Such names...disassociates themselves from Liberia, Algeria, or Niger three of which have almost synonymous spellings and pronunciations as Nigeria. The name 'Songhai' as suggested by a member of our Federal House of Representatives should be dropped immediately for it sounds like 'Shanghai' - a town in the Communist China.<sup>55</sup>

Nayakor argued that changing the name "cannot only engender and rehabilitate Nigeria, but revitalizes the spirit of the Nigerianism."<sup>56</sup> He argued that despite similar attempts by other African emergent independent states to change the name to analogous names, desired results were not achieved. In these states, the name change "after republicanism extirpated, neither synchronize(d) in principle nor tend(ed) to promote the ideals of Africanism."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> "The Name 'Nigeria' is Colonial Badge." *West African Pilot*, September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>55</sup> "The Name 'Nigeria' is Colonial Badge." *West African Pilot*, September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>56</sup> "The Name 'Nigeria' is Colonial Badge." *West African Pilot*, September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>57</sup> "The Name 'Nigeria' is Colonial Badge." *West African Pilot*, September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

Alagboso Ukwuoma demanded that the name of Nigeria be changed while proclaiming that the name “Nigeria is most Un-African.” He contends that the name should change because it is “too English” and is “associated with the deplorable racist term Nigger.”<sup>58</sup> He wrote: “the name is not known by most common Europeans as a country in Africa because of its un-African nature, and to some others it is the source of all evils—the country where Niggers are at home, where people slept and make love on trees and thousands of other unintelligible misconceptions.”<sup>59</sup>

There were a few alternative columns to the name change. Steve Mahonwu’s article argued for the maintenance of the name for the state, its’ institutions, and the people. His reasoning stemmed from the practicality of the name. In arguing against Ezeru’s proposal, Mahonwu stated that the “name Nigeria has already been published in the Eastern Bloc” and would not “better” Nigeria’s “recognition (in the Eastern Bloc).”<sup>60</sup>

Two additional articles contemplated changing the name of “Nigeria” to “Nigerian.” These were in reference to Nigeria’s institutions and people. Thos Johnson wrote that the label “‘Nigeria’ was appropriate for intuitions of merchandise and business, and ‘Nigerian’ (was appropriate) for citizenship.”<sup>61</sup> He continued by saying, “the fact that we are all Nigerians in Nigeria is incontrovertible.” Thus, for practicality and reasonableness, the label should remain.

His argument was countered by an article wagering the importance of adding the “n” to Nigeria. Olisa Iwobi asked, when concerning the naming of Nigerian institutions

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<sup>58</sup> “‘Nigeria’ is Most Un-African.” *West African Pilot*, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>59</sup> “‘Nigeria’ is Most Un-African.” *West African Pilot*, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>60</sup> “‘Nigeria’ or ‘Songhai.’” *West African Pilot*, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>61</sup> “Nigeria is Appropriate.” *West African Pilot*, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

like the police force, “why omit the ‘n’ at the end of Nigeria?”<sup>62</sup> He wagered that the “Nigeria Police Force” should be called the “Nigerian Police Force...because now that we are an independent state, we ought to change the names to reflect our sovereign status.”<sup>63</sup> For Iwobi, the addition of the ‘n’ was therefore a symbol of sovereignty and freedom.

Ultimately the name did not change, but more importantly the debate over political freedom and general freedom was still being waged. Practicality and decolonization themes run through these articles. Interestingly, most of the debate is centered on legitimacy from the outside. They are focused on the effect of changing the name in correspondence to specific international entities. Thus Nigeria, and the Nigerian citizen were being constructed with international legitimacy as an anchor.

These articles are also reflections over the debate surrounding the history the Nigerian citizen would understand. These debates were waged over more than simply a name change. The debates were being waged over the history upon which the new nation would be founded. It was a debate over identity formation alongside national goals and the intertwined objective of decolonization.

This debate was a form of looking at subject status and removing the shackles of domination, even if it was addressing the international community’s concern and opinion. Even into the independence years, removing “subject” status was at the forefront of debate. For the *West African Pilot*, the discourse on freedom and citizenship was still being formed in relation to British, American, Eastern Bloc, and overall international

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<sup>62</sup> “‘Nigeria’ or ‘Nigerian.’” *West African Pilot*, September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>63</sup> “‘Nigeria’ or ‘Nigerian.’” *West African Pilot*, September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.



opinion. The attempt to change the name, was noted as a representation that Nigeria was still intellectually colonized by the British.

Furthermore, freedom stemmed from the ability to assert international pressure. Using the term Gramsci espoused, part of Nigeria's freedom was about asserting "hegemony" in Africa and influencing the power blocs in the mist of the cold war. It represented an attempt to decolonize, but it was a decolonization from the outside with reference to influencing the outside.

### Nigeria, South Africa, and Sharpeville in the *West African Pilot*

This segment begins by chronicling the *West African Pilot's* published news from Reuters, editorials, and columns. While the first section highlights only the reported news, it is pivotal information when considering what consumers of the paper actually read in the paper. This is important because what was reported is generally in line with the goal of the paper. It provides primary sources detailing how Nigerian and world leaders dealt with Sharpeville, and showcases what Sharpeville meant to Nigerian leaders. Furthermore, since a history of the paper has not been written discussing this subject, I feel it is necessary to chronicle the *West African Pilot's* reported news concerning this subject. The second portion of the paper deals directly with the *West African Pilot's* responses to the Sharpeville Massacre.

The *West African Pilot* first reported the news of the Sharpeville Massacre two days after the actual occurrence on March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1960. The paper had simply received news from Cape Town dated March 22<sup>nd</sup> which reported that "a second clash had broken

out in Cape Town” killing “7 more Africans” whom were protesting the pass laws, bringing the total number of casualties to “63 dead and 208 injured (during the two days).”<sup>64</sup> The Reuters article states: “the police fired after Africans had stoned them.”<sup>65</sup> The police gained control of Sharpeville the following night after reinforcements were rushed to the scene in the Transvaal (Sharpeville-Vereeniging area). “The riots (both days) were sparked by demonstrations against the government’s pass laws for Africans and inspired by the Pan-Africanist Congress, an extremist breakaway faction of the African Nationalist Congress.”<sup>66</sup> The article details the official and unofficial casualty numbers at the respective times. Next, the article delves into the details of how the outnumbered policeman came to fire on the crowd after a “great roar” emanated from the protestors and rocks were subsequently thrown at them. Lastly, the news covered how the battle was waged.

On the same page, another Reuters’ news brief from Johannesburg spoke of the Pan-African Congress’ response to the killings. “The Working Committee of the Pan-Africanist Congress today denounced the ‘animal lust for spilling African blood, for which Europeans in this country (South Africa) have been legally licensed.’”<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, the Pan-Africanist Congress stated that most of the South African media “reported that the police fired in self-defense. However, reports received from sources at the respective areas indicate otherwise.”<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> “Sixty-Three die in South African Pass Riots.” *West African Pilot*, March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>65</sup> “Sixty-Three die in South African Pass Riots.” *West African Pilot*, March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>66</sup> “Sixty-Three die in South African Pass Riots.” *West African Pilot*, March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>67</sup> “Africanists Denounce Blood Lust.” *West African Pilot*, March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>68</sup> “Africanists Denounce Blood Lust.” *West African Pilot*, March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

These Reuters news stories were the first articles read by Nigerian consumers of the *West African Pilot* covering what would later become known as the Sharpeville Massacre. The news coming from South Africa had been relegated to page three. However, the importance of this event would evidently become more relevant based on the frequency and placement the reactions and news stories emanating from South Africa would take in the paper. Eventually, the articles graced the front page and were featured in every issue spanning the next two months.

On March 24<sup>th</sup> the *West African Pilot* reported the statements made by Nnamdi Azikiwe whom denounced the Apartheid state for the shootings. Azikiwe, the leader of the NCNC, addressed a crowd in Lagos and “condemned the shooting of Africans in South Africa, and urged all nationalists to register their protest. He then called on all Western democracies to join the struggle against racial discrimination.”<sup>69</sup> Azikiwe then added that the “attitude of Western countries toward the shootings in South Africa justified the NCNC’s foreign policy of non-alignment with any of the existing power-blocs.”<sup>70</sup> He then turned his attention towards discussing Nigerian independence and Independence Day celebrations.

On the very same day the Eastern Region of Nigeria voiced its protest against the “murder of South Africans.”<sup>71</sup> A member of the House of Assembly, Mr. Okoi Arikpo, “described the event as inhuman.” Mr. Arikpo urged the Eastern Region to send a message of protest through the Federal Government to South Africa. The then chronicles

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<sup>69</sup> “Zik Receives Big Ovation on Arrival in Lagos, Condemns Shooting of Africans in South Africa.” *West African Pilot*, March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>70</sup> “Zik Receives Big Ovation on Arrival in Lagos, Condemns Shooting of Africans in South Africa.” *West African Pilot*, March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>71</sup> “East Govt. to Send Protest Against Mass Murder of Africans.” *West African Pilot*, March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

the words of the Eastern Region's Premiere, Dr. Okpara, whom called upon the Nigerian Federal Government to protest strongly against Apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, he followed that by saying "the conduct of the South African government had given cause to Nigerian leaders to entertain some doubt to whether a Commonwealth in which South Africa is a member would contain Nigeria when she gained independence this year (October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960)."<sup>72</sup>

Other Nigerian political leaders voiced their concern about the Sharpeville shootings in the coming days and months. An article published on March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1960 in the *West African Pilot* reported Obafemi Awolowo's position on South Africa in the immediate aftermath of the shootings. This article detailed Obafemi Awolowo's released statements regarding the shootings. He "declared that the attitude of his party (The AG) to the Western bloc countries, which is of complete alignment with them when Nigeria becomes independent would be reconsidered if Britain and the United States did stopped only at verbal protest against the mass murder of Africans in South Africa." Awolowo stated that the "Federal Government (of Nigeria) must amend the laws of the Federation 'forthwith to make importation and exportation from and to South Africa illegal.'" Furthermore, Awolowo declared that all white South Africans "resident in this country (Nigeria) must be repatriated immediately." He went on to state that it would be a matter of debate in the near future as to whether Nigeria can stay in a family of nations with South Africa—the British Commonwealth.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> "East Govt. to Send Protest Against Mass Murder of Africans." *West African Pilot*, March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>73</sup> "South African Mass Murder: Lagos Demonstrates Next Sunday to Sir Abubakar." *West African Pilot*, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

The March 24<sup>th</sup> issue featured two fundamental issues that would grip the attention of the journalists and editors of the *West African Pilot* for the coming years in correspondence with South Africa and Sharpeville. The first issue comprises Africa, Asia, and the West's political, economic, and social dealings with Apartheid and the South African government. The second issue involves responses to Apartheid directly by the British Commonwealth. Sharpeville focused attention to the politically problematic relationship between Nigeria and the Commonwealth. Being that Nigeria and South Africa were both members of the Commonwealth, and the Commonwealth was theoretically an association of racially equal nations, South Africa's membership compromised the integrity of the association.<sup>74</sup>

Another article in the March 24<sup>th</sup> edition of the *West African Pilot* appearing on page eight announced official worldwide condemnation of the Sharpeville shootings. First, the State Department of the United States specified: "that the United States regretted 'the tragic loss of life' resulting from measures taken against Africans demonstrating in South Africa." The United States "expressed hope that the African people of the Union 'will be able to obtain redress for legitimate grievances by peaceful means.'" <sup>75</sup> However the State Department Spokesman refused to answer whether the statement was directed at the measures taken by the police or the policies of the Union's government.<sup>76</sup> India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, then lambasted Apartheid's racial policies. Canada and Australia also issued condemnations of "racial discrimination" by the Apartheid state.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> K. C. Wheare. *The Constitutional Structure of the Commonwealth*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960)

<sup>75</sup> "World Opinion Condemns the Blood Bath." *West African Pilot*, March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>76</sup> "World Opinion Condemns the Blood Bath." *West African Pilot*, March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>77</sup> "World Opinion Condemns the Blood Bath." *West African Pilot*, March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

Yet foreign countries, dignitaries, and nationals were not the only parties denouncing the South African shootings. Nigeria's diaspora also formed demonstrations and issued statements of condemnation against the shootings, the system that allowed and justified the violence, and South Africa's membership in the commonwealth. "Nigerian students in Britain and Ireland claim that the Commonwealth cannot contain an independent Nigeria and South Africa."<sup>78</sup> These students appealed to their "Federal and regional governments of Nigeria to protest vigorously to the United Kingdom government against the brutal and atrocious treatment of Africans by the South African Government."<sup>79</sup> The students demanded actions of "positive hostility" by the U.K and Nigeria against the Union's government in order to pressure a stoppage of Apartheid.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, the Committee of African Organization, representing all African organizations in London, announced that it would send all the Prime Ministers' of the Commonwealth letters asking them not to sit at the next Commonwealth meeting if Dr. Verwoerd were present.<sup>81</sup> The Committee demanded that the "Commonwealth has to conform to the moral standards of all mankind" if it expects to survive.<sup>82</sup>

However, not all of the demonstrations by Nigerian's abroad were met with success or ostensible open arms. One Nigerian protestor was found guilty of "using insulting words and assaulting a police officer" during a protest at Trafalgar Square

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<sup>78</sup> "Nigerian Students in UK Urge Positive Hostility Against Apartheid." *West African Pilot*, March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>79</sup> "Nigerian Students in UK Urge Positive Hostility Against Apartheid." *West African Pilot*, March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>80</sup> "Nigerian Students in UK Urge Positive Hostility Against Apartheid." *West African Pilot*, March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>81</sup> "Nigerian Students in UK Urge Positive Hostility Against Apartheid." *West African Pilot*, March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>82</sup> "Nigerian Students in UK Urge Positive Hostility Against Apartheid." *West African Pilot*, March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

(London) on March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.<sup>83</sup> He was fined seven pounds-sterling.<sup>84</sup> Other protestors also charged met with mixed success in their defense from similar charges. The West Indian, Forbes Burnham, was able to successfully obtain a verdict of not-guilty, although another West Indian caught on the same charges was not able to attain the same verdict.<sup>85</sup>

Protests and demonstrations against the shootings and Apartheid among Nigerians was not limited to the only the diaspora. *The West African Pilot* covered multiple demonstrations occurring inside Nigeria's borders. Different organizations organized many of the demonstrations which included representatives from student organizations, unions, political parties, and other (Nigerian) nationalist leaders.

One of the fastest formed demonstrations in Nigeria protesting the shootings occurred on March 27<sup>th</sup> 1960, in front of the home of the Nigerian prime minister. It was organized by many different groups, yet was composed mostly of nationalist political organizations which espoused Nigerian nationalist rhetoric. The following is a description:

A committee of Nigerian Patriots, among whom are the Chairman of the Lagos Town Council and National Secretary of the NCNC, Mr. F.S. McEwan; the President General of the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria, Mr. M.A.O. Imoudu; the Chairman of the Nigerian Union of Railwaymen (Federated), Mr. H.P. Adebola; the President General of the Zikist National Vanguard, Mr. Adewale Fashanu and other patriots including youth nationalist leaders like Mr. R.A. Fani-Kayode and Mr. Aliyi Ekineh, two well-known Lagos lawyers, is organizing the peaceful demonstrations.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> "Nigerian Student in UK Fined." *West African Pilot*, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>84</sup> "Nigerian Student in UK Fined." *West African Pilot*, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>85</sup> "Nigerian Student in UK Fined." *West African Pilot*, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>86</sup> "South African Mass Murder: Lagos Demonstrates Next Sunday to Sir Abubakar." *West African Pilot*, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

The committee had stated (through a spokesman) that ““Nigeria must put on record her resentment on the mass murder of Africans by white policeman in South Africa.””<sup>87</sup> The protestors called for immediate action by the Nigerian federal government. The issues the demonstrations addressed were Nigeria’s position in the British Commonwealth, the repatriation of White South Africans in Nigeria, and the boycott of South African imports and exports.<sup>88</sup> A later article published on the 28<sup>th</sup>, the day after the demonstrations at Isalegangan Square circulated the complete adopted resolutions made by the committee and demonstrators.

The committee and demonstrators announced that “in furtherance of their (the minority White South African Government) inimical design to subjugate and humiliate our race, the aforementioned Government of South Africa have caused the barbarian slaughter and carnage of hundreds of peaceful and defenseless Africans in the said Union of South Africa. Since the “Government of the Union of South Africa had diabolical and inimical designs for the perpetual subjugation and humiliation of the African race,”<sup>89</sup> resolutions were needed to fight against a government—which one protestor (Maitama Sule) referred to as an “offense to God and man.”<sup>90</sup>

The resolutions for actions adopted by the demonstrators were as follows, and can be seen in Figure 1. The first demanded the legal prohibition of South African goods into Nigeria. The second demanded the removal of all “non-African South Africans” from civil service positions in Nigeria. The third demanded that a prohibition be legalized

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<sup>87</sup> “South African Mass Murder: Lagos Demonstrates Next Sunday to Sir Abubakar.” *West African Pilot*, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>88</sup> “South African Mass Murder: Lagos Demonstrates Next Sunday to Sir Abubakar.” *West African Pilot*, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>89</sup> “Mass Demonstration at Isalegangan: Govt. Urged...” *West African Pilot*, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>90</sup> “Mass Demonstration at Isalegangan: Govt. Urged...” *West African Pilot*, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.



preventing the entry “of all non-African citizens of the Union of South Africa” into Nigeria. The fourth asked for Nigerian leaders to “reconsider Nigeria’s membership of the Commonwealth, in which Commonwealth South Africa derives economic benefit and enables her to perpetuate the diabolical designs aforementioned (subjugation and racial humiliation).” Furthermore it stated, “A Commonwealth of race conflicts is not in the best interest of Nigeria to join.” The last resolution, resolution e, encouraged Pan-African solidarity “for the purposes of our own self-preservation, dignity, and for respect of the African world.”<sup>91</sup>

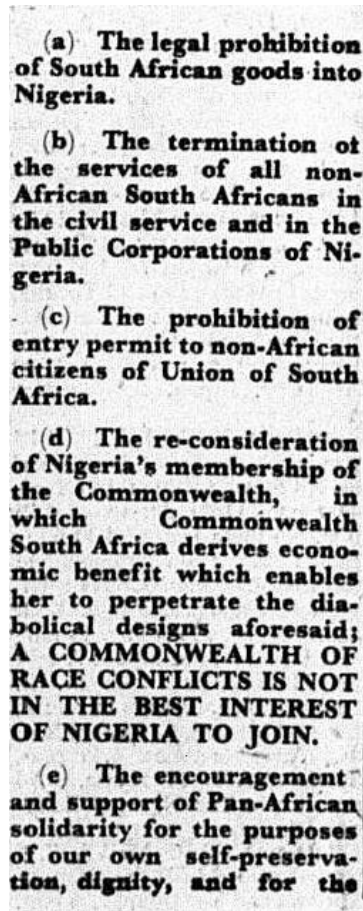
- 
- (a) **The legal prohibition of South African goods into Nigeria.**
  - (b) **The termination of the services of all non-African South Africans in the civil service and in the Public Corporations of Nigeria.**
  - (c) **The prohibition of entry permit to non-African citizens of Union of South Africa.**
  - (d) **The re-consideration of Nigeria’s membership of the Commonwealth, in which Commonwealth South Africa derives economic benefit which enables her to perpetrate the diabolical designs aforesaid; A COMMONWEALTH OF RACE CONFLICTS IS NOT IN THE BEST INTEREST OF NIGERIA TO JOIN.**
  - (e) **The encouragement and support of Pan-African solidarity for the purposes of our own self-preservation, dignity, and for the**

Figure 1  
 (“Mass Demonstration at Isalegangan: Govt. Urged...” *West African Pilot*, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960)

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<sup>91</sup> “Mass Demonstration at Isalegangan: Govt. Urged...” *West African Pilot*, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

Of particular interest however, is that the resolutions only called for the prohibition of all South African goods **into** Nigeria. It is rather unclear if these nationalist leaders and unionist would demand that Nigeria's own economic goods be prevented from going to South Africa. Awolowo and the AG, had already stated that a prohibition on all goods coming in or out of South Africa should be illegal. However, this was not the case for this resolution. Also, of importance is the use of race in the resolutions. Even South African Whites could be considered African (as it is a complex identity) yet, resolutions b and c only call to terminate from civil service positions, or prohibit from entering all "non-African" South Africans. This use of "non-African" in terms of citizenship or identity is far too ambiguous. It refrains from using the term White South Africans. Appropriately, these ambiguous terms could easily allow the future nationalist leaders of Nigeria a large amount of slack when confronted with racial and international politics.

Lastly, resolution d centers on Nigeria's position in the Commonwealth. It appears as if Nigeria (according to the *West African Pilot*, Azikiwe, Balewa, and Awolowo) wanted (or felt it necessary) to remain in the Commonwealth, however the racist regime in South Africa was receiving the benefits of Commonwealth membership despite violating the Commonwealth's charter,<sup>92</sup> and thus Nigeria's membership needed to be reviewed and debated by Nigerian leaders. Nigeria's inclusion in the Commonwealth was a matter of debate immediately after Sharpeville, but it was also a pivotal issue because membership in the Commonwealth was (and still is) optional, and

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<sup>92</sup> "Our Charter." *The Commonwealth*, (2015); <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-charter>

Nigeria's independence was scheduled for October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960. Being a member of the Commonwealth had many strong implications, especially among African postcolonial leaders. Methods of decolonization theorized and/or pursued by emergent former colonies played a role in the position political leaders or groups had to make on continued membership in the Commonwealth. Aside from many political drawbacks, in terms of theoretical decolonization, there existed political and economic benefits to be had by a maintained relationship with Britain and other Commonwealth countries. The economic interdependence between Britain and the Commonwealth countries put Nigerian leaders (and also postcolonial leaders in general whom had to deal with Commonwealth membership) in a tough economically derived political position. Leaders and political organizations had to analyze the benefits of being in the Commonwealth as opposed to leaving it.

How great a contributor South Africa was to Britain due to inclusion in the Commonwealth is a matter of scholarly debate. However, in the 1960s, economic relations between Apartheid South Africa and Britain were strong enough for Britain to justify continued economic and political relations with the state. Even though Britain officially denounced Apartheid, as evidenced by Prime Minister Harold MacMillan's short condemnation in the famous *Wind of Change* speech, it would be late into the Thatcher-era before Britain would reduce economic connections with South Africa.<sup>93</sup>

The economic importance of South Africa to Nigeria is complicated and has received small amounts of scholarly attention. However, South Africa did trade with

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<sup>93</sup> Harold Macmillan. *Wind of Change*. (Cape Town: South Africa, February 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1960); <http://www.africanrhetoric.org/pdf/J%20%20%20Macmillan%20-%20%20the%20wind%20of%20change.pdf>

Nigeria, and was further connected because of both countries' membership in the Commonwealth. Yet, the Sharpeville Massacre intensified Nigeria's want to remove South Africa from the Commonwealth. While it is beyond the scope of this paper, aside from the racial and political connection to South Africa, there most likely was a measurable economic factor which did not prevent Nigeria from condemning South Africa fully by leaving the Commonwealth.

What the Sharpeville Massacre did in Nigeria, was to provide an impetus or platform for which to develop and launch Nigeria's own decolonization in the months leading to independence and then in the wake of official independence. Sharpeville ostensibly demanded the Pan-African flag waving Nigeria to act.<sup>94</sup> However, it also further provides evidence of the role of the independent nation-state in postcolonial environment as projected by Nigeria. It is apparent that, while race was advertised as a bond that provided African solidarity, hegemonic goals of Nigeria in Africa and the international political community were more the nexus tying Nigeria with South Africa. The *West African Pilot* reported stories of Nigeria's leader's responses to Apartheid and the shootings, and nearly all, focus the attention back on Nigeria's political ambitions.

In one instance, an article reported the hardships, racial discriminations, and tribulations of a Nigerian student stuck in South Africa after his plane made an unscheduled stop in Johannesburg. Mr. Herbert Macaulay detailed his experience with the South African white police officers. He was forced to leave his plane, kicked out of

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<sup>94</sup> This is because of the rhetoric espoused by Nigeria's political leaders leading into independence and after it.

the airport, and then not allowed a room at the hotel. He would have had to spend an entire night outside, had missionaries not seen him and provided shelter.<sup>95</sup>

Yet the demands of the Nigerian committees and political leaders whom formed demonstrations and issued condemnations in the immediate wake of Sharpeville builds more on the above point. Sharpeville rarely focused Nigerian attention on South African issues. Rather, the focus was on South Africa's membership in a Commonwealth which included Nigeria. It focused attention on what to do with South African civil servants working in Nigeria, and lastly if South African goods should be boycotted in Nigeria. Furthermore, if South African interests were mentioned, it was through terms of race. The *West African Pilot* may have displayed some African Nationalist Congress (ANC) or Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) messages, such as the ANC's order to all South Africans to burn their passes,<sup>96</sup> but overt support was not spoke about in terms of South African party allegiances in Nigeria. Furthermore, removal from the Commonwealth carried the possibility of increased economic pain for black South Africans. If membership in Commonwealth was economically beneficial to South Africa, then blowback from removal could further damage black South African's economic possibilities. Also, the removal of White South Africans from Nigerian civil service jobs could have possibly injured Nigeria's economic possibilities by replacing skilled workers with unqualified, unskilled, workers.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> "Apartheid Hits Nigerian in SA." *West African Pilot*, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>96</sup> "South Africa Latest: Africans Ordered..." *West African Pilot*, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>97</sup> The result of this is beyond the scope of this paper. However, there are many social theories which claim that skilled work is more efficient than unskilled work. Nigeria's educated and/or skilled population at the time was very small. Furthermore it even led Azikiwe to reject the tenant of Nigerianization which called for the removal of all white civil servants. He stated, that it would not be wise to replace skilled workers with unskilled workers just because they were black or Nigerian. Work in civil service "should be merit based."

"Zik Receives Big Ovation..." *West African Pilot*, March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

In the months following the Sharpeville shootings, demonstrations broke out, and continued violence over the incident plagued South Africa in addition to cities around the world. In the time spanning Sharpeville and the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference, South Africa had increased repression. The South African Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd had been shot, and some South African media had condemned the West for not supporting the actions South Africa had taken after the shootings. The overtly racist killings had taken the world by storm. However, for Nigeria, the coming months were highly focused on the debates of whether to banish South Africa from the Commonwealth and if Nigeria should remain in the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference was already scheduled for May third 1960.<sup>98</sup> With the outbreak of the Sharpeville shootings, South Africa became a major focus of worldwide attention. The *West African Pilot* had begun reporting news or writing opinions about what moves Nigeria should make regarding South Africa at the Commonwealth Conference in early March, when it reported the Canadian Prime Minister's condemnation towards the shootings at hopeful meeting with South Africa's Prime Minister at the (upcoming) Commonwealth Conference.<sup>99</sup> However, Azikiwe, Awolowo, and Balewa had already, or were near going on record demanding South Africa's removal from the Commonwealth. Thus, in May, Nigeria's were prepared to rally against the Apartheid state and demanded South Africa's removal from the Commonwealth.

However, at the Conference, public talk concerning South Africa's removal was "kept off the plenary meetings" and rather was to be held as "informal talks" which the

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<sup>98</sup> "Commonwealth Parley of Ministers Opens..." *West African Pilot*, May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>99</sup> "Apartheid May Be Discussed." *West African Pilot*, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

South African delegates agreed to hold.<sup>100</sup> Yet, these informal talks were met with hostility or not held at all by the South African delegates. Finally, Eric Louw, South Africa's spokesperson at the conference, allowed a private meeting to be held on May 9<sup>th</sup> with the other 11 delegation heads attending the conference. However, Louw met the meeting with hostility and refused to discuss any matters concerning South Africa's domestic policies. He "strongly objected to any departure from the recognized that domestic affairs of Commonwealth countries are not discussed at these conferences."<sup>101</sup> The other leaders were reported to not have been able to discuss ending the racial policies in South Africa.<sup>102</sup>

The meetings also demonstrated a mixed world opinion regarding South Africa among the Prime Ministers at the Conference. The South African delegation had explained that although anti-Apartheid sentiment had seemingly intensified, Louw had also been "heartened" to receive many letters "from all over England (yesterday) wishing him good luck and assuring him of sympathy for South Africa in dealing with her difficult racial problems."<sup>103</sup> The leaders were further impelled to leave the tough decision of banning South Africa from the Commonwealth until after it had become a republic.<sup>104</sup> At the time, the Union of South Africa was not a republic, and the vote for it to become one was a referendum held on October 5<sup>th</sup> 1960. South Africa did become a republic on the 31<sup>st</sup> of May, 1961. Thus, South Africa's membership in the

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<sup>100</sup> "Commonwealth Parley of Ministers Opens..." *West African Pilot*, May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>101</sup> "Louw Not Party to Talks on SA Domestic Policy." *West African Pilot*, May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>102</sup> "Louw Not Party to Talks on SA Domestic Policy." *West African Pilot*, May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>103</sup> "Commonwealth Leaders Face Another South African Problem." *West African Pilot*, May 12<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>104</sup> "Commonwealth Leaders Face Another South African Problem." *West African Pilot*, May 12<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

Commonwealth was sparsely discussed, and in the end, Nigeria's want of ridding the Commonwealth of South Africa was denied.

When South Africa did attain the status of republic, it basically withdrew itself from the Commonwealth. Verwoerd and South Africa's policy of Apartheid had drawn criticism from all the non-white majority members of the Commonwealth and one white majority member—Canada. These members threatened to leave if South Africa remained in the Commonwealth. These threats were voiced again at the 1961 Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference; yet this time they were much more forceful as the status of republic had been attained, and South Africa's application to remain in the membership was due to be decided. South Africa's pending status as a republic was one of the reasons why its' membership was only tentatively discussed during the previous year's conference. Once it was clear that South Africa's application was going to be denied in 1961, Verwoerd withdrew the application.<sup>105</sup> South Africa was no longer a member of the Commonwealth.

The *West African Pilot* treated South Africa's removal from the Commonwealth as a victory. Articles praised the achievement for Nigeria as being able to deny South Africa's membership in the association.<sup>106</sup> In a sense, it marked the achievement of a goal nearly every Nigerian leader wanted and had professed following Sharpeville. However, it came a year later. Sharpeville had intensified anti-Apartheid rhetoric, but the world was still divided over the issue, as evidenced by some Commonwealth countries (Britain and Australia) unwillingness to oppose South African membership. Furthermore, despite threatening to leave the Commonwealth, Nigeria remained inside

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<sup>105</sup> C. F. J. Muller. *Five Hundred years: A history of South Africa*. (Pretoria: Academica, 1981).

<sup>106</sup> "South Africa Out of Commonwealth." *West African Pilot*, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961.



the association for one more entire year while South Africa retained its membership. Thus, it is seemingly evident that staying in the Commonwealth was more beneficial than leaving it, and thus, global racial injustice took a back seat to national development issues.

While economic concerns may have been an influential factor in Nigeria's decision, there was another factor for the denunciation of Apartheid by Nigeria which needs to be addressed. That factor revolves around the geopolitics of Nigeria. The *West African Pilot* offered a few sources speaking to the geopolitical ambitions of Nigeria. The Sharpeville Massacre allowed Nigeria a platform from which to announce a sort of geopolitical dominance in Africa and in international politics. Additionally, the position and influence wielded in the Commonwealth was seen as an important factor for Nigeria with its hegemonic ambitions in Africa.

Here I depart from the Reuters reports, to provide the *West African Pilot's* editorials. The hegemonic position of Nigeria in Africa is discussed by a few writers in the paper. All the articles promote the idea of Nigeria playing a large and influential role in African politics, economics, and society.

In "South Africa and Us,"<sup>107</sup> The author writes that the A-Bomb test by the French in the Sahara and the South African Apartheid caused shootings are two critical political and social issues for Africans, and especially Nigerians, to deal with. However, the editorial is certainly focused more on Nigeria. The author laments that "Nigeria has, for inexplicable reasons, abdicated leadership in the anti-a-bomb protest to Ghana. We (Nigeria) have unconsciously loosened our grips on the shield of Pan-Africanism, and

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<sup>107</sup> "South Africa and Us." *West African Pilot*, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

today, it is passing into the hands of others.” The writer goes on to ask, “On South Africa: are we going to be passive onlookers?...God forbid.”<sup>108</sup>

The editorial then points out solutions to the problem of South Africa. Nigeria must lead and impose a boycott of South African goods, must urge South Africa’s dismissal from the Commonwealth, and dismiss and repatriate all South Africans from Nigeria’s civil service ranks.<sup>109</sup> The author ends by writing:

We must be very loud. We must bring the full weight of our numerical strength to bear on the South African Government to liberalize freedom and behave like civilized men. Nigeria must leave no black man in South Africa in any doubt as to she believes in the idea: Africa is for Africans. Nigeria must dive deep into the main stream of this great movement or be left out.<sup>110</sup>

Another article, “Tension in Africa,” discusses and agrees with many of the same points as the previous author. “So Nigeria, the formidable giant, is raising its fists with devastating force against...De Gaulle (for the nuclear weapon tests in the Sahara) and Hendrik Verwoerd. Nigerians everywhere will feel over-joyed at the steps taken by our Federal Government in relation to these contemporary issues threatening the existence of Africa.”<sup>111</sup>

While the author explains that South Africa must pay for their excesses and racist policies, the focus was still on Nigeria. It was the job of Nigeria, and to the benefit of Africa, Nigeria, and the world, to act quickly and decisively against South Africa. For “no measure is too severe a reprisal for the inhumanity and utter reckless folly of White South Africans.”<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> “South Africa and Us.” *West African Pilot*, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>109</sup> “South Africa and Us.” *West African Pilot*, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>110</sup> “South Africa and Us.” *West African Pilot*, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>111</sup> “Tensions in Africa.” *West African Pilot*, April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>112</sup> “Tensions in Africa.” *West African Pilot*, April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

These articles highlight that the *West African Pilot's* journalists advocated for Nigeria to play a hegemonic role in the politics of Africa. Nigeria had in 1960 a large population and a relatively strong (African) economy. Thus, it is evident that part of Nigeria's national goals included being influential in African politics (and also economics, and society—despite this not directly dealing with these two issues). In this sense, Nigerian nationalism took on the character of playing a hegemonic role in Africa. Sharpeville allowed Nigeria a platform to project their hegemonic goals.

Lastly, it is also particularly clear that economic and political issues were intertwined. Readers of the *West African Pilot* were informed of the Shootings which allowed a platform to debate decolonization—especially in reference to membership in the Commonwealth. Furthermore, the articles on Sharpeville demonstrate that there was a major concern with international politics. This intersected with themes of race and Nigerian political goals of international hegemony. The newspaper was informing a community about international events and issues. The reader was inundated with articles relating the international world with Nigerian politics. Therefore, it was seemingly constructing an identity which was defining national identity based upon international issues.

#### Political Parties, Democracy, Freedom, and Progress 1960-1966

When Nigeria became independent the *West African Pilot* published one of Nnamdi Azikiwe's historical editorials in the special independence issue. The *Pilot* used this opportunity to provide a history of the development of political parties in Nigeria, as

well as argue for the benefits political parties offered Nigeria. Azikiwe's article traced the roots of political organization in Nigeria by providing a linear history of how pressure groups transformed into nationalist organizations, which finally transformed into political parties. As Zik contended, "the genesis of political parties stems from the idea of majority rule which is fundamental to the ideology of democracy."<sup>113</sup> Azikiwe's article intended to put on record the benefits of political parties and their advancement of freedom. "It is quite obvious that once we place it on record that we seek to attain the goal of political democracy in our country, then we have tacitly admitted the importance of political parties as an instrument for the crystallization of public opinion. This is an expressed acceptance of the idea of majority rule."<sup>114</sup>

Azikiwe's article discussed the development of political parties ranging from the Action Group (AG), the Northern People's Congress (NPC), the United National Independence Party, Kamerun National Congress, to his own party the National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), which was given the majority of the article's attention. The NCNC was credited with beginning the movement toward self-government after the NCNC's press delegation to London in 1947.<sup>115</sup> The delegation had been called for due to the failure of the 1946 "Richards Constitution," which had promised to promote unity, express the diversity of the country, and promote greater

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<sup>113</sup> "Zik Traces Development of Political Parties from 1922-Till Now." *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup> 1960.

<sup>114</sup> "Zik Traces Development of Political Parties from 1922-Till Now." *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup> 1960.

<sup>115</sup> The delegation was met with mockery by the British press at the August delegation. Accordingly the NCNC had ardently supported the British war effort and remained loyal to Britain prior to this engagement. Yet, after the mockery, Azikiwe explained that supporters of the NCNC "resented the lack of appreciation of Nigeria's loyalty." This response to the delegation altered the stance of the NCNC, which would begin to demand self-government and a reworking of the constitution which the NCNC had presented to the British press (one that espoused the idea that Nigeria remain in the Empire). "Zik Trace Development of Political Parties from 1922-Till Now." *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

Nigerian participation in discussion towards managing their own affairs.<sup>116</sup> The return of the delegation, with the idea of self-government implanted, set a new course for the development of political parties.

After the delegation, Chief Bode Thomas proposed a new political philosophy which further “developed the growth of political parties.”<sup>117</sup> He introduced the ideal of regionalism, which was to be “based solely on political parties,”<sup>118</sup> into the political lexicon. This regionalism created political parties based on strict geographical demarcations. These demarcations included the North, East, and West, which had already been established by the Richards Constitution. However, Zik attacked this regionalist thinking in the development of political parties. He stated regionalization would create political sects which would lead to disintegration.<sup>119</sup> The regions would be divided from one another, which would create animosity instead of cooperation and unity. Furthermore, Azikiwe argued that the regions alone, which would be organized as one being an oligarchy, one being an aristocracy, and one based on socialism would not even represent the diversity in their respective regions.<sup>120</sup> The NCNC and Zik took up the charge to dispel this regional proposal for political parties, stating that “it would turn back the hands of the clock on our progress, socially and politically, thus postponing the crystallization of a consciousness of kind in our blessed country.”<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> “1982-1960.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>117</sup> “Zik Traces Development of Political Parties from 1922-Till Now.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>118</sup> “Zik Traces Development of Political Parties from 1922-Till Now.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>119</sup> “Zik Traces Development of Political Parties from 1922-Till Now.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>120</sup> “Zik Traces Development of Political Parties from 1922-Till Now.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>121</sup> “Zik Traces Development of Political Parties from 1922-Till Now.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

For Azikiwe, and the writers and editors of the *Pilot*, democracy could be progressive if Nigeria was undivided on a regional or sectarian base.<sup>122</sup> Zik continued by discussing the development of the other parties shortly, and sometimes scathingly, but ended by stating that the political parties of Nigeria were “destined to revolutionize...the aspirations of our people for political freedom.”<sup>123</sup> While the NCNC was highly praised and put in the paper’s spotlight, the other parties were vital in that they provided opposition which was natural to any democracy based on majority rule.<sup>124</sup>

The importance of political parties remained a topic of the *West African Pilot* for the coming years. Anti-Regionalist rhetoric covered the daily issues, as nationalist sentiments founded on the basis of Nigerian unity were issued with machine-like rapidity. Yet, by October 1963, with the country transforming into a republic, the paper issued new histories and editorials of political parties. Republican status of Nigeria officially ended the Queen of England’s reign as head of state, and Nnamdi Azikiwe became the first president. National unity remained a forceful component of the columns, but the discussion of the importance of political parties changed for the readers of the *Pilot*.

On October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963, Chief Fred Anyiam wrote an article in the *West African Pilot* detailing the history of Nigeria as it went “From Tutelage to Sovereignty.”<sup>125</sup> Anyiam told a history of Nigeria’s independence starting from the time the Portuguese explorers made contact with Africans in 1472.<sup>126</sup> His history told readers of the building

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<sup>122</sup> “Zik Traces Development of Political Parties from 1922-Till Now.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup> 1960.

<sup>123</sup> “Zik Traces Development of Political Parties from 1922-Till Now.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup> 1960.

<sup>124</sup> “Zik Traces Development of Political Parties from 1922-Till Now.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup> 1960.

<sup>125</sup> “From Tutelage to Sovereignty.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>126</sup> “From Tutelage to Sovereignty.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

of national consciousness and development of a strong centralized state that occurred before the Richards Constitution “arrested this tendency.”<sup>127</sup> Then much like Azikiwe, he blamed the Richards Constitution for creating separatism which had an impact on the development of regionalism—a political system and ideology to which he was opposed. The Richards Constitution did however, “shake the politicians,”<sup>128</sup> and renew the fight against colonialism. By the end of the article Anyiam writes; “The leading political parties which have led Nigeria from bondage to Freedom deserve the people’s respect.”<sup>129</sup>

Anyiam’s piece demonstrates the connection of freedom and the development of political parties. He located the realization of republicanism in the struggle against colonialism waged by the political parties. The political parties had “played their parts admirably well in uniting the people of Nigeria together to reach their goal of ambition.”<sup>130</sup> Furthermore, the political parties of the NCNC, the NPC, and the AG were lauded as nationalist organizations which promoted unity and fought regionalism.

Anyiam’s history was very comparable to a history outlined by Senator M. B. Chukwubike, when he stated that he was “satisfied with Nigeria’s Progress.”<sup>131</sup> In his message on Republic Day, he outlined the history of Nigeria’s march to freedom. He traced the beginning of Nigeria’s freedom to contests between political groups and the colonial governors. However, he then adamantly pointed out that the Richards Constitution changed focus of Nigerian nationalism and created separatism in the

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<sup>127</sup> “From Tutelage to Sovereignty.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>128</sup> “From Tutelage to Sovereignty.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>129</sup> “From Tutelage to Sovereignty.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>130</sup> “From Tutelage to Sovereignty.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>131</sup> “Senator Satisfied with Nigeria’s Progress.” *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

country. Yet, he then gave credence to the Constitution of 1951, which, he stated, ushered in a ministerial system that directly led to Independence in 1960.<sup>132</sup>

These histories were echoed in Nnamdi Azikiwe's national broadcast on Republic Day. Azikiwe confirmed his past sentiments, as seen in the 1960 outline of political parties, by professing the belief that political parties were a vital component of political democracy. In addressing his audience, Azikiwe noted that "we believe in a government that is based on the consent of the majority."<sup>133</sup> Political parties ensured that the people would have every diverse opinion considered.<sup>134</sup> His address continued by asking; "As we enter our third year of independence, let all our patriots loudly declare their love for Nigeria and renew their faith in the democratic way of life...as a means of serving our fellow man in the crusade against poverty, disease, hunger, ignorance, superstition, corruption, and injustice in our beloved country."<sup>135</sup> For Azikiwe, and the *Pilot*, democracy, which was ushered in by political parties, was the way to progress and national development.

However, despite Azikiwe and some of the writers of the *Pilot*, the paper published a seemingly contradictory article on the precipice of Republic Day. The focus remained on political parties, freedom, and progress, however, instead of lauding political parties for their progressive nature or providing histories of political party development in the name of progress, Enuenwemba Obi wrote that Nigeria had an "awkward political history."<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> "Senator Satisfied with Nigeria's Progress." *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>133</sup> "What We Believe." *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>134</sup> "What We Believe." *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>135</sup> "What We Believe." *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>136</sup> "Our Awkward Political Heritage." *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.



Obi begins by stating “perhaps the greatest threat to the unity and progress of Nigeria lies in the framework of government which was passed on to us by those who though may have had well-meaning, apparently did not fully appreciate the complexities or lack of same(ness) which are part of us. It is safe to say that we could not have inherited a more awkward framework than the monstrosity now in our midst which derives all its strength from gigantic (national) political parties.”<sup>137</sup> He argues that the political parties owe allegiance to the party first and the country second. Furthermore, the parties breed corruption and actually keep out the most intelligent political minds of the country.<sup>138</sup> Obi proposes that the “political philosophy of majalisism”<sup>139</sup> will effectively sever the political party’s power and make them more adherent to the people of Nigeria, thus creating a more progressive and unified state.<sup>140</sup>

However this article offers more insight than simply standing as an editorial attempting to persuade readers to oppose “gigantic nationalist political parties”<sup>141</sup> in Nigeria. It also is an argument against continuing the inherited political philosophical “patterns...just for the sake of conformity.”<sup>142</sup> It directly challenges the linear “pattern”

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<sup>137</sup> “Our Awkward Political Heritage.” *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>138</sup> “Our Awkward Political Heritage.” *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>139</sup> He does not define the term “majalisism” in any specific way, except noting that it would sever the strangle hold of national political parties. In looking up the term majalisism, there is no direct political philosophical doctrine attached to that name. However, Majālis is an Arabic term used to describe a “place of sitting in the context of a council” and also defined as a parliament in many countries with an Islamic political orientation. It is quite possible that majalisism is used in this article to describe a political system which is parliamentary, yet more receptive of the people’s wishes thanks to the addition of a council which checks political power by performing a variety of functions. It is hard to pinpoint what he exactly means by majalisism, but noting that the *West African Pilot* published international news, and that Nigeria has a substantial Muslim population, it is possible that majalisism stems from the Arabic term Majālis, but it is not certain. The Consultative Council for Saudi Arabia is considered a Majālis. For further reading on Majālis and countries which operationalize political institutions in terms of Majālis see:

Wilson, Peter W. and Graham, Douglas: *Saudi Arabia: The Coming Storm* (1994); “Shura in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: A Historical Background.” Majlis ash Shura; and Abrahamian, *History of Modern Iran*, (2008).

<sup>140</sup> “Our Awkward Political Heritage.” *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>141</sup> “Our Awkward Political Heritage.” *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>142</sup> “Our Awkward Political Heritage.” *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

of the development of political parties advocated by Nnamdi Azikiwe and published in the *West African Pilot* in 1960 and again in 1963 (although to a smaller degree than the original article “Zik Traces Development of Political Parties 1922-Till Now” published on Independence Day 1960). Obi argues against continuing the colonial inherited form of government, but he is also proposing that progress is not attained through a history which suggests progress was developed in Western ideals of democracy. He contends that “Nigeria is a different context...which is not in consonance with her African temperament.”<sup>143</sup> He advocates that Nigeria needs to build a temperament or “personality” such as “the intelligence of the English,” or “the astuteness of the French.”<sup>144</sup> Obi claims that the construction of this personality has been arrested by an “amorphous” personality which was the direct effect of the national parties.<sup>145</sup> As Obi states, the “ills (of the government) could be minimized if not cured under a system which downplays the **image** of political parties.”

These articles suggest that in 1963, the battle of freedom and progress was being perpetrated by competing myths of political parties. As much as the articles support the idea of a unified Nigeria, which in unification, could bring about greater international prestige, they contest each other on the plane of foundational mythologies and histories. Furthermore, they attempt to decolonize and unify Nigeria through different political measures. Azikiwe’s article suggests that freedom lies through nationalistic buildup of political parties and an image of political parties being progressive. Yet, Obi’s piece counters the myth that political parties unify, democratize, strengthen, and free Nigeria.

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<sup>143</sup> “Our Awkward Political Heritage.” *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>144</sup> “Our Awkward Political Heritage.” *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>145</sup> “Our Awkward Political Heritage.” *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

It is not to say that Obi advocates for a one-party system, or that he opposes democracy, but rather he advocates for a liberating myth and system of government based upon majalisism.<sup>146</sup> Progressive freedom was being waged over myths which would found the nation.

After the celebrations of Republic Day were over, the country plunged into serious debate over the government's job of improving the citizen's well-being. The years following the birth of the Republic were filled with publications in the *West African Pilot* surrounding government corruption, nepotism, and catering to regionalist and "tribalist"<sup>147</sup> which was seemingly an opinion favored over the national opinion. It was soon discovered that in "1963, the census was inflated to fit the demands of specific premiers."<sup>148</sup> Corruption and nepotism ostensibly characterized Nigerian politics.

Then a major development in terms of political parties occurred with the Federal Election of 1964 which nearly collapsed the country.<sup>149</sup> Three major nationalist parties formed an alliance, thus joining the NCNC, the Northern People's Progressive Front (NPF), and the AG—which the latter had nearly collapsed—together into a new political party called the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) headed by Dr. M. I. Okpara. In response, in August 1964, the NPC, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), the Mid-Western Democratic Front (MDF), the Niger Delta Congress (NDC) and the Dynamic Party formed the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) under the Premier of the

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<sup>146</sup> He clearly states that he is not advocate of a one-party system.

"Our Awkward Political Heritage." *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>147</sup> This term was put forward by many issues of the *West African Pilot*, one in particular is: "Hurrah! The Army." *West African Pilot*, January 20<sup>th</sup> 1966.

<sup>148</sup> "Their Days are Over." *West African Pilot*, January 20<sup>th</sup> 1966.

<sup>149</sup> "Their Days are Over." *West African Pilot*, January 20<sup>th</sup> 1966.

Northern Region, Sir Ahmed Bello. Two super parties had been born and were to meet in the 1964 Federal Election.

The 1964 election saw the use of multiple forms of electoral malpractice. The Eastern Region did not vote completely, and the UPGA boycotted the election. The election saw regional dominance of political power. In Lagos, only one ward voted. In the end, the NNA won the majority of the seats.

Another pivotal turn of events in Nigeria's political party development occurred in 1965. The Western Region's election to select legislators erupted into violence after an election which observed great electoral malpractice. The NNDP was announced to have won the election. However, the opposition party's leader Alhaji Adegbenro held a press conference claiming victory for his party, the UPGA, in the house in Ibadan where Chief Awolowo was imprisoned. Before Chief Akintola finally did take up the premiership, for a small time, there was two acting primers in the region. Violence broke out in the Western Region, and some estimates of death tolls locate the figure in the thousands.

National political parties were in trouble in part thanks to corruption of their individuals. The *West African Pilot* aided in finding the faults with the corrupt leaders, as not only were they stealing national funds, but they were not progressing the country politically, economically, or socially. The unity which was promised by politicians was left unachieved.<sup>150</sup> Furthermore, Nigeria's international prestige was dwindling according to the press. By 1966, the democratic government fell in a military coup executed by Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi.

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<sup>150</sup> "Oba Oyekan II, Chiefs Back Military Government." *West African Pilot*, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

The *West African Pilot* had published new histories in the aftermath of the 1966 military coup. The columns were void of histories discussing the development of the political parties of Nigeria evolving from resistance to British colonialism. Instead, columns discussing the evolution of political individuals began at Independence in 1960 or the attainment of Republican status in 1963. The two former elections (discussed above) were being hailed as the causes of the Federal Republic of Nigeria's collapse. Progress, in 1966, was being attributed to the military government which promised to fix the country and then return to democracy.

The *West African Pilot* "hailed" in the military government on January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1966.<sup>151</sup> An article stated that the military coup and the clean sweep in removing politicians "could be the only solution to dealing with the multifarious problems generated by the politicians of this country."<sup>152</sup> However, the same article did not advocate for the end of democracy. The *Pilot* editor stated, "We do not agree that democracy as we know it is the panacea of governmental ills of mankind. We also do not expect either, the new military regime in the Federation to perform miracles over-night in order to show that the strong arm government may be as good as any democratic institution."<sup>153</sup> What was wanted was a renewed effort to unify the country before returning to democracy.

Curiously, political parties were not directly attacked by the media. Rather the new myth being constructed in the paper was placing the blame on individuals whom were blocking progress. The *Pilot* issued dailies blaming the politicians' greed. One

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<sup>151</sup> "Hail New Nigeria." *West African Pilot*, January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>152</sup> "Hail New Nigeria." *West African Pilot*, January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>153</sup> "Hail New Nigeria." *West African Pilot*, January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

article praising the military takeover stated, “I pray that the time is now gone when politicians used their positions to build mansions for the red light girls regardless of public out-cry at the morality of doing so. To our faces, we saw a tragic rape of democracy with elections rigged to the shame of all civic conscience. Our leadership in 1965 was poor.”<sup>154</sup>

Trade unions also entered into the paper’s pages praising the military government for stopping political and economic abuses of ministers. The Joint Action Committee of the Nigerian Trade Union Organizations stated; “in place of progress and development we see everywhere financial abuses, extensive graft, political jobbery, and the selfish pursuit of pleasures and avarice by ministers, parliamentarians, big business and the privileged groups within the country to the total detriment of the national economy.”<sup>155</sup> While, the noted “privileged groups” could be taken to mean political party members, the article did not specifically condemn political parties. The Union of Seamen also joined in the praise for military take-over by issuing a message which accepted Ironsi’s national broadcast stating that the military will remain in power until a “New Constitution acceptable to the people is made.”<sup>156</sup>

Interestingly even some political parties offered praise for the new military regime. The AG Youth movement issued a statement asking that people give their “fullest cooperation and support” to the military government.<sup>157</sup> The statement also asked for the release of Obafemi Awolowo. It stated that the “talk in town amongst the illiterates” was that “the military had taken over, Awolowo will be released, peace,

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<sup>154</sup> “What Do You Think of the Military Regime?” *West African Pilot*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

<sup>155</sup> “JAC Hails the New Military Regime.” *West African Pilot*, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>156</sup> “They Still Hail Ironsi.” *West African Pilot*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

<sup>157</sup> “They Still Hail Ironsi.” *West African Pilot*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

progress, stability and money have come to stay.”<sup>158</sup> Awolowo, however, would not be released from prison until the Yakubu Gowon regime took power in July 1966.

The NCNC Youth Association “assured the military government of its cooperation.”<sup>159</sup> It “prayed” that the new government “be protected from all kinds of danger and wicked people.”<sup>160</sup> The organization then urged “youths in Nigeria to assist (the new government) in promoting peace and unity.”<sup>161</sup> The Awo National Brigade and the Federation of Nigerian Youths also praised the military takeover. The Awo National Brigade announced that “the new military government had been sent by God to liberate Nigerian citizens from political bondage, establish practical democracy, eliminate poverty, redistribute the country’s wealth, establish justice, respect for human dignity, wipe away corruption, tribalism, and nepotism.”<sup>162</sup> The Federation of Nigerian Youths expressed that “this is the beginning of a new era, and we look forward to the re-establishment of national peace, social justice, and real democracy.”<sup>163</sup>

These political organizations joined in on congratulating the new government along with major parties like the Nigerian Youth Congress and the NPC.<sup>164</sup> Some of these organizations asked for the probing of civil servants and officials in order to clean Nigeria of corruption and nepotism. The Progressive Youths of the nation professed that they were “happy at the turn of events” in the country where before “politicians were feeding fat at the expense of the people...and the personality of the nation was being

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<sup>158</sup> “They Still Hail Ironsi.” *West African Pilot*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

<sup>159</sup> “More Pledge Support for the New Army Regime.” *West African Pilot*, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>160</sup> “More Pledge Support for the New Army Regime.” *West African Pilot*, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>161</sup> “More Pledge Support for the New Army Regime.” *West African Pilot*, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>162</sup> “More Pledge Support for the New Army Regime.” *West African Pilot*, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>163</sup> “More Pledge Support for the New Army Regime.” *West African Pilot*, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>164</sup> “NPC Supports the Military Regime.” *West African Pilot*, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966; “NYC All for the Change.” *West African Pilot*, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

allowed to decompose.”<sup>165</sup> This “urge” was bolstered by other groups including the Supreme Council of Ex-Servicemen of Nigeria.<sup>166</sup>

The weakened political parties remained a part of the political landscape even after the military takeover, however return to democracy would not occur before the onset of civil war in 1967. Yet, during the initial takeover by Aguiyi-Ironsi, the myth of the political party leading to freedom was absent from the media, but so was complete denigration of the party system by media outlets. The individual politicians bore the blame, as they individually carried out or continued colonialism, neocolonialism, corruption, and nepotism. Furthermore, the myths and histories began being told from the starting point of Independence Day in 1960. Then on May 24<sup>th</sup>, 1966, Major-General Aguiyi-Ironsi made a national broadcast stating that all political parties and ethnic organizations. He imposed the widely unpopular Decree No. 34, which ended the federal structure of Nigeria’s government and installed a unitary republic controlled completely by the federal military government.<sup>167</sup> Political parties no longer were the director of change as spoken by Azikiwe in 1960.

## Conclusion

Historians and Scholars C. O. Olusanya, Ruben Abati, Olaide Ismail, and Sam Idemili all claim that the Nigerian press began acting as ethnic mouth pieces between the years 1950 and 1966. Ismail and Abati argue that because most newspapers were

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<sup>165</sup> “Supreme Commander Urged to Probe Former Government.” *West African Pilot*, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>166</sup> “Probe Former Govt.’ Ex-Army Men Urge.” *West African Pilot*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

<sup>167</sup> Chinua Achebe. *There was a Country*. (New York: Penguin Press, 2012).



founded by future political leaders, the press took on the causes of their political parties, which were formed on ethnic affiliation.<sup>168</sup> Even the non-ethnic oriented “*Pilot* began to participate in ethnic politics in supporting one candidate over the other and the then practicing regionalization increased the level of partisanship in the country.”<sup>169</sup> Idemili adds to this argument by stating that after 1953, “the *Pilot* changed from attacking the Colonial Government to opposing political parties and their newly formed newspapers.” Olusanya added “that the period after 1950, which saw the entrenchment of ethnic politics in Nigeria, was the most uninspiring in the history of the nationalist movement in the country. Were it not for the fact that there had already been a substantial movement toward freedom and that the complexities of international politics forced Britain to push forward with the policy of decolonization, it is doubtful whether Nigeria could have achieved her independence in 1960.”<sup>170</sup>

Certainly the *Pilot* did aid in ethnic mudslinging and opposing other political parties or affiliations other than Azikiwe’s own party affiliations. Balewa was opposed on numerous different issues spanning 1960-1965, and other newspapers were reported as printing lies. This contributed to the citizenship that was being constructed. The rhetoric of unity and the belief in democracy remained an important fixture in the *West African Pilot* from 1960-1966. Furthermore, the international prestige of Nigeria, remained an ultimate objective of attaining democracy, freedom, and progress. The citizen was informed of what was progressive during this period. Political progress was being tied to

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<sup>168</sup> Reuben Abati. “Democratic struggle, freedom of expression and the Press in Nigeria.” Paper presented at the Human Rights Second National Conference, Kano, Nigeria; Olaide Ismail. “Continental J. Sustainable Development” 2. (2011): 8-19.

<sup>169</sup> Olaide Ismail. “Continental Journal of Sustainable Development” 2. (2011): 8-19.

<sup>170</sup> G. O. Olusanya. *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria 1939-1953*. (Lagos: Evans Brothers, 1973), 163.

myths of political party development, to greater international power and status, to renaming the country in order to decolonize.

While the paper may have acted as a mouth piece for ethnic politicians, it also was a business which was selling the information necessary to be a Nigerian citizen. Thus, in buying the paper, people bought their form of citizenship. As the scholars above argue, they bought ethnic citizenship, however, they also bought belief in a unified Nigeria, and a history of political progress. They bought myths which would serve as the basis for Nigerian democracy for the years following independence. The following chapters will delve into the commodification and consumption of Nigerian citizenship further. They will explore the various actors at play in determining the character of the Nigerian citizen, as well as expound upon how the Nigerian citizen was consumed and negotiated.

## CHAPTER 3

### INDEPENDENCE PRODUCTS AND THE NEW NIGERIAN CITIZEN

On December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1960 the *West African Pilot* reported that a group of young men led by a “retired expatriate officer...stormed the marina and Force Road” in Lagos and tore down freshly nailed “enameled steel advertisements” posted to trees along the roads.<sup>1</sup> They especially targeted the advertisements posted close to the main entrance to the state-house (the residence of the Commander and Chief and the Governor-General—Nnamdi Azikiwe) and the statue of Queen Elizabeth the II by the parliament building. The Apapa based company had posted the advertisements of a “new alcoholic beverage” along the marina and Force Road and were considered as constituting “the greatest insult to the Governor-General and the Queen as well” by the unnamed retired expatriate. The advertisements were either torn down or damaged by the group in their protest.<sup>2</sup>

The *Pilot* published a follow-up article discussing the incidence the next day. Both articles praised the actions taken by the anti-advertisement group, although the second article provided more in-depth reasoning as to why the act was justified. It states that while “poster advertisements posted to trees, building walls, or mobile objects do not necessarily constitute an offense...it was the height of disrespect and discourtesy for any firm to advertise their products around the State House and Parliament Buildings.” The

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<sup>1</sup> “Advertisement Mania Hits Lagos.” *West African Pilot*, December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>2</sup> “Advertisement Mania Hits Lagos.” *West African Pilot*, December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

article commended the unnamed expatriate for “spearheading the campaign...for all those who love decency, and respect places (mosques, churches, state houses, parliament buildings and schools were named specifically) which, by their very nature, have been, and ought to always be, out of bounds to advertisers.” While the second article argues that while “it is possible that their (the Apapa based company) only concern might be to boost their trade” and that “no one would quarrel with manufacturers and their agents for sticking their poster advertisements anywhere in town, provided that they conform to existing regulations,” both advertisements praised the Lagos Town Council for taking up the matter with the “urgency it deserves.”<sup>3</sup>

While this curious event published in the *Pilot* did not receive abundant attention (only two articles), nor was the Lagos Town Council’s handling of the matter reported later in the paper, it is significant for Nigeria’s history as it generates multiple questions specifically regarding Nigerians’ response to advertising, the role of business in Nigeria, and the debate over the meaning of political space (to name only a few). Why was an unnamed expatriate leading the campaign against business advertisements near public or “out of bounds” spaces? Why did Apapa post advertisements in such quantities in such spaces? Why were the advertisements considered insulting to the Governor-General, the Queen, and the journalists and editors of the *Pilot*? These are only some of the questions which require further investigation by other scholars, as they reach beyond the scope of this paper.

However, the event, and the subsequent report and editorial are indicative of broader issues involving the prevalence of advertisements, the importance of

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<sup>3</sup> “Poster Adverts.” *West African Pilot*, December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

advertisements and their respective products in Nigeria's political arena, the significance of consumer goods in post-independence Nigeria, and the contest waged by multiple actors over meaning making. The anti-advertisement "campaign" was a physical action taken by a group which opposed the placement of advertisements and their meanings in certain spaces. Yet, the war over advertisements was also fought in the marketplace. As Jean Kilbourne postulates, advertisements not only attempt to sell products, they also "sell values, images, and concepts of success and worth, love and sexuality, popularity and normalcy."<sup>4</sup> Yet it is dependent on the consumer to actually purchase the advertised values. Nigerians had the choice to buy certain products. Thus, the advertisements were a site of negotiation, where consumers and producers contributed to the making of meaning. Producers do not enact full control over their products' meanings, nor are the consumers the sole holders of power of producers. The negotiation was not only limited to advertisements. The products which were advertised were also sites of negotiation. Both goods and advertisements were locked into a capitalist ideology which saw the producer cater to the consumer and vice-versa.

The "campaign" and following response suggest a number of issues and contests. First, it holds that advertisements were a widely experienced phenomenon in independent Nigeria. Second, it holds that even in 1960, expatriates maintained a degree of influence in Nigeria's political, economic, financial, and social arenas. Third, and most importantly, it displays contests and sites of negotiation present in the advertisements and consumer goods posted in urban Nigeria and in the media. One possible analysis of the event could consider it a contest over the meaning of spaces in Nigeria. It could be

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<sup>4</sup> Kilbourne, Jean. "Beauty and the Beast of Advertising," in Gail Dines and Jean M. Humes (eds.) *Gender, Race, and Class in Media* (California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1989), 121.

considered a contest that applauds this small rebellion which opposed the encroachment of business into government, religious, and educational spaces.

While this event was strictly limited to advertisements posted on the trees and walls of the city, this chapter investigates media advertisements in the *Pilot* as well as the products which were advertised. These contests not only concern the meaning of space, they concern the construction of the independent Nigerian citizen, the commodification of citizenship and nationalism, and provide insight into whom or what constructed Nigeria.

### Using Independence Products

In the months preceding official independence and into the proceeding years, businesses producing consumer products for Nigeria had a new marketing tool at their disposal. Independence would free the Nigerian people from official British colonialism and form a sovereign West African state. The struggle against the British was coming to an end, and freedom, as it was labeled, was close to being attained. In general, the nation was reported to be in high spirits on the precipice of independence according to the *Pilot*.<sup>5</sup> Celebrations were being planned and national anthems and flags were being designed. However, ironically, despite the rhetoric of freedom and national unity, independence was also being sold to different consumer groups.

Retail stores held “independence sales” and sold special independence or Independence Day products. These products ranged from “independence” ties to cars.”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> “National Independence.” *West African Pilot*, August 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>6</sup> This is discussed later in this chapter. However one example is:

Companies selling products in Nigeria began advertising products to a “new” and “independent” consumer. They were helping construct the meaning of the “new,” “independent,” “Nigerian” by circulating advertisements which could be debated, bought or, sold by Nigerians. People chose to consume or not to consume the commodified meaning of the goods, but most importantly the goods were commodified in the advertisements with the language of independence.<sup>7</sup> With the coming, and eventually achieved independence, businesses and consumers shaped the aesthetic and meaning of the independent Nigerian.

Timothy Burke and Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar have written extensively about advertisements, commodification, and consumer goods in Africa. Burke’s work, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women*, centers on commodification and the consumption of certain products in colonial and postcolonial Zimbabwe. It argues that the consumption of the body through commodities was transferred from Europe into Africa where consumer products became connected to identity. His work lays the groundwork for the historical importance of consumer products and advertisements in Africa as relating to identities.<sup>8</sup>

Van Den Bersselaar echoes Burke on the importance of commodities to identity but builds upon Burke’s methodology and is situated in the context of West Africa. In working with beer and gin advertisements in *Who Belongs to the Star People*, Van Den Bersselaar argues that advertisements should be utilized by historians not in terms of reflecting a specific society or place, but rather as the product of negotiation between

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“Jazo Stores.” *West African Pilot*, September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>7</sup> For this chapter that could mean recognizable colors, national messages, or simply the word “independent” attached to the title or slogan. It also means that certain goods saw the attachment of meanings due to the columns and articles inside newspapers or media which published or aired messages and critiques.

<sup>8</sup> Timothy Burke. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996).

consumers and producers. In his work the advertisements functions as sources which query nationalist accounts which omit certain historical actors.<sup>9</sup>

Yet, while both authors touch on the importance of commodities in the forming of identity in the immediate post-independence periods of their respective African contexts, the works do not critically engage the occurrence of independence products in the process of commodifying nationalism. These special independence products are vital fulcrums for the engagement of nationalism, citizenship, and transnational to local business goals. These products not only provide evidence for the role of commodities in the construction of nationalism but they also offer evidence for the everyday Nigerians' agency in constructing the nation. The historical analysis of these commodities is pivotal for historians whom seek to destabilize homogeneous nationalist histories forged from colonial ideologies. The negotiation process between consumer and producer expands history to include the forgotten histories of people whose actions helped alter and invent so-called "national" identities.

This chapter explores the complexities of the independent Nigerian citizen as it was sold by businesses and negotiated by Nigerians. I borrow from Burke's argument for the commodification of identity as well as Van Den Bersselaar's use of historical methodology; but instead highlight independence products as a lens to view the challenged construction of the Nigerian citizen. I argue that advertisements were a site of national negotiation in Nigeria which demonstrate the agency which producers and consumers each enacted. I focus attention on characteristics of nationalism proposed by Nigerian elites and transnational businesses through the mouthpiece of the advertisements

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<sup>9</sup> Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar. "Who Belongs to the 'Star' People? Negotiating Beer and Gin Advertisements in West Africa, 1949-75." *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 3 (2011).



and products and how the elites and non-elites negotiated and remodeled these characteristics by either physically acting in opposition of the intended meaning or use of certain products, or simply participating in a consumer democracy by choosing to either purchase or not purchase national commodities.

This chapter consist of three parts. It begins with a brief history of advertisements and consumer products in Africa. I then explore the occurrence of “independence cars” and the corresponding history in accordance with contested meanings of products. The next section highlights the broader history of cars in Nigeria spanning 1960 through 1966. This section looks at the connection of cars to citizenship. The last section emphasizes the history of other goods marketed as independence products. It provides a detailed look into the advertisements for independence products and the influences over the meaning of citizenship which the products and the advertisements laid forth the battleground.

#### Advertisements, Products, and Commodities in Africa After 1945

Though the focus of this chapter revolves around the history of independence products and their connection to the construction of Nigerian citizenship, it is important to begin with a succinct history of advertisements in the *Pilot*, West Africa, and Africa. To include this history is vital for the chapter due to the fact that many of the advertisements had been published prior to 1960 and that significant themes connected to the products—such as modernity—continued to have relevance to the meanings of independence products.

Imports of various food, raw material, medicine, and industrial capital was present in the Nigerian market since the 17<sup>th</sup> century when trade between Europe and Africa began to take hold.<sup>10</sup> After the British outlawed the slave trade, “legitimate commerce” reigned in Nigeria which saw palm oil become the major business venture by the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> The industrial revolution in Europe altered the types and quantity of goods exported from Europe and imported by Nigeria; and British colonization of the area later called Nigeria was motivated partially by economic interests which included the cutting off of the middle-man exporter in order to make trade more profitable and efficient.<sup>12</sup> The industrial revolution saw the rise in exportation of consumer products to Africa. The desire for colonization also saw the development of “companies” which jockeyed for power—mostly along the Niger River.<sup>13</sup> European industrial goods began to become even more prevalent in Nigeria after colonization.

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<sup>10</sup> Generally speaking, the trade between Europe and Africa took hold in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the Dutch and Portuguese. This began with textiles, metal work, and general luxury goods, and by the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century included human beings carted off to the “new world” as goods. However, the trade specifically relevant to this paper is one of products closely related to the advertised products in the *West African Pilot*—thus, they are mostly products of industrial production. The industrial revolution is a turning point in the history of the trade, even though rum and some other products which would later have ads in the *Pilot* had entered the West African market before the industrial revolution (the 17<sup>th</sup> century for rum). The trade of different products appeared at different times. For more on this trade see:

A. G. Hopkins. *An Economic History of West Africa*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973); Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar. “The Rise of Branded Alcoholic Drinks in West Africa.” In G. Klantschnig, N. Carrier, & C. Ambler (Eds.), *Drugs in Africa: Histories and Ethnographies of Use, Trade, and Control*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Paul E. Lovejoy and J. S. Hogendorn. “Slave Marketing in West Africa,” in Henry Gemery, et. al., *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*. (Academic Press, 1979): 222-228.

<sup>11</sup> A. G. Hopkins. *An Economic History of West Africa*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 113-115.

<sup>12</sup> Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton. *A History of Nigeria*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 89-92.

<sup>13</sup> The companies written about here are comparable to the Dutch East India Company or the East India Company. The most important company in terms of this chapter (and frankly, Nigerian colonial history) is the United Africa Company (UAC). The UAC will be discussed more in depth later in this chapter. It is in

Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton. *A History of Nigeria*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 90-97.

Yet this chapter specifically deals with the advertisements of goods and the discussions around the products published inside the *Pilot*. These advertisements were the product of imagined sensibilities companies attempted to use or create in order to continue or expand profitability—thus they are partially products of marketing. Therefore, a brief history of marketing in Nigeria and Africa is required for further analysis.

Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar has written extensively on the rise of marketing in West Africa. Although much of his work specifically deals with the marketing of alcohol (specifically gin, schnapps, and beer) in Ghana and Nigeria, he does touch on general marketing in West Africa. Van Den Bersselaar writes that in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, brands were becoming more important to merchants in West Africa. Trademark wars were being waged among European firms importing into West Africa, and as Van Den Bersselaar states, there is evidence to suggest that certain brands were being favored by importers.<sup>14</sup> World War II marked an important shift for branding in West Africa. During the later years of the war and following the end of world conflict, companies began attempting to strengthen their brands. Businesses did this by advertising in newspapers, on the radio, and later on television.<sup>15</sup>

Specific firms for marketing in West Africa began providing pivotal marketing information by the 1960s which supposedly would aid the selling of their respective products. While marketing firms emerged in West Africa during the interwar period

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<sup>14</sup> Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar. "The Rise of Branded Alcoholic Drinks in West Africa." In G. Klantschnig, N. Carrier, & C. Ambler (Eds.), *Drugs in Africa: Histories and Ethnographies of Use, Trade, and Control*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014): 52-54.

<sup>15</sup> Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar. "The Rise of Branded Alcoholic Drinks in West Africa." In G. Klantschnig, N. Carrier, & C. Ambler (Eds.), *Drugs in Africa: Histories and Ethnographies of Use, Trade, and Control*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

(World War I and World War II), the specific selling of goods to an “African” market occurred after World War II.<sup>16</sup> Van Den Bersselaar contends that the advertisements immediately following WWII were wrought from imperialist ideology about Africans as well as the modernization myth.<sup>17</sup> The African consumer was thought to be different from the European consumer thus, universal marketing strategies ceased to be applicable to Africa.<sup>18</sup> As Van Den Bersselaar states, advertisements intended for Africans had to be “simpler,” continuous, and more direct as they had to reach a consumer base that “could not understand the subtleties of advertisements” present in the North American or European markets.<sup>19</sup>

Advertisements not only spoke to an African consumer, but more particularly they were intended for an urban African consumer. In the postwar period, advertisements actively sought to give expression to the anxieties and complaints over daily life in African cities.<sup>20</sup> These anxieties included concerns about health and productivity. Success was earned by working hard and having the vitality to work hard.<sup>21</sup>

The work place remained a white space (in terms of race), and advertisements reflected white norms—which included wearing “acceptable” work clothes and working

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<sup>16</sup> Fieldhouse, D. K. *Unilever Overseas: The Anatomy of a Multinational 1895-1975*. (London and Stanford: Croom Helm and The Hoover Institution Press, 1978).

<sup>17</sup> Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar. “Who Belongs to the ‘Star’ People? Negotiating Beer and Gin Advertisements in West Africa, 1949-75.” *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 3 (2011): 387.

<sup>18</sup> Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar. “Who Belongs to the ‘Star’ People? Negotiating Beer and Gin Advertisements in West Africa, 1949-75.” *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 3 (2011): 387.

<sup>19</sup> Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar. “Who Belongs to the ‘Star’ People? Negotiating Beer and Gin Advertisements in West Africa, 1949-75.” *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 3 (2011): 387.

<sup>20</sup> Frederick Cooper. *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 458-463; Jonathan Friedman. “Consuming Desires: Strategies of Selfhood and Appropriation.” *Cultural Anthropology* 6, no. 2 (1991): 154-163.

<sup>21</sup> Timothy Burke. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), 153.

in an acceptable manner.<sup>22</sup> In the case of soap, Timothy Burke argues that soap advertisements were modeled off Christian morality, domesticity, and labor and promoted “modern living, middle-class aspirations,” and “westernized lifestyles” as the key to “power” and “success.”<sup>23</sup>

Lastly, advertisements in Africa during the postwar period generally followed two courses of action in order to achieve their profit driven goal. Due to the onset of Africanization policies and the expansion of the African middle-class, large merchant firms began to lose market share, and a large number of smaller African firms emerged.<sup>24</sup> This led foreign firms to publish advertisements that sought to either expand the market, or defend their brand image—the latter being deemed as “goodwill advertising.”<sup>25</sup> In the wake of independence in Nigeria, “goodwill” advertising can be seen in the numerous advertisements foreign companies published in the independence issue of the *Pilot* supporting Nigeria’s independence.

Whether the advertisements were intended for goodwill or to expand the market by the companies that commissioned them is not the priority of this chapter. Neither is finding the statistical data which determines the effectiveness of the advertisements. Instead, this chapter argues that the advertisements and advertised goods were sites of negotiation between consumers and producers—in this case, the *West African Pilot* and its readers.

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<sup>22</sup> Timothy Burke. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), 153.

<sup>23</sup> Timothy Burke. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), 155-157.

<sup>24</sup> Frederick Cooper. *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 457-465.

<sup>25</sup> Dimitri Van Den Bersselaar. “Who Belongs to the ‘Star’ People? Negotiating Beer and Gin Advertisements in West Africa, 1949-75.” *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 3 (2011): 387.

## Independence Cars

The history of independence cars in the *West African Pilot* is as interesting as it is symbolic. For the independence celebrations, cars were ordered by the Nigerian Federal Government for either escorting the press around the city or taxiing “foreign dignitaries” and “VIPs” to independence parties or events. Two specific types of cars were bought. 35 Volkswagen buses were bought for the press’ transportation, and 40 Jaguar Mark IX’s were purchased for transporting “VIPs,” distinguished guests, and foreign ministers.<sup>26</sup> Both cars were painted in the recognizable “national colors (green and white, in coordination with the new flag)” of Nigeria.<sup>27</sup> Foreign dignitaries and foreign governmental delegations were received by Nigeria in the months prior to independence and also continued afterwards especially in conjunction with the Nigerian Exhibition which was designed to showcase Nigeria’s culture and achievements.

While the independence cars were painted in the national colors and designed to be used by visitors and press personnel, and not the majority of everyday people of Nigeria, the Mark IX’s were advertised for sale in the *Pilot*.<sup>28</sup> It is highly probable that the model of the Volkswagen van was also advertised for sale, however, the columns and advertisements for the independence vans never mentioned the exact model. People whom could afford the cars could purchase them. However, why these two cars got picked remains an important question when considering Nigerian nationalism.

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<sup>26</sup> “35 Volkswagen Buses for Independence Will Arrive Next Month.” *West African Pilot*, May, 1960.

<sup>27</sup> “Selected for Independence.” *West African Pilot*, September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>28</sup> “Selected for Independence.” *West African Pilot*, September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

The *Pilot* did not specifically answer as to why the cars were picked by the Federal Government. However the paper does leave enough evidence behind to speculate the answer. First, the *Pilot* explained that Volkswagen was attempting to make a further push into the Nigerian market. Export Sales Representative, Mr. R. Moorkamp, of Volkswagen explained in a press conference in Lagos in May 1960 that “In Nigeria...there was tremendous hope for an increased market, and a satisfactory sign (the using of the Volkswagen buses for independence) to show that there would be a very high demand for the car in the future.”<sup>29</sup> Mr. Moorkamp explained that Volkswagen was a growing company, and that demand was already higher than production in North America.<sup>30</sup> The German car manufacturer was making a larger push into the Nigerian market.

Volkswagen had already achieved high recognition in Nigeria prior to 1960. A special correspondent had noted that the Volkswagen car was the “best selling car in Nigeria today (1960).”<sup>31</sup> Twenty percent of all private vehicles in Nigeria were Volkswagens.<sup>32</sup> The 1960 Mobile Economy Run—an event held by the Mobil Oil Limited Company—had awarded the Volkswagen car, popularly called the “VKW,” the Class C economy car winner.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, the number one motor distributor in Nigeria, Mandilas and Karaberis Limited, was the distributor of the number one selling car in Nigeria.<sup>34</sup> The car was known for “excellent qualities” and “comfort” especially when utilized in “places where the road conditions were really bad.”<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> “35 Volkswagen Buses for Independence Will Arrive Next Month.” *West African Pilot*, May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>30</sup> “35 Volkswagen Buses for Independence Will Arrive Next Month.” *West African Pilot*, May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>31</sup> “Lets Face the Facts About the Volkswagen.” *West African Pilot*, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>32</sup> “Lets Face the Facts About the Volkswagen.” *West African Pilot*, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>33</sup> “Mobil Oil Economy Run.” *West African Pilot*, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>34</sup> “Lets Face the Facts About the Volkswagen.” *West African Pilot*, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>35</sup> “Lets Face the Facts About the Volkswagen.” *West African Pilot*, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

Volkswagen cars and buses were marketed as efficient and modern in the *Pilot*. Volkswagen vehicles were marketed as providing top performance and economy, as well as an attractive “shape.”<sup>36</sup> While the advertisements abstained from directly using the word “modern” when emphasizing the cars, they supported many modern qualities such as the performance of the engine or brakes.<sup>37</sup> Volkswagen advertisements ran throughout all six years of the paper which I have researched. It is the qualities of the cars, emphasized in the advertisements which highlight the intended modern-ness of the Volkswagens.

The Jaguar Mark IX was the other choice of independence car selected by the Federal Government. It was made by the British car company, Jaguar—a vehicle manufacturer founded and located inside the colonial metropole and the Commonwealth economic community. Jaguar was a highly popular brand of luxury vehicle worldwide by 1960, and its’ success was partially due to its line of sports cars. Jaguar sports cars won the Le Mans 24 Hour Race in 1951, 1953, 1955, 1956, and again in 1957 thus winning 5 out of 10 of the oldest and arguably one of the most important endurance car races in world history held during the 1950s.<sup>38</sup> The 1950s saw Jaguar as a top of the line manufacturer of both sports cars and luxury cars.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> “Once You Have Owned a Volkswagen...” *West African Pilot*, October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1965; “Think Bigger.” *West African Pilot*, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>37</sup> “Think Bigger.” *West African Pilot*, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>38</sup> 1956 was a special year for Jaguar. The driver of a D-Type won the Le Mans and, Ronnie Adams drove the Mark VII to victory at Monte Carlo Rally—thus making Jaguar the first manufacturer ever to win both races in the same year. In March, 1956 Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip visited the Jaguar factory at Browns Lane, England. The Queen took delivery of the Mark VII in 1955, and updated it as it got older. Eventually, her Mark VII resembled the Mark VIII and then the Mark IX.

“1955 Jaguar Mark VII M Saloon.” *Jaguar Heritage*. [http://www.jaguarheritage.com/t/collection\\_011](http://www.jaguarheritage.com/t/collection_011)

<sup>39</sup> “Our History.” *Jaguar and Land Rover*. <http://www.jaguarlandrover.com/gl/en/about-us/our-history/>



The Mark IX, appearing in 1959, was virtually identical to the Mark VIII but the new car supported an enlarged 3.8 liter version of the XV engine and was fitted with disc brakes.<sup>40</sup> It was considered a technologically superior car and was a highly purchased luxury car worldwide. The Nigerian Federal Government selected the Mark IX as one of the independence cars, and subsequently painted them in green and white. The *Pilot* had published an advertisements for the car emphasizing how the car “incorporated every modern development for luxury high-speed motoring...(including) power steering, disc brakes for better stopping power, and the famous race proved XK engine.”<sup>41</sup> The price tag was listed at the bottom of the advertisement. Thus, those who could afford the car could purchase one. However, what is unclear is if the advertisement meant that the independence cars themselves were going to be sold to the public after the celebrations, or if Mark IX’s were already available for purchase in Nigeria. Either way, forty Mark IX’s were ordered and used for independence celebrations.<sup>42</sup>

As a car brand, Jaguar obstinately enjoyed a level of prominence in West Africa. Jaguars were associated with “success” in West Africa. In Ghana, Y. B. Bampoe, a prominent musician founded a musical group called the *Jaguar Jokers* in 1954. Bampoe explained that he named the band the *Jaguar Jokers* because: “A jaguar is a wild animal—you can’t make it laugh—but we can. In those days we had Jaguar cars and to be ‘Jagwah’ meant to be fine or modern. For instance a ‘Jagwah’ man or woman was of high class.”<sup>43</sup> Jaguar cars were a status symbol in West Africa, and even had influenced the language which saw the word ‘Jaguar’ as a word which represented the “quintessence

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<sup>40</sup> “1950’s.” *Jaguar Heritage*. updated 2010, [http://www.jaguarheritage.com/t/history\\_1950](http://www.jaguarheritage.com/t/history_1950)

<sup>41</sup> “Selected for Independence.” *West African Pilot*, September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>42</sup> “Selected for Independence.” *West African Pilot*, September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>43</sup> John Collins. *Music Makers of West Africa*. (Washington D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1985), 27.

of the modern urban life.”<sup>44</sup> The Nigerian novelist Cyprian Ekwensi even wrote a novel called *Jagua Nana* in 1961. This “novel follows an ‘ageing African beauty’” as she navigates life in Lagos.<sup>45</sup> The “title refers both to Zola’s (the main character) original ‘demimondaine’ and the pidgin word for ‘Jaguar’ cars, in her quest for love and money in ‘high life’ Lagos.”<sup>46</sup> These sources related to the car suggest that owning a Jaguar was a status symbol, and provide a possible reason as to why the Jaguar was selected as an independence car. It is reasonable to claim that the cars were chosen by the Federal Government for their reputation in Nigeria as symbolizing wealth and status, which was considered important for a nation beginning its’ presence as an independent player in the international social, political, and economic realm.

The cars, the color, and the intended utilization of the independence cars is seemingly chockfull of symbolism. First, the cars were not made in Nigeria, despite the ongoing rhetoric of “Nigerianization.” The Volkswagen was made in Germany, and Jaguars were products of Britain. The Mark IX was a product of the same Britain which was denounced by the *Pilot* and was in the process of being purged of control from the future economy of independent Nigeria. It seems that using a British car would question the anticolonial stance of the independent Nigerian government, whom sought to rid the country of the remaining vestiges of colonialism. Using the car might be seen as a continuance of imperialism. This is why the choice of the Jaguar for independence cars

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<sup>44</sup> Karin Barber, John Collins, and Alain Ricard. *West African Popular Theatre*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 24.

<sup>45</sup> Jenny Stringer. *The Oxford Companion to Twentieth-Century Literature in English*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996 and reprinted in 2004), 190.

<sup>46</sup> Jenny Stringer. *The Oxford Companion to Twentieth-Century Literature in English*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996 and reprinted in 2004), 190.

is symbolic of the independent Nigerian government; a government which did not want to completely rid itself of colonial rule.

The cars were not intended to be used by the newly independent citizens of Nigeria. Rather they were the taxi cabs for foreign dignitaries and ministers to view the aesthetics of independent Nigeria as they made their way to celebratory events in 1960. Furthermore the luxury car was well above financial reach of the majority of Nigerians whom were either unemployed or failed to receive wages capable of buying such an expensive modern car. Symbolically the independence cars can be seen as the modern luxury vehicle delivering a snapshot of Nigerian status for the people whom the government might have felt mattered the most—the foreign dignitaries whom acted as the judges of international prestige.

The use and images of the Jaguar independence model could easily be seen as a product of continued colonialism with a banal nationalist Nigerian paint job. It was a foreign luxury import which only a few Nigerians could actually use or afford. The car was ostensibly out of reach for everyday Nigerians as was being Nigerian. A ‘Jaguar man’ was certainly not a part of the majority of Nigerians. Much like the nationalism for the outside discussed in the previous chapter, this nationalist product was designed for use by the outside—the foreign dignitaries and ministers. Yet one article published in the *West African Pilot* speaks of a small incidence which was indicative of negotiation. This small incidence provides an example of re-appropriation and agency on the part of the everyday Nigerians.

While this incidence was only reported and commented about once in the *Pilot*, it is an important piece that cannot be ignored. Certainly there is a lack of evidence in the

*Pilot* to support that the incidence even occurred. However, due to the article asking for the incidence to halt, as it was not in line with the goals of the paper or the intended use of the cars, the cited piece of evidence suggests that the event most likely occurred, as there is seemingly little reason as to why it would be a false report.

In an article published September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960, reports of the independence cars being used for passengers other than the intended dignitaries and ministers was commented on and condemned by the author. The author wrote:

On one or two occasions some of these expensive Jaguar type Independence Cars, have had, in them, comfortably seated, passengers far different from those for whom the cars were intended. The native market or business woman and the ordinary gentleman about town are too well-known to pass for the expected overseas visitors to the country. And the frontage of the driver's home is hardly the garage where an independence car is expected to be parked at any time of the day while the driver is on duty.<sup>47</sup>

This comment was followed with a suggestion issued to the police asking them to arrest any drivers using the cars illegally, and also warned the drivers and potential passengers that they could face police repercussions if used illegally.<sup>48</sup> The cars were meant only for the press, and the dignitaries invited for independence. What this source demonstrates is that some drivers were actually using these national cars for their own purposes. The national, "independence cars" were being used for personal gain by "ordinary" Nigerians, despite the illegality of the actions.

This incidence is integral to the history of the "independence cars" and to Nigerian nationalism. "Ordinary" people changed the narrative of the cars not only in terms of the published article in the paper, but also in terms of changing the meaning and

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<sup>47</sup> "'Independence' Cars." *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>48</sup> "'Independence' Cars." *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

the actual use of the cars to fit their own lives. It is possible that family members or friends wanted rides, and that drivers sold transportation to people wanting to ride in the “independence car.” It is a reported incidence that counters the nationalist vision for the cars as a vehicle for the outside world to view the country. The report and comment published in the paper was a product of the negotiation between the general public and the elites over the meaning of independence.

The story of the cars is also one of the brand of “independence.” In other words it is a story of the appropriation and repackaging of colonial legacies inside the Nigerian context. Nigerian businesses were able to capitalize off independence products. They instituted a brand which would sell multiple products. While it seems that changing the color of the Mark IX does not change the fact that the car was made in Britain, changing the name and color possibly represents a strategy of appropriating and altering a product in order to sell a “new” Nigerian product.

Independence was not only a political achievement, but it could also be a tool which transformed the economy—although in a very small manner. Independence was a brand which transformed products into a national commodity, and thus, a national opportunity. The citizen was posited as the consumer, and what became Nigerian was made in the consumer and producer negotiation. The *Pilot* never mentioned what happened to the cars after independence, although advertisements for the Jaguar Mark IX continued into 1961. It is noteworthy that the ads are still not exactly clear if the dealers are selling the actual “independence cars” or if they are selling the model of the car, the Mark IX. Yet it appears that it is more likely the latter, because the advertisement begs the question of why private car distributors like “Mandilas and Karaberis” would retain

the ownership rights of the federal government's purchased vehicles after the celebrations.<sup>49</sup> It may be possible that the federal government sold the cars back to Mandilas and Karaberis for retail use, however the fact that the advertisements for the cars did not change from a published advertisement occurring before Independence Day in September, it is most likely that the model of the Jaguar Mark IX was being sold, and not the actual "independence car" Mark IX. There is no direct evidence in the *Pilot* which states that the independence cars were ever sold to the public, although this could easily have occurred because it is reasonable to assume the government might elect to make money off the cars rather than have them rot on government owned land. Lastly, no evidence appears in the paper for the use of the cars in later Independence Day celebrations ever again.

### Independence and Cars

The "independence cars" story published in the *West African Pilot* offers an example of how "ordinary" people negotiated the meaning of a product and subsequently altered meanings of independence through a documented action. However, the brand of "independence" used in the advertisements also highlights an agency on behalf of elites and of the "ordinary" consumer. This section car how car advertisements were products of negotiation over the meaning of independence and the Nigerian citizen. It hopefully demonstrates the transformative goal nestled into the meaning of the independence brand.

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<sup>49</sup> "Selected for Independence." *West African Pilot*, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 1961; "Selected for Independence." *West African Pilot*, February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

Michel Foucault claims, when discussing his coined term “biopower,” the body was a site of political subjection.<sup>50</sup> Thus, what one wore on their body, or in the case of cars and bicycles—which was seen by others as the owners of such products, was a sight of political and social identity. The brand of independence marked a significant event in Nigerian history as in 1960 it became a negotiated identity which differed from, yet intersected, modern identity which was previously being sold through modern products.

There exists a difference between the “independence cars” so labeled, and discussed in the last section, and the cars that were marketed as bringing about independence. The “Triumph Herald Saloon” was advertised as a car that was “fully independent.” Playing on the car’s inclusion of an “independent suspension (a relatively new technological development for the time),” the “fully independent” Triumph was advertised as “adding up to a new experience in motoring” as stated by a January 1960 advertisements published by the *West African Pilot*.<sup>51</sup> It was not the only car or motor vehicle advertisement to make such a claim during the year of independence.

The BSA Motorcycle is advertised as promoting the feeling of independence. One advertisement states, “Independence is a wonderful feeling, particularly when you choose the B.S.A. way. No waiting for trains or buses—no holdups...your B.S.A will take you anywhere, however bad the road...Be independent, the B.S.A. way.”<sup>52</sup> The new “Independence Year” Hillman was another car which utilized the brand of independence. The advertisement claims that “The New 1960 ‘Independence Year’ Hillman is the talk of Nigeria.”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Michel Foucault. *The History of Sexuality Vol. I.* (Éditions Gallimard, 1976).

<sup>51</sup> “The Triumph Herald Saloon.” *West African Pilot*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>52</sup> “You Can Be Independent Too!” *West African Pilot*, January, 1960.

<sup>53</sup> “It’s the Talk of Nigeria.” *West African Pilot*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

An advertisement for the “new Fiat Saloon” was labeled as the “the all-new amazing, luxurious, unique, powerful six-cylinder car that conquered Europe at first sight.”<sup>54</sup> While possibly playing on the imagined anti-colonial sentiment, or the notion of European superiority (possibly both simultaneously), one important factor for buying the car was the advertised low price. This low price posted by Leventis Motors for the Fiat 500, which was to be introduced to Nigeria in 1960, was commented on by a contributor to the *Pilot*.<sup>55</sup> He states that the new Fiat 500, which would be sold at less than \$500, would break the “car-owner” social gulf which existed in Nigeria. The author explained that no matter how rich, or how many degrees a person had, if they did not own a car, they would continue being a “mister nobody.”<sup>56</sup> The author applauded the cheap, yet “modern car” which he hoped would “close the social gap that has existed for so long between what is traditionally known as the ‘senior service men’ in Nigeria, and those around the \$480 or even \$400 income group.”<sup>57</sup> The contributor advertised the Fiat 500 for the average Nigerian inside his segment while simultaneously linking modernity to a progressive economy in which more Nigerians could participate.

Prior to the introduction of Fiat 500 to Nigeria, class stratification was occurring which limited an “independent” Nigerian man’s opportunity to achieve “success.” The stratification was seen as the gulf between higher paid civil servants working in the government and the other Nigerians whom struggled to achieve an income able to afford a car. Fiat’s advertisement targeted a group seemingly neglected from Nigerian citizenship and status. Fiats were possibly seen in Nigeria as the product of the modern,

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<sup>54</sup> “The Car for 1960.” *West African Pilot*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>55</sup> “Fiats Meet Nigeria’s Car Needs—As Low as \$350.” *West African Pilot*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>56</sup> “Fiats Meet Nigeria’s Car Needs—As Low as \$350.” *West African Pilot*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>57</sup> “Fiats Meet Nigeria’s Car Needs—As Low as \$350.” *West African Pilot*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.



yet relatively lower income, Nigerian man's demand for cars. One Fiat advertisement states that the Fiat 600 is for "economy motoring" and "modern motoring."<sup>58</sup> Thus, the Fiat was an economical choice due to its' supposed relative low price and that it was a modern machine capable of bestowing the qualities (benefits) of modernity on its' owner. The advertisements and articles discussing Fiat highlight that **car ownership** was a key to open citizenship in the modern world, and also the Nigerian man's key to Nigerian citizenship.<sup>59</sup>

While the case of Fiat does not specifically use the term "independence" or "independent" it is still a relevant case for this chapter because it broadens the limited history of independence brand cars to the history of cars in independent Nigeria during the years spanning 1960 through 1966. Cars were becoming important as markers of identity and status to Nigerians before official independence, but independence was to place a premium on the making of the new Nigerian—the Nigerian citizen. Cars were advertised in the *Pilot* from 1960 through 1966 as a marker of modernity. Interestingly, Fiat was the one of the only companies which specifically utilized the word "modern" to describe their cars in their advertisements, however other car advertisements in the *Pilot* were replete with allusions to modernity or modern qualities.

These modern qualities included comfort, power, durability, fuel economy, affordability, and style. A BEWAC distributor's advertisement sold two models of Renault cars by labeling them as offering "Continental styling—plus amazing performance and economy."<sup>60</sup> An advertisement for the Austin Gipsy states that the car

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<sup>58</sup> "Economy Motoring! Modern Motoring!" *West African Pilot*, March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>59</sup> I say that it is the Nigerian man's key to citizenship because cars were marketed seemingly solely to males. I further this discussion as the chapter continues.

<sup>60</sup> "Continental Styling." *West African Pilot*, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

is “a development plan in itself.”<sup>61</sup> It continues by claiming that the Gipsy has a stronger body thanks to “the long wheel base and all-steel suspension,” it “is cheaper (then possibly its competitor the Land Rover)”, and is “dependable.”<sup>62</sup> The 403 and 404 model Peugeot cars advertised in the *Pilot* tell readers that the cars “are powerful yet economical to run, stylish and comfortable.”<sup>63</sup> The advertisement states that the cars are “two winners,” thus the owners of the cars would assumedly be winners.<sup>64</sup> Lastly, the Vauxhall Victor advertisement asks the potential buyer to “get behind the wheel (of the Vauxhall Victor) for really smart motoring.”<sup>65</sup> The advertisement articulates that “you (the owner) will thrill to its’ (the Vauxhall Victor) easy handling and magnificent road handling; you will love its new styling and increased comfort; you will be delighted with its trouble-free and economical running.”<sup>66</sup> These are only a small sample of the vehicles advertised in the *Pilot* which branded the respective cars as having modern qualities.<sup>67</sup> However, two specific types of car advertisements require further investigation due to their frequency and content.

The first is all the advertisements for Volkswagen. Volkswagen car advertisements contained many of the same messages, thus lauding modernity and modern qualities including comfort, performance, economy, dependability, etc., which the Austin Gipsy, Peugeot 403 and 404, and Vauxhall Victor claimed to embody. For example the Volkswagen 1500 is advertised as offering “excellent performance, low

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<sup>61</sup> “A Development Plan in Itself.” *West African Pilot*, September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1964.

<sup>62</sup> “A Development Plan in Itself.” *West African Pilot*, September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1964.

<sup>63</sup> “Two Winners from Peugeot.” *West African Pilot*, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>64</sup> “Two Winners from Peugeot.” *West African Pilot*, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>65</sup> “Vauxhall Victor.” *West African Pilot*, January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>66</sup> “Vauxhall Victor.” *West African Pilot*, January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>67</sup> “Skoda Octavia.” *West African Pilot*, March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1961; “4000 a Day!” *West African Pilot*, September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1964; “The Magnificent New Humber Imperial.” *West African Pilot*, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

consumption and high-class styling and finish.”<sup>68</sup> However, Volkswagen added different incentives in their advertisements other than detailing the types of engines which would decrease fuel consumption and increase power and performance.<sup>69</sup> Volkswagen advertisements also focus on the success of the cars internationally, much akin to the Fiat advertisements.

One *Pilot* article discussing Volkswagen emphasizes that 10 million Volkswagen vehicles have rolled off the production line by 1966. The article, which also poses as a pseudo-advertisement and contains a picture of a coin commemorating the ten-millionth Volkswagen produced seemingly presented to Nigeria, highlights that in 1955, Volkswagen had produced a million vehicles which were purchased worldwide.<sup>70</sup> Thus, Volkswagen production had increased rapidly in order to produce 9 million more cars in eleven years. The article includes that “more than 7500 dealers handle sales and service in more than 130 countries throughout the world.”<sup>71</sup> This article lauds the production increase of Volkswagens and the fact that Volkswagens were a world-wide success. This sentiment was also seen in other Volkswagen advertisements. One advertisement claims that “Volkswagen...is a favorite in 136 countries.”<sup>72</sup> Another states that Volkswagens were in “Nigeria and 130 other countries of the world.”<sup>73</sup> These advertisements and columns attempted to sell the seemingly modern Volkswagen based upon the company’s international prowess and success.

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<sup>68</sup> “Think Bigger.” *West African Pilot*, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>69</sup> Examples of the kind of ads which spoke to better fuel economy, performance, or cheapness include: “So Much More No Extra Cost!” *West African Pilot*, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>70</sup> “Ten-Millionth VW Delivered for Show.” *West African Pilot*, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>71</sup> “Ten-Millionth VW Delivered for Show.” *West African Pilot*, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>72</sup> “Wheel and Wheels.” *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>73</sup> “The Inside Story.” *West African Pilot*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1965.

Much akin to advertising the worldliness and world-wide success of the Volkswagen, the advertisements also highlighted the practicality of owning a Volkswagen in Nigeria in terms of service requirements. “The inside story” article tells readers that “wonderful service facilities are available in Nigeria and 130 other countries.”<sup>74</sup> Another advertisement providing “facts and figures,” details that “in Nigeria and throughout other parts of the world the service network has also given rise to expansion with a total of over 7,000 V.W. workshops...In this way, Volkswagen owners everywhere are able to enjoy the same exacting standards of servicing and maintenance facilities by factory trained technicians.”<sup>75</sup> The article continues by claiming that “Volkswagen is first in Europe and third in the world.”<sup>76</sup> This same notion is echoed by an advertisement for Volkswagen service in Nigeria. It claims, “One thing certain, in Nigeria and 130 other countries of the world, the same service and maintenance facilities exist for the V. W. owner.”<sup>77</sup> These were not the only advertisements which highlighted the existence of readily available service facilities and mechanics, whom were factory trained in “excellent” Volkswagen maintenance, in Nigeria and throughout the world.

Including information on servicing in the Volkswagen advertisements highlights the practicality of owning a Volkswagen in Nigeria. Not only were Volkswagens seemingly popular in Nigeria and around the world, but they were easily fixed by factory trained technicians. Thus, readers of the *Pilot's* Volkswagen advertisements were informed of a dependable car which did not require a great amount of maintenance, but when the car did require a tune-up or fix, it could easily be obtained in Nigeria, thus

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<sup>74</sup> “The Inside Story.” *West African Pilot*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1965.

<sup>75</sup> “Facts & Figures.” *West African Pilot*, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>76</sup> “Facts & Figures.” *West African Pilot*, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>77</sup> “V.W. Service.” *West African Pilot*, January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

insinuating that Volkswagen owners saved money and time.<sup>78</sup> Despite one advertisement claiming that the Volkswagen is “the toughest car in the world,” it is obvious that the car needed maintenance and that Volkswagen provided expert and available service throughout Nigeria.<sup>79</sup> The advertisements emphasized both the “expert” and availability of their technicians and workshops, because in order to cut down on cost and time an owner would reasonably want a technician whom understood specific Volkswagen maintenance and could be reached near the owner’s place of residency. Yet, the practicality was only part of the reason why so many of the Volkswagen advertisements included information on servicing.

Another reason for including servicing information was because it attributes owning a Volkswagen to developing the Nigerian economy. One advertisement alludes to this notion by insisting that stepping inside a Volkswagen initiates “the start of a lovely friendship...and partnership.”<sup>80</sup> While this advertisement does not specifically exclaim how Nigeria’s economy is being developed through the consumer’s purchase of a Volkswagen, another article does make this connection. It claims that “in Nigeria over 1,200 people are working in the 12 branches of the VW distributor.”<sup>81</sup> It continues by saying that “there are plans to open two more workshops which will be able to satisfy more VW owners.”<sup>82</sup> This 1966 article highlights that Volkswagen was aiding in creating jobs and developing skills for Nigerians. Thus, it was not only the sentiment of

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<sup>78</sup> One V. W. advertisement states that all cars require service, no matter how dependable, and the Volkswagen is not an exception. It showcases the ease by which Nigerian’s could cut costs and time thanks to the country-wide availability of service.

“V.W. Service.” *West African Pilot*, January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>79</sup> “The Toughest Car in the World!” *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>80</sup> “The Start of a Lovely Friendship.” *West African Pilot*, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>81</sup> “Ten-Millionth VW Delivered for Show.” *West African Pilot*, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>82</sup> “Ten-Millionth VW Delivered for Show.” *West African Pilot*, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

practicality which was played on by Volkswagen advertisements, but also a sentiment of duty to the country by developing the economy. Volkswagen advertisements linked the welfare of the economy to the purchase of Volkswagens, thus playing on the ideology that a Nigerian citizen cared about the Nigerian economy's health. Interestingly, this article was the only Volkswagen related piece (article or advertisement) which specifically linked the development of the economy to the Volkswagen Company. The other advertisements and articles relating to Volkswagen were put forth by the distributors, showrooms, and maintenance facilities of Volkswagen. Thus, it was Mandilas and Karaberis Ltd., the Nigerian car dealer, which advertised the sales of Volkswagens as a contributor to the developing Nigerian economy.

Mandilas and Karaberis Ltd. was one car dealer in Nigeria, but it was the single company which posted Volkswagen advertisements in the *Pilot*. Yet the others are significant because many of them utilized advertisements in the same manner. U.A.C. Motors was another car dealer, distributor, and maintenance company in West Africa, and was the subsidiary of the U.A.C.—which was a subsidiary of the multinational corporation Unilever. U.A.C. Motors was a dealer of Chevrolet, Bedford trucks, Vauxhall, and Willy's jeeps to name a few.<sup>83</sup> One advertisement for U.A.C. states that the company contributes to Nigeria's "wheels of progress."<sup>84</sup> It continues by saying:

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<sup>83</sup> These car brands are based off the following advertisements:

"More Power." *West African Pilot*, January 25<sup>th</sup>, 1961; "U.A.C. Motors Proudly Presents..." *West African Pilot*, January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961; "Chevrolet." *West African Pilot*, January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961; "Bedford Trucks." *West African Pilot*, February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

<sup>84</sup> "Wheels of Progress." *West African Pilot*, February 29<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

Our country's prosperity depends on really efficient road transport. The nation's produce, which is shipped abroad in payment for imports, needs good roads and vehicles to take it quickly to the seaports. U.A.C. Motors supply not only the best vehicles for the job, but make sure they are kept in good working order by a comprehensive spares, repairs and maintenance service. This is the great contribution of U.A.C. Motors to the country's progress and development.<sup>85</sup>

This advertisement links the U.A.C.'s image to the country's progress. While the advertisement mostly speaks to vehicles used for work, it maintains that the company was working to provide the best vehicles and maintenance available in order to develop Nigeria. Thus, it was the maintenance opportunities which were sold as the development plan, which spoke to concerned consumers. This idea is bolstered by another U.A.C. subsidiary's advertisement called the U.A.C. Technical Ltd. Schools. The advertisement pictures African technicians working on a truck under the title of "keep going."<sup>86</sup> The advertisement attempts to explain that the U.A.C. had set up schools which "are providing African engineers and technicians of the future" with highly specialized skills "to keep your (the consumer's) machinery operating under arduous conditions."<sup>87</sup> This advertisement links the development of Africa to the training of maintenance and technical workers whom were being trained by the U.A.C. This advertisement most likely seeks to demonstrate to readers that the U.A.C. was working towards developing the country by training African technicians, but also highlights that the path to national

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<sup>85</sup> "Wheels of Progress." *West African Pilot*, February 29<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>86</sup> "Keep Going..." *West African Pilot*, February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>87</sup> "Keep Going..." *West African Pilot*, February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

development was through training in technical maintenance work. Moreover, the U.A.C. was not the only company which advertised the progress of the nation being tied to maintenance and technical skill.

In 1960, BEWAC announced inside its advertisement that it was adding, “again, another link in the BEWAC chain of service.”<sup>88</sup> The advertisement states that “BEWAC limited are proud to announce the opening of newly modernized, well equipped workshops and showrooms at ENUGU...this link in the strengthened chain of service provides up-to-date maintenance and repair facilities for cars (and) commercial vehicles with a specially planned spares department to meet all demands.”<sup>89</sup> BEWAC’s advertisement lauds the notion that the company was modernizing service, expanding its chain of service, and making BEWAC cars more practical to own. BEWAC was a Nigerian distributor of “Rover cars and Land Rovers, Leyland lorries and buses, Rolls-Royce cars, Massey-Ferguson tractors, and Renault cars and light vehicles.”<sup>90</sup> Thus, the advertisement highlights that the company was expanding its workshops, thus providing more skilled jobs and increasing the practicality of owning BEWAC’s carried vehicle brands.

The advertisements for U.A.C. Motors and BEWAC highlight their company’s mission to achieve national development through modernity and technical training, and also their mission to provide more practical vehicles. Yet, the U.A.C.’s advertisement that highlights the company was interested in training Africans in order that the country

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<sup>88</sup> “Again, another Link.” *West African Pilot*, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>89</sup> “Again, another Link.” *West African Pilot*, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>90</sup> The vehicle brands carried by BEWAC were listed at the bottom of the company’s advertisements. The following are these advertisements:

“Continental Styling.” *West African Pilot*, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Again, another Link.” *West African Pilot*, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1960; “Land Rovers Consolidate a Ten-Year Lead.” *West African Pilot*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.



may benefit from training indigenous people. Theoretically this would provide more people with higher-paying jobs. This class could potentially become car owners.

This idea leads into the second vehicle, after Volkswagen, important to discuss due to the content of the advertisements i.e. the Willy's Jeep. The Willy's Jeep is advertised in the *Pilot* much like the other cars I previously discussed. The advertisement highlights the Willy's "four wheel drive" which means it has "tough, rugged, go-anywhere, do-anything traction." The advertisement states that it is popular "all-over the world," and that it is "backed by U.A.C. Motors nation-wide spares and service facilities."<sup>91</sup> In this sense, the Willy's fell into the same marketing strategy as a majority of the car advertisements espoused in the *Pilot*, which meant that it catered to an internationally conscious and practical consumer group. However, what made the Willy's Jeep advertisements and related articles unique was the explicated fact that the jeep was assembled in Nigeria by U.A.C. Motors. One article in the *Pilot* published a photo of a Willy's Jeep being assembled at the "NEW...United Africa Company Vehicle Assembly Plant at Apapa."<sup>92</sup> Thus, the U.A.C. was not only a distributor of the Willy's Jeep, but it also assembled the jeeps in Nigeria, which alludes to the notion that the U.A.C. was creating skilled work in Nigeria and subsequently stimulating economic development.

The Willy's Jeep was not alone as an import to Nigeria which would be assembled at the new vehicle assembly plants. An SOCA Motors advertisement for an Austin truck also highlights the fact that the truck is "assembled in Nigeria by SOCA

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<sup>91</sup> "U.A.C. Motors Proudly Presents..." *West African Pilot*, January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>92</sup> "Willy's Jeep Car Being Assembled in Nigeria." *West African Pilot*, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

Motors.”<sup>93</sup> According to Cornelius Agbo, the U.A.C. was the first company to assemble cars in Nigeria beginning in the early 1960s. The U.A.C. was followed by Federated Motors Industries and SOCA Motors slightly later (but apparently by 1963, which was the year of the advertisement for the Austin truck).<sup>94</sup> These assembly plants were to aid in developing the Nigerian economy. The advertisements for the Willy’s Jeep and the Austin truck were linked to the development of the country as well as their practical use. They underscore that the brand being sold was ‘concern for the Nigerian economy’ by Nigerian citizens.

The car advertisements discussed in this section suggest that the parent and subsidiary companies dealing with cars in Nigeria attempted to sell modern cars to a Nigerian consumer whom demanded performance and economy in their vehicle. The ads further suggest that the companies assumed there existed a consumer group whom was concerned with national development. Thus, these companies sold vehicles to an imagined Nigerian consumer citizen. This citizen not only desired the modern amenities of cars and was concerned with the Nigerian economy, but also could afford a car or truck. They owned businesses which required the trucks and commercial vans which would theoretically build the economy as advertised.

While the brand of independence cars was a short lived phenomenon in 1960, it participates in a much larger history of cars in Nigeria. Certainly the “independence” brand may have died out early in the country’s post-colonial journey, but the themes connected to the independence cars lasted much longer into 1966. Independence brought

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<sup>93</sup> “Austin Build Fine, Fine Trucks for Nigeria.” *West African Pilot*, September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>94</sup> Cornelius Agbo. “A Critical Evaluation of Motor Vehicle Manufacturing in Nigeria.” *Nigerian Journal of Technology* 30, no. 1 (March 2011), 10.

about official citizenship, and the history of the car helps shed light on this social change. This Nigerian consumer citizen was thought to desire Nigeria's economic development and be a citizen of the world through car ownership. It is evident that contributors of the *Pilot* even felt that owning a car transformed a "mister no-body" into a man.<sup>95</sup> The car and car advertisements acted as sites of negotiation for citizenship.

Despite the link of citizenship made to vehicle ownership, not all the contributors to the *Pilot* lauded the vehicle companies, cars, and car owners as the harbingers of progress. These contributors contested the meaning of the car, the Nigerian citizen, and Independence. This contest was mostly waged in the women's pages of the *Pilot*.<sup>96</sup> The women's pages linked the citizen to performing duties deemed as "good" for the country and its people.<sup>97</sup> Moreover when the *Pilot* discussed cars, car ownership, and issues linked to cars including money, status, and influence it provided the battleground over the meaning of citizenship.

The women's pages discussed car ownership in terms of corruption. One of the oft-occurring themes of this section, especially during 1964 and after, was the effect money, and subsequently cars, had on the idea of love. Men and women contributors to the *Pilot's* women's pages offered their opinions on topics considering love including: "Do Nigerian Girls Really Love," "Pop Marriage—Disaster Divorce," and "Does She Really Love Me?" to name only a few of the headlines. In these articles the contributors contested ideas such as: if a specific guy loved another woman, if a girl truly loved her current boyfriend, and the social, political, and economic influences and effects on

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<sup>95</sup> "Fiats Meet Nigeria's Car Needs—As Low as \$350." *West African Pilot*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>96</sup> The women's pages of the *Pilot* are discussed in further detail in chapter four.

<sup>97</sup> The term "good" was used extensively to describe duties and mindsets of certain people or peoples. It is discussed in further detail in chapter four.

specific people's lives and on Nigeria due to "love." One of the recurring themes inside these articles was the idea that love was based upon money and status—which was connected to car ownership. One contributor to the Pilot states that "girls have these as their qualities for choosing boys – good looks, fine clothes, nice car, and extravagant with money."<sup>98</sup> Another article laments "All a Nigerian girl—particularly a Lagos girl—loves is your (a male in which she is interested) money or better still your CAR."<sup>99</sup> Other articles explored the same issue. In one article, a woman asks the women's page contributor if she should stay with her husband despite him not owning car or being well-paid.<sup>100</sup> These articles highlight the importance of money, cars, and status with the ideal of love.

While this was a topic debated during all six years of the paper, the issue of money, cars, and status' influence on love became connected to a different ideal especially after 1964. In the wake of political corruption scandals and economic woes, the articles focused attention on this brand of love's correlation to citizenship. Many of these articles focused heavily on corrupt politicians and bureaucrats, however, others, often times intersecting, focused on the mindsets of Nigerian people.

One such article discusses civil servants whom "condone bribery and corruption."<sup>101</sup> The author claims that if the civil servants were found guilty of corruption and bribery, "society rejects them."<sup>102</sup> With such a harsh punishment, the author seeks to understand "why do they commit such offenses?"<sup>103</sup> The contributor

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<sup>98</sup> "Pop Marriage—Disaster Divorce." *West African Pilot*, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>99</sup> "Do Nigerian Girls Really Love?" *West African Pilot*, January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>100</sup> "Letter to Josephine." *West African Pilot*, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>101</sup> "Bribery and Corruption." *West African Pilot*, October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>102</sup> "Bribery and Corruption." *West African Pilot*, October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>103</sup> "Bribery and Corruption." *West African Pilot*, October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

finds the answer due to “two reasons, greed and the lust for women.”<sup>104</sup> The article continues by saying that “many people, who run after women often live above their financial income in order to cope with their women’s monetary demands.” Thus, this contributor puts the blame on women’s lust for money as the leading reasons for the corruption and bribery which were considered a “cankerworm” in Nigerian society.<sup>105</sup> This was hardly the only article which in the *Pilot* which connected the lust for money as a key contributor to political and economic corruption and bribery.

Another article echoes this claim as to the cause of the corruption. It finds that “mean create the problems” in Nigerian society because they “took undue advantage of the handicaps of women...(which) include disparity in education, social status, and political emancipation.”<sup>106</sup> The contributor states that these advantages combined with greed to form a “rotten, corrupt, and decayed...society.”<sup>107</sup> The author continues by stating, “Society lives high...the young women who earn very little also want to live high.”<sup>108</sup> The author provides a defense of women in the making of corruption, but more importantly she highlights greed and the lust for money as roots of the corruption of Nigeria. This was hardly a unique article in the *Pilot*, although the blame shifted from men’s greed to women’s greed depending on the contributor.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> “Bribery and Corruption.” *West African Pilot*, October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>105</sup> “Bribery and Corruption.” *West African Pilot*, October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>106</sup> “Men Create the Problem.” *West African Pilot*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1965.

<sup>107</sup> “Men Create the Problem.” *West African Pilot*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1965.

<sup>108</sup> “Men Create the Problem.” *West African Pilot*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1965.

<sup>109</sup> Other articles discussing the roots of the “fast life” and corruption generally find that the desire for cars, homes, and money have corrupted the people’s mindsets. The following are other articles which include the same theme and arguments:

“Miss Basse has Hope for the Future.” *West African Pilot*, January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1965; “False Claim.” *West African Pilot*, November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

While the blame shifted between men and women as to the root of the corruption in Nigeria based upon the contributors, all suggest that the lust for money, cars, and social status were the cause of the problem. Furthermore, this battlefield over proper citizenship, which meant that a person was not corrupt in this case, was being waged through the meaning of cars, homes, and products which were considered symbols of status. It was partially the lust for cars which contained the contest over Nigerian citizenship.

Cars and car advertisements were a part of the negotiation process between producers and consumers over the meaning of independence and citizenship. The independent citizen died out in terms of the rhetoric used in the *Pilot* after 1960, but this does not mean that certain qualities and ideals of the independence products—made for the independent Nigerian citizen—died alongside the demise of the rhetoric.

The independent citizen was seen by advertisers as a group with lasting market potential. The independent Nigerian man was marketed as “successful, smart,” able to “get girls,” and “modern” which was advertised in the *Pilot* as an advantage of owning a car.<sup>110</sup> Yet the label of the independent man was advertised for only a short period of time consisting of a large portion of the months leading up to Independence Day in 1960 and then continuing with much less frequency during September of 1961 through 1963. These labels of “smart” and “successful” were most likely utilized by companies earlier, and they certainly continued to be utilized after the decline of using “independence” related rhetoric in the advertisements in the *Pilot*. These advertisements also highlight a connection between independence and modernity.

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<sup>110</sup> “Fiats Meet Nigeria’s Car Needs—As Low as \$350.” *West African Pilot*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

The cars and car advertisements helped shape the meaning of the citizen during the years following independence. The car and car advertisements linked the cars to modernity and success, however, this ideal was contested heavily by contributors to the *Pilot* and the paper's consumers. The change in advertisements and the way the *Pilot's* contributors detailed the meaning of cars highlight the changing meaning of Nigerian citizenship. With cars being lauded for their European-ness early, the mood changed as sellers began to laud the ways in which the cars aided Nigeria's economics. These vehicle advertisements and the reactions to cars suggest that Nigerian citizenship was built upon consuming cars. Yet, while cars played a large role in the construction of citizenship, it was not the only consumer product to have such influence.

#### Other Products

Cars were not the only product to be branded as “independence” products. At Jazo Stores located at 68 Victoria Street, Lagos, independence ties were being sold. One of their advertisement announced: “Just arrived for Independence Celebrations – Nigeria independence ties in maroon colour with Nigeria's flag. Sold at very competitive-give-away prices...buy early to avoid regret...Available only at Jazo Stores.”<sup>111</sup>

Neck ties also graced the Mbase Youths Fancy Store advertisement published in September 1960. In their “Independent Shoppers Guide,” consumers were alerted to the sale of “Special Independence Neck Ties” coming in the nationally significant colors of “green/white and maroon/white for striped ties” and “navy blue, green, maroon, and

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<sup>111</sup> “Jazo Stores.” *West African Pilot*, September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

brown” so as “to match any kind of dress.” The advertisement also notifies its customers of its “famous double two shirts” sale, where two kinds of shirts could be matched. These shirts included “Terylene/nylon shirts, Independence Dinner Dressing Shirts, and Bristol Shirts, Revelation and Sport Shirts.”<sup>112</sup>

Banke Trading Stores in Lagos advertised on Monday, September 26<sup>th</sup> 1960, that new plastic sandals had just arrived. “Ladies plastic sandals in Nigeria national colour for independence celebrations...(had) just arrived.” The sandals could be purchased both at “wholesale and retail prices.”<sup>113</sup>

For these three stores, the colors were especially significant in the branding of the product. National colors which could be seen on banal nationalist symbols, such as the flag, literally and figuratively colored the clothing and foot wear. The colors were a display of patriotism and belonging to Nigeria, but they also constructed a new product for a new day, or for a new nation. The colors literally and figuratively painted the product as an independence product. Independence sandals and ties were different from other sandals and ties because they were to be used on Independence Day or in the new Nigeria. Businesses were generating a demand for the inaugural Independence Day that would link nationalistic consumer goods to participating in Independence Day.

The types of outerwear advertised are important in understanding the supposed market for Independence goods. Outside of the sandals, the other advertisements display sales of neck-ties, sport shirts, dress shirts, and “Independence Dinner Dress Shirts.”<sup>114</sup> These “fancy” shirts and accessories were typically worn by those who could afford such

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<sup>112</sup> “Mbaise Youths Fancy Stores.” *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>113</sup> “Banke Trading Stores.” *West African Pilot*, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>114</sup> “Jazo Stores.” *West African Pilot*, September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Mbaise Youths Fancy Stores.” *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1960.



a hefty price tag. Neck-ties usually accompany suits, which were not clothes of the Nigerian poor at that time. The advertisements were selling Independence Day ware to an African class that could afford it. Thus, it appears that independence was not an aesthetic able to be attained by every Nigerian. Moreover, the independent Nigerian was not an identity every Nigerian could display or gain a membership.

Of equal importance is that the neck-ties and dinner dress shirts were specifically advertised as, or at least implied, of European and Western origin. The incorporation of these Western fashions into Nigerian independence products certainly seems problematic from an anti-colonial constituency. Firstly, it demonstrates the multiple national and transnational actors that had influence in the creation of Independence, Independence Day, the Nigerian identity, or the “new” nation. Secondly, the Nigerianness that was being constructed through these advertisements points to the belief or strategy companies whom were selling products in Nigeria had of a demand, or created demand, for a hybrid nationality or a hybrid identity. The Nigerian citizen was considered as having hybrid and cosmopolitan sensibilities.

There is another idea included in the advertisements which offers valuable insight into the invention of the “new” Nigerian. It simply is the inclusion of the raw materials used to make the product in the name of the advertised product. For example, the “Terylene/nylon shirts” or the “plastic sandals” are said to be made from plastic or Terylene/nylon. The three advertisements analyzed above demonstrate this point, however, the following two better exemplify this notion.

NASO Brothers published an advertisement for a “new wool” on September 24<sup>th</sup> 1960. The advertisement reads, “In honor of Nigeria’s independence and the fourth

coming Christmas celebration, the NASO Brothers proudly present a sensational new invention containing 50 percent wool and 50 percent Tetonon.” The advertisement continues by explaining the new invention and why it is significant.

The new Toray Polyester Wool, is made under special research and chemically is called Polyethylene-Terephthalate. Toray Tetonon Polyester is very strong in tenacity and abrasion, it stands a long period of strenuous long wear, it needs no ironing. Remember that smart appearance is the key to success (.) fit yourself up with the new Toray Tetonon Polyester Products and walk into the New Nation with confidence. NASO Brothers offer you this great opportunity in modern living through Toray Tetonon Polyester.<sup>115</sup>

The NASO Brothers’ advertisement ends with the company issuing customers a warning. They warn customers that there are imitators, and that the “mark” (brand image), as seen in Figure 1 at the top of their advertisement, confirms the authenticity of their brand of Toray Tetonon Polyester Wool.<sup>116</sup> The mark also ensures that quality is being guaranteed to the purchasing customer of their brand of wool. This implies that all imitators have inferior products.

A competitor of NASO Brothers also published an advertisement for a specific type of wool fit for Independence Day celebrations in the September 26<sup>th</sup> 1960 edition of the *West African Pilot*. U.O.O All Wool Stores located on Ereko Street, Lagos, advertised their woollen materials. “For independence celebrations...(U.O.O. All Wool Stores is offering) sales of all woollen materials.” U.O.O asks customers to “prepare your suits for the Independence Celebrations by selecting from our latest new arrivals of: Acrilan (wool)—for an active life!” They also offered “Terylene, 100 per cent pure

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<sup>115</sup> “NASO Brothers.” *West African Pilot*, September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>116</sup> “NASO Brothers.” *West African Pilot*, September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

wool, Kentucky Garbadine Serge, Black Exlan Wool, Pick & Pick, and many other woollen materials for both ladies and gents Bubas and other National Dresses.”<sup>117</sup>

The type of material the clothing was made from was commonly labeled in clothing advertisements in the *West African Pilot*.<sup>118</sup> Yet, the material is tied to the making of the “new nation.”<sup>119</sup> The materials were branded as modern, and in many cases are synthetic materials. Furthermore, the wearing of these materials was seen as “smart.”<sup>120</sup> As the NASO Brothers advertisement states, “remember that smart appearance is the key to success.”<sup>121</sup> Independence was a status that required an identity and identification markers. This status or identity, had a visible marker. Brands and synthetic materials were advertised as the providers of independence.

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<sup>117</sup> “U.O.O All Wool Stores.” *West African Pilot*, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>118</sup> This includes:

“Chanrai.” *West African Pilot*, September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1960.


<sup>119</sup> As stated by the NASO Brothers:

“NASO Brothers.” *West African Pilot*, September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>120</sup> “NASO Brothers.” *West African Pilot*, September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>121</sup> “NASO Brothers.” *West African Pilot*, September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

**BOON TO CUSTOMERS**



IN HONOUR OF NIGERIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND THE FOURTH  
COMING CHRISTMAS CELEBRATIONS.

**THE NASO BROTHERS**  
PROUDLY PRESENT

**A SENSATIONAL NEW INVENTION CONTAINING 50% WOOL  
AND 50% TETORON**

The New Toray Polyester Wool, is made under special research, and chemically called Polyethylene-Terephthalate. Toray Tetoron Polyester is very strong in tenacity and abrasion, it stands a long period of a strenuous long-wear, it needs no ironing.

**Remember that smart appearance is the key to success fit yourself up with the  
New Toray Tetoron Products and walk into the New Nation with confidence.**

**NASO BROTHERS offer you this great opportunity in modern living  
through Toray Tetoron Polyester.**

**BEWARE CUSTOMERS:—The above stamping Mark is your guarantee of  
pure quality Tetoron Polyester wool.**

Obtainable only at  
**NASO BROTHERS**  
19, OBUN-EKO STREET, LAGOS.

Figure 1

NASO Brothers, *West African Pilot*, September 24<sup>th</sup> 1960 (1753)

The last advertisement I discuss is the Hercules “New Africa.” The Hercules bicycle was a “new” bicycle for a “New Africa.” One Hercules advertisements was titled, “All new and built for you.” It continues by stating:

The most modern and...bicycle ever to be offered in West Africa id the Hercules New Africa. New for you. New for West Africa. New for Independence. Your high standards of quality, design, and dignity have been met by this brand new, superbly styled, and ultra de-luxe bicycle. Be Smart. Be Modern. Be Proud. Ride into the new era of an independent new Africa on a Hercules New Africa.<sup>122</sup>

The advertisements also noted that different specifications were available. For example consumers could buy a model with “Dynahub lighting.”<sup>123</sup> They could also purchase a

<sup>122</sup> “All New and Built for You.” *West African Pilot*, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>123</sup> “All New and Built for You.” *West African Pilot*, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

“three speed” model or accessorize with a “hub and fork lock.”<sup>124</sup> All could be bought at G. B. O., where Hercules New Africa was sold.

Another Hercules New Africa bicycle advertisements that appeared Feb. 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960, expands on the prior example. It includes all the above mentioned features, except it incorporates sensory images into the lines of the advertisement. It states that “the secret is out...see for yourself the SECRETS of this most modern, most wanted model.”<sup>125</sup> The advertisement goes on to list how to experience the bicycle for “independent Africa.”

MARVEL at the NEW beautiful glossy Finish. LOOK at the NEW graceful sloping fork crown. INSPECT the NEW smooth, sturdy gearcase. EXAMINE the NEW square pedal cranks. FEEL the NEW Comfort of the Brooks saddle. WONDER at the NEW quiet running. ENJOY a NEW thrill of effortless ease in riding, and the admiring, envious glances of friends. Share the SECRET, go forward with the ‘NEW AFRICA.’<sup>126</sup>

This advertisement nicely captures the invention of the “new African.” The advertisements intended to sell Hercules bicycles to a newly independent African consumer base whom cared about modernity, luxury, and style. The new African understood the secret to being successful—as was mentioned by the NASO Brothers advertisements. They understood the importance of “square pedal cranks,” a “Brooks saddle,” and the thrill of showing off to their friends. The independent African was being sold sensory refinement found in modernity. Yet the key to being Independent, the key to being a new African, was located in the purchase of the Hercules bicycle.

The “New Africa” bicycle advertisements also advertise another feeling which use of the product bestowed upon the owner. “Pride” and “dignity” are specifically

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<sup>124</sup> “All New and Built for You.” *West African Pilot*, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>125</sup> “The Secret is Out.” *West African Pilot*, Feb. 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>126</sup> “The Secret is Out.” *West African Pilot*, Feb. 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

mentioned in the advertisements. According to the advertisement, the use and ownership of the bicycle allows the purchaser to “be proud” and to have “dignity.” Thus the purchase of the independence bicycle bestows feelings which allow the consumer access into constructed Independent feelings. Thus Independence was about having pride in showing off in one sense. Independence was purchasing dignity, which must not have been imparted with only political independence.

The new Nigeria and Nigerian citizen was intended to be modern. This is not to say that modernity was not a part of advertisements prior to independence, but modernity was taking center stage in the making of the “new nation.” Modernity was in the materials, in the types of clothing, in the production process, in wearing the clothing, a part of the Independence Day outerwear, and in participating in the capitalist system which produced the clothing. Furthermore, the independence brand was being tied into modernity through these advertisements. Modernity was one of the markers of a new Nigeria, or the new Nigerian citizen.

The independence brand was also intended to be transformative. Purchasing the products marketed as independence products transformed the people into independent citizens. Independence required participation, and ironically, it required conformity. It was to be displayed to the outsider that one was a Nigerian citizen. Independence in Nigeria was not displayed only through voting and political participation, it was also the ability to consume Nigeria and display Nigerianness to a neighbor, family member, or community.

## Conclusion

All of these products and their advertisements tell a story of negotiation. This story stems from the attempt to create profit. In 1960, the *Pilot* supported a majority of car advertisements commissioned by foreign produced, mostly European, companies. The brand of “independence” attached to cars died quickly after the celebration of official Independence Day.

The other products such as neck ties and bicycles tell a story of the rise of African stores, the appropriation of some European advertisement strategies, and the re-imagining of African consumers as demand was assessed locally. It is not surprising that the advertisements for independence products waned after the inaugural Independence Day, due to its once-a-year frequency. Even on Republic Day in 1963, less space in the *West African Pilot* was used by advertisements for national colored neck ties or independence cars. The reasons for why this specifically occurred is not the central focus for the chapter. However, what it does suggest, is an inability to sell independence products. Consumers not able to afford the products or dissatisfied or unmoved with the advertised meanings chose not to purchase the products—they chose, willingly or not, to participate in being transformed into independent citizens. Modernity was a brand that showcased continued prevalence, however, independence was a failed brand venture. In a sense, it marks the failure of brand Nigeria to achieve a national unified consumer base. Yet, no matter the exact reason, these products’ stories demonstrate the negotiation process, where “ordinary” Nigerians were allowed a platform from which to have their voice heard in the making of the Nigerian citizen. Through purchasing decisions, Nigeria was constructed.

In 1965, an article occurred in the *Pilot* asking an important question in regards to the Nigerian citizen. It asks “if Western Civilization is a blessing or a bane on Nigeria?”<sup>127</sup> The question never received a direct response, however it suggests that there was disagreement over the benefits or negatives of Western influence. While there was no direct response, the discussion of this was waged through the advertisements and products sold in Nigeria. They played an integral role in how Nigeria and the Nigerian citizen was imagined. They further suggest a Nigeria where the complexity of citizenship was constructed and contested through the purchases or denial of producer’s product’s intended meanings.

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<sup>127</sup> “Youths of Then and Now.” *West African Pilot*, January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1965.



## CHAPTER 4

### WOMEN, BEAUTY, FOOD, AND CITIZENSHIP IN THE WEST AFRICAN PILOT

A journal article by Oluwakemi Balogun analyzes two nation-wide beauty pageants held in Nigeria by examining the two pageant's relationship to separate versions of Nigerian nationalism. Balogun argues that the two pageants, "Queen Nigeria" and "The Most Beautiful Girl in Nigeria," aim to award a winner whom represents "true Nigerian womanhood."<sup>128</sup> Yet, they award a winner based upon two different versions of "true Nigerian womanhood."<sup>129</sup> He claims that one promotes an inward focused cultural nationalist ideal, while the other promotes an outward centered cosmopolitan-nationalist ideal. The criteria for awarding a winner is based upon how well the contestants prove their Nigerianness through the completion of smaller contests. It is through the contestant's performance of these events, which showcase specific qualities such as the wearing of traditional or westernized hair styles or preparing "traditional" or "Western" food dishes, which grant the contestants points to be tallied for the judge's final decision. The two awards highlight different versions of nationalism based upon gender, class, and degree of westernization and traditionalism. As Balogun says, the beauty pageants

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<sup>128</sup> Oluwakemi Balogun. "Cultural and Cosmopolitan: Idealized Femininity and Embodied Nationalism in Nigerian Beauty Pageants." *Gender and Society* 26, No. 3 (June 2012): 357.

<sup>129</sup> Oluwakemi Balogun. "Cultural and Cosmopolitan: Idealized Femininity and Embodied Nationalism in Nigerian Beauty Pageants." *Gender and Society* 26, No. 3 (June 2012): 357.

represent a country in which two separate nationalisms exist—through two different versions of beauty.

The “Queen Nigeria” pageant is the inward focused, cultural-nationalist judged pageant. One of the events held during the pageant is a cooking contest. The women contestants must show a “touch of Africa” and a “touch of Nigeria” throughout the many facets of the contest, but they do not specifically have to show a Western influence in their cooking—nor is it encouraged in order to receive points. The contestants are given money, and judged on what ingredients they purchase from the market, how they bargain and interact with the sellers, “cooking etiquette,” (most significantly for this chapter) what recipes they choose, and how well the food is prepared and tastes according to the judges.<sup>130</sup>

Balogun explains that the winner of the contest must demonstrate an ability to cook. Cooking shows that the women contestants “don’t have to depend on mummy and daddy for everything, or a fast-food joint.”<sup>131</sup> Through market relations (which include bargaining), choosing ingredients, and cooking, they highlight their “cultural competency in Nigerian traditions,” their independence from western influence, and their mastery over domesticity—which is one important marker of Nigerian femininity which is stated to include “childrearing, cooking Nigerian meals, and housekeeping.”<sup>132</sup> They must be able to bargain in a manner befitting of a Nigerian woman (according to the judges), choose fresh, local, and Nigerian ingredients, and be able to cook traditional meals, thus

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<sup>130</sup> Oluwakemi Balogun. “Cultural and Cosmopolitan: Idealized Femininity and Embodied Nationalism in Nigerian Beauty Pageants.” *Gender and Society* 26, No. 3 (June 2012): 365-366.

<sup>131</sup> Oluwakemi Balogun. “Cultural and Cosmopolitan: Idealized Femininity and Embodied Nationalism in Nigerian Beauty Pageants.” *Gender and Society* 26, No. 3 (June 2012): 366.

<sup>132</sup> Oluwakemi Balogun. “Cultural and Cosmopolitan: Idealized Femininity and Embodied Nationalism in Nigerian Beauty Pageants.” *Gender and Society* 26, No. 3 (June 2012): 366.

highlighting their independence from Westernized fast-foods, and showcasing their knowledge of cooking recipes seemingly passed down through their family and community. The “beauty” of the woman is highlighted in her ability to enact standards of Nigerian womanhood.<sup>133</sup> The contestants’ beauty is partially awarded through an understanding cooking known through female family members or members of their community. It is an understanding and competency in a gendered nationalism which grants the contestants points.

While the other pageant did not have a cooking contest, the importance of cooking to Nigeria’s nationalism was present in 2008 (the year the author analyzed the pageants) just as it was in 1960. Housekeeping and food played an important role in negotiating both Nigerian gender roles and national citizenship. It underscores the existence of competing imagined nationalisms operating in Nigeria which seemingly cross and strengthen ethnic, class, gender, and national identities.

This chapter explores the negotiation of a gendered nationalism arising from the *West African Pilot* published from 1960 to 1966, through the lenses of housekeeping, personal cleanliness and beauty, and food discourse. The household tasks, house cleaning products, personal beauty tips, personal beauty products, food, recipes, and food related etiquette—what I term food discourse—was mostly provided by two women’s pages, “Jane’s Page” and “Josephine’s Page,” which, on average, appeared in the *Pilot* once a week, and also through advertisements appearing frequently in the paper.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> These supposedly do not even need to be stated to the contestants, as they should know what a Nigerian woman should be able to do.

Oluwakemi Balogun. “Cultural and Cosmopolitan: Idealized Femininity and Embodied Nationalism in Nigerian Beauty Pageants.” *Gender and Society* 26, No. 3 (June 2012): 366.

<sup>134</sup> This is an estimation due to the erratic dates of publication. Sometimes during these years (1960-1966), the paper supported these columns twice in one week, and sometimes the page failed to have a column for two consecutive weeks. Recipes were even more spontaneous. However, recipes appeared commonly

Although to a lesser extent, but still vital to analysis, male edited columns or authored articles entered into the *Pilot's* discourses on housekeeping, personal care, and food. These discourses were vital for the formation of the female Nigerian citizen. The household care, personal care, and food discourses highlight a version of nationalism which departed from the ethnic character of the paper—as argued by a few scholars—and instead showcases a different, yet intersecting, nationalism with a gender focus, which has not been factored into histories of how the *West African Pilot* influenced Nigerian nationalism.

I argue that the household care, personal care, food, recipes, and food related etiquette columns and advertisements demonstrate a site of negotiation in which consumers of the *Pilot* were able to purchase or reject the commodified nationalism. Additionally, through the columns and advertisements, they asked questions, provided commentary, and contested nationalistic ideals. Using certain house cleaning products and beauty care products was seen as a way to participate in the construction of the nation. Commenting on what products should be used to clean the home, what beauty products were fashionable, what beauty style was in-fashion, what food products to feed the family, and what recipes should be made allowed women a participatory voice in the construction of the Nigerian citizen. The evidence suggests, that a distinct female version of nationalism was present in the paper.

Before delving into the literature and sources, I must explain what I mean by food, recipes, and food related etiquette. By food, I simply mean any edible or drinkable material which possesses nutritious value. Recipes are lists of ingredients, sometimes

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enough in these pages, as the year 1960 saw more than 20 published recipes—which serves as relatively accurate average for the other years of analysis.

with specific measurements, and instructions on how to combine and cook stated ingredients in order to make a certain dish. Recipes are instructions to make a dish, which in gastronomy is considered a specific food preparation. This means that after cooking is complete, the distinct article or variety of food ready for consumption is known as a dish. A recipe can be verbally transmitted through family members or other persons, written in a book, newspaper, etc., heard on the radio, or seen and heard on Television, but transmission is not limited only to these forms of communication.

Food related etiquette encompasses a broad range of activities. It includes the preparation of meals, setting the table or eating area, the utensils used for eating or cooking, how and what foods or dishes should be eaten, and general commensality. Food related etiquette provides a contextual setting for the preparation and consumption of meals, and was targeted as an important issue by the *Pilot's* women's columns.

The scholarly historical importance of this chapter stems from the current historical, anthropological, philosophical, and sociological works (with most emphasis on history) relating to the importance of women to African national projects, the role of food in African nationalism, and the relationship of *West African Pilot* to Nigerian nationalism. Women participated in the cultural, social, and political arena in Nigeria by 1960. Some women directly participated in political parties and organizations which helped construct Nigerian nationalism. While most Nigerian women did not participate directly in politics does not mean that women did not indirectly influence politics and cultural formation. The women who cooked, shopped at the market, and maintained the house enacted agency in the construction of Nigeria through their consumption (or lack of consumption) of nationalist products including Nigerian newspapers, and various

consumer products, and through submitting their voice to be published in the *Pilot's* women's pages. Therefore it is important to give a brief overview of the history of African women's participation in politics—with an emphasis on Nigeria.

Women's participation in Nigerian nationalism as related to the *West African Pilot* is a topic of importance for one absolutely critical reason. Samuel Okafor Idemili's thesis and journal article discussing what the *West African Pilot* did for Nigerian nationalism leaves out an examination of women's pages which were present in the paper. Idemili argues that during and after the 1950s the paper contributed to the growth of ethnic nationalism. In the prologue of his work he briefly examines the Nigerian press in years following independence.<sup>135</sup> He argues that these years saw the hardening of ethnic nationalism which actually led the paper to become a “joke” in Nigeria by the beginning of the civil war in 1967.<sup>136</sup> The unified nationalist sentiment the paper fought to construct earlier was abandoned.<sup>137</sup>

The women's pages speak of a different character of nationalism constructed for women by a separate myth. It severely limits the analysis of the paper's role in the construction and maintenance of Nigerian nationalism if a different national myth was present in the paper and was subsequently dismissed. As the commodities analyzed in the last chapter demonstrate, there were different forms of nationalism which the paper presented and promoted, therefore arguing the paper as promoting only a homogenous version of nationalism weakens the scholarship. The women's pages of the *Pilot* demand

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<sup>135</sup> Samuel Okafor Idemili. *The West African Pilot and the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1960*. (The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980), 408-420.

<sup>136</sup> Samuel Okafor Idemili. *The West African Pilot and the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1960*. (The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980), 418.

<sup>137</sup> Samuel Okafor Idemili. *The West African Pilot and the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1960*. (The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980), 87-91.

attention for the possibility of a gendered nationalism, similar on some issues yet divergent on others, being constructed inside its' pages. Thus, attention needs to be given to the complex interplay of commodities and women in the construction of the Nigerian citizen and Nigerian nationalism which Idemili does not sufficiently attend.

The role of women in African politics and in the performance of nationalism has been deeply explored by a multitude of scholars. In arguing for a separate gendered nationalism appearing in Tanzania, Susan Geiger explores the biographies of Tanzanian women whom were agents of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). Geiger argues that these TANU women constructed a nationalism for Tanzanian women which promoted different goals, and supported a version of nationalism which was more progressive in tackling post-independence political problems than their male counterparts.<sup>138</sup> She aptly disrupts the nationalist historiography of Tanzanian independence which focuses on male leaders and patriarchal national unity.<sup>139</sup> Geiger provides a history which gives a voice to women whom enacted agency in the construction of Tanzanian nationalism.

Kelly Askew echoes Geiger's claims, but moves in an anthropological direction to analyze how Tanzanian nationalism was constructed and performed in her impressive work, *Performing the Nation*. Askew further highlights the vital role women played in constructing the performative aspects of nationhood by influencing national music. She also notes the diverse notions of nationalism which were constructed and performed differently by different groups along the lines of religious, ethnic, class, and gender

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<sup>138</sup> Susan Geiger. *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism 1955-1965*. (Ohio: Heinemann, 1997), 9-15.

<sup>139</sup> Susan Geiger. *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism 1955-1965*. (Ohio: Heinemann, 1997), 9-13.

affiliations. Much like Geiger, Askew finds that a homogeneous Tanzanian nationalism did not exist.<sup>140</sup>

The relationship of women to politics in Nigeria has been treated through a multitude of historical works. The biography of Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, edited by Cheryl Johnson-Odim and Nina Emma Mba, focuses the history of Nigerian anti-colonial activism and the role of women in postcolonial Nigeria through the life of Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti. It emphasizes the workings of an important woman activist/political leader, whom founded the first regional and national women's political organizations and politically endorsed women's rights (sometimes against disagreement from male political leaders) as a prominent politician, and adds to the scholarly literature surrounding Nigerian nationalism which had previously highlighted men nearly unanimously.<sup>141</sup>

Other scholarly works explore the interplay of ethnicity, gender, and class in the formation of Nigerian nationalism. Gloria Chuku's journal article, "Igbo Women and Political Participation in Nigeria, 1800s-2005," examines the influence of Igbo women to precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial Nigerian politics. In discussing women's role in decolonization Chuku argues that "Igbo women participated in the politics of decolonization of the 1940s-1950s individually and collectively through membership in women's organizations. Migration and economic diversification gave women an opportunity to form ethnic and career-based affiliations and associations in the newly emerging urban centers that provided bases for their political mobilization."<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Kelly Askew. *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002)

<sup>141</sup> Cheryl Johnson-Odim and Nina Emma Mba. *For Women and the Nation: Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria*. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

<sup>142</sup> Gloria Chuku. "Igbo Women and Political Participation in Nigeria, 1800s-2005," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 42, no. 1 (2009): 28.



Additionally, Insa Nolte briefly discusses Yoruba women's participation in the anticolonial struggle and postcolonial politics in Nigeria. Nolte situates women's political participation in women's organizations, of which Yoruba women demonstrated influential agency.<sup>143</sup>

While not specifically looking at ethnicities, Cheryl Johnson argues that through women's market activities, which made women a vital component of the distributive economy, a solidarity was formed among market women in precolonial Nigeria. These activities produced a group solidarity due to similar interests and eventually led to the formation of precolonial women's societies which wielded political influence and protected certain rights.<sup>144</sup> The onset of colonialism challenged these women's rights, which led to new organizations for women but maintained the interest in protecting women's rights. An interest in protecting these rights led to the development of the Lagos Market Women's Association and other women's organizations which participated with, and eventually influenced major Nigerian political parties.<sup>145</sup> Thus, women had formed a group consciousness through shared experience, then formed organizations to protect their rights which subsequently influenced Nigerian politics and the construction of nationalism.

While these scholarly works dealing with Nigeria excellently make their respective points, they leave analytical room for other forms of women's participation in the construction of nationalism. Nolte and Chuku deal only with women from specific

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<sup>143</sup> Insa Nolte. "Without Women, Nothing Can Succeed': Yoruba Women in the Oodua People's Congress (OPC), Nigeria," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 78, no. 1 (2009): 87.

<sup>144</sup> Johnson, Cheryl. "Grass Roots Organizing: Women in Anticolonial Activity in Southwestern Nigeria," *African Studies Review*, (Vol. 25, No. 2/3. 1982); p. 138.

<sup>145</sup> Cheryl Johnson. "Grass Roots Organizing: Women in Anticolonial Activity in Southwestern Nigeria," *African Studies Review* 25, no. 2/3 (1982): 138-141.

ethnicities as they influenced Nigerian politics through women's organizations. Johnson's piece on grassroots organizing argues that women's solidarity formed through precolonial women's organizations. Her other work researched and written with Mba, details the life of one activist, Ransome-Kuti, and her influence on Nigerian politics. Yet these works do not deal specifically with commodities and they all locate women's political agency mostly inside the formation and maintenance of political women's organizations—which then enacted agency in the construction of Nigerian nationalism. Even though Kelly Askew provides ample evidence in the role of commodities, especially sodas, in shaping women's organizations and Tanzanian nationalism, it still focuses attention on the agency of the organizations. But what about avenues for women to influence national politics or national culture outside of political women's organizations? Did women who did not officially join political organizations (both male dominated and women's organizations) have agency in the construction of nationalism, national culture, or the national citizen? Were there other organizations which influenced nationalism, and was it a different form of nationalism?

One response to these questions and the scholarship is provided through the exploration of the discourse surrounding commodities. The *West African Pilot* and the consumer products commodified inside its pages help explain a different type of organization and group solidarity at play through consumers and contributors to newspaper discussions. The *Pilot's* readership cut across seemingly homogeneous ethnic divides, and many of the products advertised inside the paper were not solely advertised by the *Pilot* alone. Thus, the commodity of the *Pilot* and its' supported advertisements

had a power in shaping identities and ideas which were not strictly limited to the business of political organizations.

### *The West African Pilot's Women's Pages*

The women's pages of the *Pilot* have not been specifically explored by scholars, yet deserve critical attention as they promoted a unique gendered message and were written mostly for women. From 1960 to 1966 two women's columns predominantly appeared in the paper; although these two columns, and possibly different versions of women's pages, were most likely published prior to 1960.<sup>146</sup> "Josephine's Page" started in the paper from 1960 through the beginning of 1961, then regained prominence in 1965 and 1966. "Jane's Page" was published in all the years in between. 1965 was a special case as both authors' pages were interspersed in the *Pilot*, although "Josephine's Page" featured with greater frequency. Furthermore, 1965 was special due to the frequency of the women's pages' appearances. Nearly every issue of the *West African Pilot* in the second half (after July) of 1965 featured Jane or Josephine's columns. This was not the normal frequency of columns, which usually appeared roughly once or twice a week during the other years.

"Jane's" and "Josephine's Page" were written primarily for women readers which is suggested by some of the titles; "Jane's Page, Mainly for Women," "Jane's Page: Not

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<sup>146</sup> I use the word "dominantly" because there were other women's related reports and editorials which also accompanied these two pages during these years in the *Pilot*. In a few instances, female journalists or editorials would publish a non-recurrent column directed at a female audience. These sporadic columns alerted women on their duties, and the state of women's affairs in Nigeria, Africa, and around the world. I utilize some of these as sources, however, when I do use them, I make sure it is clear that they were not part of the major women's editorials.

for Men,” or “Josephine’s Page: Women’s Day with Men in Mind.” Both informed women of worldwide, African, Nigerian, and local news related to women, and also furnished persuasive and instructive content related to women’s role in Nigerian society. This is not to say that the columns did not contain messages for men, nor ever featured male contributors. In fact, although rare, published correspondence between men and Josephine and Jane did occur in which men sought advice for dealing with how to get a girl to love or respect them, or how to be more proactive in the home (one article even discusses a man learning to cook). Men also provided articles discussing women’s supposed duties, female oriented news, and politics relating to women. A few Jane and Josephine edited columns directed attention toward men by urging men to take a more active role in raising children or household duties. Some “Josephine’s Page” columns even appeared under the heading “Josephine’s Social Page: The Women’s Day with Men in Mind.”<sup>147</sup> However, as a whole, the women’s pages were written for primarily for women readers.

The news and informative content of the column updated women on news spanning the world to local news focused on women. This content allowed readers to have a snapshot of what working girls in Germany did every-day at home or in the factory, what women activists were doing in their respective areas of concern, how birthdays were celebrated by the Queen of England, what a Nigerian woman in Lagos did to prepare for a party, and many other female related news in between. On occasion the

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<sup>147</sup> Although this heading only occurred in late 1965 and continued into 1966. Moreover, “Josephine’s Social Page: The Women’s Day with Men in Mind” did not replace the regular “Josephine’s Page.” Both were interspersed with each other, although the regular “Josephine’s Page” occurred slightly more frequently. The following are examples:

“What We Ought to Do.” *West African Pilot*, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1966; “Your Child Needs Care.” *West African Pilot*, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966; “Personal Cleanliness Before Grooming.” *West African Pilot*, February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1966; “A Widow’s New Life.” *West African Pilot*, March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

informative section would end with a voiced opinion, which blurred the lines between news report and editorial. Moreover, since the news had an agenda behind the news, like the promotion of women working through news of women working in Germany (or any other place), the distinction between news report and editorial is nearly irrelevant. What is relevant is that women-focused news was reported from Lagos to Leopoldville, Cairo, and Pretoria to around the world in England, France, and the United States.

For the editorial and persuasive content of the column, the authors informed and instructed readers of the duties and responsibilities of women. The authors wrote to women *en general*, but some of the articles were written for specific groups of women which included, but was not limited to, single ladies, married women, housewives, mothers, and working women. These columns informed women of what actions, activities, duties, and mindsets were appropriate for their specific group and appropriate for womanhood *en general*.

The women's pages were concerned with a variety of topics relating to women, but did not engage in two particularly important topics which were contained in the rest of the *Pilot*. The women's pages did not engage in editorials related to ethnicity and official state Nigerian politics. There is an almost complete absence of discussion on political parties, judging the Nigerian political enactments, or participation in political or ethnic "mudslinging"—as Idemili coins the phrase. In fact, in one published correspondence between Josephine and a school teacher, in which the teacher asks Josephine why she does not discuss politics in her column, Josephine responds by saying "This page only deals with our (Nigerian) social events and problems, and so, cannot

contain political matters.”<sup>148</sup> Despite an absence of articles on the page discussing politics and Josephine’s own statements, some political messages were broadly inked into the columns. However, these political messages did not favor or condemn a single political party, political figure, or political act based on political achievement or political merit. They did speak to corruption in general among the political leaders, especially after 1963, and to the status of international women whom achieved political power as role models for Nigerian women—in addition to other social related content of political figures. After the military takeover in 1966, “Josephine’s Page” did praise General Ironsi, and on a few occasions stated that the military government hopefully would fix the corrupt political practices which saw political leaders abuse the system in order to gain status and money. Thus, in 1966 political messages can be seen in “Josephine’s Page,” but it was still not a common feature, and it was completely absent prior to the military takeover. This change can possibly be attributed to press regulation by the military government.

There are a few important questions which arise from the appearance of “Jane’s” and “Josephine’s Page.” First, were Jane and Josephine female authors? This question has important implications in interpreting the message of the women’s columns, for if they were males, the notion of a gendered nationalism arising from the paper becomes more complicated and problematic. Next, why did the occurrence frequency change so drastically—especially in 1965? Does the increased frequency in 1965 mean that women were becoming more important to the nation according to the *Pilot*? The frequency of

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<sup>148</sup> “No Politics.” *West African Pilot*, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

occurrence certainly has implications into what the *West African Pilot* was attempting to construct in terms of nationalism or national sentiment.

While the editors were supposedly both women, it is questionable as to if both editors were actually females. This question arises due to the content of the columns. The evidence supports the notion that the columns advocated for increased female participation in Nigerian politics, society, economics, and cultural formation, however, the pages simultaneously supported patriarchal notions of women being caretakers of the household. “Good” women were keepers of the household first and foremost; I discuss this in more detail later in this chapter.<sup>149</sup> More importantly, little evidence exists directly proving the editors’ genders. Only one published “Jane’s Page” provides a picture of Jane and she is only referred by her full name on a couple of occasions. Josephine is never pictured, and her full name was never published, however, a couple “Josephine’s Page’s” have pictures of her with other people at various functions. It is quite possible that both “Jane’s” and “Josephine’s Page” were written by men under the pseudonyms Jane and Josephine. It is also possible that both pages were written by a variety of authors and then submitted for the column. Yet, evidence promoting that Jane and Josephine were most likely women does exist.

The main reason supporting why Jane and Josephine were most likely women is because of occasions of differing views on multiple issues held by the women authors and male contributors to the women’s pages. On a few occasions, Jane and Josephine disagree with male opinions regarding; blames for the downfall of the household and marriage, women’s place in the household, men taking an active role in helping perform

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<sup>149</sup> The notion of “good” women is discussed in the next section.

household duties, the role of women in the workforce, the role of female politicians and leaders, and the role of “modernity” in the “progress” of Nigeria. Many of these opinions are highlighted later in the chapter—especially the role of modernity in the progress of Nigeria. These prove that Jane and Josephine were most likely women.

The next question concerning why the frequency was increased in 1965 is difficult to answer with any certainty. The published paper during 1965 was a shorted version, which deviated from the normal version. During the other years the paper was normally eight pages long, or four double-sided pages, however, in 1965, the number of pages published became erratic, and for the most part, was greatly shortened. For a few months at the end of 1965, the *Pilot* was only four to six pages, or two to three double-sided pages in length. This could be due to a number of factors, with one of the most probable being press restrictions. The controversial Newspapers Act of 1964 began the process of local and regional governments having more power to control the press. “This act, *inter-alia*, prohibited any person from publishing in any newspaper a statement, rumor, or report, knowing or having reason to believe that the statement, rumor or report was false. The law provided that it was no defense for the person to assert that he did not know or did not have reason to know that the statement was false unless he proved that prior to publication he took reasonable measures to verify the accuracy of the statement.”<sup>150</sup> This allowed local governments to greatly restrict what the press was publishing, and also allowed them to legally attack individual journalists whom, ostensibly, did not support their policies or negatively portrayed their persons.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Michael Seng and Gary Hunt. “The Press and Politics in Nigeria: A Case Study of Developmental Journalism.” *Boston College Third World Law Journal* 6, issue 2 (1986).

<sup>151</sup> Michael Seng and Gary Hunt. “The Press and Politics in Nigeria: A Case Study of Developmental Journalism.” *Boston College Third World Law Journal* 6, issue 2 (1986).



By the start of 1966, the paper returned to its eight page format. This possibly is due to the implementation of military rule, which ended the Newspapers Act of 1964, thus denying local governments the ability to restrict the press.<sup>152</sup> However, as discussed earlier in the introduction and chapter one of this thesis, the military government eventually imposed press restrictions which curtailed free speech in Nigeria. While the federal military government ended local governments' meddling in the press, it began federal meddling in the press. In June 1966 the military government promulgated Decree No. 44, which made it an offense to "provoke a breach of the peace by a defamatory or offensive publication."<sup>153</sup> However, for a short duration in 1966 (before June) during the military government's rule, the *West African Pilot*, returned to its normal format.

Interconnected with the press restrictions, there is another possible reason as to why the *Pilot* published shorter papers. A newspaper must maintain a certain level of funding in order to provide journalists and editors with a paycheck. If the paper cannot continue to pay their employees, the journalists and editors may leave, thus forcing more work on remaining employees whom may not be able to handle the increased workload. As Idemili claims in his dissertation, the paper began to lose some of its consumer base as newspaper sales began to fall after 1951—which was the year in which the Nigerian press shifted to pandering to specific politicians, political parties, and ethnic loyalties.<sup>154</sup> Not only did readership drop, but the businesses which advertised in the paper, whom provided the paper with a primary source of revenue, may have begun to withdraw

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<sup>152</sup> Michael Seng and Gary Hunt. "The Press and Politics in Nigeria: A Case Study of Developmental Journalism." *Boston College Third World Law Journal* 6, issue 2 (1986).

<sup>153</sup> Michael Seng and Gary Hunt. "The Press and Politics in Nigeria: A Case Study of Developmental Journalism." *Boston College Third World Law Journal* 6, issue 2 (1986): 90.

<sup>154</sup> Samuel Okafor Idemili. *The West African Pilot and the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism 1937-1960*. (The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980), 408-420.

support. The decreased consumer base may have made advertising in the paper less profitable from a marketing standpoint. It is quite possible that the decreasing revenues from advertising contributed to the lessening of the total pages of the *Pilot*.

These possible reasons for decline can shed light on the increased frequency of the appearance on “Jane’s” and “Josephine’s Page.” Jane and Josephine contributed published columns daily to the paper during 1965, which seems slightly odd due to the fact that these editorials replaced other news reports and other editorials. I speculate that during 1965, the diminished *Pilot* may have focused its attention on the news and columns which was it deemed most important. The importance of the columns and news could have been measured by the audience by which it was consumed. Therefore, it could be the case that women were considered a more important (more profitable) audience for the owners and editors of the *Pilot*. Selling a paper which had an entire page dedicated to women daily may have been driven by the idea that women were a larger target audience, and may still purchase the paper in spite of the other portion of the paper being targeted towards ethnic and political (which is argued that political parties were ethnically based) affiliations.

Another potential reason for the increased frequency of the women’s pages may have been that they were written by a number of outside columnists, whom the paper did not need to employ full-time. This would cut down total cost, which theoretically might bring increased profit—or at least return the business to a point where revenue was larger than the cost thus making the business economically profitable.

No matter what the reasons for why “Jane’s” and “Josephine’s Page” appeared more frequently in 1965, then returned to normal by the onset of 1966, it is simply

important to note that the editors found the women's pages to be of great importance to the paper during all the years spanning 1960 through 1966. It is clear that the women's pages were pivotal to the message of the *Pilot*, otherwise, it is very likely that the women's pages would have been one of the first columns discarded. The continuance of the women's columns during financially difficult times demonstrates that women were a target audience and that women's issues were a profit worthy segment of the paper.

### "Good" Women: The *West African Pilot* and Women's Goals

The *West African Pilot's* women's pages emphasized specific duties for women to perform in order to be considered "good" women. The term "good" to describe women, housewives, or mothers was used on numerous occasions by the *Pilot*.<sup>155</sup> Being a "good" woman depended on multiple different factors, which were laid out by the *Pilot* and which I discuss in more detail later in this chapter. As this chapter demonstrates, being a "good" woman changed during the course of 1960 through 1966, and also varied depending on if the woman in question was single, a housewife, a working woman, or a mother. However there were some general qualities designated by the *Pilot* as requisites for being considered a "good" woman.

Marriage was an important goal for single women to achieve, and the maintenance of marriage was vital for already married women. Marriage was a

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<sup>155</sup> The following sources contain the word "good" when describing women, housewives, or mothers. However, I cite more examples later in the paper when discussing specific activities, duties, or goals. "Men are Impossible." *West African Pilot*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960; "Men Create the Problem." *West African Pilot*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960; "More Comments on Bachelor Tax." *West African Pilot*, October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960; "Our Marital Problems." *West African Pilot*, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962; "Jane about the House: Family Catering." *West African Pilot*, October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

celebrated achievement by the *Pilot* and was a popular topic of discussion. Numerous “Jane’s” and “Josephine’s Pages” were littered with the announcements of marriages—although many of the announced marriages were weddings between members of higher classes.<sup>156</sup> Discussion of marriages and marriage related activities also covered by other editorials and articles in the paper.<sup>157</sup> Consumers of the *Pilot* were bombarded with the celebration of marriage and information concerning the importance of the event. According to the *Pilot*, achieving this goal had specific requirements a woman must fulfill. Attracting a man, and keeping a man “happy” required women to perform specific duties—according to the *Pilot*. These duties are presented in the latter sections of this chapter.

The *Pilot* also instructed women what qualities were acceptable for a potential suitor (possible future husband), and what qualities they had to possess in order to be “good” women. Generally the *Pilot’s* columns instructed women not to marry men only for their money, and the acceptability of a man was a concern discussed in the *Pilot*.<sup>158</sup> In a letter to Jane (from “Jane’s Page”), a correspondent stated that “the major trouble with most of our girls these days is that they have no room in their heart for the ordinary working-class boys.”<sup>159</sup> A similar column authored by Josephine stated, “Many women’s weakness is money over here (Nigeria), and they cherish it the most, of all things in

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<sup>156</sup> “Weddings of the Year.” *West African Pilot*, January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961; “Bride Price in Eastern Nigeria.” *West African Pilot*, October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1962; “Nigerian Student Marries Film Actress.” *West African Pilot*, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1964; “A Society Wedding.” *West African Pilot*, January 24<sup>th</sup>, 1966; “The Early Week Weddings.” *West African Pilot*, February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

<sup>157</sup> “What a Confident Smile.” *West African Pilot*, May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1960; “Bride Price in Eastern Nigeria.” *West African Pilot*, October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1962; “Who Will Marry You?” *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1964.

<sup>158</sup> “What Should I Do?” *West African Pilot*, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>159</sup> “Pinning Down Our Men.” *West African Pilot*, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

life.”<sup>160</sup> She continues by saying, “I do not quarrel with the hard-working and honest women in search of money, but I unreservedly condemn those women who have sold their womanhood—prestige and neglect their homes in search of money.”<sup>161</sup> The prestige of a woman, according to Josephine, was attained by not neglecting their homes or family, and if women hunted for money “relentlessly,” they sullied their own prestige and also dragged “the name of their husband...through the mud.”<sup>162</sup>

While “Josephine’s” and “Jane’s Page” advocated for the advancement of women in the workforce and in the politics, they still claimed that a “good” woman took care of the home and demonstrated the ability to ably perform household activities.<sup>163</sup> Money was a concern for men and women, but the “relentless” pursuit of money was seen as problematic.<sup>164</sup> Since money was such a concern, the *Pilot* encouraged women to not marry men just because they could provide a large income. Furthermore, housewives’ whose husbands were not able to afford a car or the finer luxuries in life, were told to stick it out with their husbands.<sup>165</sup>

A correspondent asking a question to Josephine sought advice for if she should stay with her husband even though he could not provide her with a car. Josephine responded by saying that she should stay with her husband, whom treated her well. Furthermore, Josephine claimed that just because he doesn’t make enough income to

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<sup>160</sup> “Women Throw Away Their Prestige and Neglect Their Homes in Search of Money.” *West African Pilot*, February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>161</sup> “Women Throw Away Their Prestige and Neglect Their Homes in Search of Money.” *West African Pilot*, February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>162</sup> “Women Throw Away Their Prestige and Neglect Their Homes in Search of Money.” *West African Pilot*, February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>163</sup> “Builders of Their Countries.” *West African Pilot*, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>164</sup> “Women Throw Away Their Prestige and Neglect Their Homes in Search of Money.” *West African Pilot*, February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>165</sup> “Letter to Josephine.” *West African Pilot*, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

purchase a car, he was still a good guy, and that leaving him for a man with more money would be foolish. She explained that those whom only seek money are not good role models for Nigeria.

This sentiment of not marrying men because of their money was intensified in “Josephine’s Page” by 1965. Articles condemned women whom only sought money, especially in times of financial difficulty—which was experienced throughout Nigeria in 1965 after the collapse of the civilian government and in the wake of the corruption by political leaders which was seen as bankrupting Nigeria. In one particular article, Josephine condemns the women whom were mourning the loss of either their husband or their property. She states that these women whom spent lavishly and married wealthy public servants in the past deserve the shame which was being given to them by the “public (and by Josephine’s column).”<sup>166</sup> Josephine even branded these women as “co-conspirators and offenders, whose joint activities constituted the stumbling-blocks in the progress of the nation.”<sup>167</sup> These women “in mourning” were rightfully spurned by the public, as their activities provided “glaring evidence of the endless row of atrocities...committed against the nation.”<sup>168</sup>

Women’s pursuit of money was viewed as a corrupting process. The women who placed a large importance on money were seen as part of the problem for the Nigerian nation. However, keeping up with the housework (which included cooking) and domestic duties was positively portrayed in the *Pilot*. A business woman was commented about by Josephine in a 1966 column. Josephine portrayed this aging

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<sup>166</sup> “The Dames Are Mourning.” *West African Pilot*, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1966.

<sup>167</sup> “The Dames Are Mourning.” *West African Pilot*, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1966.

<sup>168</sup> “The Dames Are Mourning.” *West African Pilot*, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1966.

business woman in a positive manner, not only by praising her for her “business acumen” and business sense, but also because she remained “very vigilant in her domestic chores and out-door activities.”<sup>169</sup> This article, and the above sources, highlight that a woman’s prestige was based largely upon the performance of household duties. Furthermore, men whom were well-paid civil servants were deemed as troublesome companions. The *Pilot* explained that they might leave their wife or girlfriend and spend their money elsewhere, or they might corrupt their wives or girlfriends by awakening in them a “relentless” hunger for money and the status a large income could purchase.

These sources tie the “good” woman to the “good” citizen. A “good” woman did not marry a man for his money, thus they were not supposed to seek the higher-paid civil servants whom corrupted the nation and caused the demise of the civilian government. Rather, women whom stuck to the marriage with their lower-paid husbands were lauded as “role models.”<sup>170</sup> Supporting the lifestyle dedicated to spending money and status was deemed as a problem for Nigeria as a country. The “good” woman took care of her husband and the family—which leads to the next goal women were to achieve.

“Josephine’s Page,” “Jane’s Page,” and the *Pilot* in general, were also greatly concerned with motherhood. After marriage, a woman was to start producing offspring; and their offspring were to be cared for in specific ways. Children were the future of the nation, and it was the mother’s duty to see to her child’s proper socialization into becoming a “good” citizen. Yet, more importantly, the focus of motherhood was placed

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<sup>169</sup> “A Woman of Many Parts.” *West African Pilot*, February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>170</sup> In the following example, Josephine asks a seemingly confused woman to stick it out with her husband despite him not being “well-paid” or owns a car. She states that “she would always be a lesson to other women” if she stays with him.

“Letter to Josephine.” *West African Pilot*, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

on the children. A “good” mother molded a “good” citizen, thus, mothers were not only mothers to their children, but they were imagined by the *Pilot* as mothers of the nation.

Even outside of the women’s pages, the *Pilot* published columns informing women of their goal of becoming “good” mothers. The *Pilot* published a report discussing the commissioner of Annang’s public statement made to school children—especially girls. The commissioner “called for strong character-building among school girls so that they can become good mothers and manage their homes after they have left school.”<sup>171</sup> While he later stated that “the time had gone when Nigerian women were considered good enough only for the kitchen,” he then demanded that schools needed to help develop “good morals” in girls which meant that they were to learn the benefits and duties of being a good mother and taking care of the household.<sup>172</sup> The Commissioner of Annang was not the only person to echo this sentiment. A different article claimed “that it is the woman’s natural place to prepare the food and look after the children.”<sup>173</sup>

In another article published outside the women’s pages, a school mistress outlined how women should act in independent Nigeria. She stated, “naturally, women are made for companionship...we should seek our companions with great care. We (women) should be motherly too. By this I mean we should always seek to be good and exemplary mothers who will bring up the young in the fear of the lord.”<sup>174</sup> In spite of the article later claiming that women need to be more active politically and in the workforce, it still

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<sup>171</sup> “Develop Good Character: Girls Told.” *West African Pilot*, March 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>172</sup> “Develop Good Character: Girls Told.” *West African Pilot*, March 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>173</sup> “Our Marital Problems.” *West African Pilot*, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>174</sup> “The Role of Women in an Independent Nigeria.” *West African Pilot*, March 9<sup>th</sup>, 1961.



maintains an emphasis that women were natural mothers, and that motherhood was an ultimate goal for women.<sup>175</sup>

The women's pages are more telling of the importance of motherhood to a woman's identity and to the future of Nigeria. Multiple columns spanning all six years contained tips on how to be a good mother or how the blame for producing "bad" children was placed on the mother (in some cases both parents).<sup>176</sup> These pages were not only a guide for women to raise their children with proper morals, but also placed emphasis on the children—especially male children. Women were told of the glories of becoming mothers, and once attaining the goal of motherhood, that their lives should be dedicated to their children. The *Pilot's* concern with the raising of children, was less to do with the mother's identity, and more to do with the *Pilot's* goal of creating responsible citizens loyal to Nigeria.

Far from the only source speaking to this issue, one "Jane's Page" column makes the point that mothers needed to produce "good" children, and if a child went bad, the mother was to blame. Jane wrote, "When a child is born, a relationship is established between him and his mother. She is with him at the time, his cries are for her."<sup>177</sup> Jane continues by writing; "I know mothers who in this plight (having a "bad" child) have asked: 'is it my lot to have such a bad child?' ...yes...it is my opinion it is the mother who should be blamed when a child goes bad. For most of the cases of juvenile delinquency

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<sup>175</sup> "The Role of Women in an Independent Nigeria." *West African Pilot*, March 9<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>176</sup> "Children in a Changing World." *West African Pilot*, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1964; "Your Child Needs Care." *West African Pilot*, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>177</sup> "When We Fail as Mothers." *West African Pilot*, Sept. 26<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

are theirs (the mother).”<sup>178</sup> Jane claimed that a child is bad when he abuses or “beats his mother,” causes trouble (for anyone), or generally becomes a delinquent.<sup>179</sup>

A “Josephine’s Page” column provided advice to mothers raising their children. Josephine wrote that it was the mother’s responsibility to instill good morals in their children.<sup>180</sup> This meant that children should learn “to treat other children they would want to be treated.”<sup>181</sup> Furthermore, Josephine demanded that “children growing up in wealthy homes should be warned (by their mothers) not to be swollen-headed, and look down on their less fortunate mates.”<sup>182</sup> Josephine instructed mothers to raise their children to be “truthful and honest, and to be studious...they (the children) should be made to understand that if they abide by those essential materials in life, they will not only be highly regarded as citizens when they grow up to manhood, but will also enjoy their lives all through their days on earth.”<sup>183</sup>

These columns were concerned with the raising of “good” citizens. A “good” citizen was not greedy and had “good” morals. “Good” citizens were those whom treated others the way they would want to be treated—thus following the “golden rule.”<sup>184</sup> However, these two columns were mostly concerned with raising male citizens. Males were the center of attention for mothers according to these articles, however, the *Pilot* did discuss raising girls. In accordance with the many of the previously cited sources, a “good” female citizen was expected to be a “good” wife and mother. Additionally,

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<sup>178</sup> “When We Fail as Mothers.” *West African Pilot*, Sept. 26<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>179</sup> “When We Fail as Mothers.” *West African Pilot*, Sept. 26<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>180</sup> “Advice to Mothers.” *West African Pilot*, January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

<sup>181</sup> “Advice to Mothers.” *West African Pilot*, January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

<sup>182</sup> “Advice to Mothers.” *West African Pilot*, January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

<sup>183</sup> “Advice to Mothers.” *West African Pilot*, January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

<sup>184</sup> “Advice to Mothers.” *West African Pilot*, January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

according to the *Pilot*, girls were supposed to learn to be feminine.<sup>185</sup> In the case of both male and female children, a mother was supposed to teach them gender appropriate morals, so they could become “good” citizens.

Thus, “good” women were equivalent to “good” citizens. They progressed Nigeria through their actions. “Good” women also raised “good” citizens as the mothers of the future generation. While achieving the goals of marriage and motherhood were argued by the columns of the *Pilot* as traits of “good” women, achieving these goals required the fulfillment of certain criteria—according to the *Pilot*. The following section begins the discussion of women’s duties and its relationship to Nigerian progress.

### Keeping Clean

The *Pilot* offered information and instructions for how women should achieve their goals. Achieving these goals required the performance of household activities. Many of these duties revolved around the notion of cleanliness. It is not a coincidence that the quote “Cleanliness is next to Godliness” was an often cited phrase in the women’s pages of the *Pilot*.<sup>186</sup> Cleanliness was important for attracting men, maintenance of a “healthy” marriage, maintenance of a “healthy” family, and for keeping a “healthy” physical body and psychological state of mind. Keeping clean was vital for beauty—an important factor for prospects of marriage and a “healthy” image. Most importantly, observance of cleanliness was pivotal for the progress of the nation. Thus, it

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<sup>185</sup> “Beauty Care.” *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963; “Hygiene in the Home.” *West African Pilot*, September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>186</sup> “Your Housewifery.” *West African Pilot*, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

is not surprising that cleanliness heavily factored into the *Pilot's* discussions of the importance of women's duties.

Cleanliness was discussed through two mediums inside the *Pilot*. Its importance was lauded by both the columns (male and female edited columns) and advertisements for consumer goods. The columns instructed women on how to "properly" clean the home for the improvement of personal and familial health. Columns also discussed the importance of cooking, and what foods were considered healthy. The advertisements sold cleaning products and healthy foods—or at least what were advertised as "healthy" and "clean" foods. The following sections highlight the discourses relating women's duties to health and cleanliness. It highlights a contested discourse surrounding the relationship of women's duties to the progress of the nation.

#### Household and Personal Cleaners, Cleanliness, and Beaut

The *Pilot* defined cleaning, provided numerous reasons for why the house should be kept clean, and finally supplied women with tips on how to properly clean the home. Cleaning is stated as "the removal of all dirt, dust, and foreign matter, and is made necessary by the presence of dust and dirt."<sup>187</sup> Cleaning was not only limited to clearing away dust and dirt from the floor, bathroom, windows, and the table, it also entailed removing stains from clothes and fabrics.<sup>188</sup> The *Pilot's* women's pages emphasized the importance of cleaning every room in the house and all the fabrics contained inside the rooms. The *Pilot* assured readers (especially women) that "cleanliness certainly cannot

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<sup>187</sup> "Your Housewifery." *West African Pilot*, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>188</sup> "Jane About the House." *West African Pilot*, October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

be ignored, as it is liable to make all the difference between good and bad health.”<sup>189</sup>

Cleanliness was seen as promoting good physical health for the family, and also as providing the family with psychological health. Josephine argues that the importance of the removal of dust and dirt was due to multiple reasons. In addition to the physical health and appearance reasons including “a) to produce and maintain good health, b) to preserve household furnishings, and c) to improve the beauty and appearance of things,” Josephine emphasized the psychological reasons alongside the others which included “a) it is morally wrong to live in dirty surroundings and b) mental as well as physical ill-health may be the result (of not cleaning the home properly).”<sup>190</sup>

The paper provided instructions for how to clean. One article provided seven steps for how to properly sweep the floor. Josephine states that “keeping the head of the broom down...and brushing smoothly,” while “covering the furniture” and “closing the windows” were only some of the steps involved in “methodologically” and “correctly” cleaning the home.<sup>191</sup> A *Jane’s Page* column informed readers of the numerous different cleaning materials which could be used most effectively for cleaning different types of stains.<sup>192</sup> “Paint (stains): treat with turpentine or kerosene, blood (stains): soak in running water when fresh,” and “cod-liver-oil (stains): wash with clean water and soap.”<sup>193</sup> Another column provided instructions for “proper ironing” and efficiently doing the laundry. Josephine instructed women on how to save time on ironing and cleaning by buying “new fabrics (modern clothes)” and washing the clothes with “a sufficient

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<sup>189</sup> “Hygiene in the Home.” *West African Pilot*, September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>190</sup> “Reason for Removal of Dust and Dirt.” *West African Pilot*, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>191</sup> “Housewifery: Method of Sweeping.” *West African Pilot*, February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>192</sup> “Jane About the House.” *West African Pilot*, October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>193</sup> “Jane About the House.” *West African Pilot*, October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

quantity of excellent detergent:” which “explicit instructions (for how to use the detergent) are on the packet.”<sup>194</sup> These are only a small sample of the columns which provided detailed instructions for how to clean the home and fabrics.<sup>195</sup>

These cleaning technique columns are significant due to the detail of the instructions. They “scientifically” provided instructions for how to clean the house. As Josephine states in a previously cited column, “Housewifery...is the oldest of the arts, youngest of the sciences.”<sup>196</sup> Correctly cleaning the home was important for the applying the label of a “good” housewife and science played a role in the label’s award. One particularly unique *Jane’s Page* offered a questionnaire and answer guide for rating a woman as a housewife. The article was prefaced by the notion that women were responsible for keeping the home together, and if the marriage “goes to rocks” it is the woman’s fault.<sup>197</sup> Jane says “the very fact that the woman is the house-keeper is enough to hold her responsible when the home breaks up.”<sup>198</sup> The article listed ten questions for rating a woman’s worth as a housewife. The questions regressed knowing “the key to a man’s heart is through his stomach,” and many others involved taking care of the husband and family without complaints or gossip—cleaning the home was implied by a few of the questions.<sup>199</sup> Jane provided answers near the bottom as a key for scoring the answers. Each correct answer was worth two points, and if the woman scored from fifteen to twenty points, the marriage would harmoniously continue.<sup>200</sup> However, a score

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<sup>194</sup> “Your Busy Day.” *West African Pilot*, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>195</sup> “Renew Your Surroundings.” *West African Pilot*, January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Household Hints.” *West African Pilot*, March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Care for Your Mirrors.” *West African Pilot*, March 30<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Glass Windows.” *West African Pilot*, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960.

<sup>196</sup> “Your Housewifery.” *West African Pilot*, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>197</sup> “Mainly for Women: What’s Your Rating as a Housewife?” *West African Pilot*, October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>198</sup> “Mainly for Women: What’s Your Rating as a Housewife?” *West African Pilot*, October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>199</sup> “Mainly for Women: What’s Your Rating as a Housewife?” *West African Pilot*, October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>200</sup> “Mainly for Women: What’s Your Rating as a Housewife?” *West African Pilot*, October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

of ten or less spelled doom for the marriage.<sup>201</sup> Most importantly, the column demonstrates that there existed scientifically based criteria for being a “good” housewife.

The cleaning products bought by women at the store also involved science for proper utility as is clear from their advertisements published in the *Pilot*. Since the *Pilot* deemed shopping as a housewife’s duty, women were urged to understand what cleaning products worked best for doing the laundry or cleaning the home.<sup>202</sup> Housewives were encouraged to know the proper price of the product and what product would work best for their cleaning duties.<sup>203</sup> The advertisements for cleaning products helped aid in the “knowledge” of what products were the best for any cleaning situation. Furthermore, it is evident that the advertisements for these cleaning products were marketed to women as a target consumer base due to the language and images of the advertisement.

Soap for washing clothes were one of the advertisements that targeted a female consumer base. Omo soap advertisements running from 1960 through 1961 in the *Pilot* pictured two ladies in white dresses, with one woman’s white dress being “brighter” than the other, under the heading “You can see her uniform is brighter—it’s washed with

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<sup>201</sup> “Mainly for Women: What’s Your Rating as a Housewife?” *West African Pilot*, October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>202</sup> Many of the *Pilot*’s women’s columns which centered on shopping instructed women on how to haggle properly and what products to purchase. The multitude of columns plainly stating that shopping was a part of the housewife’s duty testify to the importance of shopping to Nigerian women’s identity. Knowledge of the products to be purchased and skill in bargaining at the market was a criteria for being a “good” housewife. The following citation focuses on women learning to attain better bargains at the market: “The Dupe.” *West African Pilot*, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1962. The next column discusses a woman whom used her shopping money to set up a fake business. Josephine laments the fact that she would trick her husband by claiming she needed more shopping money. However it highlights the role of women in performing the shopping. “My Sympathy Goes to a Husband.” *West African Pilot*, January 26<sup>th</sup>, 1966. The last column informs Nigerian women of tips on shopping from Nigerian women living in Britain. It shows the importance of bargaining properly to a woman’s status, and also the importance of picking the right products. “Hints to Wives from Nigeria.” *West African Pilot*, September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>203</sup> “Hints to Wives from Nigeria.” *West African Pilot*, September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1963; “Heated Argument.” *West African Pilot*, Sept. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1965; “Jane About the House: Family Catering.” *West African Pilot*, October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

Omo.”<sup>204</sup> The soap was advertised as providing the “cleanest” and “the brightest wash in the world.”<sup>205</sup>

There were other cleaning and household product advertisements specifically targeted for women including irons, sewing machines, threads (for sewing), and furniture polish. The Lin Class “heavily chromed and automatic iron” was available at the best bargain price at Chellarams—a heavily advertised store throughout the *Pilot* located in Lagos.<sup>206</sup> The Lin Class was touted as being designed “for easy and comfortable ironing.”<sup>207</sup> Chellarams also sold the Coleman “kerosene” iron.<sup>208</sup> Having a kerosene powered housing product meant that a woman did not need an electrical outlet, thus making the product portable, and available to a consumer group which did not have access to electrical power. An advertisement for the G.E.C. Superspeed iron, touted as a luxury iron by the advertisement, pictures a housewife ironing pants saying “I do my ironing twice as quickly with my G.E.C. Superspeed.”<sup>209</sup> Chellarams also sold and advertised “domestic sewing machines.”<sup>210</sup> These were not the only sewing machines advertised in the *Pilot*. Singer also advertised sewing machines.<sup>211</sup> These sewing machines were also figuratively flanked by advertisements for sewing threads.<sup>212</sup> These products were designed for women to use in the home.

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<sup>204</sup> “You can see Her Uniform is Brighter—It’s Washed With Omo.” *West African Pilot*, October 30<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “You can See Her Uniform is Brighter—It’s Washed With Omo.” *West African Pilot*, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1961.

<sup>205</sup> “You can see Her Uniform is Brighter—It’s Washed With Omo.” *West African Pilot*, October 30<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “You can See Her Uniform is Brighter—It’s Washed With Omo.” *West African Pilot*, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1961.

<sup>206</sup> “Lin Class.” *West African Pilot*, January 10<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>207</sup> “Lin Class.” *West African Pilot*, January 10<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>208</sup> “Coleman Kerosene Iron.” *West African Pilot*, January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>209</sup> “G.E.C. Superspeed.” *West African Pilot*, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>210</sup> “USHA Fans and Sewing Machines.” *West African Pilot*, February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>211</sup> “Singer.” *West African Pilot*, October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>212</sup> “Threads! For Sewing and Embroidery Purposes.” *West African Pilot*, February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961.



For cleaning furniture and floors in the home, the *Pilot* contained advertisements for furniture polish and furniture and floor soaps. Mansion furniture polish published numerous advertisements throughout the paper. Mansion advertisements posed the question, “what do furniture makers themselves use on the furniture they make?”<sup>213</sup> The advertisements answers this question by saying: “they use Mansion—they know that Mansion gives the finest shine and protectorate too.” One of the Mansion advertisements even pictured the tin of the polish which claimed on the tin cover that Mansion was a “hygienic wax” used on “linoleum wood floors and furniture” to produce “bright and healthy homes.”<sup>214</sup> Mansion advertisements sold furniture polish which was backed by experts—furniture makers—and was “hygienic.” Lastly, Mansion advertisements either pictured an image of a furniture maker or a housewife.<sup>215</sup> Using a furniture maker in some of the advertisements may have provided the credibility of an expert (whose profession dealt with making precise and attractive furniture), and using an image of a housewife could have been a way to connect with the consumer base whom actually used the product in the home.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> “Mansion—The Polish Furniture Makers Use!” *West African Pilot*, January 21<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Mansion—The Polish Furniture Makers Use!” *West African Pilot*, January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Mansion—The Furniture Makers Choice” *West African Pilot*, April 13<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>214</sup> “Mansion—The Polish Furniture Makers Use!” *West African Pilot*, January 21<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>215</sup> It is also possible that the furniture maker is actually a domestic servant. The figure is wearing an apron with pockets and a hat. The dress could be very similar between a furniture maker and a domestic servant. However, due to the fact that the advertisements claims that the polish is the choice of furniture makers, it is a good chance that the figure pictured is a furniture maker. The woman is clearly a housewife. She is wearing a western dress and features no maid’s head piece.

<sup>216</sup> The first two listed are examples of the advertisements featuring the furniture maker. The last one is an example of the housewife. It is safe to say that there were many more advertisements featuring the housewife.

“Mansion—The Polish Furniture Makers Use!” *West African Pilot*, January 21<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Mansion—The Polish Furniture Makers Use!” *West African Pilot*, January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Mansion—The Furniture Makers Choice.” *West African Pilot*, April 13<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

Mansion was not the only furniture cleaner advertised in the *Pilot*. A unique all-purpose cleaner was also heavily advertised in the paper. Lifeguard was advertised as a cleaner for floors, walls, drains, and the skin. Lifeguard advertisements claimed that it was a “quick acting, safe antiseptic...(which) kills germs that cause infection.”<sup>217</sup> There were a few different versions of the advertisement which ran in the paper, however all of the advertisements pictured a motherly figure as the spokesperson. One pictures an African mother treating a cut her child incurred after a bicycle accident with Lifeguard.<sup>218</sup> Another pictures an African mother performing various cleaning tasks including washing the floor and walls, washing clothes, cleaning the drain, and taking a bath while using Lifeguard.<sup>219</sup> Both advertisements stated that using Lifeguard “will protect your family too” and that using Lifeguard keeps the family healthy.<sup>220</sup> Lifeguard advertisements were intended for a female audience (especially mothers) as they utilized a mother figure as a spokesperson and expert in house cleanliness.

Lifeguard was unique due to its all-purpose use. However, since it was a personal cleaner used on the body in addition to a housecleaner, it acts as a wonderful transition into the next section of this paper—personal cleaners. Soaps and beauty products were highly advertised in the *Pilot* as evidenced by the multitude of different soap and beauty product advertisements published in the *Pilot*. These products were intended to reach a female audience whom were health and beauty conscious.

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<sup>217</sup> “I Use Lifeguard to Kill Disease Germs.” *West African Pilot*, January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1961; “Lifeguard Healed John’s Arm Quickly...” *West African Pilot*, March 13<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>218</sup> “Lifeguard Healed John’s Arm Quickly...” *West African Pilot*, March 13<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>219</sup> “I Use Lifeguard to Kill Disease Germs.” *West African Pilot*, January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>220</sup> “I Use Lifeguard to Kill Disease Germs.” *West African Pilot*, January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1961; “Lifeguard Healed John’s Arm Quickly...” *West African Pilot*, March 13<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

One of more famous brands of soaps, Lux, was advertised to women in the *Pilot*.<sup>221</sup> Lux advertisements claimed that “you too can be lovelier if you use Lux toilet soap.”<sup>222</sup> The advertisements also stated that “when you (a woman) use Lux toilet soap you do more than wash your face, you give yourself a beauty treatment.”<sup>223</sup> The advertisements provided instructions on how to properly wash the skin using Lux, and also provided an expert’s testimonial. Fashion designer “Shade Thomas of Lagos has returned from England after four years” and had a fashion rule by which to live.<sup>224</sup> She states that all the fashion stars use Lux toilet soap because the “rich fragrant lather is wonderful for my skin.”<sup>225</sup> These Lux advertisements were clearly designed for women.

Lux advertisements targeted a specific female audience, however other soaps were made for both genders. Asepsol soap was advertised as a disinfectant and marketed to the entire family. “Asepsol contains a powerful germicide, so it not only cleanses your skin thoroughly, but it also helps to fight the dangerous germs that cause skin trouble to appear.”<sup>226</sup> Asepsol advertisements pictured both females and males using the soap.<sup>227</sup> Glamour Back was marketed as a healing product for grey hair. A female or male primary consumer base was never identified in the advertisement, however, Glamour Back was a hair product which would supposedly restore grey hair to its natural color.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> It is interesting that the *Pilot* never published advertisements for Lifebuoy.

<sup>222</sup> “Nigeria’s Loveliest Women are Lux Lovely.” *West African Pilot*, March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1961; “Nigeria’s Loveliest Women are Lux Lovely.” *West African Pilot*, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>223</sup> “Nigeria’s Loveliest Women are Lux Lovely.” *West African Pilot*, March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1961; “Nigeria’s Loveliest Women are Lux Lovely.” *West African Pilot*, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>224</sup> “Nigeria’s Loveliest Women are Lux Lovely.” *West African Pilot*, March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1961; “Nigeria’s Loveliest Women are Lux Lovely.” *West African Pilot*, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>225</sup> “Nigeria’s Loveliest Women are Lux Lovely.” *West African Pilot*, March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1961; “Nigeria’s Loveliest Women are Lux Lovely.” *West African Pilot*, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>226</sup> “Skin Troubles can Spoil Your Fun.” *West African Pilot*, January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961; p. 3. (3168); “Skin Troubles can Spoil Your Fun.” *West African Pilot*, February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>227</sup> “Skin Troubles can Spoil Your Fun.” *West African Pilot*, January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961; p. 3. (3168); “Skin Troubles can Spoil Your Fun.” *West African Pilot*, February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>228</sup> “Look.” *West African Pilot*, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

“It is not a dye, but a scientific blending of herbs, which are harmless to hair.”<sup>229</sup>

Mentholatum was a rub designed to heal unwanted skin sores or irritated skin. Numerous versions of Mentholatum advertisements were published in the paper, however two in particular stand out due to their female images. One pictured a mother holding a baby in which Mentholatum was advertised as the product that mothers use to heal their baby’s dry and irritated skin.<sup>230</sup> The other pictured a woman whom was holding the jar of Mentholatum and claimed that it soothed irritated, dry, and cracked skin.<sup>231</sup> These personal cleaning products were intended for both men and women, and their respective advertisements revolved around notions of cleanliness and scientific formulas for producing beauty.

The advertisements for women’s cleaners and beauty products were centered on the notion of beauty. Being clean was beautiful for a woman, but applying face powders and make-up was also important for beautification purposes. Face powders, make-up, and other beauty product advertisements lined the pages of the *Pilot*.

Matskin make-up was advertised as being used for “day long loveliness in an instant.”<sup>232</sup> The advertisement claims that “Matskin will not dry your skin as it contains Lanolin.”<sup>233</sup> Target face powder was advertised to women as the “final touch...when you’re all set to meet the important man in your life...when you want him to see you looking your loveliest...when the night is full of the promise of romance.”<sup>234</sup> These

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<sup>229</sup> “Look.” *West African Pilot*, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>230</sup> “Don’t Let Your Baby Suffer Skin Misery.” *West African Pilot*, September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1963; “Don’t Let Your Baby Suffer Skin Misery.” *West African Pilot*, January 10<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>231</sup> “No More Dry Skin.” *West African Pilot*, September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>232</sup> “Matskin Make-Up.” *West African Pilot*, December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1960; “Matskin Make-Up.” *West African Pilot*, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>233</sup> “Matskin Make-Up.” *West African Pilot*, December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1960; “Matskin Make-Up.” *West African Pilot*, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>234</sup> “Target Face Powder.” *West African Pilot*, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

beauty products joined others to grace the pages of the *Pilot*.<sup>235</sup> Most were centered on female beautification in order to be more attractive to men.

Interestingly, these beauty advertisements mostly occurred from 1960 to 1963.<sup>236</sup> Why beauty product advertisements predominantly died out in the *Pilot* can only be speculated as to an answer. It is quite possible that because beauty products were more of a luxury item coupled with the falling income levels as time progressed after independence could have called into question the profitability of maintaining advertisements in the papers. Also, with radios and televisions entering more Nigerian households, companies may have decided to put more emphasis on advertising through these mediums instead of a decaying paper (the *Pilot*, in terms of newspaper readership). However, despite shrinking amounts of advertisements occurring in the paper, the discussion of female beauty and cleanliness in the *Pilot* did not pass away. In fact, personal cleanliness and beauty discourse was frequent from 1960 to 1966.

This leads to questions of what was beauty, or what made a woman beautiful according to the *Pilot*. Female beauty was a topic of great concern in the *Pilot*'s women's pages, but being beautiful was a complex issue. Jane writes "Everybody admires beauty whether in the form of art or in human beings...but the best work of beauty can be spoiled by being a little careless."<sup>237</sup> The carelessness Jane spoke of meant a lack of fashion consciousness and a lack of cleanliness. Therefore properly using

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<sup>235</sup> "Spots and Pimples Gave Her Nothing to Sing About..." *West African Pilot*, October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1962.

<sup>236</sup> The most highly concentrated year for beauty product advertisements was 1961. The outlier advertisement was Mentholatum which continued to occur from 1960 to 1963. However, most beauty products and soaps were published from 1960 to 1961—with emphasis on 1961.

<sup>237</sup> "Beauty Care." *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

personal cleansers, beauty products, and properly dressing was important for beautification.

The *Pilot* informed and instructed women on how to be beautiful. Jane writes that “it is unsightly (for a woman) to leave dirty nostrils or an oily nose.”<sup>238</sup> Josephine writes that “any woman must be proud of her clean body and the freshness of her skin. I (Josephine) do not believe that a woman who puts a dress on (a) dirty and sticky body ever feels comfortable.”<sup>239</sup> Josephine urged women to take a bath before putting on a dress stating “it does not matter if she can afford bath-salts or other bathing accessories...the bathing soap and sponge are enough to keep her clean.”<sup>240</sup> Using “good” soap and water to clean the body was deemed as integral to a woman’s beauty by the *Pilot*.<sup>241</sup>

None of the articles specifically articulated what constituted a “good” soap, however a column discussing hair style and shampoo does shed light on this issue. In the column, Jane instructs women to ask their hair-dresser what the best shampoo would be for the texture of their hair.<sup>242</sup> This suggests that “good” soaps and shampoos were tailored to specific body types; and choosing a “good” soap and shampoo to use was informed by experts in the field of beauty.

Cleaning the body was only part of the beautification process. The *Pilot*’s women’s pages informed women about the importance of wearing make-up and other beauty products which were important for a woman’s beauty—if worn properly. The

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<sup>238</sup> “Beauty Care.” *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>239</sup> “Personal Cleanliness Before Grooming.” *West African Pilot*, February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>240</sup> “Personal Cleanliness Before Grooming.” *West African Pilot*, February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>241</sup> The term “good” soap is used by Jane in one of her columns:

“Beauty Tips—the Neck.” *West African Pilot*, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>242</sup> “Advice on Fashion.” *West African Pilot*, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

*Pilot* highlighted whole body beautification, and on many occasions spotlighted specific body parts and informed women of how to care for them and make them beautiful. One *Jane's Page* article focused on the neck. It instructed women how to wash it with soap—to keep it from being dirty—then instructed women on how to apply face powders and other products to make it appear “pretty.”<sup>243</sup> More columns focused on the face and various other body parts including finger nails and legs.<sup>244</sup> Jane made it clear in one column that “beautiful women” wore make-up, because it was rare that the “beautiful girl...you (the viewer of a woman’s beauty) meet, pause, and have a second look at” did not wear make-up.<sup>245</sup>

However, wearing make-up and other beauty products was to be done in “moderation” according to Jane.<sup>246</sup> Jane pleads “no more ebony black women putting on horrible red lipstick. And no more of those thick penciled eyebrows which extended to the cheeks, reminding one of masquerades.”<sup>247</sup> Moderation and “simplicity”—as put by Josephine—in wearing beauty products was advised.<sup>248</sup> “Simplicity should always be the creed of every fashionable girl, who wants to look chick and smart.”<sup>249</sup> Josephine continues this sentiment in another column saying, “Simplicity is the only true sense of fashion in this modern age, and the general outlook is second to none.”<sup>250</sup>

The notion of “simplicity” in beauty was taken in slightly alternate direction by a male contributor to the paper. Uncle Henry, an editor appearing in all six years of the

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<sup>243</sup> “Beauty Tips—the Neck.” *West African Pilot*, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>244</sup> “Shorter Skirts and Legs.” *West African Pilot*, January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Legs Need Care.” *West African Pilot*, January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>245</sup> “Beauty Tips—The Poise.” *West African Pilot*, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>246</sup> “Fashion and You.” *West African Pilot*, March 11<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>247</sup> “Fashion and You.” *West African Pilot*, March 11<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>248</sup> “Our Ladies and Future.” *West African Pilot*, January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>249</sup> “The General Outlook.” *West African Pilot*, October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>250</sup> “The General Outlook.” *West African Pilot*, October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

paper, commented on the sad state of beauty in Nigeria and Africa. He says, “It is unfortunate that at a time when we do expect that our girls look more and more beautiful (in 1963) they are rather looking more and more horrible.”<sup>251</sup> Uncle Henry blamed Nigerian women’s lack of knowledge of “African beauty” as the culprit as to why this occurred.<sup>252</sup> He states, “To look beautiful a girl does not require heavy ornamentation and artificial decoration. Simplicity is the charm and effectiveness of African beauty.”<sup>253</sup> He advocates for a “natural look,” by condemning the use of skin lighteners, which he feels support a false notion of white being more beautiful than black. He notes that “Africa as a rising continent has yet to reveal its beauty to the world...this beauty must be purely African in method and material.” He ends the column by urging African scientists to begin studying African beauty and creating African beauty products.<sup>254</sup>

On one hand the notion of “simplicity” in beauty envisioned by Uncle Henry and the women’s pages share important characteristics. Both advocate for scientifically formulated beauty products created by experts. Both also claim that “simplicity” meant that women should not overdue the “decoration” of their face and body by using too much make-up or powders. From this it is evident that both views supported notions of modernity. While Uncle Henry argues that African women would be more beautiful by wearing a more “natural look,” he still supports the use of beauty products—just not Western influenced beauty products.

Both demonstrate the importance of beauty and cleanliness to their family, their respective community, Nigeria, and the world. Uncle Henry and the women’s pages

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<sup>251</sup> “Who Will Marry You?” *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>252</sup> “Who Will Marry You?” *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>253</sup> “Who Will Marry You?” *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>254</sup> “Who Will Marry You?” *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963.



inform women of why wearing beauty products was important. First, it was attractive to men. A few of the women's page columns highlight how keeping beautiful, fashionable, and clean would attract men or keep their husband's "satisfied" and "proud."<sup>255</sup> Being attractive to men did not end with marriage, or stopped when being inside the home—according to Jane. She says "It is very wrong of a woman to look like an angel in the street, but to appear as a pig at home."<sup>256</sup> She continued by claiming that being clean and fashionable outside and inside the home was beneficial because it kept men satisfied, kept the family healthy, provided a proper role model for children to "look up to," and would not make the hostess (and the family) feel ashamed when having guests over to the home.<sup>257</sup> A different "Josephine's Page" column tells the story of a married woman whom lost her husband. Josephine cited an opinion about why the marriage fell apart. The person cited says that the marriage fell apart because the married woman did not check "the period of her husband's carefree and thoughtless activities" and she was "not grooming herself in the modern fashion."<sup>258</sup> However, being attractive to men and maintaining their husbands, was only part of the importance of beauty to women according to the *Pilot*.

Uncle Henry and the women's pages moderately converge on the issue of the importance of beauty to Nigeria and the world. He claims that in 1963, on the precipice of Nigeria becoming a republic, that at "a time when we do expect that our girls look more and more beautiful they are rather looking more and more horrible."<sup>259</sup> According

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<sup>255</sup> "Fashion and You." *West African Pilot*, March 11<sup>th</sup>, 1961; "Beauty Care." *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963; "The Nigerian Model..." *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>256</sup> "'Beauty' Queens." *West African Pilot*, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>257</sup> "'Beauty' Queens." *West African Pilot*, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>258</sup> "The Controversial Issue!" *West African Pilot*, October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>259</sup> "Who Will Marry You?" *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

to him, this highlights the notion that beauty was increasingly becoming more important for the country. Furthermore the African “natural look” cosmetics Uncle Henry asks to have created by African scientists, is argued as important for Africa’s contribution to the world. He was not the only male contributor to the *Pilot* to hold support this ideal. John White commented by saying “let each country develop its own style, and above all, never try playing tricks with the beauty with which nature has endowed us.”<sup>260</sup> Both Uncle Henry and White advocate for a natural look of beauty for African girls, and both saw beauty in relation to Nigeria’s prominence.

This relatively corresponds to the women’s pages. In an image of a “working girl” applying a face powder and caption edited by Josephine, she comments that “the charming woman...(in) the picture can be seen making her face up to look fresh and happy during her working period.”<sup>261</sup> Josephine continues by stating that the girl powders her face in-between official working hours then notes that “she therefore contributes her bit of progress to the state.”<sup>262</sup>

In both the male written columns and the female written columns, being beautiful was viewed as necessary to achieve women’s goals and progressive to the nation. “Beauty Queens” were seen as “ambassadors of the nation” which was considered “progressive.” The “natural” beauty whom used beauty products, dressed, and was made-up in moderation and simplicity was not unique to either men or women editors of the *Pilot*. An article discussing how “Nigerian Women are Fashion-Conscious” sees the use of “light ornaments” and “light make-up, which matches skin color” as progressive

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<sup>260</sup> “Girls, Be Beautiful.” *West African Pilot*, January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>261</sup> “The Charming Woman on the Right...” *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>262</sup> “The Charming Woman on the Right...” *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

for the country.<sup>263</sup> Both male and female contributors of the *Pilot*, saw beauty as important to citizenship. However, there were subtle differences between male versions of simplicity and female versions of simplicity and the natural look in the *Pilot*, which highlight the occurrence of a gendered nationalism.

Uncle Henry and John White's columns support the notion of country and African, which could be race or continental, specific beauty. The "natural" beauty they propose for Nigerian women is a beauty which required the absence of western-made beauty products and fashion trends. Beauty was to be seen as uniquely Nigerian or African, which would then contribute to the prestige of Nigeria on the world stage. The ideal beauty they supported was modern in the sense that they still advocated for African made cosmetics which were scientifically formulated, but it did not fit in with a notion of global modernity.

The female version of beauty coded in the *Pilot's* women's pages, spoke to a beauty produced through global cosmopolitan modernity. Use of imported face powders was labeled as "progressive to the state."<sup>264</sup> Furthermore, the "simplicity" of modern fashion was more of a guideline incorporated into being beautiful. The pictures included on the women's pages also display a global cosmopolitan character. Female models from around the world, and diasporic Nigerians, were pictured displaying fashion trends which were described as "beautiful" and many other relatable adjectives.<sup>265</sup> Fashion trends from France were detailed by the *Pilot*, and a "Glamour" magazine column was even

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<sup>263</sup> "Nigerian Women are Fashion-Conscious." *West African Pilot*, October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>264</sup> "The Charming Woman on the Right..." *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>265</sup> "Fit for a Princess." *West African Pilot*, January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1961; "Mrs. Chinyere Davies..." *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963; "In Smashing Fashion." *West African Pilot*, January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1965; "A Girl in the Crowd." *West African Pilot*, January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1965; "World's Most Elegant Women." *West African Pilot*, January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1965; "Jean Ollis models..." *West African Pilot*, March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

published in the paper advocating for “women to change your make-up” often and be supplied with numerous beauty products because “variety of appearance” will keep “other people” from tiring of the same look.<sup>266</sup> The female version of beauty embraced by the *Pilot* was also linked to the notion of international womanhood.

The discussion on Nigerian women wearing wigs in the *Pilot* helps enlighten the difference in outlook between male and female versions of beauty in accordance with citizenship. In 1965, there was a proposed ban on wig wearing in Nigeria. Jane was opposed to the ban, while the male correspondents to “Jane’s Page” and other male contributors supported the ban on wigs. Yet there was more complexity to the positions taken by Jane and the other men than simply being a proponent or an opponent of the ban.

Jane’s opposition to the ban came with some hesitation. Although she claims “if women in other parts of the world wear wigs, I don’t see why Nigerian women should not do likewise,” she does find that certain types of wigs should be banned.<sup>267</sup> “Some (women) wear wigs because others are wearing them...it is all part of the fashion, and so you find brown wigs, red wigs and yellow wigs all on dark skin. It is these types of wigs which I cannot stand...they should be the ones to be banned.”<sup>268</sup> Jane found that the unnatural looking wigs, which were not “made as near possible to that which they represent,” should not be allowed in Nigeria as it was not beautiful.<sup>269</sup> Yet, it is important to note that Jane opposed a complete ban on wigs citing that other women

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<sup>266</sup> “It’s Time for a Change.” *West African Pilot*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962.

<sup>267</sup> “Why Nigerian Women Wear Wigs.” *West African Pilot*, October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>268</sup> “Why Nigerian Women Wear Wigs.” *West African Pilot*, October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>269</sup> “Why Nigerian Women Wear Wigs.” *West African Pilot*, October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

around the world wear wigs. This demonstrates Jane's connection to international womanhood through the use of a modern fashion product.

The men responded to Jane's message with either misunderstanding or critique. One male respondent says "I am happy to note that you condemn wig wearing."<sup>270</sup> He continues by saying "I wish we had an effective way of banning the wearing of wigs especially the colored ones." This respondent, named Olubade, distorted Jane's message on the ban of only certain wigs to his own liking which included the ban on all wigs. It is noteworthy that Jane responded to the comment by saying "no comment."<sup>271</sup> Olubade was not the only respondent to Jane's column concerning wigs.

Clearly responding to Jane, whom he calls the "woman editor," Joe Elikwu critiqued Jane's opinion on wig wearing. Elikwu detested and condemned "Nigerian women (wig wearers) for their extraneous lapses in their crude imitation of the Europeans."<sup>272</sup> He says "Lots of our young women nowadays do not put on wigs with the decent reasons for which those wigs were made, but because they find it a successful convenient cocoon for hiding their unkempt hair."<sup>273</sup> Elikwu urges girls to be more "sensible" when selecting wigs, but he finds "a good number of our girls today lack good sense of selection and taste, consequently they pick offensive colored wigs which annoyingly clash with the complexion of the African."<sup>274</sup> While he urged women to be more "sensible" in picking wigs he felt that a total ban on wig wearing should be enacted, thus the "sensible" choice was only temporary.

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<sup>270</sup> "Nigerian Women and Wigs." *West African Pilot*, October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>271</sup> "Nigerian Women and Wigs." *West African Pilot*, October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>272</sup> "Ban Wig Wearing." *West African Pilot*, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>273</sup> "Ban Wig Wearing." *West African Pilot*, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>274</sup> "Ban Wig Wearing." *West African Pilot*, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

Both male contributors to the *Pilot* felt wearing wigs should be totally banned. Olubade stresses that there should both be a legal ban on wig wearing and a ban on imported wigs into Nigeria.<sup>275</sup> Both felt that women were not sensible enough to wear African fashion. Elikwu even says that women were being lazy in caring for their unclean hair by choosing wigs.<sup>276</sup> Olubade and Elikwu supported the ban based on notions of African beauty which was not imported from Europe. They “detested” the modern fashion instead advocating for a natural fashion unique to Africa.

“Jane’s Page” agreed that women should not wear “unnatural wigs” but she did not oppose Nigerian women wearing all wigs. For the men, the wigs were unnatural, but for Jane, wigs in certain colors—those which matched the skin—were natural. Jane did not condemn women for their choice of wearing a wig, she only supported a ban on certain types of wigs. Jane’s column advocated for a solidarity among women around the world, whom which informed her argument. While Jane’s column was supposedly “mainly for women” and a voice of women, it is not to say that her opinion served as the authentic voice of all Nigerian women. However, for editorials and columns in the *Pilot*, it is evident that there was a distinct gendered notion of beauty and nationalism which differed for men and women.

While the evidence generally corresponds to separate gendered opinions surrounding the notion of beauty; in which women seemed to hold cosmopolitan modern views of beauty and men held ideals of beauty rooted in Africa with less (or seemingly zero in one case) emphasis on modernity, the reality of the discourse of beauty in the *Pilot* was much more complex. First, sources indicates that not all women thought of

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<sup>275</sup> “Nigerian Women and Wigs.” *West African Pilot*, October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>276</sup> “Ban Wig Wearing.” *West African Pilot*, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

modernity as beautiful. A “Jane’s Page” column discusses Jane’s reaction to a woman whom verbally critiqued the judges’ criteria of selecting a “beauty queen” at a beauty pageant in Nigeria. The woman criticized the judges’ pick of a “beauty queen” whom looked “unnatural,” by saying that the “real ‘beauties’ were the simple, unsophisticated, unpretending, and modest girls from the provinces.”<sup>277</sup> However, Jane responded to this criticism by saying “I felt like passing my hand across her face and sealing her mouth.”<sup>278</sup> Jane demanded that women should not throw accusations at each other as it was a “disgrace to womanhood.”<sup>279</sup> Jane did not specifically state her agreement or disagreement with the woman’s position. Despite Jane not taking a specific stand, she did advocate for female solidarity. This does serve as evidence of alternate opinions concerning beauty in Nigeria among women.

Secondly, even the women’s page’s notion of beauty slightly changed during the pivotal year of 1963. Before 1963 “Josephine’s” and “Jane’s Page” advocated directly for the beauty of “modernity” in fashion, however, while modernity still played a role, post-1963 saw the women shift to a more “natural” outlook on fashion as being more beautiful—at least in terms of language used by the editors. The word “modern” is used on many occasions to describe the beautiful fashion of the years from 1960 to 1963.<sup>280</sup>

Conversely, after 1963 the word “modern” in the *Pilot* was either chastised by

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<sup>277</sup> “‘Beauty’ Queens.” *West African Pilot*, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>278</sup> “‘Beauty’ Queens.” *West African Pilot*, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>279</sup> “‘Beauty’ Queens.” *West African Pilot*, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>280</sup> The following citations contain the word “modern” when describing fashion and beauty from 1960 to 1963. These sources spin “modern” fashion in a positive light, through praise.

“Modern Living.” *West African Pilot*, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “In the Picture...” *West African Pilot*, October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “More Leather per Foot in New Shoes.” *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963. An advertisement for Kingsway Stores also highlights the beauty of modernity through an advertisement for beauty products available at Kingsway.

“Kingsway...Leads the Way to Modern Living.” *West African Pilot*, December 9<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

writers or was replaced with “natural.”<sup>281</sup> Despite the change in word usage, the evidence I presented prior to this shows that modernity was still a part of the “natural” look buttressed by the *Pilot’s* women’s pages. Yet completely discounting this change would not be a favorable move as a historian.

The word change is not insignificant, as it possibly highlights a transformation of notions of citizenship. Female citizenship in “modernity” was replaced by a “natural” citizenship based on female solidarity in Nigeria and Africa. It may or may not be a coincidence that many of the modern female beauty products advertised in the *Pilot* failed to make appearances after 1963. However, despite the word change, the “natural” citizenship expressed by female contributors was still connected to global female modernity in the sense that fashion products like wigs were not condemned completely in 1965 and the *Pilot* maintained images of “beautiful” and “fashionable” women from around the world. The *Pilot’s* women’s pages informed women of the fashion trends of the global modern female citizen whether under the heading of “modern” or “natural,” and encouraged them to participate in this citizenship, which it viewed as “progressive” for Nigerian women, the state of Nigeria, and the world.

#### Women, Food, Health, and Cleanliness

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<sup>281</sup> A few examples of either the denunciation of “modernity” or the modern fashion, or the replacement with the word “natural” when describing beauty follow.

“Beauty Tips—The Poise.” *West African Pilot*, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1964; “Spare the Rod...” *West African Pilot*, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1964; “Do Nigerian Girls Really Love?” *West African Pilot*, January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1965; “The Danger of Woman’s Equality with Man.” *West African Pilot*, January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1965.



The discourse on women's role in the promotion of health and cleanliness related to food and food related activities in the *Pilot* follows a similar path as the discourse on personal cleanliness and beauty (the previous section). It speaks to selling of the global modern girl to Nigerian women which was branded as progressive. International womanhood and "modern" female citizenship was argued as accessible through female performance of food related activities, which included cooking, kitchen cleaning, eating, and drinking. Moreover, the performance of these activities was contended by the *Pilot's* editors as necessary for women to achieve their goals. These goals were similar to the aforementioned female goals which included attracting male suitors, getting married, maintaining a husband, maintaining the family's health, and maintaining physical and psychological health. I begin with the *Pilot's* discussion of the importance of food related activities related to attracting men or keeping the marriage together.

The performance of food related activities was one of the tools utilized by women to attract men and keep their husbands happy and satisfied. In a letter written to Josephine by a woman asking for advice on how to attract a man she was in love with, the woman explained that she wanted to tell the man whom she wanted as a future husband "that she loved him."<sup>282</sup> Josephine had previously responded that the girl should not come out and say those words, but rather show him she loved him in a "subtler" manner. However, the woman was still concerned, as even though she stated to her boyfriend that she "wants a house of her own...is a good cook and manager, and could run a house on very little means," the man "still did not take the bait."<sup>283</sup> Josephine

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<sup>282</sup> "Shall I Ask Him to Marry Me?" *West African Pilot*, May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>283</sup> "Shall I Ask Him to Marry Me?" *West African Pilot*, May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

responded, to keep up both the words and deeds, but be “even subtler” in trying to convincing him.”<sup>284</sup>

Other articles highlighted the importance of cooking to keeping their husband’s satisfied. One article warns “that it is your (housewife’s) duty to see to your cooking always and you must bear in mind that many houses have gone to rocks simply because the housewives have failed to keep their husbands through their stomachs and they have found delicious food elsewhere.”<sup>285</sup> In another article Josephine writes that “housewives should be extremely careful of how they handle their domestic affairs in the sphere of housekeeping (which included cooking).”<sup>286</sup> Josephine cautions that if the housework suffers, the “husband suffers.”<sup>287</sup> She states:

The husbands of these women (the wives who forsake their domestic responsibilities) (are) never fed well too, because the wives are not around to prepare good meals for them, or to give them the tender care. As a result the husbands must be forced to develop the habit of eating outside their homes, and hanging around other women to get the care they have been denied by their wives, as a last resort.<sup>288</sup>

This specific column of “Josephine’s Page” clearly underscores the importance of cooking for women wanting to keep their husbands from being “unsatisfied.” However, it is not the only one of its kind. In a similar column, Josephine states that “men expect dinner to be ready in time.”<sup>289</sup> Although this article, asks men to help in performing household chores, Josephine maintains that she is “not suggesting that men make their

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<sup>284</sup> “Shall I Ask Him to Marry Me?” *West African Pilot*, May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>285</sup> “The Essence of Cookery.” *West African Pilot*, January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>286</sup> “Madam, Your Home Suffers!” *West African Pilot*, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>287</sup> “Madam, Your Home Suffers!” *West African Pilot*, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>288</sup> “Madam, Your Home Suffers!” *West African Pilot*, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>289</sup> “Husbands Shouldn’t Overestimate Their Rights.” *West African Pilot*, June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

way into the kitchen,” but rather help with a few “odd-jobs” around the house outside of cooking.<sup>290</sup> These “odd-jobs” were never defined by Josephine.

These columns authored by Josephine demonstrate that not only was cooking a woman’s duty, but it was also a way to attract future husbands and keep current husbands “satisfied” and away from cheating on their wives. However, attracting men was only one box on the checklist pertaining to women’s goals in the *Pilot*. While related to this goal, another part was being a “good” mother.<sup>291</sup> The *Pilot* contained numerous criteria for being a “good” mother, however, most importantly for this chapter, one of the criterion was keeping the family and herself healthy.

The *Pilot* informed mothers of their duty to care for the health of their family—especially children so they would grow up healthy and strong. Children were Nigeria’s future as they were the future citizens, thus, the *Pilot* argued for the need for them to be physically and psychologically healthy. In “Your Child Needs Care,” Josephine writes, “in fact, most women need and adore children, but often most ignore that their children’s health is paramount, and should be safeguarded by all possible means.”<sup>292</sup> The column goes on to write that mothers can easily and richly feed their children by abiding by the expert advice of their doctors.<sup>293</sup> It is evident from this that the mother’s duty was to care for their child and keep them healthy, and feeding was important to this task. A

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<sup>290</sup> “Husbands Shouldn’t Overestimate Their Rights.” *West African Pilot*, June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>291</sup> It is related because part of being a good citizen was to care for family. Having a family entails females having relations with men to create children. Becoming a family was sanctioned through marriage. While families could exist outside of marriage, the acceptable ideal of a family was one created in marriage at this time in Nigeria. It was then imperative for women to care for their children by raising “good” citizens—according to the *Pilot*. Thus attracting a man for marriage and keeping the husband satisfied so he would not cheat, was an element of “good” citizenship.

<sup>292</sup> “Your Child Needs Care.” *West African Pilot*, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>293</sup> “Your Child Needs Care.” *West African Pilot*, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

healthy meal was what Nigerian mothers were required to serve—according to the *West African Pilot*.

An April 2<sup>nd</sup> 1960 edition of *Josephine's Page*, goes further by relating the poor diets to the malnutrition, literally and symbolically, of the Nigerian nation. In “Taking Care of Your Child” the author writes:

With the eyes of the world on Africa the role of African mother-hood is of great importance. A child is the symbol of the prosperity of a nation. A well-balanced diet requires five distinct food substances: proteins, carbohydrates, fats, minerals, and vitamins. Proteins found in meat, fish, and milk products are needed to build up the muscles and organs of the body.<sup>294</sup>

This quote relates the importance of a child's nutrition to the Nigerian national project.

However it was not the only column (either in the women's pages or in the general *Pilot*) which spoke to this issue. “The Importance of Right Feeding in Our Health” talks of the importance of health to all Nigerian citizens.<sup>295</sup> Published on the precipice of Independence, the column questions “can we stand the pace of events...being faced from the ever increasing responsibilities of handling our own affairs?”<sup>296</sup> The author answers his query by saying, “of course we can, as long as we fortify ourselves from the inherent risks of our changing society, (which) are a constant threat to us.”<sup>297</sup> The author then relates good health to the nation, by saying that the threats to progress stem from poor health. “Without the advantages of good health, progress cannot be maintained. Progress leads to prosperity, though it means hard work. And hard work is only possible when you are fit (healthy).”<sup>298</sup> After this section he writes that “nutritious and vitamin” filled

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<sup>294</sup> “Taking Care of Your Child.” *West African Pilot*, April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>295</sup> “The Importance of Right Feeding in Our Health.” *West African Pilot*, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>296</sup> “The Importance of Right Feeding in Our Health.” *West African Pilot*, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>297</sup> “The Importance of Right Feeding in Our Health.” *West African Pilot*, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>298</sup> “The Importance of Right Feeding in Our Health.” *West African Pilot*, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

foods are the key to good health.”<sup>299</sup> This column connected health to national “progress.”

Nigerian diets seemingly were becoming more and more important for the health of the family and the nation. Meats, fish, and milk products were expensive, but were now being required by the *Pilot* for the “progress” of the nation. But aside from these general categories of “nutritious” foods, it begs to question what the *Pilot* provided as examples of nutritious food. The women’s columns and advertisements provided food, beverages, and recipes for healthy living, thus consequently, the health of the nation.

First, advertisements for food and beverages lined all six years of the paper. Food and beverages were sold to both men and women. However, there were specific products which were marketed mostly to women—especially mothers—which ranged from jams to margarine and canned foods to baby formulas and food. Chivers jam was advertised as the product mothers whom were concerned with “how to keep their family healthy” used in their home.<sup>300</sup> Chivers jam “tastes good” and “it is made with the pick of the fruit and pure sugar...and gives you so much energy.”<sup>301</sup> Heinz tinned foods were a common sight in the paper. Heinz advertisements spoke of how Heinz vegetable salad was “ready to eat” and made with “cooked diced vegetables.”<sup>302</sup> Advertisements for Ovaltine were also present in the *Pilot*. “Ovaltine is the drink of many nations. It is famous throughout the world for its supreme nourishing power...Ovaltine builds up strength and energy...(Ovaltine) is good for everyone.”<sup>303</sup> A different version of Ovaltine

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<sup>299</sup> “The Importance of Right Feeding in Our Health.” *West African Pilot*, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>300</sup> “How to Keep Your Family Healthy.” *West African Pilot*, September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>301</sup> “This is Good for Your Family.” *West African Pilot*, January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>302</sup> “Ready to Eat...Heinz Vegetable Salad.” *West African Pilot*, January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>303</sup> “Ovaltine.” *West African Pilot*, January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

advertisements claims “thousands of families take Ovaltine at bed time; its special nourishment soothes the nerves and promotes sound, natural sleep.” It continues by arguing the importance of a good night’s sleep, as a good night’s sleep “creates new strength and energy...for the coming day.”<sup>304</sup>

A frequent edition of food advertisements was Blue Band margarine. Blue Band margarine was advertised under the headlines including, “The Family Food” and “Blue Band makes you strong.”<sup>305</sup> Blue Band’s advertisement pictured a mother holding a tin of Blue Band while three of her children climbed onto her husband as he smiled. Blue Band “contains vitamins A and D to help build strength and stamina.” The advertisement states “It’s your duty to keep healthy and strong by eating good nourishing food...your strength is important to your family.”<sup>306</sup> Another Blue Band advertisement pictures the tin of Blue Band—which the tin’s label exclaims that it contains vitamins A and D—being held by a woman states that “smart women always serve Blue Band.”<sup>307</sup>

An advertisement specifically stating the modern quality of its product was Samco. The Swedish African Milk Company advertised its delivery of milk and whipping cream to local “cold stores.” The advertisement read, “Our products are processed and packed in our ultra-modern, air-conditioned plant under the strictest hygienic control and delivered daily to your cold store. Our entire staff is thoroughly medically checked and the production is continuously checked in our own well-equipped laboratory.”<sup>308</sup> Lastly, it states, “milk—nature’s best food.”<sup>309</sup> The advertisement played on the notions of

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<sup>304</sup> “Ovaltine: Unequaled for Health Giving.” *West African Pilot*, January 12<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>305</sup> “Eh-Hehhh.....!” *West African Pilot*, March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Blue Band Makes You Strong.” *West African Pilot*, March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>306</sup> “Blue Band Makes You Strong.” *West African Pilot*, March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>307</sup> “Blue Band Margarine.” *West African Pilot*, February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>308</sup> “It’s Here!” *West African Pilot*, April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>309</sup> “It’s Here!” *West African Pilot*, April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

modernity and cleanliness in hopes to sell their milk products. Interestingly, in 1963, the *Pilot* broke a story which stated that “Nigerian athletes will drink milk in training.” The article went on to state that the “Amateur Athlete Association of Nigeria was going to provide a daily carton of milk to training athletes” which prompted the author of the column to say “that (the serving of milk to athletes) might solve the problem of diet to some extent.”<sup>310</sup> Thus, this seemingly makes the case for milk being thought of as a healthy product to drink in Nigeria at that time.

Baby food was a popular food product advertisement running in the *Pilot*. Ostermilk ran advertisements picturing a seemingly healthy baby. One of them states “Ostermilk keeps baby strong! Sturdy! Contented.”<sup>311</sup> Another says “Give your baby Ostermilk...For a straight back and strong limbs.”<sup>312</sup> The advertisement also pictures a tin of Ostermilk which reads that Ostermilk is “A dried milk food product with vitamin D and iron.”<sup>313</sup> Heinz baby food claims “Babies grow strong on Heinz baby foods.”<sup>314</sup> The advertisement explains “Here’s the modern way of building healthier, stronger babies—start feeding them on Heinz at 3 to 4 months.”<sup>315</sup>

Another baby food product advertisement appearing in the paper was Lactogen. Lactogen was a milk product made for “happy and healthy” babies, and was advertised as “trusted and proved throughout Nigeria.”<sup>316</sup> “Wise mothers rely on Lactogen, the world

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<sup>310</sup> “Nigerian Athletes will Drink Milk in Training.” *West African Pilot*, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>311</sup> “Ostermilk Keeps Baby Strong! Sturdy! Contented!” *West African Pilot*, January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1960; “Ostermilk Keeps Baby Strong! Sturdy! Contented!” *West African Pilot*, January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>312</sup> “For a Straight Back and Strong Limbs.” *West African Pilot*, March 11<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>313</sup> “For a Straight Back and Strong Limbs.” *West African Pilot*, January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>314</sup> “Babies Grow Strong on Heinz Baby Foods.” *West African Pilot*, February 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>315</sup> “Babies Grow Strong on Heinz Baby Foods.” *West African Pilot*, February 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>316</sup> “Happy and Healthy...” *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963; “Happy and Healthy...” *West African Pilot*, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

famous powdered milk for babies.”<sup>317</sup> Yet, Lactogen was not the only remaining baby food product advertised in the *Pilot*. Amama was a food additive powder advertised in the *Pilot*. An advertisement for Amama pictures a seemingly sad baby above an ostensibly happy child. Next to the sad child it states “this child is miserable, lifeless and has little strength,” and next to the happy child it says “Amama is always added to this child’s food—and he is always happy and healthy.”<sup>318</sup> Farex baby food advertisements went into great detail when stating why the product was healthy. “Farex contains wheat, oat, and maize flours for nourishment, PLUS iron to keep a baby’s blood healthy, PLUS calcium and vitamin D to give him strong bones and teeth, PLUS vitamins of the B group to encourage healthy appetite, good digestion, sound nerves and clear skin.”<sup>319</sup> The advertisement continues by saying “Farex baby food will give your baby what he needs to grow strong and healthy—there’s no cooking needed.”<sup>320</sup>

These food product advertisements targeted mothers whom wanted to have a healthy family or be healthier themselves. They specifically were directed at family health or the health of children, rarely targeting women directly—or as the direct beneficiaries of consuming the product. In other words the advertisements may have claimed that “smart” or “wise” women purchased the products for their families, but women did not consume baby food themselves, and directly consuming Chivers jam, Blue Band margarine, or Ovaltine by women did not bestow the “smart” label or status as it did for

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<sup>317</sup> “Happy and Healthy...” *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963; “Happy and Healthy...” *West African Pilot*, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>318</sup> “Amama Adds Strength.” *West African Pilot*, January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “Amama Adds Strength.” *West African Pilot*, January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>319</sup> “Such a Strong and Healthy Baby Thanks to Farex.” *West African Pilot*, January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>320</sup> “Such a Strong and Healthy Baby Thanks to Farex.” *West African Pilot*, January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1960.



men.<sup>321</sup> The advertisements boasted the nutritious content of their products which mostly meant the listing of vitamins and other nutrients. They were made for “smart” and “wise” mothers, and they backed up their claims with scientifically proven nutritional content. A few of these advertisements directly related their products to modernity by specifically using the word “modern” to describe their product or the production process behind their product. However, modernity was implied in most of the advertisements which did not specifically state that the product was “modern.”

Unsurprisingly, the “modern” food advertisements occurred heavily in the *Pilot* during the years 1960 through 1961. They still occurred in 1962 and 1963, but they began to diminish in frequency of occurrence. They follow in a similar pattern to the “modern” house cleaning and personal cleaning products discussed earlier in the chapter. Much akin to the cleansing and beauty products, the food products were mostly made by international corporations, which were based in Europe, The United States, or Asia.<sup>322</sup> However, while the word “modern” disappeared from the advertisements after 1963, international and modern product advertisements remained a part of the paper. Older product advertisements with a new message aired in the paper, targeted specifically at women, which trumps the idea that “modern” product advertisements died out. In 1964, beer advertisements specifically targeted a female audience. For the first time during the

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<sup>321</sup> “Modern, smart, and sophisticated” were words used possibly to describe the status begotten when eating or drinking certain food or beverage products. These labels were mostly marketed to men. Scotch and beer advertisements were usually directed at men from 1960-1963, and those advertisements were usually the one’s which bestowed the labels of “smart,” “sophisticated,” or “modern.”

<sup>322</sup> Most were from Europe or the United States, however there is some evidence of Asian products being published in the paper. The Asian products actually intensified in terms of frequency of occurrence in the *Pilot*, after 1963. However, the following sources indicated that Chinese green tea and canned fruits were sold and advertised in Nigeria.

“Chinese Export Commodities.” *West African Pilot*, September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1963; “China Green Tea.” *West African Pilot*, September 6<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

years 1960 through 1966, and most likely in the history of the *Pilot*, women were seen as a group worthy of being sold beer.

Beer advertisements in the *Pilot* prior to 1964 had solely targeted a male audience.<sup>323</sup> Guinness advertisements pictured men or seemingly masculine arms, and spoke to a male consumer group with the slogan “Guinness gives you power.”<sup>324</sup> Guinness was not the only beer company to advertise solely to men. A Samson Stout advertisement pictures a man flexing his biceps under the heading “Samson Stout is good for you.”<sup>325</sup> Star beer advertisements asked men to drink Star to become “a Star man” or state “men of distinction drink Star.”<sup>326</sup> Another Star advertisement pictures men drinking together under the headline of “men who know agree...Star is a healthy drink.”<sup>327</sup> Yet in 1964, Guinness, Golden Guinea beer, and Star began advertising their respective beers with men **and women** in focus.

Guinness began the trend in 1964 with its first advertisements picturing women—at least which were published in the *Pilot*. One of the advertisements pictures a woman pouring a Guinness stout in a new glass next to a man seemingly finishing a pint glass, under the slogan “Guinness is good for you.”<sup>328</sup> A later version of the advertisement with the same picture claims “Life becomes brighter when you’ve had a glass of GUINNESS...Guinness goodness gives you the strength to get the best out of life.”<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> Beer advertisements targeting men did not die out after 1964. However the inclusion of women in the advertisements began in 1964.

<sup>324</sup> “Guinness Gives You Power.” *West African Pilot*, February 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961; “There’s a Power of Goodness in Guinness.” *West African Pilot*, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>325</sup> “Samson Stout.” *West African Pilot*, January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>326</sup> “Men of Distinction Agree...” *West African Pilot*, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 1960; “The Best People Drink Star.” *West African Pilot*, February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1961; “Star People Enjoy...” *West African Pilot*, September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1963; “You’re Brighter by far on a Star!” *West African Pilot*, January 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1966.

<sup>327</sup> “Ah-Star!” *West African Pilot*, June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>328</sup> “Guinness is Good for You.” *West African Pilot*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>329</sup> “Guinness is Good for You.” *West African Pilot*, January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

Instead of picturing only male figures or stating through a variety of words that Guinness was for men only, this advertisement makes no direct reference to Guinness being specifically a drink for men. However, the image can be interpreted in a few different ways. The inclusion of the woman pouring the drink in a new glass may be viewed as her pouring a new glass for the man, as he is almost finished with his drink. This interpretation indicates that the woman is simply serving the man the drink, and that she is not a drinker of Guinness. However, the incorporation of another glass may mean that she is pouring herself a Guinness, which would lead that women were drinkers of Guinness. Either interpretation aside, it is more important that the words of the advertisement are gender ambiguous, and a woman is included in the image.

In 1965, Golden Guinea ran an advertisement in a series for its beer. The advertisement pictures a woman with curly hair and lighter black skin holding up a bottle of Golden Guinea beer in one hand, and a pint glass of the poured beer in the other. The advertisement reads, “Golden Guinea lager beer puts new life into you.”<sup>330</sup> The advertisement could speak to a male or female audience or both, however neither group is specifically stated. She could be a model selling sex to a male group, but again, it is not specifically stated or obvious. It could also be selling Golden Guinea to a female audience, which would make sense for a new advertisement to the paper selling to a group which was previously untapped. However, what is absolutely important is that the advertisement pictures a westernized African girl, holding a beer, under the statement claiming “Golden Guinea...puts new life into you.”<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> “Golden Guinea.” *West African Pilot*, January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1965; “Golden Guinea.” *West African Pilot*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1965; “Golden Guinea.” *West African Pilot*, January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>331</sup> “Golden Guinea.” *West African Pilot*, January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1965.; “Golden Guinea.” *West African Pilot*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1965; “Golden Guinea.” *West African Pilot*, January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

Lastly, and more obviously due to the language, women were specifically targeted as a consumer group by Star beer advertisements in 1966. While Guinness and Golden Guinea ads leave room for interpretation as to the intended audience, Star advertisements do not. The advertisements picture a woman holding a glass of Star in her hand under the slogan, “Be a Star-Girl like me!”<sup>332</sup> The advertisement continues by saying:

You’re brighter by far on a Star!...far, far, brighter. Yes, I believe in enjoying life—that’s why I enjoy fresh, clean-tasting Star Beer as often as I can. It makes me bright—and keeps me bright, long after the last, sparkling glass is empty. Star-Girls are the girls who drink Star Beer regularly. They’re the live girls—the girls who enjoy life all the way.<sup>333</sup>

At the bottom of the advertisement, it reads Star beer is “Nigeria’s favorite beer.”<sup>334</sup> This advertisement for Star beer directly targeted a younger female audience. Furthermore, the image of the African model was pictured with earrings, a necklace, and a hat which were modern and westernized. The beer was advertised as “clean-tasting” which plays off notions of modernity and cleanliness. Finally, the advertisement asks girls to drink Star beer regularly so they could be members of the Star-Girls. The inclusion of this advertisement leaves many questions as to why it occurred and the social landscape of Nigeria relating to women following 1963.

The targeting of women in Star beer advertisements, and possibly Guinness and Golden Guinea, suggest that women were drinking more beer in Nigeria. It is possible

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<sup>332</sup> “You’re Brighter by far on a Star!” *West African Pilot*, January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1966; “You’re Brighter by far on a Star!” *West African Pilot*, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1966; “You’re Brighter by far on a Star!” *West African Pilot*, February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>333</sup> “You’re Brighter by far on a Star!” *West African Pilot*, January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1966; p. 3. (606); “You’re Brighter by far on a Star!” *West African Pilot*, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1966; “You’re Brighter by far on a Star!” *West African Pilot*, February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>334</sup> “You’re Brighter by far on a Star!” *West African Pilot*, January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1966; “You’re Brighter by far on a Star!” *West African Pilot*, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

that beer companies saw the existence of a demand for beer by Nigerian women, and thus began to advertise specifically to women in order to expand their market and profits. The sudden change in beer advertisements after 1964 sheds light on the debate of the role of women in Nigeria occurring inside the columns of the *West African Pilot*.

While the evidence is sparse when directly speaking of the popularity of beer drinking by women, it is still relevant. The sources in the *Pilot* support the notion that women desired the consumption of beer as early as 1962 (although women's demand for the product was most likely the product of a process began prior to 1962, this is the first source published in the *Pilot* which indicates a possible trend to drink beer among Nigerian females). Miss Adebayo advises women to seek out the "modern" amenities of "Frigidaire, radio-grams, and "bottled beer."<sup>335</sup> To her, drinking bottled beer was part of "enjoying" the "modern lifestyle" in Nigeria.<sup>336</sup> However, Miss Adebayo was not the only female contributor to the *Pilot's* women's pages which felt that drinking beer was acceptable for women. Closely related to Adebayo's advice for women concerning drinking beer, was Betty Sussan's article discussing if women should drink spirits, or "hot drinks" as she calls them. Sussan argues that drinking alcoholic spirits is "not abasing members of my sex."<sup>337</sup> She states "I have heard it said that any woman who indulges in the habit of taking spirits is a recluse character, not fit to rub shoulders with the cream of society."<sup>338</sup> Yet Sussan claims that this sentiment is false, as she has "often taken brandy with ginger whenever I feel on top of the world."<sup>339</sup> However, she

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<sup>335</sup> "Pinning Down Our Men." *West African Pilot*, September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>336</sup> "Pinning Down Our Men." *West African Pilot*, September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>337</sup> "Hot Drinks for Women?" *West African Pilot*, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>338</sup> "Hot Drinks for Women?" *West African Pilot*, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>339</sup> "Hot Drinks for Women?" *West African Pilot*, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

condemns women whom “take spirits in excess,” as she feels that women who do not drink in moderation ruin the “reputation we (women) have to upkeep.”<sup>340</sup>

These columns speak to the notion of acceptability of female alcoholic consumption among female contributors to the *Pilot*, as long as that consumption was kept in moderation. They also speak to the “modernity” or modern-ness of drinking alcohol. The content of these sources coordinate with the advertisements which began to sell beer to women; as it appears alcohol consumption among women was rising in Nigeria. However, the female opinion concerning this issue was opposed by the opinions of male contributors to the *Pilot*.

Promptly responding to Miss Adebayo’s article, a couple of male contributors attacked her publication. Both claim that Miss Adebayo was directing her advice at a higher-class of women while neglecting the realities of working-class Nigerian housewives.<sup>341</sup> Prince Onyemere chastises Adebayo by saying “it would do a world of good...to direct her advice at the working class whose wives can ill afford 12 iced beer as she suggested.”<sup>342</sup> Christopher Ndirika states that “I have practically no doubt that...if she is not already married, she is not likely to fall for the ordinary man however much she tries to do so. Otherwise how can one reconcile her expensive ideas of life with our normal living standards?” Both men attacked Adebayo for her advice which they claim to be directed at the abnormal Nigerian living standard.

These two men assaulted Miss Adebayo using economics as a tool to discredit her argument supporting women’s enjoyment of beer. However, they were not the only men

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<sup>340</sup> “Hot Drinks for Women?” *West African Pilot*, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>341</sup> “Letters to Jane: Pinning Down Our Men.” *West African Pilot*, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>342</sup> “Letters to Jane: Pinning Down Our Men.” *West African Pilot*, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

to condemn female beer and alcohol consumption. C. E. Eyo writes “a lot of women today concentrate on the habit of drinking, smoking, and gambling... simply because they want to claim equality with men.”<sup>343</sup> Eyo explains “as a result of this (the habits of drinking, smoking, and gambling), they (women) become indifferent to the home.”<sup>344</sup> Other contributors specifically condemned beer drinking by females as the reason for the ruin of their home. He finds that the women whom spend money on beer waste the income given to them by their husbands. He claims that they are contributing to Nigeria’s economic and social problems associated with the modern lifestyle including corruption and greed.

The male contributors chastised women whom drank beer—which they felt led to the destruction of the home. They either argued that most women could not afford the habit of drinking, thus leading to waste and debt, or that beer drinking caused women to abandon their duties as housewives or mothers. The women’s pages, written by women, responded to these claims in a unique method.

The women’s pages were full of condemnations, by both male and female contributors, of the modern lifestyle by 1964. Josephine condemned the “modern” mothers whom adopted the “irresponsible” activity of leaving her child to be cared for by house-maids instead of by themselves.<sup>345</sup> This suggests that modernity was the root cause of irresponsible mothers. Another Josephine article claims that “some mothers love their children, but they love money more,” thus they do not go to the doctor when their child needs medical attention.<sup>346</sup> These were hardly the only condemnations by

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<sup>343</sup> “The Danger of Women’s Equality with Men.” *West African Pilot*, January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>344</sup> “The Danger of Women’s Equality with Men.” *West African Pilot*, January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>345</sup> “Modern Women and Civilization.” *West African Pilot*, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>346</sup> “Your Child Needs Care.” *West African Pilot*, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

women contributors, leveled against women, housewives, and mothers in the *Pilot*. However, when condemning modernity for the digression of womanhood or Nigerian progress, beer drinking was never identified by these women as a root cause of the stifled progress.

While men specifically targeted female alcohol consumption as a harbinger of the perceived lack of morals and progress on the behalf of women, female contributors never specifically blamed the falling morals on beer drinking. In fact, even when modernity was blamed in total, the listed reasons never included drinking alcohol. Thus, the lack of discussion of beer drinking demonstrates that the *Pilot's* female editors did not perceive female alcohol consumption as a problem associated with modernity or a problem for the maintenance of “good” morals and Nigerian national progress.

This speaks to the gender specific conflict occurring in the idea of progress. For male contributors to the *Pilot*, progress was stalled by the adoption of modern habits by females which included drinking alcohol. They argued that the nation progressed, when women failed to embrace the perceived modern and Western attitudes on female alcohol consumption. However, much akin to the notion of beauty leading to progress, the female voices in the *Pilot* argued for the acceptance of some modern, and Western, notions to be acceptable and even progressive for their gender. These female writers accepted international modernity as progressive for their gender and the country of Nigeria.

Beer drinking was only one of the discussions which aid my argument of a separate, female version of the idea of progress being linked to international modernity. Participation in the Star-Girls was international in a sense that drinking beer was viewed



as modern, and that Star and Guinness.<sup>347</sup> However, the recipes provided by the *Pilot* impart even stronger evidence of the *Pilot*'s solicitation to women of an idea of progress rooted in the international and modern.

The recipes advocated by the women's pages seemingly hailed from all over the world including various parts of Nigeria. "French roast chicken" figuratively appeared beside "pepper soup," which appeared beside "Rice croquettes," which appeared next to "Christmas Dinner in Austria," which appeared beside "guava jam" and "nsala soup"<sup>348</sup> "Hungarian Beetroot Salad" certainly emphasizes that the dish originated in Hungary, and the article titled "cake for the party" is explained as a recipe collected from Britain.<sup>349</sup> These dishes had origins in multiple different places, but were brought together in the *Pilot*. Since it is clear that the *Pilot* argued that the "woman's place is in the kitchen," and that the recipes were solely featured on the women's page, it is most likely the case that these recipes were intended mostly for women's use, and were performed mostly by women.

Outside of the naming of the dishes, the ingredients included in the recipes also speak to the dishes having an international quality. Jane wrote a column introducing Nigerian women to a recipe of "Booberty," a dish she explains is "a traditional country recipe still popular in many parts of England." Jane explains that this dish requires "curry powder" to be made properly.<sup>350</sup> "A special fruit salad" recipe states the need for

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<sup>347</sup> Guinness was (and still is today) an international company. Star beer was a company that was international in the context of West Africa. However, Golden Guinea was a national corporation.

<sup>348</sup> "Christmas Dinner in Austria." *West African Pilot*, December 21<sup>st</sup>, 1960; "French Roast Chicken." *West African Pilot*, March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960; "Nsala Soup." *West African Pilot*, November, 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960; "Guava Jam." *West African Pilot*, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961; "Pepper Soup." *West African Pilot*, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1966; "Rice Croquettes." *West African Pilot*, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>349</sup> "Cake for the Party." *West African Pilot*, January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1965; "Hungarian Beetroot Salad." *West African Pilot*, March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>350</sup> "Tasty Country Dish is Still Popular." *West African Pilot*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

“maraschino cherries” and “sprigs of mint.”<sup>351</sup> Another recipe for a “hot cake,” a “favorite in the north of England,” required the use of “well-whisked castor sugar” and “currants.”<sup>352</sup> Castor sugar, currants, and maraschino cherries were certainly not natively grown in Nigeria. Thus, it is evident that in order to make the recipe according to the instructions, international products were a requirement.

The international names and ingredients were only two components of the qualities which allow them to be seen as holding an international and modern character. The recipes also provided instructions for producing these dishes in Nigerian households. They gave direct measurements and cooking times for many of the dishes, and advocated for the use of certain utensils required to make these dishes. “French roast chicken” and “Queen Cakes” were stated as requiring the use of an oven, and the latter claimed the need for a wire-tray on which to cool the cakes after baking.<sup>353</sup> One recipe calls specifically for the use of a “buttered pie-dish.”<sup>354</sup> Other dishes required the use of milk, thus possibly claiming the need for a refrigerator. Ovens and refrigerators were considered modern appliances unaffordable for many Nigerian households.

Lastly, a quality of modernity and international-ness which can be seen in the recipes is the supposed health benefits given attributed to the dish or its ingredients, and also the quickness it provided concerning cooking time. Jane encourages housewives to eat eggs because they “contain protein, water, and mineral salts.”<sup>355</sup> She claims that eggs are “healthy” and “cheap.”<sup>356</sup> Another “Jane’s Page” advocates for women to eat “Limits

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<sup>351</sup> “Special Fruit Salad.” *West African Pilot*, January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960.

<sup>352</sup> “Hot Cake.” *West African Pilot*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

<sup>353</sup> “Queen Cakes.” *West African Pilot*, January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1960; “French Roast Chicken.” *West African Pilot*, March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>354</sup> “Semovita Pudding.” *West African Pilot*, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>355</sup> “Eat an Egg a Day...” *West African Pilot*, November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

<sup>356</sup> “Eat an Egg a Day...” *West African Pilot*, November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

biscuits.”<sup>357</sup> Jane explains that these biscuits “contain only 175 calories,” contain “carbohydrates, protein, vitamins, and mineral salts,” and “are easily carried in packets of six...so that the worker who finds it hard to get home for the afternoon meal has nothing to lose.”<sup>358</sup> She continues by saying that eating these biscuits will help a woman lose weight.<sup>359</sup> Another recipe for “semovita pudding” is lauded by Jane because of “its quickness in preparation and its cheapness.”<sup>360</sup>

These recipes were directed at the working woman and mother, whom wanted to look slim and maintain her duty of feeding the family healthy foods. They directly correlate to the modern desire of eating healthy foods, full of vitamins, minerals, proteins, etc. and being efficient with time management. They correlate to the advertisements which spoke of cheap, healthy, and quickly prepared foods, to be made by the housewife—at least according to the *Pilot*. These recipes suggest a fascination with the international label and international ingredients. Therefore, the inclusion of these recipes and foods, highlight a possibility that the women’s pages were intended to reach an audience of higher-class women whom possessed the financial capabilities of purchasing the modern household appliances international ingredients seemingly required to create the internationally labeled dishes.

The recipes and advertisements targeted at women in the *Pilot* aid my argument claiming the existence of multiple versions of progress split along gender and class lines. The ability to afford the appliances, foods, and ingredients necessary to produce the international modern lifestyle supported by the women’s pages diminishes the number of

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<sup>357</sup> “Some Like it Fat.” *West African Pilot*, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>358</sup> “Some Like it Fat.” *West African Pilot*, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>359</sup> “Some Like it Fat.” *West African Pilot*, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>360</sup> “Semovita Pudding.” *West African Pilot*, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

Nigerian women whom could apply for this lifestyle. However, there is ample evidence to suggest that the female authored articles contained in the women's columns supported the notion of an ideal woman as being both modern and international, while simultaneously fulfilling her duties of housewifery and motherhood deemed as progressive to Nigeria.

### Conclusion

On the Independence Day anniversary in 1962, Mrs. Flora Azikiwe, wife of current Governor-General Nnamdi Azikiwe, delivered a nation-wide radio broadcast urging Nigerian women to help maintain peace and order. The *Pilot* covered the speech and quoted segments of her address in an article published three days later. Azikiwe tells Nigerian women:

At home, whether as housewives, mothers, or members of voluntary organizations, as social workers in various activities or as office workers, the measure of stability and growth which our new nation has enjoyed could never have been achieved without the active support of the women of the country. There is every reason therefore for us to feel proud of the role we have played as women in the gradual evolution of this country, and of our efforts in earning for Nigerian womanhood a place of respect in international affairs.<sup>361</sup>

This statement fortifies the notion that Nigerian womanhood was important for the progress of Nigeria in terms of both domestically and internationally. This domestic and international progress and respect was immensely connected to being a “good” woman whom ably performed household tasks.

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<sup>361</sup> “Flora Makes National Plea...” *West African Pilot*, October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

The female consumers of the *Pilot* were informed of their duty to develop the progress of Nigeria through performing duties. Performance of these duties was vital for their identity, citizenship, and the future identities, morals, and citizenship traits of their families. The advertisements and women's columns highlight a notion of citizenship for Nigerian female readers of the *Pilot* caught in notions of citizenship in Nigeria, Africa, international womanhood, modernity, and class. These mediums of citizenship combined to produce an imagined identity and citizenship which was different from the citizenship advocated by male contributors of the paper. The readers of the paper were informed that they were Nigerians and **women**. They were informed of being members of an international womanhood, which in-turn informed their idea of progress.

Whether the women whom read the *Pilot* actually performed the duties advocated by the women's pages requires further research and is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, because it was an imagined identity and citizenship makes it relevant to study, for it was a citizenship which was to be striven to achieve. Very likely most Nigerian women were not able to purchase the modern amenities of a refrigerator or an oven, nor were they able to have house servants' care for their children, nor were they able to prepare the recipes or afford beer on a regular basis. The *Pilot's* columns spoke to a class divided population. Yet, the imagined "good" woman of the paper shows the importance of gender to citizenship. It helps enlighten the divisions occurring in Nigeria, which were not all ethnically devised, which possibly contributed to the breakdown of Nigeria which was dramatically culminated by the onset of military rule and the eventual civil war.

## Conclusion

The *West African Pilot* provides a lens in which to view the complexities of how the Nigerian nation and citizen was constructed and negotiated during six pivotal years after independence before the onset of civil war. It highlights the people who contributed to the discussion over whom the citizen was supposed to be, and what characteristics the nation was supposed to embody. The *Pilot* helps shed light on the complexities of citizenship, which encompassed far more characteristics than simply allegiance to ethnic affiliations. It suggests that consumerism and gender also played a large role in the determination of citizenship characteristics. The *Pilot* was a medium which supported advertisements. These advertisements also provided a medium through which citizenship was debated and negotiated. Thus, leading into the civil war, the *Pilot* demonstrates that possibly more identities and affiliations were present in the imagining of the Nigerian nation.

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