

IKENGA

International Journal of Institute of African Studies

University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Volume 21, No. 3

IKENGA, after which the journal has been named, is a cult object of the Igbo-speaking peoples to which traditionally is attributed success or good fortune in the professions or in life generally. It is also closely associated with the right arm with which a man hacks his way through life. *IKENGA* could, therefore, be briefly described as the Igbo god of achievement. The journal is dedicated to the critical study of the fortunes of the black man down the centuries, and of his contemporary problems and dilemmas. Its interest covers the entire spectrum of African Studies.

IKENGA: International Journal of the Institute of African Studies is not committed to preaching any particular gospel but will accommodate all views based on the objective study and analysis of issues, whether historical or contemporary, which are of special relevance to the fortunes of the black man. Opinions expressed in the articles which *IKENGA* carries are entirely those of the authors.

Submissions should be between 450 and 650 words in length, typed in double spacing on be of A4 paper. The author's name, title, position, and address should appear on a separate sheet that serves as a cover to the submission. Contributors should include a floppy disk containing the materials, or alternatively send a soft copy to the Editor. Works cited should conform to the styles and conventions set out in the *MLA Handbook*.

IKENGA: International Journal of Institute of African Studies is indexed by

EBSCO

information services.

EDITOR

Florence Orabueze

RESEARCH ADVISOR

Emeka Nwabueze

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Ifeanyi Iwundu

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Dr. Dr. John Nwaogaidu (Rev. Fr.)

Matthew Eze (Rev. Fr.)

Godstime Eze

Dr. T.M.E Chukwumezie

Dr. Emmanuella Asadu

Dr. David Wayas

Dr. Victor Omeje

CONSULTING EDITORS

Professor Patrick Ebewo, Tshwane University of Technology, Pretoria, South Africa

Professor Emmanuel O. Ezeani, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Professor Charles A. Igwe, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Professor Duro Oni, University of Lagos, Nigeria

Professor Sam C. Ukala, Delta State University, Abraka

Professor Nnanyelugo Okoro, University Nigeria, Nsukka

Professor Roseline Ijeoma Okorji, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Professor Aloysius-Michaels Okolie, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Dr. Obiora Ekwueme, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Dr. Chinenye Amonyeze, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Editorial Secretariat

Uche-vita Agundu

Chioma Eunice Hampo

Table of Contents

Heterosexual Sexual Activity a Major Spread of HIV, Concern over Accessibility of Free Condoms.

Keeteretsi Tlou

Oru Asusu Epum n'Igbochi Odachi Mgbanwe Ubochi n'Afrika

Crescentia N. Ugwuona and Jacinta N. Okeyagbo

Healing Through Memory Objects: The Journey to Recovery from a Sudden Death Experience among Adult Family Members in Mberengwa

Emmanuel Maziti and Agnes Mujuru

The Concept of *Iwa* and *Ebi* as a Theoretical Model for Religious Tolerance and Coexistence

Obafemi Jegede and Afatakpa O. Fortune

Structural Connectedness in, and Literary Analysis of, Ijala Performance among Oyo, Yoruba

Babatunde Olanrewaju Adebua and Sunday Agboola Olatunji

Literature and Gender in the 21st Century: Representation of Women in Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* and Mariama Ba's *So Long a Letter*

Aliyu Haruna Muhammad

Zimbabwe's Elections: A Legitimation Ritual of ZANU PF

Alexander M Rusero and Lucid Chirozva

Gender Inequality and Discrimination in Nigeria: The Effect of Culture and Religion

Ogochukwu Agatha Agbo

Interrogating the Differential Impacts of Conflict in Oil Producing Communities in Bayelsa State

Joseph Bibowei Ekiye

Notes on Contributors

Babatunde O. Adebua is a Lecturer in the Department of Languages and Literary Studies, Babcock University, Ilisan Remo, Ogun State, Nigeria

Fortune O. Afatakpa is a Research Fellow in the Institute of Peace and Strategic Studies, Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Jacinta Nddi Okeyagbo is a Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics, Igbo and other Nigerian Languages, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Ogochukwu Agatha Agbo is an Assistant Research Fellow in the Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Lucid Chirozva is a Lecturer in the Department of International Relations, Afriica University, Mutare, Zimbabwe

Godstime I. Eze is an Assistant Research Fellow in the Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Obafemi Jegede is a Senior Research Fellow, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Emmanuel Maziti is a Clinical Psychologist in Department of Psychology, Great Zimbabwe University, Masvingo.

Agnes Mujuru is a Psychology Intern in the Department of Psychology, Great Zimbabwe University, Masvingo

Aliyu Haruna Muhammad is a Lecturer in the Directorate of General Studies, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University, Bauchi.

Sunday Agboola Olatunji is a Lecturer in the Department of Languages and Literary Studies, Babcock University, Ilisan Remo, Ogun State, Nigeria

Alexander M. Rusero is a Lecturer in the Department of International Relations, Africa University, Mutare, Zimbabwe

Keeteretsi Tlou is an Independent Researcher and HIV/AIDS Activist, City of KweKwe, Zimbabwe.

Crescentia N. Ugwuona is a Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics, Igbo and other Nigerian Languages, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Joseph Bibowei Ekiye is a Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State.

HETEROSEXUAL SEXUAL ACTIVITY A MAJOR SPREAD OF HIV, CONCERN OVER ACCESSIBILITY OF FREE CONDOMS. (CITY OF KWEKWE, ZIMBABWE)



Keeteretsi Tlou

Abstract

HIV/AIDS is a reality in Sub Sahara region and beyond. This region is on record attracting the highest prevalence rate compared to other regions and continents. An estimated number of both adult and children new infections in Sub Sahara Africa region in year 2011 was at 1.8 million (Stellenbosch University, Statistical Overview 2011). WHO (2014) concurred to the former that HIV prevalence in Sub Sahara Africa alone accounted for 2/3 of the world's population. The 2020 objective of ensuring HIV diagnosis, access to ARVs and reduction of mortality due to HIV/AIDS require continuous concerted efforts of putting into perspective measures which allow for curbing of the continuous spread of HIV. HIV in Zimbabwe is mainly driven by unprotected heterosexual activities (Avert, 2018). Those diagnosed of HIV are urged to use protection on continual basis to avoid infection and re-infection in the process. Use of protection is strategic to both the infected and not infected, most especially those who engage in irresponsible sex behaviour. This is in liaison with closing the tap on new infections, particularly in Africa region where HIV is more severe and is on the increase. In Africa, it is on record HIV is mainly spread through unprotected sex either heterosexually or homosexually. The later however depends on different settings as some countries deny reality of practice of homosexuality. Particular focus in this document is on accessibility and use of condoms which is the fragment of the ABCs of curbing of the continuous spread of HIV this denoting: A- Abstinence, Be faithful to a single partner and condom use in ensuring protection. Follow up on distribution and accessibility of free condoms in all public strategic areas has been done to ensure availability of these. Hot spots, key public areas including among others: night clubs, taverns, public toilets, brothels were frequented to verify availability of condoms. Mainly observational approach was used in the past three months to monitor condom availability in these strategic places. Failure to access these compromises the efforts to curtail the rising prevalence of HIV, unplanned pregnancies, unwanted pregnancy and other sex related transmitted diseases in Zimbabwe. This therefore undermines delivery of Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights of many. Market analysis in terms of cost of condoms was also conducted to establish if on prices these are within the reach many.

Key Words: Heterosexual, Accessibility, Condoms, HIV, AIDS, hot Spots, Strategic Public Area.

Introduction

HIV is mainly spread through unsafe or unprotected sex. Coleman (2009), made an affirmation that unprotected or unsafe sex either being heterosexual or homosexual are the main causes and agents of HIV infection spread in Sub Saharan Africa. Protection is

mainly achievable through use of condoms that is mainly by practising safe sex through use of protection. These notably come in two forms namely male and female condoms. Africa continent, particularly Sub Sahara Africa region is severely impacted by HIV compared to other regions and continents. This article explores a fragment of ABCs of HIV prevention, protection and particular focus being on easy access of condoms and their accessibility to the general public in city of KweKwe. Hot spot areas were explored as strategic areas to assess and monitor condom availability for easy access on those who are in need of them. Hot spot areas considered for the study among others include: taverns, beer halls, brothels, night clubs, public park areas, commuter station public toilets and other public areas. Gathering of information relating to condom availability in hot spot areas and mainly public areas was made in sixty days, daily frequenting these places assessing if whether condoms were available.

The Ministry of health position has always been that those in need of free condoms were supposed to get them at health facility points. It is imperative to note health facilities are not strategic and accessible, most especially if they are not seeking any medical attention. The study was conducted in city of Kwekwe located in the midlands region of Zimbabwe with a population of 100 900 (Zimstat, 2012). Kwekwe is known as the city of gold where mining activities. According to Shumba (2018), in a gold mining province there is a disturbing surge of the HIV pandemic, KweKwe topping the list. Kwekwe has the highest HIV prevalence in Midlands being the first in region and second at National level (Shumba, 2018). Zimbabwe is among the nations in the Sub Sahara Africa region which is seriously impacted by the spread of HIV and AIDS related mortality.

The latest estimates reveal Zimbabwe's HIV prevalence (15-49 years) of 14.7% accounting for an average of 1.2 million people estimated to be living with HIV (AIDS and TB programme Ministry of Health and of Health and Child Care, Zimbabwe 2017). Amidst such concerns, the continent of Africa and Sub Sahara Africa region are severely impacted being the epicentre of the scourge (UNAIDS, 2017). Prevalence in Sub Sahara Africa as at 2014, accounted for 2/3 of the world's population (Keizer Family Foundation, 2011). In 2016, Zimbabwe recorded an average of 40 000 new HIV infections (Global AIDS response progress Report, UNAIDS 2016).

Though strides have been made in reduction of the prevalence rate, the impact of the scourge of HIV and AIDS related mortality continue in Zimbabwe.

Aim of the study

Based on the proportion within which HIV is spread through practise of irresponsible and unsafe sex behaviour, the study aims at exploring availability and accessibility of free condoms on hot spot areas, public areas, taverns, night clubs, brothels just to mention a few. In 2016 alone, Zimbabwe encountered 40 000 new HIV infections, though it declined from 79 000 in year 2010 (UNAIDS, 2016). This targeting key population namely sex workers, truck drivers, men having sex with men, sex active in general among the Zimbabwean population. Concern has been expressed on growth of epidemics on key population (UNAIDS, 2017). They however concurred to the fact that the Zimbabwean epidemic is largely spread through unprotected heterosexual sex.

Condoms should be easily accessible at the facility that is available in toilets and waiting areas and condoms should be proactively offered to anyone attending with an STI or for HIV testing services (Ministry of Health, Operational Service Delivery Manual,

2017). Availability and accessible facility referred to in this particular manual is the health and institution, secluding emphasis on other key strategic area. In 2015, 109.4 million male condoms and 5.6 million female condoms were Distributed (Global AIDS Response Progress Response 2016, Zimbabwe Country Report).Ministry of Health has previously been rolling out free condoms to various localities but the question of availability and easy access of free condoms remain questionable. According to Zimbabwe, HIV Country Profile (2016), percentage condom use among sex workers with most recent client was 67%. National AIDS Council of Zimbabwe once made a campaign towards attainment of closing of a tap on HIV new infections in Zimbabwe. This is made possible through taking responsibility on ensuring availability and easy access of free condoms.

Review of Literature

The researcher consulted a range of publications in line with HIV prevalence and prevention in Zimbabwe. Particular focus was attributed on the most integral aspect which stops HIV from increasing, spreading in Zimbabwe. Condom uses are strategic on prevention aspect of continued spread of HIV and other sex transmitted diseases. Use of protection is pivotal towards closing of tap on new HIV infections and spread of sex transmitted diseases.

Literature also consulted was grey literature by the government's Ministry of Health publications. In this effort, conclusions were made based on these publications and some gaps and grey areas were realised on the severity of the scourge and shortage of condoms in general. This in a way compromises an optimal harnessing of the impact and continuous spread of HIV, spread of sexual transmitted disease and unwanted pregnancies in Zimbabwe. Matters in relation to total closure of continued spread of HIV, recording of new HIV infections require to be continually put into perspective. This is made possible through prioritisation so as to ensure realisation of 2030 objective stipulating the Zimbabwean government's commitment to ending AIDS (Country Report, 2015).

An issue in line with prevention of HIV require further attention as is severely affecting and impacting the most productive age groups within the age range of 18 – 39 years. In this section, matters in relation to free condoms distribution, availability and accessibility are going to be explored. These have a significant contribution on prevention of the continuous spread of HIV particularly on practices of irresponsible unsafe sex behaviours. Coleman (2009), emphasised that HIV is mainly spread through hetero sexual activities that is sexual activities between men and women.

Spreading of HIV

It is on record that HIV is mainly spread through irresponsible and unprotected heterosexual activities between men and women. This however constitutes the highest means of spread of sex related diseases, HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. Coleman (2009) affirmed that unprotected, heterosexual activity is a highest transmitter of either sex related diseases or HIV. This therefore translates to the fact that HIV is presently spreading the fastest through sexual activities between men and women. Multiple sex partners, unprotected sex among the key populations significantly work towards the spread of the disease. Key populations include among others truck drivers and prostitutes.

The most worrying scenario is, many people are not aware of their HIV status though there has been some significant improvement and changes as much as testing is concerned. If irresponsible sex is practised in such a pretext, there is possibility of the continuous spread of sex related diseases.

Free Condom distribution

Reference to Ministry of Health and Child Care (MHCC) in Zimbabwe, there is rolling out of free condoms to enhance, promote and prevent spread of sexual related transmitted diseases. This initiative is conducted at nation level. It is a statement of fact that condoms are distributed mainly through private and public channels. According to Zimbabwe Country Report (2015), 109.4 million male and 5.6 million condoms were distributed but within particular preference on high transmission areas. Onabanjo, (2018) argued that Sub-Saharan Africa has an annual gap of more than 3 billion condoms, against a total need of 6 billion. This compromises the efforts already on the ground impacting the prevention aspect of the spread of HIV and related sex transmitted diseases.

MHCC prescribed condom distribution

Panther free condoms are mainly distributed by the Ministry of Health and Child care in Zimbabwe through its partners namely National AIDS Council (NAC). It further distributes them for further distribution through its other working partners throughout Zimbabwe. MHCC (2017)'s position on condom accessibility are mainly through health facilities that is in toilets, waiting areas, others are distributed through linkages with community health workers, Church Based Organisations (CBOs), church leaders and People living with HIV (PLHIV), hot spots areas like beer halls and growth points.

Availability of condoms

In 2016 alone an estimated 118 million condoms were distributed against the 218 million needed in Zimbabwe market. There was therefore a deficit on the distribution of the actual needed condoms in Zimbabwe. This enables achieving of the stipulated United Nations Population Funds bench mark of at least 30 condoms per man per year (Mann Global Health, 2016). Condoms form the most basis of HIV prevention. Noguera, Alt et al (2003) firmly affirmed "...HIV/AIDS prevention, care, and treatment programs among others cannot succeed without a reliable and consistent supply of condoms". This must however be coupled with consistent, correct use of these to achieve a highly anticipated outcome. These must be available in all strategic areas to ensure accessibility by intended end users.

Condoms in Zimbabwe are mainly distributed in three ways namely: free condoms through Ministry of Health and Child Care (MOHCC), subsidised condoms mainly distributed through social marketing by Population Services International (PSI) and commercialised brands through different agencies namely pharmaceutical and private entity companies. Private companies import different flavoured brands like carex and durex. Funders for these programmes are USAID at 99% and a small investment being from UNFPA contributing 1% (Mann Global Health, 2016). It is important to note that the government of Zimbabwe in partnership with other partners has supported the distribution of free condoms via the public sector route for more than 25 years (Taruberekera, Chatora, Leuschner, Munjoma, Sithole, and Balasubramanian 2019).

Cost of condoms in retail shops

Reference to key partners which include among others PSI who have the mandate of marketing and distributing condoms in retail shops in Zimbabwe, the cost of protector plus and other condoms has sky rocketed. Considering economic hardships in Zimbabwe, in terms of the market prices they are now beyond the reach of many. This in essence has a potential of discouraging use of condoms in general. Prices of condoms as at August 2019, PSI hiked condom prices by 100%, these are selling at between \$2 and \$3 each (Matiashe, Mbanje 2019). To date, the verified prices have slightly changed to \$10 a pack of 3 translating to \$3, 33 per each condom. PSI distributes protector plus condoms whilst other competitors are also distributing carex and durex condoms among others. Carex and Durex condoms are ranging from \$38 to \$40 a pack of 3 condoms meaning one is in the price range of \$13. This is however very exorbitant. Ministry of Health and Child Care Zimbabwe distributes through its partners panther free condoms through defined means.

From studies which were conducted on condom availability in Zimbabwe, 72% availability is in shops, 7% availability in pharmacies, 7% available to vendors and 7% to other (Condom availability in Zimbabwe, 2017). The question remains on availability and accessibility of free condoms in all strategic public places. In Shops availability percentage is higher than on vendors and other places pointing to the fact that condoms are now predominantly for sale. The question remains on affordability as we look relative to Zimbabwe's current economic meltdown as well as exorbitant prices in retail prices for condoms where most are compelled to relying on free condoms.

Condom availability and shortages

There has been recent looming shortage of free condoms in Zimbabwe. Taruberekera et al (2019) concurs by attributing to the uncertainty Zimbabwe faces over condom funding levels as well as availability condom insecurity. In liaison to the latter, publications through local newspapers on the shortages of free condom distribution in most parts of the country were made. Mupesa (2018) vividly reported of the shortage of free condoms in Mashonaland West and lacking of effective distribution of the protective sheath in the country. It is not only Mashonaland West which is severely impacted by low distribution of free condoms but other regions as well. Despite misuse and abuse of these condoms, concern has also been raised around this matter.

Research Methodology

Study area

The research study was carried out in the Midlands region, particularly focusing on city of KweKwe. The city is mainly reputable for small and large scale gold mining activities. Main area of study, targeted high activity areas namely hot spot places like taverns, most frequented commuter rank public toilets, government complex public toilets and other overnight clubs. Sixty days were committed on gathering information relating to availability of condoms in these designated areas. Identifiable areas like taverns namely: Much Better club, Club Yoyo, kwa Maiguru, local commuter taxi rank public toilets and the government complex public toilets were frequented. These clubbing areas are reputable for overnight activities perpetuating prostitution activities.

Targeted groups

The study aimed mainly on adults who frequented designated areas of the study namely: street kids, prostitutes, vendors, commuter/ long distance buses touts, drivers and the general population. These places are mainly accessed on a daily and regular basis.

Zimbabwe's Economic Outlook

Zimbabwe's economy is currently not performing well with unemployment rate around 90% (Ref). Zimbabwe's economy is currently under performing, being the worst economy compared with previous years and many living abject poverty. Blanco (2002), made an emphasises that poverty is characterized by chronic shortage of economic, social and political participation, relegating individuals to exclusion as social beings, preventing access to the benefits of economic and social development and thereby limiting their cultural development. This exactly paints the picture over what is transpiring in Zimbabwe. Unemployment has led to migration, spiralling of artisanal mining activities and prostitution.

This is however true with Zimbabwe where economic, living standards are deteriorating by day and unemployment is soaring. Reference to United Nations, most of the Zimbabwean population is living below US \$ 1 a day meaning mostly, are currently living in abject poverty. It is on record that most of the working Zimbabweans are also living below the poverty datum line of +/- ZW \$ 3500, where there has also been concern over rise on inflation figures (Consumer Council of Zimbabwe, 2019). Public service workers are within the bracket of those being paid salaries below the datum line. Inflation rate in Zimbabwe has sky rocketed to +/- 400% to date impacting pricing in general as well as pricing of condoms in the market sector.

This has immensely impacted the spending pattern of most Zimbabweans. WFP (2020) has warned over drought and serious shortage of food items in Zimbabwe this year. Such implications have both direct and indirect effects on the people of Zimbabwe. Prices for condoms is ranging between Zw \$ 8 to Zw \$ 40 a pack of two. The question now is much on affordability and priority on whether to spend on food items or buying condoms. These prices are however projected to increase over time as inflation has become a menace on daily running of Zimbabwe.

Research method

A cross sectional study approach was conducted, where an interview protocol was used to gather information targeting people who frequent areas of the study. Secondary data was also consulted to gather facts in relation to the study. A participatory and observation approach was used where the researcher completed score sheets to daily gather information on condom availability on targeted public places. The exercise was carried out for the past sixty days, frequenting stipulated areas of the study at least three times a day. This was meant to gather different viewpoints in relation to availability of free condoms which are mainly distributed by the Ministry of Health and Child Care in Zimbabwe. 400 participants in hot spot surroundings were randomly approached to ascertain on availability of free condoms in these areas. These participants were equally apportioned in areas targeted for this study. The interviews conducted were mainly semi structured in nature with a combination of both close and open ended questions.

Data collection methods

Data collection methods which were employed were interviews guided by both structured and semi structured questions. The researcher also used participatory approach that is observations completing a score sheets list forms in areas frequented. A total of 60 score sheets were used, each sheet for each day. The researcher also employed a tailor made daily status check list form on availability of free condoms. The check list approach was mainly participatory where the researcher recorded what was observed in the process. These places were frequented on daily basis for the past 60 days since they are located in the Central Business District (CBD). The score sheet comprised of close ended entry boxes with 'YES' and 'NO' against a place targeted for data collection. A researchers' checklist form was used simultaneously with an interview protocol randomly asking participants on availability of free condoms in targeted areas of study. It had had a combination of open and closed ended questions.

The form was pivotal towards entry of data to ascertain trends of availability of free condoms in designated areas of focus. The main thrust of the study being to ascertain daily availability of free condoms in these areas. Areas targeted were frequented thrice on a daily basis that is in the morning, afternoon and after hours checking if free condoms were available and accessible to many. This was done in case the researcher missed out on availability of these during any other time of the day.

Findings

Researcher score sheet findings

For the past 60 days, Much Better night club, Club Yoyo, Government and Commuter rank public toilets were frequented with a check list form. The following findings were made:

Participants into the study

400 participants were randomly selected and participated in the research study. 280 Males, 120 Females participated in the study. Following is a table representing male and female participants. Participants among other included part of the key populations like street kids, drivers, rank touts, prostitutes and small scale miners.

	Male	Females	Total
No. of participants	280	120	400

Table 1: Participants into the study

Panther free condoms availability status

Findings indicated that in 60 day visitations, on two occasions were free condoms seen displayed in the Government complex public toilet. This translates to 3.33% availability in government public toilets in 60 days; this proportion is close to none on availability where only. Other remaining places constituted 96.67% of no availability of free condoms for the past 60 days. As indicated by table 1 below, only on Government complex public were free condoms recorded but the proportion twice in 60 days constituted a percentage given above. To date no any other free condoms were seen. Other places like commuter rank, fresh farm produce market public toilets, Club Yoyo and Much Better Night clubs not even a single encounter on availability of free condoms was ever made. These have constituted a 0% availability of free condoms from the

Ministry of Health and Child Care. Options available in clubs are condoms available are only those for sale.

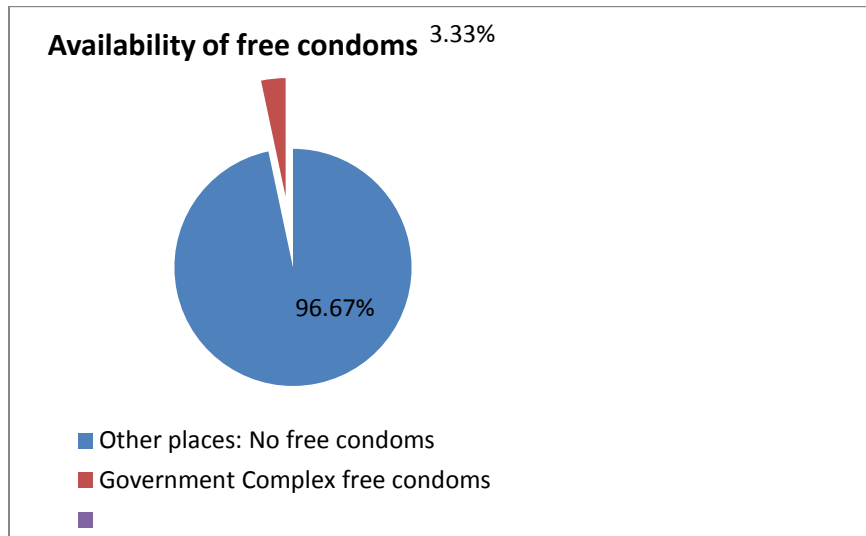


Figure 1: *Availability of free condoms*

Findings

Participants into the study were randomly selected around the areas of the study. The interview guide had questions aimed at establishing availability of free condoms in KweKwe CBD most frequented public areas. This follows an argument that government is effectually distributing free condoms and they are readily available to those requiring them. The study therefore aims at establishing availability of the latter for easy access as well as ensuring reduced spread of the scourge of HIV.

Public facility frequenting rate

It was discovered that of the 400 participants who randomly participated, 90% have daily access to at least all the public places targeted for the study. These are: KwaMaiguru night club, Club yoyo night club, Much Better night club, Commuter taxi rank public toilets, Government complex public toilets and Fresh Farm produce market public toilets. 40% frequented either of the places mentioned above. These are common strategic areas which are mostly frequented in the CBD. Surroundings of targeted area of the study are always marked by notable activities by vendors, prostitutes, small scale miners, money changers among others.

Availability of free condoms

Findings were that on each of the targeted areas of the study, responses were that 95% that is 380 respondents are not encountering free condoms in any of these places. 5% that is 80 said 'Yes' but with some reservations on responses. On justifying any of the answers, responses like were registered:

- a. Are free condoms still available? I last saw them long back.

- b. Availability of free condoms are encountered once in a while such that to say yes on availability is subjective and debatable.

Trend of availability of free condoms

Availability trend of free condoms is considerably experiencing a downward trend in all strategic places. The downward trend on free condom distribution in year 2018-2019 has been experienced by participants of the study. Compared to the previous years, condom availability is getting low whilst demand of these is on the increase.

Findings were that free condoms were becoming scarce whilst other condom prices are exorbitant beyond the reach of many. Following is a graphical presentation showing a down trend of free condom availability. With reference to Figure 2 below, condom availability in all key strategic areas is on the downward amid concerns of continued demand of these. Demand for free condoms is on the upward trend whilst availability shortage is looming.

The following responses were noted:

- a. It has been a while since i last saw free condoms around; free condoms are nowhere to be found.
- b. Free condoms are no longer as common as they used to be in previous years, i cannot remember when last i saw one in any of the public areas.

Findings were that there is continued demand of free condoms though they are not readily available in any of strategic places under study.

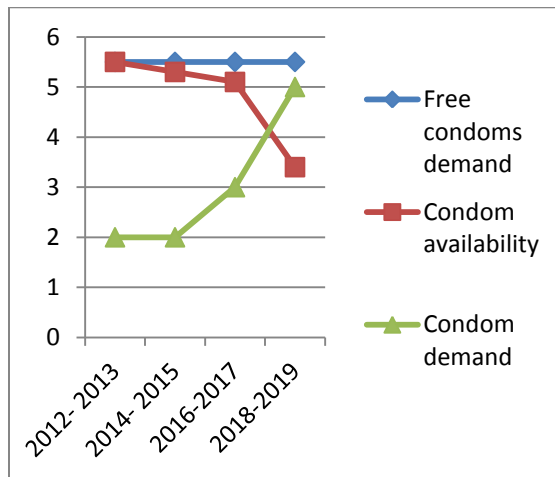


Figure 2: Availability *Downward trend, free condoms*

Condom preference

To be able to establish on condom preference by the targeted study group, an overwhelming response was given on free condoms. 98% prefer free condoms than those for sale. Much concern was however expressed on exorbitant prices on condoms for sale, “condoms for sale are expensive, a set for 2 of either carex or durex condoms ranges between \$38 -\$40. I am not currently employed, were will I get such money whilst i fail to feed myself. With gross unavailability of free condoms, lives are at risk. Free condoms are for us the poor”.

This however compromises the prevention aspect of the spread of HIV or any other sexually transmitted diseases.

Ready availability of free condoms and accessibility

Concern was expressed over gross unavailability of free condoms, though these are preferred among others. These were grossly not available at the disposal of many who require them. 90% said they were not readily available, 8% attributed to the fact that they were sometimes available and not accessible due to quantities and 2% though too insignificant agreed to availability, “we do not remember when last we saw availability of free condoms in key strategic public places, health institutions are a distant from where we are hampering efforts to get these condoms”.

Availability of community based structures

It is of much concern that most responses were indicative of the aspect that they are not sure on where to attain free condoms. 90% were not sure on where to get free condoms, 10% expressed concern on the mammoth task of travelling to collect them at designated points that is a health institutions. Community structures like church organisations, community based workers are silent on HIV prevention matters. Respondents could not identify any community structure or members facilitating the distribution of condoms by name. Sentiments by many were, “am not aware of any community organisation responsible for the distribution of free condoms, hence forth cannot identify any.” If this notion goes unabated, may hamper progress in efforts against continued spread of HIV.

Conclusions

Due to the economic challenges bedevilling the country, condoms are now expensive and beyond the reach of many. Distribution of free condoms should be stamped up to ensure practice of safe and responsible sex. There is no effective distribution and accessibility of free condoms in strategic public areas and hot spots in the CBD area of Kwekwe. Availability of condoms in targeted areas of the study for the past 60 days concluded that availability of free condoms is near to none. In government complex public toilets free condoms were encountered twice in 60 days and these were two packs of hundreds for male condoms. Free condom distribution is becoming scarcer by the day with a possibility that the prevention aspect being compromised.

Findings were also that there were no key structures or individuals responsible for ensuring availability of free condoms in each of the areas targeted for the study. These public facilities have no individuals manning the areas to ensure availability of free condoms. Routine availing of free condoms in these facilities have no specific individuals assigned for the task. Accountability on who distributes and ensures availability of condoms in hot spot areas and other key public areas on a more frequent basis require to be ascertained. The government position has always been deployment of community health workers but these are not in touch with the general population. This followed a discovery that the general public for the study were not aware of the community structures responsible for distribution of free condoms. It is common knowledge that HIV is mainly spread through hetero sexual activities, prevention through use of condoms remains critical in ensuring reduction in the spread of HIV. Effective distribution of free condoms remains strategic towards alleviation of continued spread of STIs and HIV

respectively. This comes amidst concerns that availability of free condoms in key public areas and hot spots areas are near to none at the moment hence requiring attention.

Recommendations

There is need to establish structures responsible for ensuring continued availability and distribution of free condoms in key public and hot spot areas. As it stands on all targeted areas, there is none responsible for ensuring availability of these in public domain. If there are no such structures on the ground, there is no substantial accountability as to whether these are being distributed or not. Free condom distribution requires to be monitored on a more continual basis so as to ensure continued availability and accessibility. Community health workers need to be empowered with skills to publicise on where free condoms are accessible. There is a requirement to continue alerting the general public on where to access free condoms and upholding of practice of responsible sex behaviour through use of protection. This may be initiated in all hot spot areas, public places so as to encourage safe and responsible sex behaviours. Considering that KweKwe is the worst affected by HIV prevalence, key strategic areas need to be prioritised as far as condom distribution is concerned. Availability and accessibility of free condoms should be guaranteed by the Ministry of Health if we are to realise no and continued spread of HIV.

References

- Abas, M., Chibanda, D. The Tendai study. Treatment for depression and adherence to ART in people living with HIV in Harare, Zimbabwe. Center for Global Mental Health.
- Avert. 2018.HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. Global Information and education on HIV and AIDS. www.avert.org.
- Coleman M. (2009). HIV/AIDS. Jacana Media: Ultra Litho Johannesburg.
- HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe (2017).UNAIDS Statistics for Zimbabwe.
- Global AIDS response progress Report (2016).Zimbabwe Country Report.UNAIDS.Zimbabwe_UNAIDS.htm.
- Global AIDS Monitoring (UNAIDS/WHO/UNICEF), Spectrum estimates (UNAIDS/WHO) and WHO HIV Country Intelligence Tool, 2017.
- Kaiser Family Foundation. Based on special data request to UNAIDS, World AIDS Report 2011.
- Ministry of Health and Child Care Zimbabwe (2017). AIDS and TB programme. Operational and Service Delivery Manual for the Prevention, Care and treatment of HIV in Zimbabwe.
- Noguera, Ms. Marilyn, David Alt, D. Mr, Hirschhorn , L. Dr. , Maponga, C., Dr , Dr. Osewe, P., Dr., Sam-Abbenyi, A. Dr. (2003). Zimbabwe: Antiretroviral Therapy Program—Issues and Opportunities for Initiation and Expansion. Arlington, Va.: DELIVER/John Snow, Inc., for the U.S. Agency for International Development.
- Matiashé, F., Mbanje, P. (2019).PSI hikes prices of condoms by 100%. www.newsday.co.zw.

- Mupesa, C. (2018). Condom shortage looms. The Herald, Mashonaland West Correspondent. www.herald.co.zw
- Onabanjo, J. Dr (2018). Manufacturing Condoms in Africa: an urgent health and economic priority. UNFPA East and Southern Africa.
- Stellenbosch University (2011). Statistical Overview. Office of Institutional HIV Coordination. www.sun.ac.za/hiv.
- Shumba, M. (2018). National AIDS Council Statistics. Kwekwe, Mberengwa lead as HIV prevalence surges in midlands. www.newzimbabwe.com.
- Taruberekera, N., Chatora, K., Leuschner, S., Munjoma, M., Sithole, H., Balasubramanian, S. et al. (2019). Strategic donor investments for strengthening condom markets: The case of Zimbabwe. PLoS ONE 14(9): E0221581. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0221581.
- Zimstat (2012). Provincial Report Midlands. Zimbabwe Population Census.
- Zimbabwe Country Profile (2016/7). Global AIDS Monitoring (UNAIDS/WHO/UNICEF), Spectrum estimates (UNAIDS/WHO) and WHO HIV Country Intelligence Tool.
- Zimbabwe Case Study. Mann Global Health. Funded by Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. www.mannglobalhealth.com

ỌRỤ ASỤSỤ EPUM N'IGBOCHỊ ỌDACHỊ MGBANWE ỤBỌCHỊ N'AFRIKA



Crescentia N. Ugwuona and Jacinta N. Okeyagbo

Ụmị

Ihe dị ka afọ iri atọ gara aga, otu ndị gọvumentị na-akpa maka ọdachi na mgbochi mgbanwe ụbọchị a na-akpọ 'Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)' n'asụsụ Bekee na-ejikarị ọdịdichi, ngu, sayensị matimatiks, na ikwueshọn matimatiks egosiputa/akọwaputa mgbanwe ụbọchị. Mana, o nwerekwara asụsụ ọzọ dị oke mkpa iji mee nke a. Ighota ihe bụ mgbanwe ụbọchị choro ihe kariri ngu, na sayensị matimatiks. Imu, ikwu, ide, na nghota ihe bụ mgbanwe ụbọchị hiwere isi n'asụsụ n'ogo di iche iche. Ya mere nchocha a ji gbado ukwu n'ikowaputa nakwa inyochaoru asusu epum n'ikowamakamgbanwe ubochi nakwa igbochi ya n'Afrika site n'iji Igbo mere ebe mgbakwasa ukwu. E jighi asusu epum ma o bu asusu doro anya akowa mgbanwe ubochi ebuterela otutu mmadu onwu na otutu nsogbu ndi ozọ di iche iche sitere na mgbanwe ubochi. Ihe ozọ nchocha a choro igosiputa gunyere akparamagwa di iche iche na-ebuta mgbanwe ubochi, ihe na-egbochi na ndi Igbo amataghi nke oma maka ihe gbasara mgbanwe ubochi, uto a ga-esi belata odachi na-esota, nakwa uto nkwugide n'onodu mgbanwe ubochi. A ga-eji atutu nkowasi soshiolinguistiks wee kowaa ngwa nchocha. Nchocha a choputara na iji asusu epumkowara ndi mmadu ihe odachi mgbanwe ubochi na-ebuta, ga-enyere ha aka ighota, ibelata, ma kwugide n'onodu mgbanwe ubochi. Ndi nchocha na-atunye aro ka ndi govumentị kwado i wereasusu epum na-akowa ihe gbasara mgbanwe ubochi, mbeleta, nakwa nkwugide n'onodu mgbanwe ubochi.

Ọkpurukpu okwu: asusu epum, nkowa, mgbanwe ubochi, mgbochi, Igbo

Mkpelite

Asusu epum bu asusu nwatakiri mutara site n'aka nne na nna ya, burukwa naani asusu na-emejuputa ebmunuche onye na-asu otu asusu (Afolayan, 1999; Akindele, 2004). Ya bu na o bu asusu mmadu na-ebu uto amuta tupu o mutawa asusu ndi ozọ. O bu isi sekpu nti na mmekorita mmadu n'owa niile. O bu naani mmadu na-eji okwu onu nwere mputara eziputa mbunuche ya (Emenanjo 2004, Ugwuona, 2013, 2017, 2018, 2019), anumu ndiozo enweghi ike ime nke a. Mana a bia na Afrika o kacha n'ala Igon'odida owuwa anyanwu Naijiria, a na-eleda asusu epum anya n'iji kowa ihe ufodu o kacha ihe gbasara mgbanwe ubochi. Onodu di etu a na-eme ka a na-eleda asusu epum anya okacha etu o si gbasata mbelata nakwa uto nkwugide mgbanwe ubochi. Nke a nwere ike iweta oghom di iche iche nye ohanenze n'ihia aghotaghi ihe a na-akowa maka mgbanwe ubochi nke oma.

Otutu mmadu anaghi eji asusu epum ha wee na-akowaputa echiche ha. Anyi lee anya na mba Afrika gbaa gburugburu okacha n'ala Igbo, otutu mmadu kwenyere naani n'iji asusu Bekee na-akowaputa echiche ha; ma ha mara ihe a na-ako na ya ma ha maghi. Ha kwenyere na asusu Bekee kacha mma mmadu iji kowaputa echiche ya. N'uche ha, o ga-

eme ka ọtụtụ mba mara maka echiche ha ọsọsọ. Ndị ụlọ ọrụ dị iche iche ọ kachasị ndị mbiputa akwụkwọ kwenyekwara n'iji asụsụ Bekee na-edeputa echiche ha n'ihu na ha kwenyere na ọ ga-eme ka ọtụtụ mmadụ zuru akwụkwọ ahụ. Mana ha achọghị ima na ọtụtụ nwechara ezi echiche iruputa ihe ma ọ bụ ikowaputa echiche oma ha mana asụsụ a tūrū anya (asụsụ Bekee) n'aka ha edocheghi ha anya. Ụdị nkwa a na-ebuta ọtụtụ nnukwu ọdachi nyere ọtụtụ mmadụ n'obodo. E nweela ọtụtụ ihe mberede, onwu ike, na ọdachi dị iche iche nye ndu na obibi ya n'ihu e jighi asusu epum kowa ihe okacha n'onodu mgbanwe ubochi. O doro ọtụtụ mmadụ anya na ha amachaghị asusu ọtụtụ mmadụ na-achọ (asụsụ Bekee) mana oge o nwere ihe di mma ha choro ikowaputara ohaneze, ha ewere asusu ahụ; ma ha kowara ya nke oma ma ha akowaghị ya nke oma. Ọtụtụ ogekwa, ndi gọvumentị nwere ike nye iwu ka e were asusu njiaru ọrụ di ka asusu Bekee na-akowaputa ihe niile ma chefu na ọ bughị mmadụ niile nwere omaricha echiche ma ọ bụ ihe di mma ọ choro ikowaputara mmadụ niile mara etu e si asu asusu njiaru ọrụ ahụ nke oma. Ụdị onodu a na-ebute onye ahụ nkowajo ma butekwa nnukwu ọdachi nyere ndi mmadụ. Ya mere nchocha anyi a ji gbado ukwu n'orugasusu epum n'ikowa na igboche ọdachi mgbanwe ubochi n'Igbo. O ga-eme nke a site n'ikowa uru ikikere asusu epum n'ikowa etu a ga-esi gbochie ọdachi mgbanwe ubochi n'Igbo; iziputa ihe onodu ejighi asusu epumkwa mgbanwe ubochi na-ebute. Nchocha a ga-emepe anya ọtụtụ ndi omebe iwu n'asusu gbasara nhazi asusu epum n'udi iji ha ruo ọrụ n'ihe gbasara ikowa mgbanwe ubochi. Nke a ga-ebelata onwu mberede na ọtụtụ ọdachi ọtụtụ mmadụ na-adabanye n'ime ya kwa ubochi na Naijiria n'ihu e nwetaghị ihe nkwa okwu ma ọ bụ ode nke oma. Nchocha a ga-eweta osisa nye ajuju ndi a:

- i. Kedu ọrụ ikikere asusu epum na-arụ n'ikowa nakwa mgbochi ọdachimmgbanwe ubochi na Igbo?
- ii. Kedu uru di n'iji asusu epum akwa mgbanwe ubochi?
- iii. Kedu oghom di n'ejighiasusu epum akwa mgbanwe ubochi?

Ntuleghari Agumagu

N'ebe a, e lebara anya n'isiokwu ndi a: nkwa okpurukpu okwu, nke a gbadoro ukwu na ya ma nye nkwa gbasara Naijiria, ajo nkwa, asusu epum, mgbanwe ubochi, atutu nchocha, mmughari atutu, na mmughari agumagu.

NkwaOkpurukpu Okwu

N'ebe a, e lebara anya ma nye nkwa gbasara ufoduokpurukpu okwu ndi putara ihe na nchocha a di ka ikikere asusu epum na mgbanwe ubochi.

Mgbanwe Ubochi

Di ka Nordhouse (2007) siri kwaa, mgbanwe ubochi bu oke mgbanwe a na-ahuta na mgbanwe onodu ubochi di ka ha kwesiri idi. Onodu ubochi ndi a niile nwere oge, ebe, etu na ogo a turu anya na ha ga-emedebe. Mgbanwe ubochi nwere ike buru na o mere kari etu a turu anya na ọ ga-eme, ma ọ bụ na o merughị etu a turu anya na o kwesiri ime. N'ihu nke a ka Moser na Dilling (2007) jiri kwaa na ozugbo onodu di etu a daputara na ọ na-abu nsogbu nyere ndu na obibi ya. Leiserowitz (2004) mere ka anyi mata na ihe gbasara mgbanwe ubochi kari nghota nke mmadụ n'ihu ya ka o jiri di mkpa na ndi guru ma ọ bụ muru maka ya jiri asusu epum ma ọ bụ asusu ha mara nke oma kowaputara ohaneze n'ihu na o nweghi onye nwere ike ikwu na ihe gbasara mgbanwe ubochi doro ya anya nke oma. O gakwara n'ihu kwaa na ọ di mkpa ka ohaneze nwetu nghota gbasara mgbanwe ubochi. O gara n'ihu gosiputa na uzọ atọ kacha puta ihe ma

dikwa mmaikowaa ma chekwa mgbanwe gunyere: ikuzi ya n'ulo akwukwo, igbasa ya n'ulo mgbasa ozi, na inye iwu maka nchekwa ya. O gara n'ihumee ka anyi mata na a bia n'udidi mgbanwe ubochi a niile, na e nwere ndi bu osinachi ma nweekwa ndi bu mmadu na-ebute ya. A bia na ndi bu osinachi, mmadu enwechaghi ikikere igbanwe ya. Maffi (2005) kwenyere na o buru na otutu ihe a na-emegasi n'omenala nakwa uwa bu isi sekpu nti n'imeikwata odidi chi di iche iche, mara na ihe jikotara omenala na odidichi bu amamihe nke ebe ihe ndi a niile a na-eme na etu e si ahuta uwa hiwere isi. Nke a di ka o si kwuo bu maka na o etu madu si ahuta uwa na-emetuta omume, nghota, nakwa nkwenye nke na achiko mmekorita ha na odidi gburugburu.

Ntuleghari Atutu

Ndi nchocha lebara anya n'atutu metutara mmasi na ikikere okwuu, odee maobu ome nwere n'iji olundi masiri ya wee kowaputa ebumnuche ya.

Ntuleghari nchocha

E lebara anya n'ihe ndi ozọ e kwurula ma o bu e derela gbasara asusu epum na uru o na-aba na ndu; o kachasi n'ikowaputa echiche mmadu na ichekwa ihe metutara ndu na obibi ya. Louis na Taylor (2001) kowara na mkparita maka gburugburu, di ka ihe ntowanye o bua bu maka ezi mgbanwe na ndu mmadu. Nke a gosiri na mkparita maka ngawanye tinyere ihe ndi ozọ, ga-agbanwe ndu ndi mmadu site n'imata, nakwa mkparita ndi ogbo na ogbo ga-abu maka mgbanwe obodo. Di ka o si kwuo, usoro mgbasa ozi maka gburugburu di ezigbo mkpa, mana otutu mgbe, mgbasa ozi maka gburugburu na-eme otutu ndi mmadu e ji maka ha agbasa ozi ndi obia. Nke a di ka Louis na Taylor si kowa, bu maka na e ji asusu otutu ndi mmadu anaghi aghota agbasa ozi ndi a. Ruffin na ndi ozọ (2016) na nchocha ha mere gbasara asusu Afrika n'ikowa maka mgbanwe ubochi choputara na o di mkpa ka ndi na-eme nchocha maka asusu epum ndi Afrika, ndi agumakwukwo, na ndi na-akwalite asusu leba anya n'oru ndi a:

- Imezi nkowahie ndi Urop na akowahie ihe ndi Afrika bu nke na-egosi ka ndi Afrika si amata, mweputa amamihe, na ihe mmasi ha ma o buru na ndi ime obodo ga-esonye na ibelata, usoro nkwegide nonodu na gburugburu nonodu mgbanwe ubochi.
- Ime ka asusu epum ndi Afrika na-etowanye ka o sonye n'ihe a ga na-eji akowa maka sayensi na teknoloji nakwa ihe ndi ozọ di ka odachi mgbanwe ubochi.

Mgbe o na-enye nkwardo maka mmadu iji ikikere asusu epum kowaputa ihe, Oyelade (2001) kowara ikikereasusu epumdi ka mmadu iji asusu epum masiri ya, etu o siri masi ya na n'oge masiri ya wee kowaputa ebumnuche ya n'udi ekwumekwu ma o bu n'udi edemede. O gara n'ihu gosiputa nonodu di etu a na-enyere okwuu ma o bu odee aka ikowaputa echiche ya etu o ga-edo onu ma o bu ugu anyi. N'uche nke ya, Wright (2000) gosiputara na o nwere otutu uru mmadu iji asusu epum ya kowaputa echiche ya karia asusu o machaghi nke oma were kowaputa echiche ya n'ebe ihe metutara ndu di. O gakwara n'ihu guputa uru ndi a:

- O na-enyere mmadu aka igosiputa ma o bu ikwuputa ebumnuche ya etu, oge na n'ebe masiri ya.
- O na-ebelata odachi na ihe mberede ndi ozọ di iche iche a na-ahu ma o bu anu kwa ubochi.
- O na-enye aka n'ikwalite olundi e ji akowaputa echiche ahu.
- O na-ebelata ikpa oke n'etiti ndi guru akwukwo na ndi agughi akwukwo.

Lamb (2004) kɔwara na okwu ma ɔ bu odee were asusu ma ɔ bu olundi na-edochaghi ya anya were kɔwaputa echiche ya n'ebe ihe metutara ndu di; ɔ gaghi akowacha ya etu ɔ ga-edo anya. Nke a ga-ebutekwa otutu mmadu onwu na ihe mberede. N'ih i nke a ka o jiri di mkpa na okwu ma ɔ bu odee kwesiri iji asusu doro ya anya nke oma kowaputa echiche ya, nke ga-eme kaonu ma ɔ bu ugu ɔ bu la mata kpomkwem ihe okwu ma ɔ bu odee bu n'uche. Nke a na-ad i ezigbo mkpa ɔ kachasi n'ebe ihe ndi di oke mkpa na ndu di ka mgbawe ubochi. Ma ɔ buru na okwu ma ɔ bu odee were asusu edochaghi ya anya kɔwaa echiche ya n'isioku ndi a, ɔ ga-ebute otutu mmadu ihe mberede na onwu.

Usoro nchocha

Nchocha a di n'udi nkwas i nke gbadoro ukwu n'asusu epum n'ikwa, mbelata na nkwo n'onodu mgbawe ubochi. O lebara anya kpomkwem etu o siri puta ihe n'Igbo, sawutist Naijiria. Usoro e siri nweta ngwa nchocha bu siten'ajuju onu. E nwetara ngwa nchocha site n'igba ndi ime obodo, ndi okammuta na ndi mara ihe ekwe na-aku n'ihe gbasara mgbawe ubochi ajaju onu. Ndi nchocha chikotara, hazie ma deputa osisa ndi a gbara ajaju onu n'usoro doro anya. anyi gosiputara ndi a gbara ajaju onu na nkeji mgbakwunye.

Ngosi na ntucha ngwa nchocha

N'ebe a, ndi nchocha gbadoro ukwu n'atutu nhoru wee nyochaa ma kowaputa ihe ha nwetara n'ohia nchocha. Nke a gbado kwara ukwu n'ebumnuke nchocha na n'ajuju nchocha. Onye nchocha lebara anya n'isioku ndi a: asusu epum n'ikwa ma belata/chekwa mgbawe ubochi na Naijiria, njirimara asusu epum, uru di n'asusu epum na ihe onodu e nweghi asusu epum na-ebuta.

Maka mgbawe ubochi

Di ka anyi kowara na ntuleghari agumagu, mgbawe ubochi bu oke mgbawe a na-ahuta na mgbawe onodu ubochi di ka ha kwesiri idi. Mgbawe ubochi nwere ike ibia n'udi di iche iche. Ha gunyere: oke okochi, obere mmiri ozizo, mgbawe nke tempresho, awuruawu ikuku (oke ikuku), oke ozara, ala iju oke oyi, oke nda/akpanigwe (snow), mgbawe osimiri, oke egbe eluigwe na oke ebili mmiri. Ma n'ebe nchocha a ga-eleba anya kpomkwem bu ndi a: oke okochi, obere mmiri ozizo, mgbawe nke tempresho, awuruawu ikuku, oke ozara, ala iju oke oyi, na oke egbe eluigwe.

Oke okochi

Nke a bu mgbewe mmiri ozizo koru uko n'ebe na n'oge o kwesiri izo. Otutu mmiri di iche iche na-atakpo; umu anumanu mmiri bi n'ime ya anwucha. Etu a ka umu anumanu ndi bi n'ime ala (ndi kwesiri itupucha ala ka ikuku nwee ike iba n'ime ala ma mee ka ihe akoro na ya di mma) di ka ari ala, nshiko, ewi, umu ahuhu, dgz, ga-esikwa nwucha. Osi niile na-akponwukwa. Oke akpiri ikpo nku na-adi. Umu anumanu ga na-anwukwa, dgz. Mgbe e nwere udi onodu di etu a, oke okpomoku na-adikwa. Udi onodu a na-ebute oghom nyere ihe di iche iche okachasi n'ebe ihe na-eku ume di. O bukw ezigbo nsogbu nye oru ɔ bu la choru mmiri di ka iru ulu, isa ah u na ihe ndi ozu, dgz.

Ntuziaka maka udi onodu a

Onodu a kwesiri ka e were asusu epum kowaa ma mee ka ohaneeze:

- i. Ghara imebi mmiri ha nwere emebi ma chekwa nke ha nwere ike ya.
- ii. Gbaa mbu chekwa ihe oriri ka ha nwere ike ya.
- iii. Ghara idi na-anu n'anwu na-ar u oru ka ume ghara ida ha mba.

- iv. Gbochie ikwunye bọọlb na-ekpo oku na gburugburu ha n'ihia na nke a ga na-ebute ahụ ikpo oku, agụụ mmiri ma meekwa ka ukọ mmiri dị.
- v. Ghara ina-akpo ahijia oku kama ha ebukota ha n'otu ebe ka ha noro ebe ahụ ree. Ikpo ahijia oku na-ebute onwu umu anumanu ala.
- vi. Nwee ebe ha ga na-ehekwa mmiri a dighi ama ihe ama.

Obere mmiri ozizo

N'obodo o bula na Najirja okacha n'ala Igbo, mmiri ozizo nwere oge o ji ezo nke oma na oge o ji ezo obere mmiri. Imaatụ- a bịa n'ala Igbo, mmiri ozizo na-amalitekarị n'onwa nke atọ n'afọ o bula. Otutu oge, mmiri ozizo na-amalite, a na-enwe nnukwu mmiri ozizo. Udi mmiri a nwere ike zogide ruo n'onwa nke asato, mgbe e ji enwe obere mmiri ozizo. O bu n'oge a ka a na-akpo 'ogooost break'. Mgbe nke a gafechara, a na-enwe nnukwu mmiri ozizo ozo. Nke a ga-ezogide wee ruo n'onwa nke iri. Site n'onwa nke iri ahụ, obere mmiri ozizo ozo ga na-ezo na-egosi obibia uguru. Mana mgbe o bula e nwere mgbanwe ubochi, mmiri ozizo nwere ike koo (okachasi n'oge a chorọ ya). Nke a ga-abu nnukwu nsogbu nyere otutu mmadu. Iko ugbo ga-ara ahụ (nke a ga-ebutekwa ukọ nri), ukọ mmiri ga-adikwa, otutu ihe na-eku ume ga-anwu n'ihia agụ mmiri, dgz. O bukwa ezigbo nsogbu nye oru o bula chorọ mmiri di ka iru ulọ, isa ahụ, na ihe ndi ozo, dgz. Ihe na-ebutekarị nke a bu mgbanwe ubochi.

Ntuziaka maka udi onodu a

N'onodu a, iji asusu epum kowa ya ga-eme ka ohaneze:

- i. Gbado ukwu n'iko ihe ubi ndi ahụ mgboroogwu ya anaghi aga n'ime ime ala.
- ii. Gbaso ntuziaka e nyere maka oke okochi.

Mgbanwe nke tempresho

Nke a bu mgbe tempresho gbanwere etu o kwesiri idi. Nke a na-adi n'udi di iche iche. E nwere uzọ ihe abuo e ji amakarị na tempresho gbanwere: okpomoku na oyi. Okpomoku nwere ike bido mewe n'oge a tughị anya ya. Etu a ka o dikwa n'ebe oyi di. Oyi nwere ike bido tuiwa n'oge a tughị anya ya. Ima atụ- o buru na nnukwu mmiri ozizo zoo n'ebe di ka Iheaka Nsuka, mgbe o zochara, ka oyi na-atu ndi Iheaka bukwa ka o gae- esi na-atu ndi gbara ha gburugburu. A biakwa n'oge uguru, a na- enwe mgbanwe nke tempresho nke ukwu; oyi tutu, okpomoku eme, obere ogekwa ahụ ndi mmadu ebido ikpo nku na igbawa.

Oru asusu epum n'onodu a

Iji asusu epumkowaa onodu a ga-eme ka ohaneze:

- i. Kpachara anya maka ihe nkanuzu ha nwechara n'ulo ha di ka nju oyi, nju ulọ oyi, akupu Bekee, bọọlb na-ekpo oku na ndi ozo. N'ebe a, onye o bula kwesiri ima mgbe o kwesiri igbanye nke o bula n'ime ha, rie ihe si na nju oyi nakwa ihe ndi ozo o kwesiri ime ihe ndi ahụ ma e nwee mgbanwe ubochi.
- ii. Mata ihe ha kwesiri ime di ka iyinye o kachasi umuaka akwa n'oge oyi na-atu ma o bu yipu akwa ma saa ahụ mgbe okpomoku di.

Wurawu Ikuku (oke ikuku)

Nke a bu udi ikuku ahụ na-ebutekarị uzuzu, aja na ihe ndi ozo di iche iche. O na-ekukarị gburugburu na-ari elu. Oge a mara kpomkwem na oke ikuku ji eku bu ogemmirimbu chorọ izo na ngwucha okochi na n'oge uguru. Mana oge ufodu, oke ikuku

nwere ike bịa n'oge masịrị ya. Ọtụtụ oge, ọ na-akwatu ukwu osisi, mebie ụlọ na akụnba ndị mmadụ, buru uzuzu wuchie n'ebe niile, dgz. Mgbe ụfọdụ, ọ na-ebufukwa ihe ndị mmadụ n'ebe onye ahụ agaghị ahụ ya anya. Nke kacha njọ n'ụdị ikuku a bụ na ọ na-eburu ọkụ n'usekwu ma ọ bụ n'ebe a mụnyere ọkụ tūnyere n'ụlọ na akụnba ndị mmadụ. Nke a na-abụkwa ọghom ma ọkụ ahụ baa n'ebe mmanụ ụgbọ ala dị. Oge ụfọdụkwa, ụdị ikuku a na-abịa na mberede, oge a tughị anya ya.

Ọrụ asụsụ epum n'ọnọdụ a

Iji asụsụ epumkọwaa ọnọdụ a ga-eme ka ndị mmadụ:

- i. Mata ụdị ọnọdụ dị etu a ma ghọta na iru ụlọ akụkụ nnukwu osisi na eriri ọkụ latriki adighi mma.
- ii. Ndị na-ahụ maka ọkụ latriki gbanyụọ ọkụ oge ụdị ikuku a bịa. Mee ka ụmụaka hapu egwuregwu banye n'ime ụlọ.
- iii. Ghara inọ n'okpuru nnukwu ukwu osisi oge ụdị ikuku a bịa.
- iv. Hapu ina-esi nri na mbaraezi dị ka n'ime obodo.
- v. Hapu imunye ọkụ n'ohia ma ọ bụ n'ebe ha chorọ ịkọ nri.

Oke ọzara

Nke a bụ mbara ala ebe ọ bụ naanị obere ahịhịa juru na ya; osisi anaghị adị ọtụtụ na ya. Ọ bụ nke a na-ebute oke okpomọkụ na ya. Uzuzu na-adikwa na ya nke oma. Ọ bụ ya mere na o nweghị onye ga-anọnwu na ya oge oke ikuku na-eku. Okpomọkụ na-adikwa na ya. E nwere ụzọ ihe ole na ole na-ebute oke ọzara. Ha gụnyere: ọ bụrụ na e nwee mīnaraal rīsōsīs dī ka okwute nzu nzu, mmanụ ụgbọ ala na ndị ọzọ n'ala ebe ahụ, ụdị aja dī n'ebe ahụ, ndị mmadụ gbutucha osisi niile dī n'ebe ahụ ma ghara idu osisi ndị ọzọ na ihe ndị ọzọ dī ichē ichē. Ọmụmaatụ nke ikpeazụ a na-egosi na mmadụ na-emekwa ka e nwee oke ọzara. Ya bụ na ndị mmadụ jikwa aka ha eme ebe ụfọdụ ka ọ dī ka ọzara. Ihe na-akpata nke a bụ mgbe ọ bula ha gbutuchara osisi niile dī n'ebe ahụ ma ghara idughari/izoghari ndị ọzọ.

Ọrụ asụsụ epum n'ọnọdụ a

Iji asụsụ epumkọwaa ọnọdụ a ga-eme ka ọhaneze:

- i. Mata na igbutu osisi ma ghara izochi/iduhachi ọzọ na-ebute ọzara, ma gbaa mbọ na-adu osisi n'ebe na-achọ ighọ ọzara.
- ii. Dụọ ọtụtụ osisi, tinyecha ha nsị ụmụ anụmanụ ma sere mmiri tinyecha n'ukwu osisi ndị ahụ; ka ha wee too ọsọsọ ọkachasi oge ọzara ahụ dī n'akụkụ ebe ndị mmadụ bi.

Ala iju oke oyi

Nke a na-aputakarị ihe na mba a na-enwekarị nda. Ọtụtụ oge, ọtụtụ n'ime mba ndị a bụ ndị e ji ọrụ ugbo mara, ala ha kwesiri iju oyi naanị n'oge udummiri. N'ụdị ebe dī etu a, ọ bụrụ na ala ejuo oyi n'oge o kwesighi iju oyi, nri a koro n'ala agaghị adị mma. Ndị ọka mmụta chọputara na nke a na-adikarị n'afọ ọ bula ụgụrụ emeghị nke oma. Na nchọputa ha, ọ bụrụ na ụgụrụ mee nke oma, ọ gbawa ala nke oma, ọ ga-enyere ikuku na anwụ aka ibanye n'ime ya ma mee ka ọ ghara iju oyi. Oge nke a mere, nri a koro na ya ga-eme nke oma.

Ọrụ asụsụ epum n'ọnọdụ a

Iji asụsụ epumkọwaa ọnọdụ a ga-eme ka ọhaneze:

- i. Mee ka ndị orụ ugbo kọọ nri ala ha n'oge ma ọ bụrụ na ha chọputa na ugurụ emeghị nke oma ma ọ bụ gbawa ala nke oma.
- ii. Ghara igba mmiri n'ala ebe a na-akọ nri n'ala oge niile okachasi n'oge ugurụ na okochi.
- iii. Gwuo ụmị n'ebe dị etu a. Nke a ga-enye aka serecha mmiri dị na gburugbu ahụ ma mee ka ala ebe ahụ kpọọ nkụ. Mgbe e mere nke a, onye ahụ ga-esi n'ebe ahụ kupucha mmiri ndị ahụ.

Oke egbe eluigwe

Nke a bụ mgbe egbeigwe gbakariri etu o kwesiri. Ọ na-abukari n'oge udummiri. Mgbe nke a na-eme, ọ na-awụ oku, otutu osisi nọ ndụ na-akponwu. Ọ na-egbukwa otutu mmadu.

Orụ asusu epum n'onodu a:

Iji asusu epumkọwaa onodu a ga-eme ka ọhaneze:

- i. Gbanuọ oku latriki, oku toochi ma ọ bụ oku ndi ozo na-acha n'ezi.
- ii. Ghara iri osisi oge ọ bula mmiri na-akwado izo.

Ihe na-kpatara mgbanwe ubochi

A bịa n'ime ụdiri mgbanwe ubochi ndi a niile, e nwere ndi nke mmadu na-etinye aka mee ka ọ karịa etu o kwesiri. Ha gunyere: mgbanwe tempresho, oke egbe eluigwe, obere mmiri ozizo na oke ikuku. Mana mmadu nwekwara uzọ di iche iche ha ga-esi gbochitu nsogbu ndi ahụ mgbanwe ubochi na-ebute. otutu mgbe, mmadu nwere uzọ di iche iche ha si eme ka okpomoku kawanye njo na gburugburu ha. Ha gunyere:

Igbutusi osisi di na gburugburu ha

Oge nke a mere anwu **obula** chabara ga na-eru ala; mmiri zosie ike, ikuku ga na-eburu aja okacha ebe ala di vurivuri. nke a na-ebutekwa oke ngwuze. Ozokwa, ikuku **juruoyi** agaghikwa na-**abatacha** n'etiti ahụ. **Kahlor** na Rosenthal (2009) mere ka anyi mata **na ikuku** mmadu **na-ekuru na-esi** n'osisi aputa; ọ bụ ikuku a na-emekari ka gburugburu ebe ọ di juo oyi ma mekwa ka oke anwu ghara ibatacha na gburugburu.

Itinye boqlb latriki na-ekpo oke oku

Udi nke a na-emekwa ka okpomoku di n'ebe a kwunyere ya. Boykoff (2007) emeela ka anyi mata na okpomoku na-erute mmadu niile ma ọ bụ si n'anyanwu na-abia site n'enyemaka ikuku, ebili mmiri na uzọ ndi ozo di iche iche. Ọ gara n'ihu kwuo na udi okpomoku a na-ezuru uwa niile mana otutu mgbe okpomoku a akaria etu o kwesiri idi, na ọ na-abu nsogbu. E nwere uzọ di iche iche mmadu si eji aka ha eme nke a: isu ohia oku oge niile, ikwunye boqlb na-ekpo oku, dgz. O mere ka anyi mata na etu anyi ga-esi mata nke a bu oke ike ogwugwu, oke osiso ma ọ bụ mkpomoku, ume ida mba, enweghi ezumike n'ime ahụ, dgz. n'ime onodu a niile, iji asusu epum akowara ọhaneze ga-eme ka ha bekata ma ọ bukwanu kwusi itinye aka n'ihe ga-ebute mgbanwe ubochi ka ọ karịa etu o kwesirihe.

N'ikpeazu, e nwekwara mgbanwe ubochi ndi anaghi esicha ndi mmadu n'aka. Ha gunyere: oke okochi, oke nda ma ọ bụ ukọ nọ nda (snow), mgbanwe nke tempresho, mgbanwe osimiri, oke ide mmiri, oke egbe eluigwe, oke ebili mmiri, obere mmiri ozizo, oke ikuku, oke ntoju nke osimiri na oke ala iju oke oyi. I jikwa asusu epum kowa udi mgbanwe ubochi a niile ga-eme ka ọhaneze kee nkwicha inagide na ikwudonwu ma ha bido na-eme.

Ọghom di n'iji asusu edocheghi anya kowaa mgbanwe ubochi

E nwere ọtụtụ ọghom nwere ike idaputa n'iji asusu edocheghi anya kowaa mgbanwe ubochi. Ha gunyere:

- i. Ọ na-ebute ọnwụ mberede. Ọtụtụ mmadụ zutere ọnwụ ha n'ihie e jighi asusu doro anya kowaa ma ọ bụkwanụ mee ka ọhaneze mata maka mgbanwe ubochi.
- ii. Ọ bụ n'ihie ya ka e ji enwe ọtụtụ ọjia, nsogbu ahụ ndị ọzọ di iche iche di ka ipụ ara, ọjia ime ahụ na nke elu ahụ.
- iii. Ọ na-ebutekwa ihie ụkọ. Onye ọ bụla nsogbu dakwasara n'ihie mgbanwe ubochi na-atufukari akunuba ebe a na-azọ ndụ onye nsogbu ahụ dakwasara. Mgbanwe ubochi nwere ike bute ụkọ nri, akunuba na mmadụ.
- iv. Ọ na-ebute mmebi akunuba. N'ihie a kpachapughị anya. Ọkụ agbaala ọtụtụ akunuba di ka ụlọ, ugbo na ihie ndi ọzọ di iche iche.
- v. Ọ na-ebutekwa nghotahie n'ihie di mma mmadụ rụputara. Oge ọrụ kowajoro ngwo ahia ya ma ọ bụ echiche ọma, ndi gomenti na-amachikari ngwa ahia ahụ ma ọ bụrụ na o nwee ndi si na ya nwuo.

Uru di n'iji asusu epum kowara ọhaneze mgbanwe ubochi

Uru di n'asusu epum

- i. Ọ na-enyere mmadụ aka igosiputa ma ọ bụ ikwuputa ebumnuche ya etu, oge na n'ebe masiri ya.
- ii. Ọ na-ebelata ọdachi na ihie mberede di iche iche a na-ahụ ma ọ bụ anụ kwa ubochi gbasara mgbanwe ubochi.
- iii. Ọ na-enye aka n'ikwalite olundị e ji akowaputa echiche ahụ.
- iv. Ọ na-ebelata ikpa oke n'etiti ndi guru akwukwo na ndi agughị akwukwo.

Nchikota na mmechi

Ọ nwere ọtụtụ ọrụ asusu epum na-arụ n'ọdụ mgbanwe ubochi nke a nọ n'ime ya n'ụwa taa. Uru mmadụ iji asusu epum/olundị kowaputa echiche ya n'ihie gbasara mgbanwe ubochi bara ụba karịa iji asusu edochaghi anya. Okwuu ma ọ bụ ode were asusu edochaghi anya kowaputa echiche ya n'ebe mgbanwe ubochi di, ga-ebutara ọtụtụ mmadụ ọnwụ na ihie mberede ndi ọzọgasị. N'ihie nke a ka o jiri di mkpa na okwuu ma ọ bụ ode kwesiri iji asusu epum doro ya na ọhaneze anya nke ọma kowaputa echiche ya okacha n'ọdụ mgbanwe ubochi. Onu ma ọ bụ ọgu ọbụla ga-amata kpomkwem ihie okwuu ma ọ bụ ode bu n'uche. Onodụ mgbanwe ubochi kwesiri ka a kpachapuru ha anya ma were asusu epum doro okwuu ma ọ bụ ode anya kowaputa ha n'ihie na ọtụtụ mmadụ si na ha enweta ọdachi na nsogbu di iche iche kwa ubochi. Ma ọ bụrụ na a manye okwuu ma ọ bụ ode ka o were olundị na-edochaghi ya kowaa echiche ya n'isiokwu a, nke a ga-ebute ọtụtụ mmadụ ihie mberede na ọnwụ. Nchocha a choputara ihie ndi a: na asusu epum bụ ụzọ kacha mma okwuu ma ọ bụ ode kwesiri iji kowaputa echiche ya n'ihie metutara ndi na obibi ya di ka mgbanwe ubochi. Ihie mere ọtụtụ mmadụ ji enwekari nsogbu ma ọ bụ ọdachi n'ihie mgbanwe ubochi bụ aghotachaghi nkowa okwuu ma ọ bụ ode. ọtụtụ mmadụ jikwa aka ha eme ka nsogbu a na-enweta n'ihie mgbanwe ubochi kawanye njo. Ndi gomenti obodo anyi kwesiri inye nkwa maka mmadụ niile iji asusu epum ya aru ọrụ ka ndi obodo anyi nakwa n'ọtụtụ mba Afrika nwee ike ikowaputara ọhaneze ọmarịcha nghota ha nwere gbasara mgbanwe ubochi.

Ntunye aro

Ndị nchọcha na-atunye aro ka ndị gomenti n'ebe ọ kachasi mkpa nye nkwardo maka mmadu niile inwe asusu epum; ka ndi amachaghi maka asusu njia ru ọrụ nke obodo anyi (asusu Bekee) nakwa n'otutu mba Afrika nwee ike ikowaputara ohanze omaricha nghota ha nwere n'ebe mgbanwe ubochi di. O na-emekwa ka ohanze mata na o ka mma na ha ji olundi doro ha anya nke oma ziputa echiche ha n'ebe ihe metutara ndu di karja i jiri ujo n'ih ihe ndi ozoma o bu ndi gomenti ga-eme ma o bu ekwu ghara iziputa ihe nwere ike izoputa otutu ndu ma taa ma n'odiniihu. Mmadu iji asusu doro ya anya ziputa echiche ya na-enyekwa aka n'ikwalite olundi ahụ ma mee ka otutu mba mara maka ya. Ndị nchọcha na-atunykwara aro ka ndi govumenti kwado i wereasusu epum na-akowa ihe gbasara mgbanwe ubochi, mbeleta, nakwa nkwardo n'onodu mgbanwe ubochi.

Nraka

- Afolayan, A. (1999). The Alternated Role of the Mother Tongue in Literacy Education for Sustainable National Development: The Western Nigerian Yoruba Example. In S. Manaka (ed.) *Proceedings of the 1st Pan Africa Conference on Reading for All. Pretoria, South Africa*. International Reading Association, READ/UNESCO DANIDA.
- Akindele, B. (2004). Determining Language in Education Policy: The Dilemma in Africa. In: K. Owolabi (ed.) *Language in Nigeria, Essays in Honour of Ayo Bamgbose*. Ibadan: Group Publishers.
- Bandura A. (1997). *Self-Efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York, NY: WH Freeman and Company.
- Bloor, T. & Bloor, M. (2007). *The practice of critical discourse analysis: An introduction*. London: Arnold Hodder..
- Bourhis, R. (2001). Acculturation, language maintenance and language shift. In J. Klatte-Holmer & P. Avermaetvan (Eds), *Theories on maintenance and loss of minority languages*. Munster: Waxmann.
- Boykoff, M. T. (2007). Flogging a dead norm? *Newspaper coverage of anthropogenic climate change in the USA and UK from 2003-2006 Area*. 39, 4, 470-481.
- Corder, S.P. (1973). *Introduction to applied linguistics*. Penguin Books.
- Emenanjo, E.N. (2004). *Nchikota asusu na utomasu Igbo Izugbe*. Ibadan: Longman. Environment 46, 9, 22-37.
- Kahlor, L.A & Rosenthal, S. (2009). If We Seek, Do We Learn? *Predicting Knowledge of Global Warming Science Communication*. 30, 3, 380-414.
- Lamb, S. (2004). *Language and reality*. London: Continuu.
- Leiserowitz, A. A. (2004). The Day After Tomorrow: A study of climate change risk perception Lorenzoni, I., Pidgeon, N. & O'Connor, R. (2005) *Dangerous climate change: The role for risk research. Risk analysis*. 25, 6, 1387-1398.
- May, S. *Language and minority rights: ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.
- Mbah, B.M & Mbah, E.E. *Atutu amumamu asusu*. Nsukka: University of Nigeria Press Ltd.

- Moser, S. C. & Dilling, L. (2014). *Creating a climate for change. Communicating: climate change and facilitating social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Louis W, Taylor DM (2001). When the survival of an indigenous language is at stake. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 20(1/2): 111-151.
- Maffi L (2005). Linguistic, cultural, and biological diversity. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34: 599- 617.
- Nordhouse D. N. (2007). To tau or not to tau: Alternative approaches to slowing global warming, winter. *Review of environmental economics and policy*, vol 1, 1, 26–44.
- Oyelade, S.O. *Attitude to foreign languages and indigenous languages in Nigeria: In language attitude and language conflict in West Africa*. Ibadan: Eni Crownfit Publishers, 2001.
- Ruffin, F. A, Teffo, L. J., Kaya H. O. (2016) African indigenous languages and environmental communication. *Journal of Humanities Ecology*, 53(2), 185-193.
- Ugwuona, C.N. (2019). Mmesonye na Ikikere asusu ndi Dibia ahike n'Igbo. *Ekwe Jonal nke ndi Igbo Scholars Forum, Nigeria*, 12 (2), 20-36.
- Ugwuona, C.N. (2018). Ikikere asusu n'ikowa ogwu ahike na Naijiria. *Ebonyi Journal of Language and Literary Studies*, 1(3), 30-43 (<https://www.academia.edu/37004886>).
- Ugwuona, C.N. (2017). Mbiakota Asusu Hausa na Igbo na Nsu na Mpaghara Abuja, Naijiria. *Ekwe Jonal nke ndi Igbo Scholars Forum*, 4(2), 132-147.
- Ugwuona, C.N. (2013). ASUU Strike Discourses in Nigeria: A Critical Discourse Analysis. In *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, vol., 7 (2), 435-444, 2016a.
- Wright, S. (2000). *Community and communication: The role of language in nation state building and European integration*. Multilingual Matters: Clevedon.

Mgbakwunye

Ngụ	ndi a gbara ajuju onu	Obodo	Afo	Aka oru	ubochi a gbara ajuju onu
i.	Okm Ekweme Ugwu	Nsuka, Steeti Enugu	52	Onye nkuzi ukwu na Mahadum Naijiria, Nsuka	13/6/2019
ii.	Okeke, Alex	Eziowelle, Steeti Anambra	60	Onye ozu ahia	15/4/19
iii.	Pst. Raphael Nwaeze	Obollo-Afor, Steeti Enugu	56	Onye oru ugbo, nakwa onye isi ndi uka Chojiin	7/4/2018

iv.	Maazị upkọm Etiembọ	Efiom (Akwaibom)	62	Onye oku azu	02/1/2018
v.	Okm Waya (n'asusu na mgbanwe ubochi)	Steeti Benue (birila ogologo afọ na Steeti Enugu)	48	Onye nkuzi ukwu na Mahadum Naijiria, Nsuka	17/ 4/2019
vi.	Odk. Maduekwe Eunice	Abiriba (Abia)	45	Nosusu	15-01-2018
vii.	Maazị Osuagwu Clement	Steeti Abia	53	Onye okowa dibia Igbo	15-01-2018
viii	Maazị Anya uzogwe	Steeti Imo	68	Onye oru ugbo	10/6/2019

HEALING THROUGH MEMORY OBJECTS: THE JOURNEY TO RECOVERY FROM A SUDDEN DEATH EXPERIENCE AMONG ADULT FAMILY MEMBERS IN MBERENGWA



Emmanuel Maziti and Agnes Mujuru

Abstract

Sudden death experiences are part of human daily life and have become a global concern associated with serious physical, psychological, family, financial and spiritual problem. While recovery from traumatic death experience is possible, it is a subjective and contested process. To date, the recovery process has not been explored from a psychological perspective in Zimbabwe. As many as 60% of sufferers of stroke, hypertension, coronary heart diseases and psychiatric conditions in Zimbabwe's psychiatric and medical referral centres are secondary to sudden death experiences, and a very small number of these patients moved into long-term recovery. This qualitative narrative inquiry explores the journey of recovery from sudden death experiences among adult family members in Zimbabwean. The study aimed to investigate how memory objects played a role in the recovery journeys of each of these members. Family members who went through a sudden death of loved ones through mushroom poisoning were purposively selected for the study. Data generation was gathered using in-depth narrative interviews with each participant. Principles of trustworthiness and validation emphasizing the persuasiveness, coherence and pragmatic use of the narratives were applied throughout the research process, and ethical issues in narrative research were upheld. Ethical clearance was sought from the community headman. The findings of the study — explanatory stories and memory objects — were produced through narrative analysis. The study unveiled that there are struggles and successes in dealing bereavement and healing. Furthermore, memory objects were used to facilitate the healing process.

Background

In the aftermath of sudden loss, it is common for individuals to experience serious physical, psychological, family, financial and spiritual problem if they do not receive good information, support and reassurance as soon as possible, to help them understand what happened. (Briere and Scott) suggests that the memories of what occurred may be more stressful than bereavement itself and are linked to a continued sense of threat (feeling very unsafe or vulnerable to attack), survivor guilt (questioning the fairness of your survival in comparison to the death of a loved one), and pre occupation with the intrusive memories of what occurred. The experience of grief is unique for each individual and varies in nature and intensity; People respond to sudden death differently according to their age, level of understanding, personality, gender, social support, relationship with the deceased, the manner in which the deceased died attribution style, life stage, and many other contextual factors (Murray ,2005;Lichtenberg (2017).

As many as 60% of sufferers of stroke, hypertension, coronary heart diseases and psychiatric conditions in Zimbabwe's psychiatric and medical referral centres are secondary to sudden death experiences disorders, and a very small number of these patients moved into long-term recovery. Research has also shown that traumatic bereavement can lead to the development of post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety states, panic syndromes, and depression if individuals who are traumatically bereaved are not helped to manage their difficulties, reduce their confusion about death, increase their sense of safety, form healing emotional bonds with family and friends (Murray, 2005, Dowdney, 2000). Bereavement can also alter an individual's relationship with their religion and in turn shape their experience of that bereavement Smith, (2006) cited in (Bray). In view of this (Korn and Zukerman) argue that Religiosity has been shown to moderate the negative effects of traumatic event experiences. Research on religious and mental particular has identified two types of religious coping (Rosmarin et al.). Positive coping, which includes benevolent religious appraisals, spiritual support, and seeking a spiritual connection with God has been associated with better adjustment to stressful events. Negative coping which includes religious discontent and questioning practices, was linked to higher levels of anxiety and depression (Harris, Erbes & Engdahl, 2008; McConnell, Pargament, Ellison, & Flannelly, 2006, Pirutinsky, Rosmarin, Pargament, & Midlarsky, 2011).

Bereavement theories based on the notion that people move through stages of grief argue that a successful outcome depends on them accepting the reality of death before they can mentally and emotionally move back into their familiar world in a functional way. Those who, for one reason or another, become "stuck" in their grief have been considered at risk of pathological or complicated grieving that may require clinical treatment. Research into the Australian Granville train crash found that people who viewed the body had better outcomes in terms of psychological recovery, Raphael, (1997) cited in Howarth (2010) whereas a study of the Zeebrugge ferry disaster suggested that viewing may increase anxiety and distress in the short term, but that people who viewed the body tended to be less distressed in the longer term (Hodgkinson 1995 cited in Howarth 2010). Much empirical evidence supports the claims of the psychoanalytic school that excessive repression of grief is harmful and can give rise to delayed and distorted grief—but there is also evidence that obsessive grieving, to the exclusion of all else, can lead to chronic grief and depression. The idea is to achieve a balance between avoidance and confrontation which enables the person gradually to come to terms with the loss. Until people have gone through the painful process of searching they cannot "let go" of their attachment to the lost person and move on to review and revise their basic assumptions about the world (Parkes, 1998).

Briere and Scott, (2014) also suggest that after sudden death, individuals should develop a plan to avoid or minimise unnecessary exposure to reminders which are unsettling and managing reminders and triggers can provide people with more stability and a sense of greater emotional control. Talking with adults about their feelings may help them confront their fears and provide reassurance and emotional support. Individuals can be encouraged to ask questions and to write or talk about any feelings of anger, blame, guilt, regret, and justice to prevent complicated forms of grief that can culminate

in mental illness or psychological problems (Murray, 2005). This is also supported by Burry (2010) who suggests that 'writing' played a therapeutic role to many after the Holocaust and other mass atrocities in their efforts to come to terms with the ordeals, Writing was to be essential in the process of survival and recovery and have been used by many including the famous novelist: Dostoevsky who devoted his life to writing in order to deal with hectic ordeals and trauma he experienced, in the letter to his brother he notes, "How many images to which I have given life and which are still alive will perish, will be snuffed out inside my head or will spread like poison in my blood! Yes, if I cannot write, I shall perish. Better fifteen years of confinement with a pen in my hand!" (Dostoevskaya, 1987) The literary accomplishments, celebrity, and relatively stable family life he eventually achieved would seem to indicate an overcoming of the ordeal, Burry (2010).

Research has also shown sleeping problems and nightmares due to sudden loss can be overcome using methods such as a group therapy which is usually combined with sand play or writing techniques as a means of communicating, understanding and potentially changing the nightmare or dreams. Self-reports from several participants indicate that patterns of some recurrent traumatically based nightmares often change after the dreamer has discussed and processed the nightmare with the clinician or the group. Preliminary feedback by participants of the dream work group and sleep class also suggest a substantial decrease in the length of sleep onset after the day of the sleep class, Daniels & McGuire (1998).

Prior studies indicate that there are numerous methods that can be used on a journey to recovery from sudden death experience which are neither discrete; nor linear and have proven to be useful in overcoming physical, psychological, family, financial and spiritual problem. Thus the present study will investigate how memory objects played a role in the recovery journeys of the Family members who have gone through a sudden loss of loved ones through mushroom poisoning.

Methodology

Research Approach and Design

This study will utilise qualitative approach as the study focussed on the role of memory objects in the journey to recovery from trauma due to sudden death of close relatives who were in the care of the participants. The study will seek to understand the negotiation to recovery from traumatic death experiences among close family members. This made a qualitative approach appropriate. Through a narrative design, this study explored how close relatives' re-writing of their stories about traumatic death experiences and discarding of memory objects facilitates healing and recovery. Narrative inquiry allowed for the study of experience as a story (Connelly and Clandinin), it allowed for the recognition of participants as humans, lived stories and re-lived their stories by telling the stories.

Participants

The study participants were obtained through purposive sampling. The samples comprise 2 members who went through traumatic death experiences of their loved ones through mushroom poisoning Mberengwa.

Data generation and the process

Data was generated through interactive in-depth narrative interviews which allowed participants to open up and direct the flow of the conversation with minimum

interruption from the interviewer. Consent was sought from each participant; a convenient place was prepared for the actual interview. Participants were offered refreshments during the process and the on standby was a psychologist to assist if any participant breaks down since the topic was sensitive.

Data management and analysis

Narrative interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim to prevent data loss and to preserve meaning so that nothing of importance would be overlooked (Tilley & Powick, 2002). Transcriptions were saved on the researcher's personal computer for storage and no one except the researcher had access to the transcripts. Hard copies were stored in a locked cabinet in office. The study used a narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995) to analyse the actions, events and happenings in order to produce narratives. The raw interview data were synthesized into a coherent story and a memory object (Polkinghorne, 1995).

Ethics

Ethical clearance was sought from community headman. Informed consent was sought in a written form and every participant appended their signatures before the data collection. Confidentiality was adhered to and privileged communication was discussed before the data collection. This was done to safeguard the interest and welfare of the participants who maybe a danger to self and or others.

Results

The 2 recovery stories are titled as follows:

Taka's Story; and Mrs Moya story;

The stories have some similarities since they were drawn from the same family. The stories begin with the participants' present life, life before the tragedies, the tragedies and the aftermath. The aftermath is based on events, incidents, objects and people who were instrumental through the recovery journeys.

Taka's Story

I am a communal farmer. I toil and moil in the fields with my wife and mother. We sell our produce at the market. We are a small family though our family used to be big family before the death of wife, 4 siblings and 2 nephews due to mushroom poisoning. This is my story on how I managed to overcome trauma through the use of memory objects; the recovery journey which begins by narration of my life before the tragedy, the tragedy and the aftermath

Marriage to Ashley

I wept day and night and always questioned God why my children had died in such a painful and unexpected way. The physical symptoms of grief were so powerful and confusing. I couldn't swallow at all, barely ate, wept, and felt engulfed in shock and despair. I would walk around the house muttering to myself, devastated by the loss. It was a strain even to speak, was preoccupied with my own thoughts and preferred to be alone

The loss was a shattering experience, it had adverse consequences; it affected my physical, psychological and emotional wellbeing. I experienced a range of mental, physical, cognitive and emotional symptoms, from loss of appetite, night mares, loss of energy nearly every day, dizziness, forgetting, menstruation problems, insomnia, eyesight problems, headaches, heart problem, inability to concentrate, loss of interest in

activities once enjoyed, weight gain to recurrent thoughts about death. I wanted to die; all in one moment my identity, my dreams, my sense of self, and purpose were gone.

In the fall of 2015, I fell in love with Ashley, a beautiful, intelligent and hardworking woman. She was in her teens and I loved her as I had loved no one else before. We shared interests in literature had similar career objectives and went to the same church. She was my soul mate. We formed a deep bond and yearned to share our lives. Our parents supported us and encouraged us to get married, courted for a year and married at the beginning of 2016. That particular year in December we were blessed with a baby boy. Four months later we were busy planning our lives, we had decided to invest in farming. Our lives were full of change and transitions that united and invigorated us.

The Tragedy

On a Monday night on 20 March 2017, Ashley cooked and served mushroom for supper, fortunately I was not at home and did not have supper that particular night. On the following day, around 3.00 p.m.; Ashley was brought home by the villagers who had found her in the fields, vomiting and unable to walk. When I was still trying diagnosing the problem, my 7 siblings also started vomiting, reported loss of energy and stomach-aches. It was then that I realized that they were affected by mushroom they ate the previous night. I appealed to the villagers for help and they fed my siblings and wife with cow dung in order to save them. The attempts were however not effective and on the following morning they were all critical, especially my youngest sibling Modester. The villagers transported them to a local clinic, but Modester and my other 2 siblings died on the way to the hospital. Fear gripped me, it was my first time to see a dead person and whole situation was too overwhelming; my wife and siblings were transferred to Bulawayo, had to accompany them and needed to make funeral arrangements for the deceased. My mother was on her way from South Africa and it was by midday when my father came home.

On Thursday, my beloved wife died and by the end of the day all my siblings were dead. I was frozen in the moment of devastating loss and shock, my mother was still in denial and we could not console or support each other. Everyone was preoccupied with his or her own thoughts; I knew it was not going to be any easier, I did not know how to break the news to my in-laws. It was a difficult moment for me; all in one moment my siblings, my best friend, my biggest support, my anchor, my love—all gone in one devastating moment.

Aftermath

After the death of Ashley and my siblings, the symptoms of grief were so powerful though I tried to suppress them. Every time my son cried, I also cried, he was inconsolable, being used to breastfeeding he did not want bottle feeding. I was hopeless, the future was bleak, my family tried to reach out to me, but it didn't register. Everyone wanted to talk to me about the future but I couldn't let go, Ashley was my world and nobody was to change that. It was the failure to let go that made me suffer. I started having nightmares, insomnia, headaches, loss of appetite, and loss of interest in activities I once enjoyed. This incapacitated me, I became an invalid and could not even afford to buy pampers for my son. My behaviour affected my mother to an extent that she advised me to turn to God for help. As winter was approaching, I begged my in-laws to take Ashley possessions. I believed that it was the presence of Ashley clothes and pictures that

made me suffer. How was I supposed to let go, when the whole room was full of her possessions and full of her scent. I thought removing reminders could make feel better and will stop the occurrence of nightmares. I still don't understand if it was the removal of Ashley possessions that stopped nightmares or it was the thoughts that the possessions were no longer there.

Religiosity and Trauma

Turning to God after the death of Ashley was not easy, I always questioned God about the death of Ashley. I did not understand why my beloved Ashley had to die in such a painful way if God was for us. I believe it was questioning religious practices that precipitated depression. Mid-June, I went for a church service to our local Apostolic Church where we used to go with Ashley. I think it was a blunder, going a church that reminded me about Ashley. The moment I stepped into the church, I started having flashbacks; mental images of Ashley and me the day we got married filled my mind. I tried to pray to God for healing but the more I prayed, the more I wept.

I became the centre of attention and everyone felt sorry for me. I did not like it at all, I hated the flashbacks, I hated the attention, I hated kindness, I hated everyone who tried to talk to me. It made me cry. I did not want to cry. I left before the church service was over. I never returned to church again. I prayed indoors though the prayers were questions to God. My pastors tried to reach to me but I locked the doors whenever they came home, I did not want anything that reminded me about Ashley. How was I supposed to heal when the same pastor who wanted to counsel me was our marriage officer, our premarital counsellor and uncle to Ashley? Everything connected to Ashley made me weep and brought painful memories. It was uncle Themba who told them to stop visiting until I'm ready to talk.

Academic Approach

Mid July uncle Themba gave me popular books on grief and loss such as Tatalbaum's *The Courage to grieve* (1980), Kubler Ross *Death and Dying* and Lichtenberg (2016) *Grief and healing*: which describes the stages of grief: shock, searching, suffering, and recovery. As I read this, I recognized in myself the same early reactions to loss; somatic symptoms, loss of appetite and loss of will. Preoccupation with the deceased and guilt were vivid descriptors of how I felt. He helped me to comprehend and tried to emotional support me. The books helped me to understand that my grief is normal and I had to finish grieving so that my grief will not culminate into mental illness. They enabled me to let go and to come to terms with death of my beloved wife though it still pained me that my beloved Ashley was gone, physical symptoms of grief lessened. I could not form emotional bond with anyone, I shunned even my family members, and nobody could replace Ashley

Occupational Therapy

In the fall of 2017, I left home; change of environment was needed in order to heal. I thought moving away from constant reminders of my wife death could make feel better. How was I supposed to heal when I spent the whole day in proximity with eight graves? Eight graves that brought painful emotions, I thus decided to help my uncle at the farm since I was good at farming, I thought this could help me heal. I was in charge of the green house and I cultivated vegetables such as spinach, cauliflower, lettuce, broccoli, tomatoes and flowers. The success of the green house became my business and from that

time I could spent an hour without thinking about Ashley, even when I did it did not bring painful emotions. The physical symptoms vanished and I now believe being idle was the source of physical symptoms. My farm salary enabled me to financial support my family and to plaster my wife grave. Despite the changes in life, I was sad and lonely, my uncle was the only person I could talk too. I still shunned everyone who tried to befriend me. And my uncle noticed this. He advised me to seek professional help

In search of Life

Early 2018, my unclereferred me to Contact Counselling centre in Bulawayo for Professional help. It was at Contact, where I got my life back; after several counselling sessions about grief and healing I was healed. During the sessions, I talked, wept and verbalized any thought no matter how trivial it was. It was then that I began having a normal conversation with anyone. They enabled me to form emotional bond with my family, healed my broken heart and restored confidence in the self. I began feeling normal after a year of grief and agony and focused on the future. I stopped feeling sorry for the self and begun making plans about my life, making friends and begun attending social functions such as weddings and parties

Happy ever After

In the fall of summer; during my visits at Contact, I met the amazing Lakeisha. Since the death of Ashely I had never set my eyes on any women. I still don't understand if it was a savage beauty that bewitched me or it was the loneliness that I stumbled in an affair with Lakeisha. It was love at first, a whirl wind romance that ultimately lead to marriage in winter. I believe she was God sent, she revived the part of me that had been dormant for months; we started going to church together and early 2019 we were blessed with a baby girl. We stay with my mother in our rural home and we have managed to overcome the trauma. I have fully recovered and I fully function in all the facets of my life.

Mrs. Moya story

I m a housewife, I stay with my son, grandchild and daughter in law. My homestead used to be full of children; I gave birth to 11 children; however 5 children, 2 grandchildren and daughter in-law passed away due to mushroom poisoning. The other 4 are married and my other son is in South Africa. The death of my children completely changed my life. This is the story of my life from the day my children ate poisoned mushroom, the days of trauma and depression and how I managed to overcome trauma through the use of memory objects.

The destruction Button

It all started when I was in South Africa, taking care of son who has been involved in a car accident. On 22 March 2017, I received a call from villagers informing me about the catastrophe that had befallen my family; the previous day, my two sons; Petrous and Samuel had brought home poisonous mushroom from the forest. The mushroom which had been served for supper had consequently lead to my 5 children, 2 grandchildren and daughter in-law to have stomach-aches, headaches, loss of energy, running stomach, and vomiting. The villagers tried to save them and fed them cow dung which is traditionally believed to remedy such situations but all their attempts where futile. By the end of the day the situation had gone worse, there was no sign of life,

especially my favourite child Modester who had eaten the mushroom that particular morning. It was then that the children were rushed to a nearby hospital.

The Loss

Modester my favourite child was the first to die, she did not even make it to the hospital and that same day the other 2 children died. It was on that particular day that I arrived at Mpilo hospital in Bulawayo where the other 5 kids were being hospitalized. My 3 children were dead, my chest became tight, arms numb, and my head and heart wouldn't stop throbbing. I was shocked with the situation at hand, I could not believe what I saw, and I thought I was dreaming; the other five children critical, efforts by nurses and doctors to save them futile and it was on the following day that they all died at different intervals. I could not believe that my 8 children had succumbed to mushroom poisoning in 3 days. It was a fleeting shocking episode which was difficult to fathom. My three children were buried while I was in Bulawayo processing hospital bills of the other five. I did not have time to absorb or reflect on the tragedy and to say good bye. They were buried without coffins, I could not afford them, and all the money had covered hospital bills though it was not enough. Since the news about the tragedy that had befallen my family had gone viral, the ordeal was declared a national disaster. Financial aid from the state, the community and churches helped me to properly bury my children, to feed mourners and to pay hospital bills.

Aftermath

My own home became my own enemy; I couldn't face the sight of 8 graves, 8 graves replacing the laughter and the joy that my children brought. The graves were unsettling and unavoidable reminders of the death of the children. I only felt better if I was not at home; I always thought that I might find my children home when I came back wherever I will be. I even thought of migrating somewhere. It actually became worse at the end of the term when my neighbours' children came back from school; I thought I will see mine. I found it difficult to accept that I will never see my children coming back from school.

The Great Discovery

In the fall of winter, I decided to buy a sewing machine so that I can have something to occupy my mind and stop reminiscing about the unfathomable death of my children. The more I concentrated on my garments the more I blocked stressful thoughts. I produced a numerous garment for numerous occasions and sold them at the market. Sewing lessened the headaches that did not respond to treatment. I believe, rumination was the source of headaches and insomnia. Due to sewing fatigue and concentration on garments sales, early awakening insomnia and late onset insomnia became the thing of the past. I could sleep anytime, anywhere. I was however lonely.

Due to loneliness that cannot be hidden, Mrs. Tapfuma; my customer tried to befriend me. She was moved by my loneliness and sadness. She asked me the source of my loneliness and all of the facade of doing okay came apart, I cried; I became incredibly sad. I couldn't talk, she had to hear the whole story from my son who accompanied me to the market. Being a pastor and having lost her own husband in an accident she tried to reach to me. She told me that in the grief and mourning era, there was a need to focus on being able to finish grieving. She described healing as relocating the deceased and moving on with life, for example being able to recall the deceased without pain. Talking

with her enabled me to come to terms with the ordeal and to arrive at considerable insights into traumatic process. She provided reassurance, emotional support and enabled me to vent my feelings. She encouraged me to cry whenever I felt like crying and discouraged me to bottle my thoughts. She gave me all the emotional support I needed at the moment and acted as the mother figure. She always knew what to say and I started feeling better after numerous meetings with her. She sends text messages, what app messages which were really helpful. That summer I always visited the grave yard and verbalized everything my mind conceived or looked at albums and photographs. This brought me closer to the deceased. I could feel better after talking to the deceased. I also started using different methods of relaxing or unwinding than I used in the past such as talking with friends, listening to music, games, reading the bible and reading novels in order to avoid unnecessary reminders and intrusions.

End of 2018, Mrs. Tapfuma invited me to her church. Since I was not a church goer though I believed in Christianity I decided to seek spiritual connection with God. That particular day, I think the sermon was entirely meant for me, it made to understand that death and living are givens of existence and to stop blaming relatives and the community for the loss. I also received counselling sessions after church and from that same day, the apostolic faith mission of Zimbabwe became my church. I repented, was baptized and received the Holy Spirit. I believe the Holy Spirit healed me; all the feelings of guilty vanished after several prayer sessions and the lump that I felt on my throat whenever I thought about my children became the thing of the past. Though I am managing to overcome the trauma, I believe that I will fully recover and I will be at peace if the graves are plastered and the grave yard is fenced so that it cannot be easily accessible to outsiders. I also want the graves to be adorned with flowers and mushrooms. I believe artistic expression is necessary for conveying transcended truths about the death of my children and for recovery from trauma. I will find a shared sense of closure if the grave yard is neatly built and if I unveil the tomb stones of the children.

Discussion

Mrs Moya's journey to recovery followed a more normative path (Neimeyer & Holland, 2015), she did not suffer the guilt or self-blame and anger that often predict complicated grieving. However, Complicated grieving describes Taku's recovery journey. He did not believe that he could survive without the support of Ashley and mixed feelings of anger and guilt made it difficult to stop punishing himself and letting go. Research on bereavement indicate that complicated grieving is common when someone loses the person he or she ambivalently loved and depended on, and the belief that he or she cannot survive without the support of the person (Parkes). Gamino and Sewell (2004) cited in Lichtenberg (2017) analysed factors that led to complicated grieving in widows and widowers concluded that more difficult grief experiences occurred with unexpected deaths, widowhood at a younger age, and when losses were viewed as preventable. This explains why Taku suffered from chronic grief. Taku was still a young adult, depended on his wife and the death of his wife was an unexpected, traumatic event caused by a preventable reason. If Taku's wife knew about how poisonous the mushroom was, she could have opted to leave it. The thought that his wife could have survived the scourge if she had known, cause complicated grief.

The narratives also indicate that journeys to recovery are socially constructed experiences. Healing is facilitated by social and cultural support. Social support enabled Mrs Moya to come to terms with the death of her children, to arrive at considerable insights into traumatic process, and to grow spiritually. This concurs with Corr and Coolican, (2010) who points out that, individuals require socially and culturally supportive contexts to interactively explore and socially mediate meaning in the aftermath of sudden death. These contexts provide emotional availability, safe and appropriate conditions for disclosure, exploration and growth and without these, disenfranchised grief is unavoidable (McDonald and Calhoun). This is also corroborated by McDonald & Calhoun, (2010) who states that individuals who access this kind of support are likely to emerge from the struggle of bereavement with a more satisfactory spiritual life. Thus social support played a fundamental role in the recovery journeys of the families.

Appealing to a higher power, religion and faith played a significant role in the recovery journeys of the family. Positive religious coping was associated with better adaptation to the ordeal. Mrs Moya's association with Mrs Tapfuma enabled her to seek spiritual connection with God which ultimately helped her to come to terms with the ordeal. This concurs with results of several previous studies which indicate that, as a group, religious people are more resilient to traumatic event exposure than non-religious individuals (Korn & Zuckerman ,2011); Laufer & Solomon 2011; Korn &Zuckerman 2011). As indicted in several studies above, religion has been found to provide meaning, direction and internal peace after an inevitable event. This has been attributed to meaning derived from foreknowledge and sense of control of all events by a deity (Zukerman & Korn, 2014; Laufer and Solomon 2011; Korn and Zuckerman 2011). However, faith and belief have left others hopeless as this infuse a sense of helplessness and lack of control over events(Rosmarin et al.)

The study also found that negative religious coping was associated with complicated grief (Taku). Taku used religion as a negative coping strategy, he questioned religious beliefs, faith, and practices, failed to find comfort in religion and struggled to recover. The findingsare consistent with previous research which stipulates that negative religious coping may enhance emotional distress through cognitive factors, following a negative experience, negative religious coping may lead to mistrust in God, increase intolerance toward uncertainty,raise worry (Rosmarin et al. 2011) and associated with depression and anxiety (Pargament et al.). The current study identified that Taku's grief was complicated and almost culminated into a mental disorder due to the failure to find comfort in religion.Memory objects such as mushroom, graveyard, clothes of the deceased, photographs and church triggered intrusions and trauma in the aftermath of the tragedy. Everything connected to the deceased brought flashbacks, nightmares, repetitive thoughts and feelings of sadness and longing. This finding is in accordance with previous trauma research which also indicate that powerful reminders of death or trauma can be unsettling and can make you upset, physically and emotionally unsettled, prevent sleep, and interfere with your work if you are you aren't prepared for them. Hence preparation can be useful in managing the effects of intrusions and trauma, (Briere and Scott,2014).In the recovery journeys removal or avoidance of people, objects and places that reminded the bereaved of what happened played an instrumental role in managing the effects of

intrusions and trauma. Taku removed Ashley possessions; stopped attending church and left home and this stopped the occurrence of nightmares, flashbacks. This is also recommended by Briere and Scott, (2014) if one cannot control his or her emotions in the aftermath of sudden loss. Thus the removal of constant memory objects is necessary for recovery.

However, for memory objects that cannot be avoided such as the graveyard and school children, Mrs Moya and the family believe that they will find shared sense of closure if the graves are plastered, grave yard fenced and adorned with flowers and mushrooms; this is necessary for conveying transcended truths about the death of the children and for recovery from trauma. Thus memory objects are essential in the recovery journey, though this finding differ with Briere and Scott, (2014) who suggestion that dealing with constant reminders requires the bereaved person to regulate his or her emotions. The current study also found that memory objects facilitate a healthy recovery if they are restoration oriented and attends to the other tasks that are concomitant with the loss. Taku and Mrs Moya spent time attending to their grief (visiting the graveyard, viewing photographs, talking to the deceased) and to activities such as sewing, farming, reading, and talking to friends and this concurs with Stroebe and Schut's dual model of grief which distinguishes between activities that are loss oriented and those that are restoration oriented, (Stroebe and Schut). Rando's (1993) six 'r' processes and Worden's (2009) task-based approach to mourning both suggest a broad structure that emphasises an active rather than passive engagement with processes of personal loss and growth. It also emerged from the narratives that, literature on grief plays an instrumental role in the journey to recovery in the aftermath of sudden loss. Taku used popular books on grief and loss such as Tatelbaum's; *The Courage to grieve* (1980), Kubler Ross *Death and Dying* and Lichtenberg (2016) *Grief and healing* which helped him to understand that grief is normal and had to go through the process. This is consistent with previous recovery journey narratives in the aftermath of sudden death. Lichtenberg (2016) attended grief classes and used popular books on grief such as Worden's *Grief Counselling and Grief Therapy* (1991) in the aftermath of her wife death in order to heal and this facilitated the healing process.

References

- Bray, Peter. "Bereavement and Transformation: A Psycho-Spiritual and Post-Traumatic Growth Perspective." *Journal of Religion and Health*, vol. 52, no. 3, Springer, 2013, pp. 890–903.
- Briere, John N., and Catherine Scott. *Principles of Trauma Therapy: A Guide to Symptoms, Evaluation, and Treatment (DSM-5 Update)*. Sage Publications, 2014.
- Burroughs, Alexander. "Execution, Trauma, and Recovery in Dostoevsky's 'The Idiot'." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, JSTOR, 2010, pp. 255–71.
- Connelly, F. Michael, and D. Jean Clandinin. "Narrative Inquiry in Handbook of Complementary Methods in Education Research." *Green, J., Camilli, G., Elmore, P., Eds*, 2006, pp. 375–85.
- Corr, Charles A., and Margaret B. Coolican. "Understanding Bereavement, Grief, and Mourning: Implications for Donation and Transplant Professionals." *Progress in*

- Transplantation*, vol. 20, no. 2, SAGE Publications Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA, 2010, pp. 169–77.
- Daniels, Lori R., and Terry McGuire. “Dreamcatchers: Healing Traumatic Nightmares Using Group Dreamwork, Sandplay and Other Techniques of Intervention.” *Group*, vol. 22, no. 4, Springer, 1998, pp. 205–26.
- Dowdney, Linda. “Annotation: Childhood Bereavement Following Parental Death.” *The Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and Allied Disciplines*, vol. 41, no. 7, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 819–30.
- Harris, J. Irene, et al. “Christian Religious Functioning and Trauma Outcomes.” *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, vol. 64, no. 1, Wiley Online Library, 2008, pp. 17–29.
- Howarth, Glennys. *Viewing the Body after a Traumatic Death*. British Medical Journal Publishing Group, 2010.
- Korn, Liat, and Gil Zukerman. “Affective and Behavioral Changes Following Exposure to Traumatic Events: The Moderating Effect of Religiosity on Avoidance Behavior among Students Studying under a High Level of Terror Event Exposure.” *Journal of Religion and Health*, vol. 50, no. 4, Springer, 2011, pp. 911–21.
- Laufer, Avital, and Zahava Solomon. “The Role of Religious Orientations in Youth’s Posttraumatic Symptoms after Exposure to Terror.” *Journal of Religion and Health*, vol. 50, no. 3, Springer, 2011, pp. 687–99.
- Lichtenberg, Peter A. “Grief and Healing in Young and Middle Age: A Widower’s Journey.” *The Gerontologist*, vol. 57, no. 1, Oxford University Press US, 2017, pp. 96–102.
- McConnell, Kelly M., et al. “Examining the Links between Spiritual Struggles and Symptoms of Psychopathology in a National Sample.” *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, vol. 62, no. 12, Wiley Online Library, 2006, pp. 1469–84.
- McDonald, Scott D., and Patrick S. Calhoun. “The Diagnostic Accuracy of the PTSD Checklist: A Critical Review.” *Clinical Psychology Review*, vol. 30, no. 8, Elsevier, 2010, pp. 976–87.
- Murray, Judith A. *A Psychology of Loss: A Potentially Integrating Psychology for the Future Study of Adverse Life Events*. Nova Science Publishers, 2005.
- Neimeyer, Robert A., and Jason M. Holland. “Bereavement in Later Life: Theory, Assessment, and Intervention.” *APA Handbook of Clinical Geropsychology, Vol. 2: Assessment, Treatment, and Issues of Later Life.*, American Psychological Association, 2015, pp. 645–66.
- Pargament, Kenneth I., et al. “The Many Methods of Religious Coping: Development and Initial Validation of the RCOPE.” *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, vol. 56, no. 4, Wiley Online Library, 2000, pp. 519–43.
- Parkes, Colin Murray. “Coping with Loss: Bereavement in Adult Life.” *Bmj*, vol. 316, no. 7134, British Medical Journal Publishing Group, 1998, pp. 856–59.
- Pirutinsky, Steven, et al. “Does Negative Religious Coping Accompany, Precede, or Follow Depression among Orthodox Jews?” *Journal of Affective Disorders*, vol. 132, no. 3, Elsevier, 2011, pp. 401–05.
- Polkinghorne, Donald E. “Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis.” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, vol. 8, no. 1, Taylor & Francis, 1995, pp. 5–23.

- Rosmarin, David H., et al. "Religious Coping among Jews: Development and Initial Validation of the JCOPE." *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, vol. 65, no. 7, Wiley Online Library, 2009, p. 670–83.
- Stroebe, Margaret, and Henk Schut. "The Dual Process Model of Coping with Bereavement: A Decade On." *OMEGA-Journal of Death and Dying*, vol. 61, no. 4, SAGE Publications Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA, 2010, pp. 273–89.
- Zukerman, Gil, and Liat Korn. "Post-Traumatic Stress and World Assumptions: The Effects of Religious Coping." *Journal of Religion and Health*, vol. 53, no. 6, Springer, 2014, pp. 1676–90.

THE CONCEPT OF IWA AND EBI AS THEORETICAL MODELS FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND COEXISTENCE



Obafemi Jegede and Afatakpa O Fortune

Abstract

This study investigated the historical trajectory of religious coexistence among the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria and to establish the concept of *iwa* and *ebi* as an African model for interreligious harmony in Nigeria. The study argued that deploying the concept of *GACO*, *Ebi* and *Iwa* indigenous to the Yoruba people in the southwest, Nigeria can be a viable nonwestern theoretical approach in the search for a sustainable solution to combating religious intolerance ensuring mutual coexistence. The study adopted a sociological and historical approach to the phenomenon of *GACO*, *Ebi* and *Iwa* in Yorubaland. Guided by ethnographic research design, data were collected through interviews, observation and was analyzed qualitatively using descriptive method. Among others, findings show that the character and conducts of an average Yoruba person is regulated by the dominant orientation of '**genetic connection**', '**ancestral affinity**', '**collective responsibility**' and '**ownership/sharing**' (*GACO*). While *Iwa* (Character) and *Ebi* (family); are fraternal connections that are more profound than religious affinity in Yorubaland. Thus, fraternal orientation takes precedence over religious orientation which is a major driver of violent extremism. This mindset which is evident among the Yoruba of Southwest, Nigeria have assisted in building symbolic bridges across diverse religious and ethnic interests in the region, thereby making it difficult for extremist ideologies to thrive.

Introduction

Nigeria is acclaimed to be the most populous black nation in the world. With a population estimated at over 200 million people, 450 ethnic groups and over 250 distinct languages, Teissier, an Archbishop in Algeria termed Nigeria as the greatest Islamo-Christian nation in the world. By implication, there is no other nation where it can be said that adherents of both the Christian and Muslim faith tradition live side-by-side. Therefore, no other nation qualifies to be used as a litmus test for the development of a sustainable framework for Muslim- Christian coexistence. Framing Muslim/Christian encounter in Africa, according to Akinade (2002), dates back over fourteen centuries. He, however, contends that relations between Christianity and Islam have ranged from conflict to concord, from polemics to dialogue, from commercial cooperation to open confrontation. Christian-Muslim relations however they manifest constitute an important global phenomenon and affect the future of vast multitudes of people. One of the major outcomes of perennial Muslim/Christian conflicts is the call for interreligious dialogue. The 21st century continues to be overwhelmed with conferences, summits, and round-table discussions holding in virtually every part of the globe, at different times, mostly imploring Christians and Muslims to look for ways of promoting peaceful coexistence. In the submissions of Akinade (2002), the discussions on Muslim/Christian harmonious

coexistence are more of monologues than dialogues. He further contends that the frameworks for harmonious coexistence between the two major faith traditions, which is Christianity and Islam usually, represent a predominantly Western perspective. It is therefore imperative to develop an indigenous model of harmonious co-existence between adherents of the dominant faith traditions.

The problem of polarization of Muslims and Christians is endemic in northern Nigeria. Empirical evidence affirms that issues of violent religious conflict and religious intolerance resonates more in the Northern part of Nigeria (Awoniyi, 2013, Simpson, 2011, Awojobi, 2007). While this study is not focused on the reasons for the prevalence of violent religious conflicts and religious intolerance in Northern Nigeria, it is equally important to mention that the Southern part of the country which has a large population of Muslims and Christians have experienced far less violence between adherents of the two faiths. Specifically, among the Yoruba people who reside in the southwestern part of Nigeria, Christians and Muslims reputedly live together in harmony without any recourse to violence.

The Yoruba people are the second largest ethnic group in Nigeria occupying the Southwestern geopolitical zone of Nigeria. While the Yoruba's are practically found all over the world, they are indigenous to Oyo, Lagos, Ogun, Osun, Ekiti, Kwara, Ondo state and a substantial part of Edo and Kogi state. Transnationally, Yorubas can be found in the Republic of Benin, the West African nation that borders Nigeria to the west. The Yoruba ethnic group makes up twenty per cent (20%) of Nigeria's population with more than twenty-five million people. They have the largest number of people who are formally educated, and hence better able to cope with the changes brought about by contact with the outside (or westernized) world (Labeodan, 2010). While the Yorubas can be found in different parts of the globe, a thriving Yoruba culture can be found in South America and the Caribbeans, especially Brazil and Cuba, where the descendants of the unwilling immigrants to the New World have been able to maintain their identity and preserve their cultural heritage (Gbadegesin 1991, 174). The Yorubas, in general (that is, those that have their ancestral home in Nigeria and those in the Diaspora) have a rich cultural heritage rooted in their traditional modes of thought (Olajumoke, 2014). According to Peel (2015), there are high levels of social interaction between Muslims and Christians and virtually no residential segregation between them. Interfaith marriages are not uncommon; many extended families have both Christian and Muslim members, and mutual participation in each other's ritual festivities is a standard feature of Yoruba social life as well as a source of cultural pride. Comparatively, the Yoruba ethnic group are presumed to have a pragmatic attitude and they can cooperate well even when they differ in religious and cultural ideology. Thus, the Yoruba people can collaborate even if they disagree or agree to disagree. The historical relationship trajectory between Muslims and Christians in Yorubaland reveal that they have traded together for centuries. What can be responsible for the inclination towards a harmonious coexistence between Christians and Muslims in southwestern Nigeria against the backdrop of violence usually experienced in northern Nigeria? How can the southwestern model of coexistence be applied within the Nigeria context at a macro level?

Consequently, it will be important to embark of an intellectual enquiry into the factor(s) that are responsible for the comparative peaceful coexistence between members

of different religious traditions in the Southern part of Nigeria. In many parts of southwestern Nigeria, Christians and Muslims have encountered each other, interacted with each other and often lived side by side amicably for many centuries. By taking into account long periods of the peaceful coexistence between all the religious communities in southwestern Nigeria, it will also be vital to learn and highlight the riches of shared living and the primacy of the dialogue of life.

Research Findings

What is responsible for the trend of harmonious coexistence between Christians and Muslims among the Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria?

A critical factor responsible for the harmonious coexistence between Muslims and Christians in southern Nigeria is strong family ties known as *ebi*. In the cosmology of the average Yoruba person, blood is thicker than water. In the words of Ibidoja Abegunde, a civil servant and resident in Apata, Ibadan:

In a Yoruba Family, say for example a family of ten (10), it is very possible for you to find both Christians and Muslims in that particular family. For example in my nuclear family, three out of the seven of us are Muslims. But whenever we come together as a family, our religion is put aside. What becomes paramount at that material point is the bond that exists between us like family (Interview, 2016).

The submission of Ibidoja is supported by several other respondents who were interviewed. According to Alhaja Busari Salewa (2016), a businesswoman living in Adedayo, Apata, Ibadan, family comes first in Yorubaland. She argues that in Yorubaland there are many interreligious marriages. Therefore when issues that borders of religious conflicts arise, no matter the degree of provocation, people are restrained from violence because you may never if a member of the family will be the victim. The Yoruba operates within a high cultural context whereby the family comes first at the micro-level. The entire families are bound together by family ties or *alajobi* and nobody dares to go against the norms and values of the family. Anybody that does this, the spirit of their forefathers or *oku-orun* is invoked and the consequences may be calamitous for such individual.

The Yoruba family system is very distinctive. It is unique in the sense that it is community-centred and a system of the grass-root regime. It is upon this grass-root government that other tiers of governments within the society are built. There are two levels of family organization among the Yoruba people, the immediate or nuclear family level and the kinship or extended family level. These two levels highlight both blood and marital relationships. However, customarily, the most important and highly highlighted familial relationships are along bloodlines. Yoruba families are customarily patrilineal and patrilocal. The Yoruba place a high premium on family ties. They believe that anyone with whom they have blood relations within the extended family is of the same father and mother. This view is also corroborated by the FGD conducted in the Akinigoin community of Apata, Ibadan, where eleven (11) out of the twelve discussants agree that within the social context of the Yoruba people, the family comes first. Accordingly, an issue that borders on harmonious coexistence is a strong value that is dictated by leaning. Therefore, at the micro-level in Yorubaland, issues of coexistence are

dictated by blood ties which are rooted in the concept of *ebi*, family. Elder Folorunsho Agbe, a community leader in Bembo, Apata sums up:

Among the Yoruba culture, the family as a unit is an important aspect of our daily life. In fact society and family are sacrosanct. The Yoruba family doesn't only consist of what the white people see or believe is family. For the white man, a family is only limited to father, mother and other immediate members. Among the Yoruba, it is not so. Here family comprises of more than a hundred people among which mutual assistance is compulsory. So we have no choice but to tolerate one another and coexist peacefully whether one is a Christian or a Muslim (Interview, 2016).

Harmonious coexistence among the Yoruba in southwestern Nigeria is also rooted in the concept of *ebi* at the macro. *Ebi* in Yorubaland operates on two levels. The micro-level is connected with blood ties. The macro-level of *ebi* is connected to the concept of kinship. In the Yoruba worldview, the kinship methodology is embedded in the claims that the Yoruba people emanate from one source, Oduduwa. All the various tribes of the Yoruba nation trace their origin from Oduduwa and the City of Ile Ife. "Ile Ife is fabled as the spot where God Created man, white and black, and from whence they dispersed all over the earth". All the principal tribes sprung from Oduduwa seven grandchildren and some of the other tribes were offshoots of one or other of these (Eades, 1980). The oral history of the Yoruba describes an origin myth, which tells of God lowering a chain at Ile-Ife, down which came Oduduwa, the ancestor of all people, bringing with him a cock, some earth, and a palm kernel. The earth was thrown into the water, the cock scratched it to become land, and the kernel grew into a tree with sixteen limbs, representing the original sixteen kingdoms. The Yoruba-people call themselves in their native language "*OmoOduduwa*", literally child of Oduduwa. The kinship world view which is well articulated in a common ancestry is seen as complementary to the phenomenon of harmonious coexistence among the Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria. Sunday Agbabiaka, a teacher at Logudu, Apata submits:

Yoruba people have one father. Our father is Oduduwa. Oduduwa was the first king of the Yoruba. His offspring are founded the 16 different kingdoms. All the ethnic variants in Yorubaland whether Ekiti, Egba, Ijebu, Akoko, Ijesha, Oyo, come from Oduduwa. So we are children of one father and we cannot fight one another. Even if we fight we must settle because we are of one father. That is why you will always the Yoruba people say "*Omo Oduduwa*" (Interview, 2016).

This position is upheld by Phillip Ikechukwu, an Igbo who was born in Ibadan. According to Phillip:

I am forty-Nine (49) years old. I was born and brought up here in Ibadan. I am not a Yoruba man. I am Igbo by the tribe. I can categorically say that one of the things that have contributed to the peaceful coexistence in Yorubaland is not unconnected with the idea that they are from Oduduwa. You know, it is generally accepted that Oduduwa is the progenitor of the Yoruba people. This claim of common ancestry is hardly found among other ethnic groups. So in my view, it helps them to bond better with one another not minding the religion that they patronise (Interview, 2016).

Gbenga Adejayan (2016), a community leader and resident of Awonsonso, Apata, presents a broader perspective to the idea that Oduduwa is the progenitor all Yoruba people. According to him, the entire human race emanates from Oduduwa. Therefore, beyond religion, the average Yoruba person sees other people whether Christian or Muslim as members of a larger family. This view, to a large extent, determines the way Yoruba people respond in times of conflicts. Several respondents agree with the general understanding that one of the major tools that the Yorubas in southwestern Nigeria deploy in enhancing social cohesion and peaceful coexistence is the concept of *ebi* at the macro level which is connected to their common ancestry with Oduduwa. Furthermore, the principle of *ebi* that has been well established both at the micro and macro levels have helped in the fostering of a stronger sense of commonality among the Yoruba people. This to a large extent has engendered the spirit of tolerance and coexistence across all religious and ethnic fault lines that are domiciled in Yoruba communities. The concept of *ebi* has a great impact on the social structure of the Yoruba and by extension the entire community. Above all the concept of *ebi* as in the Yoruba world view plays a critical role in determining the general ethics of the Yoruba society. The ethics of a society is embedded in the ideas and beliefs about what is right or wrong, what is a good or bad character; it is also embedded in the conceptions of satisfactory social relations and attitudes held by the members of the society; it is embedded, furthermore, in the forms or patterns of behaviour that are considered by the members of the society to bring about social harmony and cooperative living, justice, and fairness. The ideas and beliefs about moral conduct are articulated, analyzed, and interpreted by the moral thinkers of society (Gyekye, 1995).

The notion of character (*iwa*) in the worldview and ethics of the Yoruba is also responsible for the tolerance and coexistence that pervades its landscape. According to the Yoruba worldview *iwa* 'le sin (*the character is a religion*). Therefore, the quality of a religion is assessed based on the character that is displayed by its adherents. Olajumoke (2014) argues that the philosophical tradition of the Yoruba is anchored on and entrenched in the concept of character development. The concept of the character referred to by Yoruba as "IWA" is a set of qualities that make somebody distinctively interesting or attractive, especially somebody's qualities of mind and feelings, somebody's reputation. Character (*iwa*) is very central in all Yoruba communities. *Iwa* (character) is, for the Yoruba, "perhaps the most important moral concept. A person is morally evaluated according to his/her *iwa*—whether good or bad (Gbadegesin, 1991)". It must be mentioned here that Yoruba ethics is character-based ethics; it establishes that the worth of an individual's character is most central in his/her daily interactions. Thus, the Yoruba maxim (proverb): "Good character is a person's guard (Stanford Encyclopedia, 2010)". The concept of *iwa* places a huge responsibility on the Yoruba man or woman to seek the common good of all notwithstanding the differences in religious or ethnic orientation. This view is corroborated by Chief Olanrewaju Lukman, a community leader in Awonsonso, Apata, "the average Yoruba person is very conscious about his or her behaviour to an outsider. In traditional society, people are very careful about their character so as not to bring shame to the family name (Interview, 2016). Chief Anifowoshe Lateef, a community leader in Aba Alamu, submits

A hallmark of character (*iwa*) in Yorubaland is to seek the common good of all. This has gone a long way in entrenching the value of tolerance and coexistence among the Yoruba people. In traditional Yoruba society, the common good is defined in the context of harmony, peace contentment or satisfaction, justice, dignity and respect for all (Interview, 2016).

The view of Anifowoshe is further expanded by Olajumoke (2014). In her submission, *iwa* (Character) is one of or perhaps the most important human endeavour taught within *Ifa* literary corpus and every *Ifa* stanza (ancient poetic verse) has one portion dedicated to the issue of teaching the *iwa* (Character/ Behaviour) that *Ifa* supports. She further explains that *iwa*, which *Ifa* teaches, transcends religious doctrine. It is central to every human being and imparts communal, social & civic responsibility that the Creator (*Olodumare*) supports. Central to this is the theme of righteousness and practising good moral behaviour, not seeking for it in the community but becoming the Ambassador of *iwa* (Character). Based on this traditional thinking pattern and philosophy, coexistence becomes seamless affair in Yorubaland because it is subsumed as a core value. Therefore, established institutions at various levels in Yorubaland such as the family, community, cooperative societies, and chieftaincy embrace this concept of the common good, which is rooted in *iwa* (character) germane to a peaceful coexistence of all. Gyekye (1995) admits that the common good is a notion that is conceptually affiliated to the notion of community and, thus, to the notion of human society as such. The common good is an essential feature of the ethics espoused by the communitarian African society. The pursuit of the good of all is the goal of the communitarian society, which the African society is. A sense of the common good—which is a core of shared values—is the underlying presupposition of African social morality. Comparatively, this view is well-grounded in traditional Yoruba society. Hence, the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria can boast of centuries of religious and ethnic tolerance.

The welfare, security and safety of a people are dependent on the peace and unity maintained by every individual component of the community while engaging in social interaction. Every individual who constitutes a social player must at every point in time display acceptable values, ethics and morals that the society dictates. This is reflected in their character.

It is in the character of every Yoruba person to embrace all. Maybe this is one of the major reasons people of other religions and ethnic groups come here and flourish. In Yorubaland, it is easy for non-Yorubas, whether Christian or Muslim to live and flourish together. In this our community we have many people from the North, South East and even Edo who are landlords. They built their houses without stress. Look (pointing to a street opposite his house) that particular building that is being used as a Church is owned by a Muslim. Generally, Yorubas are very accommodating because it is in our character and nothing can change it (Interview Chief (Mrs.) Abigail Bodude, 2016).

Accordingly, when a Yoruba person displays *iwa*, he/she termed to be an *omoluabi*. Therefore, grounded in the Yoruba concept of *iwa*, Abiodun (1983) refers to an *Omoluabi* as someone who has been well brought up or a highly cultured person. Consequently, tolerance and coexistence are seen as virtues that are incumbent on every Yoruba to exhibit irrespective of their religious persuasions. Abimbola (1975) explains that in Yoruba culture, a core defining attribute of *omoluabi*, are a set or conglomeration

of principles of moral conduct that defines the character of the Yoruba person. These principles include *oro siso*, (spoken word), *iteriba* (respect), *inu rere* (having the good mind to others), *otito* (truth), *iwa* (character), *akinkanju* (bravery), *ise* (hard work) and *opolopipe* (intelligence). The concept of *iwa* is further expounded within the framework of *iwapele* (Abimbola, 1975). *Iwapele* allows one to be gentle and of good and kind nurture, seeing the world as it is and realizing that their actions from a benevolent standpoint can affect not only their fellow beings but also the world and everything within which will not only aid in their health but also create for them a long life. *Iwa Pele* is being the best person you can be and not only to each other but in also respecting nature and the earth in which you live (Obara (2015). Concerning *iwapele*, the *Odu Ifa* says “Perform truthfulness, perform righteousness, Perform kindness, avoid wickedness, Perform the truth, and perform righteousness; is the one that *Imale* supports. Who is *Imale* except for *Olodumare* (GOD)”. The *Odu Ifa* is the Holy African scripture of the Yoruba.

The concept of *ebi* and *iwa* weaves the core values of empathy, esprit de corps and cooperation as daily requirements for the smooth running of any society. This situates within the principles of the ethics of duty and not of right. Invariably, in the Yoruba worldview, coexistence and harmonious living with the “other” is a duty that must be carried out. Coexistence is not something to be negotiated; it is already in-built in the psyche of the average Yoruba person, whether he is a Christian or a Muslim. Gyekye (1995) puts it succinctly:

The ethical values of compassion, solidarity, reciprocity, cooperation, interdependence, and social well-being, which are counted among the principles of the communitarian morality, primarily impose duties on the individual concerning the community and its members. All these considerations elevate the notion of duties to a status similar to that given to the notion of rights in Western ethics. African ethics does not give short-shrift to rights as such; nevertheless, it does not give obsessional or blinkered emphasis on rights. In this morality, duties trump rights, not the other way around, as it is in the moral systems of Western societies. The attitude to, or performance of, duties are induced by a consciousness of needs rather than of rights. In other words, people fulfil—and ought to fulfil—duties to others not because of the rights of these others, but because of their needs and welfare.

The position of Gyekye aligns properly with the worldview of the Yoruba which has been partly codified in the context of *ebi* and *iwa*. Therefore, the concept of *iwa* and *ebi* is the fulcrum upon which the seamless coexistence of religious practitioners is established across the entire landscape of Southwestern Nigeria.

Conclusion

Many areas in Nigeria are suffering critically as a result of declining conditions and relations between Muslim and Christian adherents. Since 1990, conflicts in Nigeria between Muslims and Christians, especially in the north, have become violent, intractable and often fatal. Many observers believe that the key lies with renewed efforts at interreligious dialogue. Interfaith dialogue has become widely acknowledged as a means to enhance interreligious and intercultural sensitivity, complement state-based diplomatic efforts, and attain sustainable conflict resolution. However, the Western model of

interreligious dialogue seems not to be working because it is alien to the socio-cultural context of Nigeria. As a result, Nigeria must develop a homegrown model that will be suitable in the promotion of coexistence and harmonious living among all faith traditions. Without contradictions, nations across the world that have made far-reaching progress in terms of harmonious coexistence looked inwards to craft and develop a transformation model within their socio-cultural framework. There is the Ubuntu philosophy of South Africa, the philosophy of Brotherhood (Ujamaa) of Tanzania, the Chinese concept of pragmatism and functional pluralism in Canada. It must be clearly stated that interfaith dialogue which is being advocated as a coexistence model for harmonious living between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria lack the inherent capacity to bring a lasting solution to the incessant conflicts between Christians and Muslims because it is a foreign concept. Interfaith dialogue can be effective in Europe and Asia because Muslim/Christian relations across Europe and Asia are borne out of competition and not cooperation. Europe and Asia still bear the scars of the Crusade and Jihad.

This study has examined the historical trajectory of Muslim/Christian relations in Southwestern Nigeria, known to be inhabited by the Yoruba ethnic group. The Yoruba people are known to be tolerant and open to the “other” despite their differences in religious and cultural orientation. The study discovered that the Yoruba people have a socio-cultural system with an inbuilt mechanism for coexistence. The study also discovered that coexistence in Yorubaland is not to be seen as a right but a duty to be performed by all Yoruba indigenes. Furthermore, the ethics of duty that is found in Yorubaland is rooted in the concept of *iwa* and *ebi*. The vast majority of people at every stage of their societal evolution in Yorubaland have been socialized into the core values that are enshrined in *iwa* and *ebi*. Religions don’t dialogue. It is human beings who can engage in dialogue through certain homegrown mechanisms that are inbuilt within their socio-cultural context. This is a model that has worked productively in Yorubaland and can be adopted as a model within the larger framework of Nigeria.

References

- Abimbola, Wande (1975) “Iwapele: The Concept of Good Character in Ifa Literary Corpus”, Wande Abimbola (ed.) *Yoruba Oral Tradition: Poetry in Music Dance and Drama* (Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press).
- Abiodun, Rowland (1983) “Identity and the Artistic Process in the Yoruba Aesthetic Concept of Iwa”, *Journal of Cultures and Ideas*, Vol.1, No.1.
- Awojobi, P.O., (2007) *Conflict between Christian and Muslims With Reference To Northern Nigeria*
- Awoniyi, S. 2013. A discourse on religious conflict and tolerance in multi-faith Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal*. 9.20: 124- 143
- Eades, J.S. *The Yoruba Today* (1980). Cambridge University Press. Cambridge
- Gbadegesin, Segun, 1991. *African Philosophy: Traditional Yoruba Philosophy and Contemporary African Realities*, New York: Peter Lang.

- Gyekye, Kwame, 1995. *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme*, revised edition, Philadelphia: Temple University Press; original edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Interview with Alhaja Busari Salewa, a business tycoon, Adedayo, Apata, on Monday May 1, 2016,
- Interview with Chief (Mrs.) Abigail Bodude, Community Leader, Akinigoin, Apata on Friday, May 5, 2016
- Interview with Chief Anifowoshe Lateef, Community Leader, Aba Alamu, Apata on Friday, May 5, 2016
- Interview with Chief Gbenga Adejayan, Community Leader, Awonsonso, Apata on Thursday, May 4, 2016
- Interview with Chief Olanrewaju Lukman, Community Leader, Awonsonso, Apata on Thursday, May 4, 2016
- Interview with Elder Folorunsho Agbe, Community Leader, Bembo, Apata, on Wednesday, May 3, 2016)
- Interview with Ibidoja Abegunde, Civil Servant, Apata Ganga, on Monday, May 1, 2016
- Interview with Phillip Ikechukwu, Community Resident, Alexander Layout, Apata on Wednesday, May 3, 2016
- Interview with Sunday Agbabiaka, Teacher, Logudu Grammar School, Apata, on Wednesday, May 3, 2016
- Iwa le sin* meaning Character religion
- Labeodan, M.O (2010). *The Family Lifestyle in Nigeria*. School of Statistics and Actuarial Science University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Obara Meji (2015) *Iwa Pele-Good and Gentle Character*.
<http://ifaorishaunveiled.com/2015/11/24/iwa-pele-good-and-gentle-character>[Accessed 1Nov, 2016]
- Omole Catherine Olajumoke (2014) [The Yoruba Philosophy of “Iwa” \(Moral Character\) As Fulcrum of Human Personality and Well-Being](http://psychdiscourse.com) <http://psychdiscourse.com> [Accessed 1 Nov, 2016)
- Peel J.D.Y. (2015). *Christianity, Islam, and Orisa-Religion: Three Traditions in Comparison and Interaction*. California. University of California Press
- Sampson, I.T. 2012. Religious violence in Nigeria: causal diagnosis and strategic recommendations to the state and religious communities”. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*. 12.1: 103–134.

THE INTERRELATEDNESS OF DIFFERENT CULTURAL PRACTICES IN SELECTED ETHNIC NATIONALITIES IN NIGERIA



Godstime I. Eze

Abstract

There are different groups that exist within a nation with shared ideologies and worldview based on culture- the way of life of a people. These different views are what define their ethnicity in a particular geographical location making up the nation. This research work is focused on three different ethnic nationalities, Igbo, Yoruba and Igala with the aim of identifying the cultural differences and the interrelatedness of these cultures to other cultures. It seeks to highlight the role of culture in framing an individual's beliefs and understanding of violence and nonviolence, issues of good will and bad omen etc. It also discusses issues of structural inequality as regards to gender, social power, and dominance of one group over others, and the ways in which these factors perpetuate national growth and human development. This equally deals with different cultural characteristics prominent in the cultural grounder under study. As a result, Cultural interrelatedness is mostly as a result change in one part of a culture that brings change and adjustment to another in the areas of Marriage and others like Occupation, Belief, Ruler ship, Religion and Festivals.

Keywords: Culture, Practices, Interrelatedness, Ethnic Nationality and Nigeria.

Introduction

An Online Dictionary defines ethnic nationalities as “ethnic groups with shared cultural heritage, ancestry, origin, myth, history, home, language or dialect, symbolic systems such as religion, mythology and ritual, cuisine, dressing style, art, and physical appearance”. Ethnic nationalities can therefore, be referred to a group of people sharing a common origin, culture which includes language and other cultural make-up of the people who occupy a particular geographical location. It can also be characterized by a group of individuals with common ancestry heritage distinguished from others on the basis of common physical way of life such as family pattern, farming system, child bearing and rearing, and many others. Large ethnic nationalities may be subdivided into smaller sub-groups known variously as clans which over time may become separate sub-ethnic groups due to endogamy or physical isolation from the parent group. Conversely, formally separated ethnicities from the ‘major’ can merge to form a pan-ethnicity called the ‘minor’ which may eventually develop into a single ethnicity whether through division or amalgamation.

The central concept of ethnic nationalities by nationalists is that, “nations are defined by a shared heritage, which usually include common language, a common faith, and a common ethnic ancestry”. According to Ashley Crossman,

Ethnicity is a concept referring to a shared culture and way of life. This can be reflected in language, religion, material cultural such as clothing

and food, and cultural products such as music and art. Ethnicity is often a major source of social cohesion and social conflict (internet source).

From the foregoing, Ethnicity is a bit more difficult to explain for most people. Unlike race, which is primarily seen and understood on the basis of skin color and phenotype, ethnicity does not necessarily provide visual cues. Instead, it is based on a shared common culture, including elements like language, religion, art, music, and literature, and norms, customs, practices, and history. Crossman further states that, “an ethnic group does not exist simply because of the common national or cultural origins of the group, however. They develop because of their unique historical and social experiences, which become the basis for the group’s ethnic identity”.

In understanding this concept of ethnic nationalities and their major cultural characteristics, it is also important to briefly explain the concept of culture. Culture is the uniqueness of a group of people, a way of life, a vehicle through which knowledge; beliefs, morals, laws, and custom are transmitted from one generation to another for continuity. Edward Taylor defines culture as a “complex whole”, which encompasses everything members of an ongoing society socially learnt and shared. Although, many scholars of Sociology and Anthropology, Arts and Humanities have defined culture in many ways, from different angles and for many reasons, it all boils down to the way of life of the people. It is most a narrative story that people tell themselves or others about themselves. This means that culture is not in-born, it is man-made and acquired through a long process of socialization. It is a mirror or rather a reflection of peoples’ historical experiences through daily activities to meet up with the challenges of life.

The Igbo People of Nigeria and Their Cultural Characteristics

It has become a part of the history that Ndi Igbo (the Igbo people) has manifested their zest for adventure and industry in their roles as national public servants, educators, captains of industry and commerce, philanthropists, and has contributed in no little measure both in the emancipation of Nigeria from the colonial rule and in the development of the country in all ramifications. The Igbo people are the second largest group of people living in southern Nigeria. They are one of the three major ethnicities in Nigeria. They consist of many subgroups and are known to be socially and culturally diverse. Although Igbo are mostly Christians today, they have a deep and original culture. The Igbo people of Nigeria officially occupy the eastern part of Nigeria, with basically five states which includes Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo. They speak one central language Igbo or ‘Igbo izugbe’ (central Igbo) with many dialects in the community levels.

Igbo culture includes the various customs, practices and traditions of the people. It comprises ancient practices as well as modern concepts added into the Igbo culture either through evolution or outside influences. These customs and traditions include the Igbo people’s visual art, religious beliefs, birth, marriage and death rituals, use of language, music and dance forms, as well as their attire, cuisine(food) and language dialects.

The culture of the Igbo modify the thoughts, speech, actions and artifacts of the Igbos so much that the Igbos are easily distinguished from other ethnic groups. How a culture survives depends on the people’s capacity to learn and transmit it to succeeding

generations. The Igbo culture expresses itself in the customs, beliefs, war, burial, social norms, religion, and racial, social and material traits of the Igbo.

The Igbo Traditional Marriage (Igba Nkwu Nwanyi)

This is one of the most interesting culture of the Igbo people which means ‘wine carrying’ or ‘traditional marriage’ in English language. Before this traditional marriage proper, it is assumed that the groom has secretly asked the bride to marry him after a little courtship to know each other more and probably meet the both parents for the first time so that both parents can ask questions about clan and family background of the other. This is known as ‘Ijuu ese’. Igba Nkwu Nwanyi concludes the traditional activities of taking a bride in Igbo land. The ceremony takes place in the bride’s parent’s compound where the bride’s parents will be hosting the groom’s people with the items brought by their in-laws prior to the main day of event. The groom is expected to be accompanied by a larger party this time (friends included) and bring along with him the bride price list. He must present the list along with the required gifts to the Umunna before the ceremony begins.

Usually, the bride-to-be is dressed in the traditional Igbo wedding attire which include a blouse, a double wrapper, a red coral bead necklace and a big head tie known as ‘Ichafu’ or a bead round her head to welcome her visitors. The ‘Igba Nkwu Nwanyi’ climax is when the bride publicly points out the man she wants to marry. The bride’s father or eldest uncle (if her dad is deceased) prays traditionally for the bride, blessing her marriage in future, then he gives her a cup of palm wine (it is usually placed in a gourd) to find the man she intends to spend the rest of her life with.

The bride along with her maidens then goes to find her groom who is hidden in the crowd, as she searches for him with the wine in her hand; she is beckoned by other men and the groom’s friends seated in the crowd to give them her wine. After searching him out, she then offers him the drink in her hand kneeling down. If he takes a sip, it signifies to the crowd that he is her husband, acceptance means they are officially man and wife. The groom and bride then dance to meet her parents who then pronounce blessings on them. The merriment begins and the couple is given gifts by friends and family. ‘Idu Uno’ (presentation of property to the bride by her parents) comes immediately after Igba Nkwu, at this stage; the bride visits the groom’s home for the first time and she goes along with a maiden or her sister who isn’t married to keep her company.

Before she begins her journey, the bride’s family gifts her with items she will need to start her new home, these include cooking utensils, bed-sheets, suitcases, boxes, sewing machine, bed, pillowcases, plates, clothes and other essential things she will need to begin a new life with her husband.

Igbo Occupation, Belief, Ruler ship, Religion and Festivals

Igbo people are industrious, friendly and educated people and they played an important role in Nigerian political development. Igbo people have dynamic and fascinating cultural heritage that says lots about them, the Igbo people are mostly Christians, with a good traditional way of welcoming visitors, which is usually offering kola to guests, even before they made their mission known. They have a decentralized system of government where there is a ruling figure in a community and the family (usually a man). The major beliefs of the Igbo religion are shared by all Igbo-speaking

people. However, many of its practices are locally organized, with the most effective unit of religious worship being the extended family. Periodic rituals and ceremonies may activate the lineage (larger kinship unit) or the village, which is the widest political community.

The Igbo believe in a supreme god who keeps watch over his creatures from a distance. He seldom interferes in the affairs of human beings. No sacrifices are made directly to him. However, he is seen as the ultimate receiver of sacrifices made to the minor gods. To distinguish him from the minor gods he is called Chukwu—the great or the high god. As the creator of everything, he is called Chukwu Abiama. There are also minor gods, who are generally subject to human passions and weaknesses. They may be kind, hospitable, and industrious; at other times they are treacherous, unmerciful, and envious. These minor gods include ‘Ala’, the earth goddess. She is associated with fertility, both of human beings and of the land. ‘Anyanwu’ is the sun god who makes crops and trees grow. Igwe is the sky god, the source of rain, and ‘Amadioha’, the god of thunderbolt that strike offenders of sacred laws and orders to death.

In addition to their gods, the Igbo believe in a variety of spirits whose good will depends on treating them well. Forests and rivers at the edge of cultivated land are said to be occupied by these spirits. Mbataku and Agwo are spirits of wealth. Others include Aha njoku (the yam spirit) and Ikoro (the drum spirit). The Igbo attitude toward their deities and spirits is not one of fear but one of friendship. They have festivals like ‘ife ji oku’ (new yam festival), festivals of incarnate being (masquerade festivals) which varies from communities, Ofala festival (by mostly Onitsha people). During this festivals, many Igbo musical instruments are used like the Udu, which is essentially designed from a clay jug; an Ekwe, which is formed from a hollowed log; and the Ogene, a hand bell designed from forged iron. Other instruments include Opia – a wind instrument similar to the flute; Igba, and Ichaka. They also have a style of music called Ikorodo, which involves a vocal performance accompanied by several musical instruments.

The Igala People of Nigeria and Their Cultural Characteristics

The Igala people have an unusually and richly endowed environment. They are within the "middle-belt" of Nigeria which has an advantage of the climate of the drier Savannah vegetation to the north and the wet forest regions to the south. The area lies within the warm humid climatic zone of Nigeria. The area has an average rain fall of about 50 a year. The lowland riverine areas are flooded seasonally, making it possible for the growing of paddy rice and controlled fish farming in ponds that are owned on individual or clan basis. The Ibaji area is the major place swashed by flood. This makes the area very fertile soil more than other places in the land, the receding floods leave behind a large quantity of fish in ponds and lakes. This facts, plays an important role in the economic and social lives of the people.

This favorable vegetation in Igala land makes farming and hunting highly profitable. Thus 90% of the population practice farming. Both forest and savannah crops thrive on Igala soil very well. Thus, the main forest crops produced are: yams, cassava, maize, melon and groundnut. And they produce such savannah cereals as guinea corn, beans, and millet. However, due to the shifting cultivation being practiced, bush burning and felling of trees, a good proportion of the forest is being gradually destroyed and wild animals are fast becoming extinct. Igala land is blessed with rich natural resources. In the

south are swamps where crude oil was prospected some years ago. It is generally believed that oil was discovered at Alade and Odolu. The country has benefitted from the coalmine since 1967.

Dialectical differences are noticeable, yet the people are not divided. According to Okwoli, "the Idah dialect, central dialect, the Dekina dialect with Bassa-Igbirra influence, the Ankpa dialect with Idoma influence and trans-Niger Anambra dialect (in Odolu and Ibaji) with Ibo influence". With the coming of British colonial masters and missionaries, English Language has spread to every nook and cranny of the land, even if it were at some level Pidgin English. The villages in the land are a conglomeration of houses whose first settlers founded as a result of good farmland, rich fishponds, and favorable hunting expeditions. In these villages, settlements are sometimes lineal. But in most cases people live according to clans thereby giving way to the circular style. In certain cases, land disputes, incessant illness, death of children war, epidemics, natural disasters, marriage, ostracization or banishment could occasion relocation. The buildings were traditionally mud walls with thatched roofs (unyi~egbe) but owing to developments, such locally constructed houses have given way to solid cement walls, rectangular in shape with corrugated roofing sheets to match.

The major commercial nerve centers in Igala land are Anyigba, Idah, Ankpa, Ejule, Ajaka and Afo-gamgam. Idah, Anyigba and Ankpa also form the nodal centers or focal points in the land. As it were, Idah remains till today the traditional seat of culture of the Igala people. Yet Anyigba is considered as a cultural meeting point owing to the centrality of its location.

The Igala Traditional Marriage

The marriage procedures commence after the agreement between the husband and wife to be. Then after, both families run a background check on the family of their in-law to be. This is done because they believe any trait found in his/her family will most likely be part of him/her.

And after a satisfied check, the family of the man selects some well-respected members of the family to go and ask for the lady's hand in marriage. The lady's family will be informed about their coming through their daughter. On the day of the marriage, the two families and their loved ones assemble to witness the matrimonial bonding. In accordance with the marriage rites, a mat is laid and a new wrapper spread on the mat. The bride will then come in the group of her friends. They will come dancing to the music been played and greet the families. They will go back and she would change cloth and repeat the same greeting and go back again. She would come back again but this time only with two of her best friends and stand on the mat.

The groom, on the other hand dresses in the same cloth that the bride is putting on, comes with two of his friends. They will at first refuse sitting waiting for the bride family to spray them with money but of course, that won't be happening; rather, it is his own families and friends that will do the spraying. They will sit down on their own mat with a wrapper also spread on it. Thereafter, the groom's family spokesperson will come with kola nut, bride price, and drinks and present them to the mediators of the bride family asking them to give them their daughter for their son. The bride family would now ask their daughter if they should accept it and she will affirm to it. They will now accept it telling their daughters they don't eat kola nut twice and counsels the groom's family that

the feeding, clothing, and health of their daughter will be their responsibility henceforth. They would also warn them not to turn their daughter into a punching bag. They would now formally give their daughter out for marriage.

Igala Occupation, Belief, Ruler ship, Religion and Festivals

Igala are predominantly fishermen and practice a number of different religions, including ATR, Christianity, and Islam. The Igala people are ruled by a figure called the "Attah". The word Attah means 'Father' and the full title of the ruler is 'Attah Igala', meaning, the Father of Igala (the Igala word for King is Onu). Although "Attah" means "father", female ruler ship is recognized and Igala has had female rulers in the past (Boston 1968). The "Attah" is the traditional paramount king of the Igala kingdom. "Attah", as the name implies is the father or custodian of the entire Igala people's culture. Tradition holds that "The Attah of Igala (the king) was a priest-king. He was in charge of the major Igala sacred objects, shrines and festivals. His provincial chiefs (Am 'Onu) were also in charge of the various shrines, sacred objects and festivals in their own areas of authority. The Attah and his chiefs (Am 'Onu) therefore, play very active roles in the traditional religion. Idah, the cultural centre or headquarter of the Kingdom is where the Attah resides. From there he cares for the entire kingdom. He also delegates certain powers to other chiefs, as it is also their responsibility in some cases to exercise power of adjudication in matters of dispute among their immediate subjects. Attahship is hereditary and it is ascended to by those who belong to the royal lineage. It is by a rotating system of succession in which three other lineages hold the royal office in turn before the cycle is complete and a son succeeds his father.

The Igala people believe in the supremacy of Ojo Ogbekwugbekwu (God Almighty). They also worship the deities of their ancestors with diligence. River gods and goddesses are celebrated among others during special festivals. In addition, the Igala people also believe in the existence of Ilel (this world) and Oj'ona (the afterworld). The Oj'ona is the world of the ancestors and it is also believed that the Oj'ona is a continuation of ilel. Some of the Igala festivals include: Itola festival, Egume Egbe festival, Ogani festival and others.

The Yoruba People of Nigeria and Their Cultural Characteristics

The Yoruba oral tradition includes praise poems, tongue twisters, hundreds of prose narratives and riddles, and thousands of proverbs.

Yoruba music includes songs of ridicule and praise, as well as lullabies, religious songs, war songs, and work songs. These usually follow a "call and response" pattern between a leader and chorus. Rhythm is provided by drums, iron gongs, cymbals, rattles, and hand clapping. Other instruments include long brass trumpets, ivory trumpets, whistles, stringed instruments, and metallophones. Perhaps the most interesting musical instrument is the "talking drum." The "talking drum" features an hourglass shape with laces that can be squeezed to tighten the goatskin head, altering the drum's pitch. There are three gods who are available to all to and the Yoruba people believe in the potency of these gods. Olorun (Sky God) is the high god, the Creator. One may call on him with prayers or by pouring water on kola nuts on the ground.

Eshu (also called Legba by some) is the divine messenger who delivers sacrifices to Olorun after they are placed at his shrine. Everyone prays frequently to this deity. Ifa is the God of Divination, who interprets the wishes of Olorun to mankind. Believers in the

Yoruba religion turn to Ifa in times of trouble. Another god, Ogun (god of war, the hunt, and metalworking), is considered one of the most important. In Yoruba courts, people who follow traditional beliefs swear to give truthful testimony by kissing a machete sacred to Ogun. Shango (also spelled Sango and Sagoe) is the deity that creates thunder. The Yoruba believe that when thunder and lightning strike, Shango has thrown a thunderstone to earth. After a thunderstorm, Yoruba religious leaders search the ground for the thunderstone, which is believed to have special powers. The stones are housed in shrines dedicated to Shango. Shango has four wives, each representing a river in Nigeria.

Yoruba Traditional Marriage

After the selection of mate, both of them will visit their parents' house for consent to continue the relationship and carry on with the marriage rites. The traditional marriage system is divided into two sections: Introduction and the Engagement Ceremony. This is the first marriage rite where the parents of the groom-to-be meet the parents of the bride-to-be. The meeting place is usually the in the partner house of the bride (bride's father's or kinsmen's house). Introduction is informal as the groom's family members come with bottles of wine, palm wine and few tubers of yam. On the other hand, the bride's family serves their guests with foods and drinks. After the parents' agreement, a date will be chosen for the engagement and the wedding ceremonies. In most cases, the date selection is done by the bride's family members but in some situations, the couple chooses the date convenient for them. Couples or parents do consult their oracle or religious leaders before they pick the D-day so as to know if the day is free from danger or safe. In the Yoruba culture, the date picked is always dedicated and consecrated so as to avert evil or the plans of the wicked ones. The prospective couples are advised to stay where they are and not to travel when the marriage ceremony is near. Friends and family members travel and go around in preparation of the ceremony instead of the couple.

The engagement ceremony is the most crucial and recognized part of the marriage rites. They call this "idana" where the bride's family gives out their daughter to the groom's family. Both families are also married to each other through the union of the children. This ceremony takes place at the bride's house. The bride's father or the oldest kinsmen (if the father is dead) have the sole responsibility of handling over the bride to the groom. There are always one or two women that coordinate the ceremony. They are known as the 'Alaga Ijoko' or "Olopa ijoko".

These women make sure all the engagement items are complete; they sanction anyone who violates rules (especially the groom). The groom enters the venue in company of his friends and prostrate many times depending on the instructions of the 'Alaga Ijoko'. There is also the presence of the "Alaga Iduro" or "Olopa Iduro", which is from the groom's side. She has the responsibilities of assisting the groom, his friends and family members beg the bride's family for their permission to give out their daughter. Both the Alagas are familiar with the tradition and they know what to do. A letter, which is written by the groom's family, is being read by a young lady from the groom's side asking for the bride's hand in marriage. The letter is being replied to through another letter written by the bride's family accepting the proposal. This letter is also read by a young girl from the bride's family. Bride price is been given in form of money in an envelope from the

elders to the brides' family members which is always returned indicating that they are not selling their daughter but giving her away.

The engagement items include tubers of yam, kolanuts, bitter cola, alligator pepper, bottles of honey, dry fish, suitcase that is filled with clothes, bag of salt, bag of rice, vegetable oil, bag or cartons of sugar, sugar cane, palm wine, plate of "aadun", pairs of shoes and bags, scarf, wine, juice, umbrella, Holy Book (Bible or Qu'ran). The quantity of these items varies according to clans and family in Yoruba land. The couple are being prayed for and joined by their parents and joined as husband and wife.

Yoruba Occupation, Belief, Ruler ship, Religion and Festivals

About 75 percent of the Yoruba men are farmers, producing food crops for their domestic needs. Farming is considered men's work. Clearing or hoeing fields is done only by men. Wives help their husbands plant yams and harvest corn, beans, and cotton. They also help at the market, selling farm produce. Some Yoruba have large cocoa farms worked by hired labor. The new educated generation is moving away from farming, and its members are looking for white-collar jobs. Generally, aside farming, Crafts is one of the occupations of the Yoruba people which include weaving, embroidering, pottery making, woodcarving, leather and bead working, and metalworking. Both men and women weave, using different types of looms. Cloth is woven from wild silk and from locally grown cotton. Men also do embroidery, particularly on men's gowns and caps, and work as tailors and dressmakers. Floor mats and mat storage bags are also made by men. Women are the potters. In addition to palm oil lamps, they make over twenty kinds of pots and dishes for cooking, eating, and carrying and storing liquids.

Woodcarvers, all of whom are men, carve masks and figurines as well as mortars, pestles, and bowls. Some Yoruba woodcarvers also work in bone, ivory, and stone. Blacksmiths work both in iron and brass to create both useful and decorative objects.

More than 20 percent of the Yoruba people still practice the traditional religions of their ancestors (ATR). The practice of traditional religion varies from community to community. For example, a deity (god) may be male in one village and female in another. Yoruba traditional religion holds that there is one Supreme Being and hundreds of orisha, or minor deities. The worshipers of a deity are referred to as his "children." The Yoruba who practice other religious are divided about evenly between Muslims (followers of Islam) and Christians. Nearly all Yoruba still observe annual festivals and other traditional religious practices. The Yoruba people practice a centralized system of government ruled by the 'Oba'. Some Yoruba festivals include: the Egungun festival, Eyo festival, Oshosi festival, Orunmila/Ifa festival, Obatala festival etc.

The Relevance of These Ethnic Nationalities to One Another

The relevance of these ethnic nationalities to one another cannot be over emphasized: they are similar in various areas religiously, socially and economically. The religious sameness and 'Africaness' in the three ethnic nationalities is crystal clear in their practices of African Traditional Religion (ATR). For this single reason, the cultural taboos are, to a very great extent the same. Some of these cultural taboos include: Adultery, Suicide, Same-sex marriage, Stealing, Rape, and insulting an elderly man or woman.

Igala and Yoruba have important historical and cultural relationships. The languages of the two ethnic groups bear such a close resemblance that researchers such as

Forde (1951) and Westermann D. and M.A Bryan (1952) regarded Igala as a dialect of Yoruba. In The same way, the Igala culture especially the language is very much related to the Igbo language and some cultural values. Example of this can be clearly seen in the tradition surrounding the concept of 'Ejima' (twins). Another relationship between these three ethnic nationalities studied in this work is the idea of running a background check on the future families of their children before finally accepting the marriage proposal.

Marriage is seen as an important culture amongst the Igala, Igbo and Yoruba people. A woman who is single at a marriageable age is seen as a crownless woman. Husbands are seen as crowns and a single lady is seen as incomplete without her crown. Another reason why marriage is seen as an essential practice is because Nigerians love and cherish children. Mothers are fond of pestering their children (bachelors and spinsters) to get married so that they can see their grand-children before going to their graves. For these reasons, truthfulness in this background check becomes very pertinent.

All these ethnic nationalities have their local sports as wrestling among villages to show strength and entertain community members. And they all have yam as their special major food (mostly pounded) for celebration and official meal for entertainment of visitors.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Nigeria is a multicultural nation and for this reason, cultures must interact and relate to each other for the purpose of national unity and peace. As people move from one geographical area to the other interaction must occur perhaps out of conflict or celebration of one thing or the other. This brings about cultural relationships, similarities and related though the interrelatedness does not mean sameness as they differ in mode of operation and from group to group but they are geared towards a particular objective (promoting indigenous cultural values) as insured in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Works Cited

- Abdulrazaq, O. Hamzat. *The Mystery of Igbo Origin*. Ph.D Project, 2013.
- Bascom, William. *The Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1984.
- Crossman, Ashley. "Studying the Relationship between Race, Ethnicity and Society" in Nicki L. Cole (ed), *The Society of Race and Ethnicity*. New York: AMSCO School Publications Inc. 2016.
- Dietrich Westerman and M.A. Bryan. "Languages of West Africa" in Joseph H. (reviewed) *Language*. Vol.30, No.2. 1952.
- Hetfield, Jamie. *The Yoruba of West Africa*. New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 1996.
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yoruba_people
- <http://naijasky.com/lokoja/786/history-igala-people>
- <http://postcolonial.org/index.php/pct/article>
- <http://www.westafricareview.com/vol2.2/2.war.htm>
- <https://www.thoughtco.com/ethnicity-definition>

Koslow, Philip. *Yorubaland: The Flowering of Genius Kingdoms of Africa*. New York: Chelsea House, 1996.

Ohanaeze Ndi Igbo. "On Biafra: Violation of the Human and Civil Rights of Ndi Igbo in the Federation of Nigeria". *West Africa Review*. 2nd May, 2001.

Ojukwu, Emeka O. *Because I Am Involved*. Ibadan: Spectrum Vol.2 No.2. Books, 1989.

Okoye, Chukwuma. "History and Nation Imagination: Igbo and the Videos of Nationalism." *Postcolonial Text*. Vol.3, No. 2, 2007.

www.jstor.org/igala/stable/410277

STRUCTURAL CONNECTEDNESS IN AND LITERARY ANALYSIS OF IJALA PERFORMANCE AMONG THE YORUBA



Babatunde Olanrewaju Adebua and Sunday Agboola Olatunji

Abstract

This paper examined the structural connectedness in, and literary analysis of, Ìjálá performance. An Ìjálá professional group, Laginju Communication Troupe performance was used for analysis. It was discovered that Ìjálá chant has basic structure and this is connected together by the use of song interludes, dramatic devices, and stylised dances as connectors. It was also discovered that the chanters use poetic devices in their performances to reinforce meanings, to lay emphasis on specific information and to entertain. Apart from entertainment, Ijala fosters good manners and political inclusiveness for the creation of a good society. The chanters could be invited to perform at different places like wedding ceremonies, political rallies and others. It is suggested that many of our unemployed youths could dabble into this area of entertainment to make a living.

Introduction

In spite of modern civilisation which emphasises reading and writing, oral tradition still remains an important aspect of Yoruba life. Oral literature, for instance, is utilised for entertainment, teaching and preservation of the people's mores and values. Oral literature takes various forms like stories, songs, proverbs, fables, recitations and many poetic forms. In most cases, the text of a particular oral literature could reveal the type of vocation a group engages in because the occupational environment of a group usually determines how oral literature is employed by the group. On this, Sonde informs that:

Farmers have their oral literature, based on the farming experiences they have had, hunters on their experiences and praise songs about various types of games they have come in contact within the process of their hunting exploits. Fishermen have their own oral production based on their experiences on the sea and various rivers and types of fishes. (145)

This is an indication that the occupation of a people, especially among the Yoruba dictates the way they appropriate oral literature. Such appropriation showcases skill acquisition techniques, various experiences garnered on the job, orientation and reorientation, achievements, failures and remediations, and the hazards that are associated with individual occupation. Apart from occupational related oral performances, oral literature could be performed during so many occasions for entertainment, learning, and to lay emphasis on value system of the community. It could be used for epic validation during socio-political occasions where the nation, ethnic group, local communities celebrates momentous events in their history. It could be performed during ritual occasions where rites, worship, magical acts take place like the annual celebration of Ogun, the god of iron, hunting and war among the Yoruba, or social occasions during

public ceremonies such as marriage, funeral and so on. For example, Ìjálá chants and performance are always used by hunters during the funeral ceremony of any of their group. This performance is always spectacular and interesting. The funeral ceremony of the hunters is called Ìpà.

The main focus of this paper is to consider the structural connectedness, if there is any, of Ìjálá performance, and also to do a literary analysis of a performance. Ìjálá is Yoruba hunters' poetic chant and performance. Babalola describes Ìjálá as "one of the Yoruba oral poetry, which is basically associated with hunters" (16); while Ajuwon describes it as "Yoruba oral folk-poetry that continues today to excite man's understanding of life". (196)

Ogun, the Patron God of Hunters and Ìjálá Artists

Ogun is the patron god of hunters and warrior. No Ìjálá performance takes place without paying respect to this god at the beginning of performance. He is considered, according to Yoruba pantheon, to be the first of the Òrìshà's (gods) to cross the gulf of transition between the spirit world and the earth. According to Original Products (2017),

Ògún is the God of iron, energy, creativity, war, hunting and invention. This fierce warrior is one of the oldest Òrìshàs and is pictured as a blacksmith as he's a powerful spirit of metal work. Ògún is said to be the first of the Òrìshà to descend to the realm of *Ilé Aiyé* (the earth) to find suitable habitation for future human life. One of his praise name is *Osin Imolè* meaning "first of the primordial Òrìshà(s) to come to Earth.

Thus all those that work with iron are "children" of Ògún. The Ìjálá artists, however, are mainly hunters or families of hunters. And contrary to the idea that Ìjálá is the prerogative of men, women too perform Ìjálá. Babalola opines that

Ìjálá artists... fall into two categories. The first consists of the Ológun beggars, mostly female, from certain specified descent groups who perform individually on any day designates by the Ifá oracle. In several towns of the Òyò Yorùbá there are families whose members believe that every day one of them who has been specifically named by the Ifá oracle must, for the sake of winning for the family favours of the god Ògún, pursue beggary as her occupation; she must carry about a toothless python (*ejò mónámóná*) as she goes from door to door, and must perform Ìjálá chants... The other Ìjálá artists are the trained bards (male) who after a period of training are asked to perform on various occasions of merrymaking... the Ìjálá-chanters are called Oníjálá. (3)

Thus, the Ìjálá artists recognise their patron god as Ògún, the god of iron, and the artists are both male and female. The Ològúns male and female are the descendants of a people from a legendary town called Mólámolà. According to Ajuwon, the Ològúns are from Mólámolà, "whose original inhabitants... were turned into snakes by Ògún after they had stolen his colourful robes. The carrying of snake, (by the Ològúns) is interpreted as an act of honour to their supposed progenitors while the performance, of Ìjálá chants is meant to appease Ògún". (3) And the other group is made up of professional hunters and those who receive training under Ìjálá masters. Babalola says "every Ìjálá artist begins chanting Ìjálá as a pupil under a master Ìjálá-chanter." (40)

The Description of the Ìjálá Text and Group used for this Study

The setting of the performance is an open space in Akesan, Oyo, Oyo State. It was a command performance of a professional Ìjálá group popularly known as Láginjù Communication Troupe. The leader of the group is Jare Adesiyen, a graduate of Yoruba language and literature from the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. According to him, he was born into a family of hunters and Ìjálá chanters and he has been performing Ìjálá since childhood. During the performance when he was paying respect to his late father, he chanted:

Akeeru a mo mo bi iya gbe o
A mo koko a mo mo bi amo gbepo
Baba mi Ayinla naa lo mo bi efon gbe je ajepa bi eegbin
Igba ti fi be laarin Oyo Oloode ni
Ode ti n peran ti n tun korin
Ninu alare ode lawon wa

Those who gather ashes know where concuction boils well
The porters are familiar with places where there is clay
My father, Ayinla knew where buffalo over eats like lice
When he was in Oyo, he was a chief hunter
The hunter that killed animals and still sang
He was among the master Ìjálá chanters.

This confirms his talk about his upbringing as a hunter and also gives credence to his professionalism as an Ìjálá chanter. The troupe has performed and it is still performing Ìjálá related programmes on several radio and television stations in Oyo State. Some of its programme that come up weekly include Ètò Láginjù on Star Times, Gbédègbéyò on Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State (BSCOS) and on NTA Ìkànni Oòduà.

Structural Connectedness in Ìjálá Performance

The training of Ìjálá-chanter ensures that nothing in the performance should be out of place. His training involves hard work and emphasis on good performance. This suggests that every move, word and chant must be connected. Babalola opines that,

a pupil Ìjálá-chanter necessarily does a great deal of strenuous home-work before he successfully produces, for inclusion in his repertoire at actual performances, original Ìjálá pieces of his own composition...Intuitively, the Ìjálá artists rejects one word or phrase and substituted another as he composes his new chant, the varied and often violent emotions which... inspire the chant, are subjected to discipline and made to conform to an ideal of shapeliness and harmony of words. (7)

These indicate that the training and the strenuous work at the point of composition are meant to ensure structural connectedness in a beautiful and interesting performance of Ìjálá. Usually an Ìjálá performance has a plot-like structure: the beginning, the middle and the end. The beginning is like an opening glee which involves heavy and melodious drumming and stylised hunter dance, with or without songs. This will take the performers to the performing area. The drumming and dancing continues until the lead chanter raises his voice to inform the drummers to stop or reduce the volume of the sound of the drumming:

O to, e wale
O to onibata a mi

A lu fi lomo lowo onibata a mi
Owo lo n fi n wi
Enu l'emi fi n wi temi.

Enough, come back home
It's enough my bata drummer
May your children inherit your dexterity
My bata drummer
You speak with your hands on drum
While I chant with my voice.

This may be followed by song interlude. The songs are very important. They may be introduced as corroboration of what is said in chants; to entertain; to change the focus of the chant or to introduce the next topic of the chant; or to request for the support of Ogun usually at the beginning of the performance. For instance, the first song raised by the lead chanter in this particular performance requests the support of Ogun to assist in the performance:

A le daa se o (2ce)
Baba ba wa se
A le daa se

We can't do it by ourselves (2ce)
Ogun assist us
We can't do it all by ourselves.

The singing is accompanied by drumming and dancing. It is the duty of the lead chanter to call to order the singing, drumming and dancing so as to continue with the chant. What usually follow is paying homage and respects to Oludumare, the Supreme God, the audience, Ogun, the great hunters and elders who started Ìjálá.

Iba Akoda, to da ti e sori ewe
Iba Aseda, to da ti e sori 'mo
Iba a gbefa gori aja da, to da ti e sori ofuru jagado
Iba mi dowo Oludumare
Oba lana
Oba loni
Oba ni woyi ola
Oba titi aye ainipekun

Respect to the First Cause who created His on a leaf
Respect to the Creator who created His on a palm frond
Respect to the legendary Ifa priest who was making divination on
the rafter
Who created his on an infinite space
My respect to Olodumare
The king who was yesterday
The king who is today
And the king who will be forever.

When the homage and respect paying comes to an end there is always an interlude of song(s), drumming and dancing. The song is usually used to buttress the focus of the chant or an introduction to the shift in focus. After this the lead chanter goes

into praise chant (oriki). The leader uses the opportunity to chant his personal praise poetry. In the case of the command performance under consideration, the leader recounted the greatness of his lineage, the great hunters in the family especially his father. Of his father he chanted:

Iba mi dowo baba mi, Akanbi omo a jaye oba jeje
Aremo Oguntola mo riba baba mi
Baba mi e e ba won regbe a fi ko ko won lo
A ko won lo mojourunla baba mi n be nile ibikan
Olorun yoo dele fara orun
Omo isu gbodogi ti n yo oloko lenu
Omo opo suuru ojo ti n han oloko eti odo leemo
Iba Ogunrinde ode abo bi erin
Baba mi Ayinla ko gba aawe
Beeni o ba won ka asamu
O si ri kinni gifa re fe 'mole

Homage to my father Akanbi who lived like a king
The first son of Oguntola, respect to my father
My father never went a hunting without leading many hunters
Leading them not to eat meatless soup; resting in the great
beyond
May he rest in perfect peace
He like a stubborn yam tuber, disturbing the farmer
Like unabating rain that disturbs the peace of the farmer whose
farm is by the riverside
Homage to Ogunrinde, who hunted women like one hunting
elephant
My father did not fast during Ramadan
Neither did he wake up during the early Morning Prayer
Yet he used his penis on a Muslim woman

To enhance structural connectedness in the performance there is usually the introduction of dramatic elements. This involves the dialogue-like chant between the lead chanter or performer and any of the supportive chanters he would want to take up the chant from where he has stopped. The supportive chanter would then take up the chant paying homage first to the lead chanter.

Lead Chanter: (to the supportive chanter)

Are oni se sise ni tabi a i se?
Niso ni bi to ba n re ka jo moo lo
Oni loni i je eni a be lowe

Supportive Chanter (in response)

Iba lemi o foni ju Alare ode
Mo riba, mo riba babaa mi
Iba lowo oko to dori kodo ti o somi
Iba lowo obo to dori kodo ti o seje
Alare ode mo riba Adesiyani elere Oke Akesan
Bi oluode ibo mii

Lead Chanter (to the supportive chanter):

Today's performance would it take place or not?

Lead the way and let us go together
Today is the appointed day.

Supportive Chanter (in response):

Today is for homage to my master
I pay homage to my Ìjálá father
Homage to the penis hanging downwards without dripping
water
Homage to the vagina hanging downwards without
dripping blood
Homage to my master Adesiyan the Ìjálá chanter from Oke
Akesan
Who could rival the chief hunter elsewhere.

The proper middle of the performance is occupied by jokes and comic relief (èfè), advice (imòràn), current affairs, warnings, incantations (ofò), wise sayings and towards the end, prayer (ìwúre). These are very important and each stage is connected to another with interlude of song, drumming and dancing. The prayer (ìwúre) would be followed by the closing glee. Here the lead chanter informs the audience of his decision to go home after a beautiful performance of Ìjálá. The farewell chant usually takes the form of the decision of the chanter to go home because his wife may be longing for him. This then dovetails to the farewell song accompanied by heavy drumming and dancing:

N o rele, aya mi o so
Ojowu ile, o mo se iraun repete
A ni ojojumo la i gbe kinni oun duro n le
Ojojumo la n gbe kinni oun rode
Layunkinyunkin omo Oyarokun yungbayungba
I will go home, if not my wife will be angry
The jealous woman at home will be complaining incessantly
That it is every day I don't use my penis at home
It is everyday I take it outside for use
Layunkinyunkin son of Oyarokun yungbayungba.

The farewell performance (song, drumming and dancing) marks the end of the performance:

Eyi naa too a o maalo (2ce)
A i ba onisu wa debi egun
Eyi naa too a o maa lo
This is enough we shall be going (2ce)
No one assists the farmer to uproot yam with its seedling
This is enough we shall be going

The above indicates that there is structural connectedness in Ìjálá performance. It is not just a haphazard presentation. The performance follows certain paradigm and norm. However, the performer is expected to express his creative abilities within this norm and this is where variations crop in. A performance should have a plot: beginning-middle-end. The beginning involves paying homage and respects to Olodumare, Ogun, the patron god, the elders, the audience so as to receive blessings for eventful and interesting performance. The middle is the main body of the performance. The performer, depending on his creative acumen and the occasion for a particular performance, can introduce many

beneficial and entertaining topics here. There could be chants on èfè (jokes and comic reliefs), ìmòràn (advice), ìkìlò (warnings), and àjosepò (cooperation) and so on. The section normally culminates in ìwúre (prayer). The end is the closing glee. The lead chanter informs the audience of his decision to go home after a beautiful performance. The performance usually appropriates dramatic elements like song interlude, comic relief and some stylised dancing steps as connecting elements.

Literary Analysis of Ìjálá Chant

Considering the harmonious rhythm of an Ìjálá chant, one discovers that it is more musical than ordinary speech and it is usually replete with imageries, figures of speech and poetic devices. In fact, the beauty of Ìjálá chant relies on its musicality and the appropriation of relevant poetic devices even though the chanter may not lay emphasis on end rhymes and the lines may not be of equal lengths. For example in these lines the chanter employs rhetorical question to lay emphasis and sustain the interest of his audience:

Igba ti a o lolodi ninu ile
Ki la o fi olodi loju ode se?

As we don't have enmity at home front
For what do we need an enemy outside?

The following chant is filled with repetition, simile, contrast and onomatopoeia:

Iba mi dowo Oludumare
Oba lana
Oba loni
Oba niwoyi ola
Oba titi aye ainipekun
Odundun oba a solu dero
Oba *pere* bi ewe bo
Oba *kisi* bi odi eyin boole

Homage to Olodumare
The king who was yesterday
The king who is today
The king who will be tomorrow
And the king who will be forever
King Odundun who makes life easy for all
The king who is almost soundless like the fall of a leaf
The king who makes heavy thud
Like the sudden thump of palm tree fruit bunch

Here the repetition of the word “Oba” is noticeable. Also the comparison of God to the quiet sound of a leaf that falls on ground and the heavy thud of a palm tree fruit bunch that falls are similes. The word “pere” and “kisi” are onomatopoeia.

Also, in the following lines, there is the use of metaphor.

Omo isu gbodogi ti n yo oloko lenu
Omo opo ojo suuru ti n han oloko eti odo leemo

He like a stubborn yam tuber disturbing the farmer
He like unabating rain that disturbs the peace of the farmer
whose farm is by the river side.

The father is compared directly to “*isu gbodogi*” (stubborn yam) and “*ojo suuru*” (unabating rain). This is metaphor. Also both “*isu*” (yam) and “*ojo*” (rain) have been given human attribute as they disturb the farmer. This is the use of personification. *Ìjálá* chant is also always full of the use of apostrophe. God, Ogun and other deities are always addressed as if they are present. This is common when the chanter engages in “*ijuba*” (homage paying) mainly at the beginning of the performance. This is an example:

Iba Adode
Iba Adode
Iba eyin agba sanko sanko
Ti e da ode sile ti o parun
Bonni ode won nile Awusa
Gbami ode Igbeti
Ilepata ode Igboho
Digboluwon ode Inisa
Olowo-Etiyeri ode Igbogila
Respect to Adode
Respect to Adode
Respect to you important elders
Who initiated hunting
Bonni the hunter in Hausa land
Gbami, the hunter at Igbeti
Ilepata the hunter at Igboho
Digboluwon, the hunter of Inisa
Olowo-Etiyeri, the hunter at Igbogila

The elders of the different towns addressed here are not present but the chanter addresses them as if they are present. This is apostrophic. The chanter also uses hyperbole in many parts of the performance. Example of this:

Jerekejereke eeyan to ba feran ireke
Bi o ba ri ireke mo to ba ri eesun yi o je
Eeyan to ba jori aaya eleyiun ni o le e jori omotuntun
Eeyan to ba feran gbegiri la je e siwo ko na suuru si
Ti o fi je igbe omo tuntun ko ni i mo.
He who loves eating sugarcane too much
If sugarcane becomes scarce he would eat elephant grass
He who could eat the head of a monkey could eat a baby's head
He who loves bean soup too much let him be careful
If not he may eat the stool of a newborn baby.

This is an advice against extremity in any action. However the use of hyperbole and contrasts is noticeable. The use of juxtaposition is also noticed. Juxtaposition of opposites is used here to clarify purpose and meaning. The examples here indicate that *Ìjálá* chanters appropriate poetic devices and figures of speech in their performances.

Conclusion

Ìjálá, the Yoruba hunters' chant is still popular. It involves training and performance. The pupil *Ìjálá* chanter usually goes through rigorous training to develop his creativity and to understand the structure. There is structural connectedness in the performance and this is assisted by song interlude, and introduction of dramatic elements.

This paper has explored the structural connectedness in Ìjálá performance using the Ìjálá performance among the Oyo-Yoruba. The various structural connectors have been considered to be very creative and effective to the extent that no part of a performance is out of place. The chanters also use literary and poetic devices which contribute to the musicality of the chant and assist in emphasising and clarifying meaning, and the entertaining nature of Ìjálá chant.

References

- Adebua, B. O. A Literary Analysis of the Performance and Song Texts of the Magbo Song and Dance Ensemble of Epe in Lagos State. Sotunsa, M. and Akinloye, O. (eds.) *Fieldwork in Nigeria oral literature*. Ilsham Remo. Write Right Academic Publishing for Babcock University Gender and African Studies Group (BUGAS), 2014, pp. 51 – 56.
- Adetayo, A. I Am the Hunter Who Kills Elephants and Baboon: The Autobiographical Components of the Hunters' Chant. *Research in African Literatures*, 2007, vol. 38, no. 3.
- Ajuwon, B. The Ìjálá (Yoruba) Poet. In Uchegbulam, N. A., Garba Ashiwaju and Amadi-Tshiwale, R. (eds.) *Oral Poetry in Nigeria*. Lagos: Nigeria Magazine, 1981.
- Assaad, M. The Yoruba's Ìjálá. *Culture Starved*, 2013.
- Babalola, A. Ìjálá poetry among the Oyo-Yoruba communities. In Uchegbulam, N. A., Garba Ashiwaju and Amadi-Tshiwale, R. (eds.) *Oral Poetry in Nigeria*. Lagos: Nigeria Magazine, 1981, pp. 2 – 8.
- Babalola, S. A. *Content and Form of Yoruba Ìjálá*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966
- Original Products. info@originalbotanica.com, 2017. Accessed 12 Jan. 2020.
- Sonde, S. O. Artistic significance of Yoruba orature. A study of "Ege", an oral poetry of Egba people. *Journal of the Nigeria English Studies Association (JNESA)*, 2011, vol. 14, no. 2.

ZIMBABWE'S ELECTIONS: A LEGITIMATION RITUAL OF ZANU PF



Alexander M Rusero and Lucid Chirozva

Introduction

Elections are often thought of as the heart of the political process, (Heywood, 2007: 247). In essence, elections are mostly viewed as democracy in practice – a means through which the people can control their government and keep it in check. In return elected leaders will always be conscious of the fact that their stay in power is largely premised upon their ultimate satisfaction of the electorate who in essence wield the power. In democratic political systems, elections are an important feature of public participation in choosing the individuals and groups that will rule them, (Makumbe, 2006: 1). However majority of African countries' ruling parties especially hailing from governments led by former liberation movements have mastered and perfected the art of manipulating electoral systems with the primary objective of deceiving the people into believing that they govern themselves. As such, whereas there is absolute defiance of the proper conduct of a free and fair election, authoritarian governments still regard the legitimate stay on power as critical especially power retention attained through an election, regardless of how sham its conduct could be. Such has been the case in Zimbabwe – a state whose electoral history has been marred with violence, electoral fraud and prolonged stay on power by the ruling party. Under the given circumstances it is very difficult to judge as inaccurate assertions that in Zimbabwe just like many African states, elections are still only viewed as a viable means to retain legitimacy of illegitimate authoritarian regimes. This paper is largely reflective in its approach, although reference is made to various reports of surveys conducted in Zimbabwe by a variety of institutions. As such, the methodology that formed the basis of this paper was largely qualitative. Documentary review of books, journal articles, press statements, media publications and research reports seek to provide the background and statistical data for analysis and synthesis. The paper is thus a broad brush, based on a critical filed opinion survey, which builds on the existing literature and adopts a multidisciplinary approach.

Tracing the Legacy of Electoral Violence and Fraud in Zimbabwe

The underlying cause of Zimbabwe's political culture of electoral violence and electoral fraud lies in the means at which Zimbabwe attained its statehood. Following a deadlocked struggle between Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) government on one side and liberation movements of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) as well as the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) on the other side, the erstwhile colonial master – the British Government brokered interparty independence talks which culminated into the Lancaster House Conference between September to December 1979. Although ZANU swept majority of seats by garnering 57 seats in Parliament, the machinations indulged by the party to marshal electoral support

has often been ignored right from the start. Firstly the party dispatched its political commissars in rural areas who became critical agents of campaigning. As other observers like Flower (1987) note, ZANU cultivated an effective threat that the war could continue if those waging it were not voted into power. These intimidation tactics by ZANU often culminated into killings, rape, robbery and stock-theft which obviously left the villagers shell shocked and traumatised for the umpteenth time.

Secondly, Flower (1987: 255) confessed that Rex Nhongo, the Commander of ZANU's military wing – the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), had instructed 7000 or more guerrillas to ignore the Lancaster House cease-fire agreement of 1979 and hide their weapons throughout the central and eastern electioneering areas, to be used to 'persuade' the people to vote for ZANU (PF). Thus the 1980 general elections were flawed by irregularities, violence, and intimidation patterns that have persisted through-out the post-independence era. Though the ruling party structures have allowed for a degree of participation, that participation has been rigidly circumscribed (United States Institute of Peace, 2003: 1). Such circumstances certainly did not sow good seeds of a desirable democratic culture of creating an enabling environment for the conduct of free and fair elections which could effectively be used to gauge legitimacy and popularity of the ruling ZANU PF.

In addition to the above, the perpetual continuation of the binary characterisation of citizens in the post independent Zimbabwean state has not been helpful. In ZANU PF's understanding citizens are enemies or comrades, patriots or sell-outs. Likewise those people, provinces and regions where the party draws support are progressive revolutionaries, comrades and patriotic citizens whereas those opposed to it are visionless enemies and dangerous sell-outs that are bent to reverse gains of the liberation struggle. Such post-colonial framing has contributed much to the continued division and strife of Zimbabweans in the post colonial trajectory and its devastating effects were the clear manifestation of the *Gukurahundi* which took place between 1982-1987, where citizens amounting to 20 000 people were brutally murdered at the hands of a specialised North-Korean trained unit of the Fifth Brigade, (CCPJ: 1997). The ZANU PF- led government claimed the Fifth Brigade was aimed at dealing with dissidents deployed by Apartheid South Africa to destabilise a newly elected black majority government in Zimbabwe.

Although chief among the motives of waging the protracted liberation struggle was the clamour for the "one man one vote", it would appear that the post colonial state of Zimbabwe learnt nothing and forgot nothing from the predecessor colonial state. In Rhodesia there was absolutely no universal suffrage given that voting was only a preserve of the minority white settlers. The colonial state was characterised by the absence of black participation in governance processes. The electoral process did not involve the black majority. Similarly in the post colonial state, almost four decades after attaining independence, many voters are still marginalised and disenfranchised. As Mamdani (1990:47) argues, "...the colonial state was simply „inherited “ at independence [and] that the independent state was a simple continuation of its predecessor". However the paper still asserts that elections critically matter in Zimbabwe just like any given society primarily because their central functions include: recruiting politicians, making governments, providing representation, influencing policy, educating voters, building legitimacy and strengthening elites, (Heywood, 2007: 255-266).

The first decade of Independence and the failed attempt of one-partyism

Observers of the Zimbabwe political scene are likely to assume that Zimbabwe was, until the 1990s, a one-party state chiefly because for the better part of the first decade of independence the ZANU (PF) political leadership was openly advocating for a Socialist one-party state. According to Sithole and Makumbe (1997: 122) Zimbabwe was indeed a de facto one-party state. Even though Zimbabwe has never foreclosed multi-party electoral opportunities, the power structure had limited such opportunities by maintaining and perpetuating a one-party psychology for the first eleven years of independence (Sithole and Makumbe, 1997: 122). In essence ZANU PF functioning as a hegemonic party attempted to blur lines between party and state and to limit political activism outside the party. Since the independence elections of 1980 and particularly during the first decade, the ZANU (PF) party held electoral hegemony. In addition, ZANU (PF)'s complicated history as a splinter liberation movement from ZAPU sowed seeds of its unapologetic skepticism to opponents whom they have never perceived as rivals but real enemies.

As such, even Mugabe's attempt to forge unity with ZAPU and its leader Joshua Nkomo through morphing a government of national unity in 1980 after incorporation of ZAPU cadres as cabinet ministers was very short-lived. With ZAPU outside government following the dismissal of Nkomo and his colleagues on the accusation of a coup plot, ZANU (PF)'s uneasiness was very evident through panic and unleashing a militia to crush dissent and dissident activities in the Midlands and Matabeleland, the very strongholds of ZAPU's support base. The dissident activities in Matabeleland and parts of Midlands were viewed by ZANU (PF) as a challenge to and a test of the party's will and capacity to rule, (Sithole and Makumbe, 1997: 122). This challenge reinforced the need for elite cohesion up to the merger of these two leading nationalist parties in 1987, following the signing of the Unity Accord that 'enjoined' ZANU (PF) AND PF-ZAPU giving birth to a 'unified' ZANU PF. During the same year, Zimbabwe amended its constitution and introduced an executive presidency that would be elected directly by the people every six years starting from 1990, (Sithole and Makumbe, 1997: 131). Prior to that, Zimbabwe had a titular president who was elected by an electoral college comprising the Senate (scrapped in 1987 but later re-introduced in 2005 for political expediency) and Parliament. The office of the prime minister which previously had executive powers was abolished. This was another effort to morph the idea of one-party state into reality. However, in 1990 one of the founding members of Zanu PF and its outspoken secretary general, Edgar Tekere heavily resisted the party's proposals of a One-Party State and after being expelled from the party went on to form the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) that contested Zanu PF in the 1990 general elections. ZUM gained its strength from the disclosure of widespread corruption scandals, the deteriorating economy and increasing unemployment, which mobilised against Zanu PF, the very people President Mugabe had proclaimed as favoured by the government, particularly students and trade unions in the urban areas, (Cowen and Laasko, 2002).

Thus, the 1990 elections, with ZUM fielding up candidates throughout the country, provided people with an opportunity to vote against the ruling party and its plans to establish a One Party State, (Cowen and Laasko, 2002). ZUM's attempts to hold public rallies were almost always systematically rejected. Although the lifespan of ZUM was

short-lived, it laid the foundation of challenging Zanu PF's monotheistic hegemony, (Cowen and Laasko 2002). It also marked the death of the feasibility and prospects of a one party state.

The Second Decade of Independence – ZANU PF's Electoral Honeymoon

Following the abolishment of the office of the prime minister and the introduction of executive presidency, Zimbabwe's first presidential elections were held in 1990. There were two candidates in this election, ZANU PF's Robert Mugabe and ZUM's Edgar Tekere. As in the 1990 parliamentary elections held simultaneously with the presidential election, ZANU PF and Mugabe won a crushing victory with Mugabe winning 83% of the valid votes compared to Tekere's 17% (Moyo, 1992: 166). This heralded an era of little and ineffective opposition to Mugabe's rule. With Zimbabwe under ZANU PF appearing to be stable and politically calm, it won many international friends and support. Chimani (2003: 179 -195) states that Harare became Southern Africa's diplomatic hub and a key player in the Front Line States' fight against apartheid and colonialism. This foreign policy stance resulted in Zimbabwe's military intervention in Mozambique and Angola which were threatened by civil wars. Zimbabwe became actively involved in the promotion of self-determination by putting regional arrangements such as SADC and the OAU into global spotlight (Nyakudya, 2013: 83-84). Klotz (1993: 265) states that Mugabe's condemnation of racism in South Africa and Namibia shaped Zimbabwe's foreign policy on non-racialism. According to Alao (2012: 116) Zimbabwe extended a sanctuary to black movements such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

As such, the evolution and subsequent formulation of Zimbabwe's foreign policy after independence premised on the legacy of the liberation struggle which Mugabe managed to deeply entrench Pan-Africanist sentiments resonated well within a region influenced by anti-imperialist and anti-colonial ideology of governments led by former liberation movements (Phimister and Raftopolous, 2004: 385). In the region, six former liberation movements are in power that is Zimbabwe's ZANU PF, South Africa's African National Congress (ANC), Mozambique's Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), Angola's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) as well as Namibia's South West People's Organisation (SWAPO) and Tanzania's Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). Mugabe has largely capitalised on such regional historical dynamics to drum up support against his adversaries. In the 1996 presidential elections, there were over a dozen political parties on the Zimbabwean political landscape but most of them boycotted the elections which they claimed were being held on an uneven playing field, (Sithole and Makumbe, 1997: 131). With the increased voter fatigue evidenced by a decline in voter turnout, it became clear that ZANU PF would at least enjoy political and electoral hegemony for the better part of the second decade after independence, but with the shifting dynamics of the economic landscape, following the adoption of the Bretton Woods institutions' Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) as well as the unbudgeted payouts of \$Z50 000 gratuities to each war veteran as a compensation prize of participating in the liberation struggle, early signs of a waning ZANU PF support base could easily be detected.

In addition Mugabe's unilateral decision to intervene in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) on the side of the beleaguered Laurent Kabila in 1998 accelerated the

pace at which the economy was receding down the precipice. These blundered decisions of sacrificing a stable economy on the altar of political expediency by ZANU PF became the prologue of the party's rejection by the entire masses and dwindling legitimacy outlook it had on the international community scale.

The New Millennium and the Incipient Decline of ZANU PF's Electoral Hegemony

Government's increased intolerance and defiance of citizens' demands for a better standard of living, employment creation and abandonment of the costly DRC War did not augur well with the trade unions, precisely the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), the students under the banner of Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU), farmers under the banner of Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) as well as some sections of the business community and the middle class mostly comprising of teachers, nurses and lecturers. These groups cascaded into a formidable alliance that was critical of government's policies. This subsequently gave birth to the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and Morgan Tsvangirai, former ZCTU secretary general became the president of the new political party, deputised by Gibson Sibanda who was ZCTU's president during Tsvangirai's tenure as secretary general. Other leaders of the MDC were drawn from the civil society and the students' organisation of ZINASU.

The opposition MDC was officially launched on September 12 1999 at Rufaro Stadium in Harare, the very same place Zimbabwe celebrated its independence from Britain on April 18 1980. It became evident that the newly formed MDC which had an enthusiastic appeal to the urban and town dwellers around the country would pose as the greatest political threat ZANU PF had ever faced in the post colony. In 2000 the MDC came out with full political force, winning 57 of the 120 contested seats of Parliament in the June 2000 parliamentary elections. This was a symbolic victory given that the party was only nine months old. Prior to this political development, in February of the same year, majority of Zimbabweans led by the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), a crusade alliance of the MDC had rejected the Zanu PF proposed draft constitution to replace the Lancaster House Constitution. This was perceived as a litmus test to Zanu PF legitimacy and the popular No Vote triumph was regarded a victory for the MDC.

Zanu PF responded emotionally to MDC's victory, labelling them agents of the West up for an illegal regime change project, with the MDC's president himself labelled a puppet of Britain. The party then embarked on a land reform programme that was dubbed the "fast track" land reform, perceived as another war, coded the *Third Chimurenga*. The execution of the land reform was spearheaded by the war veterans - former soldiers of the 1970s liberation struggle. As such it turned out to be an ugly platform of human rights abuse that was condemned by the international community. Other elections came in 2002 and 2005, but the level playing field was uneven. The March 2002 presidential elections were conducted in an environment of strong polarisation, political violence and an election administration with severe shortcomings. Zanu PF was declared the winner of the elections amid wide-spread local and international observer claims that the election was "unfree and unfair" (United States Institute of Peace, 2003: 1). The MDC mounted a court challenge to the result and international actors imposed "smart sanctions" against the ZANU PF regime. Tsvangirai, the leader of the opposition MDC, and two other leaders were charged with treason for allegedly plotting to

assassinate President Mugabe. After a June-2 stayaway called by MDC, Tsvangirai was arrested and detained under a second treason charge, this time for “seeking to violently overthrow a democratically elected president.” Attempts made by regional players such as Nigeria and South Africa to broker talks between ZANU PF and MDC were often ignored by Mugabe on the basis that he could not talk to people (MDC) who did not consider himself a legitimate president. The stance Mugabe took is an indicator of how legitimacy by any cost matter to the survival of the ZANU PF polity.

The security sector consisting of the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) the Army, the Air Force, the Police and the Prisons had on several counts maintained that it would never cast its allegiance and or obedience to any one whose motives exhibit ‘a threat to Zimbabwe’s national values’. A couple of weeks before the conduct of the 2002 presidential elections, the then Commander of the Defence Forces Vitalis Zvinvashe made headlines when he held a press conference of which he proclaimed that the security forces would not support or salute anyone with a different agenda that threatened the very existence of Zimbabwe’s sovereignty, the country and its people.

We wish to make it very clear to all Zimbabwean citizens that the security organisations will only stand in support of those political leaders who will pursue Zimbabwean values, traditions and beliefs for which thousands of lives were lost in the pursuit of Zimbabwe’s hard-won independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national interests. To this end, let it be known that the highest office in the land is a straight jacket whose occupant is expected to observe the objectives of the liberation struggle. We will therefore not accept, let alone support or salute, anyone with a different agenda that threatens the very existence of our sovereignty (Zvinvashe, 2002).

The statement was perceived as a direct aim at Tsvangirai who did not participate in Zimbabwe’s liberation struggle. To Zvinvashe, elections not won by Mugabe were not acceptable as he was the only one with the legitimate support of the security sector. The run-up to the election was marred by a pattern of intimidation and violence. Even though incidents were reported from both sides, the evidence showed clearly that in the vast majority of cases the ruling ZANU PF party was to blame. Numerous reports of harassment and assault of opposition officials, members and supporters and their homes have been documented by observers. Opposition offices were also attacked in several places. At a state funeral, Mugabe openly attacked the MDC, accusing the party of terrorism, comparing himself to Hitler, and warning that “those who play with fire will not just be burned but will be consumed by that fire.”

It is the above kind of thinking which meant that ZANU PF was still not prepared for any form of rivalry and thus viewed an election as mere formality. To ZANU PF as reflected by its leader’s utterances, opposing ZANU PF was likened to playing with fire and had consequences. Venturing into opposition politics would thus be done by citizens at their own detrimental peril. The election administrators, both the bodies administering the elections and those supervising them, formed part of the executive structure, lacking convincing independence and integrity. The contesting parties’ only involvement was through their polling and election agents. Polling agents for the opposition were in a number of instances harassed or intimidated by supporters of the ruling party or the police and oftenly absented themselves during actual voting days fearing for their lives.

With laws typical of the erstwhile colonial regime in place, the electoral climate of 2002 was far from favourable and permissible to yield any proximity to the conduct of a credible free and fair elections. The government enacted laws that sought to legitimise and legalise its behaviour towards opponents. The notorious Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the retrogressive Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) both passed in early 2002 placed restrictions upon citizens' basic rights and became unpopular but effective instruments to close any space for the opposition to manoeuvre. POSA substantially constrained the free exercise of rights to assembly, speech, and association, whilst public meetings had to be authorised by the Police, whilst debating on political issues was strictly prohibited (United States Institute of Peace, 2003: 4). AIPPA whilst disguised as an empowering instrument to grant information presented numerous obstacles to press freedom and was used severely to curtail access to, and presentation of information in Zimbabwe (United States Institute of Peace, 2003: 5)

In 2008 harmonised elections were held and the presidential race had three contesters who were Robert Mugabe of Zanu PF, Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC as well as Simba Makoni who stood as an independent candidate following his defection from Zanu PF. The elections were inconclusive because in the first round President Mugabe was defeated by Tsvangirai but he did not garner enough votes amounting to 51 percent as stipulated by the Constitution so as to form a government. This paved way for a run-off slated for June 27, 2008, but citing persecution of his supporters, Tsvangirai pulled out of the race. The Africa Union (AU) and Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) intervened and recommended the formation of a coalition government. The inter party talks were mediated by SADC-appointed former South African president Thabo Mbeki. The talks were concluded on September 15 2008 following the investiture of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) signed by President Mugabe and the two MDC formations which since 2005 had splintered into two groups following a dispute to contest the 2005 senatorial elections. The Government of National Unity commenced on February 9 2009, after Tsvangirai's swearing in as Prime Minister together with Arthur Mutambara and Thokozani Khupe as Deputy Prime Ministers. Governmental ministries were shared under agreed proportions stipulated in the GPA.

The SADC Region's Electoral Framework

It is a paradox that SADC consists by many standards critical instruments for the conduct of credible free and fair elections for its member states. However, this has not been the case given that majority of member states in SADC are reluctant to submit themselves to the full SADC principles and guidelines on the conduct of free and fair elections. On its part, SADC simply lacks the coercive enforcement mechanisms to ensure its members comply with the regional bloc's dictates on elections. This is mainly because of the member states' unwritten but mostly observed principle of respecting the principle of "benefit of the incumbency" where SADC approach with kid gloves issues to do with electoral irregularities of a sister member state. Another widely claimed aspect is that of 'brotherhood and solidarity' within the regional bloc who always prefer to pursue politics of solidarity camouflaged by discourses of anti-imperialism and liberation struggle solidarity. This discourse has had an appeal in SADC, given that some influential member states, notably South Africa, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe still have governments led by former liberation movements.

Mugabe has largely capitalised on this to drum up regional support even at the height of the decline of his domestic and international support. A review of SADC's principles and guidelines on the conduct of credible free and fair elections indicate that with proper enforcement mechanisms, elections could become a critical democratic conduit of installing legitimate governments in the region in general and Zimbabwe in particular.

The constitutions of all SADC member states enshrine the principles of equal opportunities and full participation of the citizens in the political process. The development of the principles governing democratic elections aims at enhancing the transparency and credibility of elections and democratic governance as well as ensuring the acceptance of election results by all contesting parties. The regional bloc obligates Member States to adhere to the following principles in the conduct of democratic elections: full participation of the citizens in the political process; freedom of association; political tolerance; regular intervals for elections as provided for by the respective National Constitutions; equal opportunity for all political parties to access the state media; equal opportunity to exercise the right to vote and be voted for; independence of the Judiciary and impartiality of the electoral institutions; and voter education; acceptance and respect of the election results by political parties proclaimed to have been free and fair by the competent National Electoral Authorities in accordance with the law of the land; challenge of the election results as provided for in the law of the land (SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections, 2004).

In addition member states also have their responsibilities which they are obligated to honour by SADC, among them being to take necessary measures to ensure the scrupulous implementation of the above principles, in accordance with the constitutional processes of the country; establish where none exist, appropriate institutions where issues such as codes of conduct, citizenship, residency, age requirements for eligible voters and compilation of voters' registers, would be addressed; establish impartial, all-inclusive, competent and accountable national electoral bodies staffed by qualified personnel, as well as competent legal entities including effective constitutional courts to arbitrate in the event of disputes arising from the conduct of elections; safeguard the human and civil liberties of all citizens including the freedom of movement, assembly, association, expression, and campaigning as well as access to the media on the part of all stakeholders, during electoral processes; take all necessary measures and precautions to prevent the perpetration of fraud, rigging or any other illegal practices throughout the whole electoral process, in order to maintain peace and security; ensure the availability of adequate logistics and resources for carrying out democratic elections to mention a few (SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections, 2004). The above instruments, brilliant as they appear have especially failed to be applicable in Zimbabwe, primarily because of President Mugabe's doctrine of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Serve for Botswana and South Africa; other fellow member states have remained silent on Zimbabwe's violation of the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections. This is understandable, given that majority of regional states share similar authoritarian tendencies with Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe's Electoral Infrastructure

Section 238 of Zimbabwe's New Constitution provides the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) consisting of a chairperson appointed by the President after

consultation with the Judicial Service Commission and the Committee on Standing Rules and Orders; and eight other members appointed by the President from a list of not fewer than twelve nominees submitted by the Committee on Standing Rules and Orders.

The functions of ZEC as provided by the Constitution are to prepare for, conduct and supervise – elections to the office of President and to Parliament, elections to provincial and metropolitan councils and the governing bodies of local authorities, elections of members of National Council of Chiefs, referendums; supervise elections of the President of the Senate and the Speaker; register voters; compile voters' rolls and registers; ensure the proper custody and maintenance of voters' rolls and registers; delimit constituencies, wards and other electoral boundaries; design, print and distribute ballot papers, approve the form of and procure ballot boxes, and establish and operate polling centres; conduct and supervise voter education; accredit observers of elections and referendums; give instructions to persons in the employment of the State or of a local authority for the purpose of ensuring the efficient, free, fair, proper and transparent conduct of any election or referendum; and to receive and consider complaints from the public and to take such action in regard to the complaints as it considers appropriate. In all these undertakings the Constitution insists that ZEC should ensure that the conduct of elections and referendums are conducted efficiently, freely, fairly, transparently and in accordance with the law.

In addition to the establishment of ZEC as well as its functions, Section 155 of the New Constitution establishes Zimbabwe's Electoral Systems stipulating that the elections which must be held regularly, and referendums, to which the Constitution applies must be peaceful, free and fair; conducted by secret ballot; based on universal adult suffrage and equality of votes; and free from violence and other electoral malpractices. Section 155(2) of the Constitution obligates the State to take all appropriate measures, including legislative measures, to ensure that all eligible citizens are registered as voters as well as creating that opportunity for every citizen to cast a vote as well as facilitating voting by persons with disabilities or special needs. The State is also mandated to ensure that all political parties and candidates contesting an election or participating in a referendum have reasonable access to all material and information necessary for them to participate effectively; and provide all political parties and candidates contesting an election or participating in a referendum with fair and equal access to electronic and print media, both public and private; and ensure timely resolution of electoral disputes. Whereas the above constitutional submissions are from a legal perspective sound and meaningful, the Zimbabwean experience has since reminded the world that having a brilliant constitution is one thing whilst adhering to it is another. Indeed Zimbabwe's crisis from 1980 has never been that of a constitution but constitutionalism – that is the commitment and spirit to adhere to the dictates of a constitution. Record shows that ZANU PF has a tendency of activating its electoral apparatus in full swing during elections. The apparatus comprises the CIO, the Army, the Police as well as the media. Whereas public media is funded publicly by the tax payers' money, access to this platform which mostly has a wider coverage has remained a preserve only of ZANU PF. Equal opportunities in elections entails that all contestants have equitable and adequate access to the mass media and other forms of mass communication (Makumbe, 2006: 49).

However this has not been the case in Zimbabwe, coverage of the opposition on national radio and television stations is mostly done in the context aimed at giving the ruling ZANU PF leverage as well as exposing the opposition as stooges of Western Imperialism. Moreover the state controlled media has largely remained an extension of the ruling party's information and publicity department with the incumbent Minister of Information having influential powers to appoint and disappoint editors. All this is done much to the violation of the constitution as well as regional, continental and international dictates that stipulate procedures of conducting free and fair democratic elections.

On 3 August 2013, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) declared Robert Gabriel Mugabe winner of the July 31st harmonised elections with his party Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front ZANU PF having swept a two thirds majority in parliament. Mugabe retained the throne he has held since 1980. This has paused critical questions on whether elections in Zimbabwe are a viable mechanism for the transfer of power, reflecting people's will or just a mere constitutional formality aimed at legitimacy accumulation by ZANU PF. With no impending opposition threat, factionalism in ZANU PF manifested whose endgame was the humiliating removal of Mugabe by the military and installation of his former deputy and trusted ally Emmerson Mnangagwa as President on 21 November 2017.

In May 2018, President Mnangagwa proclaimed July 30 as the date for harmonised elections to choose the President, National Assembly members and councillors. The proclamation was made through Statutory Instrument 83 of 2018 and was published in an Extraordinary Government Gazette. For the record, the electoral contest has several political parties and 23 presidential candidates, the first of a kind since 1980. However, two main contenders were Mnangagwa of the ruling ZANU PF and Nelson Chamisa who had taken over from Morgan Tsvangirai following the veteran opposition's death on February 14 2018. Chamisa was rallying behind MDC Alliance – a coalition of breakaway factions of the original MDC formed in 1999. Other notable candidates were Joice Mujuru, the former ousted Mugabe's deputy and vice president of Zimbabwe, Thokozani Khupe, one of Tsvangirai's deputies and Ambrose Mutinhiri former ZANU PF minister.

The period preceding the campaign period was relatively even and hailed as one of the most peaceful following decades of bitterly contested elections marred with state sponsored violence and intimidation. For the first time, the opposition was allowed to campaign freely without any hindrance even entering long perceived ZANU PF strong holds previously declared no go areas for the opposition. The polling day arrived and long ques and a remarkable voter turnout characterised the election. People anxiously waited for the electoral outcome. The wait finally came to an end in the early hours of 3 August when Justice Priscilla Chigumba the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission chairperson proclaimed Mnangagwa the winner of the presidential poll after begging 2 460 416 votes with a 50.8% of the vote beating Chamisa who got 2 147 436 votes. Prior to the final announcement of results, some protests had erupted in Harare's central business district. Supporters and people sympathetic to the MDC Alliance had started marching alleging vote rigging and electoral fraud. The demonstrations ended with property destruction, burning of cars and resulted in the death of six people following the deployment of the army. The police chief defended the deployment of the army saying

their contingent was limited given that majority of police officers were deployed all over the country during the voting period. Chamisa and the entire MDC Alliance rejected the result. On the 10th of August he filed the electoral challenge before the Constitutional Court setting aside Mnangagwa's inauguration which was slated for the 12th of August. After cross examining the defence team, the bench led by Chief Justice Luke Malaba upheld Mnangagwa's victory proclaimed by ZEC on the 3rd of August. In his final ruling, Malaba said the petition by MDC Alliance leader Nelson Chamisa was deficient of evidence to buttress his litany of poll rigging claims. This marked the end of the July 30 2018 harmonised poll at which Mnangagwa emerged the winner and eventually sworn in on the 19th of August.

Conclusion

Our conclusion is that the conduct of elections in Zimbabwe is far from mirroring the people's will exercised through plebiscite. Given the nature of intolerance of opposition political parties and their supporters by ZANU PF, the need for conducting general elections under the prevailing climate shall remain an exercise in futility and more of a ritual. To ZANU PF elections have become a viable mechanism to prove all and sundry that at least within the state the former liberation movement still commands overwhelming support and hence deserving legitimacy.

References

- Alao, A. (2012). *Mugabe and the Politics of Security in Zimbabwe*. Ontario: MQUP
- Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe. (1997). *Breaking the Silence Building True Peace, A report on the disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands 1980 to 1988*. Harare: The Legal Resource Foundation.
- Chimanikire, D. P., (2003). "Foreign and Security Policy: From Independence to the DRC". In, Darnolf, S., and Laasko, L. (Eds). *Twenty Years of Independence in Zimbabwe, From Liberation to Authoritarianism*. New: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No. 20
- Cowen, M & Laasko, L, (2002), *Multi-Party Elections in Africa*. Oxford, James Currey.
- Flower, K. (1987). *Serving Secretly – An Intelligence Chief on Record Rhodesia into Zimbabwe 1964 to 1981*. London: John Murray.
- Heywood, A. (2007). *Politics* (third edition). England: Palgrave McMillan.
- Klotz, A. (1993). 'Race and nationalism in Zimbabwe's foreign policy,' The Roundtable: *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*: Vol. 82, number 327. pp. 255-279.
- Makumbe, J. (2006). 'Electoral Politics in Zimbabwe: Authoritarianism Versus the People'. *African Development*. Vol. XXXI, No. 3. pp. 45 – 61.
- Mamdani, M. (1990). 'State and Civil Society in Contemporary Africa: Conceptualizing the Birth of State Nationalism and the Defeat of Popular Movements. Africa Development: CODESRIA, Dakar.
- Moyo, J.N. (1992). *Voting for Democracy: Electoral Politics in Zimbabwe*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

- Nyakudya, M. (2013). Sanctioning the Government of National Unity: a review of Zimbabwe's relations with the West in the framework of the GPA. In B Raftopolous (ed), *The Hard Road to Reform: The Politics of Zimbabwe's Global Political Agreement*. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Phimister, I., and Raftopolous, B. (2004). 'Mugabe, Mbeki and the politics of anti imperialist'. *Review of African Political Economy*. Vol. 3, No. 1(101), pp. 385.
- Sithole, Masipula and Makumbe, John (1997) 'Elections in Zimbabwe: The ZANU (PF) Hegemony and Its Incipient Decline, in *African Journal of Political Science*, 2 (1): 122-139.
- United States Institute of Peace, Special Report. Zimbabwe and the Prospects for Nonviolent Political Change. www.usip.org. [accessed. 1 February, 2017].

GENDER INEQUALITY AND DISCRIMINATION IN NIGERIA: THE EFFECTS OF CULTURE AND RELIGION



Ogochukwu Agatha Agbo

Introduction

Gender inequality exists all over the world, with different effects in different regions. These differences are primarily due to cultural legacies, historical development, and geographical location. The status of women in society is an outcome of the interpretation of religious texts and the cultural and institutions, set-up of religious communities. The thought of perceiving women as powerless, who need to protection of men is a myth created by the colonial masters, some of who had little or no idea of the traditional African society. According to Emeka Nwabueze:

The religion brought by the colonial masters also helped to entrench this idea of women occupying a secondary position in the mind of Africans. From the teaching of the Holy Writ, Africans learnt that man was the initial creation of God and that the woman came later. And she was created from the man's rib. A part from the theory of origin, some other passages in the Holy Writ teach that man is the master of woman. When the Moslem came to Africa, it also taught the supremacy of man over woman (144).

In both Christian and Moslem doctrines, it propound that a man must love his wife (as he loves his neighbor though), but the obvious truth remains that his wife must obey him. According to Nwabueze, "man is, therefore, portrayed as the greater authority, and the image created was that of a benevolent dictator (144). Gender equality and the emancipation of women are considered important factors for the economic, social, and democratic progress of the world's regions and the development of human society.

Gender Inequality and Discrimination

Gender is a primary marker of social and economic stratification and, as a result, of exclusion. Regardless of one's socio-economic class, there are systematic gender differences in material well-being although the degree of inequality varies across countries over time. According to Mabel Ekwierhoma:

Gender constructs vary from society to society and from culture to culture. In Nigeria, gender refers to a great deal, although there are different approaches to it. In some spheres, gender bias is negligible, while in others, gender discrimination is high. What is significant however, is the variations in the degree of gender bias or sensitivity that exist from culture to culture... Gender is therefore dynamic and not static, and it has culture as its cardinal point. (16).

In society, cultural practices have a lot to offer in gender terms. Gender and culture concerns can help in erecting solid social structures for now and in the future. To Ekwierhoma, "culture is an acquisition transferred from individual to individual and from generation to generation" (14). This is evident in festival activities, folklore, arts, traditions, customs, science and technology of a people. Nigeria, as a case study, is a

country of different cultures and traditions. The cultures sometimes counteract, interact and intersect, depending on what is at stake. Any concept of culture has to accept the differences among cultures as well as individuals for a balanced view of culture. Wole Soyinka posits that: “a concern with culture strengthens society” (21). The need for society to become a better place to exist and co-exist in, however, triggers the zeal to focus on the idea of culture and the way gender is signified within it.

The introduction of British rule and along with it, Christianity and western education led to the near total erosion of pre-existing gender balance and much of the powers women wielded. This occasioned the oppression of women. Rather than lifting the status of women, western education, neo-colonialism and patriarchal colonial laws, in the area of inheritance, domestication of women, polygamy, widowhood, etc. subjugated women and widened the gender chasm, carrying with them gendered implications. Ekwierhoma goes ahead to enunciate that:

These implications are real to Urhobo people, especially when traditional practices make them happen. For examples, men eat more fish and meat than women and children, women hardly benefit from compensation money paid by oil companies. Since most control of financial resources is patriarchal (20).

The wives Revolt and *All for Oil* by J. P. Clark explore this politics of exclusion entrenched in the community to displace women from the financial privileges accruing to the whole community. Urhobo women are therefore elbowed out of family prosperity. Nsukka women were hemline by factors like, lack of access to land, lack of control of their sexuality, genital mutilation, or female circumcision, rape, domestic violence, child marriage male-child preference, are negative signs of gender issues which indigenous men and women can do away with.

Effect of Culture and Religion

It is clear that gender roles are primarily constructed through religion, culture, lifestyle and upbringing. The status of women within Nigerian is of serious concern to so many in Nigeria and beyond. C. Aitchison posits that “all world religions today maintain male social dominance within a social structure”. (10) On the other hand, women are more inclined to participate in religious life. The role of God, or a creator of a religion, is always taken by a male and the woman is primarily valued as a mother, especially as a mother to a son. Her place is in the household, less so that religious ceremonies or in public positions. The real status of women in religion is more complicated; nevertheless, religions in Nigeria have encouraged certain women who have risen to significant positions. The world religions all agreed on the respect for women and crucial role in family life, especially with emphasis on women as mothers and wives. They do not; however advocate emancipation in the sense of total equality with men. According to J. P. Holm:

The most severe restriction apply to women during their menstruation and pregnancy, when, for example, they cannot enter the temple or touch the Quran. Male and female roles are therefore much differentiated and also unbalanced in Nigerian religions. The influence of women on the formations of religious norms and traditions is small, even though in certain doctrines, it is clear that women who succeeded in having their normative views accepted, or, men who advocated equal integration of women into religious ceremonies (34).

It needs to be stated that there exists a certain discrepancy between normative conditionality, which refers to what the given religion proclaims (equality of men and women before God) and practical conditionality, which involves the role of women in the religious communities and states societies in terms of everyday life. The Nigerian societies have come of age where women are intellectually capable as men. J. Butler states that, “women had numerical parity with men in profession, where educational achievements are so important. In Nigeria today, professions like doctor, lawyers, accountants, teachers, research scientists and others about half are women”. (19)

Religion especially Christian religion discriminate against women as it relates to certain responsibility. Apostle Paul gave a clear instruction that women should be silent in the church. This statement makes women voiceless even when they have good contributions to make to human development. Clifford Sibani clearly states that:

The rationale for the decision of male church authorities later exclude women from leadership roles remains open to speculations. What is clear at this point is the effect of their choice – women in Nigeria are relegated to second – class citizenship with Christianity and African traditional religion and as well as Islamic religion, a status that persist in many religions (39).

The Catholic has stood firm in its opposition to the ordination of women to the priesthood, with the pope saying that the issue is not even open to debate among the faithful. P. Steinfels argues that, “the priest act in the name of Jesus and represent him physically, therefore they must be men” (34). He also pointed out that Jesus called twelve men to be his disciples, not twelve women. This inequality that has characterized most Christian denominations leads one to wonder how church leaders can reconcile this discrimination with their professed concern for social justice. From the Bible, these are some passages that promote gender inequality;

1 Timothy 2:11 – 12

“Women should learn in silence and all humility. I do not allow them to teach or have authority over men, they must keep quiet”.

1 Corinthians 11: 7 – 9

“For a man ought not to cover his head since he is the image and glory of God, but woman is the glory of man. For man was not made from woman but woman for man. Neither was man created for woman, but woman for man”.

1 Corinthians 14: 34 – 35

“The women should keep quiet in the meetings. They are not allowed to speak; they must not be in charge. If they want to find out about something, they should use out about something, they should ask their husbands at home. It is a disgraceful thing for a woman to speak in church”.

1 Peter 3:1

“In the same way you wives must submit to your husbands, so that if any of them do not believe God’s word, your conduct will win the over to believe”.

Socio-Cultural Effect on Women in Nigeria

In Opi, whenever a man has a case against his wife, the woman is always guilty because in Africa, “man cannot make mistake”. Fines imposed on women are usually cock and kola nuts which are used to appease the “man and the ancestors”. During the period the occasion is made, the man will not eat any food prepared by the women. Another serious cultural effect that shows subjugation of women is the male child

preference. Cases abound where mothers are neglected for thrown out of matrimonial home for failure to give birth to male children. Due to the preference for boys in most culture, a woman without a male child is almost regarded as childless. Only the male child is regarded as capable of perpetrating the lineage, while the female gets married into another family. Consequently, girls are treated as temporary members of their families, sometimes, denied equal access to education, feeding and inheritance. According to Ayodele Atsenuwa, “unfortunately, women are also treated as strangers in their husbands’ families because of the possibility of divorce. This is reflected in the traditional practice where daughters and natural members of a family have more rights than the wives”. (26)

Women are excluded from inheritance in most part of Nigeria. Women in most traditional Nigerian societies cannot inherit land from their fathers since they will marry outside the family. However in Igbo land, if a woman has no male child, she can only have access to her husband’s land or property while she is alive and still remains in the family. Her rights in her husband’s home depend on the number of male children she has. According to Clifford Odimegu and Christian Okemgbo, “in a polygamous setting, on the demise of the husband, his property is shared among the women with the children of each mother inheriting their mothers’ share, which is divided among the male children, the girl child is not reckoned with” (20). Cases abound in some societies in Nigeria such as the people of Abakaliki in Ebonyi State that have food taboos for female children. Odimegu and Okemgbo further argue that:

“Food scarified to the gods cannot be eaten by girls; they are not allowed to eat gizzard and the anus or head of a chicken. There is no nutritional reason for preventing girls and women from eating these proteinous foods; yet, they are discriminated against eating food of their choice” (17).

Women are also seen as flippant and unable to keep secrets, therefore cannot be masquerades in Nsukka. This is also obtainable in other societies that have masquerades. Cultural widowhood rights discriminate against women. In some cultures, widows are shaved and cannot bath until seven days after their husbands’ death. In some cases, water used to wash the husbands’ corpses has to be taken by the widows to prove their innocence. It is not applicable for widowers.

Other Areas of Discrimination against Women

Marriage

Women lack equal rights and responsibilities in marriage with men, irrespective of form of family or the religion, custom radiation or legal system under which it is established. This type of discrimination involves a lot of issues which include among others civil status, ability to enter into marriage of their choice, legal capacity to own and administer property, right to inherit, right to maintain or change nationality, and rights and responsibility in regards to their children. Women should be given the right to be free and have full consent to enter into marriage.

Education

Despite efforts made by the government to provide equal educational opportunities for all citizens; the level of women participation in education is still low.

Today, less than a third of girls in sub-sharia Africa are enrolled in secondary school. According to F.M. Salman:

Northern Nigeria accepted the introduction of western education on condition that it started with male children only. This decision was probably taken in the interest of the girls to protect them from the perceived negative influence of western education. However, this turned out to be a major factor in the disparity in the school environment of male and female pupils in Northern Nigeria". (154)

Education is a way in which people learn skills, gain employment, gain knowledge and understand about the world and themselves. This implies the process of equipping an individual irrespective of sex with a vital society key with which to open or lock many doors of life. Odimegu and Okemgbo argue that: "the educational level of parents and their local that is, urban or rural, affect the level of discrimination against girls. Educated urban parents are not as discriminatory as the illiterate rural dwellers". (21)

Political Rights

Women have the right to participate to vote and be voted for, to hold and express political opinion in public and private. Men dominate the political arena; men formulate the rules of the political game, and men define the standards for evaluation. Ayedele Atsenuwa states:

Despite the notable political role played by great Nigerian women during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods and the 1979 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria guarantee of freedom from political discrimination against women, Nigerian women still face much political discrimination" (20).

Some important party gatherings are intentionally fixed for late nights when most female members are likely not to attend. Important decisions are taken in such meetings thereby deliberately cutting women off.

Recommendations

Nigerian women who suffer acts of discrimination have a duty to speak out boldly about discriminatory practices in Nigerian workplace as this would strengthen efforts to address practices that breach the rights of women. The significance of equality should start in the classroom by teaching children that gender discrimination is not right. If girls are offered equal opportunities both academically and in their careers, they will grow up to enter the workplace that their talents and abilities will not over look.

There should be free education for female children. So that, some parents will have no reason to jettison female education for boys. This will also discourage child labour, street hawking, sexual abuse and other discriminatory practices. Girls are the future mothers, who will groom the children and future leaders; therefore, sound education is indispensable for future nation building in Nigeria.

Conclusion

Today, many women in Nigeria are becoming general overseers and founders of ministries due to their calling from God and they are doing exploit. The religious status of women in Nigeria has been addressed. It is worthy of note that this research has given adequate measures of approaches in which religion can emancipate women enslavement and promote equality. However, the religious leaders in Nigeria should fund gender research, preach it in their religious organizations, flunt gender sensitivity and ensure that results are achieved.

Nevertheless, the cultural status of women in Nigeria has not be properly addressed. Some cultural discrimination against women in Nigeria still pervades all aspects of life, from childhood till death. Efforts to erase discrimination by state, individuals and organization have failed to achieve much. It concludes that Nigerians be pursued to change the traditional and general attitude of men and even women to the plight of women in Nigeria.

Works Cited

- Aitchison, Claire. *Geographies of Muslim Identities: Diaspora, General and Belonging*. Ashgate: Aldershot, 2007.
- Atsenuwa, Ayodele, V. *Women Rights as Human Rights*. (Ed). Lagos: Legal Research and Resource Development Centre (LRRD), 1995.
- Butler, J. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Evwierhoma, Mabel. *Issues in Gender, Drama and Culture in Nigeria*. Lagos: Concept Publications Limited, 2002.
- Holm, J. P. *Discrimination against Women* London: Orish-Pecta, 1994.
- Nwabueze, Emeka. *Studies in Dramatic Literature*. ABIC Books and Equip. Ltd, 2011.
- Odimegu, C. O., & Okemgbo, C. N. "Socio-Cultural Context of the Girl-Child in Abakaliki, Nigeria". *In African Journal of Social and Policy Studies*, 1.2 (2000).
- Salman, F. M. "Female Education in Ilorin Emirate Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow". In Ilorin, Center of Learning. A Publication to mark the 11th Installation Anniversary of Alhaji (Dr.) Ibrahim Sulu Gambari, The Emir of Ilorin. Ed. Jimoh, S. A. Ilorin: University of Ilorin Press, 2006.
- Sibani, Meesua, C. *Fundamental of Religion and Culture in African Society*. Enugu: Frankpang 2014.
- Soyinka, Wole, "The Writer in a Modern African State". In *The Writer in Modern Africa*. Ed. Per. Wastberg. Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1968.
- Steinfels, P. *Vatican says the ban on Women as Priest is Infallible Doctrine*. New York Times, 1995.

TRADITIONAL BURIAL AND FUNERAL PRACTICES IN INYI, OJI RIVER LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF ENUGU STATE, NIGERIA

Joy Nneka U. Ejikeme, Ph.D
Humanities Unit,
School of General Studies,
University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Abstract

Culture is what differentiates a tribe from another tribe. Igbo's has cultures that are peculiar to them. One of the cultural practices is the issue of burying the dead. Burial and funeral practices are seen as a fundamental element of cultural heritage practiced by Igbo people. Death is a passage from this earthly life to the world beyond. Igbo's believes in life and existence in the world beyond. This means that life did not end by death but continues after death. Therefore, the duty owed to the dead by the living is a befitting burial. However, the rites associated with burial are meant to send the dead home to the world of ancestors. The study examined the traditional burial and funeral practices in Inyi, Oji River Local Government area, Enugu State, Nigeria. The socio-cultural, economic and religious implications were discussed. The researcher used oral interview and personal observation for the collection of primary data. A substantial number of elders and traditionalists who form the subjects for this study were interviewed. The data was analysed descriptively. The findings revealed that burial and funeral rites in Inyi have not lost its cultural observance.

Key Words: Burial Practice, Funeral Practice, Inyi, Oji River, Enugu State, Nigeria.

Introduction

Burial is the act of committing a corpse or dead body to the mother earth. Funeral practices, as a matter of fact constitute itself a fundamental element of cultural heritage practice by all and sundry from ancient to contemporary times (Okpalaek, 2018). Burial and funeral practices are cultural heritage cutting across various societies irrespective of race or geographical location. Burial and funeral ceremonies are occasions when people gather to honour their dead and to perform the traditional rites necessary to send the dead to the land of the ancestors. Ancestors are the invisible being that oversees the affairs of the community. In Inyi burial and funeral practices are embraced by varieties of functions and rituals which the son and *Umunna* are mediators. In the study area the burial and funeral rites depends primarily on the social and religious status of the deceased and the financial strength of his/her children and relatives.

Burial and funeral practices are a societal belief system passed down from one generation unto another. Achebe (2008 in Okpalaeke, 2018) notes that the Igbo believed that it is through proper burial and funeral rites that a spirit is properly sent into the abode of the ancestors where it is culturally assumed that the dead solicit on the behalf of the living in numerous issues of life, especially when the deceased is either a renowned warrior, a well celebrated *ofor* title holder, a chief priest, or even an old man. Achebe (2008 in Okpalaeke, 2018), in his classic, *Things Fall Apart*, gave a lucid picture of how funeral rites were mostly conducted in a typical pre-colonial Igbo society when he espouses thus:

...now and again a full-chested lamentation rose above the wailing whenever a man came into the place of death...At last the man was named and people sighed 'E-u-u, Ezeudu is dead'...the land of the living was not far removed from the domain of the ancestors. There was coming and going between them, especially at festivals and also when an old man died, because an old man was very close to the ancestors. A man's life from birth to death was a series of transition rites which brought him nearer and nearer to his ancestors.

Death is inevitable and it is only man that buries their dead. On this man must perform series of death rituals in order to maintain a balance between him and other ancestral beings. These are higher beings which are believed to guard against unpleasant consequences within the communities.

Inyi people have ways of conducting their own burial and funeral rites whenever a member of their community ascends into the afterlife. They stratified their funeral practices into four classes as according to legends, a man's dealings and class in life will to a large extent determine his burial and funeral rites when he dies. Inyi is one of the towns in Oji-River Local Government Area, Enugu State in Nigeria. It's about seventy kilometers southwest from Enugu city, the capital of Enugu state. Inyi town is made up of 9 villages – Umuome, Enugu, Obune, Amankwo, Agbaliji, Umuagu, Alum, Nkwere and Akwu. They are most notable for the manner in which they entertain their guests. Inyi people entertain their visitors by preparing "*ncha*" (Tapioca food) served with fish. This traditional dish is usually washed down with a fresh raphia palm wine (white palm sap water). This has been noted to be beneficial to ones sight, based on its yeast content.

Therefore, the study examined the traditional burial and funeral practices in Inyi in Oji River Local Government area, Enugu State, Nigeria. The implications of the burial and funeral rites were discussed.

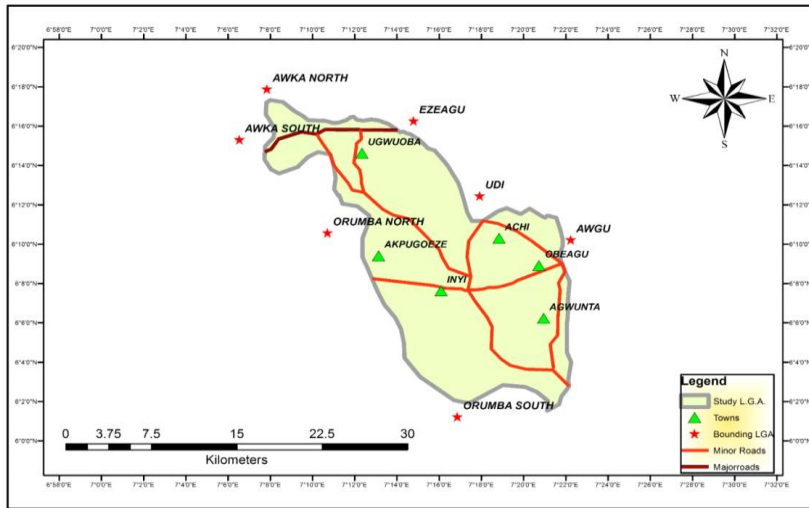


Figure 1: Map of Oji River Showing the Study Area

Scope of the Study

The study is on Inyi town in Oji River Local Government Area, Enugu State, Nigeria.

Significance of the Study

This study will serve as a working document to expose the traditional burial and funeral practices in Inyi, Oji River Local Government Area, Enugu State. This shows there is an interaction between the living and the death. This makes life to be valued above all.

Methodology

In this work, primary and secondary sources of data collection were used. For primary data, the researcher used oral interview and personal observation. A substantial number of elders and traditionalists who form the subjects for this study were interviewed on the subject matter. The secondary data was obtained by the reviewing of written documents from scholars on the study topic. The data was analysed descriptively.

Definition of Terms

Tradition: This referred to a part of cultural system passed from generation to generation

Burial (*Ini ozu*): This means physical burial, the act of committing a dead body or corpse into the mother earth.

Funeral (*Ikwa ozu*): This is a ceremony which marks a person's death.

Socio-cultural: This is a combination of social and cultural belief system. It means the interaction between people and tradition.

Religious: This has to do with the belief in spiritual beings. It is associated with the invisible and intangible part of life.

Implication: This means a possible effect or result of an action.

Rites: Rites is referred as any formal practice or custom.

Review of Literature

Burial and Funeral Practices as a Cultural Heritage

Culture is sociologically used to denote that body of historically developed, shared, learned behaviour of the members of the society (Izunwa, 2016). As a concept, it encapsulates such common group behaviours as dressing, eating, dancing and as in context, burial forms and types. Simply put, culture is about the way of life of a people. It is easy to locate burial ceremonies within the domain of customs. Social groups are differentiated from each other by their different attitudes, beliefs, language, dress, manners, tastes in food, music and a host of other features which comprise a way of life (Izunwa, 2016).

A typical burial ceremony in Igbo culture embraces a variety of functions and rituals to be mediated by the sons, kinsmen (*Umunna*), age grades and secret societies, to mention a few (Izunwa, 2016). Traditional burial and rituals practices are universally accepted as part of the traditional norms of the society. Although, these practices vary in methods, they are more or less common among Igbo speaking communities to whom death is a significant event (Okafor and Okeagu, 2012). Burial rituals are symbolic activities that encourage the expression of grief as a positive way to heal while helping to confirm the reality of death (Huggins and Hinkson, 2017). Burial rituals are used to facilitate relinquishing the dead and help families and the community to maintain an appropriate connection with the deceased (Silverman and Klass, 1996). Romanoff (1998) notes that burial rituals are symbolic enactments that provide meaningful and affirming experiences for the bereaved. Burial rituals mediate the transition of the deceased from life to death and mediate the transition of the bereaved from one social status to another (Pine, 1989 in Huggins and Hinkson 2017)). These rituals provide opportunities for the public display of grief and an opportunity to affirm the relationship of the deceased to the community. Some cultures see burial rituals similar to bereavement rituals where the rituals of burying the deceased are encapsulated into how they grieve for the individual (Romanoff, 1998).

With the practice of burying the dead, the experience of the mourner is also psychologically letting go with the support of the community. Bereavement rituals touch on three main aspects for the mourner: the intra psychic which is the transformation of the person's sense of self resulting from loss, the psychosocial dimension which is the transition between the individual's pre-death and post-death social status, and the communal aspect where the mourner can see the impact of the deceased from the community perspective (Romanoff, 1998). In some cultures, the burial rituals continue post funeral which provide a structure to

the grieving and full incorporation into the new status (Goldberg, 1981 in Huggins and Hinkson, 2017).

Generally, a people's eschatological vision, that is, their view about the after-life goes a long way to fashion how they bury their deceased members. For instance, as Ebeh (2007 in Izunwa, 2016) puts it, Africans are particularly known to think of the next world when they interred their deceased members in the graves with those house hold utensils that he or she uses in this present world. Interestingly, this very burial attitude is not exclusive to though predominant of Africans, but so much to be found among all peoples who share similar visions of the next life. Hence, according to Hinnells (1995), among Egyptians:

...at all levels of society the dead were supplied with funerary goods for the afterlife. For the wealthy, these included anthropoid and rectangular coffins, face-masks, canopic jars (containing viscera), funerary jewellery, amulets, butchers and bakers to prepare a continuing source or victuals. Hundred of ushabtis (mummiform figurines representing agricultural labourers) provided the deceased with a MAGIC work-force.

Funeral rites demonstrate the close bond between the visible and the invisible world in an essential religious worldview. Sending off the deceased in contemporary times seems to be the most elaborate, expensive and highly ritualized of all our social celebrations". In this circumstance, ostentatious funerals have assumed the status of a social narcotic (Izunwa, 2016).

In the study area, what seems to bother them is not the living but the dead. They worry more about the money they will spend to send the dead home. They worry more when a person is sick because they are aware of the socio-economic burden death will put on them if it happens.

Results

Concept of Death in Oji River Local Government Area.

Mere mention of death, *onwu* as it is referred to in Oji River evokes fear, pain and misery. In the cultural life of Oji River people death are unwelcomed. The bereaved are always in sorrow, sad and grieve moment. Hearts of people are heavy when death of anybody is announced. The family and the entire community feel the pain and this shows they are human. Therefore, people grieve and have a sense of loss because they will not see the physical presence of their loved ones except in a dream.

In Inyi in Oji River Local Government Area burial is referred as *ili ozu*, while funeral is *ikwa ozu*. *Ozu* means a corpse. In the study area death means going home to the land of the spirit. They believed that the dead man is alive but

as a spirit. The spirit beings are regarded as ancestors. Inyi people believed in life after death which makes people to be sensitive in burying their dead. They believed that if burial and funeral practices are not properly observed, the dead person inflicts trouble to the family in due time. When a person dies, his soul or spirit wanders till it is received in the blessed memory of his fore bears on condition that the relations on earth celebrate the funeral ceremony. The spirit of the dead is not often happy to be homeless and he may continue to remind the relatives of the need to make him rest in peace. According to

In the study area when a person dies, there is usually wailing and weeping by women, children and the relatives together with their friends. According to an interview with Ogbuehi Nnanyelugo (70 years), the study area has six classes of people considered in the issue of burial and funeral practices. They are as follows: death of a married man, married woman, an unmarried man (*Oboloko*) or lady (*Ochie agbogho*), a married man or woman without an issue, and children (youth, an infant, small boy or girl). People in the study area also believed in three types of death such as mature, premature and abominable death. If the deceased is an infant, a boy or girl, an unmarried man or woman, a married man or woman without an issue, he will be buried immediately without elaborate ceremonies because this type of death is regarded as a premature death. The young folks were hastily buried and there was nothing like a second burial (funeral rites) at times except in a rare case. This is because Igbo people believe so much in regeneration. Therefore, it is expected that anybody born must in turn give birth to another. It was during this kind of burial that lamentation and mourning got to the highest level. Such burial activities was mostly dominated by the youth of the community as well as age-grade members who tumbled themselves around in great sorrow and destroy anything that stands in their way including farm crops. During such ceremony, there were burial songs, dances and very hasty refreshment after the burial. To them, death does not occur without a particular cause. Some of the causes of death according to the people of Inyi in Oji River are old age, witchcraft, accident or sickness and abomination. But if the deceased is an elder or a prominent person that is a titled man who has offspring and died in good old age, the death is traditionally announced by firing of cannon shots "*nkponani*". People would then begin to troop into the deceased's compound to sympathize with the family.

Inyi people have special days they bury their dead. Men are buried on *Orie* day and women are on *Eke* day. The funeral is also observed in the same day. What of a person that died on other native days? The dead could be buried on ordinary days without announcing the death of the person by crying or weeping that could attract neighbours and passersby. In the culture of Inyi people, it was assumed that the person died on the nearest *orie* or *eke* day. The dead are announced officially on those days that are chosen by the gods.

For Oji River people as a whole death is the only means by which they can interact and associate with their ancestors in the world beyond. Thereafter, sacrifices, food, drinks and shelter which constitute acts of reverence and remembrance are offered to them in form of “*ndiichie*” or “*chukwuokike*”. These gods are physically represented by ogirisi or oha tree. As spirits, the ancestors have enhanced powers and influence. They are believed to be closer to the supreme being and deities and act as intermediaries between these divine beings and members of their families.

Stages of Traditional Burial and Funeral Rites in the Study Area

Burial of the deceased is the disposal of the corpse which associated with lying in state, wake keep, digging of the grave and carrying of the corpse to the grave, laying the corpse to the grave and covering it with sand. Funeral is the final entertainment in the honour of the deceased.

Burial and funeral practices are performed in stages. These are as follows:

- A. Official Announcement of the Dead: **In the study area, when a person dies, the family officially announces the dead by sending the eldest son of the immediate family to both the nuclear and extended family. Messages will be sent across to the in-laws and relations of the deceased both far and near informing them of the death of such a person. The extended families were the in laws, the paternal home (if it is a married woman) (*be nna nke nwanyi*), and maternal home (*ikwu nne*). Inyi people do not announce the dead in a carefree manner rather they use subtle way or proverb to do that. They usually tell them to come and see their son or daughter that is sick. In proverb they will say to them “*Agwo no na-akirika*”, which means that something is wrong. The message sends signal to them. Kindred (*Umunna*) and the family wait patiently to see their arrival. On their arrival, they go inside the house where the corpse was laid and confirm the death of their son or daughter. They join in the crying mood. This help to spread the news beyond the host communities. At this moment an official traditional check up is done. This is what is called Igwa Aka or Igwa Ikenga in the study area.**
- B. Igwa Aka or Igwa Ikenga: **“*Igwa aka* means to invite a person that has the same title or feat with the dead person. When a person dies, an elderly man (*Igwa aka man*) village is called to confirm the death and to perform necessary sacrifice. For instance if a person that is conferred with ozo title or ichie dies, a person with such title is invited to do the necessary sacrifice. Nobody makes noise or cry as he enters the compound until the necessary sacrifice is performed. If the dead man was involved in war and had victory, such people that had such record are invited. This comes with titles *Ogbuagu* (he who kills lion), *Omeokachi* (What he says come to pass), *Dike* (Strong man) etc. Where the titled man is a priest of a particular deity, a medicine**

man is invited to detach him from the deity. Where it happened that the dead involved himself in much sorcery and/or charms in his lifetime, his cult objects/charms are thrown away for the reason that the Igbo believes that a man's sorcery or charm dies with him.

- C. Wake-Keep (*Nche Abani*): Burial follows an elaborate wake-keep with the dead lying-in-state. While lying-in-state, elderly women (*umuada*) keep vigil or watch as they sit on both sides of the bed on which the corpse lay. The corpse lay in state in the house of the first wife. In the case of a man who married more than one wife, the daughters fan the body to protect it from flies. The women (*umuada*) are given a chicken or goat and some tubers of yam for taking care of the corpse as the case may be. During wake-keep, those who knew him or her very well would re-enact some of his or her activities when he was alive in a dramatic fashion. Those things he or she was known for, for instance, if he or she was a trader, a farmer, a palm wine tapper, a hunter etc. all these would be dramatized just as he did them when he was alive. His character ranging from his manner of speech, jokes, relationship with people and how he lived his life generally will all be demonstrated. Wake-keep is a party or social gathering held in connection with burial and funerals. It involves keeping watch beside the corpse and behaving in a demonstrative way either by lamenting or merry-making. Wake keep was an attempt to heal the wound of death and to do final justice to the deceased while he was still physically present. After the burial, the opportunity to do so would be absent". Wake-keep means preventing someone from sleeping, to wake the person up, to disturb the person's slumber and make it impossible for him or her to sleep back into it. The merry-making and dancing take place in order to keep people awake.

D. Preparation of the Corpse for Burial: Honouring of forefathers in Igboland starts from the very moment a person dies. This is similar to the way Inyi people honour their dead. The dead body or corpse will be washed and dressed the second day before burial. This rite is usually performed for both genders by the women or men of the deceased in preparation for the burial. It is the responsibility of *Igwa aka* person to dress the dead with necessary items like white chalk for men. He is dressed in many beautiful wrappers and a cap. A big smoked fish called "*Oroghoro Azu*" in Inyi dialect will be placed on his chest and buried along with it. They believed that he/she will use it in eating "*Ncha*" (a local tapioca food known in Inyi) in the land of the spirit. *Igwa aka* person and the family made decision of a place in the compound the dead will be buried. Later they inform the *umunna* (kindred) their decision.

Likewise, for women they are dressed up by elderly women of the same title. After bathing, the corpse will be dressed in the best clothes of the deceased. The openings (nose and ear) are covered with cotton wool to prevent early

decomposition. The mouth will be tied from the jaw through the head. Some local cosmetics are applied like “*nzu*”, *ufie* or *odo* and even powder. Sometimes they decorate the body with red chalk called *uhie*. Meanwhile some people assist with the clearing and cleaning of the compound or the designated venue while women help out with the cooking and fetching of water. Many sympathizers bring food, money and wine to the relatives of the deceased. Most of the chicken, goats and clothing materials provided for the burial by the sons and married daughters are slaughtered. Some are reserved either for the second burial or are divided among the sons. All the inlaws, maternal people (*ikwu nne*) and close relatives brings a piece of cloth (Abada material) to the deceased family. It is compulsory to the extent that if you did not bring yours they will demand that from you. This is called *Ikpu Akwa* among the people of Inyi in Oji River L.G.A. After dressing the corpse, the remaining burial wrappers are shared among the sons and daughters of the deceased. If the man was a titleholder, fellow titleholders demands necessary items from the children in burying the man.

E. Digging of the Grave: The first son (*okpara*) of the dead man with the help of *Igwa aka* person indicates the place where his father is to be buried even if he is still a child. If the child is too small, an adult supports him by holding his hand to the hoe. The first son takes out three scoops of sand from the graveside then the family and friends or volunteers especially youths among the kindred (*unwunna*) help in digging the grave. The digging of the grave starts when the masquerades have assembled in case of a member of *Ikenna* cult or an ozo title. The grave is usually dug on the day of the burial proper. The grave diggers are given a gallon of palm wine, *ngwo*, a life chicken and four (4) tubers of yam with which they prepare porridge food. Some plates of *ncha* (tapioca food) will be served to them. If the man died a conceivable bad death like suicide or a person that killed people in his life time, such rites cannot be performed for him because tradition forbids it. Instead sacrifices may be made to appease the gods. After the digging of grave, not everyone puts a man to the grave; it is done by special people. *Ikenna* masquerade group lower their people to the grave. When the body is lowered to the grave twenty one cannon (21) gunshots “*ngbonala*” follows. People on hearing the sound of the gun, starts crying. This announces the demise of the man to entire world. The responsibility of burying the dead lies not only with the bereaved family but also with the entire members of the community. After this the grave is covered and canon shot will again begin to rent the air signifying that the person has been buried

F. Burial Celebration: A special drum called “*Abii Ike*” in Inyi is been played after the burial. This is a drum that passed from generation to generation. The drum itself is as old as the village. The *Abi ike* drum is played only by Umuome village in Inyi in Oji River Local Government Area. The funeral or burial was

incomplete without the *Abii Ike* drum in attendance. The traditional *Abii Ike* is a wooden drum which plays an important role in the ceremony. These drums apart from supplying the traditional music at intervals also “bring the dead home”. It was sometimes described as a “talking drum” because it was reputed for eulogizing the dead man as it rhythmically talks about his achievements and life generally on earth while at the same time calling on prominent individuals to come out and honour the departed. The family provides food for *abii ike* people like roasted chicken, tapioca food and palm wine. The feather of the chicken slaughtered was put on the drum. Items for burial are goat, chicken for *igwa aka* or *Igwa ikenga*, wrapper for dressing the corpse, raphia palm wine and eight (8) tubers of yam “*ji*”. The ram is the most important of all the things to be taken to the spirit world. Ram is used for special elderly men like ozo title holders, native doctors and anybody that is termed brave by the community etc. But those who died unnatural death, including children, young men and women who were either married or unmarried without children were not accorded a befitting or elaborate burial. They were buried almost immediately because such a death was seen as a bad or premature death.

G. A Woman’s Burial: Most aspects of the burial of a man and woman are the same. The only difference is that the rites of *igwa ikenga* or *igwa aka* are not performed for women. There own is called *igbutu ogbu chi*, this means to remove his god in the compound. In the case of a woman who had male children that are married, each of the wives or daughters-in-law will kill a goat called “*ewu igbutu ogbu chi*” for her. On the day of *ifu ahia*, only women will go to *Nkwo Inyi* market. Men will not go. The first daughter (*ada*) opens the dance floor by taking the lead. She could do this with the cascading tail of a horse (*nza inyinya*) signifying that their mother is a strong woman when she is alive. In the study area, no masquerade display and “*abia ike*” drum for women burial and funeral rites. Dancing troupe from different places could be invited. They cook all types of foods to entertain visitors. After the burial and funeral, the husband’s family gives all her clothes to her father’s family. They shared her clothes among their kindred according to seniority.

H. Shaving of the Hair (*ikpu isi*): In *Inyi*, it is customary that twelve days “*Izu ato*” (three native or traditional weeks) after burial, the children and relations of the deceased including elders and neighbours gather again in his compound for the rite of *ikpu isi* (shaving of hair). On this day, the children and relations of the deceased and sympathizers shave their hair in honour of the deceased. A widow cannot be shaved by anybody whose husband is still alive but by a woman whose husband is no longer alive.

I. Iru Ekpe: In the study area, a woman that lost her husband culturally enters in what is called “*Iru ekpe di*”. Such funeral activity requires the wife (ves) of the

deceased to be confined to a particular room. The hair shaved as a sign of mourning. She must not eat any food cooked and served to people on the burial day of her husband. The bereaved woman is fed by a widow and she uses a particular plate. The plate is not washed with water until after the *iru ekpe*. She uses hand at times and her tongue to wash the plate. She has special water in a container she drinks as her own. She sits at a special seat and must not go and collect firewood from their neighbours. She is restricted to her room. Umuada sits with her as they watch her closely. Every native week (*ino onodu* days) she will cry bitterly calling her husband's special names and saying how lovely he was to her and the children. This she was subjected to for seven market days "*izu n'asaa*". After the "*izu n'asaa*" she will be taken to a sacred forest that has stream and bath for the first time. It is called "*Nmacha Izu n'asaa*". She is now permitted to go out after bath ritual. she should not attend any occasion, both happy and sad events. She practically does things alone. For instance she goes to the stream with a container that she can carry because nobody will help her to lift the container assuming if the container is big.

J. Period of Condolence: This is referred to as "*Iga mgbaru*" and it last for three native weeks (*izu na ato*). From the day of burial to the next four native days, starts the main condolence which is called *ino onodu* which means coming on a particular day set apart for the group condolence. *Iga mgbaru* is every day visit but *ino onodu* is for specific days. This is a period of waiting and coming for condolence before the funeral. If the dead person is a man, people come for visit every *orie* day till three native weeks. They usually come to help the family that was bereaved in the preparation of the funeral. The funeral comes on the last day of the three native weeks. If it is a woman that died, the respected day for the funeral is *eke* day. People from different places come for condolences with food, some with gift of money. If the person is a member of African Traditional Religion or masquerade cult called "*Ikenna*" group, a lot of masquerades comes in mass for the condolence. For a person that wears masquerade "*Onye n'ekpu mmanwu*" or an ozo titled man, big masquerades like *Izaga* and *Ijere* pay homage to their dead members. Each masquerade ties tender palm frond "*Omu nkwu*" and a sword on their waist as they move with speed in a single line to the place. From the burial day to the time of condolence lasts for twelve (12) days that is "*izu na ato*". After the *ino onodu*, the next is *mgbuweji*.

K. Mgbuweji: This is a time set apart to give the ancestors food and to alert them of the funeral rites of the deceased. This comes up after "*izu na ato*" three native weeks. Asking them for their protection during the preparation of the funeral. It is also a time to remove and hand over the household shrine of the man to the ancestors by a diviner. Men's household shrine is called *ndichie* and that of women is *chukwuokike*. *Mgbuweji* is observed for men only. Items for the

“*mgbuweji*” were ripped palm nut head, seven yams, four Igbo kola nuts, raphia wine, *Egbene okuko* (cock) and goat. *Mgbuwe ji* ritual is performed with the people with the same age grade and title of the dead man. They choose a position especially where the dead person stays often, in front of his house or his room before his demise. The eldest person among them performs the ritual. A tender palm frond is tied on his wrist as he holds ofo stick in his hand. Ofo is the sacred symbol of truth, royal, authority, justice, law and administrative power. It primarily bestows upon the holder or bearer (person or person in possession) the right to offer sacrifice - rituals, prayer, oath taking, and pronouncing of judgment. He pronounces blessing for the living and pray that the ancestors should accept their son in the land of the dead. For the sacrifice, a yam was fixed in a palm frond stick and erected at the rightful position in front of his house. The hen will be tied head down on the stick. People from the study area call this “*ima okuko ezelu*”. This means that his *ikenga kwu oto* (his future is bright). This was done to make sure that he has enough food in the land of the dead. The ripped palm fruit head was cut into pieces. The yams were sliced and the kolanuts broken and kept in front of the place. The goat was killed and the blood splashed on top of all the items. He prays with the palm wine and poured it to the ancestors to drink. After the ritual, they share the cooked goat meat among themselves. The family serves people with foods like “*ncha*” (tapioca food), rice, foo foo with oha soup etc. Dancing troupes and masquerades of different types displays their styles, followed by series of gun shots “*nkponana*”. Some people that were dancing were demonstrating the character of the dead person. The dancing style and sign shows if the person is brave in wrestling, a great hunter, a fearless accomplished warrior, or even a successful farmer, whose accomplished lifestyle must have had a wonderful effect on the entire community. After the ceremony they send special invitation to their in-laws and well wishers for the funeral proper.

L. Funeral Proper: Funeral day is a great day in Igbo culture. A funeral is a ceremony marking a person’s death. It is a second burial which is seen as a proper burial for the dead. In the study area, the funeral is “*izu na ato*” (three native weeks) from the day *mgbuwe ji* was celebrated. On that day each of his children presents food items that were listed by elders in the kindred (*umunna*) and title holders according to seniority. Some of the foods were cooked and some were provided raw. For instance, the daughters of the dead man were asked to provide “*oku akwu abacha*”. This was a big bowl of tapioca food garnished with dried fish. A goat was killed according to custom of Inyi people. Even if you killed millions of cows, killing of goat is recognized as what the culture demands. There were a lot of funeral dirges and other cultural performances such as dancing, wrestling or operating of cannons in order to entertain the guest who had come to attend the funeral from both within and outside the deceased’s community.

The *umuada* and *umunna* contributes food and money while the in-laws and well-meaning individuals paid for coffin used in burying the dead. Fathoms of wrapper, chickens or fowls, goats, two gallons of palm wine and yams are brought during funeral visits. Yams and palm wine are termed “*ishi abo ji na ite manya*”. These days, some of these items are monetized. All these items are presented before the public and there are people appointed to take record of everything collected. All the clothing materials collected are handed over to the family head while the money collected was used to offset debts incurred and to pay for items required to enhance the funeral. At the end, the balance is handed over to the family head. This is a way the community contributes to the burial of their dead.

M. Market Outing (*ifu ahia*): This involves making a cultural outing to “*nkwo Inyi*” market to drink and dance in honour of the dead after the funeral. In this ceremony, the first daughter who bears the portrait of the deceased, *nza inyinya* and even *akpukpo agu* leads out the group of women comprising *umuada* and other relatives and friends to *nkwo* market in a procession to round off activities marking the funeral ceremony. At the market, the group led by *ada* (first daughter) moves round the market amidst dancing and funfair displaying the portrait of the deceased while uttering eulogies or tributes to the dead. Sympathizers and other witnesses give money and gifts to them. This female procession often includes a female dirge singer who sings for the group. The male group arrives later. They go to the place where the dead used to stay in the market to drink and make merry in honour of the dead. The significance of “*ifu ahia*” is to let people know that they have carried out the funeral ceremony of the dead successfully and in a way that is befitting of the dead.

N. Killing of Local Cow (*Igbu Ehi*): In the study area killing of local cow (*Ehi Igbo*) is not compulsory for anyone. The type of cow used is called Muturu cattle (*bostaurus*). This means that it is not obligatory. It is just a way of showing wealth. This is the reason it is not attached to the funeral items. Killing of cow for the deceased during funeral is just to show royalty and wealth. This could be done after the funeral or many years later. It is a special ritual of its own. Cow is always killed for those who have killed cow for their father or forefathers. For instance, if a man is dead and his children are not financially buoyant, they could not kill a cow, therefore when they die cow will not be killed for them in honour of their death. Killing of cow is done strictly by the group that has done such ritual to their deceased. These people were called *Ogbu Ehi* group in Inyi. This tradition is unique to entire towns in Oji River. If your family have not killed local cow for their deceased before, you are not suppose to kill local Igbo cow except Hausa cow. Anybody could kill Hausa cow but not Local cow (*Efi Igbo*). The killing of Hausa cow should be done outside the compound of the deceased, if not the family faces the consequences. As for the local cow it should not be killed at all both inside and outside the compound if you did not kill cow for your father.

O. Killing of Cow by Ogbuehi Group and Sharing: Ogbuehi group and the family of the deceased fixes the day for the killing of the cow. Interview with Ogbuehi Nnayelugo (real name: Agodu Anyinvu) said that firstly, the son and the family of the dead meets Ogbuehi group and inform them their intention of killing a cow for their late father or mother. The Ogbuehi group have special native day for the killing of cow in Oji River as a whole. For men is in *orie* day and for women is *eke* day. The executive from the group with the family fixes the date for the killing of the cow. When the date was fixed, Ogbuehi group chose the person that will go on their behalf with the family to buy the cow. When the cow was bought, the executives are invited to supervise the cow and other items that follow the killing of a cow. If the cow is not sizeable as they want the person that bought it from the group will suffer it. As they came for the visitation, the family serves food and drinks to them. Other items listed along with the cow are as follows: These include hen for Alum Inyi people and goat for Enugwu-Inyi, four yams follows one (1) hen “*ji egbene okuko*” and sixteen (16) yams follows goat, six (6) gallons raphia palm wine “*ngwo*”, two (2) gallons of up palm wine “*nkwu elu*”, eight (8) kolanut and alligator pepper, one (1) 501 original hot drink, four (4) cartons of star, (4) cartons of gulder, four (4) cartons of small stout, four (4) cartons of malt, and four (4) crates of minerals. A person from Ogbuehi group slaughters the cow in the presence of the group and family. The son hands over the cow to the Chairman of Ogbuehi group and to the person that will slaughter it.

After the slaughtering the cow, they share the meat according to tradition. *Aka Ihu* (one of the fore arms) is giving to the daughter of the bereaved. The second forearm is for the Ogbuehi group. One “*Oru Azu*” (one of the hind arm) is giving to the maternal (*ikwu nne*) people of the deceased. The other “*Oru Azu*” will be shared by Ogbuehi and the family. “*Urumu Ose*”, (the back) is for the in-laws. “*Ukwu ehi*” (the waist) is for the daughters (*umuada*) in the kindred, both married and unmarried. The head is giving to the kindred (*umunna*). “*Igiriga nma*” is for the person that slaughtered the cow. The “*olu*” neck and the rest parts of the cow are for the family that killed cow for their dead. Sharing of the meat among Ogbuehi group is not by seniority but by first come first serve. Only the chairperson will be served. For instance, even if you are an Ogbuehi for many years ago but you came late you will choose last. Anyone that comes late pays ₦100.00 (one hundred naira) to the group purse.



Plate 2: Igbo Cow Used for by Ogbuehi group

Discussion

Burial and funeral rites are cultural heritage among the Inyi people in Oji River Local Government Area of Enugu State. The people so much believed in afterlife. This means that the way you are buried and the funeral rite determine your fate in the life beyond. They make sure that the dead is accorded these rites for him/her to be relaxed in the spirit world. If the burial and funeral practices are not properly observed, the dead person inflicts trouble to the family in due time. When a person dies, his soul or spirit wanders till it is received in the blessed memory of his fore bears on condition that the relations on earth celebrate the funeral ceremony. In the study area death of anybody keeps the entire community unrest until the burial and funeral is performed.

Inyi has six classes of people considered in the issue of burial and funeral practices. They are as follows: death of a married man, married woman, an unmarried man (*Oboloko*) or lady (*Ochie agbogho*), a married man or woman without an issue, and children (youth, an infant, small boy or girl). People in the study area also believed in three types of death such as mature, premature and abominable death. If the deceased is an infant, a boy or girl, an unmarried man or woman, a married man or woman without an issue, he will be buried immediately without elaborate ceremonies because this type of death is regarded as a premature death. Therefore, the funeral rites depend very much on the status of the deceased as well as the circumstances surrounding his death. Inyi people have special days they bury their dead. Men are buried on Orie day and women are buried on Eke day and funeral is also on those days.

There are stages of burial and funeral rites observed, these include the official announcement of the dead, igwa aka or igwa ikenga, wake-keep, preparation of the corpse for burial, digging of the grave, burial celebration, iru ekpe, period of condolence, *mgbuweji*, funeral proper, killing of local cow (*igbu ehi*) by Ogbuehi Group and Sharing and others. It is important to note that local cow is slaughtered in honour of the dead to show wealth. In the study area, the traditional animal used for burying the dead is goat (*ewu*).

The Implications of Burial and Funeral rites in the study area

Bereavement involves both the social change of status of people from being a wife to being a widow, from being a child to being an orphan or from being a subordinate adult to becoming the head of the family. In the study area, a woman who has lost her husband becomes a widow; a child who has lost his parents becomes an orphan while the first son of a dead person automatically becomes the head of the family. A man who has lost his wife becomes a widower while his children begin to look up to the first daughter as their mother.

Traditional burial and funeral rites in the study area maintain their cultural performance with addition of wealth show. Burial and funeral rites in the study area have socio cultural, economic and religious implications. Separation from the earth into the spiritual world begins soon when the eyes of the dead are closed and his hands and his legs straightened and the two toes tied together. The eyes must be closed. This is why it is good for people to be around when one is about to die. Inyi people make sure that the eyes are closed so that he sees with the eye of the spirit in which he belongs. Socially, morally and religiously, it is obligatory to bury the dead. The best tribute to pay to a dear one is to see to his proper burial at death.

People from the study area believe in reincarnation. Reincarnation is known as “*ilo uwa ozo*”. It is the belief that the soul of a dead person is being reborn in the body of another. The implication is that Inyi people conduct burial and funeral rites for their dead relatives who lived a good, responsible and desirable life not just to honour them but to enable them reincarnate. People from the study area believed that a person cannot reincarnate unless he has undergone the process of death and dying which automatically confer on him extraordinary and supernatural powers to do so. Therefore, to assist him achieve this spiritual state, proper burial rites becomes imperative. Masquerading as a heritage resource in the study area is a sure system that indicates that the dead still have a way of coming back from the spirit world to the physical world. Masquerade signifies that the dead makes a temporal reappearance on earth. Masquerade means living dead. They mask themselves as they move around in the community and neighbouring towns, they are called “*muo*”, which means spirit.

Religiously, there is a belief in the interdependence of the living and the ancestors. In this case, the living and the living dead need each other for a harmonious living. Inyi people traditionally believed in ancestorhood. An ancestor is a dead member of the family considered to be living in the spirit world and taking active part in the affairs of his family on earth. In the study area, male ancestors are called *ndichie* and female are *chukwuokike*. This is seen in the compound represented by *ogirisi* (*Newbouldia Leavis*) or *oha* (*Pterocarpus Soyauxii*) tree. In Inyi, burial and funeral rites serve as occasions for installing the dead as an ancestor. For Inyi people unless the proper burial rites and ceremonies

are performed, the spirit of the deceased may not be able to join the ancestral spirits. Therefore, it is usually a thing of great joy and satisfaction when a family is able to perform funeral rites for their dead.

In Inyi, a man's social status in the community also determines his status as an ancestor in the spirit world and the type of cult he is given. A king remains a king in the spirit world so also are village heads, lineage or clan heads. Titleholders are accorded the respect due to their rank in the ancestral cult. In the study area it was believed that the ancestral spirits see to the welfare of the living and because of this the passage. Denial of burial and funeral rites makes the dead to become a wanderer in the spirit. He/she feels offended and begins to appear to the members of the family in dreams as ghosts or spirits to register their grievances. The implication is that people see the apparition of the dead on their way to the stream, market place, deceased compound and in all the places in the community. Funeral rites demonstrate the close bond between the visible and the invisible world in an essentially religious world view. It should be marked that death in traditional believe does not imply finality.

When a person dies, he/she is compulsorily lay in state for the people to inspect and know the cause of the death. The reason for this practice is to enable the people testify that the deceased did not die of an abominable sickness (*ajooya*) like leprosy; and there are no matchet cuts or bullet wounds suggesting that the deceased was shot or killed in a stealing or robbery attempt. The type and quality of burial which is accorded to a person depends on the life such a person led and the type of death that followed. A person that died at the old age without any bad behavior is termed that the gods called him home. People from the study area will say that "*Onyea nwuru onwuchi*" (that the man is called home by the gods).

Socio-culturally, the burial and funeral rites in the study area brings the entire community into oneness in the spirit. The death of anybody in the community is a communal thing. They come together as one family to mourn the dead. Every member of the community come together to help the family on their capacity. They help the family in fetching water, firewood, cleaning the compound, cooking and farming for that period. Inyi is known for cassava processing into tapioca food, "*ncha*", which they serve in all occasions including burial and funeral ceremonies. People from the community, men, women, youth and children help in harvesting cassava from the farmland of the deceased. People come with food, palm wine, kolanut and money before the proper funeral. During the funeral people blessed the family with gift like hen, fathoms of cloth, goat, yam, palm wine and money. These gifts are recorded in the family register. Both the day and night masquerade come to grace the occasion. Night masquerade in the study area is called "*ogbagu*". Umuagu Inyi displays night masquerade. The masquerade cult "*ikenna*" has a special day they will come for the honouring of their dead after the general funeral ceremony.

Socio-economically, burial customs are strict principle that has to be obeyed by both poor and rich in the study area. When people do not perform the burial rites of their dead, the community frowns at it. It is a social obligation that have placed heavy burden on families that are less privileged, since this requires so much money to accomplish. For wealthy individual, it is showoff affluence. They want their burial to be a reference point. In the study area, burial rites are in stages and this often lasts for several days or weeks. This gulps a lot of money from the bereaved and community. The implication is that it causes indebtedness; poverty and other social vices. Family of the bereaved has to spend a huge amount of money or sell properties like land and economic trees in order to bury their dead. Presently people also take loans to bury their dead. After the burial families go about in settling the debt they incurred during burial and funeral rites. It is quite unfortunate that a lot of things have been added along side of the traditional burial and funeral in Inyi. Some keep their dead in the mortuary with the view of building or renovating their house. The cooking, souvenirs, programme booklets, feasting, decorations and so on take a lot of money. Masters of ceremony are hired nowadays to handle burial and funeral ceremonies. The mode of death announcement which was done by firing canon shots, preservation of the corpse and preparations for burial have all been influenced by modernity. Nowadays more and more parts of the funeral are contracted out.

In Inyi, this culture of waste in burying the dead has almost become a common practice among the people without anybody bothering to weigh its ripple effects on members of the community. The point is that those who are supposed to discourage this senseless act are even the ones encouraging it probably because of what they seem to be gaining from it. In fact, some elders in the *umunna* are in most cases the architect of most expensive burials in the villages. Moreover, wake-keep, an event that precedes burial proper has no economic value to the bereaved family. There are all sorts of merry-making, dancing, eating and drinking which apart from providing comfort and consolation as they claim instead the waste it leaves in its wake becomes a discomfort to the bereaved. At wake-keeps, people drink and get drunk and sometimes fight with dangerous weapons that could lead to court case.

Conclusion

Traditional burial in Inyi is still intact irrespective that many have turned to Christian religion. In the study area, burial is a dignifying way of honouring the dead. Denial of burial makes the spirit of the dead to haunt people in the community and thus, not be accepted in the spirit world. To them, burial as a custom is necessary for the dead to attain ancestorhood and to reincarnate. Divination like “*igwa aka*” was very important as a means of unraveling the mystery behind an unnatural and suspicious death. This also helps to determine the kind of burial to be given to the dead. In the study area, if a man fails to

perform the funeral rites for the dead father, his own funeral rites will not be performed when he dies. This is the same in killing of cow in honour of a dead relative.

Few that are practicing African Traditional Religion still observe the full tradition except little changes due to show of wealth. Modernity has set in to the tradition due to financial waste mentality and social recognition. People from the study area introduced what the tradition does not demand like contracting the burial, printing brochure, souvenirs, expensive coffin, feasting and so on. These are some challenges posed to this cultural performance. But in burying the dead, we should realize that death is a loss and not a gain and it is said that no wages accrue to the dead for he is dead and conscious of nothing. This is the reason burial must be made as simple and less expensive as possible as tradition demands.

References

- Hinnels, J.R. (1995). *The penguin dictionary of religions*. 2nd ed. London: Penguin Book.
- Huggins C. L. and Hinkson G. M. (2017) Contemporary Burial Practices in Three Caribbean Islands Among Christians of African Descent. *OMEGA—Journal of Death and Dying* 0(0) 1–14
- Izunwa M. O. (2016) Customary Right to Befitting Burial: A Jurisprudential Appraisal of Four Nigerian Cultures. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/og.v12>
- Okafor, E.E. and Okeagu, G.O. (2012) Archaeological Investigation on Traditional Burial Rites and Ritual in Old Nsukka Division of Enugu State in the Village within the Global Village Art and Culture in a Globalizing World . *Reading from Chinua Achebe International Bennial Conference. University of Nigeria, Nsukka*. 23-27 April. Edited by A.N. Akwanya
- Okpalaeke, P.C. (2018) Continuity and Change in the Funeral Culture of the Umuna People in Nigeria from Pre-Colonial Times to 2000 A.D. *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol.12, no.5,
- Romanoff, B. D. (1998). Rituals and the grieving process. *Death Studies*, 22(8), 697–711.
- Silverman, P. R., and Klass, D. (1996). Introduction: What's the problem? In D. Klass, P. R. Silverman & S. L. Nickman (eds.), *Continuing bonds: New understandings of grief* (pp. 3–27). Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis.

LITERATURE AND GENDER IN THE 21ST CENTURY: REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN BUCHI EMECHETA'S *THE JOYS OF MOTHERHOOD* AND MARIAMA BA'S *SO LONG A LETTER*



Aliyu Haruna Muhammad

Abstract

The conventional view of patriarchy by most of the feminists is that, it is responsible for the women's suffering. Though appears unproblematic from the surface, it does a lot of damage in the domain of literature, especially in the analyses of literary texts written by women since they are almost always labeled as feminists irrespective of the subject matter of their works. It is against this background that this paper seeks to show, via the great French feminist thinker's, Simone de Beauvoir (1949), conceptual structure of "one is not born a woman, one becomes a woman" in which women become the active agents of their own suffering by their dogmatic docility and total submission to males' demands. The paper illustrates this perspective through thorough analyses of Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* and Mariama Ba's *So Long a Letter*. The paper further argues that we can uncover other more serious hidden meanings of a work by shifting our focus from the usual analyses of the major characters of a work to other minor ones as sampled by this paper.

Introduction

The word "patriarchy" comes from the Latin word "pater" which means "father". It most often refers to the political power and authority of males in a society. One common feature of the African society, apart from the peculiarity of socio-political abnormalities is patriarchy. Patriarchy is a form of sociological stratification that exalts the male gender over the female (Oluwayomi 12). Despite the fact that feminists thinkers believed that patriarchy signified the cultural and social domination of women by men, the women's rights movement brought with it new ideas about patriarchy. For instance, feminist thinkers in the United States questioned why sexual inequality persisted even after women had won the right to vote and had achieved legal equity. They also debated whether or not patriarchy is universal to all societies throughout history.

The issue of women relegation to the background in a male dominated society has been one aged long tradition. As such, it is not news to say male African writers in the field of literature have depicted women as unimportant creatures, neither would it add any flavour saying most women's writings have been classified as feminist literature. In its distinctive attempt to deviate from the aforementioned weary and unyielding issues that this paper shifts its focus from the central characters of its selected primary texts (Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* and Mariama Ba's *So Long a Letter*) to other minor characters. This is because it is one of the arguments of this paper that one possible answer to why sexual inequality persisted even after women had won the right to vote and had achieved legal equity could not only be located in the roles played by the major

characters (as in the cases of Nnu Ego and Ramatoulaye), but also in the other minor ones (like Adaku and Aissatou). The paper seeks to show this via the conceptual framework of de Beauvoir's "one is not born a woman, one becomes a woman", which is a quote from her book, *The Second Sex* (1949) in which she attempts to explain why a woman's situation, still, even today, prevents her from exploring the world's basic problems.

Briefs on the Primary Texts

So Long a Letter

From the beginning of the story, Bâ creates a premise of a fictional letter from Ramatoulaye, a schoolteacher in Senegal and a recent widow, to her good friend Aissatou, in America. The letter reminisces, the past lives of the two friends: both as students and as housewives. Ramatoulaye and Aissatou grew into adulthood at a time when women's liberation was gaining momentum across the globe. It was also a time of newly-acquired independence in Senegal and the struggle to find a fresh societal model in a modern world. Ramatoulaye observed: "It was the privilege of our generation to be the link between two periods in our history, one of domination, the other of independence." (Ba 21) The two friends became teachers, contributing to the new landscape of education for girls and boys, rich and poor alike. They were cutting edge feminists and the men they married were modern in their views. Mawdo Bâ, suitor to Aissatou and a caring doctor, married Aissatou, a goldsmith's daughter, despite Mawdo's noble heritage. Ramatoulaye did not renounce her religion or customs and she still practised many cultural traditions, yet she moved forward as a working mother and wife. Her husband Modou Fall wanted to help shape the country's future, and his work as a lawyer representing trade unions had an impact on governmental decisions. Trouble befell the marriages that were consummated over twenty years earlier. First, Aissatou's husband wed a second wife but hoped to continue to live primarily with his first wife. Aissatou would not settle for this and divorced him. Three years later, when Modou Fall took a second wife, he abandoned Ramatoulaye and her twelve children. Ramatoulaye decided to stay legally married, though Modou never set foot in their house again. Five years after Modou's betrayal, he had a heart attack and his friend Mawdo was unable to revive him. The mourning and burial of Modou was carried out according to tradition, and Ramatoulaye and her co-wife mourned together in one house as people visited to pay their respects. Ramatoulaye was then house-bound for the rest of her mourning period. It was during this time she found a way to make peace with the past and to embrace the future.

The Joys of Motherhood

The story flashes back to the story of how Nnu Ego was conceived. Her father, Agbadi, though has many wives, is in love with a proud and haughty young woman named Ona. Ona refuses to marry him because she is obligated to produce a son for her father's family line, and not a husband's. But when Agbadi is almost killed in a hunting accident, Ona nurses him back to health and becomes pregnant with his child. She agrees that if it's a daughter, the child will belong to Agbadi. Nnu Ego is Agbadi's favorite daughter and she grows into a beautiful young woman. Her first marriage is to the son of another wealthy and titled family. Unfortunately, the marriage soon grows sour because Nnu Ego fails to have children. Her husband takes a second wife, who quickly conceives. Nnu Ego grows thin and worn out because she's so unhappy. She goes back to live with her father, who

arranges a second marriage. Nnu Ego's second marriage is to Nnaife, a man who works in Lagos as the washer for a white family, Dr. and Mrs. Meers. Though, Nnu Ego is disappointed with Nnaife. He isn't her ideal man. She quickly becomes pregnant. This is the child that dies and propels her to almost commit suicide by jumping off a bridge. When she's talked out of jumping off the bridge, Nnu Ego returns home and becomes pregnant again rather quickly. World War II interferes in Nnu Ego's and Nnaife's happiness. The Meers return to Europe, and Nnaife is out of work for months while Nnu Ego supports the family through petty trade. Nnaife eventually gets work on a ship, which means he's gone for months at a time. Nnu Ego struggles to make ends meet while he's gone. When he finally returns, it's only to be greeted by the news that his elder brother has died and Nnaife has inherited all his brother's wives and children. Most of the wives remain in Ibuza, but Adaku comes to Lagos and moves in with Nnu Ego and Nnaife. Nnu Ego learns to become the senior wife, and to share Nnaife's pitiful salary with Adaku and her children. Life is a constant struggle for survival, but it only gets worse when Nnaife is conscripted into the army and sent to fight in World War II. He's gone for four years. His wives must wait patiently with no news and no salary.

Adaku takes up trading to support herself and her two children, while Nnu Ego struggles to support her four children. Nnu Ego goes home to Ibuza because her father dies. During her long absence, Adaku's trading becomes very successful, while Nnu Ego's dwindles to nothing. Nnu Ego has to start all over again, but she is jealous of Adaku's success. The two women have a conflict, and the family men settle in favor of Nnu Ego though she's wrong. It turns out that the men side with Nnu Ego because she is the senior wife. Adaku finally recognizes that because she is the junior wife and has only daughters, her position in the family is nothing. She leaves to become a prostitute. After many years, Nnu Ego discovers that she has been sent three years of Nnaife's salary. She is finally able to pay her children's school fees and feed them well. Nnaife arrives home not long after. The war is over. He apparently feels the sting of Adaku's defection because he decides to go home and assert his rights of inheritance with his brother's eldest wife, Adankwo. He gets her pregnant and brings home yet another wife, a young girl named Okpo.

Nnu Ego is frustrated. They can hardly afford the children they have, yet Nnaife keeps fathering more children and demanding more wives. Yet Okpo is a good girl, and has the same traditional values that Nnu Ego has, so their relationship is a good one, almost like that of a mother and daughter. Nnaife surprises everybody when he offers the rest of his military money to pay for Oshia's expensive schooling. (Oshia is Nnaife and Nnu Ego's second child, but the first to live.) The expectation is that Oshia will graduate and get a good job and help pay for his younger brothers' schooling, as well as provide for his parents in their old age. Oshia has other ideas, however. He wants to continue with university in America. His disregard for his own duties as the first-born son causes his parents great anguish. Nnaife is never the same again after he feels betrayed by Oshia. When his daughter, Kehinde, breaks his rules by running away with a Yoruba man, he assaults the father of Kehinde's husband. Sent to prison, Nnaife blames Nnu Ego for all his problems. Whatever love he once had for her has turned to bitter hatred. With Oshia in America, and Adim (Nnaife and Nnu Ego's third child and second living

son) working and paying for his own schooling, and her two oldest daughters settled in marriages, Nnu Ego moves back to Izu. She is not welcome on Nnaife's family's compound so she moves into her father's old household with her youngest children. She lives out the rest of her days there. When she dies, her children finally come home Oshia from America and Adim from Canada and throw her an expensive funeral. They build a shrine so that her descendants can pray to her and ask for children. But Nnu Ego refuses to answer those prayers.

The Second Sex: The Bible of the Feminism

The Second Sex was first published in France in 1949 under the title *Le Deuxieme sexe*. Appearing almost midway between the two great waves of feminism: the early 1900s and the late 1960s. The book is a detailed explanation of de Beauvoir's theory of the contemporary relations between the sex by illustrating her theory of the development of a girl's life from birth to maturity, and how it is the girl who ultimately chooses her feminine destiny (Craig 19). In her attempt to make her stand point clear, de Beauvoir has expounded the theories of many philosophers such as Sigmund Freud, Friedrich Engels, Alfred Adler, Auguste Comte, among others, whom she thought wrote against feminine gender and rejects them all on the grounds that they all lack basis. For example in chapter five, she has criticized and describes Auguste Comte as an anti feminist before she finally relates the history of women's suffrage in France, New Zealand, Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany and the U.S.S.R

De Beauvoir does not only lament on anti-feminist theories, but strongly argues from different angles. For example, she is of the opinion that "it is not women's inferiority that has determined their historical insignificance: it is their historical insignificance that has doomed them to inferiority" (25). Another powerful argument in the book is her "one is not born a woman, one becomes a woman." This serves as a double-edged weapon: it hits both male and female genders. Thus, in Judith Butler's words "it distinguishes the terms 'sex' and 'gender'" (22). In another context (one of many different usages of "woman" in the book), the slogan could mean 'woman' as a construct or an idea, rather than woman as an individual or one of a group. Therefore de Beauvoir could be interpreted, based on this, to be saying that "gender" is an aspect of identity which is gradually acquired. Nevertheless, it is surprising that many feminist criticisms on female writers' works have ignored this issue of "a woman as a construct". Thus, there has been no proper assessment of what contribution de Beauvoir's philosophical perspective has made to an understanding of the feminine condition. (Craig 29). It is, therefore, against the last aforementioned point that the present study sets out to interpret Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* and Mariama Ba's *So Long a Letter* based on the de Beauvoir's conceptual framework of "one is not born a woman, one becomes a woman".

Emecheta/Ba and Their Critics

Despite the fact that "black women writers have begun to receive token recognition as they are subsumed under the category of woman in the feminist critique and the category of black in the racial critique", as observes (Henderson 343), female writers are still in a minority among published African writers. This is, possibly because their writings have been, traditionally, stereotyped as feminist. Thus, "most women's writings have been classified as feminist, irrespective of whether the women subscribe to it or not" (Alkali 12). It is important to stress that ever since literary scholars/critics have

begun their analyses on Emecheta and Ba's works, they have focused their attention on biographical and feminist aspects of their works, by showing how their own experiences provide material for their works, that is, they used the story of their struggles, their failed marriage, and subsequent hardship of raising a family on their own to write their books. Thus, "Emecheta has enjoyed more success as a writer than any of her female African predecessor, due largely to the attention she has received from feminist critics" (Sage 221). It is worth mentioning here that a large number of these criticisms overlap. This is, perhaps, due to the way these critics reduce Emecheta and Ba's works to one or two interpretations_ feminist and biographical. Thus,

Female writers like Ba, Emecheta and others feel women are not given a fair treatment. Thus they try to revisit the female question in order to present their own case. They argue against the negative attributions given to women, motherhood, patriarchy, polygamy, female subordination and enslavement, particularly in the marital institution (Mankaasi 7).

It is important at this juncture to stress that Emecheta's/Ba's excuse of being womanists as an escape from being feminists, does not settle well in the minds of these critics because they have been seen as "the writers who...most openly tried to reach an accommodation with Western feminism" (Williams 42). This serves as a microcosm of how Emecheta and Ba's works have been interpreted by these critics as either feminist, from the surface portrayal of the major characters, or just mere reflections of their life experiences. Thus, "critics have often focused on the novelist [Buchi Emecheta and Mariama Ba], rather than [their] works." (Sylvester 1). The critics of this view include Ogunyemi C. O. (1988), Ohaeto E. (1996), Onwuhara K. (1987), James A. (1990), Mezu U. (1994), Umeh M (1996), among others.

Women as Agents of Patriarchy

The present reading/interpretation of the two texts, as explained earlier, departs from the previous ones: it seeks to show that both writers are not sympathetic towards their central characters' predicament. In doing this, there will be an attempt by the paper to uncover the salient messages which both writers are channeling in man/woman relationship via other minor characters in the works. Therefore, based on this model of reading, and by using these two texts as microcosm, one should not also be oblivious of stating the fact that the assertion can be argued in two ways: first, by going for the assertion through considering the surface or shallow portrayal of the major characters and events, or (second) by going against it by deflating from the main characters to other (minor) characters in the texts. Meanwhile, the latter phase will be the focus of this essay.

The fact that one of the targets of this paper is to undermine, by complicating, the general perception of these female writers' critics that patriarchy is said to be responsible for women's suffering, the paper has found Beauvoir's conceptual framework of: "one is not born a woman; one becomes a woman" relevant for the task. This quotation will be found impeccable when we look through stylistic and thematic thrust of the two texts: Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* and Mariama Ba's *So Long a Letter*. In both texts, the authors skilfully satirize the main characters' dependency and total submission, on one hand, and on the other hand, they portray other characters who rebel against being dominated as successful and happy fellows_ Nnu Ego and Ramatoulay are victims, simply because they bore it out while Adaku and Aissatou checked out and become

successful because they could not bear it out. Thus, both writers, through their central characters, questioned the notion of patriarchy:

The men make it look as if we must aspire for children or die...But who made the law that we should not hope in our daughters? We women subscribe to that law more than anyone. Until we change all this, it is still a man's world, which women will always help to build (Emecheta 187).

According to Emecheta, as we have seen here, patriarchy should not be totally held responsible for women's suffering but the women's agreement to be dominated just as we have in the letter written by Aissatou to her husband, Mawdo when she was checking out "Princes master their feelings to fulfill their duties. Others bend their heads and, in silence, accept a destiny that oppresses them (Ba 31). One could confidently, from the above quotations, say that both authors suggest that feminine characteristics are given rather than natural and that gender roles are changeable. They are not inevitable or unchangeable. Thus, they do not stop here because they also skilfully demonstrate how women, through restraint, should treat men, irrespective of their wealth, power or rank. Emecheta, for instance, portrays this through the courtship between Ona and Agbadi, Nnu Ego's parents:

...yet he gave her his love without reservation, and she enjoyed it; she suspected, however, that her fate would be the same as that of his other women should she consent to become one of his wives. No, may be the best way to keep his love was not to let that happen (Emecheta 15).

Similarly, Ba does the same thing through the letter written by Aissatou to Mawdo:

...at the moment you tumbled from the highest rung of respect on which I have always placed you...Mawdo, man is one...none of his acts is pure charity. None is pure bestiality...I am stripping myself of your love, your name. Clothed in my destiny, the only worthy garment, I go my way (Ba 32).

Moreover, the two authors, in their attempt to place women liberation over patriarchy, make their central characters, Nnu Ego and Ramatoulay, who believe in tradition and stand firm to their beliefs, regret and admire those who check out (Adaku and Aissatou), "Nnu Ego told herself that she would have been better off had she had time to cultivate those women who had offered her hands of friendship..."(Emecheta 219) We should also note that Emecheta's perfect use of ironical narrative technique is systematic one for she (Emecheta) does not sympathize with her central character by making her (Nnu Ego) appraise Adaku's check-out:

Try to forgive my condemning your leaving Nnaife when you did. I am beginning to understand now (Emecheta 218).

However, Ba is not left behind because she does her own through Ramatoulaye:

I try to spot my faults in the failure of my marriage. I gave freely, gave more than I received...I understand your stand...I respect the choice of liberated women (Ba 55-6).

Furthermore, Nnu Ego's confession is similar to that of Ramatoulaye's hence:

My heart rejoices each time a woman emerges from the shadows (Emecheta 88).

Therefore, on the whole, one could then say that the two novels, in line with the paper's argument that patriarchy should not be totally held responsible for women's suffering (but women themselves as agents of patriarchy, as coined above), particularly, Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood*, is a ridicule for Nnu Ego. For, though Emecheta, in her deliberate attempt, has set her novel in a society where the value of a woman lies in her ability to bear children (particularly, male ones), she (Emecheta), later in the novel, laughs at the belief/tradition via her skilful portrayal of the character of Adaku who, besides her checking out of her marital home, bears female children, contrary to the wish of the society, becomes independent and, as we later see in the novel, a happier successful woman, unlike Nnu Ego, who despite the fact that she later had children, dies poor. In Beauvoir's words:

A woman knows how to be as active, effective and silent as a man...But her situation keeps her being *useful*, preparing food, clothes, and lodging...She worries because she does not *do* anything, she complains, she cries, and she may threaten suicide. She protests but doesn't escape her lot. She may achieve happiness in "Harmony" and the "Good" as illustrated by Virginia Woolf and Katherine Mansfield (78- 81).

As such Beauvoir thinks that it is pointless to try to decide whether woman is superior or inferior. This is because for her "the man's situation is infinitely preferable" (Beauvoir 83). Thus, she finally submits that, "for woman there is no other way out than to work for her liberation" (Beauvoir 83). This postulation seems to be further corroborated by one of her African sisters, Mariama Ba through her central character, Ramatoulaye that "a man's success depends on feminine support" (Ba 56).

Conclusion

Following a model of explanation pioneered by de Beauvoir which this present study has adopted as its theoretical frame work, we could sum it up that the two female writers' (Emecheta and Ba) messages can be uncovered via both the flat and round characters of the works. This uncovering, or act of uncovering, as illustrated in the analysis of the two texts, does not create a new centre by privileging what has been repressed; it has simply shown how the application of a different theory like that of de Beauvoir's, grants equal freedom to the text's otherness by creating a space for it (the Other), in this case, the other minor characters, as Jacques Derrida (1988) would claim. Indeed, it is this act of space creation, as the study has demonstrated, that can open, and has opened up possible interpretations of the texts, and of every text in general.

Works Cited

- Alkali, Zaynab. "Gender Politics and Sexual Dynamics, Imaging Men in African Women's Writing: The Quest for Identity and Integrity." *Gender Politics: Women's Writings and Films in Northern Nigeria*. Ed. Ahmed Yerima and Saeedat Aliyu. Nigeria: Kraft Books Limited, 2012. 11- 20. Print.
- Ba, Mariama. *So Long a Letter*. Nigeria: Heineman Education Books, 1989. Print.
- Craig, C. "Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* in the Light of The Hegelian *Master-Slave Dialectic* and Sartrian *Existentialism*". Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1979.
- De Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*. Trans. H.M. Parshley. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.
- Derrida, Jacques. *The Ear of the Other*. Trans. P. Kamup. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Print.
- Emecheta, Buchi. *The Joys of Motherhood*. Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2008. Print.
- Henderson, M. G. "Speaking in Tongues: Dialogics, Dialectics, and the Black Woman Writer's Literary Tradition". *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*. Ed. Smith, S. and Watson, J. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998. 343- 51. Print.
- Mankaasi, N, C. "Gender Identity as a Marker of Cultural Crisis in Marriage: A Case Study of Two West African Novels." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Vaasa, 2008.
- Oluwayomi, Edward. "Defiant Women: Re-evaluating Gender Identity in Women's Writings as Portrayed in Nawal El Saadawi's *Woman at Point Zero*." *Gender Politics: Women's Writings and Film in Northern Nigeria*. Ed. Ahmed Yerima and Saeedat Aliyu. Nigeria: Kraft Books Limited, 2012. 150- 164. Print.
- Sage, Lona. *The Cambridge Guide to Women's Writing in English*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Print.
- Sylvester, Vicky. M. "Marriage and Servitude: Social Injustice in the Novels of Buchi Emecheta". Unpublished M.A. Dissertation. Bayero University, Kano, 1986.
- Williams, P. "West African Writing". *Writing and Africa*. Ed. M. Msiska and P. Hyland. London: Longman, 1997. 31- 45. Print

INTERROGATING THE DIFFERENTIAL IMPACTS OF CONFLICT IN OIL PRODUCING COMMUNITIES IN BAYELSA STATE



Joseph Bibowei Ekiye

Abstract

This study sought to explore the differential impact of violent Oil-related conflicts in oil-producing communities in Bayelsa state. The purpose was to explore the differential variables within local communities and see if there are differences and indeed how these differences impact the social and economic development of communities- specifically how this impacts community development. The research employed the convergent Qual+qual mixed methods design of research. A total of 341 questionnaires coupled with 27 interviews were used to explore these. The research demonstrates that there exist differing differences across communities conditioned by the leadership processes, governance structure and decision making across communities which have implications for conflict. The research concludes that the differential impact of violent oil-related conflicts is conditioned by the impacts of pre-existing conflict dynamics across communities which have implications for creating differential impacts of the same/similar conflicts across communities

Keywords: Differential impact, conflict, oil-producing communities, Bayelsa state

Introduction

The vast oil and gas resource in the Niger Delta region has been a source of violent conflict with a differential impact on communities. Oil-related conflicts (ORC) often take place between the communities and oil companies, within the communities themselves, and between the communities and the state (Okoh, 2005). This is partly so because policy regarding oil and gas resources are skewed in favour of the state and oil companies. The result is that the benefit and control of oil wealth are kept beyond the reach of communities where the resources are located. For instance, the Land Use Act of 1978 triggered the initial protests (Odochi, 2017; Udoh and Ibok, 2014;). These policies coupled with direct exploitation and contact between communities and multinational giants fanned the embers of hostilities between local oil-producing communities (OPCs) and the state and oil companies. In the wake of these hostilities, social and physical development projects suffer, communities are destroyed and lives lost.

Research linking the impact of oil-related conflict and development has often fallen within the destruction, disruption, diversion and dis-saving criteria of Collier's (1999) explanatory mechanism on how violent conflicts impact development (Hegre, 2013). In the Niger Delta, the impact of Oil related conflicts community development has often been more generic: conflict impact on sustainable development (Ibaba, 2011; Jike, 2004), community security and multinational oil engagement strategies (Omeje, 2006), national security and the energy security of the Gulf of Guinea (Allen, 2012;

Watts, 2008; Ikelegbe, 2007;), ethnic groups drive for local autonomy and control of natural resources (Obi, 2009) and on other local conflicts (Omeje, 2004). Although the conflicts are caused by the same events, the impact on communities is different. This is in contrast with the literature which focuses on the conflicts, the causes, and impact and overlooks the differential impact.

The fixation of the literature on the impact of violent ORC in the Niger Delta derives from the need to draw attention to the development deficit that exists in the region despite the vast oil revenues generated from the area. This position appears to be concerned mainly with the development of the region. Evidence from the literature suggests that the duration and actors in the conflict and specific community needs can affect the outcome of conflict (Ibaba, 2017; Aaron and Patrick, 2013). ORC in the region is known to have crossed different timelines, presenting different players and a result of different demands (Ebiede, 2016; Kemedi, 2006; Omeje, 2006 ;). In Bayelsa state, for instance, ORC in some communities has lasted longer than others, while in some, the actor has changed and in others, the demands have changed. One implication here is that the outcome of such conflicts will not be the same for all communities in Bayelsa State.

The paper examines the emerging differential impact of conflict on the development of selected 9 oil-producing communities in Bayelsa as a part of the findings of the author's dissertation. The central argument of the paper thus is that the differential impact of oil-related violent conflicts are often more destructive in communities where prior conflicts existed before the oil-related conflicts than in other communities mainly because of the prevailing interests, coalitions alignments and cracks within the individual leadership structures that are exploited by the international oil companies and their cronies. In this instance, the potential impact of the same oil-related violent conflicts between two different communities would be different because of this factor. Therefore the central question of the paper is what factors within local community governance structures cause different impacts of the same conflict

Political Economy of Violent conflict in the Niger Delta

The Niger Delta often described as Africa's largest delta (Singh, Moffat & Linden, 1995: 1) has been embroiled in violent oil-related confrontations for over three decades (Ibab, 2017). The initial triggers were agitations against oil companies in local communities especially in the 1970s with a strategic focus on the development concerns, environmental protection issues, compensation for damages (Ibaba, 2017). In the wake of these, the Nigerian government has benefited a lot from oil production with crude oil export accounting for more than 70 percent of revenue (Ministry of Budget and National Planning) with an estimated 32.7 billion barrel of crude produced/already exploited between 1960-2014 with estimates of earning around US \$ 509 billion from 1999-2013 9.

However, oil production has like the proverbial 'resource curse; also brought with significant environmental woes, human displacement, loss of livelihood and conflict owing to spills and violent conflict which further impoverishing the people. These

conditions which have often been a source of conflict have affected the primary source of income-farming and fishing with an estimated 70 percent poverty rate and an over 40 percent youth employment rate. From 2005, the conflict became a full-blown insurgency in the region leading to the formation of several dreaded groups such as the Niger Delta Volunteer Force, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta and others. For many, the transmutation of the conflict was largely due development failure by not just government by oil companies as well worsened by violent responses to seeming protests and other forms of dissent by local from the region. Others include the meddling of security agencies and indeed oil companies and even government in local community matters often spiraling violent conflicts. Several explains including the destruction of where police intervention in a dispute between community and Shell Petroleum Development Company led to the death of 20 persons and destruction of 495 houses (Alapiki, 2002). Others include the Odi, Odioma, Nembe, and other communities.

Table 1.1 Selected Cases of Abductions/Kidnapping for Ransom (2002–2003

MNC	Community/youth Group	Ethnic Group/state	Demand
Invasion of Qua Iboe Terminal, Seizure of 3 Vessels, Production Disruption/April 2000 State	Exxon Mobil	Community Youths/Ibena Community/Aqua Ibom	Electricity
at Tunu & Opukulli, 165 staff held hostage/July–August 2000 Communities/	Hell	militant Youths of Egbema, Agalabiri & Agbichiama Communities/Bayelsa state	Jobs
Stoppage of work on Gas Project, Shut down of 5 flow stations/ January 2001	Shell	Youths of Odidi/ Delta State	Facilities, registration of indigenous contractors
Seizure of Shell Housing Estate, Kolo Creek Camp/February 2001	Shell	Youths of Otuasega/ Bayelsa	Employment, scholarships and environmental compensation
Sealing off of Off-Shore Oil rig, Hostage of 88 workers/April 2002	Chevron/ Texaco	Ilaje Youths/ State	Employment
Occupation of	Shell	Ogboloma Youth	Employment,

Etobele stations/ May 2002	Flow		Federation, Ijaw/ Bayelsa State	scholarships	
Abduction of staff/ July 2003		Chevron Texaco	Egbema National Front, Youth/ Delta State	Development and empowerment	
Invasion of premises/ August 2003		Oil Servicing co	Itsekiri Community Youths/Delta State	Employment	

Sources: Augustine Ikelegbe, 2005, "The Economy of Conflict in the Oil Rich Niger Delta Region of Nigeria", Nordic Jurnal of African Studies 14(2):208-234 and the NNPC Annual Statistical Bulletin 2007/Anyakwee Nsirimovu, 2009.

As table 1.1 indicates, the violence often over struggles to profit from the oil industry was not only between communities, these were also between these groups and individuals. These violent confrontations oiled by the presence of oil has also often led to violent confrontations between groups (intra communal) conflicts within communities. As noted bu Onojowo (2001), the paramount ruler of Evreni kingdom in Ugheli delta state was killed by armed community youths in 2000 over accusations of enriching himself with MNO compensation and donations to the chagrin of other community members.

Other instances of Rumuekpe between Shell and the community in Emohua LGA of Rivers state which led to the sacking of an entire community and the killing of several young and old members of the community over compensational divide and rule tactic of the oil company are just a few cases of the impact of the conflict. But is the impact the same across communities simply because there is the same cause?

Table 1.2 Summary of adverse effects of violent conflict on development in Bayelsa State

S/N	Measure/Indicator of Sustainable Development	Impact of Violent Conflict
1	environmental protection (a) Pollution control and prevention	Pollution of land and water through oil spills caused by sabotage and vandalization of oil equipment/ installations Use of dangerous chemicals such as dynamite and Gamalin-20 as instruments of aggression, leading to the destruction of fishing grounds - stream, river, lake, creek, pond
2	Sustainable exploitation of natural resources	Oil spills resulting from sabotage and vandalization natural resources of oil installations destroy marine life and plants and reduce the nutrient value of affected soils The insecurity associated with conflicts limits fishing and farming to particular areas, leading to overuse or

		exploitation of farmlands and fishing grounds
3	Enhancement of Production Capabilities	Conflicts create insecurity, which limits trade and capabilities investment, undermine the viability of the means of production and stagnate the development of agriculture and aquaculture. Destruction of social and economic infrastructure Unfavorable environment for teaching and learning; people are forced out of school, and others denied the right to enroll in school
4	Creation of Wealth and Poverty Reduction	Destruction of local economies, lives and properties reduction Widening of the income inequality gap Creation of insecurity ⁶ and inhibiting access to means of production Worsening of poverty and unemployment due to the destruction of lives and property; stagnation of infrastructural development and weakening of people's main livelihoods - fishing and farming

Source- Ibaba, (2009: 570)- Adverse effects of violent conflict on development in Bayelsa State.

The Economy of Conflict: Theoretical Considerations and the Literature

The literature on the impact of violent conflict and development argues that violent oil-related conflicts divert productive economic activities from public expenditure on social goods that advance development. As argued by Collier, 2010; Dietz et al, 2007; Ikelegbe, 2005 Ross, 2004; Collier 2003; Stewart et al (2001), this leads to longer-term developmental costs and loss of household assets, destruction of infrastructure essential for both human wellbeing, loss of agriculture, commerce and even loss of confidence in institutions. These scholars like the first thesis conclude that violence generated from the oil in the region impedes development (Obi, 2010; Ross, 2004). This view also captures the greed arguments often put forward by some scholars as an explanation of the broader Niger Delta conflict. Some argue that this is an unfair characterization of the conflict as it ignores the role the state plays in fanning and sponsoring violence which in turn leads to reactions and counter-reactions from community groups. Watts (2010) captures the reality in the region regarding the expressions of conflicts over oil resources in local communities in the Niger Delta. Hear him:

There are also inter-community (both inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic) conflicts often driven by land and jurisdictional disputes over oil-bearing lands (and correspondingly over access to cash payments and rents from the oil companies... Central to these struggles in which perhaps 700,000 people have been displaced and thousands killed, is the ethnic delineation of electoral wards and local government councils... (Watts, 2010:19)

Although evidence from some climes indicates that violent conflicts are not always development in reverse, for instance in Uganda between 1994 and 2004, while conflict took place in the Northern area, development indicators were on a positive outlook.

The 'rational choice' or 'war economies' school of thought (Acey. 2016; Emuedo & Crosdel, 2014; Nwajiaku-Dahou, 2012; Watts, 2008; Obi, 2007; Ikelegbe, 2006) argued that one of the impacts of the violent oil conflict in the Niger Delta is the perpetuation of an intensive and violent struggle for resource opportunities creating several inter and intra communal/ethnic conflicts. While the rational choice/war economies school of thought posit violent conflicts as rational and calculated decisions of individuals, it is important to highlight that these cannot satisfactorily explain the perceived complex phenomena of violence and indeed the multiplicity of its impact which goes beyond rational economic choices to also social factors (Boge and Spelten, 2005). As argued by Imobighe (2003) even where countries/states and regions share similar or common circumstances, the impact of resources based conflict and in our case oil is varied. The variation ranges from the community to community often affected by the history, nature and socio-political culture.

Method

The research employed the convergent Mixed Methods design symbolized as qualitative and quantitative (QUAL+qual; Morse, 1991) with greater emphasis on the QUAL bit. The implications are that the researcher concurrently conducted the quantitative and qualitative elements in the same phase of the research process, weighs the methods equally, analyses the two components together and interprets the results together (Creswell & Pablo-Clark, 2011). This is due to the strength of this design which helps with corroboration and validation and increases the potentials for triangulation by comparing quantitative statistical findings with the qualitative results obtained.

The study sample was based on the multi-state sampling with stratified, purposive and random sampling methods used in the selection of 9 communities for the study and the distribution of questionnaires for this study. A total of 341 questionnaires were successfully retrieved out of a total of 420 distributed for the study. Data were analyzed through the content analysis method where key themes generated after the analysis of the data were used for the analysis process. A total of 27 key Informant interviews and 6 Focused Group Discussions (total of 29) were held across 8 of the 9 study communities

An Economy of Conflict: The Differential Impact of Violent Oil Related Conflict

Aggregate data from the 9 communities indicate that 16% of all respondents (56) are within the age brackets of 18-24 while those between the age ranges of 25-34

make up 41% (140) of all respondents. Similarly, the respondents between the age bracket of 35-49 make up a substantial 30% of all respondents while those above the age of 50 years make up just 13% of all respondents. However, this data is not the same across communities. For instance, in the riverine/rural and semi-urban communities of Nembe (Bassambiri) and Okiama (Opuama) 28% of all respondents were within the active age bracket of 35-49 while in the case of Okiama, 53% of all respondents were within the age group of 25-34. A similar difference can be observed in upland semi-urban and rural communities of Otuasega and Akumoni communities where 35% and 70% of all respondents from both upland communities fall within the age bracket of 35-49 years respectively. This is significant because as data would show in the analysis further, violent conflicts across communities have been prosecuted by youths with youths being the first line victims occasioned by deaths recorded from some of the incidences. The implication of this across communities is a young population of persons within the youthful age of 18-35 prone to violence. These can also be linked to potential ease of mobilization of the population based on their share size, strength and capacity to cause violence. Across all 9 communities, the violent conflicts were prosecuted by the youth recruited among the population. For instance, in Okiama (Opuama) community with 53 percent of respondents as youths between the ages of 18-35 highlights a key concern with the type of conflict recorded in Okiama and indeed why the community vs oil company conflict led to violent confrontation between these young and energetic population and security agencies guarding the oil facility at the Obama flow station in course of a protest. Youth violence is influenced by risk factors at different levels and at different life stages of an individual. At the individual level, risk factors can include a history of involvement in crime; delinquency and aggressive behaviour; psychological conditions such as hyperactivity and conduct disorder; and the harmful use of alcohol and illicit drugs which increases the chance of easy recruitment to violence. In Sierra Leone, where young people comprised 95 percent of the fighting forces in a recent civil war, an NGO official explained that the youth are “a long-neglected cohort; they lack jobs and training, and it is easy to convince them to join the fight” (Mastny, 2004: 19).

Findings indicate that out of the 9 study communities the violent confrontations between actors were significant in the Emadike and Epebu conflict and in the intra communal conflict in Igbomotoru.. Table 1.2 Distributions of Instruments

S/N	Community	Key Informant Interviews	Focused Groups	Retrieved/actual
1	Igbomotoru	5	2	35
2	Okiama	3	1	30
3	Emadike	3	0	30
4	Epebu	4	0	31
5	Ikarama	4	0	30
6	Akumoni	3	1	30
7	Otuasega	2	1	44
8	Nembe-Bassambiri	6	1	81

9	Kalaba	5	0	30
	Total			341

The population of Study Communities (estimated)

Community	Operating company	Estimated population
Igbomotoru 1	Agip	Over 10,000
Okiama	Agip and SPDC	Over 5,000
Nembe-Bassambiri	Agip/SPDC, CHEVRON	Over,30,000
Kalaba	SPDC	Over 5,000
Emadike	AGIP	Over 25,000
Epebu	Agip	Over 15,000
Akumoni	AGIP	Over 5,000
Otuasega	SPDC	Over 10,000
Ikarama	AGIP/SPDC	Over 7,000

Sources: NPC, 2019; Authors estimation based on interviews (October 2019), Esuene, 1998

Interviews with Epebu and Igbomotoru community leadership

The conflict was caused by the Agip oil well- The location of the oil well/land was the cause of the conflict as Epebu claimed that the land/oil well belonged to them. While the conflict was Agip stopped dealing with the community. But Agip operations were still going on, the oil was still flowing. Before this there was conflict in the community which affected the leadership (Interview with Emadike community leader, 2019)

The first leadership conflict was in 2003 when the Chiefs were removed (Chief Egboh Amakri, Chief Lawson Jerimiah and Chief Efongo). During this conflict, there was no killing or destruction of properties. Community crises came up in 2005, which was through Agip operation and this led to the destruction of properties but no life was lost. The community was divided into two camps, one camp led by Chief Lawson and the other led by Chief Efongo. Chief Efongo was over the throne and Chief Lawson Jerimiah was installed (Igbomotoru community leadership).

The conflict between Emadike and Epebu led to the killing of over 10 youths from mainly Epebu community and the burning down of Emadike community in 1998. Similarly, the Igbomotoru cases between the first and second episodes of the conflict, over 10 youths were killed in the course of the conflict. Historical records and interviews indicate that even before the violent confrontations in 1998 for Emadike and 2005 for Igbomotoru, there have been episodes of violent confrontations over the same issues, a parcel of land and leadership disputes in both cases which had not been resolved before the oil-related violent conflicts erupted. More often than not, this increases the premium on routine community leadership positions such as Youth President, CDC

chairman, Paramount ruler and others (Ikelegbe, 2005). This has necessarily as the case with some of the study communities fuelled deadly and violent conflicts as each group struggles to prove their relevance and capacity to disrupt the oil economy

This thus clearly typified the point that beyond the increased risk of conflict, natural resource-especially oil increased the risk of armed violent conflicts as it weakens community solidarity and indeed the capacity of local leadership to settle amicably conflict issues (Billon, 2001). These resonate with the specific cases of Igbomatoru and the Emadike and Epbeu communities where weak community leadership prior to the conflict was a key determinant in the violent outcome.

Discussion of Findings and Implications on Conflict

Findings provide a sharp departure from the literature highlighting why certain conflicts are more violent than others and indeed the differential impact created. The findings indicate that in local communities where violent conflict had merged before and often unresolved. These conflicts around struggles over potential benefits from the oil economy often pitch different leadership groups against the others. Commonly owned and respected leadership positions based on the specific number of years become problematic as leadership refuses to relinquish power.

In the end, the struggle for the appropriation of the largess that comes from the oil economy-defined by contracts, payments, compensation, and other pecuniary rewards, leadership recruitment has become less noble and less altruistic with high leadership turnover and instability recorded across communities mainly because everyone appears to want to 'get a piece of the pie'. Constituted and tenured leadership surreptitiously attempt to change laid down rules and laws governing the community in a bid to perpetuate themselves in power to enjoy 'the oil loot'. In the ensuing confusion, violence prevails.

These conditions provide a weakened community front which is often capitalized upon by the large oil companies through their isolation strategy- 'divide and conquer'. Untrusted and gullible community members with some level of influence overnight become strongmen and link men in the community wielding the big stick around throwing caution to the wind. The cited conflict causes typify these points, as in the mind of these unresolved conflicts, a violent oil-related conflict emerged and with no trusted leadership in the community, the communities fell apart.

Conclusion

The economy of violent oil-related conflict in Bayelsa state is not pernicious. Structural defects occasioned by years of fighting over oil and non-oil related conflicts and unresolved provide a fertile ground significant conflict impacts across communities. A polarized leadership provides a fertile ground for the rising of youths and other groups dethroning erstwhile constituted authority which has largely lost its followership. This condition provides a fertile explanation for how the same intra or intra communal conflicts have differential impact s across communities

References

- Acey, C. "Managing wickedness in the Niger Delta: Can A New Approach to Multi Stakeholders Governance increase and Sustainability ." *Landscape and Urban Planning* (2016): 102-114.
- A, Ikelegbe, "Popular and Criminal Violence as Instruments of Struggles in the Niger Delta in Obi and Rustad (eds). *Oil and Insurgency in the Niger Delta: Managing the Complex Politics of Petro-Violence*. (O. A. Rustad, Ed.) (2011).
- A, Ikelegbe, A. (2010). *Oil, Resource Conflicts and the Post Conflict Transition in the Niger Delta Region: Beyond the Amnesty*. Nigeria: Centre for Population and Environmental Development (CPED)
- A, Ikelegbe, "The Economy of Conflict in the Oil Rich Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 14(2): 208–234 (2005).(2005). The University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria
- A, Ikelegbe, "State, Ethnic Militias, and Conflict in Nigeria: *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, (2005). Vol. 39, No. 3 (2005), Pp. 490-516.
- Alapiki, H. "The Environment and Sustainable Development: National and Global Concerns' in H.E Alapiki (eds), *The Political Process*." (2001).
- C, Aaron K, and Patrick. "Corporate Social Responsibility Patterns and Conflicts in Nigeria's oil-rich region." *International Area Studies Review* 16.4 (n.d.).
- C, Emuedo, and, H. Crosdel. "Oil and Conflict Nexus: The Greed Model and Insecurity in the Niger Delta, Nigeria". *Global Journal of Human-Social Science Research*, (2014). 14(4).
- C. Obi, "Oil Extraction, Dispossession, Resistance, and Conflict in Nigeria's Oil-Rich Niger Delta". *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, (2011). Vol 30, (Issue 1-2).
- C, Obi, "Nigeria's Niger Delta: Understanding the Complex Drivers of Violent Oil-related Conflict". *Africa Development*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 2, 2009, Pp. 103–128, *Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa*, (2009).
- C, Obi, "Oil Development in Africa: Lessons for Sudan after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement", (2007). (September), 9–34. Retrieved from <http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/33990/ichaptersection>
- D. Onojowo, "Of Hoodlums, North, and South" Lagos: PUNCH, Newspaper.(2001).
- F, Allen. "The Enemy Within Oil in the Niger Delta:." *World Policy* 29.4 (2013.): 46-53.
- H.K. Hegre "Predicting Armed Conflict, 2010-2050". *International Studies Quarterly*, (2013). Vol 57 (Issue, 2), Pp- 250-270.
- K, Omeje,. "Petrobusiness and Security Threats in the Niger Delta, Nigeria". *Sage*, (2006)., 54 (Issue 3).
- M. Ross, "Resource Curse? Governability, Oil, and Power in the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria". *Geopolitics*, , (2004). Pp 50-80.
- Nwankwo, O.B. "The Politics of Conflict over Oil in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria> A Review of the Corporate Social Responsibility Strategies of the Oil Companies." *Sociology* (2015): 2-4-1.

- NNPC "Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation"- Annual Statistical Bulletin,(2007). Abuja-Nigeria.
- T.A. Imobighe "Conflict in the Niger Delta. A Unique Case or a Model for Future Conflicts in other Oil-producing Countries?" In: Rudolf TRAUB-MERZ [et al.] (eds.), *Oil Policy in the Gulf of Guinea: Security and Conflict, Economic Growth, Social Development.*, (2004). Washington: Fredrich Ebert Shifting
- T, Ebiede "Beyond Rebellion: Alternative Narratives of Violent Conflicts and the Implications for Peacebuilding in the Niger Delta". *African Peacebuilding Network*, (2016). APN working Papers, No 3
- T, Ebiede, (2011). Conflict Drivers: Environmental Degradation and Corruption in the Niger Delta Region. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 1(1), Pp 139-151.
- S.I. Ibaba, "Mopping the Wet Floor, While Overlooking the Leaking Roof" Rethinking Peacebuilding in the Niger Delta. Being an Inaugural Lecture Presented at the 28th Inaugural Lecture Series of the Niger Delta University, (2017). -Wilberforce Island -Bayelsa State.
- S.I. Ibaba. "Violent Conflicts and Sustainable Development in Bayelsa State." *Review of African Political Economy*: (2009). Pp, 555–573
- S.I. Ibaba, "Alienation and Militancy in the Niger Delta: Hostage Taking and Dilemma of the Nigerian State. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, (2008). Pp 11-34.
- S.I. Ibaba, "Understanding the Niger Delta Crisis". Port Harcourt: Amethyst and Colleagues Publishers (2005).
- V.D Kemedi, "Community Conflicts in the Niger Delta: Petro-weapon or Policy Failure?", Berkeley Workshop on Environmental Politics Working Paper No. WP 03-12, pp.10-11. (2006)
- V. Jike, "Environmental Degradation, Social Disequilibrium, and the Dilemma of Sustainable Development in the Niger-Delta of Nigeria" *Journal of Black Studies*, (2004). Vol 34 (Issue 5), Pp 686-701.