

THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD AND THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY IGBO FASHION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Nwigwe, Chukwuemeka

Department of Fine and Applied Arts

University of Nigeria, Nsukka

heavenpikin@yahoo.com

08036447940

&

Morgan, Trevor Vt.

Department of Fine and Applied Arts

University of Nigeria, Nsukka

vertsgroupe@yahoo.com

08064440984

Abstract

Different aspects of Igbo culture, especially fashion have been in a state of flux since the colonial times. Much of what constituted the ancient Igbo material culture could not survive the colonial period. For instance, traditional Igbo fashion which promoted nudity, body ornamentation, title regalia and decorative hairdos among others have been somewhat eroded by foreign influences. Though handful of scholars and artists have prolonged the memories of some fashion items or style through their literary and creative works, greater percentage of the younger generation of the Igbo seem completely ignorant of the forms and functions of what should have been Igbo cultural heritage. The contemporary voguish fashion of the Igbos is patterned after western styles. This paper not only exhumes some outmoded Igbo fashion but also attempts a succinct comparative analysis of forms and significances of the early colonial period and the twenty-first century Igbo fashion. This is done in order to briefly highlight the formal and functional distinctiveness of the two modes as well as the changes in fashion and struggles over identity in Igboland.

INTRODUCTION

The Igbo occupies south-eastern Nigeria. The natives of Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo States are known presently as the core Igbo. Neighbouring states such as Rivers and Delta have a considerable portion of land which belongs to Igbo-speaking people. The boundary in the northern part of Igboland provides opportunity for interaction between the Igbo of the area and the two states in the middle belt — Kogi and Benue. Indeed, all the border areas give room for cultural fluidity.

The Igbo are religious people. They believe in the existence of Supreme God known locally as ‘Chukwu’ or ‘Chineke’. In the traditional setting, there are pantheons of deities to whom sacrifices are made at certain periods of the year. There used to be yet another strong characteristic—the belief in and worship of personal god, *Ikenga*. In attempt to perform certain rituals and festivals, people undergo a lot of preparatory activities – cleansing, dressing and adornment. Much of Igbo tradition waned in the instances of culture contact especially since colonial period. Around this time, majority of the Igbo embraced Christianity, much of their ritual practices have been abandoned and consequently there has been a general decline in the use of ancient Igbo fashion.

The period of colonial rule is very remarkable in the history of Nigeria and the Igbo nation in particular. The south-eastern Nigerian society went through profound social, economic and political changes in the early twentieth century when Igbo land came under colonial rule. In the context of colonial Nigeria, the Igbo appear more enthusiastic than other groups in the adoption of western fashion among others (Berselaar, 1998). The men’s sartorial culture of tying a piece of short cloths around their waist and body which appeared in different styles as well as the body decoration, cosmetics and hair dressing characteristic of the women have been abandoned.

The post-independent Igbo are so engrossed in Western culture that one can hardly identify an Igbo by his dress. Igbo men including young boys generally wear European styled fashion. On the other hand, the women and girls dress like their western counterparts and thus wear trousers earlier believed to be limited to men. It is important to note that the male's tradition of wearing trousers popularized in the in the early twentieth and within the colonial period was a recent introduction. In this paper, the focus is mainly on nudity, clothing, ornamentation, and hairdos. Each of these will be explained in the context of the two periods which provides basis for comparative study reflected in the conclusion.

Nudity

The early 20th century Igbo people, in the context of individual ideal, were familiar with the culture of nudity. The state of undress (*oto*) was socially appropriate. It was not to titillate the opposite in a way. The body was seen as medium of artistic expression to highlight one's status, age, sex, affiliation and beauty. Cole and Aniakor (1984) maintained that the body itself is sculptured, shaped, painted, draped and otherwise embellished with countless natural and man-made materials which create ensembles of rich colour, texture and form.

Appearing nude was one of the ways of reasserting one's life of chastity. During the *Nwaobiala* disturbances in 1925, senior women stripped the junior in the market places in Igbo and asked them to demonstrate through nudity their moral qualities. Before the colonial influence; Igbo girls began to clothe themselves fully after the necessary (marriage) ceremonies. Boys who have neither performed the coming of age rites nor been entered into certain cults reserved for men or grade society may remain

in the state of *oto*. In this context, *oto* became a means of identifying the immature, uninitiated and thus the children. It is pertinent to pinpoint the major reasons for the seeming disregard to clothing in African culture in the past as seen in the work of Onwochei (2012) thus:

- (a) It was widespread convention
- (b) Cloths were not readily availability
- (c) girls went about naked so that their chastity could be checked
- (d) It was also a sign of waiting for Puberty Initiation Rites
- (e) Children's nudity was a sign of childishness
- (f) It was time of ignorance (or should one say, innocence) (p.v)

However, in contemporary time, nudity has lost its significance. The society not only considers nudity or nakedness immodest but legislates against it. The sartorial culture of west which has permeated the Igbo society is applicable to both babies and adults. No sane person dares to appear in the public naked except under certain ritualized conditions often in the dark. Although nudity differs from nakedness both seem to mean the same to many people; that is, the state of undress or scant dress which presents the private parts to people's gaze. Bastian (2005) observes that the distinction between the nude and the naked in the Western context has much to do with gender relations. According to her:

Women's (and men's) undress everywhere—and particularly among Igbo-speaking peoples in south-eastern Nigeria – has a good deal to do with how bodies are surfeited by other, but not always and necessarily with masculine surveillance over feminine form and practises. The surface of the body may not be available for everybody's gaze, and the meaning of the covered or uncovered body therefore shifts concomitantly with the identity of the gaze (p. 35)

Bastian further stated that “nakedness in south-eastern Nigeria is above all, a human weapon wielded by people with the intention of eliciting a human, social

response. She lamented that in the world where naked greedy individuals pose as the chaste or as nude icon of “the good life”, the locality, specificity and beauty of *oto* may be on the verge of being lost. For in the past, nudity of the maidens never gave rise to moral decadence. Virginity was highly rated and a usual attribute of an average maiden (p. 56).

Today, neither nudity nor nakedness in the public is sartorially appropriate. Yet some girls dress seductively by wearing tight fitting dress that reveals all the body contours or transparent clothing either with some ulterior motives or out of sheer ignorance. Some sheepishly copy foreign dress styles that appeal to them whether or not they are socially acceptable in their locality.

Ornamentation

The Igbo believe in the use of jewellery to enhance physical beauty, assert ones status and respond to social demand for particular identity, value or ideal. Jewellery are not just sheer tools for beautifying the body, they also define rank, social status and standing. During the early colonial period, the young girls’ use of waist bead was quite popular. Jigida waist bead is not common only to Igbo, often ethnic groups appropriate the presence of beads.

Nkwo while examining Igbo dressing in his book, *Igbo Cultural Heritage* remarks that the great sweep of civilization in Igbo culture can be understood by examining those changes that occur in people’s dress (Nkwo 1984:149). On the other hand, Ukwu (2000) in an attempt to examine the clothing and cosmetic makeup at the time of Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*, highlighted some portions of the

book where indigenous Igbo fashion were described by the author. For example, Ukwu made reference to the following:

She [Akueke] wore a black necklace which hung down in three coils just above her full, succulent breast, and on her waist, four or five rows of jigida or waist bead...the men...were fully dressed... they passed their cloth under their right armpit. ... Okaegbu was in his underwear, a long and thin strip of cloth wound round the waist like a belt and then passed between the legs to be fastened to the belt behind.

Uli, *ufie*, *edo* and *nzu* body adornment were the major forms of indigenous cosmetics. These in addition to body scarifications continued with less intensity in the colonial period. With *uli* alone, a set of decorative and intricate pattern could be realised by a competent *uli* artist who is usually a female. In this style, there is usually a movement from the real to abstract. Udechukwu (1971) opines that the artist starts from the natural form, reduced them to single statements of triangles, circles, and oblong lines which he laid out in space to constitute an abstract aesthetic pattern. The symbol further includes dot, curvilinear, crescent, concentric coil and double triangle. The motifs represent known objects which in turn portray an idea.

These patterns could be achieved through skin cut as in cicatrisation. In many parts, cicatrisation of the body is connected with marriage (Basden 1966). The major body decoration done by men consisted of facial marks achieved through systematic skin cuts. The face and body marking for men may look like crotchet-like design of black keloid appear more or less conspicuously on the skin. This is because charcoal or sooth from the bottom of cooking pot is rubbed alongside other ingredients into the wounds before the cut is allowed to heal. The clear difference between *uli* and

keloid designs. In application, the former could lull someone to sleep while the latter is associated with excruciating pain.

Nzu (white chalk) might be applied for ritual purpose. A man's eye(s) could be encircled. For instance, a new initiate into Ozo title holders group in Ahoada area among other paraphernalia, painted his chest, parts of both arms and sides of one or two eyes with *nzu*. This symbolises the life of purity which he is called upon to lead (Nzekwu 1963).

It is important at this point to note that by 1900 – the year when Basden, a white missionary who wrote *Niger Ibos* remarked that foreign influences had not appreciably manifested in Onitsha and its environs. Indeed, to a large extent the people and the Ibo country were as they had been for many generations (Basden 1966). However, at the end of colonialism in Nigeria, the Igbo had dropped most of traditional costumes. They went farther than most other ethnic groups in the adoption of European lifestyle. This did not only happen in fashion; language, religious and other cultural manifestations were made to align with that of the westerners.

Clothing

Ancient Igbo fashion consists of scanty dressing and elaborate body decoration. Nigeria is a tropical country with a hot and generally humid climate (Okeke 1976:29). Men put on loin cloth without any shirt. In some places, man's clothing style was smoked raffia skirt. This explains why the tradition of scanty dressing prevailed. Both *Aji* (or *akpo nkwu* in case of the North eastern cluster) and raffia cloth (variously called *okuru* or *uko*) remained in use side by side with cotton cloth during the colonial period (Afigbo and Okeke 1985). They further note that up

to 1940s or so, it was not very uncommon to see Igbo men wearing around their waists materials woven from the leaves of pandanus plant, which are also used in making mats and certain bags and containers.

Afigbo and Okeke observed that there were “embroidery and domestic science schools established during colonial period where women were taught how to transfer motifs and designs formally confined to the body or mural painting to paper and from there to woven cloth” (p. 34). Still in the early colonial period, men adopted shoulder garment, singlet, shorts and wrapper, small towel like cloth used as loin cloth among others alongside other numerous fashion appurtenances.

The reason for nudity of the unmarried girls as given by Afigbo and Okeke was to ensure strict moral rectitude in sex matters, to air the body in the instance of heat of the region and for social and prophylactic reasons. Leaving the body bare helps the people to detect those who have small pox and chicken pox. For those who wear clothes were either suspected as having the diseases or regarded as members of the ideals class.

There were few textile centres scattered in the entire Igbo region. These include Abakiliki, Nsukka, Ndoki and Asaba areas. Weaving in these areas was done on vertical looms of simple construction. As a result, most of the cloths were plain weaves with an exception of Akwete cloth of Ndoki which has a long standing reputation for beautiful craftsmanship in terms of design and durability. With the passage of time, Igbo fashion was modified in style and designs following some external influences from far and near.

Although the colonial period began in 1900 in Southern Nigeria, it took about ten years of series of military expeditions before the British completely conquered

Igboland (Forde and Jones, 1950). The early period was therefore a period of tension and a time when the Igbo retained greater percentage of what constitute their ancient customs and traditions. Then, the use of scanty dressing and the nudity of the children were still very much voguish in most parts up until Igboland was completely subdued through series of military expeditions by the British.

Igbo fashion of colonial period appears in two main variants—body decoration and attachment or application of extraneous materials to the body. Before examining the styles of Igbo fashion of the early colonial period, it is necessary to examine other factors that influenced acceptability of western fashion. Prior to the colonisation of Igboland, some Christian missionaries from Europe had already made few converts. Some zealous converts alongside their mentors attacked certain tradition. This eventually led to modern Igbo socio-religious system which in turn determined the people's attitudes to life.

Colonial administration lacked enough manpower and money to adequately govern the people; hence they resorted to training the native whom they later employed. Some who could speak English after graduation served as clerks, interpreters and court messengers. Such positions were respected because of the economic gains and attire of the people who occupy such positions. These people constituted what may be described as the privileged high class in the society.

Another remarkable development was the shifting of trade from the coast to hinterland. The British and Dutch textile print as well as Indian madras locally called George, which came from Portuguese traders were supplied to the people in the hinterland. With time there was increase in both demand and supply. Purchasing power

of the people increased as a result of a number of new economic activities. People also cherished these textile materials because of the quality. Within a short period, factory manufactured and printed cotton cloths became the major traditional mode of dressing of Nigerians especially the women (Okeke 1982). The increasing preference for imported cloths and fabrics served as incentive for more importation cheaper and finer textiles materials.

Traditional handcrafted cloths were in short supply. Besides, the indigenous weavers only produced a short piece of about 61cm x 30cm. Hence, they served as towels and loin cloth. These short pieces of cloth could be sewn together to form a wider fabric. Such, for instance, was used by women as wrappers. Certainly, according to Bastian (2005), the present day Igbo speaking people take immense pains in enhancing their appearance. They have understanding of how bodies ought to be donned or displayed at any time.

Through trade, relatively cheap western clothes were made available for the people. Among these are beautifully design skirts, trousers, singlet, khaki knickers, boats, pants, canvas, leather bags, sandals, shoes, belts, caps, among others. Cotton prints design for the African markets continued to increase in demand. They were used as wrappers especially among the women. Akwete cloth, white cotton, and Indian Mandras cloth locally called George were quite popular. African wax prints known as *Abada* were wider than the locally made *Akwete* and *Akwaocha* cloths. The width ranges from 1.1 metres to 1.2 metres and often appears in 5.5 metres. Popular motifs such opener, letters of the Alphabets, among others were usually situated in a background of stylised miniature designs consisting of dots, lines and/or geometric

shapes. These enhanced the general aesthetics of the cloths. In style, most of the fabrics tend towards large and bold designs against a repertoire of minute background motifs. Some are non-representational while others represent images drawn from the natural world. These include man, plant, animal and man-made objects – building, electronic gadgets and so on.

The styles in which these materials were used are unique. In most cases, wax or fancy prints were tied around the body especially as wrappers. Women who did not put on blouse or gown would use wrappers to tie around their torso so as to conceal their breasts, a development which stemmed from the criticism against nudity. Men sew the material or any other plain materials in a characterised fashion – a loose-fitting shorts reaching down beneath the waist and a pair of big trousers or knickers. Among Owerri, Ngwa, Bende and Arochukwu peoples, men tied around their waist *George* cloth which often reached below the knees. An Ozo titled man in Ahoada may not wear any shirt except fabric wrapper tied around the waist. In Onitsha area, ozo title-holders dressed in white short sleeves blouse over a white skirt and necklaces of coral beads. Young women wore skirts and blouses or tied short wrappers around their waists and other smaller pieces around their torso to cover their breasts.

Today, the Igbo like many other Africans have adopted Western fashion ideology. This explains why, in Igboland today, during ceremonies such as marital, burial, christening, and ritual occasions among others land, most people are seen in dresses patterned after the European sartorial culture. Igbo people have shown more eagerness in adopting the western styles more than other groups in Nigeria (Bersselaar 1998).



Fig 1: Model for contemporary Igbo traditional Fashion for Men and Women
© Shell, Nigeria

Dresses for the men include shirts, trousers, suits, singlets, shoes, sandals and caps.

The traditional mode of dresses for the Igbo men as shown below, are essentially differentiated by their sewing and wearing methods.

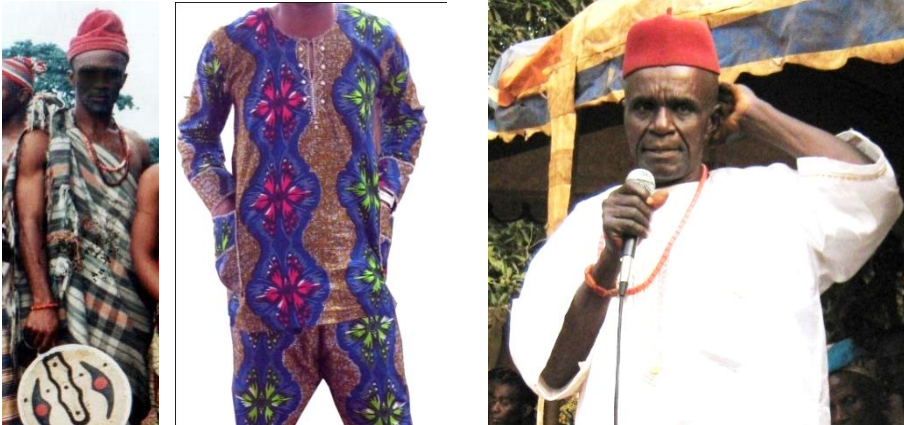


Fig 2. Contemporary traditional dress styles among Igbo men.
© Trevor Morgan

There are many variants of contemporary traditional dresses used by the Igbo men. A five metre cloth (wrapper) could be tied across the shoulder for titled men. The *ishiagu* fabric could be used to sew a shirt worn principally by titled or senior men. White apparel may symbolize purity. Some varieties of dresses available for Igbo men and women in modern time could be used both as formal wears and casual dress.



Fig 3: Some contemporary Igbo fashion for the men—Suits, Trousers, Shirts, etc.

© Trevor Morgan

As part of contemporary Igbo traditional men's costume caps are worn, especially by the men. For instance, the red caps and bowler hats are commonly worn by men of high social ranks. Face caps are popular among male youths. The raffia hats worn as part of work cloth to shade one from the effect sun or rain are often among rural dwellers.

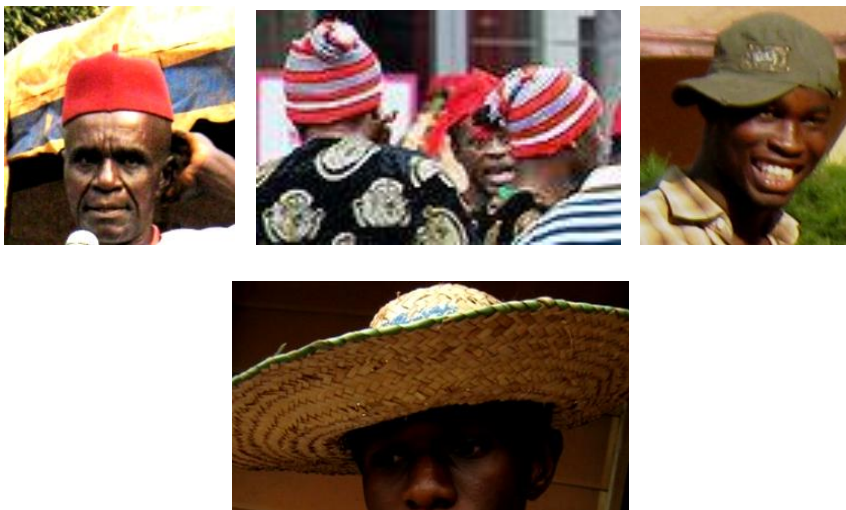


Fig 4: Cap types for Igbo men—*Raffia cap, Red cap and Ozo-title cap*
© Trevor Morgan

Other accessories among the men are the beadworks for the waist, leg, hand and neck, especially for those holding titles. In modern fashion, ties are also used on shirts with or without suit. There are bangles, bands, clips, perfumes and creams used to enhance dressing for the males depending on the choice of individuals. Belts and neckties are another important modern fashion accessory used principally by Igbo men.

The bulk of changes which have occurred in Igbo fashion are found with the females particularly. This is because they seem to be more fashion conscious than men. Igbo women in an attempt to copy fashion styles around the world seem to have resorted to the nudity which earlier characterised pre-colonial and colonial Igbo (Chukwu 2005). In the modern day, female dressing includes blouse, skirt, shirt, trousers, gown and headgear. The body is perfumed with modern cosmetics. Most Igbo women today while mourning the loss of their husband dress in black or white depending on their religious affiliations.



Fig. 5: Igbo woman in traditional attire
(a). © Trevor Morgan (b,c). (c) nomadsandhousewives.blogspot.com



*Nudity as part of
fashion amongst Igbo
women*

Fig.7: Some variegated styles in Modern Igbo Fashion of Igbo women. © Trevor Morgan

The above figures show the variety of dress style available for young Igbo women today. Generally, modern fashion of the Igbo has embraced a number of designs and styles which combine divers dressing formula. These acculturated styles in fashion show up in the modern apparel, coiffure, footwear and other accessories used for makeup/body decoration. For instance, modern handbags, staff and fan serve as dress supplement.

Hairstyles



Fig. 8: Samples of the ancient coiffures of the Igbo
© Talbot (1924)

The coiffure of the women took many forms with introduction of imported black threads. Most women took to plaiting with thread. One of the commonest styles in some parts was known as scissor style. This was probably because the form appears like scissor. In this instance, the hair is tied into many small bundles which were usually bent or coiled stylistically according to the owner's choice. Some plaited theirs without any thread, though often times a band of some sorts were used to tie them together into one or more bundles. The use of headgear was a common practice. Igbo women, especially during some special occasions, tie headgears (*ichafu*) that complement their blouses and wrappers. Tying certain *ichafu* could be quite laborious and might require the assistance of another to achieve a satisfactory design.

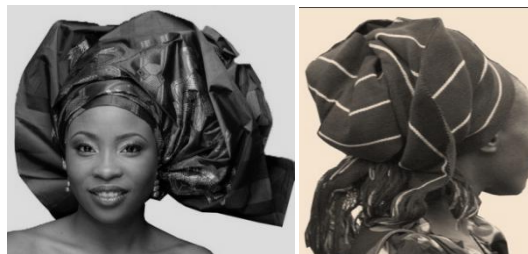


Fig.9: Headgear; (a) © africanweddingsus.blogspot.com (b). © Trevor Morgan, 2010

Another inseparable part of Igbo fashion among the women folk are the hairdos. In the contemporary time, various designs and kinds of hairdos are seen when

compared with those available in the past. They are usually named according to their designs.



Fig 14: Samples of Hairstyles: (a) Weaving (b). Twist (c). Wool (d) Weave-on (e) Zigzag
© Trevor Morgan

A good number of these styles are made today by attaching artificial or synthetic hairs to elongate the natural one. Weaving and plaiting of hairs are done manually and could take up to six hours to finish. However, a number of machines such as hair dryers are used in drying wet hairs, and thronging machines among others are available today to enhance hair treatment and styling.

The Comparative Analysis of the two Fashion Modes

Igbo people have adopted more varieties of fashion styles as a result of globalization, however there are a lot of differences and similarities discernible in fashions of the period under study despite age difference. Fashion, in the contemporary time seeks for beauty more than in the early colonial times when clothing was essentially to cover nakedness and to keep the body warm. Obviously, men, women

and children did not cover their body parts completely in the past due to scarcity of cloth materials among other factors peculiar to African culture. However, these reasons may not sufficiently account for open body fashion in the 21st century.

There is a general trend in modern fashion with the introduction and popularization of unisex wear such as trousers, shirts, and suits among others which are otherwise called unisex designs. While men go for deep colour-dresses, women prefer bright and light colours – pink, red, yellow, peach, sky blue and so on. This actually draws attention to the effect of colour on men and women psychology.

Atta and Uka (2010) identified *uli* as part of the early Igbo fashion which was cherished for its aesthetic appeals in the past, especially in body adornment and wall painting. Young women today do not consider *uli* as part of contemporary fashion. Although some contemporary young Igbo women seem to have adopted nudity of the past as part of today's fashion, they seem to have discarded the use of *uli* and they rather prefer modern cosmetics. For instance, eye-shadows and eye pencils have replaced *tanjele*, a local substance used for such treatment. Powder, lipstick, cortex, and other forms of makeup fill today's market. Although facial painting by women continues till date, there is wide margin of difference in the media used. This development led to almost disuse of *uli* and *nzu* which came into great favour in the ancient time. Earlier on, in making hairdos, hairs were arranged in few mounds, and then decorated with oil, cassava paste and bead, but today, many varieties of new styles have evolved. Women hairs are not only woven, but plaited, curled and braided with modern devices.

Conclusion

The view of Nzekwu (1960), that it is hard to identify the Igbo by their dressing is not only true but also an indication of the height of influence of Western fashion and world views on the Igbo. The voguish red cap, bowler hat, *Ishiagu* caftan dress, shirts, pants and other visual appurtenances of men's fashion in the contemporary time came as a result of culture contact. This is analogous to women's fashion. However, there are discernible similarities in the past and present modes of the Igbo. For example, nudity which characterised the ancient Igbo fashion of the children and women now manifests itself in different shades in contemporary Igbo fashion, especially among women. Jewelleries such as beads worn around the waist, neck, wrist and leg which prevailed in ancient times is still in vogue today with more varieties and the aid of modern technology.

Other forms of decorative ornaments made of metals which include rings, anklets, bracelet, bangles, etc. common in the past have their modern variant. While ancient Igbo women used local dyes such as *ufie*, *nzu*, *edo* and *uli* to decorate their bodies, modern Igbo women paint themselves with modern chemicals such pancake, lipstick, powders, eye-shadows, among others. Attention given to hair treatment such as plaiting, braiding, weaving, etc. as well as attachments of extraneous materials to the hair continues unabated up until this contemporary time when much more intricate styles have been developed. In the contemporary time, Igbo men and women put on different styles of hats and hairdos. The present styles seem more visually challenging than what it used to be following the availability of assorted products of modern technology.

There has been a sharp distinction between the past and the present. For instance, it seems inconceivable that men and women could wear same style of dress in the early colonial era in Nigeria. In other words, there were no unisex wears. This is because, traditionally, women were not allowed to wear men's clothing, but it is a common sight today to see women dress in the same attire with men. Again, the characteristic nudity of men and children in the past is no longer fashionable in the present time. While Igbo men and women may apply cream and perfume to their body with modern cosmetics, it was not so in the past.

Women have almost abandoned the use of *nzu*, *uli* and *ufie*. Modern cosmetics are quite fashionable among them today. In the past, nudity of females was accentuated with the use of *jigida* waist beads. According to an online article, "The Cultural Significance of Jigida":

The waist beads show the sexuality of women with the aim of achieving the genuine womanliness and their ability to bear children. Before time girls are made to understand that wearing jigida or waist beads helps them achieve the roundness of the hips, the slimness of the waist, a long neck and voluptuous breasts that is the mark of a physically desirable woman. The waist beads can therefore be seen as an aspect of maturity and the strength of mind for women to be the best they can be. This helps differentiate the men from the women in today's fashion and as such, every man would look further to finding a woman with the jigida.

Following the change in the people's dress culture, a number of dress styles in forms of skirts, wrappers, blouses, gowns, shirts and pants among others which cover the body are socially and sartorially appropriate for Igbo women including girls

today. Trade liberalization and modern textile technologies help in the production of wide range of cloths and other fashion appurtenances popular among the Igbo of the present century.

References

Afigbo, A. E. (1981) *Ropes of Sand: Studies in Igbo History and Culture*. Owerri: University Press Ltd.

- Attah, M. N. and Uka G. O. (2010). "The Aesthetics of Uli Design in Visual Communication Practices." *International Journal of Visual Communication Design*. 1.1
- Basden, G. T. (1966). *Niger Ibos*. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd..
- Bastian, M. L. (2005). "The Naked and the Nude", *Dirt, Undress, and Difference: Critical Perspectives on the Body's Surface*. Masquelier, A. M. (ed.) Retrieved June 19, 2012 from <http://books.google.com.ng/books?id=ZV9C2AjtFfsC&pg=PA35&lpg=PA35&dq=nudity+as+fashion+igbo&source=bl&ots=-yXyVcZ4NY&sig=0mNBURJ9TJYyE1pIh-Mg18C8KCo&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Vg3fT4j6A-SM0wXp6vnkDw&ved=0CGEQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=nudity%20as%20fashion%20igbo&f=false>
- Cole H. & Aniakor C. (1984). *Igbo Arts Community and Cosmos*. Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California.
- Chukwu, G. (2005). *Igbo Women and Economic Transformation in Southeastern Nigeria, 1900-1960*. New York: Routledge.
- Forde, D. and Jones, G. I. (1950). *The Ibos and Ibibio-speaking Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. London: International African institute.
- Nkwo, M. (1984). *Igbo Cultural Heritage*. Onitsha : University Publishing Company.
- Nzekwu O. (1963). "Ibo people's Costumes". *Nigerian Magazine*. 78. 164–175.
- Nzekwu O. (1963) "Ivory Ornaments" *Nigerian Magazine*. 77. 105-116.
- Okeke C.S. (1976). "Tradition and Change in Igbo Woven Designs." *Nigerian Magazine*. 121. 32–45
- Okeke C.S. (1982). "Wrapper Designs for the Nigerian Market: Design features of Igbo Women's Wrapper". *Nigeria Magazine*. 140. 29–43.
- Onwuche, P. (2012). *They go About Naked*. (Unstated place of Publication): Burning Books.
- Talbot. P. A. (1969). *Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. Vol 1,3. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.
- Udechukwu O. (1971). "Functionality, Symbolism and Decoration in Traditional Igbo Art." *The Conch*. 3.2 86–96.
- Ukwu, D.C. (2000). "Igbo People: Clothing & Cosmetic Makeup at the Time of Things Fall Apart" <http://culture.chiamaka.com/igboclothing.html> retrieved November 8, 2011
- Willis, E. A "Uli Painting and Development in Arts in Igbo-speaking region of Nigeria". *An Unpublished Ph. D thesis*, The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. (1997).
- The cultural significance of "jigida". Retrieved on August 8, 2012 from <http://www.gnaija.net/profiles/blogs/importance-of-jigida>