

IKENGA

International Journal of Institute of African Studies

University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Volume 21, No. 4

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*.

All papers should be submitted to the Editor, ikengajournal@unn.edu.ng or using our online submission: <https://ikengajournal.unn.edu.ng/>

Peer review process: All the manuscripts are subjected through internal and external peer-review processes. The critical opinions of reviewers are respected.

Plagiarism check: Please note that Editors of the *Ikenga* insist on the author's submission of original manuscript and all manuscripts are subjected to plagiarism checks.

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

EBSCO

information services.

Editor-in-chief

Florence Orabueze

Editor

Tochukwu Omenma

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Nkiruka Ohia
Ifeanyi Iwundu
Magnus Aniago

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Ikpe Ibenekwu
John Chidubem Nwaogaidu
Matthew Eze
ThankGod Ikenegbu
Godstime Eze
Ogochukwu Agbo

CONSULTING EDITORS

Professor Emeka Nwabueze, University Nigeria, Nsukka
Professor Patrick Ebewo, Tshwane University of Technology, Pretoria, South Africa
Professor Cheryl Hendricks, Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa
Professor Annie Sandra Chikwanha, University of Johannesburg, South Africa
Professor Ifeyinwa H. Emejulu, Nnamdi Azikwe University, Awka, Nigeria
Professor Emmanuel O. Ezeani, University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Professor Roseline Ijeoma Okorji, University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Professor Charles A. Igwe, University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Professor Nnanyelugo Okoro, University Nigeria, Nsukka
Professor Aloysius-Michael Okolie, University Nigeria, Nsukka
Associate Professor Abatihun Alehegn Sewagegn, Debre Markos University Ethiopia
Associate Professor Penine Uwimbabazi, Protestant University of Rwanda
Dr. Sunday K. M. Anadi, Southern University and A & M College, Louisiana, USA
Dr. Hillary Agbo, Blind College, Bryan Texa, USA
Dr. Rajesh Many, Mahatma Gandhi University, India
Dr. Epimaque Niyibizi, University of Rwanda, Kigali, Rwanda

Editorial Secretariat

Uche-vita Agundu
Godwin Ajibo, ESQ

Table of contents

Further Archaeological investigation of iron smelting sites in Orba, Enugu State, Nigeria

Joshua Okenwa Uzuegbu

Archaeological Investigations: Impacts and Community Expectations in Dunoka, Lejja

Odum C. Jude, Onyemechalu J. Stanley, and Oji C. Cyriacus

Art, History, Religion and Literature: the iconoclasts in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*

Florence O. Orabueze

Patriarchy and women Political Development in Niger Delta

Ebiere Lynsa Atani and Jude Cocodia

Rape in 2 Samuel 13:1-39 and the sexual molestation of the female folk in Nigeria

Favour C. Uroko and Favour Amara Innocent

Traditional Burial and Funeral Practices in Igbo Culture

Joy Nneka U. Ejikeme

The challenges of traditional festivals as social control in Igboland, South East Nigeria

Matthew Ikechukwu Eze and Ezichi Ituma

Further Archaeological investigation of iron smelting sites in Orba, Enugu State, Nigeria

By

Joshua Okenwa Uzuegbu
Humanities Unit,
School of General Studies,
University of Nigera, Nsukka
joshua.uzuegbu@unn.edu.ng

Abstract:

This paper is a report of further archaeological excavation at iron smelting sites in Ama-Orba and Amube villages in Orba, Udenu Local Government Area, Enugu State as a follow-up to an earlier archaeological excavations carried out at the same sites in the early 1980s which laid emphasis on furnace types, ore types and dates for early iron smelting in the area. Ethno-archaeological research method was used to interpret excavated cultural materials to be able to understand the early history of the people. Relevant artifacts were also collected for preservation and possible exhibition at the refurbished Archaeology Museum, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Keywords: Iron smelting, Archaeology, Ethno-Archaeology, Investigation, Sites, Orba

Introduction

Orba is a town in the old Nsukka Division; a region notable for iron working. Scholars like D.D Hartle, F.N. Anozie and V.E Chikwendu in the late 1960s and mid 1970s pioneered studies in iron workings in Nsukka area. Others like Ekechukwu (1988 and 1989); Ezike (1998), Itanyi (2013) and Okonkwo et al (2018) studied iron working in Nsukka area with emphasis on documentation of the processes of black smiting, furnace type, slag type, identification of raw materials and causes of the decline of smelting. Between 1982-1984, Prof. E. E. Okafor, excavated iron smelting sites in Orba and went ahead to excavate other sites at Opi, Lejja, Owere-Elu, Aku among others and his research are published in reputable academic journals and books. More academic studies in iron working are on-going by scholars and students of the Department of Archaeology and Tourism University of Nigeria, Nsukka with view of complimenting the studies already done in the area.

Iron working communities in old Nsukka Division of Orba, Opi, Umundu, Aku, Lejja, Orba, Obimo, Owere-Elu and Nru have produced remarkable evidences of early iron working including dates. Anozie (1979) noted that iron smelting in Lejja and Umundu lasted between 1625 and 1925. Similarly, Eze-Uzomaka (2009) obtained dates of 4005BP-2005BP and 3445BP-1445 BP from Lejja. Also, (Okafor 1995; Okafor &

Phillips, 1992 and Whiteman & Okafor 2003) delineated three phases of early iron smelting in Nsukka area, with Opi, Lejja and Aku belonging to the earliest group dated about 8th Century B.C; Owerre-Elu, Nru-Isiakpu axis (800-1450 A. D) belonging to the middle period and Umundu, Orba and Ehandigu (1430-1950) grouped to the late period. These dates were obtained from twelve samples mainly of goethite and sand. These dates seem to point to the earliest date for iron working in Nigeria. Two villages in Orba namely Amube were chosen for the study because they bear imprints of early iron workings such as mound of slag, furnace remains, heaps of iron ore and blacksmith workshops. Smelters in Ama-Orba village were skillful men however, they no longer carry out iron smelting; and this is attributed to the influx of European, sophisticated iron products which are cheaper less labour intensive to obtain. They also believe that the present generation of young men is not as energetic as their fore-fathers who used to engage in iron smelting. It is heart breaking to find some remnants of early iron working like furnace wall destroyed as a result of infrastructural development. In Amube village, the fast rate at which blacksmithing is disappearing is worrisome as youngest people do not have good knowledge of what blacksmithing represent. Iron smelting continued till early 1950s while blacksmith has been sustained up till present, though with handful of people actively involved. The blacksmith produced iron tools; performed some religious functions such as cleansing and purification of the land.

With the fast rate at which blacksmithing is declining in the study area, there is the need to carry out further archaeological reassessment of iron working in the sites for identification, collection, documentation and storage of evidence of early iron working. Consequently, the archaeological investigation lasted from the 10th-20th February 2017 with the specific objectives being to: collect oral information on the early history and traditions of the people so as to interpret the excavated cultural materials and to collect and exhibit evidence of early iron working at Archaeology Museum, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Method of research: To achieve the above set objectives, ethno-archaeological method of research was adopted. This involves the collection of oral traditions from knowledgeable persons on the subject matter from the area. Ground reconnaissance was carried out to identify features and artifacts in order to guide in the selection of suitable area for excavation. Excavation was conducted and cultural materials retrieved for analysis and interpretation. Secondary sources like books, journal and unpublished materials were used to give further illustrations. Tables, charts, and figures were used for presentation and analysis of data.

Background information of the study area

Geographically, Orba town is presently in Udeno Local Government Area of Enugu State. The town is located at about 6'.52" North in latitude and 7'.32" East of longitude. Nsukka town-ship and Ovoko town bound Orba towards the North, while Eha-Alumona and Imilike- Uno respectively bound Orba by the South and East respectively. The federal road from Markudi in Benue State to the Ninth Mile Corner, Enugu State transverse across the town.

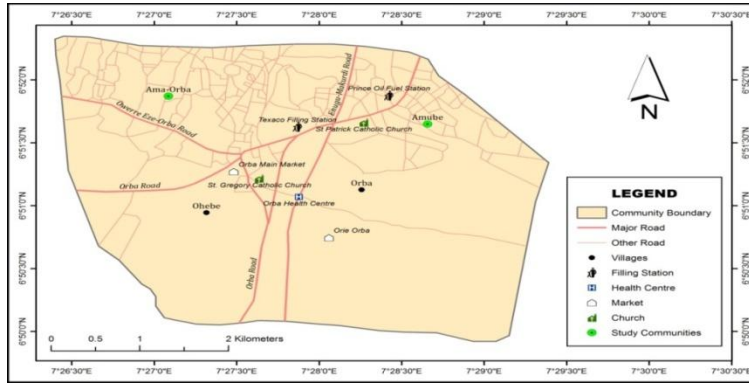


Figure 1: Map of Orba showing the study area

The vegetation of Orba is “derived Savanna”, which resulted from the combination of human, animal and change in the climatic condition. It is characterized by sparse forest with the activities of plenty of short trees and grasses. Examples of such trees and grasses include oil bean tree (Akpaka) *pentaclethra macrophylla*; mango (mangoro) *Mangifera indica*; neem-*Azadirachta indica*; oil palm tree (ekwu)-*Elaeis guineensis*; African bread fruit (ukwa)-*Treculia Africana*; iroko tree-*Chlorophora excels*; kola tree (oji) -*Cola acuminata*; star apple-*Chrysophyllum albidum*; ofo tree-*Detarium senegalense*; pear (ube-okpoko)-*Canarium schweinfurtii*; pepper fruit (mmimi) - *Dennethia tripetala*. Among the most important grass species found in this area include Giant Star grass - *Cynodon dactylon*; Elephant grass -*Pennisetum purpureum*; Spear grass -*Imerate cylondrica*; Carpet grass-*Axonopus compressus*; Guinea grass-*Panicum maximum*; Southern Gamba grass- *Andropogon tectorum*; northern Gamba grass - *Andropogon gayanum*; goat weed - *Ageratum contzoides*; Dodder, mistletoe etc. Most of these grasses are of economic importance as they are used for traditional house roof and as fodder for livestock.

Historically, there are two different accounts about the early history and migration of the people. One version states that the founding fathers of Orba migrated to their present place of abode at different times from Ugbene Ajima, Aku and Amube Enugu Ezike. Others believe that Orba people are descendants from *Udu-Ata* of Idah, Igala kingdom, Kogi State who came for slave raid but decided to settle in Orba where he had seven sons that make up the villages in Orba. In their order of seniority, the villages are Owerri Eze-orba, Ajuona, Okpu, Amube, Ama-orba, Ohom and Ohebe. The second version maintained that the founding fathers of Orba were autochthonous had lived in the area long before other groups came to join them. Orba people live in two separate areas namely Orba-Uno; the original homeland of the people and Agu-Orba; areas acquired during communal wars from neighboring towns of Imilike and Eha-Alumona. Agu-Orba was originally used for agricultural purpose however, as population increased there was more demand for land people started building residential houses. From oral information, it appears that at the apex of the political leadership is *Eze Orba* (king), who oversees the affairs of the whole of Orba. This post is not rotational as Owerre-Eze village produces the king by the virtue of being the oldest village in the town. However, with the creation

of five autonomous communities by the Enugu State Government, the town presently has five autonomous communities namely headed by an Igwe. The communities are Orba, Ajuona-Orba, Ohom-Orba, Ugwu-na-owerre and Agu-Orba autonomous communities. Majority of the present inhabitants of the area are Christians as there are several Christian denominations while the rest are African Traditional worshippers. The traditional religious worshippers believe in almighty God-*Ezechitoke* represented by land goddess-*Ala*. Other deities are *Amanyi*, *Abere*, *Ochegi* and *Ekwensu-uzu*.

Data presentation

Ethnographic data: In the study, two villages namely, Ama-Orba and Amube-Amalla in Orba autonomous community were chosen. Below, are details of identified ethnographic resources from the study area.

Festivals: Ekwensu-uzu (god of iron) festival is celebrated every year when blacksmiths deposit iron debris at Ekwensu-uzu shrine. Goat and chicken as sacrificed and their blood sprinkled at the altar of deity to appease and thank it for effectively guiding them for the year's job. During the festival, blacksmith are not expected to eat fluted pumpkin leave (*ugu*) as anyone who violates this norm must not follow others to the village square (*Otobo*) where the feast is held and to the iron dumping site. *Onwa-esa* and *Onwa-eno* festivals are periods to remember and venerate the ancestors for their guidance. Equally, there is the *Onwa-ebo* (second month) festival which marks the initiation of young male into the Akatakpa masquerade cult. There is also the Omabe festival which is celebrated every four years. Omabe festival has a lot of spiritual and political undertone in the whole Orba town. New yam (*Nshuajioku*) festival is celebrated annually in appreciation of the god of agricultural fertility and the god of iron because it is from iron that all the farming implements are obtained. There is the feast of *Oriri-Chukwu* which is the sacrifice to the great God for the sustenance of life and the protection of their property.

Blacksmith: Amube village is reputed for blacksmithing as they used to buy bloom from Ama-Orba village when smelting of iron ore-*itoro* used to take place. Presently, they purchase scrap metal from the open market especially at Ori-Orba and the neighboring towns. A typical blacksmith house-*Ulo uzu* has either thatched roof or corrugated iron zinc. The four corners of the house are supported with wooden pillars. At the centre of the house is located a big and strong log of wood, preferably that of oil bean tree-*Pentaclethra macrophylla* with an anvil- *Ihuama*. There is also the hearth or fire place-*Onu-adu*, fixed with clay *tuyere* and rubber *eko* which supply air to the hearth and keep the chamber in constant combustion. The blacksmith house is littered with charcoal, scrap metal, ashes and firewood. Other tools include big iron hammer for hitting -*Obere*; *Otutu*-a little bit bent iron hammer; iron fork-*Nkpa* for bringing out iron from the fire; *Oguga*-iron cutter: hafted on a stick for cutting; a bowl of water for cooling hot iron objects and a seat.

As the charcoal inside the hearth is lit up, air is introduced into the chamber with the bellows-*eko* which is made of hollowed wood. Each of the bellows has a tunnel which narrows down gradually towards the end. The charcoals hits up and turns reddish yellow, iron bar is placed inside the fire. After a few minutes, the iron bar will turn red in colour

and it will be brought out with *Nkpa*, placed on the *Ihuama* and hammered into a desired shape with iron hammer. Most times, the desired shape is not gotten in one hitting, so the smith puts back the iron bar in the fire, brings it out and hit again just in that manner till he gets his shape. As the hitting continues, some parts of the iron fall off and can be harmful if it touches one's skin as it is very hot.



Plate 1: Hammering of hot iron bar

Plate 2: Blacksmith using the bellow

Some of the iron tools include sickle-*Nkoro*; digger-*Ngwu*; axe-*Anyu*; knife-*Uma*; cutlass-*Ogbuadila*; hoe-*Ogu*; middle-*Aga*; cannon gun- *Nkponana*, *nkpakara* (trap), *nwankwo-dike* (a sort of digger), and lots more.

Traditional rain water harvesting and storage: *Ezoro* and *Ogele* – *Ezoro* refers to the section of a family's compound usually behind the main house and the kitchen where water is stored in round clay pots. Up to 10-80 big clay pots are half buried leaving only the neck and mouth for pouring and collection of water. In some places, the clay pots are not buried but kept closely behind the kitchen and areas close to water collection point, see plate (3). During rain seasons, rain water collected from the rivers and flooded areas are stored in the clay pots and are meant to be used during dry season. Clay pots can also be lined along the backyard and sides of the house in a way that rain water are directed from the thatch roof and corrugated iron zinc into them. The clay pots could be part of gift a woman receives during her marriage and items given to her during child birth. The size of a family's *Ezoro* partly determines the family size and the number of years the family had stayed together. Wives or wife of the household particularly, maintain the *Ezoro*. They see to the day to day cleaning and replacing of any broken pot with the help of their daughters. The use of *Ezoro* in the study area has greatly reduced, as many families have either completely abandoned or partially abandoned it for more recent method of water storage like the use of plastic, gallons, drums and iron tanks.



Plate 3: Ezoro



Plate 4: An abandoned Ogele

Ogele is a device used and continued to be used as rain water harvesting and storage in Orba. It is a big pit dug at a section of the village where flood water is channeled into. It could be owned by a village or group of families. Age groups and able bodied men dig the pit with hoes, diggers and any other sharp object. The pit- *Ogele* is connected to a water channel so that flood and run off waters will run into it. Red oil and clay are rubbed on the walls of the pit so as to prevent the water from drying. The oil is contributed by every woman in the village or family. For the first four to five years, the soil (walls and ground of the pit) will be absorbing water till it is saturated before it starts conserving the water. The water is used during the dry season. Women and children keep the surrounding neat. At the peak of the dry season, the dirt in the water will settle and become neat water so that members of the family or village will come with some pots the day it will be shared. Now that there are other sources of water, the use of water from *Ogele* for drinking, bathing or cooking has declined. However, it is still used for molding blocks, processing palm oil and agricultural purposes including; irrigation and washing farm products.

Basketry: This is an indigenous technology that is practiced in almost every community in the South-East Nigeria. It is an act of using palm frond products to make basket and other containers for domestic purposes. To make a simple basket, about sixteen trimmed sticks from the palm frond-*ikpere* of equal sizes are cut and are placed four by four by the weaver on the ground. This is done by crossing each four on top of the other four. The next stage is to tie the sticks with twine-*eriri* in a clockwise direction. Starting from the bottom, the twine is tied in alternate of four or five rounds. As the tying progresses, it is reduced to two by two alternatively while maintaining equal space between them and if the twine finishes, another is added. When the base of the basket is got, the sticks are carefully bent inwards and held tightly using a twine. The hard back that makes the basket strong is trimmed to the size of a twine and used till the desired height is achieved. A broader twine with soft white center is used for coiling around the rim of the basket to give it a smooth edge. Some of the basket types are; *Abo akpu*-big basket for carrying farm produce; *Ishi-okuko* specifically made for carrying chicken; *Abo-mkpukpu*-a large size basket for carrying articles to the market; *Agba*-used for measurement of grains and used for preserving and storage of food. Smaller baskets are costlier than the bigger ones

because special care is taken in weaving the small basket. They are used as sieve for breadfruit, rice and castor oil while the bigger ones are use for carrying such items as yam, fruits and other loads. Basket making in Orba is declining at a high rate as many people are not interested in the profession anymore. This has led to hike in the price of baskets in the market since there are only a handful of basket makers in the community.

Farming: Majority of the people in Orba are subsistence farmers while a few are commercial agriculturalists who cultivate crops like cocoyam (nkashi)-*Celocasia esculneta*; Maize (oka)-*Zea mays*; cassava (akpu)-*Manihot esculenta*; yam (ji)- *Dioscores Specie*; palm oil (Ekwu)-*Elaeis quineesis*; bitter leaf (Onugbo)-*Veronia amygdolina*; Okro- *Hibiscus esculenta*; plantain (Unere)-*Musa paradiscia*; orange (Oroma)-*Citrus sinensis* and kolanut (Oji) *Colacuminata*. The people also practice animal husbandry mostly at subsistence level where they rear animals like goat (Ewu), sheep (Aturu), pig (Ezi), chicken (Okuku).

Trading: In the entire old Nsukka Division, Orba people are regarded as the most skillful in trading activities, hence Orië-Orba, a major market in the town was remodeled into a modern market by the World Bank. The market attracts buyers and sellers from different parts of Igbo land and parts of Middle-Belt region of Nigeria. The market is renowned for whole-sale of beverages and agricultural products like beans, rice, maize, bambara nuts (Okpa).

Archaeological reconnaissance: Archaeological reconnaissance is defined as an organized process through which archaeological sites, features, artifact, ecofact and chronofact are located and recorded, through aerial or ground patrol (Andah and Okpoko 1994). In the course of reconnaissance, attention was paid to the vegetation, rock and soil types, furnace remains and other evidence of cultural remains. At Agu Ama-Orba dry valley which at present is a farm land, evidence suggestive of iron smelting were identified and they include scatter of iron ore, mound of slag and five disused furnaces. The average thickness of the furnace walls is 3.5cm while the diameter is 60cm by 70cm. At Amube village, evidence of iron working was identified including slag, disused iron objects, refuse mound, blacksmith workshops. Cultural materials like slag, disused iron objects, iron ore, hoes, cutlass, and pictures of a blacksmith workshop were taken for exhibition at Archaeology Museum, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Excavation: This is a systematic way of digging the ground in order to recover the remains of the earlier inhabitants for the purpose of analyzing and interpreting their lifestyle. It is the principal but not the only means by which the archaeologist gather data about the past mainly from beneath the ground surface (Andah and Okpoko, 1994). Data obtained through excavations are particularly important in archaeology because sub-surface data are usually the best preserved and the least disturbed relative to artifacts and ecofact. Most importantly, they often reveal association of artifacts, ecofact and features in primary context. Such data are the most useful for inferring ancient function and behavior (Andah and Okpoko, 1994). The excavated site is an iron slag dumping mound at Amube-Amalla near the village square. The mound is an undulating long ridge of 24m long and 8m width. The mound was marked into twelve grid of 2 X 2 m each and labeled A-L. Grid A was chosen for excavation. Because of its undulating nature, a nylon twine

attached with spirit level was used to get a straight level from where the measurement of 32cm to the top soil was made. Thus, every reading is made using 32cm as standard measurement (32cm plus every other measurement from any spit will give accurate measurement required). Digging started at 20cm arbitrary spit till the sterile layer.

Stratigraphy: The stratigraphy of the northern wall was drawn based on the soil characteristics and cultural materials observed on the wall. These are represented in table (1) and figure (2).

Table 1: The stratigraphy of the northern wall

Layers	Colour	Texture	Contents
1	Black	Gritty	Potsherds, tuyere nozzle, hearth bottom, pieces of broken bottle, metal objects, cinders, slag, roots.
2	Light Brown	Gritty	Potsherds, tuyere nozzle, hearth bottom, pies of broken bottle, slag, metal objects, roots.
3	Reddish	Compact	Potsherds, smoking pipe, slag, roots.
4	Red	Compact	Potsherds which appears cruder than those from the above layers. There is general reduction in cultural materials and also in the number of roots.

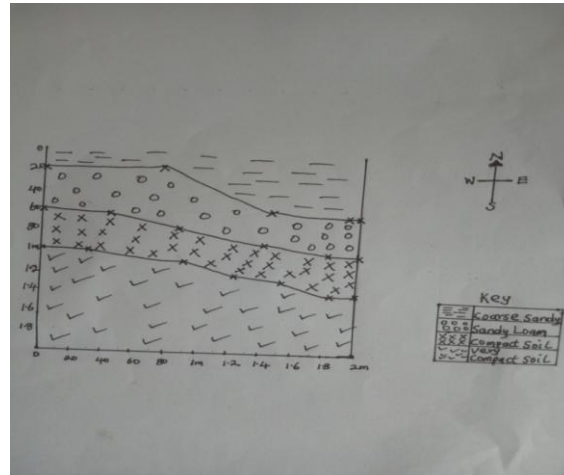


Figure 2: Stratigraphy of northern wall

Analysis of finds: The percentage distribution of cultural materials excavated is shown in table (2) and figure (3). The summary of various decorative motifs is shown in table (3) and figure (4) while some potsherds were illustrated in figures (5 and 6). Also, all the cultural materials were collected for exhibition at the Archaeology Museum, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Table (2): Summary of cultural materials:

Objects	Surface Collection	0-20cm	20-40cm	40-60cm	60-80cm	80-1m	1-120m	120m-140m	140m-160m	Total	Percentage
Stone	2	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	7	2.517985
Bone	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	-	4	1.438848
Metal	2	2	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	10	3.597122
Potsherd	20	34	31	31	30	28	14	8	-	196	70.50359
Slag/Cinder	-	2	4	1	2	2	-	-	-	11	3.956834
Baked Clay	-	5	13	14	12	2	-	-	-	46	16.54676
Others	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.438848

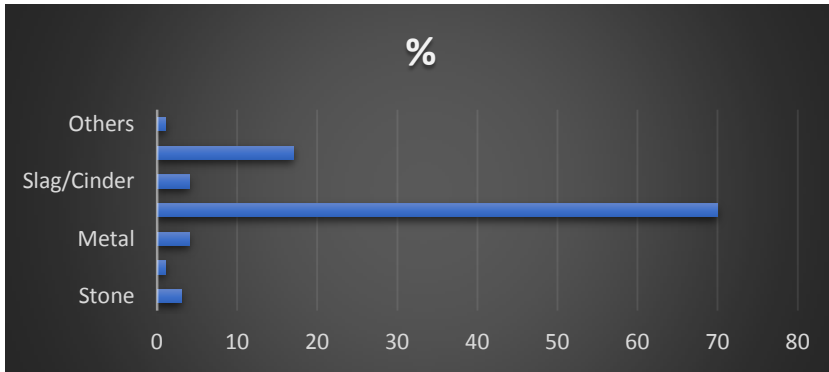


Figure 3: Bar-chart representing percentage distribution of cultural materials

Table 3: Summary of decorative motif

Motifs	Surface Collection	0-20cm	20-40cm	40-60cm	60-80cm	80-1m	1-120m	120m-140m	140m-160m	Total	Percentage
Burnished	4	8	6	3	5	3	-	-	-	29	14.79591
Roulette	3	10	7	6	3	2	-	-	-	31	15.81632
Plain	-	-	2	-	7	7	10	5	-	31	15.81632
Cord Impression	-	2	-	8	6	3	2	-	-	21	10.71428
Net Impression	-	1	-	3	1	4	2	-	-	11	5.622244
Incision	2	4	5	2	3	3	-	1	-	20	10.204081
Excision	1	5	6	5	2	1	-	2	-	22	11.22448
Composite Decoration	10	4	5	4	3	5	-	-	-	31	15.81632

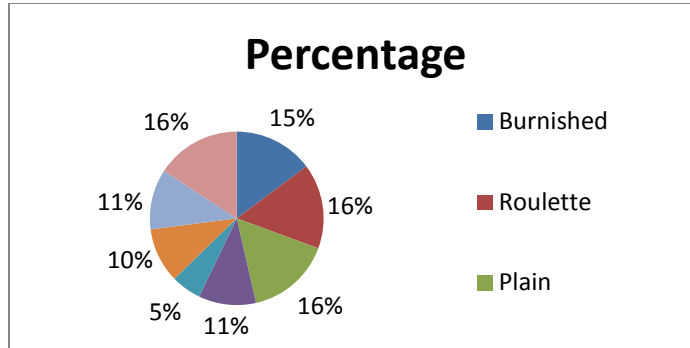


Figure 4: Pie-chart showing the decorative motifs



Figure 5: Decorative motif

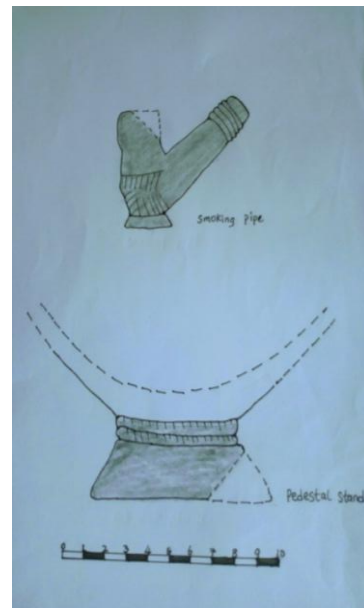


Figure 6: Smoking pipe and pedestal stand

Interpretation of finding

From the total number of excavated potsherds (196 pieces), it seems that pottery was widely used in the area. Among these are crude and thick potsherds with an average thickness of 1-1.5cm collected from the lower layers of the pit as against potsherds with thickness between 5-7mm obtained from the upper layers. From ethnographic survey, Orba people are not pottery makers rather they procure pottery vessels from Orba main markets supplied mainly by potters from Nnrobo in Uzo-uwani L.G.A of Enugu State. The fact that the early inhabitants of Orba acquired pottery from other communities is a pointer to the presence of different decorative motifs on excavated potsherds including burnished, roulette, incision, net-impresion as shown in figure (5). All the designs found on the excavated potsherds are replicated on pottery vessels used by the present inhabitants, thus there is a cultural continuity and external trading activities between the

past and the present inhabitants of Orba. Analysis of the potsherds indicate that those from the upper layers appeared to be more fired than those from the lower layer as this was discovered by comparing the colour of the potsherds at their broken edges. Ibeanu (1989) argued that the earliest used pottery in Nigeria appears crude in form with little or no design and not well fired while recent ones are well decorated and fired. The difference in appearance of the potsherds therefore shows the antiquity of pottery use in the area. Consequently, the use of pottery vessels in the area have remained the same as they are used for water fetching, storage of water, cooking and for other domestic and agricultural activities. Some of them could have also been used for ritual activities.

The recovery of a smoking pipe which appears to be locally made because of the absence of trade mark is a pointer that tobacco was consumed in the area by chewing, as snuff and by smoking. In as much as the early Europeans imported large quantities of smoking pipes to Africa, local potters made pipes which were used not only to smoke tobacco but also to smoke medicinal herbs thus showing the antiquity of smoking in the study area. It is also suggestive that the earlier occupants of the area must have improved on the method of tobacco consumption from chewing to smoking with pipe. Earlier, iron smelting sites in Orba (Amube and Ama-Orba) were dated 1430-1950 A.D (Okafor, 1995:88) and (Whiteman and Okafor, 2003). However, smoking pipes could also be used for relative dating of the site as Okpoko (1984) and York (1973) argued that the indigenous Africa smoking pipes predates the European types in West Africa. Dates for West African pipes is about 17th Century A.D, while in England smoking pipes became popular during the late 18th Century and the first half of 19th Century A.D.,(Okpoko,1984 and Eluyemi,1974). The use of smoking pipes, particularly the European type was a status symbol and a show of affluence in the area as wealthy traders, middle men, civil servants and missionaries could afford to smoke, with such pipes. It is probable that the sites flourished around 17th Century A.D, the time when smoking pipes were widely used in most Nigeria communities.

In some early iron communities in Agbor, Delta State; Kabba, Kogi State; Opi, Umudu and Aku in Enugu State and parts of Yoruba land, blacksmith are regarded as medicine men and people with divine powers because they engage in ritual and other spiritual exercises for the communities (Anozie, 1974, Okpoko,2006 and Uzuegbu, 2017). The influence of iron working in Orba has been reduced to the extent that most traditional roles which they used to perform have been abandoned or taken over by church leaders. For instance, blacksmiths in Orba used to cleanse the land against atrocities such as adultery, murder, suicide, poisoning, rape, and other heinous crimes. They also used iron instruments like hammer to treat patients that sustains nail or iron wound. These activities are carried out by blacksmith with the use of metal gong as it is believed that the sound of the metal gong invites the enabling spirit of divination to descend from the spirit world and become the host in the divination. In the same way, the traditional staff-*oji* is used by diviners and herbalist as a mark of authority. Blacksmith in Amube village are actively involved in the celebration of *Nsuhuaajioku* festival. The festival is celebrated between August and October to thank God for good harvest made possible through farm implements made by blacksmith and used for farming. From history, new yam *Nsuhuaajioku* festival is rooted in the agrarian Igbo society where wealth is measured by yam. Other activities like title taking is part of the festival hence, Okpoko

(1993:45) note that taking of certain titles like *Oriji*, *Ezeji*, *Diji* and *Okogbuo* in parts of Igbo land is dependent on the number of yams stacks in a man's yam barn. The festival begins with a public ceremonial harvesting and roasting of whole yam tuber by the Eze-Orba, chiefs and other titled men. It is characterized by elaborate personal and community preparations and display of masquerades, dance groups, home coming of sons and daughters of the communities.

Blacksmith in Orba belong to the Eguru clan who claim that the knowledge was handed over to them by their fore fathers. Most people from the area have no clear knowledge about the origin of the slag in their villages as they claim that it grew from the ground while others maintained that it came as a result of the interactions between the gods and their fore fathers. Slag from Orba are in aggregate form typical of those processed using shaft furnace, thus Okafor (1995) and Anozie (1979) believe that shaft cylindrical furnace with a self induced-draft were used. In the pre-colonial era, blacksmith in many iron producing communities were accorded high social statues (Okpoko 2006). In Ama-Orba and Amube, iron smelters and blacksmith were highly respected as their trade was much valued because of its place in the life of the people. However, with colonization and its attendant importation of cheap metal wares from Europe into Igbo land, iron workings, particularly smelting activities was greatly reduced while blacksmith continued though on a small scale. In study area, this had reduced the socio-economic roles of blacksmith in the society to the extent that people do not want to learn the trade. Though iron working had always been seen as an occupation of a select group of people as it is not open to everybody. This view is shared by (Okafor 1984, Anozie 1979, Ibeanu and Okonkwo 2010) as they posited that iron working has been a craft for a closed caste that jealously guarded its privileges and duties and shunned admittance of non-members. In Amube village, blacksmith form a closed caste restricted only to the male of the Eguru clan and admittance is not extended to foreigners. This exclusiveness has continued till present though not as effective as it used to be because people from outside the clan are allowed to learn so far as they are willing to adhere to the rules and taboo guiding the profession. Presently, there are a few blacksmith in the area as majority of them and their children have abandoned the occupation for more lucrative ventures like motor cycle operators, tricycle drivers etc. This, in addition to the influence of Western culture has further relegated the socio-religious role of blacksmith in the area.

From ethnographic study, it was observed that the people manipulated the environment to their advantage particularly, in the provision of portable water. The challenges of water scarcity in the area were tackled with the construction and use of *Ezoro* and *Ogele* as indigenous water harvesting and storage methods. This was made possible with the use of iron tools produced by blacksmith for the digging of wells and cisterns for all-year-round water supply in areas otherwise difficult for this. Though the use of *Ezoro* and *Ogele* had declined considerably largely because of the introduction of modern techniques like the use of pipe-borne water, use of wells, tanks, just as they doubt the quality of water from those sources, however, they are still used mostly for collecting water for processing agricultural products.

As with most indigenous peoples of Nigeria, whose early histories are encapsulated in oral traditions, there is always point of discord as regards the exact account of their migration. People of Orba are not left out as there are two versions of their early history. One account maintains that their fore fathers were migrants to their present abode while the second account states that Orba people are autochthonous and expanded their territory by conquest. Be that as it may, it is instructive to note that people of Orba had cultural ties with their neighbours to the extent that they share common names and cultural feasts. For instance, people from Amube-Orba believe that they came from Amube Enugu Ezike in Igbo-eze L.G.A Enugu State, thus they maintain close ties. Politically, it seems that the decentralization of political authority by Enugu State Government with the creation of five autonomous communities in Orba has arguably brought political participation nearer to the people as it encourages more local engagement in the development of the town. In the other way, some argue that the move has weakened the authority and influence of Eze-Orba who hitherto wielded a great influence.

Conclusion: It is probable that the people of Orba have lived in their present abode for a long time as exemplified in the similarity of both the excavated cultural materials and those presently used by the people. Thus, there is cultural continuity between the past and present inhabitants of the study area. The influence of iron working in the area has considerably declined to the extent that the few blacksmith left are not accorded due respect. The research has been able to document some festivals and indigenous technologies of the people, their sustainability level and reasons for their decline. Trading activities between the people of Orba and their neighbours has been observed to dates back a long time ago and it has continued up till present. Lastly, cultural materials were collected for preservation and possible exhibition at the newly renovated Archaeology Museum, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Reference

- Anozie, F.N (1979) "Early iron technology in Igbo land (Lejja and Umundu)", *West African Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 9; 120-134.
- Andah, B.W. and Okpoko, A.I. (1994) *Practicing Archaeology in Africa*. Wisdom publishers Limited, Ibadan.
- Ekechukwu, L .C (1988) "Traditional iron smelting and black smiting in Idoha", An unpublished M .A Project, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.p.21.
- Ekechukwu, L. C (1989) "A new furnace type from North of Igbo land", *Nyame Akuma: A News Letter of African Archaeology* (ed.) John Bower, No.32. pp. 20-21.
- Eluyemi, O. (1974). Excavations at Isoya near Ile-Ife Nigeria, in 1972. *West African Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 7: pp. 97-115.
- Eze Uzomaka, P. I. (2009) "Nigerian scientists discover 4,005-year iron technology". *The Nations Newspapers*, Sunday, April 26th 2009. p.3.

- Ezike, J. N (1998) "Ethno-archaeological investigations into the beginnings of agriculture and metal workings in Nsukka Division", An unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
- Ibeanu, A.M. (1989). Inyi: A Probable centre for Igbo-Ukwu Pottery. *West African Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 9. p.153.
- Ibeanu A. M and Okonkwo E. E (2010) "Indigenous technology and cultural practices in Umundu", *Case studies in heritage management* (eds.) Pat U. Okpoko and E. E Okonkwo. Session of A. A. N Conference 2010.
- Itanyi, E.I (2013) *An archaeology of Old Nsukka Division*. Lap Lambert Academic Publishers, Berlin, Germany pp.11-105.
- Okafor, E.E (1984) A Study of iron working in Orba-Nsukka. Unpublished M.Sc. project. Department of Archaeology, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Okafor, E.E. and Patricia Phillips (1992) "New 14c ages from Nsukka, Nigeria and the origins of African metallurgy". *Antiquity* volume 66 number 252.
- Okafor, E.E (1995) "Economy and politics of technological change in Nsukka bloomery iron smelting," *Nigerian Heritage: Journal of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments*, Vol. 4; 72-92.
- Okpoko, A.I. (1984). Archaeology and Ethnoarchaeology in the Anambra Valley. *History and Ethnoarchaeology in Eastern Nigeria. A Case Study of Igbo-Igala Relations with Special Reference to the Anambra Valley. Cambridge Monograph in African Archaeology 7, BAR International Series* 195.1-184
- Okpoko, A.I (1993) Igbo civilization: An archaeological insight, *Nigerian Heritage* Vol. 2 1993
- Okpoko A. I (2006) Early Metal using communities in West Africa, *Foundation of Civilization in Tropical Africa, Special Book Issue of West African Journal of Archaeology*. (eds. B W. Andah and A.I Okpoko Vol. 36 Nos. 1 & 2
- Okonkwo E. E; Uzuegbu, J. O; Eyisi, A. P (2018) A preliminary study of iron smelting sites in Okpatu, Udi Local Government Area of Enugu State, Nigeria. *Nigerian Journal of Archaeology*, Vol.2 No.2.
- Shaw, T. (1978) *Nigeria: Its archaeology and early history*. London; Thames and Hudson Ltd.
- Uzuegbu, J .O. (2017) Archaeological Investigation of selected Communities of Kabba, Kogi State, Nigeria. Ph.D Thesis, Archaeology and Tourism Department, Faculty of Arts, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
- Whiteman J. A and Okafor E. E (2003) Characterization of Nigerian bloomer Iron smelting slag. Reprinted from *Historical Metallurgy*, Vol. 33 No. 2 p.72
- York, R.N. (1973). Excavations at New Buipe. *West African Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 3.1-190.

Archaeological Investigations: Impacts and Community Expectations in Dunoka, Lejja

¹Odum C. Jude, ²Onyemechalu J. Stanley*, ³Oji C. Cyriacus

Authors 1, 2 & 3: Department of Archaeology and Tourism, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Enugu, Nigeria.

*: Corresponding Author – stanley.onyemechalu@unn.edu.ng

Abstract

Do communities have expectations from archaeologists carrying out archaeological investigations in their communities? What is the nature of these expectations? This study centred on archaeological investigations in Dunoka, Lejja, which have been on since the past four decades. Many of these investigations had not documented their impact on the study area, or considered what the host community expectations were before embarking on such investigations. In-depth interview with relevant stakeholders and focus-group discussion were used to generate data, and the results presented in emerging themes. The study showed archaeological investigations in Dunoka raised cultural awareness, sparked more interest about archaeology in the area and other benefits. Also, the study showed that the core expectations of the community from archaeological investigations border on three things: respect for local customs and norms; adequate information on the archaeological investigation; and socio-economic benefits. This study contributes to the increasing conversations on community/public archaeology, and its findings are likely to change the way archaeological investigations are carried out in host communities. Lessons from this study can improve the relationship between field archaeologists and host-communities.

Key words: *Public Archaeology, Community Archaeology, Archaeology Investigations, Lejja.*

1.0 Introduction

Archaeological inquiry in south-eastern Nigeria have gained prominence since Thurstan Shaw's famous excavation of Igbo Isaiah and Igbo Richard in Igbo-Ukwu, Anambra State (Anozie, 2002). The presence of giant slag debris in parts of Nsukka of Enugu State have also attracted several archaeological inquiries in communities like Opi, Umundu, Obimo and Lejja, among others. Lejja, a large community in the southern part of Nsukka local government area of Enugu state is the focus of this study because it has attracted many archaeological investigations for over four decades from archaeologists and other scholars. The community is also home to a prehistoric archaeological iron working site dated 2000 BC (Eze-Uzomaka, 2009) – a date that makes it probably one of the earliest iron working sites in Africa. In Lejja is a certain village square called *Otobo Dunoka*, which contains more than 800 blocks of slag weighing between 34kg and 57kg on the average (Eze-Uzomaka, 2009).

Several archaeological investigations in Lejja anchored on iron working, the technology associated with it and the impact of iron working on the people (Anozie, 1979; Eze-

Uzomaka, 2009; Eze-Uzomaka, 2010 and Ogah, Eze-Uzomaka, & Opata, 2014). The department of Archaeology and Tourism, University of Nigeria, Nsukka have also carried out intensive ethno-archaeological field-school visits in Lejja over the years and recently in 2016. There are more archaeological investigations going on in Lejja and so far, none have actually addressed the issue of host-community benefits cum expectations from archaeological investigations. Hence, a study on host-communities' expectations from archaeological investigations in the popular Lejja community is germane to have a glimpse of the nature of archaeological investigations in south-eastern Nigeria. This will help reveal how host-community expectations (often always reserved for 'community' or 'public' archaeology) may have not been properly incorporated in the objectives and planning of archaeological investigations.

Archaeological inquiry into communities in south-eastern Nigeria is often credited to a retired coalminer who, in 1939, stumbled upon hundreds of beads and some bronze objects while digging a ditch in his compound in Igbo-Ukwu, Anambra state (Anozie, 2002). Twenty years later, Thurstan Shaw carried out excavations in Igbo-Ukwu between 1959 and 1960, where he unearthed many cultural materials, including the famous bronze roped pot. This was also the first organized archaeological excavation in eastern Nigeria. Anozie (2002) noted that between 1959 and 1964 was when Shaw excavated three sites in Igbo-Ukwu – Igbo-Isaiah, Igbo-Richard, and Igbo-Jonah.

Another contributor to the commencement of archaeological investigations in region is Donald Dean Hartle. In 1964, Hartle mapped and worked on a lot of archaeological sites in eastern Nigeria, like the Isi-Ugwu Obukpa rock shelter (Hartle, 1965; 1967). Chikwendu Vincent of Archaeology and Tourism Department, University of Nigeria, carried out extensive excavations in Ugwuagu Rock shelter in Ehugbo and Ogwugwu valley, present-day Ebonyi state, in the company of other colleagues from the same department (Chikwendu, 1979). Archaeological excavations have also been carried out in Anambra State by Anozie (1977) in Umukete and Aguleri; and by Okpoko (1980/81) in the Omambala valley. In Enugu State, Anozie (1979) carried out excavations in Umundu and Ogbodu-Aba. While excavations and reports on iron workings across the Nsukka area have been carried out by Okafor (1995, 1998), other archaeological investigations in Nsukka communities like Onyohor, Ekwegbe and Obimo have also been documented (Itanyi, 2013).

In Lejja, archaeological investigations include: a comparison of early iron technology in Umundu and Lejja by Anozie (1979); a study on Iron Age archaeology in Lejja by Eze-Uzomaka (2009); followed by 'a new date for iron smelting in Lejja' by Eze-Uzomaka (2008); and a detailed study with excavations at Amaovoko, Lejja by Eze-Uzomaka (2010). There is also a study on the influence of iron on the life of Lejja people by Eze-Uzomaka (2009). And most recently, Ngonadi (2017) carried out several excavations with the aim of identifying early agricultural communities using Archaeo-botanical methods. These studies contributed immensely to the Igbo archaeology scholarship, but it seems little or no study had been done to interrogate the impact on and expectations of communities from archaeological investigations, albeit immaterial. Hence, the timing of this study could not be more urgent.

This study sets out to present the expectations of community members from archaeological investigations in Lejja. The study then presents the reality on ground; the impacts of archaeological investigations in Lejja. Findings from this study shall contribute answers to these significant questions which are currently missing in literature: do communities have expectations from archaeologists carrying out archaeological investigations in their communities? What is the nature of these expectations? Are these expectations being met? If yes, how? And if no, why? Finally, how can the expectations of host communities be managed by archaeologists during the field investigation planning process? These questions border so much on 'community archaeology' or 'public archaeology' – an area of archaeology that is only now gaining much-needed scholarly attention theoretically and practically (Atalay, 2012; Schmidt & Pikirayi, 2016), especially in developing nations like Nigeria, where archaeology is not given due attention.

According to Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez (2015), public archaeology is both a disciplinary practice and a theoretical position that can be expressed through the democratization of archaeological investigations, through communication with and involvement of the public. Many models for practicing public or community archaeology have been postulated by many scholars in recent past. Notably, Merriman (2004) offered the 'deficit model' and the 'multiple perspectives model'; the former encourages expert archaeologists to educate the wider public on how to properly appreciate archaeology, and the latter encourages archaeological practices to add value to people's lives, while stimulating their thought, emotion and creativity. Quite similar to Merriman's models are those postulated by Holtorf (2007, 109): the 'education model', the 'public relations model' and the 'democratic model'. The 'education model', like Merriman's 'deficit model', seeks that archaeologists inform the public about the importance of their past and the value the archaeologist's occupation adds to it. The 'public relations model' advocates that archaeologists improve their public image in order to attract socio-political and economic support. Holtorf's third model, the 'democratic model' proposes that every member of the public be supported to "develop their own enthusiasm and 'grassroots' interest in archaeology" (Holtorf, 2007, 119).

Reflecting on the works of Merriman and Holtorf, Matsuda and Okamura (2011, 6) also proposed four different theoretical approaches to public archaeology: 'educational', 'public relations', 'critical' and 'multi-vocal'. All these various models and approaches to the practice of public archaeology converge on one basic point – how archaeological investigations can benefit the public, particularly host communities, and gain more support from them. That is, the archaeology discipline needs to be welcomed, understood and appreciated by non-experts and other members of the public in order for its investigations to run smoothly and yield better results for all. And so, through the lens of the people of Lejja community, we juxtapose the expectations of host communities from archaeological investigations with the impacts of those investigations.

Archaeological investigations in Nigeria have concentrated much on prehistoric technological innovations of man. Such enquiries have ranged from iron working (smithing and smelting) and settlement patterns, to indigenous knowledge systems and

technologies. In south-eastern Nigeria, archaeological enquiries mostly revolve around the Nsukka axis because of the large deposits of evidence of early iron working. For example, several archaeological investigations in Lejja have concentrated on iron smelting and its impact on the lives of the people and their environment (Anozie, 1979; Eze-Uzomaka, 2008, 2009 & 2010; Ngonadi, 2017). Most of these studies have aimed at reconstructing the history of these communities, whereas little or no effort has been dedicated towards assessing the impact of such archaeological investigations on host communities. Due to poor perception of archaeological inquiries or investigations, people in these communities rarely appreciate the archaeological resource(s) in their lands. This poor perception has also led to cases of hostilities from host communities towards archaeological field investigations. As noted in a report from the University of Nigeria's Archaeology and Tourism Students' Field school at Obimo in 2014, some youths from Obimo chased the students away after demanding exorbitant monetary compensation before the commencement of any form of archaeological investigation in their community, despite earlier discussions and consultations.

Against this backdrop, the need to evaluate communities' perception of archaeological investigations and its impact becomes imperative. In this case, what are the impacts of archaeological inquiries or investigations on Lejja? What expectations do the people of Lejja have for the archaeological investigations in their community? How can archaeologists meet these expectations? These questions form the core motivations for this study.

2.0 Dunoka-Lejja

Dunoka is one of the thirty-three (33) villages that make up Lejja. The popular *Otobo Dunoka* is the location of the iconic square, where giant slag blocks numbering over 800 are located. These slag blocks weigh between 34-57kg, measure up to 50cm in diameter, and are above 40cm in height (Eze-Uzomaka, 2009; Okafor, 1999). Lejja is located 14 kilometres from Nsukka and the people are predominately Igbos. It is a community in Nsukka Local Government area of Enugu State, Nigeria. Lejja is home to over 80,000 people, an estimate from Nigeria's last National census in 2006 (Opata and Apeh, 2016). Figure 1 below shows the location of Dunoka in Lejja.

This study is limited to Dunoka village in Lejja. The village was selected because it is the epicentre of archaeological investigations in Lejja, due to high presence of slag blocks in the village square, locally called *Otobo Dunoka*. Moreover, Dunoka village has attracted enormous scholarly attention, particularly archaeological investigations, from different individuals and groups.

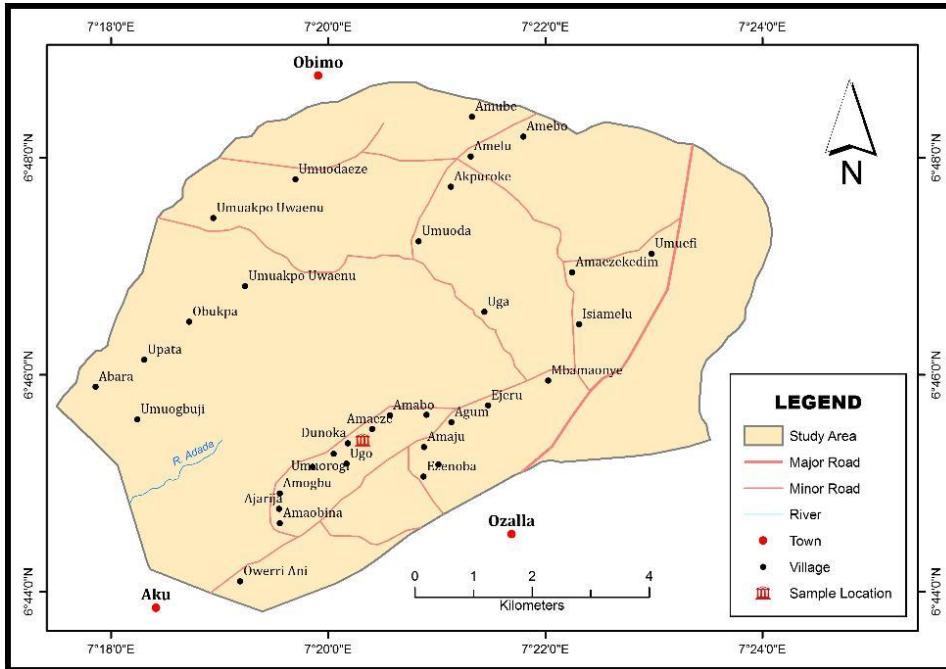


Fig. 1: Map showing the study area. (Source: Google Earth)

3.0 Research method

Qualitative approach was used in this study, comprising key informant interviews and Focus-Group Discussions (FGD) as methods of data collection. In the former, the key informants included the village chiefs and the elderly. And the latter comprised of the village elders (men and women), and the youth. The FGD was held in the village square, *Otobo Dunoka*; this traditional setting meant a disaggregated sitting arrangement, where the women sat different from the men – according to custom. The FGD had one panel with two sessions divided by a 20-minute refreshment break. There were 14 participants in the panel, including four women and 10 men. The four women were all elderly (between 50 and 80 years of age), but the men included four young persons (between 22 and 35 years of age) and six elderly persons (between 50 and 85 years of age). The interviews examined the opinions of key informants who are very knowledgeable on the subject based on recommendations by community members, and due to their age (>50) and status (i.e. village chief). The interview process had a total number of five respondents – four men and one woman. The respondents were identified at or in the immediate vicinity of their households. The interview questions included demographic questions to determine age and occupation (excluding questions regarding level of education because these were deemed irrelevant). This was followed by interactive open-ended questions stemming from the study’s objectives.

Both the FGD and the interviews were conducted in the language most preferred by the respondents, which was also within the linguistic range of the researchers, including Igbo, Nigerian pidgin English and English. A good number of the interviews were recorded, and those not in English were translated during the transcription. The number of respondents only reflect those that were available during, and willing to partake in, the research process. These two principal methods were used to elicit information and were considered best in order to triangulate and validate data gathered from literature. Equally, the results were presented and analysed thematically, a common way of data presentation and analysis in qualitative studies (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012).

4.0 Findings and Discussion

4.1 Community Expectations from Archaeological Investigations in Lejja

Unsurprisingly, host-communities have numerous expectations from visitors, let alone archaeologists who intend to ‘dig’ on their land. For mere visitors, these expectations usually border on respect for local norms and customs, as well as peaceful coexistence. But these expectations move up a notch when it comes to archaeological investigations. As found in this study, the expectations of the people of Dunoka from various archaeological investigations, past and present, border on three core things; respect for local laws and customs, adequate information/updates on the archaeological investigation and socio-economic benefits. We have taken the liberty to divide these expectations into three categories – ‘before’, ‘during’, and ‘after’ the archaeological investigation.

4.1.1 Before the Archaeological Investigation (Pre-field)

Before any archaeological investigations begin, we found that the community expect one key thing; adequate information. The community expects to be notified and adequately informed on the nature, objective, and scope of any impending archaeological research. According to the informants, the people are not usually informed of archaeologists’ visit to their community. And even when they are informed, they do not know the purpose in details of such visits, nor how long they will be seeing the ‘strangers’ (mainly archaeologists) for. An informant narrated an instance where, “one day, I woke up to go and farm and I found some people with fancy tools digging my neighbour’s land. I looked at them suspiciously and my suspicion was only cleared when I saw my neighbour, who told me that he had given them the go-ahead to be on his farmland” (Ugwu, personal communication, 17/09/2018). The informant went on to say that her neighbour could not actually explain to her the exact purpose of the “digging” going on, only mentioning that she was duly compensated.



Plate 1: The respondents and the researchers (Source: Authors)

4.1.2 During the Archaeological Investigation

During the archaeological investigation proper, there are different expectations from the community. In this case, the people of Lejja said they expect certain socio-economic benefits from archaeological investigations. This was by far the most re-occurring expectation that was recorded from the interviews and the FGD. The informants explained such socio-economic benefits to include: sourcing of food, accommodation (where necessary) and other basic commodities from within the village; temporary paid employment as field assistants; and special admission quotas for their indigenes who may decide to study archaeology at the University of Nigeria. The informants believe that because of the unique role their community plays in the reconstruction of Igbo history and world archaeology, special consideration should be given to Lejja indigenes during the admission process of the University of Nigeria, especially in the department of Archaeology and Tourism or History. According to Mr. Eze Hyacinth, “training indigenes of Dunoka village to become archaeologists in the near future means that they would one day lead a team for more archaeological investigations in our community and it will be a thing of pride for us” (pers. comm., 17/09/2018). Another informant added that “there are some secrets held by, and shared only to, members of the community that such a person can benefit from, when they visit to ask all these your questions” (Mammah, pers. comm., 17/09/2018). It is not difficult for one to see how such special considerations will contribute to the overall social status and reputation of the community.

The informants opined that when archaeologists source their foods and basic commodities from within Lejja, instead of the current practice of ferrying these items along with them from elsewhere, there will be direct impact on the economic and financial lives of the people. One informant said that meeting this expectation will make their traders particularly happy “when they hear that those archaeologists are coming again to spend some time in our community” (Eze, pres. Comm., 17/09/2018). In the

same vein, the informants expect that archaeologists employ their youths to carry out temporary and basic duties that require minimal skills (e.g. digging, clearing of bushy areas and washing of materials). This can be done with supervision from the professionals and “will help add money to our pockets during the period, so we can never forget you or the job you did” (Ejike, pers. comm., 17/09/2018). Another informant, veering away from the financial angle, gave an educational benefit that such practice could bring: “many atimes, we do not understand what you guys are doing there, and even when you explain it to us, we still don’t get it. But when we join you in doing the small small things here and there, we will be able to understand you better and faster” (Okoh, pers. comm., 17/09/2018). This educational point made here is very vital because the leading cause of squabbles or hostilities between archaeologists and host-communities stem from a fundamental lack of understanding of the archaeologists’ intentions. So, engaging members of the community and involving them in the entire process quickens their understanding and they are able to better communicate to the others what is going on. This means that the investigation will go on smoothly without any fear of being misconstrued or of mischievous misrepresentations.

4.1.3 After the Archaeological Investigation (Post-field)

After an archaeological investigation has been concluded, the expectation of the community changes. Many archaeologists may be aware of the two previous categories of expectation, but certainly not all of them act to meet them. In the same vein, not many archaeologists are aware that the people still have expectations from them after they conclude their investigations. In this case, the people have a spectrum of expectations from concluded archaeological investigations. The informants expect: a public seminar on the archaeological relics gotten from the community; the setting up of a structure where physical or pictorial displays of archaeological recoveries from Lejja can be housed and exhibited for tourism and research purposes; and updating community members on further findings (such as C14 dates) from any excavations or archaeological inquiry carried out in their community.

At the end of the archaeological investigation in the community, the informants expect that they will be informed on the outcome of the exercise. They expect that they are given the same level of adequate information that they received prior to the commencement of the investigation. In such a meeting, they expect that the objectives of the researchers prior to the investigation are revisited and then, the results gathered are shared in the very basic terms. According to the informants, the reason for this is to gain the basic knowledge about whether or not the exercise was a success and to learn if there were hindrances to the researchers achieving their set objectives. An informant, Mr Eze Hyacinth, stressed that “these will help us to be able to explain to anyone who asks us ‘what did those people find from your land?’ or ‘what are those stones that those people are taking away?’ We can say to them ‘that’s not gold, that is slags’” (pers. comm., 17/09/2018).

In the same vein, the people also added that they expect that they be informed whenever in the future there are new findings or updates on a past archaeological investigation. As one informant puts it, “even if it’s a simple bulletin, or A4 paper, we will appreciate it.

We will translate it and read it out loud for our people to hear and be proud” (Onyishi, pers. comm., 17/09/2018). Another informant added that she wished her family’s name can be mentioned one day like those of Igbo-Isaiah or Igbo-Jonah from Thurstan Shaw’s excavations in Igbo-Ukwu, Anambra state (see Shaw, 1975).

A final expectation gathered from the study is the setting up of a structure where physical or pictorial displays of archaeological recoveries from Lejja can be housed and exhibited for tourism and research purposes. The informants complained that, except for the lumps of cylindrical slag that adorned their village square (*Otobo Dunoka*), other little artefacts that have been discovered during past archaeological investigations have not been presented to them. They add that when their children ask certain questions or when other tourists visit the community, they are only able to point to a few things that tries yet fails to adequately support their “tales”. Meanwhile, many of such materials that could support the narration of their cultural history have been unearthed during previous archaeological investigations but none have been given back to the community. They averred that items like potsherds, tuyere debris, furnace wall fragments and other such evidences of iron working can be displayed in a small structure set up to act as a mini-museum for their children, tourists and other visitors. When asked who they expect to provide funds for setting up such structure, one informant said “let them first agree to what we are asking and the issue will solve itself from there. I am sure we can source the funds elsewhere if the archaeologists cannot attract such funds by themselves” (Ugwu, pers. comm., 17/09/2018).

The above opinions make one to ponder how these expectations can be met, and how these expectations criss-cross with the ethics and objectives of many archaeological investigations. Many scholars have explored these questions, drawing instances from various contexts around the world (Schmidt and Pikirayi, 2016; Baker, 2016; Humphris & Bradshaw, 2017). Particularly, it has been noted that conflicting expectations, funding and sustainability remain as issues mitigating community participation in archaeology, which is becoming increasingly popular (Baker, O’Carroll, Duffy, Shine, Mandal & Mongey, 2019). The scenario is similar in Nigeria, where archaeological investigations are poorly funded. Nevertheless, understanding the afore written expectations will guide future archaeological exercise in study communities and beyond.

4.2 The Reality: Impacts of Archaeological Investigations in Lejja

This study went further to understand how archaeological investigations in Lejja have benefited the community or otherwise ever since. The reality on ground, when reconciled with the expectations of the community stated earlier, will then enable one to make definite plans towards bridging any observed gaps, especially in the context of community or public archaeology. As stated above, the expectations of the Lejja community border on three core things – respect for local customs and norms, adequate information/knowledge on archaeological investigations and socio-economic benefits.

According to data gathered, the respondents claim to have had no knowledge of what archaeology meant until archaeologists started coming into their community over four decades ago. That is, archaeological investigations since the late1960s have benefited

them with basic knowledge about archaeology. They referred to late archaeologists like Fred Anozie and Ben Ozommadu as the foremost archaeologists that came into the community. Ben Ozommadu, an archaeological technician at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka was said to have been the one who first saw the giant slag blocks and reported to Mr. Anozie. An informant claimed that, “they were among the first set of archaeologists that set foot here in Lejja community, in the company of other white-men. And they dig around some places in Dunoka village”. The informants could not vividly remember the years these excavations took place. They only made the point that such archaeological investigations afforded them the opportunity to learn basic things about archaeology. However, there were claims that their knowledge of archaeology remains insufficient, especially when it comes to knowledge of the archaeological investigations and excavations proper. An informant added that “although I know the people are archaeologists, I usually cannot explain to another person what they have come to do or why they are doing the things they are doing”. This exposes a gap in communication of research objectives and inadequate information on research activities by archaeologists – a prominent feature in the expectation of the people before and after archaeological investigations as discussed above.

The respondents were of the view that they were yet to receive any socio-economic benefits from the archaeological investigations carried out so far in Lejja community. They complained that archaeologists always come with their own foods, drinks and other basic commodities, and buy almost nothing from within the community. Truly, this rare opportunity to mix with the locals and appreciate their culture, especially through food, is often not utilised. The respondents were quick to attribute this to a possible variation in taste and appeal of those archaeologists, with one of them saying “they may not be familiar with our food and so they may be afraid to taste it” (Obodo, pers. comm., 17/09/2018). The issue of accommodation via room rentals, as a way of contributing to the overall economy of the people, also came up. The respondents claimed that archaeologists seldom sleep in their community during excavation, instead “they prefer to come to the excavation sites in the morning and go in the evening” (Ugwu T., pers. comm. 17/09/2018). Also, some were quick to remind us of an exception, where in 2016 and 2017, some archaeologists were accommodated in the house of Mr. Boniface Ugwoke Nwani (*Eze-Lejja*) in Dunoka village, but these archaeologists did not carry out their excavation within the village.

The study found that on occasions, indigenes of the community were hired as laborers to assist during excavations. All the respondents were of the opinion that archaeological investigations in their community was yet to attract any concrete project to them. When reminded that such was the duty of governments and not archaeologists, they quickly dropped the opinion. When pressed, the respondents gave inconclusive and diverse opinions on the possibility that the numerous archaeological investigations in their community may have indirectly stirred the attention of the government. The respondents were showed an April 2018 news report from Vanguard Newspaper, where efforts by Dr. Eze-Uzomaka Pamela, a prominent archaeologist with many works in the community, whose presentation had led the Enugu state government to take steps towards developing the community. The news report read in part:

“The Culture and Tourism Commissioner announced that the council had in a quick response to the presentation, set up a 3-man committee that would visit the site and devise the best means of protecting it “as a world heritage centre”. She added that the state government intended to construct the road leading to the site to be able to exploit its natural contents as ‘a tourism site and money-spinning venture’, stressing that a lot of other benefits were accruable from it” (Nwafor, Vanguard Newspaper [Online], 2018).

All the respondents were both surprised and excited to learn of the news report. However, some acknowledged that those were the usual promises by government that end up not being fulfilled. The point being made here, however, was to demonstrate to the respondents that through such little advocacy efforts, archaeological investigations could put many communities like Lejja in the limelight, and can influence government development plans. The study also found that archaeological investigations in Lejja have attracted the attention of different secondary schools to embark on excursions to the community. Scholars too from various other disciplines, especially Anthropology, History and Geology have also taken trips to the community. Such visits, stemming from increasing attention brought about by archaeological investigations, have led to recent conservation efforts targeted at the *Otobo-Dunoka*, its surroundings and other sites in the community where important archaeological resources have been discovered.

Interestingly, the respondents opined that archaeological investigations in the community have yielded various cultural benefits, especially by stimulating their cultural pride in the ingenuity displayed by their ancestors through iron working technology. The respondents claimed to be aware that they are home to one of the earliest evidences of iron smelting around Africa but they were uncertain of the dates – another indictment on the information gap created by archaeological investigations. It is evident from their responses that published archaeological investigations and discoveries have instilled cultural consciousness in the people. This consciousness has in turn stimulated an unprecedented appreciation for cultural relics, culminating in efforts to conserve and preserve archaeological resources wherever and whenever they are found. This is not to say that the people had no cultural affinity to these archaeological resources prior to archaeological investigations. In fact, the famous village square, *Otobo-Dunoka*, continues to play socio-political and cultural functions in Lejja (Eze-Uzomaka, 2009; Agu & Opata, 2012).

4.3 Bridging the Gap through Community Archaeology.

The data gathered and discussed above show certain gaps between the expectations of the host-community and the reality of the archaeological investigations themselves. One finds that while some expectations are met, many others are not. This observed gap is a matter of approach rather than intentions. That is, the archaeological investigations that have been carried out in Lejja had little or no objective dedicated to learning of and meeting the expectations of the people. And this is no fault of the archaeologists themselves but that of the discipline, archaeology, and the way it is particularly practiced in the south-eastern region and Nigeria at large. Community expectations in an

archaeological investigation can principally be adequately managed under ‘community’ or ‘public’ archaeology. But studies and researches in archaeology have only recently begun to give a much-needed attention to ‘community archaeology’, ‘public archaeology’ or ‘applied archaeology’ (Marshall, 2002; Matsuda & Okamura, 2011; Monshenska & Dhanjal, 2011; Atalay, 2012; Richardson & Almansa-Sánchez, 2015; Schmidt & Pikirayi, 2016). These terms may differ in their theoretical underpinnings but they share the same concern for a smooth archaeologist-community relationship. Also, their approaches may differ slightly but their objectives and outcomes always culminate in creating a successful archaeological investigation with adequate community engagement from start to finish.

Community archaeology’s most important distinctive characteristic is the relinquishing of at least partial control of an archaeological investigation to the local community. This also involves allowing them to make critical decisions on research directions, priorities and objectives (Marshall, 2000: 212). Community archaeology enriches the archaeology discipline because it encourages archaeologists to study the past through the lens of the present community themselves. Marshall further notes that, certainly, taking this approach may alter already-set objectives and research designs, but that is a small price to pay for the salvation of the future of archaeology. Community engagement in archaeological investigations can also be “frustrating, time consuming and challenging in unanticipated ways – but it is also rewarding in ways that transcend narrow academic accolades” (2002, 217). Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez (2015) advocated that archaeologists should be more interested in considering and accommodating the values and needs of host-communities than they are in fulfilling the requirements of funding bodies. By implication, it seems that archaeologists may be aware of some of these expectations, but they are limited by budget, especially when the archaeological investigations are funded externally.

Atalay (2012: 2) noted that one area that have raised ethical dilemmas, evoked tensions as well as opened up opportunities is archaeologists’ engagement with “indigenous, descendant, and local communities”. This engagement is also changing the way archaeologists relate with the public at large, with issues like heritage management and community collaboration now getting serious scholarly attention. Atalay (2012: 56) went further to suggest a Community-based participatory research (CBPR) approach, with the primary principle being collaboration between archaeologists and community members. Atalay’s CBPR approach is based off of Wondolleck and Yaffee’s (2000, xiii) description of collaborative relationship using Barbara Grey’s three defining criteria: the pooling of appreciative tangible resources, e.g., money, labour or information; the collaboration of two or more stakeholders; and the ability to “solve a set of problems which neither can solve individually.” Atalay’s CBPR framework is not necessarily the only collaborative approach that exists. There are other options that have also been successful, which archaeologists can explore in their sincere quest to manage community expectations.

Suzie (2017: 16) echoes this, noting that the term “community archaeology” can be applied in various ways to different scenarios and projects, especially when considering the diversity of different communities and individuals that can become involved in the

entire process. Suzie (2017: 14) explored some of the definitional challenges of pinning down what community archaeology is, and then discussed examples of types of engagement from three different countries. In her submission, she notes that in the end, no matter what approach one adopts, there still are segments of communities who “remain less engaged, sometimes because they are hard to reach, and sometimes because they are simply not interested” (2017: 22). This study, however, found that the people of Lejja were interested in learning and were not “difficult to reach”, yet they were not engaged properly before, during or after archaeological investigations in their community. In salvaging such a situation and having better engagement with the community in the future, Suzie (2017: 26) suggests that archaeologists “support genuine community empowerment and to avoid superficial involvements that are only driven by a need for obtaining impressive-sounding, but tokenistic, outcomes or statistics”.

Humphris and Bradshaw (2017: 204) presented initial analyses of anonymous questionnaires conducted as part of a diverse programme by UCL Qatar of community engagement in an archaeometallurgical research project at the Royal City of Meroe, Sudan. Their questionnaires qualitatively evaluated “residents’ knowledge about, outlook on, and experience with local archaeological sites, to generate an understanding of the social fabric within which archaeology is situated”. Statistical analyses of their questionnaire highlighted the diverse nature of local communities, and how numerous economic, social, political and historical factors influence their outlooks on, experiences with and often-divergent knowledge of archaeology. A key takeaway from Humphris and Bradshaw’s research, for archaeologists hoping to achieve a successful community engagement during their next archaeological investigation, is that “an idealized audience for ‘community archaeology’ does not exist... Nevertheless, community engagement, leading to community archaeology, should form an integral part of an archaeological research programme from inception to completion” (2017: 213).

Series of archaeological investigations in Lejja has increased the people’s knowledge of archaeology. Even with evidence of inadequate community-based archaeology in Lejja, the people have benefitted from it in various ways, including the attraction of government’s attention to the community. This means that when archaeologists begin to integrate community collaborations in their research designs, many more feats can be achieved. Schmidt and Pikirayi (2016) put it succinctly when they noted that in an ideal ‘community archaeology’ or ‘public archaeology’, where the archaeologists are co-producers rather than leaders, contribute greatly to the protection and revitalization of local heritage. They opine that only a good community archaeology practice shall determine how Africa’s future generations learn about archaeology – a broader, more accessible, and more inclusive field. Schmidt and Pikirayi (2016) add that community-based archaeological investigations can yield shared resources and local knowledge; and that by democratizing the entire process, archaeological investigations can ameliorate any concerns, enhance host-communities’ way of life and help them build better futures. It is on this note that this study then makes the recommendations below.

Recommendations

In order to bridge the gap between host-community expectations and actual archaeological investigations, this study recommends the following:

1. A review of the practice of archaeological investigations in Lejja and other such local communities, to reflect adequate community engagement. This will involve learning of and integrating the host-community's expectations in the objectives and overall research designs/budget of future archaeological investigations. Sending a mini-report after each archaeological inquiry back to host communities is a key step in this process.
2. A collaboration between the Archaeological Association of Nigeria (AAN), Department of Archaeology and Tourism, University of Nigeria, Nsukka and National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM) towards funding and erecting a small library or exhibition centre in Dunoka, Lejja. This can be supported with an online platform dedicated to discussions about Lejja and neighbouring iron working sites.
3. A further study to look into other communities where archaeological investigations have taken place and examine the impact of such archaeological investigations in relation to the expectations of the host-community. This will create a comparison of host-communities' expectations versus the actual impacts of archaeological investigations on various communities.

Conclusion

Otobo Dunoka has attracted a lot of archaeological investigations in Lejja. The people of Lejja expect three core things from archaeological investigations: respect for local customs and laws; adequate information on the entire process; and socioeconomic benefits. The various archaeological investigations conducted in Lejja over the years have done little or nothing to support or meet these expectations. Nevertheless, archaeological investigations in Lejja have raised the cultural consciousness of the people, and have drawn the attention of the government to the community. These investigations have also led to increasing pride and appreciation of their progenitors' ingenuity, showcased through the huge evidences of iron working technology. It is opined here that when archaeological investigations impact on or benefit the host communities, the requisite collaboration between locals and archaeologists everywhere will be further strengthened. Additionally, it is necessary that African archaeologists ensure a smooth collaboration between them and the host communities. This will enhance the practice of archaeology on the continent and further reposition it to solve African problems, rather than its current state of exclusion and elitist approach

It is pertinent to note that this study does not in any way encourage that host communities insist on making demands (usually money) before permitting archaeological investigations. It also does not imply that where demands have been made, that they all must be fulfilled. The intent of this study is to create a consciousness among field archaeologists to look out for avenues to measure and manage host-community expectations before, during and after archaeological investigations. It encourages archaeologists to look beyond 'fieldwork for publication', to 'fieldwork for posterity and

sociocultural betterment'. Archaeological investigations and inquires do not necessarily lead to financial or monetary gains but little gestures like buying food and 'essential needs' from the locals, and educating them on the discoveries made, can go a long way to sustain the necessary bond between host-communities and archaeologists. Also, where possible, keeping some of the discoveries, even if it is pictorial – which indeed belong to them and make up their heritage – with the host community is one very good way for them to 'benefit' from archaeological investigations. This will create a scenario where other communities are keen to call the attention of archaeologists to the interesting aspects of cultural heritage in their communities. And they will give all the required support during the resulting archaeological investigations.

Finally, archaeology can be inclusive and mutually beneficial to both host-communities and archaeologists when the community is adequately carried along. Also, community-based archaeological investigations (such as is advocated for here) can help archaeological projects run smoothly, therefore reaching their potential within the diverse contexts of host communities. It is hoped that archaeologists, especially those who still face challenges in their host communities, will work alongside other relevant cultural organizations to embrace this opportunity.

Declaration of interest

The authors report no conflict of interest. The authors alone are responsible for the content and writing of this article.

References

- Agu, Chiedozi and Opat, Chukwuma. "Iron Technology and Political Power: Examples from The Iron Smelting Belt of Nsukka Area, Enugu State, South-Eastern Nigeria". *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, vol 2, no. 9, 2012.
- Anozie, Fred N. "Excavation in Umueke Aguleri: A Preliminary Report". *Odinani Museum Journal*, No.2, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1977 pp.91-94.
- Anozie, Fred N. "Early Iron Technology in Igboland: Lejja and Umundu". *West African Journal of Archaeology (WAJA)*, Vol 9, 1979. pp. 119-150.
- Anozie, Fred. N. "Archaeology of Igboland: The early prehistory". *A Survey of the Igbo Nation*, edited by Ofomata, G.E.K. Onitsha: Africana First Publishers Limited, 2002, pp. 13-23.
- Atalay, Sonya. "A Sustainable Archaeology." In *Community-Based Archaeology: Research With, By, and for Indigenous and Local Communities*, California: University of California Press, 2012, pp. 1-28. www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pn9dj.5.

- Atalay, Sonya. "Guiding Principles of Community-Based Participatory Research." In *Community-Based Archaeology: Research With, By, and for Indigenous and Local Communities*, California: University of California Press, 2012, pp. 55-88. www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pn9dj.7.
- Baker Christine, O'Carroll Finola, Duffy Paul, Shine Dennis, Mandal Steve and Mongey Michael. "Creating Opportunities and Managing Expectations: Evaluating Community Archaeology in Ireland". In: Jameson J. & Musteață S. (eds) *Transforming Heritage Practice in the 21st Century. One World Archaeology*, Springer: Cham. 2019, pp. 15-28.
- Baker, Christine. "Community archaeology: More questions than answers". *Archaeology Ireland*, vol. 30, 2016, pp.37-40.
- Chikwendu, Vincent E. "Archaeology of Igboland: The later Prehistory". *A Survey of the Igbo Nation*, edited by Ofomata, G.E.K. Onitsha: Africana First Publishers Limited, 2002, pp. 24-38.
- Chikwendu, Vincent. "The Occurrence of "Waisted" Stone Axes/Adzes in Eastern Nigeria." *Nyame Akume, A New Letter of African Archaeology*, 1979, pp. 44-49.
- Eze-Uzomaka, Pamela. "Excavation of Amaovoko: A further study of the Lejja Iron Smelting Culture". *The Journal of African Archaeology Network*, vol. 8, 2010, pp. 178-191.
- Eze-Uzomaka, Pamela. "Iron Age Archaeology in Lejja, Nigeria". *Dimensions of African Archaeology: Studies in the African Past*, edited by Pwiti, G. Radimilahy, C. and Macamo, S. Dar es Salaam, E & D Vision Pub. Ltd., vol. 7; 2009, pp. 41-51.
- Eze-Uzomaka, Pamela. "Iron and its influence on the prehistoric site of Lejja". *Paper read at the World of Iron Conference, February, 16-20, 2009, University College London, United Kingdom*, 2009.
- Eze-Uzomaka, Pamela. "New dates for iron smelting in Lejja, Nigeria". *Paper presented at the biannual conference of the Society of Africanist Archaeologist, J.W. Goethe Universitat, Frankfurt Germany*, 2008.
- Guest G., MacQueen, K.M., Namey E.E. *Introduction to applied thematic analysis*. United States: SAGE Publications, 2012.
- Hartle, D. D. "An archaeological survey in Eastern Nigeria". *West African Archaeological Newsletter*, vol. 2, 1965, pp. 4-5.
- Hartle, D. D. "Archaeology in Eastern Nigeria". *Nigeria Magazine*, vol. 93, 1967, pp. 134-143.
- Holtorf, C. *Archaeology is a Brand! The Meaning of Archaeology in Contemporary Popular Culture*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007.

- Humphris, Jane and Bradshaw, Rebecca. "Understanding 'the community' before community archaeology: A case study from Sudan". *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, vol. 4:3, 2017, pp. 203-217. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20518196.2017.1345364>
- Itanyi, Edmund. *An archaeology of old Nsukka division*. Germany: Lambert Publication, 2013.
- Marshall, Yvonne. "What is community archaeology?" *World Archaeology*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2002, pp. 211 – 219.
- Matsuda, A. and Okamura, K. (eds.) *New perspectives in global public archaeology*. London: Springer, 2011, pp. 1–18.
- Merriman, N. "Introduction: Diversity and Dissonance in Public Archaeology." In Merriman, N. (Ed) *Public Archaeology*, London: Routledge, 2004, pp. 1–17.
- Monshenska, Gabriel. and Dhanjal, S. (eds.) *Community archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford Books Ltd, 2011.
- Ngonadi, Chioma V. *Early Agricultural communities in Lejja, Southeastern, Nigeria: An Archaeo-botanical investigation*. 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d159Qi1uy1c>.
- Nwafor, "Enugu Govt. moves to protect, exploit world's oldest iron smelting site", *Vanguard Newspaper* [Online], April 20, 2018. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/enugu-govt-moves-protect-exploit-worlds-oldest-iron-smelting-site/>.
- Ogah, A. J., Eze-Uzomaka, P.I. and Opat, C.C. "The Application of Analytic Signal Method in Archaeology Investigations of Part of Lejja Prehistoric site, South-Eastern Nigeria". *British Journal of Applied Science and Technology*, vol. 4, no. 14, 2014, pp. 2059-2068.
- Okafor, Edwin E. "Economy and Politics: factors of technological change in Nsukka Nigeria bloomery iron smelting", *Nigerian Heritage*, vol. 4, 1995, pp.72-92.
- Okafor, Edwin E. "Information from slags and residues from Nsukka bloomery Iron Smelting Sites". *Journal of Liberal Studies* vol. 7, 1998, pp. 117-124.
- Okafor, Edwin E. "The Relevance of Ethnography for Archaeological Investigation". *International Journal of the Humanities* 1 & 2, 1999, pp. 300-306.
- Okpoko, A.I. "The significance of the Anambra Valley in the history of parts of Igboland-an archaeological perspective". *Foundations in Igbo Civilization*, Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 1981.
- Opat, C.C. and Apeh, A.A. "Uzo mma: Pathway to Intangible Cultural Heritage in Otopo Ugwu Dunoka Lejja, South-eastern Nigeria". *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, vol. 11, 2016, pp. 128-139.

- Richardson, Lorna-Jane and Almansa-Sánchez, Jaime. “Do you even know what public archaeology is? Trends, theory, practice, ethics”. *World Archaeology*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2015, pp. 194 – 211.
- Schmidt P. R. and Pikirayi, I (eds.) *Community archaeology and heritage in Africa. Decolonizing practice*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Shaw, Thurstan. *Lectures on Nigerian Prehistory and Archaeology* (ed.) Shaw T. Ibadan University Press, 1975.
- Suzie, Thomas. “Community Archaeology.” In Moshenska, Gabriel (Ed.) *Key Concepts in Public Archaeology*, 14-30. London: University College London Press, 2017.
- Yaffee, S., and Wondolleck, J. “Making Collaboration Work: Lessons from a comprehensive assessment of over 200 wide-ranging cases of collaboration in environmental management”. *Conservation in Practice*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2000, pp. 17–24.

Art, History, Religion and Literature: the iconoclasts in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*

By

Florence O. Orabueze
Department of English & Literary Studies
Faculty of Arts
University of Nigeria Nsukka
florence.orabueze@unn.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* is the first authentic novel to launch Modern African Literature into the prestigious domain of World Literatures. Its prestige lies not only in its being celebrated as a canonical text, which has been translated into several foreign languages all over the world, but it has also been read and re-read by different scholars, researchers, reviewers, writers and students, etc. from diverse fields of knowledge with different analytical models, and different conclusions had been reached on the novel. It is also a novel that stoutly rebuffed the etiolated imagery, the ominous silences, the cultural primitivism and cannibalistic nature, which Western writers and critics had ascribed unto Africa and Africans. The present study appropriates the concept of art history and religion with Gregory Berns' theory of iconoclasm combined with the crucible of qualitative research methodology of library and internet resources to unfold the iconoclastic characters that inhabit the fictive environment of the novel. Besides, the literary language of the text that x-rays the iconoclastic characters is also examined.

Introduction

Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* has been subjected to the purviews of scrutiny by different critics, and writers and researchers and different conclusions have been reached on the novel. To John Douthwaite, for example, the novelist appropriated simple everyday words to unravel the themes of life (2004), and Abdul JanMohammed suggests that the novel is about Achebe's reaction against the denigration of the black people colonized by Western colonizers. Chris Walsh in his comparison of *Things Fall Apart* and James Cary's *Mr. Johnson* that inspired the writing of the novel, suggests that *Things Fall Apart* did not conform to the principle of balance of story but serves as Achebe's payback for Johnson's perceived misrepresentation of the black race in his novel. He particularly observed that "Achebe's Okonkwo is a fearsome defender of tradition, unbending to the tragic end to the new white "civilization"" (2004: 109). The present research debunks this conclusion reached on the novel's characters but proves that Okonkwo and other characters like him are iconoclasts or rebels, who destroy the icons or images in their religion, culture and tradition. But before we proceed with the analysis

of the novel to prove the points raised, we shall, first of all, explain what iconoclasm is and the theory of iconoclasm by Gregory Berns.

According to Matthew Wills, Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire or Orthodox Branch of Christianity gave history the word *eikonoklastes*, which means “image breaker” or “icon snatching. (2015). And to Esler Jas, iconoclasm is the deliberate destruction within a culture’s own religion icons and other symbols or monuments, usually for religious or political motives (2012). This professor of art history at the University of Chicago and senior research fellow in Classical Art and Archaeology at Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford, further explains that iconoclasm is an attack on the real presence of the depicted prototype through assault on the image (web 2012). Therefore, the iconoclast is a person who engages in or in support of the breaking of religious or cultural icons or monuments or challenges cherished beliefs or venerated institutions on the ground that they are erroneous or pernicious. It is further suggested that the iconoclasm may be carried out by adherents of different religion or arise as a result of sectarian disputes by people of the same religion. However, it must be pointed out that the origin of iconoclasm is traceable to the Mosaic tradition in Ten Commandments that holds as idolatry, the making or veneration of images. Therefore, the early Christians’ making of images and the veneration of Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary and the Saints are seen as idolatry and blasphemous and, to the iconoclasts, those images and monuments must be destroyed.

Recently, as development and discoveries in science continues unabatedly, particularly in neuroscience, Gregory S. Berns, who is an American neuroscientist, a neuroeconomist, a professor of psychiatry Emory University, United States, in his book, *Iconoclast: Neuroscientist Reveals How to Think Differently*, published in 2010 by Harvard Business Review Press, makes a ground-breaking research on what makes iconoclasts or rebel. Susan Carini in her article, “The Iconoclastic Brain: from Steve Jobs to Dixie Chicks, neuroscientist Gregory Berns explores what makes a rebel”, suggests that Berns populates the book with a lot of iconoclasts in diverse fields, from baseball manager, Branch Rickey, to Steve Jobs to Dixie Chicks (web 2012).

In the ground-breaking work that opens a new area in research whose theory could also be applied in literary studies, like the present study, Berns uses the theory in neuroscience to premise that the iconoclast’s brain is different from others and that difference could be seen in three different distinct ways. These three distinctive ways include the perception, fear -response and social intelligence. Berns claims that iconoclasts perceive things and situations differently because their brains do not fall into efficiency traps like the other average person’s brain. He further suggests that fear is one of the greatest stumbling blocks of others, but iconoclasts overcome fear, which normally incapacitates other ordinary people. However, for the iconoclast, fear triggers off the fear response system in the brain, and he must respond to the novelty, that is, the stumbling block. Finally, social intelligence is one of the greatest pillars of the iconoclasts upon which they depend to make it to the top. To Gregory Berns, in his novel study of numerous iconoclastic individuals in diverse fields in his book, the modern iconoclasts navigate dynamic social networks and elicit change that begin with altered perceptions and ends with effecting change in other people or they die as failures. It is, therefore, this

new iconoclasm theory of Gregory S. Berns that the present research uses as a scaffold to discuss Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* in order to find out the characters in the fictive world of the novel that fit into the mold of iconoclasts.

The Iconoclasts in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*

Achebe uses the technique of the omniscient narrator to give the reader a glimpse of the pre-colonial, pre-scientific, agrarian and patriarchal world of the novel. It is a world that cherishes masculinity and manliness. It has its yardsticks for measuring men of worth in its enclave. Either the person is a wealthy farmer with a number of wives and children in addition to a number of titles. A man like Nwakibie is described as a "wealthy man in Okonkwo's village who had three huge barns, nine wives and thirty children" (15), and has also "taken the highest but one title which a man could take in the clan" (15). Again, a man can distinguish himself in inter-clan wars like Ezendu, who is not only a wealthy man, who has taken some titles, who at death is given a great funeral, "such as befitted a noble warrior" (98). It is for the same distinction in warfare that Obierika explains to Okonkwo and Ofoedu that late Ndulue in his youth "led Umuofia to war in those days" (55). Orators that speak at public gatherings persuasively are also highly regarded in Umuofia. It is for this reason that Ogbuefi Ezeugo, who is a "powerful orator and was always chosen to speak on such occasions"(9) was allowed to speak first at the gathering of all adult men in Umuofia to take a decision on the course of action open to the clan after the murder of Ogbuefi Udo's wife at Mbaino. After his oratorical speech, "The crowd then shouted with anger and thirst for blood "(9). It is for this power of oratory that can sway the crowd that after the detention of the six elders of Umuofia by the District Commissioner, Okonkwo thinks bitterly that the greatest obstacle that Umuofia will encounter in taking a decision is:

... that coward, Egonwanne. His sweet tongue can change fire into cold ash. When he speaks he moves our men to impotence. If they had ignored his womanish wisdom five years ago, we could not have come to this (159).

Luckily for Okonkwo, it is not Egonwanne whom he dreads so much that is allowed to address the assembly of Umuofia on that day. It is "Okika, one of the six who had been imprisoned. Okika was a great man and orator." (161) However, he lacks one thing, "the booming voice which a first speaker must use to establish silence in the assembly of the clan. Onyeka had such a voice, and he was asked to salute Umuofia before Okika began to speak" (161).

Having shown what it takes to be a successful man in this clan, Okonkwo is unfortunate to have a father who, during the most critical period in his life, the socialization period, is a complete failure and a deviant. In sociology, a deviance is any action or behaviour "that is contrary to the dominant norms of behaviour" (Ashley Crossman 2019). It is further described as any action or behaviour that violates social norms, and is "usually of sufficient severity to warrant disapproval from the majority of the society. Deviance can be criminal or non-criminal" (Cliff Notes 2020). Therefore,

Unoka's deviant lifestyle as well as death is not criminal in nature; yet, it falls outside the scope of Umuofia's institutionalized code of conduct. Therefore, the burden of Okonkwo which influences the trajectory of his life that leads to his suicide is in Unoka. The narrator describes Unoka as "tall but very thin and had a slight stoop" (4). There is nothing wrong in his physique, but his lifestyle. He is a good musician, who plays on his flute, but he is a coward, who hates the sight of blood. He is a laughing stock of the whole clan and "a debtor, and he owed every neighbour some money, from a few cowries to quite substantial amounts" (4). The narrator summarizes Unoka's deviant lifestyle thus:

Unoka the grown-up, was a failure. He was poor and his children had barely enough to eat. People laughed at him because he was a loafer, and they swore to never lend him any more money because he never paid back. But unoka succeed in borrowing more, and piling up his debts. (4-5)

At the time of his death, he has taken no title and is heavily in debt. However, his death is more shameful than his deviant lifestyle. Unfortunately, he is neither given any burial or funeral rites. He was taken to the evil forest because, unoka was an ill-fated man. He had a bad *chi* or personal god, and evil fortune followed him to the grave, or rather to his death, for he had no grave. He died of the swelling which was an abomination to the earth goddess" (14).

The effect of okonkwo's socialization process under a defiant father is that he does not have the advantages like other young men, "He neither inherited a barn or a title, nor even a young wife" (14). In fact, from very early in life, he "began to fend for himself at an age when most people still suck at their mother's breasts" (17). And even when he started the arduous sharecropping with Nwakibie, "Okonkwo was also fending for his father's house. His striving to build up a barn for himself is encapsulated in the imagery of futility that underscores the simile, "It was like pouring grains of corn into a bag of holes" (18). But the greatest damage of growing up with a father like unoka is in okonkwo's psyche. The indelible trauma in the metaphor of a playmate calling his father "*agbala*", which was another name for a woman. It could also mean a man who had taken no title" (11) haunts throughout his life. The imagery of effeminacy and nothingness that is foregrounded in the metaphor of *agbala* turns him into an iconoclast. And to come out of the mould of his father, "Okonkwo was ruled by one passion to hate everything that his father Unoka had loved. One of these things was gentleness and another was gentleness (11). Okonkwo is ashamed of his father, "And indeed he was possessed by the fear of his father's contemptible life and shameful death" (15). Obiako's response when the oracle tells him that his late father demands a goat for sacrifice that his late father should be asked whether he has a fowl when he is alive elicits laughter from everybody present, except Okonkwo.

Okonkwo as an iconoclast is possessed by his father deviant lifestyle and shameful death, but he has the social intelligence to understand that, his people cherishes personal achievements because, "Fortunately, among these people a man was judged

according to his worth and not according to the worth of his father. Okonkwo was clearly out for great things “(7). His determination to be one of the men that would be counted as achievers in his clan is encapsulated in the imagery of greatness in Nwakibie’s proverb, As our father said, you can tell a ripe corn by its look’ (17). Okonkwo, therefore, borrows yam seedlings from two successful farmers – Nwakibie and his father’s friend – to begin his farming process. Besides, at the beginning of the story of *Things Fall Apart*, the narrator uses flashback to recall the wrestling prowess of Okonkwo in a wrestling championship that portrays him as a future leader in Umuofia and the surrounding clans more than twenty years ago. Okonkwo as a young man of eighteen years defeats the unbeaten champion for seven years, Amalinze the Cat. He brings honour to his village in a fight which the “old men agreed was one of the fiercest since the founder of their town engaged a spirit of the wild for seven days and seven nights”(3). Therefore, his fame rested on solid personal achievements, and those achievements from the son of an improvident father, who goes to consult the oracle and the priestess chides him with, “The other men cross seven rivers to make their farms, you stay at home and offer sacrifices to a reluctant soil. Go home and work like a man” (14).

The fear of his father’s lifestyle is a stumbling block to Okonkwo, but as an iconoclast, he must surmount the fear in order to break grounds to reach the pinnacle of the social, military, economic, political and judicial levels in Umuofia and the surrounding clans. Also T.S. Kelley and S. Kelley also agree with Berns’ claim when they state that fear is “the single biggest obstacle people face to creative success” (40). Fear, therefore, acts as a spring board for all his actions. He is very autocratic in running his household that his wives and children are afraid of him. And the underlying factor for this autocratic disposition is presented thus:

Perhaps down in his heart Okonkwo was not a cruel man. But his whole life was dominated by fear, the fear of failure and of weakness. It was deeper and more intimate than the fear of evil and capricious gods and of magic, the fear of the forest and the forces of nature, malevolent, red in tooth and claw. Okonkwo’s fear was greater than these. It was not external but lay deep within himself. It was the fear of himself, lest he should be found to resemble his father (II).

The same fear of failure like his father is the reason he does not tolerate any lack in any member of his family. He incessantly beats Nwoye, his first son, because he does not want him to grow up to be an effeminate weakling in the clan. He is ready to stamp out the disquieting signs of laziness he perceives in him because, ‘I will not have a son who cannot hold up his head in the gathering of the clan. I would sooner strangle him with my own hands’ (26). Under the mentorship of Ikemefuna, Nwoye seems to have grown up to take on masculine jobs and to sit with his father in his hut to listen with Ikemefuna to his father’s masculine stories. Under his father’s tutelage, he begins to work in mending the compound walls. However, when his father gets involved in the sacrificial killing of Ikemefuna, Nwoye has an emotional physical and psychological break from Okonkwo and the Umuofia tradition. And this total withdrawal is underscored in the simile of “something seemed to give way inside him, like the snapping of a tightened bow” (49), when Okonkwo walks into the compound after the killing of Ikemefuna. It

dawns on him that Nwoye has lost all the gains he has made under Ikemefuna's mentorship. He rues that his sons, particularly Nwoye, are not like him and he tells Obierika so in the metaphors of futility and death, 'Where are the young suckers that will grow when the old banana tress dies? ... A chick that will grow into a cock can be spotted the very day it hatches' (52). Even though he suspects that he may not be the one that fathered Nwoye, when he looks at how lazy, effeminate and weak he is, but when he reflects deeply after Nwoye joins the Christian religion, it dawns on him that Nwoye inherits his grandfather's genetic disposition. The omniscient narrator puts the sharp contrast between Okonkwo and his son in the metaphors of binary oppositions in Okonkwo recalling his nicknames of "Roaring flame", "flaming fire", "living fire", which foreground the imagery of brightness, heat, potency, life and destructive force with which he is known while Nwoye is referred to as a "woman" and "cold impotent ash" that foreground the imagery of sterility and death. He laments the genetic mutation that has brought back Unoka in the form of Nwoye thus:

How then could he have gotten a son like Nwoye, degenerate and effeminate? Perhaps he was not his son. No! he could not be. His wife had played him false. He would teach her! But Nwoye resembled his grandfather, Unoka, who was Okonkwo father. He, Okonkwo was called a flaming fire. How could he have begotten a woman for a son? ... Living fire begets cold, impotent ash (123).

He would have in his fury gone to the mission to wipe out the whole abominable group – the Christian missionaries – that converted his son to their religion. But he decided against that because, to him, "Nwoye was not worth fighting for" (122). He feels that the only cause of action open to him is to call all his other sons and warn them about the consequences of any of them joining Christianity after his death. This is brought out in the imagery of complete destruction or genocide in the simile, "Okonkwo felt a cold shudder run through him at the terrible prospect, like the prospect of annihilation" (123). Nwoye, on his own part, denies his father to Obierika, and at Okonkwo's detention with the other leaders of Umuofia, the absence of Nwoye is visible in the family as this is presented in the imagery of desertion in the simile thus, "Okonkwo's compound was like a deserted homestead. It was as if cold water had been poured on it" (156). It is Ezinma whom her father has always wished she is a girl that "had broken her twenty-eight-day visit to the family of her future husband, and returned home when she heard that her father was imprisoned..." (157). It is the same Ezinma who goes to Obierika's house to inquire about what the clan is doing to bring them out of detention. At Okonkwo's death, too, Nwoye is not there to take charge of the situation. It is Obierika, with other clans men, that is in Okonkwo's house to ensure that he is buried by strangers and the land cleansed of the abomination which Okonkwo has committed by his suicide.

By Nwoye joining the new religion during Okonkwo's life, his absence during his detention and death to perform the necessary rituals after his burial, his fear in making sure he socializes his son to become one of the lords of the land has some negative impact. As an iconoclast, he has destroyed the bridge or connection between the continuity of his lineage which ought to be re-positied in Nwoye. And by the same Nwoye

deserting his family and culture to join the white man's new order, Okonkwo's greatest fear is fulfilled, because:

He saw himself and his father crowding around their ancestral Shrine waiting in vain for worship and sacrifice and finding nothing but ashes of bygone days, and his children praying to the white man's god (123).

The same fear of being thought weak and a failure like Unoka, his father, drives him to beat Ojiugo, his third wife, for going to plait her hair and not coming back early enough to serve him his lunch. The narrator says that "Okonkwo was provoked to justifiable anger by his youngest wife..." (23). The Chief priest of Ani admonishes him that he has committed an abomination for beating her during the Week of Peace, "a week in which a man does not say a harsh word to his neighbor" (24). Though the priest acknowledges that he has been justifiably provoked, 'your wife was at fault, but even if you came into your **obi** and found her lover on top of her, you would still have committed a great evil to beat her' (24). For the sacrilege of assault on Ojiugo during the most sacred week that is dedicated in honor of Ani or Earth goddess that gives fertility, he is sanctioned with a sacrifice that would cleanse the land he has polluted or else, 'The evil you have done can ruin the whole clan. The earth goddess whom you have insulted may refuse to give us her increase, and we shall all perish' (24).

But it is without doubt that only an iconoclast would break the Week of Peace and damn its consequences. Beating Ojiugo during the Week of Peace goes beyond the disobedience of the command of the Earth goddess. It is an iconoclastic action or the image breaking of the Earth goddess, which is one of the messengers of the Supreme God. Akunna in his conversation with the first missionary priest in Umuofia, Mr. Brown, explains to him thus, "We also believe in him and call him Chukwu. He made all the world and the other gods....But he made them for his messengers so that we could approach him through them" (143). Ojiugo's beating during the sacred week is Okonkwo's destruction of a religious icon or monument, the Earth goddess, that is a messenger of the Supreme Being, Chukwu. The seriousness of the sacrilegious act is seen in the oldest man in Iguedo village, Ezeudu, telling others that in the past, such a violator of the Week of Peace would be "dragged on the ground through the village until he died" (25). Though at Umuofia, the iconoclast is no longer punished with death, he performs sacrifices to cleanse the land because, "this custom was stopped because it spoils the peace which it was meant to preserve" (25).

Moreover, it is also fear of being seen as a failure and of weakness as his father that propels Okonkwo to murder Ikemefuna. Ikemefuna is a teenage boy that is the property of the whole clan given to the clan in compensation for the murder of a daughter of Umuofia and Ogbuefi Udo's wife at Mbaino. The boy is entrusted in his care and lives with him for three years. Ikemefuna calls him father, and Okonkwo treats him as a son. Under his tutelage and friendship with Nwoye, an effeminate and weak son of Okonkwo, he has begun to act like a man. However, during the locust invasion of Umuofia, the Oracle of the Hills and the Caves orders the whole clan to sacrifice him. When that decision is taken, Ezeudu warns him, 'That boy calls you father, do not bear a hand in his death' (47). Despite the old man's warning, Okonkwo accompanies the other men of

Umuofia on the mission. With his presence, Ikemefuna is not afraid of going with the men and when one of the men raises his matchet to kill him, he runs to Okonkwo and cries out, 'My father they have killed me' (49). He trustingly flees to him as a refuge, but, "Dazed with fear, Okonkwo drew his matchet and cut him down. He was afraid of being thought weak" (49). Despite this atrocious act, Okonkwo does not feel that this is filicide. He sees his action as the "latest show of his manliness" (52), and chides Obierika thus, 'I cannot understand why you refused to come with us to kill that boy' (52). Obierika tells him plainly that he is not afraid of killing the boy and warns him sternly that what he has done is filicide and that, 'What you have done will not please the Earth. It is the kind of action for which the goddess wipes out whole families' (53).

By killing Ikemefuna, Okonkwo commits filicide. Ezeudu and Obierika know that and tell him so. Even if he is a foster son, and the Oracle of the Hills and Caves, Agbala, has ordered that he should be sacrificed as a scapegoat to stop the locust invasion, Obierika warns him, 'But if the oracle said that my son should be killed, I would neither dispute it nor be the one to do it'(53). For living in his household for three years and calling him father, Ikemefuna has become his son and, "It was a crime against the Earth goddess to kill a clan's man"(99). The killing of Ikemefuna by Okonkwo is an act of an iconoclast, a destruction of the two images of the Supreme Being, Agbala and Aní. And his punishment for the filicide is immediate, because when he walks in that night after the killing, there is an irreparable and traumatic crisis in Nwoye. He seeks the son's company, "But the boy was afraid of him and slipped out of the hut as soon as he noticed him dozing"(50). Later when the missionaries would come into Mbanta, Ikemefuna's death is one of the cogent reasons Nwoye joins the new religion. Though he does not understand the logic of the Trinity, but the "hymn about brothers who sat in darkness and in fear seemed to answer a vague and persistent question that haunted his young soul –

The question of the twins crying in the bush and the question of Ikemefuna who was killed" (118). There is no doubt that the killing of Ikemefuna is a filicide, which he refuses to acknowledge for what it is. However, he suffers emotional, physical and psychological crises after it. He asks himself after three days when he cannot eat, sleep or walk, 'When did you become a shivering old woman... How can a man who has killed fire men in battle fall to pieces because he added a boy to their number?'(51) The gods punish him at the end for the filicide he has committed for Ikemefuna's death acts as a catalyst that leads to his suicide.

Okonkwo whose life is driven by fear that is embedded in his psyche and personality would have committed his first murder during the New Yam Feast, which is an occasion for giving thanks to Aní, the earth goddess and "the source of all fertility" (29). His favoured wife who is the mother of the favourite child, Ekwefi, has cut a few banana leaves to wrap some food. Okonkwo sees the tree and declares it killed. He asks who has done that and Ekwefi owns up, 'without further argument Okonkwo gave her a sound beating and left her and her only daughter weeping"(30). The other wives could not interfere, except to plead with him to stop beating her from a distance. The narrator says, "His anger thus satisfied, Okonkwo decided to go out hunting"(31). The aggrieved wife who has been weeping,

murmured something “about guns that never shot” (31). Okonkwo hears her, runs into his hut for his loaded gun and fires at her. Luckily, he misses her, but “there lay the woman, very much shaken and frightened but quite unhurt. He heaved a heavy sigh and went away with the gun” (31). The New Yam Feast is three days away from the occurrence of this incident. Despite this, the festival is celebrated joyously in his house, but the whole clan knows that it happened. At the wrestling ceremony in the village, during an interlude, Chielo, the priestess of Agbala, asks Ekwefi who stands close to her, “Is it true that Okonkwo nearly killed you with his gun?” (38) Ekwefi affirms it and Chielo tells her ‘Your *chi* is very much awake, my friend (39).

IT IS THE SAME “GUNS THAT NEVER SHOT,” AND HE HAS NOT IN FACT EVER KILLED A RAT WITH HIS GUNS BECAUSE, “BUT ALTHOUGH OKONKWO WAS A GREAT MAN WHOSE POWER WAS UNIVERSALLY ACKNOWLEDGED, HE WAS NOT A HUNTER”(31). IRONICALLY, IT IS THE SAME GUN THAT HAS NEVER KILLED A RAT THAT “EXPLODED AND A PIECE OF IRON HAD PIERCED THE BOY’S HEART”(99) AT THE BURIAL RITES OF OGBUEFI EZENDU. HIS CRIME IS AGAINST THE EARTH GODDESS BECAUSE NO ONE CAN KILL A CLANSMAN. THE CLAN CLASSIFIES HOMICIDE INTO TWO – MANSLAUGHTER AND MURDER. LUCKILY FOR HIM, HIS CRIME IS HOMICIDE OR FEMALE *OCHU* AND NOT A MALE ONE, MURDER. EVEN THOUGH THE HOMICIDE IS ACCIDENTAL, HE HAS TO BE SANCTIONED, WHICH IS BANISHMENT FOR SEVEN YEARS WITH HIS FAMILY THAT SAME DAY AND THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS PROPERTY. AS THE NARRATOR PRESENTS THE PUNITION, “...A LARGE CROWD OF MEN FROM EZEUDU’S QUARTERS STORMED OKONKWO’S COMPOUND, DRESSED IN GARBS OF WAR. THEY SET FIRE TO HIS HOUSES, DEMOLISHED RED HOUSES, KILLED HIS ANIMALS AND DESTROYED HIS BARN”(99). OKONKWO, WHO IS AN ICONOCLAST BY KILLING EZEUDU’S TEENAGE SON, HAS ONCE AGAIN, ASSAULTED THE IMAGE OF THE EARTH GODDESS AND WOULD STAY IN MBANTA, HIS MOTHER’S CLAN, FOR SEVEN LONG YEARS. HIS TRAUMATIC EXILIC EXPERIENCE IS VIVIDLY PAINTED IN THE IMAGERY OF NEAR-DEATH EXPERIENCE AND TOTAL LOSS IN THE SIMILE OF, “HE HAD BEEN CAST OUT OF HIS CLAN LIKE A FISH ONTO A DRY SANDY BEACH, PANTING”(104).

Okonkwo’s greatest act of iconoclasm, which is also borne out of fear is the killing of the District Commissioner’s head messenger. At the detention of the six leaders of Umuofia, which Okonkwo is one of them, they are all dehumanized. They are handcuffed, their hair shaved, starved for some days, insulted and whipped that sympathizers who come to Okonkwo’s house after their release “noticed the long stripes on Okonkwo’s back where the warder’s whip had cut into his flesh”(158). Okonkwo who is a warrior and a man of wealth resents the indignities they are subjected to. He swears that even if Umuofia at their meeting decides not to go to war, he swears to carry out a personal revenge. A night before the meeting, “Before he had gone to bed he had brought down his war dress, which he had not touched since his return from exile. He had shaken out his smoked raffia skirt and examined his tall feather head gear and his shield. They were all satisfactory, he had thought”. So at the meeting the community conveys to take a decision on the events that have taken place, the District Commissioner sends his messengers to stop the meeting. Unfortunately, the first person they meet at the meeting is Okonkwo. The head messenger orders him to make way for them to pass. Okonkwo

who is already filled with hatred for the white man and his institutions rejects the head messenger's order to make way for them. To Okonkwo's chagrin, "The man was fearless and stood his ground, his four men lined up behind him" (163). Okonkwo obeying his order will portray him as an effeminate weakling. The head messenger gives the assembly of men his message, "The white men whose power you know too well has ordered this meeting to stop" (163). Okonkwo is not able to hold the insult and humiliation any longer, he takes out his machete and beheads the head messenger and the crowd breaks into a tumult and the other messengers flee the scene. As an iconoclast, Okonkwo's killing of the head messenger is an assault on the District Commissioner, who is the representative of the "great queen" (157), the Supreme Head of the British Empire in Umuofia. His last act of rebellion is to commit suicide rather than to be "taken to Umuru and hanged" (141).

But apart from fear which was "not external but lay deep within himself" [Okonkwo], one other thing that makes him different from other characters in the fictive world of the novel is his different perception of people, things and situations as an iconoclast or rebel. For example, because of his way of perception, he does not see that not everyone can be a warrior or a wealthy man or a titled man in his clan. He does not see his father's life and death as being also caused by fate, apart from his laziness and weakness. He does not appreciate that his father is a good musician. Though he cannot pay back the debts he owes people, presumably people loves him that they still lend him money. Unoka tells Okoye whom he owes two hundred cowries that comes to collect his money one early morning that he owes so many people. He tells Okoye boldly, 'You see, I owe that man a thousand cowries. But he has not come to wake me up in the morning for it' (6). Okoye does not complain, but he simply "rolled up his goatskin and departed" (6). But for Okonkwo, his father's laziness and weakness are of his own making. And the same intolerance and contempt he has for his father he also transfers to other poor people in the clan, because he sees them as being weak and lazy. He humiliates Osugo who contradicts him at a kindred meeting to discuss the day of the next ancestral feast with, 'This meeting is for men' (21). This is because Osugo has no title. However, all the men at the meeting sides with Osugo and the oldest man at the meeting forces him to apologize to Osugo by reminding him that there is divine intervention in the acquisition of wealth in the proverb, '...that those whose palm kernels were cracked for them by a benevolent spirit should not forget to be humble' (21).

Okonkwo also exhibits the same difference in perception in Nwoye's genetic disposition which he inherits from his grandfather, Unoka. To him, Nwoye is very lazy and weak, even when the boy is very young, he expects him to do a man's job like himself, when he is young. He complains to Obierika that his sons do not resemble him and that even a ball of pounded yam can throw Nwoye in a wrestling match. He accuses Nwoye of resembling his mother, his first wife, but "Too much of his grandfather," Obierika thought, but he did not say it. The same thought also came to Okonkwo's mind. But he had long learnt to lay that ghost" (52). He knows that Nwoye inherits Unoka's genes; yet, he continues to strive to bring him up to his own standard of life that at a point, he breaks the son and he leaves home in rebellion and joins the white colonial order and denies him.

Okonkwo also has a different perception of masculinity and femininity, which differs from the other reasonable men in his clan. And this difference stems from the root of his socialization process. To him, it is only women that are weak and effeminate. This perception reflects in his treatment of his household, particularly the women. This manifests when the nameless first wife, Nwoye's mother, asks him how long Ikemefuna would stay with the family, when he brings him to stay with her. For daring to ask the question, she is rebuked with, 'Do what you are told, woman', Okonkwo thundered and stammered. 'When did you become one of the *ndichie* of Umuofia?' (12). The same condescending perception of women he displays when Ekwefi, the second wife, advises him as he prepares to host the late mother's extended family, at the time he is preparing to leave with his family in Mbanta. Her advice to him to kill two goats for the feasts is unceremoniously rebuffed and dismissed with, 'I am calling a feast because I have the wherewithal. I cannot live on the bank of the river and wash my hands with spittle. My mother's people have been good to me and I must show my gratitude' (132). The perception of women can also be glimpsed at Obierika's house when Ofoedu brings the sad news that Ndulue has died. When he hears that Ndulue and the wife, Ozoemena, are very close in their youths that a song is composed about their closeness and love, his credulous reaction reflected in this conversation between the three men below:

'I didn't know that', Okonkwo said. 'I thought he was a strong man in his youth.

'He was indeed,' said Ofoedu. Okonkwo shook his head doubtfully.

'He led Umuofia to war in those days', said Obierika.

The narrator further makes it clear that Okonkwo's humiliation and degradation of women, particularly his wives, is not the rule but an exception in Umuofia. This is as a result of his perception of women, which is different from those of the other men. In wealthy Nwakibie's huge household with nine wives and thirty children, there is order and respect for the women folk. The keg of palm wine which Okonkwo brings to him to request for some yam seedlings is not drunk by the men alone as Nwakibie's wife are also invited in their order of seniority:

She [Anasi, the first wife] walked up to her husband and accepted the horn from him. She then went down on one knee, drank a little and handed back the horn. She rose, called him by his name and went back to her hut. The other wives drank in the same way, in their proper order, and went away (16).

The same perception he has for women for being generally weak, he also has four men who are poor. To him, Osugo who is an untitled man should not speak in public and should particularly not contradict him, a wealthy warrior. However, the other men call him to order until, "Okonkwo said he was sorry for what he had said, and the meeting continued" (21). It is obvious that other men, including those who are lords of the land, do not share the same perception about weak and poor men with him.

Again Okonkwo's perception of things and situations are radically different from all the other reasonable people, particularly men in the clan, like Obierika, his friend, who is more thoughtful and pragmatic, than him. After he kills Ikemefuna and goes to Obierika's house to ease the boredom and trauma that characterize his murder, he thinks of "his father's weakness and failure" (52) which trouble him, but he also always "expelled it by thinking about his own strength and success" (52). It is with the same thought of his success and strength that he accuses Obierika for not being in the company of those who killed Ikemefuna. He sees the act as "his latest show of manliness". He queries Obierika, '.... If we were all afraid of blood, it would not be done. And what do you think the Oracle would do then?' (53). Obierika replies him that what he has done is filicide and that is the type of crime the Earth goddess would wipe out whole families and tells him what would have been a better option if Okonkwo has heeded the advice of Ezeudu, 'And let me tell you one thing, my friend. If I were you I would have stayed at home'(53)

It is the more thoughtful Obierika that reflects on the custom that punishes an individual for committing a crime like manslaughter and also the throwing away of twins, who are innocent babies, into the evil forest as the earth goddess demands. He is one of those who participates in the demolition of Okonkwo's house and compound walls, the burning of his property and the slaughter of his domestic animals, when Okonkwo flees into exile for manslaughter of Ogbuefi Ezeudu's son. The narrator tells the reader that they have no hatred for Okonkwo, but they are merely the messengers of the goddess, which has decreed such punishment for the inadvertent killing of a clansman. After Okonkwo has gone into exile and the other prescribed punishment meted to him to cleanse the land he has polluted, Obierika sits down in his *obi* and reflects, "Why should a man suffer so grievously for an offence he had committed inadvertently?... He remembered his wife's two children, whom he had thrown away. What crime had they committed?"(100).

However, Okonkwo who suffers the brunt of the custom and religious observances does not query the validity of such custom and the decree from the earth goddess. He simply blames his personal god for his calamity. In his exile in Mbanta, he thinks about the situation thus:

Clearly his personal god or *chi* was not made for great things. A man could not rise beyond the destiny of his *chi*. The saying of the elders was not true – that if a man said yes his *chi* also affirmed. Here was a man whose *chi* said nay despite his own affirmation (104).

His different perception of things from Obierika can also be seen in their different views about the Umuofia custom of *ozo* titled men not climbing tall palm trees to tap wine. They both agree that the young men of nowadays kill the trees, when tapping them. But while Okonkwo believes that '...that the law of the land must be obeyed' (55), Obierika holds the view, 'I don't know how we got that law' (55).

Okonkwo's different perception of things, events and people from other men is particularly his undoing in the colonized Umuofia. The story of the presence of the colonizers in distant land has already been foreshadowed before he goes into exile. It is in his exile in Mbanta that Obierika and the two young men that bring the story of the total destruction of Abame and its natural resources –lake and fish – that force the few survivors into refuge in Umuofia and the surroundings clans. Obierika and the others explain to the listeners the cause of the military expedition at Abame by some black soldiers led by three white men. It is told that the men of Abame have killed a lone white man who strays into their clan after consulting their oracle which tells them that the white man is a harbinger of other white men that would invade their clan and cause much damage. The white men are metaphorically called “locusts, it said, and the first man was their harbinger sent to explore the terrain”(III). The others who are looking for the man came and saw what happened and after several weeks, a band of soldiers, who “must have used a powerful medicine to make themselves invisible until the market was full” (III) invaded the market and began to shoot into the market and, ‘Everybody was killed, except the old and the sick who were at home and a handful of men and women whose *chi* were wide awake and brought them out of the market’ (111-112). The three men – Uchendu, Okonkwo and Obierika – have different perceptions of the situation, particularly about the men of Abame. The three men call the men of Abame “fools” on three different grounds. To Uchendu, the men of Abame are fools because, ‘Never kill a man who says nothing. Those men of Abame were fools. What did they know about the man?’ (112). The old man uses the story of the mother kite that instructs its daughter kite to bring food and the baby kite brings a duckling and when she hears that the duck keeps silent when the duckling is picked up, she instructs her to take it back and bring a chick. She returns with a chick and she asks her what it does, she answers that it cries, raves and curses her. The mother kite replies that they should eat it, ‘There is nothing to fear from someone who shouts’ (112). Okonkwo calls them fools because they have been warned by their oracle that there is danger ahead, ‘They should have armed themselves with their guns and their matchets even when they went to the market’ (112). Obierika also calls them fools and says, ‘But I am greatly afraid. We have heard stories about white men who made the powerful guns and the strong drinks and took slaves across the seas, but no one thought the stories were true’ (112). Therefore, the three men have different perceptions of the genocide at Abame. To Uchendu, if the Abame people have not have killed the white man who strays into their clan and keeps silent, he does not constitute any danger to them. The reprisal attack would not have been possible. Obierika is afraid and points out about the superiority of the military armament of the white men over their dane guns and matchets. Okonkwo, on the other hand, perceives the situation differently from the other two men. He does not object to the killing of the white man or recognize their military superiority. His perception of the equality of the two armies is proven to be false when Umuofia's leaders are invited to the court room after the clan burns down Enoch's house and the church at Mbanta, The six leaders armed themselves with their machetes to the meeting, but the District Commissioner tricks them and his men to disarm them. The narrator says he calls twelve men, on the pretext they would listen to the case with him, but:

It happened so quickly that the six men did not see it coming. There was only a brief scuffle, too brief even to allow the drawing of a sheathed machet. The six men were handcuffed and led into the guard room(154).

They only regain their freedom after the clan pays a ransom of two hundred and fifty bags of cowries, which the court messengers inflated by fifty bags of cowries.

Okonkwo's perception of the colonial institutions –religion, legal and educational systems, commerce and administration is radically different from the others. For instance, Mr Brown, who is the first missionary in Umuofia and opens hospitals, schools, and visits prominent men like Akunna in Umuofia, is a very accommodating man. Therefore, on Okonkwo's return from exile in Mbanta, "Umuofia had indeed changed during the seven years Okonkwo had been in exile" (139). He is deeply grieved, but then the colonial legacies have taken root in the clan. There are some who see the new order with its institutions as evil, but:

There were many men and women in Umuofia who did not feel as strongly as Okonkwo about the new dispensation. The white man had indeed brought a lunatic religion, but he had also built a trading store and for the first time palm oil and palm kernel became things of great price, and much money flowed into Umuofia (142).

Apart from the new religion which some of the clan's men and women have been converted to, they have also sent their children to the new school and these are the future leaders of Umuofia because, "A few months in it were enough to make one a court messenger or even a clerk. Those who stayed longer became teachers..." (145). With the new colonial institutions being deeply rooted with a court where violators of the white man's laws are tried and some of them like Aneto hanged at Umuru and some others languishing in prison, Okonkwo has definitely lost his once exalted and cherished position in Umuofia because, "His life had been ruled by a great passion – to become one of the lords of the clan" (104). And this irreparable loss is encapsulated in the proverb of, "The clan was like a lizard; if its lost its tail it would soon grow another" (137). His ambition to lead the war like men of Umuofia to wage a war against the new religion and the new colonial order is rebuffed like in Mbanta. Obierika reminds him that his idea to wage a war against the colonial administration would be genocidal for the clan because even though only two white men live with them in Umuofia but, there would be consequential reprisals. He thoughtfully tells him the impossibility of the suggestion because of betrayal from within the clan. He queries Okonkwo thus:

'But what of our own people who are following their way and have been given power? They would go to Umuru and bring the soldiers, and we would be like Abame.' He paused for a long time and then said: 'I told you on my last visit to Mbanta how they hanged Aneto'(141).

He plainly tells Okonkwo that the clan is divided and can no longer speak and act like one entity in the presence of colonization. This symbol of perpetual disunity and division is brought out in his wise and thought-provoking statement, 'Now he has won our brothers, and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that

held us together and we have fallen apart'(141). In this symbolism of the knife that cuts the things that hold the clan lies the imagery that foregrounds the supplanting of the old traditional Umuofia by the new colonizing force.

It is also his wrong perception of warlike men of Umuofia that leads to his killing the white man's head messenger. As an iconoclast, who perceives things differently, despite Obierika's explanations that some of their clans people now follow the white man's new order, and the custom of the clan does not permit them to murder kinsmen and women without consequential repercussions, the fact that the white man has hanged some Umuofia men and has incarcerated many of them, including their prominent men, who "were grieved by the indignity and mourned their neglected farms"(140), the fact that he has also experienced the white man's coercive power in detention, the fact that the clan pays a fine of two hundred and fifty bags of cowries for their freedom, an act which amounts to the final submission of Umuofia to the new colonial order, the fact that the white colonizers are militarily superior to Umuofia, he wrongly believes that by killing the head messenger of the colonial administration that all the men at the meeting would pounce on the other four messengers and massacre, and then the clan would wage a war of independence against the colonizers. He finds out late that the clan does not have the same perception as him to wage a war against the colonial order because:

They had broken into tumult instead of action. He discerned fright in that tumult. He heard voices asking, 'Why did he do it?' (163)

As an iconoclast to the end, he decides to take his own life, instead of waiting to be hanged by the white colonial administration which he detests with a passion.

Having argued thus far that Okonkwo's different perception of people, things and events and his impulsive response to fear have shaped his actions, we shall now examine how he uses social intelligence to rise "from great poverty and misfortune to be one of the lords of the clan"(23) in pre-colonial Umuofia. One of the significant features of iconoclasts is the ability to dare, to market the ideas to either effect change and make it to the dizzy top or die as failures. Okonkwo uses his social intelligence optimally to attain a high social status in Umuofia. From very early in life, Okonkwo is very conscious that his society adores masculinity and the demonstration of manly behaviour. He also realizes very early in life that his father lives a life of a deviant and dies a deviant, and he detests the two things – weakness and failure – that make his father a laughing stock of "the clan because he was a loafer"(4). His father's lifestyle and death distort his emotional and psychological make-up and constitute an embarrassment to him. This perpetual embarrassment unfolds itself whenever the story of a failure is mentioned, like the story of Obiako who goes to consult an oracle and he is told that his late father wants him to sacrifice a goat. Obiako queries the oracle thus, "Ask my dead father if he ever had a fowl when he was alive?" (16) The narrator, which is an all-seeing and all-knowing, reports the reactions of the men in Nwakibie's house to the story thus:

Everybody laughed heartily except Okonkwo, who laughed uneasily because, as the saying goes, an

old woman is always uneasy when dry bones are mentioned in a proverb. Okonkwo remembered his own father (16).

This perpetual trauma of Okonkwo which unfolds in this proverb clings to him like a second skin that can never be removed. Therefore, he employs his social intelligence of recognizing that he can rise in the clan that adores manly acts. And how does he achieve this impossible, having been socialized in a very poor background. He knows that hard work and integrity can bring him success. He goes to Nwakibie to trust him with his yams because, already as a very young man “he had won fame as the greatest wrestler in the nine villages”(7) by defeating Amalinze the Cat who was a “great wrestler who for seven years was unbeaten, from Umuofia to Mbaino” (3). He has also shown a high sense of responsibility with his poor background to the point that he “began to fend for himself at an age when most people suck at their mother’s breasts” (17). His achievements at that age are underscored in a proverb of ‘The lizard that jumped from the high iroko tree to the ground said he would praise himself if no one else did’ (17). Nwakibie who is reluctant to give young men his yams seedlings for crop-sharing because of their irresponsibility relents and tells him that he trusts him in a proverb, ‘As our fathers said, you can tell a ripe corn by its look. I shall give you twice four hundred yams. Go ahead and prepare your farm’ (17).

He has to ask Nwakibie to lend him yams because he recognizes that yam, among all the crops – cocoyam, maize, cassava, etc – is the “king of crops” (27). He also knows that in Umuofia, “yam stood for manliness, and he who could feed his family on yams from one harvest to another was a very great man indeed” (26). So having borrowed the yam, which “was a very exacting thing” (27), he has to work on his farm from dawn to dusk to ensure that they do not die. Unfortunately for him, the year he borrows yam seedlings to plant is the worst planting season in Umuofia as there is a severe climate change which is personified in the metaphors of madness in, “But the year had gone mad”(19), and was “the worst year in living memory”(18). The drought that year is very extreme and the image of the extremity of the hot weather is brought out in the simile in, “The earth burnt hot like coals and roasted all the yams that he had sown.” (18). Because of the heat, all his personal yam seedlings he planted are roasted by the heat from the sun, despite the effort he makes to shield the yam seedlings with “thick sisal leaves” (19). When the rain starts falling again, he plants the one thousand and two hundred yam seedlings, but the rain comes heavily and ceaselessly with torrential rain and uproots trees and creates deep gorges. There is no sunshine to help the yam to grow well so the harvest of the year is brought out in the imagery of death and monumental loss in the simile, “That year the harvest was sad, like a funeral, and many farmers wept as they dug up the miserable and rotting yams” (19). But apart from the severe weather change of that year that affected the harvest, Okonkwo also has to contend with the feeding of the whole family, including his father. His effort in desperately striving to “build a barn through share cropping” (18) in an early age is met with so much difficulties that it is “like pouring grains of corn into a bag full of holes” (18). However, he surmounts all the difficulties to become one of the wealthiest farmers in Umuofia, whose “long stacks of yam stood out prosperously” (12) in his barn behind his *obi*.

Okonkwo's maximal use of his social intelligence also helps him to rise to the position of being one of the members of the *egwugwu* masquerades that is the highest adjudicative system in Umuofia, which settles disputes, including matrimonial causes and land matters. In the settlement of the dispute between Mgbafo and Uzowulu, the narrator makes it clear that among "the most powerful and the most secret cult in the clan" (71), Okonkwo represents his village because:

Okonkwo was not among the titled men and elders who sat behind the row of *egwugwu*. But if they thought these things they kept them within themselves. The *egwugwu* with the springy walk was one of the dead father of the clan (72).

Even in exile where he flees with nothing after he commits manslaughter, he is very dejected, and his uncle, Uchendu, gives him a plot of land while his "five sons contributed three hundred seed yams to enable their cousin to plant a farm, for as soon as the first rain came farming would begin" (103). It is with these seed yams and his belief in hard work and masculinity that he starts life afresh as a middle-aged man to work with his family to also become a prosperous man, who is recognized as one of the lords of Mbanta. He becomes one of the leaders that take decisions on behalf of the clan. As at the time he is hosting his mother's extended family, he is able to kill three goats and provide different sumptuous meals to host a "big feast" (133).

Okonkwo demonstrates that he is truly "cut out for great things" (7), and this is possible through his exhibition of his social intelligence of hard work and masculinity. Before he goes into exile from Umuofia, he is already a wealthy man and before he leaves exile in Mbanta to go back to his fatherland, Umuofia, he is also a wealthy man. And to show that his exile is not an impediment to his success, he resolves to carry out the following intentions on his return to Umuofia:

The first thing he would do would be to rebuild his compound on a more magnificent scale. He would build a bigger barn than he had before and he would build huts for two new wives. Then he would show his wealth by initiating his sons into the *ozo* society. Only the really great men in the clan were able to do this. Okonkwo saw clearly the high esteem in which he would be held, and he saw himself taking the highest title in the land (137).

Another display of social intelligence of an iconoclast that makes his brain different from others in distinct ways is Okonkwo's belief that his masculinity and manhood, which his father lacks, would give him success. At the age of eighteen years, he defeats Amalinze the Cat, a champion who holds away for seven years in one of the most-watched and most-cherished entertainments in the clan. Even as a middle-aged man, the drums of wrestling matches still fill him "with fire as it has always done from youth. He trembled with the desire to conquer and to subdue" (34). Every wrestling match witnesses a huge turn-out of the spectators as, "The whole village turned out on the *ilo*, men, women and children" (37). The champions are highly regarded in the clan and winners are carried "shoulder-high and danced through the cheering crowd" (38); they sang their "praise and the young women clapped their hands" (40). Wrestling champions

are indeed regarded as heroes, and Okonkwo who rarely shows “any emotion openly unless it be the emotion of anger” (22) comments Maduka, Obierika’s son, who is one of the champions in the wrestling bouts in his group and tells him proudly, “Come and shake hands with me” (52).

Umuofia believes that a man must display acts of masculinity in inter-clan wars and wrestling champions are expected to be the future warriors of the clan because, ‘A chick that will grow into a cock can be spotted the very day it hatches’ (52). Warfare, therefore, is one way of distinguishing war heroes from cowards, and the heroes are highly regarded in Umuofia and surrounding clans. Ndulue who is the oldest man in Ire village is a war hero who leads Umuofia to war in his youth. He and his wife die on the same day and his funeral must be put off until after the burial of his wife. Ofoedu who brings the message of the death of the closely-knit couple explains further about his death, ‘That is why the drum has not been beaten to tell Umuofia’ (54) to announce his death to the clan. Obierika is absent at the killing of Ikemefuna by the clan, but when Okonkwo accuses him of cowardice, he tells him bluntly, ‘You know very well, Okonkwo that I am not afraid of blood; if anybody tells you that I am, he is telling a lie ‘ (53). Ezeudu who first breaks the news of the oracle’s decree that Ikemefuna would be sacrificed “had been a great and fearless warrior in his time, and now was accorded great respect in all the clan” (45). His funeral rites are remarkable and as one of the oldest men in his village, a warrior in his youth and a man who has taken the highest title in the land, except the fourth title to make him one of the lords of the land, his burial would be awesome, “Ezeudu was to be buried after dark with only a glowing brand to light the sacred ceremony” (98). Moreover, all the clan was at his funeral, including other warriors with their guns, and different masquerades. As the time of his burial approaches, the most bizarre, the most dreaded masquerade that can transfix others to a spot for two days, if they do not leave the spot for him also comes to the funeral. Others have to give way for him and this one-handed masquerade that carries basket full of water with his guttural voice goes to the corpse and addresses it thus, ‘Ezeudu!... If you had been a coward, I would have asked you to bring courage. But you were a fearless warrior...’ (98).

It is in this type of masculine setting of Umuofia that Okonkwo grows up under a weak, effeminate and very poor father; however, he believes in masculine deeds that he is recognized as one of the greatest warriors in his clan. The narrator tells the reader the achievement of this iconoclastic character thus:

Unlike his father, he could stand the look of blood. In Umuofia’s latest war he was the first to bring home a human head. That was his fifth head; and he was not an old man yet. On great occasions such as the funeral of a village celebrity he drank his palm-wine from his first human head (9).

His fame as a warrior goes beyond the confines of Umuofia to other clans. The oldest man in Ibe’s camp that comes to marry Obierika’s daughter, Akueke, in his address to their in-laws recognizes his feat in wars thus, ‘Prosperous men and great warriors.’ He looked in the direction of Okonkwo. ‘Your daughter will bear a son like you’ (94). Also Umuofia, which “is feared by all their neighbours”(10) because they have a plethora of warriors, powerful medicine men and priests, and their much feared *agadi-nwanyi*, or old

woman with its shrine at the centre of the clan, decides after their public gathering to send Okonkwo to “Mbaino as the proud and imperious emissary of war” (10). The men of Mbaino, knowing full well Okonkwo’s reputation as a warrior, choose the lesser evil in the ultimatum –pays a compensation of a virgin to replace Ogbuefi Udo’s wife and a lad that belongs to the clan – to avoid the bloodshed of waging a war with Umuofia.

Even under the British colonial administration, Okonkwo is also fearless and man enough to challenge the powerful colonizers. He is in exile in Mbanta when they come to the clan. And despite the fact that he has heard about the military exploits of the white man and his total destruction of Abame, he is an iconoclast that is ready to challenge him in war. He is there when Mr. Kiaga and other missionaries come into Mbanta to preach to the people. His presence is not to listen to their sermon or hymns, but simply with the “hope that it might come to chasing the men out of the village or whipping them.” (118). Though his initial motive of being present does not materialize, he bears a great personal grudge against the new religion and its followers when Nwoye is converted. He despises his son’s behaviour and resents his association with effeminate and very weak men whom he indirectly compares in a simile of “effeminate men clicking like old hens was the depth of abomination” (122). Though he refrains from attacking the Christians because Nwoye is not worth the trouble to fight for, the opportunity presents itself when one of the new converts, Okoli, is rumoured to have killed a sacred python. Okonkwo suggests that the clan should fight the Christians and, when the clan rejects his suggestion, he contemptuously believes, “This was a womanly clan, he thought, such a thing could not happen in his fatherland, Umuofia” (127). The personification and metaphor of weakness and effeminacy with which he refers to Mbanta is ironical, because in Umuofia, tremendous changes have already taken place in his absence. On his return to Umuofia, he discovers that the clan is no longer the same and British colonization is already deeply rooted into every sphere of life of the people, and he regrets, “He had lost the chance to lead his warlike clan against the new religion, which he was told, had gained ground” (137).

As an iconoclast who must market his ideas in order to bring a change to the clan, Okonkwo goes to see his old friend, Obierika, because he is still desirous to uproot the colonizers and their institutions through warfare. Being a pragmatic individual, he does not sit back and mourn for the “warlike men of Umuofia, who had so unaccountably become soft like women” (146). He believes that he can still galvanize them into action, unlike Obierika who is afraid of waging a war against the white colonizers and reminds him, ‘Have you not heard how the white man wiped out Abame?’(140), and despite the persuasions of Obierika that the clan cannot fight the military might of the colonial administration, Okonkwo emphatically tells him, ‘We must fight those men and drive them out of the land’ (140). An opportunity presents itself for the clan to fight the new religion, when Enoch unmasks a masquerade, which is an abomination never seen in the clan before, the clan takes revenge and, “For the first in many years Okonkwo had a feeling that was akin to happiness” (153). Their detention and humiliation by the District Commissioner annoys him so much that he tells the other detainees with him, “‘We should have killed the white man if you had listened to me’ Okonkwo snarled” (155). Though the other detainees do not share the same thought with him, they remind him that

they would have been hanged at Umuru. Okonkwo, being an iconoclast, does not succumb to the fear of the white man and his powers, and he swears to take personal revenge, if the clan is not ready to fight the colonial administration that has made life difficult for them. In his recollection of the clan's past exploits in wars and the contributions of griots who inspire men in the warfront, he thinks:

The noblest, he thought, was the war against Isike. In those days Okudo was still alive. Okudo sang a war song in a way that no other man could. He was not a fighter, but his voice turned every man into a lion (159).

Ironically, he does not perceive that the clan is afraid of the white man's military prowess. So Okonkwo kills the white man's head messenger, presumably believing that Umuofia would go to war with the colonizers. But the clan disappoints him, and he goes to his house and commits suicide.

It is difficult to classify him as an iconoclast or not because of the manner of his death. To his clan, he has died an abominable and ignoble death, suicide. His fate is worse than his father's who is taken into the evil forest because of the swelling of his stomach which is an abomination to the earth goddess. But for Okonkwo's death, it is not only that his people cannot touch his corpse but strangers, but the worst fate to befall a man, one of the greatest men in Umuofia in his life, is that his corpse is evil. Obierika annoyingly tells the District Commissioner the consequences of his action, 'That man was one of the greatest men in Umuofia. You drove him to kill himself and now he will be buried like a dog...' (163). The metaphor of the greatest and one of the wealthiest warriors being buried like a dog reduces Okonkwo to level of animality and nothingness, a fate that is worse than Unoka's, which fate he has striven to avoid throughout his life. As if this dismal burial is not enough, one of the men tells the District Commissioner, 'We shall make sacrifices to cleanse the desecrated land' (165). However, despite his type of death, and even though he does not achieve his target of driving the white man out of Umuofia, he should be rightly regarded as an iconoclast. This is because, Berns believes that an iconoclast may effect a change in his society or organization, or he dies a failure. Though Okonkwo does not effect a change in his people, because they are afraid of being hanged in Umuru or the levying of a reprisal genocidal attack by the white colonizers, surely, he effects a change in the white colonial administrator, who thinks as he leaves the site of the suicide, for the many years he strives to bring civilization in different part of Africa, he has never seen a thing like that. He concludes that in his book, *The Pacification of the Primitive Tribes of Lower Niger*, he must as a matter of fact, include in it, "The story of the man who had killed a messenger and hanged himself would make interesting reading.... Perhaps not a whole chapter but a reasonable paragraph, at any rate" (166).

By the District commissioner's conclusion to include the story of Okonkwo in his new book, Okonkwo, without any doubt, ought to be regarded as an iconoclast, who decides single handedly to attack the "the real presence of the depicted prototype", the Imperial British Majesty, through an assault on its image", the head messenger of the colonial administration in Umuofia.

Enoch, is another iconoclast in the fictive world of *Things Fall Apart*, and he is one of the converts from Traditional African Religion to Christianity. He is one of the converts to the new religion, whom Chielo, the priestess of Agbala, describes as “the excrement of the clan, and the new faith was a mad dog that had come to eat up” (115). The imagery of ‘excrement’ which the priestess uses to describe them shows that they were a waste and valueless to the clan. And that is the reason the narrator calls them, “*efulefu*, worthless, empty men”. The imagery of the worthlessness and deviance of these men is fore-grounded in the forecourt of the reader in, “None of his converts was a man whose word was heeded in the assembly of the people. None of them was a man of title”(115), and they were men “who sold their matchet and wore the sheath to battle” (115). The excesses, the rascality and the strangeness of the new religion are foregrounded in the metaphor of a “mad dog” in accepting such wastes of the clan such as twins thrown into the evil forest and outcasts that have been dedicated to deities. One of the wastes of the clan is Enoch, the son of the priest of the snake cult. This is a man that is unknown in pre-colonial Umuofia, but the new dispensation empowers them when they get converted to the new faith. With the conversion, Enoch becomes emboldened to attack the image of the old African Traditional Religion by killing and eating “the sacred python” (142). This is an assault on the gods because the royal python is “the most revered animal...it was addressed as ‘our father’, and was allowed to go where it chose, even into people’s beds” (126). The sacredness of this totem of the traditional religion is that nobody has ever knowingly killed it but, “If a clansman killed the royal python accidentally, he made sacrifices of atonement and performed an expensive burial ceremony such as was done for a great man” (127).

As if this assault on the sacred icon of the Traditional African Religion is not enough, which by extension is an iconoclastic deed against its Supreme Being, Enoch unmasks a masquerade during one of the clan’s festivities. To the clan, Enoch has killed an ancestral spirit, and Umuofia is thrown into confusion. The profanity of this action is seen as the narrator’s description that, “One of the greatest crimes a man could commit was to unmask an *egwugwu* in public, or to say or do anything that might reduce its immortal prestige in the eyes of the initiated” (148). The importance of the masquerade cult in the pre-colonial life of Umuofia cannot be over-stressed. Not only that it adjudicates in marital cases and land disputes in the clan, it is also the enforcer of punishment for abominable acts. The masquerades also act as the bridge between the living and the dead. During the annual worship of the Earth goddess, “...the ancestors of the clan who had been committed to the Mother Earth at their death emerged again as *egwugwu* through tiny ant holes”(148). The *egwugwu*, therefore, is very sacred to the clan and when Enoch attacks and unmasks one of them:

That night the mother of the spirits walked the length and breadth of the clan, weeping for her murdered son. It was a terrible night. Not even the oldest man in Umuofia had ever heard such a strange and fearful sound. And it was never to be heard again. It seemed as if the very soul of the tribe wept for a great evil that was coming – its very own death” (149).

It is indeed the death of old Umuofia and the complete takeover of the clan by the white colonizers. Enoch, who “touches off the great conflict between the church and the clan in Umuofia”, (148) is an overzealous convert, who “hoped that a holy war was imminent” (150). Though a holy war is averted, his actions lead to the clan’s reprisal attack on him and the church, which results into the detention of the leaders of Umuofia and eventually the death of one of the greatest warriors of Umuofia, Okonkwo. With the death of the warrior, nobody is fearless to lead a war against the new order. Therefore, his death means the end of any rebellion or revolution that can uproot the new order. Therefore, Enoch’s attack and the unmasking of the masquerade is the action of an iconoclast who puts an end to the reign of the prototype of the African Traditional Religion, The Supreme God or Chukwu, by assaulting its earthly icon – the sacred masquerades in Umuofia. The destruction of the sacred image of the Supreme Being marks the end of the old Umuofia and its supplanting successfully and firmly by Mr. Brown’s God and the reign of the queen of the British Empire symbolized by the white District Commissioner in Umuofia. And this process of destroying the old order and replacing it with a new one is possible through the fearlessness of one of the converts to the new religion, Enoch. This is a mission which other converts are afraid to undertake. Therefore, Enoch’s brain differs from theirs in many ways, which includes his perception, response to fear and social intelligence.

Enoch’s perception is very much different from those of the other converts to the new religion. To him, the new religion has completely replaced the old Traditional African Religion, where his father is the priest of the snake cult. To him, not only “that our customs are bad” (141) like the colonizers believe, but if the white men can live and survive the Evil forest, it means that the “white man’s fetish had unbelievable power” (120), Again, he believes also that if the missionaries can rescue twins that are thrown into the Evil Forest, and welcome such abominations like the outcasts into their midst, and such people who are “dedicated to a god, a thing set aside – a taboo forever, and their children after him” (125), then superiority lies with them. The outcasts who have been indirectly compared with such abominable and carriers of miserable disease in the simile, “But they have cast you out like lepers” (126), and are afraid to shave off the symbol of the outsidership or leprosy, “their long tangled hair” (126) do not die, then he can also “boast about victory over death” (119) with the missionaries.

By virtue of his conversion to Christianity, Enoch, therefore, has no fear and respect any more for the gods of old pre-colonial Umuofia like Agbala, Ani, Ogwugwu, Amadioha, because:

‘All the gods you have named are not gods at all. They are gods of deceit who tell you to kill your fellows and destroy innocent children. There is only one true God and he has the earth, the sky, you and me and all of us’ (117).

He sees them as ‘pieces of wood and stone’ (117) , which thrusts on them metaphorically the imagery of lifelessness. This imagery is further reinforced by the imagery of harmlessness in, ‘Your gods are not alive and cannot do you any harm’ (117). With this perception and his over-zealousness or fanaticism, for which the metaphor of “The

outsider who wept louder than the bereaved” (148), is attached to him, Enoch attacks the African Traditional Religion with its Supreme Being or Chukwu, through its sacred icon or monuments – the royal python and the masquerade.

He does not have any fear in the attack of the very representatives of the old order in Umuofia, unlike Okeke, who is from Umuru and Mr. Smith’s interpreter, who resents Enoch’s excesses and believes that hiding him in the parsonage after unmasking a masquerade “would only draw the wrath of the clan on the pastor”(151). Enoch has the social intelligence to know that the new colonial administration with its judicial system and military protects effectively and efficiently the converts against the Umuofia and its punitive institutions. He knows that the traditional institutions are powerless over them. Every clan in and around Umuofia knows about the military powers of the white men that has “wiped out” (110) Abame and makes it to be “no more”. The military expedition also causes great negative impact on the aquatic environment of the ecosystem that forces fish to migrate. Of course, the genocide in Abame that makes a few survivors to flee into Umuofia is not a fable to Enoch and others like Obierika who says, ‘If I had not seen the few survivors with my own eyes and heard their story with my own ears, I would not have believed”(110).

Enoch also has the social intelligence to know that Reverend James Smith, who replaces Mr. Brown, is a fanatical missionary, who “condemned openly Mr. Brown’s policy of compromise and accommodation” (147). The narrator emphasizes the excesses of the new missionary in Umuofia in the idiom of, ‘Mr. Smith danced a furious step and so the drums went mad” (148). Enoch, therefore, being encouraged and supported by another iconoclast, Mr. Smith, who believes in the complete destruction of the worshippers of African Traditional Religion and its institutions in Umuofia with the biblical allusion in, “He believed in slaying of Baal” (147), becomes an image breaker. He, therefore, uses Enoch who is a native of Umuofia as a surrogate to demolish the rival religion and its icons. Assaults on the images of the Supreme Being or Chukwu – the royal python and the masquerade – which would have been unthinkable and unheard of in pre-colonial Umuofia – becomes possible under the new colonial order. To Enoch who looks forward to a holy war between the Christians and the clan, there is nothing to fear because it is no longer a story to him, unlike those in Mbanta and surrounding clans that the white man “had built a place of judgment in Umuofia to protect the followers of their religion. It was even said that they had hanged one man who killed a missionary” (124). From this case of hanging a man that kills a missionary, it becomes clear that the new converts are a privileged few: they are exempted from punishments, no matter their atrocious acts against the clan. And this is a proven fact when the District Commissioner comes back from his tour after the conflict between the mission and the clan, the narrator tells about the one-sided decision of the white administrator thus, “Mr. Smith went immediately to him and they had a long discussion” (153). After their discussion, he invites the leaders of Umuofia to his headquarters. However, he never ascertains their own side of the story, but simply disarms and detains the leaders and unilaterally takes a decision, ‘I have decided that you will pay a fine of two hundred bags of cowries. You will be released as soon as you agree to this and undertake to collect that fine from your people’ (155).

The British Empire that is symbolized by the white colonial District Commissioner in Umuofia and the other clans is also iconoclastic in nature. In its zeal to conquer and subdue the clans in the fictive world of the novel, it spares nothing, including the genocide on Abame, to establish its authority over the clans, the hanging of people, like Aneto, without trials, the imprisonment of clansmen, the imposition of huge sums of money as fines and the forcing of individuals, like Okonkwo, to commit suicide. Therefore, the symbolic District Commissioner, who is nameless, is presented as a destructive and iconoclastic character that forcefully uprooted and supplanted the traditional institutions – religion, customs, norms, mores and values – using the native “miscreants” in the clan, who are converts to the new religion.

CONCLUSION

The research has used Gregory Baris’ Theory of Iconoclasm or Rebel to unravel the characters that are iconoclasts or image-breakers or ‘icon snatchers’ in the world of Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*. It is revealed that three things – perception, fear and social intelligence – are the things that make the iconoclasts – Okonkwo and Enoch – different from others in the fictive setting and these are the factors that propel each of them to bring changes in old Umuofia. To his clan, Okonkwo’s suicide that is an abomination thrusts on him the animalistic way of death and burial, because his body which is evil would be buried like a dog by strangers, and the land which he polluted would also be cleansed. However, by the White District Commissioner’s intention to put the story of his death in the book he intends to publish on his administration in the Lower Niger Delta, Okonkwo is presented as an iconoclast who died as a hero. It should, however, be noted that the break-up which came to traditional Umuofia would not have been possible without the ‘otherness’ based on class, which is already embedded within this society before its colonization. Enoch, one of the ‘excrement’ or the rejected of the older order in Umuofia acts as a catalyst for the destruction of that old order while Okonkwo who is regarded as the defender of the customs and values of Umuofia also has ambivalent attitudes towards the sacred icons or monuments of the Supreme Being or Chuwku.

It is, therefore, finally submitted that the planting of colonization in Umuofia and the surrounding clans in the world of the novel began with the sacred institutions which hold the people together. And with the destruction of these icons with these institution, their icons, their monuments, their images, things can no longer hold and the old Umuofia has to give way to the new order of colonialization.

Works Cited

- Achebe, Chinua. *Things Fall Apart*. London: Heinemann, 1958.
Berns, Gregory. *Iconoclast: A Neuroscientist Reveals How to Think Differently*. Boston Harvard Business Review Press, 2010.

- Carini, Susan. "The Iconoclastic Brain: From Steve Jobs to Dixie Chicks, Neurologist Steve Berns exploits what makes a Rebel" *Emroy Magazine*. Winter posted 2012. Accessed 9th April, 2020. <https://www.emroy.edu>
- Crossman, Ashley. *Sociological Explanations of Deviant Behaviour: A Look at Four Different Theories*. July 14, 2019. Accessed April 16, 2020. <https://www.thoughtco.com/sociologicalexplanationsof-deviant-behaviour.3026269>
- Clifton, Keith Hitlegass. *Cliffs Notes*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2020. <https://www.cliffsnotes.com>
- Douthwaite, John. "The Art of the Word in Achebe." *Emerging Perspectives on Chinua Achebe. Isinka, the Artistic Purpose: Chinua Achebe and the Theory of African Literature*. Eds. Ernest Emenyonu and Iniobong I. Uko. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2004.
- Jas, Esler. "Iconoclasm as Discourse: From Antiquity to Byzantium" *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 94, No.3 (September 2012):368-394.
- Jan Mohammed, Abdul. *Manichean Aesthetics: The Politics of Literature in Colonial Africa*. Arnherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1983.
- Kelly, T.S. and O. Kelly. *Creative Confidence*. London: Harper and Collins, 2013.
- Kim, Anna M. *Theological Reflection, Arts and Culture, Visual Arts*. Posted 13 January, 2014. Accessed April 10, 2020. <https://faithandleadership.com>
- Walsh, Chris. "A Balance of Stories or Payback: Chinua Achebe, Joyce Cary, and Literature of Africa" *Emerging Perspectives on Chinua Achebe. Omenka: The Master Artist*. Volume 1. Ed. Ernest Emenyonu. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2004.
- Wills, Matthew. "A Short Guide to Iconoclasm in Early History." *JSTOR*. January 28, 2015. <https://jstor.org>

Patriarchy and Women Political Development in Niger Delta

Ebiere Lynsa ATANI
Department of Political Science
Federal University Otuoke
ataniebiere@gmail.com
and
Jude COCODIA
Department of Political Science
Niger Delta University

Abstract

This paper was informed by observed contradictions between the way women are portrayed in politics and governance and their actual participation. Women are said to be socially disadvantaged in politics and governance particularly in patriarchal societies. They are presumed to be weak, subservient, subordinated and marginalized by the men. Patriarchy is also widely assumed to be responsible for the wide margin between men and women in elective offices. It is demonized as the glass ceiling to women's upward mobility in politics. Yet no explanation is given for how come there are female political achievers. With the evolution of gender equality and women's increasing participation as candidates for elective offices, the narrative of patriarchy as a barrier to women has remained unchanged. In a society like the Niger Delta that is highly patriarchal, one begins to wonder how women in elective positions made it. How did these women become political achievers? With data collected from primary sources, the study carried out a critical retrospective study of patriarchy for its relationship and the possible effect on women's political development in the Niger Delta. The conclusion reached suggest that more women shy away from choices that would promote women's political development. The study makes specific recommendation to women, and is relevant to political parties and the state agency responsible for orientation.

Keywords: women achiever, politics and governance, development, patriarchy, elective offices,

1. Introduction

Although the number of women with decision-making power has not been very encouraging, women in Nigeria have contributed so much to development through their involvement in politics and governance from time past till date, still they are seen as socially disadvantaged in patriarchal societies. Evidence shows that in spite of such constraints, women in Nigeria and the Niger Delta Region (NDR) in particular, have featured prominently in politics and governance (Oloyede, 2016; UN Women, 2011). This observation contradicts the dominant gender discrimination narrative in politics particularly as it concerns women. The practice of patriarchy has been argued to constrain women's achievements in

politics and governance traditionally considered an exclusive male enterprise. While other components of social disadvantages such as cultural and religious proscriptions, educational and financial inadequacies, and gender-based discrimination, are equally constraining to women, this study focuses on patriarchy that is a dominant factor and connects with all the other features of gender constraints.

Patriarchy is considered as the dominance of male leadership and a glass ceiling that promotes the underrepresentation of women in politics and governance in Nigeria (Eritobor, Scotia, and Scotia, 2017; Sultana, 2011; Walby, 1990). The wider literature centres around the argument of underrepresentation of women when compared with men. This argument is collapsed into varied number of factors such as culture of a people, the electoral system, quota system, economic affluence, political culture, degree of democracy, level of corruption, the lack of confidence, inferiority complex and a lack of the required skills for supporting gender mainstreaming (Akpan, 2018; Egwu, 2015; Stockemer, 2015, 2011). This notwithstanding, there is a progressive improvement in women participation and representation in politics in the Niger Delta (NDR). For instance, The NDR observed an increase in female contestants where 386 women vied for state legislative positions, 97 competed for the house of representative seats and 43 the senate in 2019. As against 96 for the house of assembly, 33 for the house of representative and 22 for senate in 2015 (INEC, 2019; 2015). Locally in Bayelsa state, the female aspirants who contested for positions in the local government areas also increased from 31 in 2013 to 59 in 2019 (BYSIEC, 2019, 2013).

The dominant narrative of women as socially disadvantaged in patriarchal societies derives from the age-long justification that they are the weaker vessels. This belief is argued to have emanated from the male group whose preoccupation as noted by Adorno and Horkheimer, (in Harney, 2014) is to dominate and suppress. It is however obvious that women are much more than the weak, marginalized, oppressed, subordinated, discriminated victims that they are portrayed to be (Onor, 2017; Oloyede, 2016; Okafor, Emeka and Akokuwebe, 2015 Etekpe, 2012; Ekong, 2008; Chinweizu, 1990). This applies to many parts of the world, yet extant literature still conveys a negative narrative in defining women by patriarchal structures that are believed to be the most potent glass ceiling to women's political achievement (Eritobor et al., 2017). This scuttles attention from the achievements of many women who have been political actors and decision-makers in the region. Also, because the attention is on the number of women, there is a loss on the substance of women political achievements and this largely undermines the massive contributions of such women to the development of their various communities, states and the country at large.

The dominant gender narrative focuses on the hurdles facing women and ignores why an increasing number of women are able to surmount the constraints of patriarchy to get to the pinnacle of their careers especially in politics and governance. This research makes significant contribution to gender studies in view of the fact that it deviates from the dominant narrative that portrays women as socially disadvantaged especially in politics, despite their increasing involvement, importance and recognition (see: Hausmann and Tyson, 2017; Reynolds and Kay, 2017; Klugman and Twigg, 2016; Olali, 2016). This study suggests a need to re-evaluate the conformists' agenda, it advances the need to always re-examine accepted explanations to events or phenomenon. Particularly with regards to changes and dynamics of women and politics in the NDR. A major consequence of this is the need to deviate from the dominant explanation of patriarchy as a barrier to women in politics and governance. It further exposes the limits of the dominant narrative that overlooks women themselves as barriers to female political development.

While much of the literature argues in support of patriarchy as an undermining factor to women, little is done to show the strength of women who have succeeded despite the existential realities of patriarchy. This paper aims at bridging this identified gap by examining the issue of women and political development in a patriarchal society like the Niger Delta of Nigeria. In line with the gap identified in the literature, this paper throws up the question is patriarchy still a barrier to women's occupation of elective positions in politics in the Niger Delta?

This section concludes that the existence of female politics achievers in a seemingly impossible environment raises the question on the potency of patriarchy as a barrier. The next section defined the concepts and interrogates the position of the literature on the effect of patriarchy on women particularly with regards to politics. This is followed by the theoretical framework, methods and analysis of the findings. The paper closes with the argument that it behoves on women to make proactive decisions and take steps that will ensure their political development.

2. Definition of Concepts

This study considers the following concepts: women, patriarchy, politics, development, elective offices, and Niger Delta.

(i). Patriarchy

Patriarchy is defined as the dominance of male leadership in both domestic and public sector. Indicators of patriarchy are structures that make men leaders at home, in communities and at the level of the state. These include marriage, community organization, the state and a system of male inheritance (Sultana, 2011; Walby, 1990).

(ii). Elective Offices

These are constitutionally recognized positions that are periodically contested; such as the position of councillor, local government chair and vice-chair, legislators at state and federal levels, governor and deputy governor. They are located at the various ward, local government, state and federal legislative and executive political structures across the

Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers states. The term elective seat is sometimes used in the work to refer to elective offices.

(iii). Women Achievers

The woman refers to a female adult that is 18 years and above. Women achievers in the context of this research refer to women who have contested for public office or are occupying an elective position as an executive or legislator either by appointment or through the electoral process. This includes the office of a local government counsellor, chairperson, state assembly, national assembly, deputy governor and governor. They are also referred to here as political actors and decision-makers.

(iv). Development

Development in the context of this study is taken from a gender perspective to mean the progression of women from a largely socially disadvantaged to socially advantaged positions either through electioneering process or by appointment that enable them to contribute to a qualitative change in the wellbeing of their communities. As a result, the focus is on women that: (i) have contested elections for public office; (ii) occupy elective positions either by appointment or election to positions in government; (iii) have been sworn into office at any level of governance. In this sense, development is also construed as the transition of women from 'supposed domestic space' into the public space assumed to be an exclusive preserve of men.

(v). Politics and Governance

This research conceptualizes politics and governance as participation in the art of governance where politics is about participation and governance is the act of governing through authoritative decision making.

3. Theoretical framework and Review of Literature

(i). Framework

This study is framed within critical theory. Critical theory was developed in the 1930s by a group of scholars referred to as the Frankfurt school. They include Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen Habermas. The theory states that the preoccupation of dominant groups is to dominate and suppress. The theory therefore challenges dominant modes of explaining and understanding phenomenon by bringing to the fore variables that underline critical assumptions. This feature of critical theory makes it emancipatory (Horkheimer, 1982; Held, 1980), hence, it does not only reinterpret existing orders, but it also provides alternative modes of understanding and existence (Harney, 2014). In the work *Critical Theory Today: Revisiting the Classics*, Douglas Kellner (1994:1) suggested that critical theory, by contrast, nurtured a critical approach to social analysis that would detect existing social problems and promote social transformation. Ultimately, the goal of critical theory is to focus on new modes of socialization. Considering that the study aims to develop an alternative narrative to women's slow but progressive entrance into politics, critical theory by its major tenets makes analysis within its framework possible.

(ii). Patriarchy and Women Political Participation

The literal meaning of the word patriarchy is the rule of the father (Sultana, 2011). It is employed by feminist to describe the power relationship between males and females as a way of showing the dominance of the former (Eritobor, Scotia, and Scotia, 2017; Umejisi, 2014; Stockemer, 2011; Sultana, 2011; Walby, 1990). According to Fredrick Engels in his account of the origin of the family, private property and the state, the emergence of male domination can be traced to the period where society was transiting from barbarism to civilization marked by the ownership of private property (Engels, 2004). The theory and practice of patriarchy according to Sultana refer to the dominance of male at the micro and macro levels of society. In defining patriarchy, (Sultana, 2011) contends that it is the leading impediment to women's advancement in development. Though varied levels of domination exist, Sultana holds the view that the substance remains the same, that is, men are in charge. Her definition of patriarchy as "male domination in both in public and private spheres" (2011:1) tend towards the impression that all women are dominated by all men or that simply because men are dominant in leadership positions means that there no women leaders. An earlier definition of patriarchy by Welhiem cited in Obiora and Onwunyi (2018) presupposes patriarchal systems as social systems where the father is the male head of the family. This headship is not confined to the domain of the household alone but extends to the whole of society where males dominate in all aspects of social, political, economic, legal and cultural structures. The evidence of this lies in instances where women are confined in the domestic spheres. The above positions are not unconnected to weber's earliest convictions of patriarchy and patrimony in which patriarchal domination comes to light in Weber's interpretation of two reasons that are interconnected. (i) It is the purest logical form of traditional authority, the one in which the conceptual skeleton is most blatantly exposed, and (ii) patriarchy is the historical seed of patrimonialism, which Weber believes it's a genetic extension of the patterns of governance in a ruler's or chief's family household (Adams, 2005).

(iii). Women and Patriarchal Induced Social Disadvantages

Social disadvantages with regards to women's participation in politics and governance include cultural and religious proscriptions, educational and financial inadequacies, gender-based discrimination, marital restrictions, political violence and patriarchy (Okafor and Akokuwebe, 2015). Agunyai et al. (2014), arguing from the perspective that politics is a conflict of antagonistic groups observed that these factors prevent women from exploring their potentials as political actors and decision-makers. Postulating further that although women's participation has increased in terms of voting, they are still grossly underrepresented in elective offices on the basis that women are not traditionally meant to compete with men. This point was emphasized by Agbalajobi (2010) when she supposed that political actions and inactions are mainly determined by men to the exclusion of women. This according to her is as a result of the cultural and traditional disposition of such societies which in many cases are fettered by patriarchal astringencies. She contends further that women do compete for public office but do so under the terms established by men. What this implies is that women are not held back from competing for public offices; however, they appear not to have the comparative

advantage of public life as men do. By this in her opinion, women are excluded or marginalized from the process that would otherwise guarantee them success when competing with men. This exclusion dominates politics in Nigeria (Agunyai et al., 2014; UN Women, 2011) and extensively denies Niger Delta women access to power and by extension authoritative decision making. Considering the potent and toxic nature with which the literature describes these supposed patriarchal social disadvantages, it would appear appropriate to assume that women exclusion will be total. However, the apparent and increasing number of women political actors and decision-makers present a basis for a contrary argument.

4. Methods and Analysis OF FINDING

(i). Methodology

The target population for the study consist of all the 1,925 elective political offices in the Niger Delta (NBC, 2018; INEC, 2019). These include the 1460 ward councillorship positions, the 210 local government chairmanship and deputy chairmanship positions, the 12 governorship and deputy governorship positions, the 18 senatorial positions, 55 house of representative positions and the 170 state houses of assembly positions. The sum of these different positions forms the total population of the study which is 1925. The Taro Yamane formula (Yamane, 1967) was applied to achieve the sample size of 330.

The study focuses on the six-states structured geographical and historical Niger Delta. These are present day Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross Rivers, Delta, Edo and Rivers states. Multi-stage sampling, specifically, purposive, cluster and random were utilized to achieve different stages of sampling. These include selecting the three states (Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers) where the study was carried out on the basis of their proximity, similarity in culture and their representation as core of the geographical Niger Delta (Asuni, 2009); regrouping the items in the sampling frame to smaller groups of three for easy capturing; and the systematic selection of items in the sampling size to determine which proportion would be interviewed and which proportion would receive questionnaires. Data was collected with the aid of a semi-structured interview and questionnaire. Interviews and questionnaire were distributed to participants on the basis of 70/30 between women and men.

Data is presented using mixed methods, that is both qualitative and quantitative methods are employed in presenting information gotten from fieldwork. Quantitative data were analyzed using a simple percentage. The first stage of analysis was the transcription of audio recordings followed by the coding of response to determine similarities or disparities in the respondents' reaction to the items in the instrument for data collection. In this case, each question is given a unique identifier on both instruments used. For each question, all responses from respondents were analyzed, coded and given a theme. The most recurring themes were then used for analysis. The same process was applied to items in the questionnaire after which triangulation was then applied to synchronize the themes developed from both instruments (Dang, 2015). Considering that much of this research is qualitative, the social analysis method was adopted for analysis (Etzioni, 1968).

(ii). Instruments:

The study relied on data from primary and secondary sources. Primary data was sourced using semi-structured questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with a sample size of 330 respondents who are active politicians, have contested elections, are in elective positions, and are the staff of INEC. Both the items in the questionnaire and interview were divided into three sections. The first section focused on demographics of respondents consisting of age, marital status, sociocultural background (parents occupation, upbringing and location), level of educational attainment and women social awareness. The specific demographic information is critical to understanding the quality and character of the respondents particularly the women. The second section is on political consciousness and experience with politics and governance, experience pre, during and post elective office as well as the characterization of persons who have contested elections or are currently serving in office. While the third section focuses on patriarchal induced challenging factors and how and why these challenges were overcome. The secondary data was collated from literature comprising texts, journals, government publications, unpublished works, and the internet. Each item on the instruments for collecting primary data was given a unique identifier. Consequently, #I = 001-009 represents items in the interview schedule and their sequence while #Q = 001-020 represents items on the questionnaire.

(iii). Data Presentation and Analysis of findings

Table 1. Demography of Respondent (n-267).

Age	Female	Male	Frequency	Percentage
Age (years)				
18-27	5	22	27	10.1
28-37	92	13	105	39.3
38-47	72	7	79	29.6
48-57	43	1	44	16.5
58 and above	10	2	12	4.5
Total	222	45	267	100

Source: Field data 2019

Table 2. Contested/Elected into Public Office (n-267).

Public office	Female	Male	Frequency	Percentage
Elected (contested)				
Elected into office	89	44	133	49.8
Not elected into office	131	-	131	49.1
INEC staff	2	1	3	1.1
Total	222	45	267	100

Source: Field data 2019

Table 3. Occupation of Elective Offices (n-267).

Occupied office	Female	Male	Frequency	Percentage	
Elective offices (occupation)					
Currently in office	56	23	79	29.6	
Not in office	158		21	179	67.1
No response	6		-	6	2.2
INEC staff	2		1	3	1.1
Total	222	45	267	100	

Source: Field data 2019

Table 4. position occupied/occupying (n-267).

Occupied position	Female	Male	Frequency	Percentage
Elective position				
National legislature	2	-	2	0.8
State legislature	7	3	10	3.7
LGA chair	-	6	6	2.2
LGA vice	13	14	27	10.1
Councilor	48	21	69	26
INEC staff	2	1	3	1.1
Nil	150	-	150	56.1
Total	222	45	267	100

Source: Field data 2019

Respondents were aged from 18 to above 58 and comprised a total of 222 females and 45 males. The data shows that there are more women between the ages of 37 and 57 who shows interest in politics. An indication that younger women are less likely to go into politics before marriage as corroborated by responses to #Q-004. The respondents who had contested election/elected into public office at one time or the other comes to a total of 133. Of this figure, 89 are females while 44 are males representing 49.8 per cent of the total sample. 131 women though active politicians have never contested election or elected into public office before.

Respondents occupying elective offices in the three states as at the time this data was collected are 79. That is 56 women and 23 men which is 29.6 per cent of the sample population. Those not currently occupying any public office are 158 women and 21 men. Together they make up 67.1 per cent of the sample. The above data shows respondents in the sample population who had occupied or are currently occupying elective positions in Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers states. There are 2 women who have served as members of the house of representative, 7 women of which 5 are currently serving; and 3 men in the states houses of assembly. 6 past and present local government chairmen, 13 female and 14 male past and present vice chairmen, and 48 female and 21 male past and present

councillors. 56.1 per cent of the respondents which is 150 women have never occupied an elective public office.

Table 5. Most Occurring Themes after Triangulation

Unique Identifiers	Most occurring Theme
#I-001, #Q-002 and #Q-003	Women awareness and involvement is average.
#I-002 and #Q-003	Preparedness, capacity, intermittent male support.
#I-002a	Ill-prepared, neglect of demographic superiority and femininity.
#I-003 and #Q-004	Preference for married life and least likely politics before marriage.
#I-004 and #Q-009	Other women lack vision (OWLV), finance, demands of family life (DFL) and gender role (GR).
#I-005 to #I-005d	Affects women political stability (AWPS), perpetrate violence and is an enabler to women's occupation of public office.
#I-006 to #I-006b and #Q-0010	Women settle easily (WSE), only with regards to violence and make for uneven playing ground.
#I-007 to #I-008 and #Q-013 to #Q-018	Campaign for gender equality, improvement in education, preference for married life and demands of family life (DFL).
#Q-019	Exaggerated

Source: fieldwork, 2019.

Data shows that there are both internal and external factors responsible for producing women achievers. The prevailing response to the winning qualities of women political achievers include capacity that comes from education and training; knowledge of the political environment and a marketable personality; trustworthiness and the attainment of certain heights as an individual; a certain level of independence and willingness to make sacrifice; and above all should be dogged and prepared at all time. On the reverse side of winning are the lack of preparedness and direction; un-seriousness and weak morals; total dependence and timidity; and lack of capacity and show of initiative. Externally, an influential background, goodwill of parents, husbands and political godfathers are factors that assist in producing women political achievers. While lack of support from women, undermining demographic superiority, the lack of grass-root structure, demands of family life, militancy and violence, and selection as against election are factors that aid defeat.

Often women in the NDR aspire for public office as a response to the need for women representation. The over 605 women from the region who contested in the 2019 general election (INEC, 2019) is essentially an indication that women are taking advantage of existing opportunities for self-actualization. The dynamism of women participation is in the attempt to create gender balance in representative politics and decision making in the region. However, several factors are identified as constraints to this achievement. The most significant and frequently occurring is other women lack of vision (OWLTV), which is demonstrated and explained in various ways. From women not supporting fellow women to the preference of women identifying with men in public offices than supporting the elevation of fellow women to such positions. The claim is further made that the men are easily more accessible and understanding than women. “My sister, a woman instead of supporting her fellow woman will prefer to support a man to become senator because she wants to be called a senator’s girlfriend or senator’s wife” (Interviewee B-2, 2019). On the heels of OWLTV are demands of family life (DFL), finance, militancy, entitlement mentality of men, godfatherism, sexual harassment, the nature of the political culture, distractions and loss of focus. Our focus, however, remains on the potency of patriarchy as an effective barrier to women occupation elective positions.

In the context of the NDR, the role of patriarchy as a barrier to women vying for public offices is mainly expressed from the perspective of marriage. The husband factor and the DFL are believed to be capable of affecting a woman’s political stability. This is particularly so where husbands are antagonistic to their wives’ interest in public life. Also, many men have a phobia of their wives being exposed to other men more so, in late-night meetings. It is believed that many men are yet to come to terms with their wives putting themselves in public light. The disposition of men in this regard exert some influence or determines how married women perceive themselves and other women, who, regardless of their husband’s position, pursue their ambition of becoming political actors and decision-makers. It also influences their perception of young unmarried women who are actively involved in politics. This in addition to the high value placed on marriage creates the space for stigmatizing women married or single. For those women who fear stigmatization, in here lies the perfect excuse to stay away from politics in order to save their marriage or be able to get married. So, while women make marriage the measure of a successful life, men bask in the euphoria of their superiority in elective offices.

Patriarchy is highly implicated in the NDR. However, in contrast to the position that it constitutes a barrier to women vying for public (Obiora and Onwunyi, 2018; Agunyai et al, 2014; Agbalajobi, 2010), the study finds that the most effective barrier to women’s occupation of elective offices is demand for family life (DFL) and ill-preparedness. Like the common saying, you can’t eat your cake and have it. The demands of marital life and that of politics are antagonistic to one another. Both are time intensive. Where marriage is preferred to politics, the interest of women conflicts with the demands of politics and governance. This is particularly so as data show that the average Niger Delta women are more concerned that she is unmarried than she underrepresented. So, unlike mainstream argument that patriarchal system suggests women are inferior to men in public life

(Obiora and Onwunyi, 2018), this research finds that preference and choices that women make are key to determining how effective patriarchy can be as a barrier to women in the NDR.

5. Summary and Conclusion

Mainstream studies on women and political participation in the Niger Delta have consistently highlighted patriarchy as an underlying barrier to women's occupation of elective positions. Patriarchy also explained as the dominance of male leadership is considered the glass ceiling to women's upward mobility in politics and governance. These explanations derive from the notion that women are weaker vessels and have derived from the male dominant group whose sole purpose is dominance. It presents women as weak, marginalized, oppressed and subordinated. With the emergence of women as councillors, local government chair, vice-chair, state and federal legislators and deputy governor, exiting studies becomes limited in explaining the increasing emergence of female political achievers. The motivation and foundation of this study were set based on the limitation of the previously existing explanatory framework hence the use of critical theory. The goal was to find out if society's patriarchal conventions still constitute effective barriers to women's occupation of elective positions in the Niger Delta Region.

The existing margin between men and women in elective position has in many cases been the basis for blaming the underrepresentation of women on patriarchal conventions. The increasing emergence and participation of women as political actors and decision-makers amidst a highly patriarchal environment somehow invalidates the perception of the potency of patriarchy as a barrier to women's occupation of elective offices. This effectively undermines the objectivity of existing explanation to women underrepresentation in politics and governance.

With the rise in the number of female candidates on the one hand, and the preference for family life by majority of women on the other hand, this study takes a position that patriarchy alone is inadequate in explaining why there are few women in elective positions. There is a progressive shift in the narrative of women as victims of political marginalization to women as active participants in politics and governance in the region. This implies that patriarchy has loosened its hold as barrier to women's occupation of elective offices. The study asserts that the success rate for the achievement of gender equality in representative politics depends on the choices of women essentially expressed in:

1. Preference for family life first before politics and;
2. The attendant laxity towards the realization of the goals of gender equality

The above conclusion is reached on the basis that across the three states under study, women in elective offices past and present attest to sufficient male support. Although patriarchy in the region is highly significant, only 13 percent of the respondents in the study mentioned it as an obstacle to women's occupation of elective offices. Also as deduced from the triangulation of responses from interviews and questionnaires, the most potent constraints to women political achievers are OWLV and DFL. Moreover, female

increasing participation in politics and governance in the region is a phenomenon that has come to stay. The study holds that the support of men to women vying for elective offices is a clear indication that patriarchal barriers is exaggerated in the Niger Delta.

References

- Adams, J. (2005). The rule of the father: Patriarchy and patrimonialism in early modern Europe. In P. S. G. and D. M. T. C. Camic (Ed.), *Max Weber's Economy and Society: A critical companion*. (pp. 237–266). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Agunyai, S. C., Odeyemi, T. I., & Olawoyin, K. W. (2014). Women and politics of marginalisation in Niger-Delta area of Nigeria, *Journal Research in Peace, Gender and Development*, 4(4), 55–62. <https://doi.org/10.14303/jrpgd.2013.113>
- Dang, V. H. (2015). A mixed method approach enabling the triangulation technique: Case study in vietnam, *World Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(2), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.5430/wjss.v2n2p1>
- Ekong, F. (2008). Contributions of Women to National Development : Example from Akwa Ibom State, *Stud Home Comm Sci*, 2(2), 113–119.
- Engels, F. (2004). *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Australia: Resistance Books.
- Eritobor, T., Scotia, N., & Scotia, N. (2017). Women's Education and Development in Nigeria: A Content Analysis of Nussbaum's Capability Approach Applied to Women's Empowerment (2010-2017). A Thesis Submitted to Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Department of International Development Studies.
- Etekepe, A. (2012). Rural Women in Peace-Building and Development in Nigeria: The Case of Gbarain-Ekpetiama Women in Bayelsa State, *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, 1(2), 125–142.
- Etzioni, A. (1993). What is political? George Washington University. Retrieved from <https://www2.gwu.edu/~ccps/etzioni/A312.pdf>
- Harney, B. (2014). Critical Theory. *ResearchGate*, (January 2014). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118785317.weom110042>
- Held, D. (1980). *Introduction to Critical Theory Horkheimer to Habermas*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Okafor, Emeka E. and Akokuwebe, M. E. (2015). Women and Leadership in Nigeria : Challenges and Prospects Women and Leadership in Nigeria : Challenges and Prospects. *Developing Country Studies*, 5(January 2016), 1–11.
- Oloyede, O. (2016). Monitoring participation of women in politics in Nigeria. *Global Forum on Gender Statistics*. Retrieved from https://unstats.un.org/unsd/gender/Finland_Oct2016/Documents/Nigeria_paper.pdf
- Onor, S. O. (2017). Decolonizing Nigerian Women: A Historical Necessity. *International Journal of History and Philosophical Research*, 5(3), 24–35.
- Rosenbluth, F., Kalla, J., & Teele, D. (2015). *The Female Political Career*. Women in Parliament Global Forum.
- Stockemer, D. (2011a). Women's parliamentary representation in Africa: The impact of democracy and corruption on the number of female deputies in national parliaments.

- Political Studies*, 59(3), 693–712. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2011.00897.x>
- Stockemer, D. (2011b). Women ' s Parliamentary Representation in Africa : The Impact of Democracy and Corruption on the Number of Female Deputies. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2011.00897.x>
- Stockemer, D. (2015). Women's descriptive representation in developed and developing countries. *International Political Science Review*, 36(4), 393–408. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512113513966>
- Sultana, A. (2011). Patriarchy and Women ' s Subordination : A Theoretical Analysis. *Arts Faculty Journal*, 4, 1–18. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.3329/afj.v4i0.12929>
- Umejese, I. (2014). Amnesty, Patriarchy and Women: The 'Missing Gender' Voice in Post-conflict Niger Delta Region of Nigeria, *12*(1), 6223–6237.
- UN Women. (2011). Women's Leadership and Political Participation. Retrieved from <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation>
- Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford, UK and Cambridge USA: Blackwell Publisher Ltd.
- Yamane, T. (1967). *Statistics: An introductory analysis*. New York, Evanston and London: Harper and Row.

Rape in 2 Samuel 13:1-39 and the sexual molestation of the female folk in Nigeria

Favour C. Uroko¹ and Favour A. Innocent²

¹Department of Religion and Cultural Studies,
University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Favour.uroko@unn.edu.ng

²Department of Library and Information Science,
Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka,
Innocentfavour610@gmail.com

Abstract

This article examines rape in Nigeria in the light of 2 Sam 13:1-39. In the pericope, Tamar was a beautiful and fair lady. Amnon was her brother from another mother, with David as their father. Amnon was sexually aroused any time he sees Tamar. On this day, he pretended to be sick and when Tamar came to cook and serve him, he forced himself on her and raped her. Tamar was emotionally, psychologically, and socially traumatised. She tore off her clothes and put ashes on her head. Clearly, in the narrative, each of the male characters, whether it be David, Amnon, Jonadab, the servants, or Absalom, played a role in the rape of Tamar, though their roles were different. This is how many men it takes to rape a woman. This narrative is similar to what is obtainable in Nigeria. Rape issues have risen to a point where it is now culture. Ladies are most times the victims of rape and they suffer both long-term and short-term trauma. Literature on rape from the Old Testament perspective is scanty. It is on this basis that 2 Samuel 13:1-39 was used as an approach towards curbing rape culture, especially against the female gender in Nigeria. The narrative analysis was used as the research method.

Keywords: Rape, Amnon, Tamar, Absalom, David, Jonadab, sexual abuse, teenage pregnancy, psychological trauma, immorality in Nigeria.

1. Introduction

The narrative in 2 Sam 13:1-39 concerns the rape of Tamar by Amnon. Amnon has been lusting after Tamar for a long time and did not know how to get her. Amnon told his friend Jonadab. Jonadab advised Amnon to pretend to be sick and to insist that Tamar should be sent to take care of him. Amnon did as he was taught by Jonadab; he pretended to be sick and needed help and food. David, the

father of Tamar, with his good heart sent Tamar to go and cook for Amnon. It was when Tamar went to the house of Amnon that he raped her. Clearly, each of the male characters, whether it be David, Amnon, Jonadab, the servants, or Absalom, plays a role in the rape of Tamar, though their roles are different. This is how many men it takes to rape a woman.¹ Amnon was not spared. He was killed by the brother of Tamar, Absalom. It is believed that this narrative will speak anew to the rape cases against the female folk in Nigeria.

There are so many life challenges in the present Nigerian society. The day-to-day activities of humans could serve as a pressure on their attitude. One of these is the ability to control one's sexual desire. The inability to control one's sexual desires has forced some men to attack, harass, and sexually abuse their female counterpart. This act of forceful sexual abuse is what is known as rape. Rape refers to the lack of consent, actual or threatened force in the commission of the act of sexual penetration or it like.² It is a "carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will"³.

The national dailies and other periodicals are occupied with cases of rape⁴. They are of different cadres and degrees. They include men raping women, male teenagers raping female teenagers and fathers raping daughters, uncles raping their relations, just to mention but a few. Women largely suffer from gender inequalities and disparities while the men who rape them typically walk away without suffering any legal or societal consequences.⁵

Several reasons have been adduced for this. Some aggressors termed their act as the work of the devil. Others see their acts as manipulation from their enemies, while for other aggressors they cannot control their sexual urge.

¹ Gerald West & Phumzile Zondi-Mabizela, "The Bible Story that became a Campaign: the Tamar Campaign in South Africa (And Beyond)", *Ministerial Formation*, (2004):1

² A. N. Groth, & A. W. Burgess, "Sexual Dysfunction during Rape", *New England Journal of Medicine*, 297, no.14 (1977):764.

³L.B. Bienen, "Rape III-National developments in rape reform legislation", *Women Rights Law reporter*, (1981):171-231; M.P. Koss, "The Under detection of Rape: Methodological Choices Influence Incidence Estimates", *Journal of Social Issues*, 48, no.1 (1992):61-75.

⁴G. Agiriga, "'Epidemic' of Rape Assailed in Nigeria", viewed 23 August 2020 from <https://www.voanews.com/africa/epidemic-rape-assailed-nigeria>.

⁵ GAIA Blog, "Nigeria's Rape Culture: Who Will Win The Fight Between Good and Evil?", viewed 28 December 2019 from <https://www.gaiawomenclub.com/2019/08/28/nigerias-rape-culture/>.

Some rape victims have committed suicide due to shame. It is also unfortunate that some victims for fear of discrimination avoid telling anyone about their experience. These victims sometimes are threatened by their aggressors not to divulge their acts. This has led to victims keeping silence and suffering from depression and low self-esteem. Victims endure pressure, degradation or hostility.⁶ This has also increased the number of single mothers due to hike in teenage pregnancy. Unfortunately, the abortion rate has increased as a result of this development. A close observation of this problem of rape in the morally evolving Nigerian society reveals that it is similar to the narrative in 2 Samuel 13:1-39.

Rape is an activity that has a long-lasting effect on the aggressor but more on the victim. Victims who are most times young ladies and teens suffered from psychological trauma and other mental disorders. The problem of rape has been approached in many phases. The government, security agencies, and human rights organizations have tried to put an end to this anomaly, however, the number of rape cases has continued to increase. This is seen in the fact that fathers who hitherto protected their daughters are the ones that engaged in the act of raping their daughters. The issue of rape has been approached from sociological, psychological, and legal studies. Most scholars, such as Holly Porter in his article “Rape Without Bodies? Reimagining the Phenomenon We Call “Rape”” explored rape from a legal and socio-cultural perspective.⁷ Nicola Malizia and M.C Marchetti-Mercer viewed rape from a psychic and socio-psychological point of view.⁸ However, Old Testament Studies has been sidelined as a lens towards approaching this problem. 2 Sam 13:1-39, which is an Old Testament study text is a neglected and marginalised text which is found in few lectionaries and seldom publicly read (and never on a Sunday).⁹ It is on this basis that this essay will be using 2 Sam 13:1-39 to approach the problem of rape in Nigeria. It is believed

⁶ William Petrocelli & Barbara Kate Repa eds, *Sexual Harassment On The Job: What It Is & How To Stop It* (4th Ed.), viewed 30 December 2019 from <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/svaw/harassment/explore/3causes.html>

⁷ Holly Porter, “Rape Without Bodies? Reimagining the Phenomenon We Call “Rape””, *Social Politics* 25 no. 4 (2018):589-612.

⁸N. Malizia, “A Social Problem: Individual and Group Rape,” *Advances in Applied Sociology*, 7, (2017):95- 114; M.C. Marchetti-Mercer, “A socio-psychological perspective on the phenomenon of infant rapes in South Africa”, *South Africa Psychiatry Review* 6, (2003):6-12

⁹ Gerald West & Phumzile Zondi-Mabizela, “The Bible Story that became a Campaign: the Tamar Campaign in South Africa (And Beyond)”, *Ministerial Formation*, (2004):1.

that this pericope will provide a solution to the increasing number of rape cases in Nigeria.

The aim of this essay is to explore rising cases of rape in present Nigeria in light of 2 Sam 13:1-39. This article first carries out an exegesis on 2 Sam 13:1-39. Second, it assesses rape cases in Nigeria. Third, it applies the narrative in 2 Sam 13:1-39 to the Nigerian context. Thereafter recommendations are drawn from the analysis. Data will be generated from periodicals and gazettes; journals and textbooks; commentaries and the Bible. The narrative analysis was used as the research methodology. Narrative analysis is mostly used for stories and histories. This is because the plot, character, point of view and setting are explored through the literary and historical lens. Narrative analysis will help to understand the *Sitz im leben* of 2 Sam 13:1-39 as it relates to the Nigeria context.

2. Structure of 2 Sam 13:1-39

This narrative is divided into six structures. They are vv. 1-2, vv. 3-5, vv. 6-9, vv. 10-14, vv. 15-19, and vv. 20-39. In vv. 1-2, Tamar was very fair and beautiful. Tamar was a virgin who had kept herself pure. In Biblical times, being beautiful and a virgin were serious features of a unique lady.¹⁰ This caught the attention of Amnon. Amnon began to lust after this fair lady. He nursed it in this mind for a long time. This first part could be termed ‘developing the ambition to rape’.

The second part vv. 3-5 concerns how Amnon tried to get the attention of his friend with regards to his desire which he does not know how to achieve. His friend Jonadab told him to pretend to be sick so that when David would come to see him he should insist that Tamar comes to prepare food for him. His advice to Amnon was at best inappropriate for a friend who could not control his impulses, and at worst meant to facilitate Amnon having his way with Tamar.¹¹ This could be termed ‘worst influence over bad ambition’.

Vv. 6-9a reveals that Amnon took the advice of his evil friend and pretended to be sick. When David came to see Amnon, Amnon requested for Tamar to come and prepare food for him. David told Tamar to go and prepare the food for Amnon. Tamar obeyed the father and went to his half brother, Amnon, to prepare his food. This third part could be termed ‘work plan to the act of rape’

¹⁰ Shimon Bakon, “Jonadab, "friend" of Amnon”, *Jewish Bible Quarterly*, 43, no. 2 (2015):102.

¹¹Shimon Bakon, 104

The third part vv. 9b-14 reveals how the rape action was carried out. Tamar came to Amnon's house and after she was through with cooking, she brought the food to Amnon. Amnon asked all his friends to go home that he wants to have a special discussion with Tamar. Tamar sensed no danger probably due to some level of carelessness and lack of sound judgment. When Tamar brought the food closer to Amnon, he grabbed her hands and told her to have sex with him. When Tamar refused, he raped her. This section could be called 'the act of rape'.

Vv. 15-19 explores the aftermath of the rape. After Amnon had raped Tamar, he hated her like a rag. He commanded Tamar to leave his house and even forced her out. Tamar put ashes on her head and tore her cloth in pains. She also put her hands on her head and cried as a traumatized person. This fourth part could be called 'Trauma of the aggressor and the victim'.

The last part vv.20-39 deals with the death of Absalom. When David learnt about the rape of his daughter, he was angry, but he could do nothing. But Absalom, the brother of Tamar after two years killed Amnon. This part could be referred to as 'fate of the rapist'.

3. Context of 2 Sam 13:1-39

Under this subsection, two views will be adopted. They are the historical and literary contexts.

Historical Context

According to ancient tradition, 2 Samuel was written between c. 630–540 BC.¹² Second Samuel records the long reign of David, beginning with his becoming king over Judah and Israel, followed by his brilliant military success and consolidation of the kingdom, and concluding with his failures as a human, a father, and a king.¹³ From a historical point of view, Amnon was the oldest child of David and the son of David's third wife, Ahinoam of Jezreel. When David was ruling in Judah, it was this point that Ahinoam conceived and gave birth to Amnon. When David fled from Saul for his life, leaving Michal to who Saul gave to him in marriage, he met Ahinoam and married her and Amnon was given birth to. Amnon enjoyed so many rights and privileges as a first child. This made him

¹² Douglas A. Knight "Chapter 4 Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomists", In James Luther Mays, David L. Petersen and Kent Harold Richards (ed.). *Old Testament Interpretation*, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995):62.

¹³ Mark Throntveit, *Old Testament: 2 Samuel*, viewed 16 May 2020, from <https://www.enterthebibble.org/oldtestament.aspx?rid=30>

grow wild to the extent that he raped Tamar inside his room¹⁴. David his father permitted this shameful act of Amnon through his silence. Tamar was Absalom's full-blooded sister according to 2 Sam 13:1-22. Absalom did not take this action with a pinch of Salt.

Absalom was the son of David and Maacah. When he heard his sister Tamar had been raped he did nothing at that moment. Absalom, who appears to be in second position to assume the kingship made no public statement to this regards.¹⁵ Winston reveals that Absalom bided his time, waiting for the right opportunity and the right time to seek revenge on Amnon¹⁶. Lawfully Amnon should have been killed. The law pronounced death upon the adulterer, and the unnatural crime of Amnon made his doubly guilty.¹⁷ But David, self-condemned for his own sin, failed to bring Amnon to justice for the shameful which made Absalom decide in his heart that his father had failed to administer justice as he would.¹⁸ He took laws into his hands.

Tamar was the sister of Solomon and David's daughter. She was the princess of Israel. She was fair and beautiful, which made David make a coat of many colours just like Jacob made for Joseph his favourite son. Tamar half brother Amnon was consumed by lust for her.¹⁹ Furthermore, he was advised by his shrewd and manipulative friend, Jonadab,²⁰ to rape Tamar on the pretence that he was sick, which he did. Tamar bore psychological and physical shame after the rape.

¹⁴ Michael Coogan, *God and Sex. What the Bible Really Says* (1st ed.) (New York, Boston: Twelve. Hachette Book Group, 2010):112–113

¹⁵ Ralph F. Wilson, *Rape, Murder, and Conspiracy in David's Family (2 Samuel 13:1-15:13)*, viewed 18 December 2019 from http://www.jesuswalk.com/david/11_david_troubles.htm.

¹⁶Winston B. Stanley, *Parents: Adolescents Are Adults-With-Less-Sense: A Christ-Centered Approach to Adolescent Development* (Bloomington: iUniverse.Inc, 2013):76.

¹⁷ Winston B. Stanley, *ibid.*

¹⁸Winston B Stanley, *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Joel Ryan, *Who Was Tamar in the Bible?* Viewed 2 January 2020 from <https://www.christianity.com/wiki/people/who-was-tamar-in-the-bible.html>

²⁰Joel Ryan, *ibid.*

Literary context

Looking at 2 Samuel, its focus is on the reign of David; and the story of Tamar and Amnon must be located more exactly within the *Thronnachfolgegeschichte*.²¹ In 2 Sam 13:1-22, we encounter the heartbreaking story of Tamar, the daughter of David and the sister of Absalom, who falls prey to the ill intentions of Amnon, her half brother.²² After David took the cities of the Ammonites, after having peace for some time, he started seeing problems and abominations in his household. He had a daughter by name, Tamar who he sewed a coat of many colours. He loved her because she was a princess.

David had a firstborn Amnon who was not very careful about his desires. He had been observing Tamar for some time and started lusting after her. Tamar was his half-sister. But his lack of control beclouded his memory. Amnon fell sick due to his lust.

Amnon had a bad friend who came to see him. The friend saw how uncomfortable that Amnon was and enquired of the problem. Amnon told him of his love for Tamar and the friend whose name was Jonadab advised Amnon to fall sick. He also advised Amnon that when David his father comes to see him, he should tell him that he wished that Tamar his sister comes to cook special food for him. Amnon did exactly as Jonadab advised him.

When Tamar came and cooked the food for Amnon, Amnon asked everyone in his room to go out. He tried using dialogue to entice Tamar to sleep with him, but Tamar told him that it was an abomination to be heard. Amnon forced Tamar and raped her. Afterwards, he chased her out of his house.

Tamar was traumatised to a very great extent. She tore her clothes. She put ashes on her head. David lamented for this abomination but could do nothing due to the firstborn position that Amnon occupies. However, the brother of Tamar, who was Absalom, killed Amnon.

²¹L. Einkenkel, *The rape of Tamar (2 Sam 13:1-22)*, viewed 10 April 2020 from <https://www.grin.com/document/233423>.

²² Charlene van der Walt, "Hearing Tamar's Voice: Contextual Readings of 2 Samuel 13:1-22", *Old Testament Essays*, 25 no.1 (2012):182-206.

4. A close reading of 2 Sam 13:1-39

Developing the ambition to rape (vv.1-2)

Amnon lusted after Tamar. Lusting is the process of developing the ambition to rape. The reason for his lusting was because Tamar was fair and beautiful. Amnon lusted after Tamar and called it love.²³ When Tamar reached puberty, Amnon's unnatural obsession with his young half-sister, Tamar, escalated.²⁴ Amnon wanted Tamar to be his sole property for sexual pleasure.

Worst influence over bad ambition (vv.3-5)

Before someone rapes a person, the rapist must have conferred and sought assistance from a close ally. Amnon told his friend Jonadab about his lust for his sister. Jonadab was a cousin to Amnon. His friend told Amnon to pretend to be asleep and when Tamar comes he should rape her. After helping Amnon to rape Tamar he helped Absalom to kill Amnon.

Work plan to the act of rape (vv. 6-9a)

The rapist strategically planned how to rape Tamar. Amnon pretended to be sick, David his father came to see him, Amnon prevailed on the careless David to send Tamar to come to him to cook. David, it seems to them, is somewhat irresponsible, unable to detect that Amnon's request is a ruse (13:6), and so he sends Tamar to be raped (13:7).²⁵ Tamar came to cook, and when she was done with the cooking she gave the food to Amnon to eat.

The act of rape (vv.9b-14)

Amnon asked everybody in his room to go out. Unfortunately, this could not give Tamar the idea that something wrong was about to happen. Furthermore, Amnon told Tamar to bring the food into his inner bedroom. This also could not give Tamar the idea that something definitely wrong was about to happen to her. Also, he held her hand and told her to have sex with him. It is at this point that that West and Zondi-Mabizela,

Tamar devices a clear and careful way to approach her task and her defence. . . first, she says a clear "No" (13:12) . . .second, she reminds him that he is her "brother" (13:12). Third, she makes it

²³ David Guzik, *2 Samuel 13 – Amnon, Tamar, and Absalom*, viewed 31 December 2019, from <https://enduringword.com/bible-commentary/2-samuel-13/>

²⁴ Elizabeth Fletcher, *Tamar, David's daughter*, viewed on January 2, 2020, from <http://www.womeninthebible.net/women-bible-old-new-testaments/tamar-judah/tamar-amnon/>

²⁵ Gerald West & Phumzile Zondi-Mabizela, *Op.cit.*, p.7.

clear that she is not a willing participant and so names what he is doing, “forcing” her (13:12). Fourth, she reminds him. . . “for such as thing is not done in Israel” (13:12). Fifth, she declares his intentions to be vile and evil (13:12). Sixth, . . . reminding him of the consequences of his actions for her (13:13). Seventh, she then turns the question on him, asking what the consequences of such an act on him will be (13:13). Eighth, she offers him a way out, at considerable cost to herself, suggesting that he speak to the king about marrying her (13:14).²⁶

Tamar thought it wise to be negotiating with a rapist whose senses at that moment were in a state of fantasy. Amnon thereafter raped Tamar, notwithstanding the pleas and cries from Tamar.

Trauma of the aggressor and the victim (vv.15-19)

After Amnon, the aggressor had gotten what he needed—sexual satisfaction in an immoral way—he developed hatred which may be a feeling of remorse. And even after the rape, Tamar does not remain silent, arguing with Amnon, urging him not to abandon her to the consequences of rape on her own (13:16) but Amnon refuses to listen to her (1:16-17).²⁷ He chased Tamar away from him. Tamar the victim became ashamed of herself and psychologically traumatised. She tore her cloth. The father was ashamed. Her brother Absalom was fierce but pretended not to have acknowledged this sad development.

Fate of the rapist and victim (vv. 20-39)

Tamar was instructed not to tell anyone she was raped by Absalom. This was to avoid outsiders knowing about what happened to her. Absalom was really enraged by Amnon’s act, and nothing less than the blood of Amnon will quench his rage; it took two full years for Absalom nursed this root of bitterness (v. 24) which he finally committed.²⁸ On the other hand, her rapist Amnon was killed by Absalom. Absalom did not kill him alone he engaged his servants in the guilt.²⁹ This took place after a whopping two years after when everyone thought the matter had died. Amnon died a terrible death.

²⁶Gerald West & Phumzile Zondi-Mabizela, Op. Cit., 7.

²⁷Gerald West & Phumzile Zondi-Mabizela, *ibid*.

²⁸Matthew Henry, 2 *Samuel 13*, viewed 2 January 2020, from www.biblestudytools.com/commentaries/matthew-henry-complete/2-samuel/13.html

²⁹Bible Commentary, ‘2 Samuel 13 Bible Commentary’, viewed 2 January 2020, from

<https://www.christianity.com/bible/commentary.php?com=mhc&b=10&c=13>

In conclusion, this chapter reveals (1) Amnon ravishing Tamar, assisted in his plot to do it by Jonadab his kinsman, and villainously executing it (v.1-20). II. Absalom murdering Amnon for it (vv.21-39).³⁰ The rape destroyed the rapist (Amnon) and inflicted psychological injuries to the victim, Tamar.

5. Rape in Nigeria

Rape in the present Nigeria has metamorphosed from an act of aggression to a culture. Rape involves the forceful engagement of the female by a male for the purpose of providing sexual satisfaction by the male. Rape is multi-dimensional. First, it is the sexual intercourse with a child under the age of 18 and it is considered statutory rape, as the child is legally regarded as unable to consent.³¹ Rape may also be found when a person has sex with someone deemed legally incapable of consenting due to mental illness, impairment, or intoxication.³² Rape is also not discriminatory to sex; both males and females are affected but studies have shown that the number of female sexual assault victims (and assault perpetrated by males) is far greater than male victims.³³ The level that this ugly phenomenon has gone to is unprecedented. According to the United Nations Children Emergency Fund, one in 10 girls under age 18 have been victims of sexual violence.³⁴ In Nigeria, the Nigerian Criminal Code recommends life imprisonment for a rapist and also allows a minimum of 14 years for any attempted rape, unfortunately, this law has been selectively administered on rapists.

Some girls have been raped by their parents. The father who hitherto is supposed to protect and provide for the daughter is the one taking advantage of the daughter. Most times this happens when the wife of the husband dies, and the man finds it not too possible to remarry. Furthermore, some women are so carefree that under their very eyes their husbands sleep with their children. This is why Juliana

³⁰Matthew Henry, "An Exposition, with Practical Observations, of The First Book of Samuel", *Matthew Henry's Commentary on the Whole Bible*, (USA: Hendrickson Publishers),457.

³¹ Karina Eileraas, "Rape, Legal Definitions of Rape", *Encyclopedia of Women in Today's World*. Ed. Mary Zeiss Stange, Carol K. Oyster, and Jane E. Sloan. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2011): 1205-09.

³² Karina Eileraas, Loc. cit.

³³ P.J Isely & D.Gehrenbeck-Shim, "Sexual assault of men in the community", *Journal of Community Psychology* 25 no.2 (1997):159–166.

³⁴ Gift Agiriga, "Epidemic' of Rape Assailed in Nigeria," viewed on August 23, 2019, from <https://www.voanews.com/africa/epidemic-rape-assailed-nigeria>.

Joseph, the manager of the Salama Sexual Assault Referral Center, said that 90 percent of all victims who were raped, their aggressors are people they know.³⁵

Some girls are also being raped by neighbours in bathrooms. For instance a 58-year-old cobbler, Emmanuel Onmah, raped a teenage girl in the bathroom at night where she had gone to urinate at Dopemu, Lagos State.³⁶ There are reports of girls who were being lured by their neighbours through sending them to buy something. When the unsuspecting girl returns, the neighbour that sent her, rapes her.

Furthermore, girls are being raped by their boyfriends. A good example is Michael Duda of Edo State (24 years old) who invited a teenager of 16 years he met on *Facebook* to his house. He raped her for four days.³⁷ Sometimes the people the female folk meet on *Facebook*, *WhatsApp* or *Instalgram* lure them into having an outing with them. These unsuspecting girls followed their boyfriends to a hotel where they are drug and raped.

Also, women are raped when they moved late in the evening or go to the farm alone. When women move alone, especially on lonely paths and odd hours they are prone to rapists. Also, when women go to farm alone with no one to follow them, there is every tendency that they will be overpowered by rapists who are never tired of harassing women and satisfying their immoral way of life.

So many cases of rape occur daily. These cases cut across father raping daughters, young men raping men and women raped as victims of conflict.

Table 1: Cases of rape in Nigeria

S/N	Rape case	Date	State	Source
1	20 years old Fulani herdsman, Lauo Isa, raped a 54-year-old woman to death	28 Dec 2019	Ugwulangwu community, Ohaozara, Ebonyi State	https://punchng.com/herdsman-rapes-54-year-old-woman-to-death-in-ebonyi/
2	26 years old	9 Nov	Ajuona Obukpa	https://punchng.com/im-guilty-of-

³⁵ Gift Agiriga, Loc. cit.

³⁶ ThePunch, “Shoemaker, 58, rapes 14-year-old neighbour’s daughter”, *ThePunch*, 20 February 2017.

³⁷ Naija Gists, “Nigerian Girl kidnapped and raped by Facebook Friend in Edo State Rescued by Police”, viewed 17 November 2017, from <https://naijagists.com/nigerian-girl-kidnapped-raped-facebook-friend-edo-state-rescued-police/>

	Sunday Egbo, pastor and the founder of Christ Deliverance Ministry, Nsukka, Enugu State, raped an 18-year-old church member	2019	Nsukka Enugu State	<u>seeking-juju-fondling-church-member-arrested-enugu-pastor/</u>
3	58 years old man engaged in repeated sexual adventures with his daughter, threatened to kill her if she tells anyone	27 Sept 2019	Ibeju, in Lekki Lagos,	<u>https://www.pulse.ng/news/metro/andy-father-bags-10-years-in-jail-for-raping-impregnating-teenage-daughter/3t7szxf</u>
4	39 years old man drugged and raped his 15-year-old daughter and was forced to have an abortion by her mother	8 July 2019	Asaba, Delta	<u>https://allafrica.com/stories/201907080736.html</u>
5	47 years old Adelaja Olaide raped neighbour's seven-year-old girl.	27 June 2015	Ejirin, Ketu, Lagos	<u>https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/257652-daughter-reports-fathers-alleged-rape-seven-year-old.html</u>
6	43 years old Francis Joseph raped his friend's 12-year-old daughter and thereafter threatened her not to tell anyone.	11 June 2019	Lugbogi, Ondo State	<u>https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/06/father-of-9-rape-friends-12-yr-old-daughter-in-ondo/</u>
7	48-year-old pastor in Abuja for alleged rape and sexual exploitation of a 16-year-old orphan.	3 June 2019	Gwarimpa Abuja	<u>http://saharareporters.com/2019/06/03/mfm-pastor-blames-devil-after-impregnating-16-year-old-orphan</u>
8	25 years old Don-Chima George, 28 years old Olusegun Rasak, ganged raped a 24 year old woman	3 February 2019	Lekki Phase 1, Lagos	<u>https://dailypost.ng/2019/05/15/drugged-gang-raped-lekki-hotel-lady-tells-court/</u>
9	Ramoni Yusuf,	3 Jan.	Osoba street	<u>https://www.pulse.ng/news/metro</u>

	Abiodun Sikiru, and Moses Oluwasegun, raped a 22 year old girl	2019	Abeokuta	/boyfriend-4-friends-gang-rape-22-year-old-girl/mz5tssr
10	34-year-old Patrick Ben raped a 12-year-old girl.	23 March 2018	Sarki Road, Maraban Rido, Kaduna	https://dailypost.ng/2018/04/16/widower-remanded-allegedly-raping-12-year-old-girl/

Source: Author’s compilation

6. Causes of the rape in Nigeria

In Nigeria, they include but not limited to:

Indiscipline

When a man finds it very difficult to control his sexual desires, it results to the person engaging in rape action. In Nigeria, some men are highly indiscipline; they cannot see both young and old women and remove their eyes. Unfortunately, instead of this being heard only in cases of unmarried men as aggressors, married men have started indulging in this act of indiscipline. Father raping their daughters, neighbours daughter and friend’s daughter; and the young men raped their classmates, schoolmates, street mates and other unsuspecting victims. Rape culture also plays out in the use of sexual violence as a means of punishment, either in personal relationships or as an act of war.³⁸

Means of punishment

Rape can also be a way of a person’s punishment as an opponent during a conflict. When a man wants to punish a woman who had refused to adhere to his sexual advances, he resorts into raping her as the last hope. For instance, a girl was raped by five boys at the Abia State University due to her refusal to accept one of the boys’ as a boyfriend.³⁹ Furthermore, during a conflict, men may be raping their opponent’s wives and daughters as a way of paying them back for their lack of subjection and subordination. This was very paramount during the Biafran war of 1967-1970.

³⁸ Karina Eileraas, “Rape, Legal Definitions of”, *Encyclopedia of Women in Today's World*. Ed. Mary Zeiss Stange, Carol K. Oyster, and Jane E. Sloan. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2011):1205-09.

³⁹ ThisDay, *An Epidemic of Rape*, viewed 10 April 2020, from <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/08/03/an-epidemic-of-rape/>

Pornography

Young men and old men who indulge in pornography are highly prone to committing rape. This is a period of internet and communication technology where a child in primary school is given a phone with internet access. This makes the child when he or she is alone to go to pornography sites and start watching sex scenes. Of course, the watcher is prone to releasing his sexual urge on any available victim –a friend or a foe.

Indecent dressing

Some times the girls should be blamed for the type of dress they put on especially when they want to go out. Women who dress a certain way or behave aggressively are often either blamed for or perceived to enjoy rape.⁴⁰ What is seen these days is torn jeans or short shirts that tend to expose the laps of the girl. Also, sleeveless dress that reveals a part of the breast is what most girls preferred to wear. This is what young and old men lust after and when their prayer to befriend the girl fails they seek rape as the last resort towards satisfying their sexual ego.

Unnecessarily closeness to men

The perpetrator of a sexual assault may be a date, an acquaintance, a friend, a family member, an intimate partner or former intimate partner, or a complete stranger, but more often than not, is someone known to the victim.⁴¹ Some ladies get so attached to a man and forget that after some time that man begins to nurse certain love for her. When the man sees that there is no way to actualize his love for this platonic friend, the ‘devil’ as usual comes upon him someday and he grabs this lady and rapes her in his house or office. Most times it is the lady that comes so close to men and be visiting them in their offices and houses without knowing the implication of their irregular movement and closeness.

Peer group influence

The group that young men belong influences them toward raping ladies. Their peer group gives them the reason, tactics and techniques and escape mechanism from their rape victims. Scott, Noh, Brands, Hamilton, Gastaldo, Wright, Cumsille, & Khenti corroborate that peer groups are one of the social institutions

⁴⁰ Karina Eileraas, loc. cit.

⁴¹World Health Organisation, *Sexual Violence: Prevalence, Dynamics And Consequences*, viewed 3 January 2020, from, https://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/resources/publications/en/guidelines_chap2.pdf

that young adults are exposed to daily and that have a very important cognitive influence on the decision-making process.⁴²

7. Myths and Facts of Rape

There are so many traditional understanding of rape and also those that have been proven.

Table 2: Understanding the phenomenon of rape

MYTHS	FACT
Sex is the primary motivation for rape	Power, anger, dominance and control are the main motivating factors for rape
Only certain types of women are raped.	Any woman can be a victim of rape. However, many people believe women who are of high moral character (“good girls”) don’t get raped and that females of low moral character (“bad girls”) do get raped.
Women falsely report rape.	Only a very small percentage of reported rapes are thought to be false reports.
Rape is perpetrated by a stranger	The vast majority of rapes are perpetrated by a known assailant.
Rape involves a great deal of physical Most rapes do not involve a great deal of physical force. The majority violence and the use of a weapon.	Most rapes do not involve a great deal of physical force. The majority of victims report that they were afraid of receiving serious injuries or of being killed and so offered little resistance to the attack. This may also explain why little force or weapons are needed to subdue victims.
Rape leaves obvious signs of injury.	Because most rapes do not involve a significant amount of force there may

⁴² Magaly Scott, Samuel Noh, Bruna Brands, Hayley Hamilton, Denise Gastaldo, Maria da Gloria Miotto Wright, Francisco Cumsille, & Akwatu Khenti “Peer group, family relationships, spirituality and Entertainment influences on drug consumption of Students at one university in manabi, Ecuador”, *Texto Contexto Enferm, Florianópolis*, 24 (2015):154-160.

	<p>be no physical injuries. Just because a person has no physical injuries does not mean they were not raped. Only approximately one-third of rape victims sustain visible physical injuries.</p>
<p>When women say “no” to sex, “No” means no; a woman’s wishes in this regard should be they actually mean “yes”.</p>	<p>“No” means no; a woman’s wishes in this regard should be respected at all times.</p>
<p>Sex workers cannot be raped.</p>	<p>Any man or woman, regardless of his/her involvement in the commercial sex industry, can be raped. Studies show that a significant proportion of male and female sex workers have been raped by their clients, the police or their partners.</p>
<p>A man cannot rape his wife.</p>	<p>Any forced sex or forced sexual activity constitutes rape, regardless of whether or not the woman is married to the perpetrator. Unfortunately, many jurisdictions have marital rape exemptions in their laws; although married women are subject to rape by their husbands the law does not recognize it as such</p>
<p>Rape is reported immediately to the police.</p>	<p>The majority of rapes are never reported to the police. Of those that are reported, most are done so more than 24 hours after the incident. Victims do not report at all or delay reporting because they think nothing will be done, the perpetrator may have made threats against them or their families, they are afraid of family or community responses or they are ashamed; some victims simply feel that it is a private matter or do not know where to report the incident</p>

Source: World Health Organisation ⁴³

8. Impact of rape on the victim and aggressor

The impact of rape cannot be underestimated. It ranges and even supersedes physical, psychological, social and emotional trauma. Hereunder are some selected impact of rape on victims, aggressor and the society.

Terrible Stigma

The victim becomes a stigma, a point of emphasis or example by people who knew she had been raped. When an example of rape is to be mentioned, her name is mentioned. This is the reason most of the rape victim decides to be silent. In fact, family members of the victim of rape tell them to remain silent so that they can get a husband to marry them.

Psychological Trauma

Victims of rape are usually depressed. They doubt the truism of the fact that they had been raped. Sometimes it leads to mental retardation. They performed very badly in their school grades.

Table 3: Emotional and physical symptoms of psychological trauma

Emotional symptoms	Physical symptoms
Shock, denial, or disbelief	Insomnia or nightmares
Confusion, difficulty concentrating	Fatigue
Anger, irritability, mood swings	Being startled easily
Anxiety and fear	Difficulty concentrating
Guilt, shame, self-blame	Racing heartbeat
Withdrawing from others	Edginess and agitation
Feeling sad or hopeless	Aches and pains
Feeling disconnected or numb	Muscle tension

Source: Lawrence Robinson, Melinda Smith, M.A., and Jeanne Segal⁴⁴

⁴³ World Health Organisation, “Sexual Violence: Prevalence, Dynamics And Consequences”, viewed 3 January 2020, from https://www.who.int/www.who.int › resources › guidelines_chap2, https://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/resources/publications/en/guidelines_chap2.pdf

⁴⁴ Lawrence Robinson, M.A. Smith, & Jeanne Segal, *Emotional and Psychological Trauma*, viewed 2 January 2020 from <https://www.helpguide.org/articles/ptsd-trauma/coping-with-emotional-and-psychological-trauma.htm> 2019.

Religious Trauma

Some victims of rape stop going to church. In fact, some churches keep them aside in anything they are doing once they learn that this person had been raped. They feel that engaging this victim in church activity would bring a dent on the image of the church or fellowship. Thus, they are rejected by themselves, the society and the church.

Social Trauma (emotion)

She sees all men as rapists. It changes her mind about men that may approach her for marriage. She develops low self-esteem of herself. She fears everyone around her. She fears to go into any relationship in the future.

Suicidal thoughts

Victims of rape are prone to committing suicide. They cannot face the shame they get from people around them, neither could they stand the shame of letting their husband know about their situation.

Unwanted pregnancy

Most times the victim suffers unwanted pregnancy, which results from the rape action. Unfortunately, the girl suffers the physical and emotional pains associated with pregnancy.

Sexually Transmitted Diseases

These diseases include Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, Human Immune Deficiency Syndrome and other diseases. Some of these diseases are life-threatening and could retard to education progress of the victim of rape. Survivors of rape are at risk for acquiring sexually transmitted infections (STIs) due to the unprotected sex they were forced to engage in.⁴⁵

Death

Unwanted pregnancies most times are not accepted by either the victim or her family. Thus, the victim seeks ways of terminating the pregnancy. Unfortunately, some death rates have been recorded to have emanated from this ugly development.

⁴⁵ Seña, A. C., et al., "Sexual Assault and Sexually Transmitted Infections in Adults, Adolescents, and Children," *Clinical Infectious Diseases*, 61(suppl 8), (2015),S856–S864.

Prostitution

Unfortunately, some of the rape victims feel that they are worthless in their bid to live the happy and moral way of life after rape. They feel that going into prostitution is the best way due to public ridicule. They feel that their dignity has been trampled upon and can no longer be redeemed.

Serial rapists

On the part of the aggressor, they end up as serial rapists. The spirit of raping people enters them; and any time they do not rape someone they feel abnormal. In fact, when they can not find a lady to rape, they begin to rape animals. For instance in Ekiti state, a peter david was caught raping a pregnant goat on the 10 March 2020. In his confession, he said “When I saw the goat, I chased, caught and brought it to this uncompleted building to sleep with it.”⁴⁶

9. Applying 2 Sam 13:1-39 in the Nigerian Context

Amnon got himself in trouble when he started to develop an inordinate affection for Tamar. He could not control his emotion. He had seen that Tamar was fair and beautiful and his heart desired for her. He was not able to sieve what he saw with his eyes. This is similar to the rape culture in Nigeria. First and foremost, rapist begins to nurse the ambition to have sex with the person especially somebody that they usually see. The more they see the lady, the more their desire to have sex with the person. Also, they are prepared to achieve their heart desire through rape or killing of the lady. Thus, it could be observed that the ambition to rape develops from lust.

Amnon sought for a person of like mind with him to tell him his emotional feelings. He did not consult an elder nor did he tell his mother this love he was nursing for Tamar and how it can be peacefully resolved. He collided with his peer, Jonadab, who advised him to rape Tamar. This is similar to the situation of rape in Nigeria. Some rapists tell their friends how they are lusting over a lady and how their efforts to get the lady have been failing. Their friends tell him to find a way to rape the girl, and sometimes they assist the person nursing the lust to rape the lady and even join their friend to gang rape the lady. It could be seen that bad ambition can be nurtured into effective actualisation when its control mechanism is worse than the dependent ambition.

⁴⁶Pulse TV, *Handsome young man caught raping a goat explains why it's his habit* (video) viewed 10 March 2020, from <https://www.pulse.ng/news/metro/handsome-young-man-caught-raping-a-goat-explains-why-its-his-habit-video/j1bnxvt>

Amnon devised a plan on how to rape Tamar. This was fully based on the advice of his friend Jonadab. He called her to come to his house that he was sick. Rapists usually lure their unsuspecting victims to solitary places such as their houses, houses, night clubs and bushes on the pretence that they have a discussion. Most girls in Nigeria have been raped because they gave heed to the calls made to them by their rapists to solitary confinements. Also, most girls know full well that this particular man has been lusting over me and now he is calling me to come, they still could not understand that it is dangerous to go to any place lonely with their aggressor, instead, they tend to show that they are too beautiful and important that is why this person cannot do without them. Furthermore, unguarded love by ladies towards men has caused some of them to be raped. A situation where a lady will travel from one state of Nigeria to the other just to see a boy is really thought provoking. For instance, Ezelioha and Ibeh invited their facebook female friend of two years on 27 March 2017 to Lagos and raped her.⁴⁷ Most times these are boys they know nothing about, a problem of lack of emotional control. Thus, plan is important in order not to fail in any action one is about to take.

Tamar the beauty princess came to the house of Amnon as invited. Amnon asked everyone to go out and invited her to come into his bedroom. Tamar could not sense danger here. Amnon began to caress her body. Tamar was still playing the gentle lady, forgetting the fact that it is near difficult to subdue a man with sexual arousal and sexual pervasion. Amnon pleaded for sex but Tamar refused; the next option he subdues her and raped her. Nobody could help her because no body was in the room with them. Rapists usually lure their victims with something. Be it that they are sick or they want to be helped out of something. Also, in first attempts rapists in Nigeria sometimes plead for sex but when their victim refuses they have their way through rape. Sometimes they drug their victim before raping her even to death. The act of rape requires a perfect work plan.

Amnon hated Tarma after the rape incident. He chased her out. Rapists in some cases become an enemy to their victim. They even threaten the life of their victim if the victim knows them. Thus, in Nigeria rapists are known to rape more than one victim. This is because the love they have for their victim dies immediately the rape. This is love in fantasy. Tamar the lady that was raped was ashamed of herself for this carelessness. First, she placed ashes on her head, tore her clothes. Second, she reported to the father David who was very naive to attacked Amnon for this abomination. Absolom, Tamar's brother asked her to keep silent so as not to expose herself the more to ridicule. However, he devised a plan on how to eliminate Amnon. Victims keep the secret of their abuse to prevent shame. A

⁴⁷ThePunch, "Two rape Facebook friend, get N900, 000 bail", *ThePunch*, 17 April 2020.

woman right activist said “Why should I come out and speak of my victimization when I'm going to receive secondary victimisation? The whole society blames (the victim).”⁴⁸ Victims and aggressors of rape have short and long-term consequences to face emotionally and socially.

Amnon had forgotten that he raped somebody. However, Absolom did not forget his sister's predicament. After two years, Absolom killed Amnon. This is similar to Nigeria rape incidents. Rapists are hardly forgiven by their victims. The slightest opportunity that victims of rape have to revenge on their victim, they do it. Relations of victims of rape also devise evil plan even death for the aggressor that raped their daughter especially if that person is a teenager. The fate of rapist is lack of peace and unsafe living.

10. Recommendations

The following suggestions have been given, thus:

1. Young men and old men need know that whenever they begin to nurse inordinate desire towards a lady they should seek for proper counselling and advice from their spiritual mentors or good people who may not necessarily be their friends.
2. Seeking help from peers when one has failed to get the attention of a lady he loves is not the best approach. Instead, men should learn to let go of any lady who refuses their advances. Love is not a must, but sincere love is built over time.
3. Men should note that the inability to seek proper counselling leads to the growth of this inordinate desire which matures into the plan of raping their victim. The better the fantasy is dropped the better for the man in question. For every plan to rape, there are critical short-term and long-term consequences for the aggressor.
4. Teenage girls, adolescents, juveniles and in fact all women should learn not to go to lonely places with any supposed lover who is not their husband. It is not a matter of fiancé or fiancée. Once someone is not married to you that person can harm you in any lonely place. Going to a hotel, night clubs and going to a man's home alone is not advisable as some many women have been sexually abused and even killed due to this carelessness. Love for the man is no longer blind.

⁴⁸ Mail Foreign Service, “Woman begs for captors to kill her in rape video causing outrage in Nigeria”, viewed 21 September 2011 from <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2040176/Woman-begs-captors-kill-rape-video-shocking-Nigeria.html>

5. You cannot dialogue with a man that is sexually aroused. A sexually aroused man most times can rape even an animal that is close to him. It is better not to go there in the first place or run away at the slightest opportunity.
6. Rapists never feel remorse even though sometimes after raping their victim, they transfer the blame to the devil. Unfortunately, after that time, they forget that they even raped their victims. It is the victim that suffers long-term trauma and shame. Thus women should learn to be extra careful. Every man is a suspect of being a rapist, except for somebody you are legally married to.
7. Victims of rape should relocate from that vicinity where they live. This will help to erase the long time memory of the rape narrative or maybe soften their countenance.

11. Conclusion

Rape has more consequences for the victims. Victims in most cases are female teenagers, adolescents, and juveniles, who suffer short-term and long-term consequences which even lead to their death. Notwithstanding, the rapist also suffers consequences even though not as much compared to the victim's trauma. Rapists usually do not do well in life. Most times their children suffer undue hardships due to the actions of their father as a rapist when he was young or old. Amnon paid with his life for raping Tamar notwithstanding that it was after two years. Rape is a crime against the victim, the society and God.

Traditional Burial and Funeral Practices in Igbo Culture

Joy Nneka U. Ejikeme Ph.D
Humanities Unit,
School of General Studies,
University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
Joy.ejikeme@unn.edu.ng

Abstract

Culture is what differentiates people of the same ethnic origin from another ethnic group. Igbo culture has her own peculiar practices. 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 believes in life and existence in the world beyond. This means that life does 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 and funeral 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 formed 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 all its cultural observances overtime.

Key Words: Custom, Dead, Rites, Igbo, Culture

Introduction

The issue of death and what happens to man after death has been of great concern to humanity in general. Adebowale (2011) assert that some people of different cultures express different ideas and views of what happens after death, which has been termed 'Afterlife' or 'Hereafter'. The Afterlife is a generic term for a continuation of existence after death. Although; what constituted "proper funeral rites" varied from place to place and time to time. 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 (Okpalaeke, 2018). Burial is the act of committing a corpse or dead body to the mother earth. For Ojiakor, *et. al.*, (2018), burial is the act or process of disposing of a corpse. This may vary from culture to culture and from one religious or some ideology to the other. Burial and funeral rites 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 communities. 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.

In Igbo traditional culture, there is a clear distinction between the burial of the dead called *ini-ozu* and *ikwa-ozu* which is funeral ceremonial rites of passage (Onyibor, 2019). Burial and Funeral are two terms that are often confused due to the similarity in their meanings. Actually, there is some difference between the two terms. Burial is the practice of keeping a person or an object into the ground. This act is accomplished by digging a pit or a trench, and then placing the person or the object and finally covering it. Burial is done with an intention of bringing the relatives and the friends of the dead together. It is not easy to isolate burial ceremony per se from funeral ceremony (Onyibor, 2019). Yet while the funeral ceremony appears to cover the entire vistas of the various rites, rituals and observances, whether socio-religious or psychological which functions to accompany the deceased to the world beyond, the burial ceremonies appear specified and limited to the actual symbolic observances that are immediately connected with interment, that is, of the ritual acts linked with committing the dead to the mother earth (Izunwa, 2016)). He further notes that Burial ceremonies provide the single richest matrix of cultural symbolism because many things are celebrated, life, death and afterlife. Simply, **burial** is a method of disposing the body but **funeral** is a ceremony that is used to honor and celebrate the life of the deceased. Burial is not a ceremony, but it is an act. Funeral rites refer to various ceremonial rites of passage conducted for the dead to lay the deceased to rest. It is a ritual rite of passage to mark the end of life of the deceased. Nohoushan (2013), Sahoo (2014) and Egenti and Mmadike (2016) agree that funeral rites make us aware of the link between life and death as well as the meaning of our lives on earth. It also helps to enlarge our individual existence. It demonstrates how to live a virtuous life and to be prepared for death instead of being afraid of it. Burial and funeral practices are a societal belief system passed down from one generation unto another.

It is interesting to note that the word ‘funeral’ is derived from the Latin word ‘*funus*’, which means to die (May, 2013). The Greek word for funeral *κηδεία* - (*kēdeía*) is derived from the verb *κῆδομαι* (*kēdomai*), meaning attend to or take care of someone (Adebowale, 2011). The Greek word for burial is *tafi*. There are several types of funerals such as Buddhist funerals, Christian funerals, Hindu funerals, Islamic funerals, Jewish funerals and Sikh funerals among many other varieties of funerals practiced across the world. The primary reason for burial is that the human body will decay after death. It is interesting to note that the burial practices are undertaken in a bid to respect the dead. The bodies are buried in a bid to prevent the moving about of ghosts and spirits (May, 2013). Aristotle even mentions that when an unknown corpse was found at the road side, the corpse would be buried by civic official with the assistance of slaves (*Athenian Constitutions*). This was done in order to ensure that the corpse would not be exposed and become prey to vulture and, according to Parker (1983:43-45), “to neglect to perform this duty could expose one to divine punishment (Adebolawe, 2011).

Achebe (2008 in Okpalaek, 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 Okpalaeké, 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. More disturbing is that death knows no boundaries as anyone regardless of sex, wealth, status, race is not exempted (Ojiakor, Etodike, Onyebuchi and Obayi, 2018). After death comes the burial of the deceased. 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. In the Igbo religio-cultural cosmology, there is a belief that death is a passage to other form of life (Madu, 2012; Okwueze, 2012). Adogbo (2014) and Agbegbedia (2015) respectively opined that death symbolizes a ritualized passage to new life.

In giving honour to the departed, the people of Inyi spend fortunes to bury their dead. Families have had to spend huge amounts of money in order to give their dead a befitting burial and sometimes they have to borrow to do this. All these have serious socio-economic and religious implications for the people. There is the problem of economic instability due to huge financial debts incurred during burials by the bereaved families. They strongly believed that cultural rites pertaining death has to be performed accordingly in order to avert wrath from the spirit world. This shows there is an interaction between the living and the death.

Inyi people have ways of conducting their own burial and funeral rites whenever a member of their community ascends into the afterlife. A man's dealings and class in life will to a large extent determine his burial and funeral rites when he dies. Inyi town is made up of nine (9) villages, these include; Umuome, Enugu, Obune, Amankwo, Agbaliji, Umuagu, Alum, Nkwere and Akwu. These nine villages have the same way of honouring their dead. The geographical area designated as Igboland is predominantly the Eastern part of the West African nation of Nigeria popularly referred to as the area east of the Niger River. The area lies roughly between 6° and 81/2° E longitude and 41/2° and 7° N latitude. The present-day Igboland made up the bulk of the Eastern Region of Nigeria (Eke, 2013).

Therefore, the study examined the traditional burial and funeral practices in Inyi in Oji River Local Government area, Enugu State, Nigeria. The socio-cultural, economic and religious implications of the burial and funeral rites were discussed. A good number of Inyi people who have embraced Christian religion look at the practices as awkward and demonic. During evangelism they condemn anything that is called tradition because they were meant to believe by their pastor or reverend that it is idol worship. Thus, the

study is important in order to have an existing literature on burial and funeral practices of Inyi people before it loses its taste. For Onyibor (2019), Igbo traditional culture, funeral rites of passage have under gone some significant change over the years as a result of European colonisation of Africa. This period witnessed the forceful imposition of colonialism, western education and culture, and Christian religion, which challenged the cosmo-ontological foundation of most Igbo traditional culture and beliefs, of which traditional system of funeral rites for the dead became one of its first casualties (Onyibor, 2019). 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.

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.

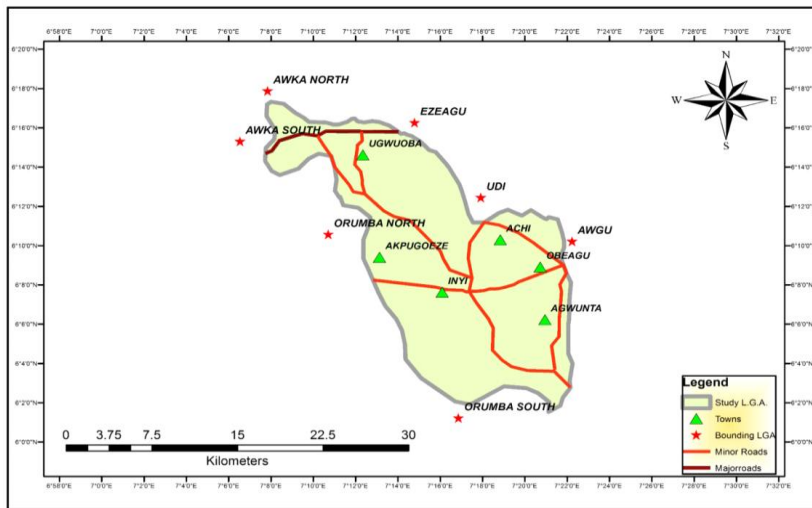


Figure 1: Map of Oji River Showing the Study Area

Burial and Funeral Practices as a Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage can be defined as the sum total of the people's cherished arts, customs, festivals, sacred or worship sites, norms, values, ideologies, dress and dress-patterns, traditional monuments and architectures, technology and technological sites and other artifacts which are cherished and conserved for their historical, political, educational, recreational and religious significance among others. Cultural heritages are therefore the sum total of material and non-material cultures of a particular society transmitted across generations (Onyima, 2016). Culture is shared, learned behaviour of the members of the society. As a concept, it encapsulates such common group behaviours

as dressing, eating, dancing and as in context, burial forms and types (Izunwa, 2016). Simply put, culture is about the way of life of people in a given society. 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).

Burial and death practices vary across cultures and are often heavily influenced by religion (Chachkes and Jennings, 1994; Younoszai, 1993). 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). 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. 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).

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 ushabits (mummiform figurines representing agricultural labourers) provided the deceased with a MAGIC work-force.

Neanderthals were the first human species to intentionally bury the dead, doing so in shallow graves along with stone tools and animal bones (Eslit, 2013). The earliest undisputed human burial discovered so far, dates back 130,000 years. Human skeletal remains stained with red ochre were discovered in the Skhul cave at Qafzeh, Palestine. A variety of grave goods were present at the site, including the mandible of a wild boar in the arms of one of the skeletons (Eslit, 2013). 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).

Burial and funeral practices among the Igbo people are found within the domain of their customs. The custom varies from community to communities from the same Igbo origin. Inyi people of Igbo origin have unique ways of burying their death and performing funeral ceremony. They give the death a befitting burial traditionally and with grave goods believing that death is not an end. The dead man joined his ancestors in order to oversee the living. Some at times comes back to life through reincarnation. This means there are unity in the spirit between the living (visible) and the dead (invisible). This is in line with Metuh, (1981); Manus, (1993); and Isizoh, (1999) in (Nwoye, 2011) that said that Igbo people see their world as made up of two planes: the physical and the spiritual. They believed that there is a dual-traffic and interaction between the inhabitants of the two worlds. In this way, the understanding among the Igbo is that spiritual beings and cosmic forces are highly intermingled. Burial can take place without the funeral rites if it is not convenience for the relations of the deceased who may decide to postpone it to a near future when they will gather enough material wealth to give him/her a befitting funeral. Although, Christianity in Igbo land frowns at such funeral rite long after burial, in fact they wrongly call it second burial *ikwa ozu nkwa na – abuo*. According to Onyibor (2019) in his study “A Critique of the Changing Trends in Igbo Traditional Conceptualisation of Death and Funeral Rites” said that there is no expression in Igbo language that depicts any part of funeral ceremony as second burial which is *ini-ozu nke abua ma o bu ini-ozu ugbolo n’abuo/ikwa-ozu nkwa n’abuo*. *Ndi Igbo* for the avoidance of doubt do not bury their dead twice. In his opinion, it is purely mistranslation and misinterpretation of *ikwa-ozu* funeral ceremonial rites of passage as ‘second burial’. It is surprising that even some prominent Igbo scholars got entangled in the use of this second burial translation for *ikwa-ozu*. For instance, Chinua Achebe in chapter nineteen of his book *Arrow of God* uses the expression *second burial* when he narrates that: “the first serious sufferers from the postponement of the harvest were the family of Ogbuefi Amalu who had died in the rainy season from *aru-muo*. In my own understanding the funeral ceremony was postponed due to rainy season. During the rainy season Igbo people witness scarcity of food resources. The period is called *Ugani* in Igbo dialect. Ogbuefi Amalu in Achebe’s book knew this and told his son not to arrange the burial feast with his saliva that he should wait till there will be plenty of yam again. In the same vein Ilogu (1974:67) uses the same word second burial to describe *ikwa-ozu* when he reports that:

“Greater complications arose when many children of many family heads became Christians, and were forbidden by the teachings of missionaries to perform the second burial of their fathers. Onyibor (2019) notes that the use of second burial is wrong for *ikwa-ozu*, and that has given rise to other conflicts in the interpretation of other aspects Igbo traditional funeral rites. However, at times Igbo people bury their elderly persons soon after death, with preliminary ceremonies. Then after a year or less, sometimes more, the funeral ceremony would take place with a lot more elaborate ceremonies than the first”.

One of the greatest fears among the Igbo is to die and be thrown into the evil forest, receiving no burial rites. For them, this calamity means been banned from the company of the ancestors, an outcast of the other side of life, following death. As Isichei (1977 in Nwoye, 2011) explains: that the ancestors are those who live well-spent lives, die in socially approved ways, and are given correct burial rites – live in one of those worlds of the dead, which mirror the world of the living. The living honours them with sacrifices. The ancestors watch over the living, and are periodically reincarnated among them. The unhappy spirits who die bad deaths, and lack burial rites, cannot return to the world of the living, or enter that of the dead. They wander homeless and dispossessed”. Igbo people believe that misfortunes can be caused by spirit agents whom we cannot see, and human ones, whose hearts we cannot know (Nwoye, 2011).

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.

This study used the concept of Triangle of Life (ToL) to facilitate the emergence of the real nature of Igbo life (Okafor, 1998). The ToL is an equilateral triangle (three equal sides marked as A-B, B-C and C-A axes), and from plotting the rites along the axes of the triangle, it becomes evident that Igbo life is in two main phases- the living and that of the dead. This means that while at any time any of the phases is dominant, it still has undertones of the other. For example, the rituals on the A-B and B-C axes belong to the living, and these are performed in readiness for life after death in the ancestral realm (Okafor, 1998). The performance of the triangle can commence either from the A-B axis (for human beings) or it can start from the C-A axis for the ancestor who is about to reincarnate to be born on the A-B axis. Since life is a continuous process the triangle can be unwound to form a circle or one can draw a circle which can touch the three points. This captures the cyclic/continuous nature of the Igbo universe and view of life (Okafor, 1998).

From this section, burial and funeral rites are embedded in the culture of Inyi people. The practices are passed from generation to generation as their cultural heritage. The goal of life in the traditional Igbo society is to live a good life, die a good death, receive a proper burial and passage rite worthy of his/her status in the community that will admit him/her into the ancestral realm, awaiting *ilo-uwa* (reincarnation). Two aspects of life are witnessed, spiritual and physical life, which is the reason of given their dead a befitting burial and funeral ceremony. The grave goods they bury with the deceased shows that death to them is not an end. These points to the fact that life for the Inyi people and Igbo in general moves from conception, through birth, puberty and adulthood,

and to ripe old age. In that way, a successful life here on earth is understood by them as a sure passport to gain one a good place among the ancestors.

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. Although Mr Chukwuneme from Alum Inyi said that the dead visits the living. The group that visits the living is those that are termed ghost that are not accepted in the land of the spirit. For instance people that lived a bad life and those that died young. He supported his argument using a man called Ndiwe from Enugu Inyi that died long ago and people testified that they saw him in Oji River in Alum community.

For Inyi people 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 Ozo Aguodu (pers communication) from Alum Inyi, he said “that such situation was noticed when members in a family start dying consistently or someone in the family becomes sick that lack medical explanation. The family consults a diviner who now discern the cause. Of which one of the causes is not celebrating the funeral of their dead ones.

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) (per communication), 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 with little or no ceremony. Ogbuehi Nnanyelugo (78 years) (per communication) calls such situation “*Onye nawaghi Ibe*” (A married person without no child or unmarried person). This is because Igbo people believed 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. It is an abomination for a person to die when the parents or one of the parents are still alive. To them, death does not occur without a particular cause. Some of the causes of death according to the people of Inyi 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. Ogbuefi Nnanyelugo (78 years) (Pers communication) explained that *Orie* for men signifies that men were the head of the family. Inyi people bury women on *Eke* day because traditional marriage ceremony takes place on that day. All the stages of marriage rite were performed on *Eke* day. Cases about marriage are settled on *Eke* day. Even when a woman decides to leave his husband’s place, she must do it on *Eke* day not *Nkwo* day. *Eke* day is a sacred day in Inyi said Ozo Ndibe Onwe (65 years) (Pers communication), the Chief Priest of Ajana shrine. This is the day the traditional adherents worship their shrines/deities. They respect the day just like Christians respect church services. The funeral is also observed in the same day. In Igbo burial and funeral rites of the man and that of the woman take different cultural routes as well as that of Inyi people. The men rites are always grandy but that of women is celebrated in a cool way. For instance, no masquerading during women burial and funeral rites. A big question is, what will the family do if a person dies on other native days? From the interview, the dead person could be buried on ordinary days without announcing the death of the person by crying or weeping that could attract neighbours and passersby. Even when the neighbours noticed the demise of the person they go to their days of activities, few people will be called to bury the person if need be. Officially, the dead are announced on those days that are chosen by the gods. In the culture of Inyi people, it was assumed that the person died on the nearest *orie* or *eke* day.

For Inyi people as a whole death is the means by which one 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* (*Newbouldia Leavis*) and *oha* (*PterocarpusSoyauxii*) 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 circulate the information to both the nuclear and extended family. Messages concerning the death will be sent across to the in-laws and relations of the deceased. 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 tell them “*Agwo no na-akirika*”, which means that something is wrong. The message sends signal to the people. Kindred (*Umunna*) and the family wait patiently for 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 called *Igwa Aka* or *Igwa Ikenga* in the study area.

B. **Igwa Aka or Igwa Ikenga:** This is traditional check up done to anybody that dies. “*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*) from the same 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 were invited. This comes with titles *Ogbuagu* (he who kills lion), *Omeokachie* (a person his word is final), *Dike* (a 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. Igbo scholars also hold that death does not just occur, that there are causes of death which must be ascertained in each case in order to know the type of burial and funeral rites to be accorded the dead. This is in line with F.A. Arinze (1970 in Onyibor, 2019) who states that “when a grown-up person dies, the diviner is first of all consulted to find out why he died at all, for the traditional Ibos do not easily attribute death to a natural cause but often suspect the hand of a spirit or an evil man at work.”

C. **Wake-Keep (*Nche Abani*):** 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. 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 young women will be singing and dancing within the compound. In the case of a man who married more than one wife, the corpse lay in state in the house of the first 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 way. 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 was an attempt to heal the wound of death and to do final justice to the deceased while his body 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. It is the responsibility of *Igwa aka* person to dress the dead with necessary items like white chalk "*nzu*" for men and red chalk "*Uhie*". 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. Other of his or her belongings like cloth will be put inside the casket. *Igwa aka* person and the family makes decision of a place to bury the dead in the compound. They will later inform *umunna* (kindred) of their decision.

Likewise, for women they were dressed by elderly women with the same title. After bathing, the corpse will be dressed in the best clothes of the deceased. The openings (nose and ear) were 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 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. This is called "*Ikpu Akwa*" among Inyi people. 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. Ozo title holder's and other organizations like age grade fix the date for the funeral ceremony of their member.

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 the son is still a child (underaged). 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 were given a gallon of palm wine "*ngwo*", a life chicken and four (4) tubers of yam. They prepare porridge food with the items. Some plates of *ncha* (tapioca food) were served to them. After the digging of grave, not everyone puts a man to the grave; it is done by special people. *Ikenna* masquerade group lower their members 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 and sobbing. 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. Finally, the grave is covered with canon shots renting in the air signifying that the person has been buried. 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.

F. Burial Celebration: A special drum called "*abii Ike*" in Inyi was played after the burial. This was 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. Funeral or burial is 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 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*". 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: In the study area, there are slight difference between burial of a man and that of a woman. The rites of *igwa ikenga* or *igwa aka* are not performed for

women. The body of the dead woman was dressed by her In the study area, no masquerade display and “*abia ike*” drum for women burial and funeral rites. These were replaced by inviting different types of dancing troupe from far and near. They cook all types of foods to entertain visitors. After the burial and funeral, the husband’s family gives all her used clothes to her father’s family. They share the clothes among their kindred according to seniority. One of the major rituals for women is called “*igbutu ogbu chi*”. This means the removal of her god, “*Chukwuokike*” from the compound. It is physically represented by oha (*PterocarpusSoyauxii*) tree. 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 their mother in-law. This ritual is performed a day to the funeral ceremony. After the funeral, the women will arrange a day for *ifu ahia*. Only women will go to *Nkwo Inyi* market for *ifu ahia*. The first daughter “*nwaada*” 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 was a strong woman when she was alive.

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 shaving of hair(*ikpu isi*). The children and relations of the deceased and sympathizers shave their hair in honour of their deceased. A widow’s hair is shaved by a woman whose husband is no longer alive.

I. Iru Ekpe: In the study area, a woman that lost her husband culturally observes “*Iru ekpe di*”. Such funeral activity requires the wife (ves) of the deceased to be confined in a particular room. The wife shaves her hair as a sign of mourning. She must not eat any food cooked and served to people on the burial and funeral day of her husband. She is restricted to her room till the memorial service, which is usually after one year. *Umuada* watches her closely as they were in the next to her own room. The bereaved woman is fed by a widow using a particular plate. The plate is not washed with water until after the *iru ekpe*. She uses hand at times or her tongue to wash the plate. She has a separate container of water of her own and sits on a special seat. She must not go and collect firewood from neighbours. Every native week (*ino onodu* days) she cries 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*”. After the bath ritual she is permitted to walk around, but not to attend any occasion, both happy and sad events. She practically does things alone.

J. Period of Condolence: These are referred to as “*Iga mgbaru*” and “*ino onodu*”. They last for three native weeks (*izu na ato*). From the day of burial to the next four native days ushers in the main condolence which is called *ino onodu*. This means coming on a particular day set apart for the community condolence. *Iga mgbaru* is every day visit, while “*ino onodu*” is for specific days. These are period of waiting and coming for condolence before the funeral. If the dead person was a man, people come for the visit every *orie* day till three native weeks and women is on *eke* day. The people that visit help

the family that was bereaved in the preparation of the funeral. The funeral comes on the last day of the three native weeks. People from different villages at times come for condolences with food, some with gift of money. If the person is a man and member of African Traditional Religion or masquerade cult called “*Ikenna*” group in Inyi, a lot of masquerades will come 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 tie 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 comes up after “*izu na ato*” three native weeks. This is a time set apart to give the ancestors food and to alert them of the funeral rites of the deceased. 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 deceased man to the ancestors by a diviner. In the study area, 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. Ogbuefi Nnanyelugo (78 years) (Pers communication) said that “*Mgbuweji*” ritual is performed with the people with the same age grade that have the same title with 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 with ozo title among them performs the ritual. On performing the tradition, a tender palm frond was 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 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 the deceased house or room. 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 spread on top of the yam. The goat was killed and the blood splashed on top of all the items. The eldest person with ozo title prays with the palm wine and poured some to the ground for the ancestors to drink. After the ritual, they cook and serve the 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 termed 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 of the funeral, 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 provide "*oku akwu abacha*". This is a big pottery bowl of tapioca food garnished with dried fish. They are most notable for the manner in which they entertain their guests. Inyi people were noted to 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). A goat is killed according to custom of Inyi people. For Inyi people if you kill millions of cows without killing a goat, you have not done any funeral. There were a lot of funeral dirges and other cultural performances such as dancing, operating of cannons in order to entertain the guest, both within and outside the deceased's community who come for the funeral. The *umuada* and *umunna* contributes food and money, while the in-laws and well-meaning individuals purchase the coffin used in burying the dead. Fathoms of wrapper, chickens or fowls, goats, two gallons of palm wine and yams were brought during funeral visits. Yams and palm wine are termed "*ishi abo ji na ite manya*". People that were close to the family especially in-laws gives cloth as one of their gifts. This act is called "*ikpu akwa*". All these items are presented before the public. The son and one or two men from the kindred were appointed to take record of every gifts presented. All the clothing materials were handed over to the bereaved family. The money realized was used to offset debts incurred during the funeral ceremony. At the end, the balance is handed over to the son. 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 and *nza inyinya* 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. The men 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 finished 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. This means that it is not obligatory. The type of cow used is local one called Muturu cattle (*bostaurus*). 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 is a means by which the children of the dead simultaneously promote the dead parents in the ancestral world. 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 for the father, therefore when they die nobody will kill a cow 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* (a killer of cow) 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 supposed to kill local Igbo cow except Hausa cow, *N'dama*. Anybody could kill *N'dama* but not Local cow "*Efi Igbo*", Muturu Cattle (*bostaurus*). The killing of *N'dama* cow should be done outside the compound of the deceased in order to avoid the wrath of the god.

O. Killing of Cow by Ogbuehi Group and Sharing: Interview with Ogbuehi Nnayelugo (real name: Agodu Anyinvu) (78 years) (Pers communication), a member of Ogbuehi group; he said that Ogbuehi group and the family of the deceased fixes the day for the killing of the cow. The killing must not be on the funeral day. He said firstly, the son and the family of the dead meets Ogbuehi group and informs them their intention of killing a cow for their late father or mother. To give honour to whom honour is due to. When the date was fixed, Ogbuehi group appoints a member of Ogbuehi that will go with the family to buy the cow from the market. When the cow is bought, the executives are invited to supervise the cow and other items that follow the killing of 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 for 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. The Ogbuehi group have special native day for the killing of cow. For men is in *orie* day and for women is *eke* day. The son presents the cow to the Chairman of Ogbuehi group, then to the person that will slaughter it. The presentation goes with dancing by *Umuada* and people that were around. A person from Ogbuehi group slaughters the cow in the presence of the group and family.

After the cow has been slaughtered, 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 separately. 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.



Plate 1: Igbo Cow Muturu cattle (*bostaurus*) Used 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 Igbo people so much believed in afterlife and the same to the study area. 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. This is in line with Opata (1998) in his book *Essays on Igbo World View* recognises two major types of death in Igbo society namely dying well or good death, *ezigbo onwu* and bad/evil death, *ajo onwu*. He describes good death in Igbo tradition:

[...] as one who first and foremost reached old age before dying, secondly the person must have had children and grandchildren who are well to do. Thirdly, the person must have died the sort of death in which all the needed burial and funeral rites must be performed. Fourthly and perhaps not very important is that the person should have died at an opportune time, a time when there is plenty to eat and plenty to drink, a time where there are no on-going traditional festivals during which mourning is interdicted in the person's community, and a time when clan members and extended family members are all in peace such that there would be no wrangling about unsettled grievances such that

could prevent the participation of all in the burial/funeral ceremonies. Good death definitively involves living well and quitting this world peacefully and with a sense of deep satisfaction not only for what one achieved, but also for the type of life one had lived.

Inyi people have special days they bury their dead. Men are buried on Orié 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, goat (*ewu*) is the traditional animal used for the funeral rite of the dead. In the area of study whether you are rich or poor you must perform the funeral ritual of killing a goat. If you kill thousands of cows during funeral without a goat, it is assumed that you have not done any funeral. For Inyi people the goat ritual is more vital than the cow even though the cow is more expensive and has more prestige than the goat. This is in agreement with Ossai (2016), in his study *Cow (Eshu) Ritual in the Funeral Rite... of Nsukka cultural area*, it was believed that the dead whom the goat has not been slain for cannot be admitted into the ancestral community of the spirit world. The people believe that it is the goat that first admits the dead into the ancestral community where the spirit of the deceased joins the spirit of other dead family members in the spirit world (Ossai, 2016). Those whom goat have not been slain for are kept standing in the ancestral community of the spirit world. Goat ritual is practiced by both Christians and traditional believers in the study area.

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 and funeral rites becomes imperative. In the study area, reincarnation is evident on the name people answer. For instance a child is giving the name of his/her grand mother, grand father or that of his/her parent that died immediately after his/her birth. 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 or nmonwu*”, which means spirit.

Religiously, there is a belief in the interdependence of the living and ancestor. 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 as mentioned before. 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. Unless a proper burial rites and funeral 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. 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 invisible world in an essentially religious world view. It should be marked that death in traditional believe does not imply finality.

In the study area, 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 machet 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 lived 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 was 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 during condolences (n’oge *mgbaru or ino onodu*) 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 if the deceased is a man. Night masquerade in the study area is called “*ogbagu*”. Umuagu Inyi is known for the display of night masquerade. The masquerade cult “*ikenna*” also have 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 and funeral families go about in settling the debt they incurred.

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. This is influence of modernity to the culture of Inyi. Although, most adherents of ATR do not keep their dead in the mortuary. 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. Moreover, wake-keep, an event that precedes burial proper has no economic value to the bereaved family. No amount of gifts that can equate what was spent in burial and funeral ceremony. 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. Generally, burial and funeral ceremony has no financially benefit.

Conclusion

Traditional burial in Inyi is still been observed culturally, apart from little effect from modernity. Many people have turn into Christian religion. He gave an instance, how *ikwa-ozu* funeral ceremonial rites of passage are regarded as 'second burial'. This Onyibor (2019) he sees as mistranslation and misinterpretation of In Igbo traditional culture. There is a clear distinction between the burial of the dead called *ini-ozu* and *ikwa-ozu* which is funeral ceremonial rites of passage. There is no expression in Igbo language that depicts any part of funeral ceremony as second burial which is *ini-ozu nke abua ma o bu ini-ozu ugbolo n'abuo/ikwa-ozu nkwa n'abuo*. For Christians

In the study area, burial and funeral rites are the 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 and funeral rites 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

Adebowale, B. A. (2011) *Funeral Rites: A Reflection of the Afterlife in Ancient Greece and Yoruba Traditional Belief*. Department of Classics, University of Ibadan, Ibadan. Available at <http://www.academia.edu>, Accessed on 12/12/19

Adogbo, M.P. (2014). Symbol and symbolism in African indigenous religion: The Urhobo of Nigeria as a Case Study. In *Perspectives in Religious Studies* Adelowo (Ed). Ibadan: HEBN.

Agbegbedia, A.O. (2015). An evaluation of the Urhobo cultural conception of death. *Ogrisi: A New Journal of African Studies* 11, 44-64.

Chachkes and Jennings, (1994). Younoszai, 1993. *Grave Matters: A Lively History of Death around the World*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997.

Egenti, C.M and Mmadike, B.I. (2016) Speech Act Analysis of Igbo Utterances in Funeral Rites. *African Journals Online (AJOL) Ogirisi: A New Journal of African Studies*. Vol.12s <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/og.v12i1.3>

Eke, M. (2013) *Denial of Catholic Funeral Rites and Irregular Marriages in Igboland (A canonical-pastoral analysis of cc. 1176 and 1184 CIC)*

Eslit, E. R. (2013) *Burial Speaks: Understanding the language of Casket*. St Micheal's College, Department of English, College of Arts and Sciences. <https://www.researchgate.net>

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

Ilogu, E., (1974). *Christianity and Igbo Culture*. London: Nok Publishers.

Izunwa M. O. (2016) Customary Right to Befitting Burial: A Jurisprudential Appraisal of Four Nigerian Cultures. *African Journal Online (AJOL) in OGIRSI: A New Journal of African Studies*. Vol 12 Available on line at <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/og.v12i1.6>, Accessed on 7/4/19

Madu, J.E. (2012). Rites of Passage in Traditional and Modern Igbo Society. In A. O. Obiajulu (Ed). *Reading in Humanities*. Enugu: John Jacob's Classic.

May, K. T. (2013) Death is not the End: Fascinating Funeral Traditions From Around The Globe. Available at Ideas.Ted.com <https://ideas.ted>, Accessed on 25/3/2020

Noduoushan, S. M. S. (2013). The Social Semiotics of Funerary Religious Beliefs and Social-Cultural Practices Rites in Iran. *International Journal of Language Studies*, 7(1), 79-102.

Nwoye Chinwe M. A. (2011) Igbo cultural and religious worldview: An insider's perspective *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology, Academic Journals* Vol. 3(9), pp. 304-317, Available online at <http://www.academicjournals.org/IJSA> ISSN 2006- 988x ©2011

Ojiakor I. C., Etodike C. E., Onyebuchi A.C., and Obayi, P. M. (2018) Burial Rites in Igboland: Psycho-Communication Channels of Gender Discrimination. *European Journal of Social Sciences Studies*. Vol 2, Issue 12

OKafor M. C. (1998) Theatre of Life: Rituals, Transition and Progression among the Igbo: A Thesis Submitted to the University of Plymouth in Partial fulfillment for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Exeter School of Arts and Design, Faculty of Arts and Education. Published by University of Plymouth.

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 Biennial 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,

Okwueze, M.I. (2012). Christianity and Igbo Traditional Burial/Funeral Rites: Dialogue or Conflict. In A.B.C. Chiegboka, A.I. Okodo, E.C. Umezina, I.I.Umeanolue (Eds.). *A Bountiful Harvest*. (pp.143-155). Nimo: Rex Charles and Patrick.

Onyibor M. I. S. (2019)A Critique of The Changing Trends in Igbo Traditional Conceptualisation of Death and Funeral Rites. *Nnamdi Azikiwe Journal of Philosophy*. Vol 11 No 2

Onyima B. N. (2016) Nigerian Cultural Heritage: Preservation, Challenges and Prospects. In *OGIRSI: A New Journal of African Studies*. Vol 12, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/og.v12i.1.15>,

Opata D.U. (1998) *Essays on Igbo World View*. Nsukka: AP. Express Pub.

Ossai, Anayo Benjamin (2016) COW(ESHU) Ritual in the Funeral Rite: The Significance in The Nsukka Cultural Area of Igboland. *Journal of Religion and Human Relations*. Vol 8 No 2 African Journal On Line. <https://www.ajol.info>

Parker, R. (1983). *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Romanoff, B. D. (1998). Rituals and the grieving process. *Death Studies*, 22(8), 697–711.
Sahoo, K. (2014). Rituals of death in Odisha: Hindus Religious Beliefs and Social-Cultural Practices. *International Journal of Language Studies*. 8 (4). 29-48.

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.

Younoszai, K. Dennis. (1993). "Ancestor Worship in Japan: Dependence and the Resolution of Grief." *Omega: The Journal of Death and Dying* 33, no. 4 (1996):279– 302.

The challenges of traditional festivals as social control in Igboland, South East Nigeria

BY

Matthew Ikechukwu Eze¹ and Ezichi Ituma²

¹Institute of African Studies
University of Nigeria Nsukka

²Department OF Religion and Cultural Studies
University of Nigeria Nsukka

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the challenges of traditional festivals as social control in Igboland, South East Nigeria. Traditional festival is one of the various mechanisms by which the behaviours of the Africans are regulated. Before the advent of the western culture, peace and order existed in Igboland, especially in Nsukka Senatorial Zone. This peace was based on social control mechanisms inherent in the festivals as practiced in Nsukka of Igboland. With this, the people of Nsukka were able to control their society, preserve their culture and managed conflicts. However, with the coming of the western culture, this is lot of changes in the society. As soon as people embraced the new faith and education, they withdrew from communal cultural activities like taking path in kindred meetings and festivals. Also, with the youth empowerment through western education, the ground was set for endless collapse of traditional Igbo culture. There is an increase in trafficking, prostitution, sexual assaults, kidnapping and ritual murder. This study adopted a secondary data review and analysis. It analysed research reports that borders on festivals in Igboland, especially in Nsukka Senatorial Zone as a means of social control and its challenges.

Keywords: Challenges, Traditional, Festivals, Social Control, Nsukka Senatorial Zone

INTRODUCTION

Festival is an occasion for celebrating, especially a day or time of religious or cultural significance that re-occurs at regular intervals. It simply means “a feast or fiesta, a celebration or merry-making to commemorate special events in the society (Uzoagba, 2002). Festivals are integral part of the cycle of life of a traditional African man. It is one of the various mechanisms by which the behaviour of Africans are regulated. These are some of the ways of meeting some of the requirements basic to the maintenance of organised social life. According to Uzoagba (2002),

Traditional Africans believe that there is life in everything the Supreme Being created on earth. Hence, there is a spirit in the tree, the river, the mountains or hills, the stone and all. These guiding spirits have a bearing on the lives of those living with them. Therefore, festivals are celebrated to

appease the gods, the spirits and the ancestors so that good things can come to the society and bad things can be exorcised (p. 120).

There were many festivals in pre-colonial Igbo society such as the new yam festival, 'mmanwu' (masquerade) festival, wrestling festival, hunting festival, among others. Any society that must survive must devise ways of meeting some requirements basic to the maintenance of organized social life. This was precisely why Berger and Berger in Igbo (2000) defines social control as "any mechanism by which individuals are compelled to abide by the rules of society or particular segment of it" (p. 180). Mbiti (1969) in corroboration states:

In all societies of the world, as in African society, social order and peace are recognized by African peoples as essential and sacred, where the sense of corporate life is so deep, it is inevitable that the solidarity of the community must be maintained, otherwise there is disintegration and destruction... (p. 206).

Within the nuclear and extended families of most Igbo societies, elders engage the younger ones in story-telling, folklores in which are embedded social norms. In Adeoye's opinion, the traditional festival creates an avenue for elders to pass on folk and tribal love to future generations. It is observed that traditional festivals from different ethnic groups support the presentation of unique customs, like folk-tales, costumes, occupations and religious life of the people (Adeoye, 1979). The elders with years of accumulated wisdom, communicate religious moral teachings through myths, legends, songs, proverbs-among others, which help to strengthen the youths and all other members of such family or community. At a larger level, the elders of a village community or town may establish a point of which their indigenous customs or myth may be transmitted from generation to generation and fix a period for such to be their festival. Festivals, obviously are powerful instruments for integration and peaceful co-existence. Nsofor and Maduakor (1979) gave an overview of festivals in Igboland in the following words:

Festivals in Igbo society are periods set apart by communities or groups of individuals for commemorating important events which may be connected with homage to God, gods, ancestors and spirit or they may be connected with the transition from once season to the other... in almost all case, festivals are part of these commemorative events and rituals overtones can be detected in majority of these festivals (p. 43).

In Igbo society, there is a rich cultural heritage manifested in festivals. These cultural activities contain the germs of which poetry and prose, excellent music and lively drama which have not been raised far above their traditional level. Igbo festivals are full of entertainment, however, it is clear that festivals in igboland entail more than eating and drinking. It also involves moments of sober reflections on man's spiritual life. That Igbo

festivals create time for relaxation and entertainment does not mean it encourages laziness or idleness, rather, it enhances community life as Mbiti (1970) insists that:

through festivals, the life of the community is renewed. People are entertained and their tensions find outlets. It also brings together the people as a group, thus strengthening their unity and cohesion. Religious and secular values are repeated and renewed through communal festivals. Where the festival involves beliefs concerning the unseen world, the link between human beings and the spirit is renewed (p. 43).

Culture is passed from generation to generation. The acquisition of culture is as a result of the socialization process. A child grows into the culture of his people. He embibes, observes and mimics the actions of his elderly ones. He watches the annual festivals, for instance, the annual dance of the age groups or his relations in activity. This shows that every human being who grows within a given society can become infused with the culture of that society, whether knowingly or unknowingly during the process of interaction.

With regards to culture, some forms of behaviours were approved while some others were not approved. For instance, living an honest and truthful life is approved in the society, while stealing, killing of oneself or another is disapproved, among others. To show the extent of disapproval that followed the violation of values that should otherwise be held sacred, the penalty was sometimes very shameful and sometimes extreme. Festivals help in inculcating these values into the children. It is a way of preventing conflicts, help in peace building, conflict monitoring, peace education and confidence building. Festivals act as social control in Igbo societies. Within this period, people settle quarrels and other differences for the sake of ceremonial co-operation.

Moreover, the prayers and sacrifices rendered to God and the gods help to renew the life of the community. It creates an opportunity for peace and renewal of friendship, get-together and merry-making (Echeruo, 2009). However, with the coming of the colonial masters, things changed. As soon as the people embraced the new faith and education, they withdrew from communal cultural activities like taking path in kindred meetings and festivals. Also, with the youth empowerment through western education, the ground was set for endless collapse of traditional Igbo cultures.

Nigerian society of which the Igbo are integral part, has been undergoing serious crises since its independence. The quality of the society in terms of social justice, moral values, social control and discipline has been eroding and in a disturbing state. The society has been beset by enormous problems such as corruption, nepotism, inordinate and unprincipled lust for wealth, indiscipline, incest, adultery, ritual killing, exploitation of the working population by the few rich ones, widening gap between the rich and the poor, inflation, unemployment and drug abuses. People are given chieftaincy title without merit. The thieves among them struggle to contest for the 'Igwe' of the community. Most often they succeed because the king-makers have taken their 'fair share' and closed their eyes over what the culture demands. These practices are not different in Nsukka senatorial zone.

There were positive values in traditional festivals which are lacking today, for instance, the collective ownership and enjoyment of social wealth, social control and discipline, honesty and dedication to the common cause. These emerging situations have been a concern to Nsukka people and to the entire Igbo society. Some of the youths do not know about festivals in their communities nor can they tell of the significances or level of social control it holds in the society.

Some of the elderly ones have followed the western life of affluence, selfishness, individualism, ritual killings, and other vices that run counter to the values and ethics of traditional Igbo festival that enhances social control. Even the incarnate beings used as law enforcement agents of the community and a means of entertainment are now used as political thugs using dangerous weapons to harm members of the society.

Things are falling apart. The present day social control mechanism allowed for weak traditional social control methods, thereby encouraging negligence and relegation of the traditional values and norms guiding the society. It is observed that the breakdown in family structures as a result of modernization has led to poor socialization, weak social ties and cohesion in the family. This has resulted into a poor orientation and inculcation of the cultural values of the society in children and youths by relevant authorities. The cure of a disease begins with its diagnosis.

In the words of Eneh (1992:73) “modern Africa is witnessing the breeze of change from the scientific and technological word”. The twenty –first century with its computerization, internet and emergence of borderless countries has its side effects on the people. Many families no longer come together for meetings and other festivities as experienced in pre-colonial days. Modernization and globalization have giving rise to all sorts of misbehaviour such as drug kidnapping, trafficking, sexual assault, prostitutions, and ritual murder. As days go by, these cases are on the increase.

TYPES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Every society from time to time had some means of maintaining order and control in their respective areas. Both the individuals and groups comply with social norms through a network of social institutions like family, kin groups, caste, village, education, state, religion and economic institutions. Sociologists tend to classify the mechanisms of social control into two: formal and informal social control mechanisms.

Informal means of social control: Classified under the informal means of social control include established and accepted institutions relating to socialization, education, family, religion, among others.

- i. **Family:** The family plays a very important role in social control. The family has control over the child. A person may violate the other codes and go free, but not the family norms.
- ii. **The peer groups:** The peer groups use this method of social control to control its members.
- iii. **Neighbourhood:** There are laws not written down but demand co-operation and co-existence among neighbours. The fear of being rejected, ridiculed, gossiping and social isolation by the neighbours

forces the individuals to conform their behaviour to the normative pattern.

- iv. **Caste/Class:** Each caste and class has its own code of conduct, which exercises control over the members
- v. **Religion:** Religious ideology helps to differentiate between good and bad, sacred and profane, among others. Religion exercises a powerful influence on its followers. Those who have the same beliefs and practices are united into one single moral community through religion. The divinities and the spirits are also agents of social control. The cosmos as inhabited by humans and invisible beings who from their respective abodes checkmate human conducts and can unleash havoc, pains and anguish on man for his sins and transgression.

Religion acts as agent of social control in the following ways:

- a) Every religion talks about sin and virtue. From infant, individuals are exposed to this knowledge and to the notion of good and bad. These become inculcated into the individual's personality and guide his decision-making during his life
- b) Religion can determine marriage, mutual relations among family members, property relations, rules of succession and inheritance, among others
- c) Leaders of various religions regulate the behaviour of individuals by exhorting them to follow a prescribed code of conduct.
- d) By the process of organizing community activities, prayer meetings and by celebrating religious events and festivals, religious institutions also contribute to bringing believers together and strengthening the common belief systems, thereby regulating individual behaviour.
- e) **Folkways:** These are norms to which individuals conform. Conformity to folk ways is not enforced by law or the society. It is the informal acceptance of established practices in each group or society. Folkways are manifested in matters of dress, food, habits, observance of rituals, forms of worship and method of greeting.
- f) **Mores:** These are moral conducts as distinct from the customary practice of folkways. They influence the value system of a given society and are in the form of social regulations, which aim to maintain social order. They seek to regulate the relationship between individuals in defined situations such as between husband and wife, parents and children and siblings. They may also refer to general social relationships in terms of honesty, truthfulness, hard work and discipline. Since mores are designed with a view to preserving them, violation of these often attracts penalties. They are perhaps the strongest mechanisms of informal social control.
- g) **Customs:** These are the long established practices of people, which occur spontaneously but gradually. Along with regulating social life, they also

bind them together. In the traditional society, customs are wonderful ways of social control. However, in recent times, they are no longer very strong due to the rise in the forces of individualism and diversity.

FORMAL MEANS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

These are modern means of social control, which come from institutions like the state, law, education and those that have legitimate power. They apply coercion in case of deviance. For instance, a person convicted of having stolen someone's property may be sentenced to imprisonment. In other words, these institutions exercise the legal power to control the behaviour of the individual and the group.

- i. The law:** The law is regarded as the most formal agency that exercises social control. It determines possible offenders against the social order. They have their origin in customs, traditions, religion and judicial decisions. Laws also have moral dimensions. This moral dimension and the fact that laws are supported by legal and institutional arrangements, enables them to bring about a degree of conformity in human behaviour.
- ii. Education:** This has been an important agent of social control, which prepares the child for social living. It also teaches the child values of discipline, tolerance, co-operation, and integration. Educational institutions at every stage, impart knowledge, as well as ethics through formal structured courses and behavioural inputs. Schools establish specific rules and regulations that instill discipline and code of conduct.
- iii. State:** State has a vital role in administering social control. State functions through the government. The state can achieve social control by the co-operation of individuals and through collective efforts of the media, the non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and other social institutions.
- iv. The Media:** Magazines, newspapers, radios and televisions do not operate like other agents of social control by use of sanctions. However, they still play a very vital role in influencing behaviour. The media penetrate hidden regions of life. They also pass judgements upon purely private acts. Human behaviour is always influenced by the fact that public opinion will be ruthlessly expressed. Anyone who does not conforming to public opinion is likely to meet with social rejection.

THE NATURE OF FESTIVALS

According to Uzoagba (2002) "Festivals have economic, religious and social reasons behind them. Therefore, we can categorize festivals based on the following nature:

- **Economic related festivals:** From the pre-colonial days, the Igbo people major occupation is farming. They engaged vastly in agriculture. Their own agriculture has been unmechanized, which makes them spend much energy on manual labour. This is the reason why they don't usually have the time to enjoy themselves during rainy season. However, when the

farming season comes to an end, Igbo people have enough time to spend. They also have plenty to eat as they would be harvesting their crops. It is from that time (August to October) they begin to celebrate festivals.

- **Religious and ritual festivals:** This is a celebration in honour of the gods or the ancestors for various reasons which could be security from disaster, from defeat in communal and inter-tribal battles. It could be just for request or prayer for protection of the community. A date is fixed for the celebration on yearly basis. In strictly religious and ritual festivals, members of the community gather together to reaffirm their loyalty and honour to their gods, ancestors, river goddess-among others. Most of these religious festivals are highly ritualistic in nature and serious masquerades prominently feature in some of the festivals especially in traditional religious festivals.
- **Socio-political festivals:** These are festivals associated with leadership, community politics and such things as coronations or title taking ceremonies. A typical example is the festival to celebrate the enthronement of an 'Obi' or Igwe (King) in Igboland. In Igbo community all the rites of passage from conception, birth, childhood through adolescence and adulthood to old age initiation into societies such as age grade, odo masquerades, etc and death are celebrated. Let us take a look at some of these festivals and the roles they play in Igboland.

Types of Festivals

Festivals are also known by their types:

Masquerade (Mmanwu) Festival

The masquerade (mmanwu) festival as it is called in Igboland, is among the major aspect of Igbo traditional festival. The incarnate beings are ordinarily the representation of the ancestors in the human world. It operates in the spirit of the ancestor and so could serve as a source of entertainment, social controller and religious reflector. In the earliest Igbo history, the ancestors were consulted through means like divination, but later their physical presence became necessary when rituals were evolved. The need for physical representation of the ancestors created the necessity to devise means of representing the physical presence of ancestral spirit. It was this situation that led to the evolution of the spirit being as a dramatic character. Orji (2009) viewed masquerade as an aspect of Igbo drama in the sense that it displays various theatrical performances for the audience at the village square. Masquerade festivals are pertinent among African tribes especially the South Eastern part of Nigeria. They are usually used to display cultural values and aesthetics.

The masquerades or the incarnate beings help to maintain peace and order in the society. They help in the area of settlement of disputes. Achebe (1958) describes this role in his book 'Things Fall Apart' in this fashion:

The evil forest rose to his feet and order was immediately restored. A steady cloud of smoke rose from his head. He sat

down again and called two witnesses. They were both Uzowulu's neighbours and they agreed about the beating (p. 74).

The spirit beings compel the individuals in the society to comply to traditional standards and way of life, as well as guarding community properly (Onah, 1999). One of the spirit beings in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* while settling dispute, advised the offender to go to his in-laws with a pot of wine and beg his wife to return because beating one's wife is not an act of bravery (Achebe, 1958). Masquerades use the name of criminals in their songs to expose their evil acts and this serves as a corrective measure to criminal acts.

Wrestling Festival

Apart from the need for physical exercises, wrestling has some dramatic contributions to Igbo society. Wrestling at the community level has a season. It is done during the time of resting from farm work, normally from July to November and sometimes December. Two villages normally compete by fielding in contestants. People come to watch wrestling contests at the village squares. Wrestlers normally wear shorts and bangles of animal skin on their heads.

On the appointed date, times and venue, spectators fill up the arena. There will be traditional wrestling music which keeps everybody company throughout the wrestling. The wrestlers are led into the arena by their supporters. One of the wrestlers challenge the other by presenting the open palm of his right hand. If the opponent shakes his hand, it means he had accepted the challenge. Then they would wrestle until one flaws the other. The first person to do that becomes the winner. The victorious group jubilates. The group lifts the winner shoulder high as its members move from place to place singing their victory songs. People are entertained and the atmosphere of the community becomes more lively. Achebe (1958) describes a wrestling match in his book 'Things Fall Apart' in this fashion:

The drums beat and the flutes sang and the spectators held their breath. Amalinze was a wily craftsman, but Okonkwo has as slippery as a fish in water. Every nerve and every muscle stood on their arms, on their backs and their thighs, and one almost heard them stretching to a breaking point in the end, Okonkwo threw the cat (p.3).

Achebe took interest in describing how the wrestling festival draws the attention of the spectators and how the people are well entertained and the richness of the Igbo culture well displayed. There are rules and regulations guiding each festival. Both the wrestlers and the spectators have to comport themselves in accordance with the rules of the game. The prayers rendered before the commencement of the festival help to keep both the wrestlers and the spectators closer to God. Besides, any act of disobedience attracts sanctions or disqualification on the part of the contestant. The people are always reminded to comport themselves to avoid sanctions.

New Yam Festival

New Yam Festival is a thanksgiving festival. The feast of the new yam holds every year before the harvest began, to honour the earth goddess and the ancestral spirit

of the clan. New yams could not be eaten until it had been offered to the spiritual beings. Men and women, young and old, looked forward to New Yam Festival because it began the season of plenty.

Among the Igbo society of Nigeria, yam is regarded as the king of crops and one of the indices for assessing a man's wealth is the number of yam tubers he has in his barn. The importance of yam in the economic and social life of the Igbo guaranteed the religious prominence of 'Ifejioku' in many Igbo communities. It accounts for the dominance of yam as a ritual object in many Igbo religious ceremonies. Consequently, the god of yam is accorded primacy of place among the people. The festival marks the beginning of the first harvest and the eating of the new and fresh yams in most Igbo homesteads. It is an appeasement ritual with thankful prayers in a rite marked by slaughtering of live animals. Leonard (1968) emphasized that:

It is a general festival and holiday for all the people, in which sacrifices, usually animal and thanksgiving are offered direct to Ife jioku, god of the crops, as a token of public gratitude on the part of the community for a fruitful and prosperous years.

The climax of the thanksgiving ceremony is the cooking and commensal consumption of boiled yams with chicken pepper soup. Women cook the food while the men bring palm wine. The youth clear the village part-ways. There are much drinking and eating in groups. Privately every adult male in the community performs his own ritual to the extent that he can afford in his own home.

Family groups are involved in prayers, singing, eating and drinking. The 'Umuada' attends to grace the occasion with their husbands and children. Many of them bring food and wine to their immediate relatives. Guests come from neighbouring villages as the ceremony is not performed on the same day throughout Igboland. The day will be greeted with gunshots and jubilant celebrations. Communal and musical entertainment groups and troops of incarnate beings display their dances and acrobatic skills. It is really a thanksgiving celebration in which the whole community participates. It happens because the traditional Igbo culture is community oriented. The prayers rendered before the ceremony and the purification exercise help to keep man and the society close to God and forefathers. Members of the society keep the rules to avoid what is called 'Iru Nso Ani'. Coming to eat and drink together brings peace and forgiveness.

The use of festival as a social control

In Igbo society, Nsukka Senatorial Zone inclusive, traditional festivals are important platforms for mobilizing the people. It provides for the elders to pass on folk and tribal love to younger generations. Traditional festivals of many ethnic groups anchor the preservation of unique customs, folktales, costumes occupations and religious life of the people (Adeoye, 1979). For Turaki, it serves as social control mechanism in the society by establishing patterns of loyalty and prescribing parameters of acceptable conduct integrating people into the religious system. There are rules and regulations guiding each festival. The masquerades are for the initiated. The initiated has to keep to the rules of the initiation. Failure to observe the rules attracts sanctions. It can also attract

the wrath of the ancestors. The same applies to wrestling and new yam festivals. People are careful not to offend the gods and fellow human beings to avoid sanctions and to be in communion with God.

Social control generally refers to societal and political mechanisms or process that regulate individual and group behaviour, leading to conformity and compliance to the rules of a given society, state or social groups. Any society that must survive, must devise ways of meeting some requirements basic to the maintenance of organized social life. This means that if Igbo society must survive, it has to ensure the preservation and promotion of its cultural heritage. Festivals ensure the preservation and promotion of culture. Mbiti (1969) remarked:

In all societies of the world, as in African society social order and peace are recognized by African peoples as essential and sacred. Where the sense of corporate life is so deep, it is inevitable that the solidarity of the community must be maintained, otherwise, there is disintegration and destruction (206).

Festivals ensure that the solidarity of the community is maintained. In order to ensure that individuals or groups follow the right path, societies evolve or adopt socialization process. For Awolalu and Dopamu (1969): “Society is made up of individual persons and without individual persons, there will be no society in existence. Man wants company and companionship (p. 207)”. An individual who refuses to join the community may get sanctioned. He can be ostracised. Because people are always afraid of this, they comply to the demands of the community. Festivals achieve this aim by bringing the individuals together to celebrate their cultural heritage. Okwueze (2003) persuasively attests that:

In all societies, the family, extended or nuclear is a very important institution with regard to the maintenance of behaviour in the society... whenever a child's conduct is falling below expectation any member of the family or house hold is free to call him to order by either verbal warning or corporal punishment (p. 70).

Taking a look at the types of festivals already mentioned in the study. The masquerades or the incarnate beings are used for security of life and property, and also for entertainments. Wrestling also provides entertainment and also provides a kind of recreation. The new yam festival, on the other hand, being a thanksgiving festival unites man more with the gods and his fellow human beings. As different families come together to purify themselves in order to celebrate worthily, they reconcile, unite and forget their differences. These festivals are transmitted from one generation to the other. This controls the society. It increases man's respect for God/gods and his respect for his fellow human beings.

Family elders who engage children in story-telling, proverbial and songs use them to give solutions to problems by recalling stories to children that have a lot to teach about patience, kindness, respect for elders and constituted authority, honesty-among

others. The period of festivals provides ample opportunities for this kind of socialization. As people come together to celebrate, they keep to the rules and regulations of the community which are fashioned from people's culture. When people are made to keep the rules and regulations during each festival, sanctity and sanity are restored. Here we see festivals playing the role of social control in the society. When people do not comply, they are sanctioned. This acts as a deterrent for others. Furthermore, Ifesieh (1989:234) maintained that "the cult of the dead ancestors) is a practical means of filial piety, respect, trust and love, a practical way of cultivating discipline as well as upholding religious tradition (p. 234)".

In Igbo society, religious leaders, elders, priests through its various stands, instil discipline into the people. Every festival has its rules and regulations. As people purify themselves, especially in new yam festivals, we see that festivals also play outstanding roles in generating moral principles and enforcing them. Festival periods are most suitable period for doing this. In festivals, music and dances are involved. People see musicians and dancers as models. Igbo (2003) describing learning from model, says:

a model is some who is greatly admired, loved and feared (as the case maybe) and whose behaviour, attitudes, values and lifestyle one would like to copy...The same way village music or song composers would praise men and women of honour in the society, so also, they make corrective moral songs and music for the never-do-wells, the indolent, pimps, rascals and way-ward girls who lead immodest life in which they are advised to change for the better (p. 143).

Odo (1990:38) pointed out that "an interesting aspect of this is the fact that girls as much as possible are encouraged to remain virgins until they get married. This accounts for the relatively fewer cases of abortion and unwanted pregnancies in our traditional set-up.

On the religious perspective, traditional festivities embedded in traditional religion is a means through which the entire communities congregate to worship and commune with both gods and man. During the worship, the people communally thank the gods for past year and present the new planting season for it to bless. It is also through festivities that the political sphere is nurtured. Most political titles in Nsukka and Igboland in general are taken during these festivals. Traditional festivals are supposedly celebrated to preserve and maintain tradition through songs, drumming, dancing and art (Dubnick, 2003). It is through the festivals that cultural bonds are strengthened. During festivities, our youth and younger generation learn a lot about the customs of the people. The rich cultural heritage of the people are usually manifested during festivals. Through such display people are exposed to the culture and history of the community. The youth are taught respect for elders, traditions and the land. Also friendships are renewed during the period with the mass return of people for the festival. As the ceremonies bring the people together from far and wide, it becomes an opportunity to settle various differences and restore peace among the conflicting groups or persons. Mbiti (1970) rightly concludes:

Through festivals the life of the community is renewed. People are entertained and their tension finds outlet. It also brings together the people as a group, thus strengthening their unity and cohesion. Religious and secular values are repeated and renewed through communal festivals. Artistic talents are utilized, drama and oral communication. Where the festival involves beliefs concerning the unseen world, the link between human beings and the spirit are renewed.

In brief, traditional festivals are cultural entertainment through which a community showcases its diverse cultural endowment to visitors. The community is enriched with colourful festivities celebrated to honour the gods, consolidate social ties and maintain culture. Worth of note is the fact that festivals now mark the time and season of mass return of the sons, daughters and visitors to Nsukka community in particular and Igbo society in general, to celebrate and preserve the tradition of the land.

The challenges of traditional festivals in social control in Nsukka Senatorial Zone

It is good at this juncture to point out that there are serious challenges. There are foreign cultural interferences. It has been noted that African cultural symbolism has been severely distorted during the advent of western culture. Before the advent of colonialism, Igbo had a system of justice and adjudication -which attracts instant sanctions and punishment. The coming of the Europeans changed the people's cognitive mapping of what constitutes social order and control through the introduction of new methods leading to the abandonment of the traditional social control patterns, system and mechanisms that are instant, efficient and effective.

The present day social control mechanisms has allowed for weak traditional control system thereby encouraging negligence and relegation of the traditional values and norms that guided the society. There is a failure of the family system. Parents in their quest for wealth and materialism, abandoned their primary responsibility in inculcating right moral values into their children through proper parental training. This affects the society in the long run negatively by leading to chaos and conflict. The break-down in family structures as a result of modernization has brought about poor socialization, weak social ties and cohesion in the family; leading to poor orientation and inculcation of norms and values of the society in children and youths by relevant stakeholders. In the words of Eneh (1992:73), "Modern Africa is witnessing the breeze of change from the scientific and technological world." The twenty-first century with its computerization, internet and emergence of borderless countries, has its effects on the people. Many families no longer come together for meetings and other festivities as experienced in pre-colonial days. Modernization and globalization encouraged culture borrowing which have resulted in all sorts of deviance like trafficking, prostitutions, sexual assault, kidnapping and ritual murder. The value system has gradually been eroded as issues like respect for elders, chastity, integrity and morality are considered archaic while wrong values like disrespect and nudity are entrenched. As days go by these vices are on the increase. According to Nwolise (2004) "we are at loss of reason behind the dwindling security, sky rocketing deviance and criminal activities in the society.

Inspite of the complex nature of modern social control mechanisms, crime rate increases at an alarming rate. Besides, it is very expensive to maintain, unlike the traditional social control methods. It is also worrisome to observe that even the spirit beings used as law enforcement agents of the community and a means of entertainment have turned themselves into political thugs carrying dangerous weapons to victimize members of the society. As people migrate to cities on whatever compelling impulses, there is always disruption of family relations with young people no longer helping their parents in the farm. Wives separate from their husbands and vice versa. When parents leave their wards behind in the care of grandparents, it creates false independence in the younger ones who in such loose freedom perfect easy ways of escaping from the authority of the elders. Ilogu (1977:95) shares the same view that urban migration disrupts traditional family life, thus:

the moral problem of town life in Igboland originated mainly from the fact that the change from village to town life means a sudden transition. It is a transition from family's neat pattern of community oriented life where individualism which require inner controlled and conscience oriented actions as well as freedom of choice make up the style of life.

In modern and traditional settings, scientists continue to bombard mankind with their arsenals of innovations, inventions, discoveries and break-through, though not without their adverse impacts on the society. The television sets, video sets, home movies have corruptive bad influences on the youths. There are many uncensored home movies teenagers watch and leave the scene to perfect in real life, such as rape, drug abuse, robbery, prostitution and other deviances to traditional laws and customs.

As youth reside in their new city abodes, they cannot take part in folk lore, a confirmed modus of inculcating good character and moral in the younger ones. This is confirmed by Ekpunobi (1990:50) in the following affirmation:

Folktales and folk songs serve as relaxation, as entertainment as a medium through which idoms and proverbs are learnt, and as a channel through which noble ideals and vices are acknowledged or condemned encouraged. In short they play very important educative role in the transmission of cultural values, customs, moral codes and social and religious institutions.

The problem is: how many of the fathers are still interested in imparting this kind of knowledge to the children. Some no longer have the time or the interest to continue with this aspect of socialization. Some have lost sight of these cultural values, thereby making the next generation to lose grip of their culture.

On the effect of modernization, Okwueze (2008) laments that:

many have maintained that the western education, urbanization, rural urban migration, formal legal judicial institutions and industrialization as concomitants of modernization have weakened the effects of traditional

methods of maintaining morality. Modernization is tradition-smashing (p. 87).

What can be inferred from the above is that science as modern culture is set at destroying almost all the traditionally institutionalized devices and exercises to control immorality and social deviances in the society. The consequences that follow the exodus of Igbo youth for white collar jobs in urban cities are the relax or halt of age-grade functions geared towards exercising social control. When they resist the attraction drawn by traditional festivals, they resist the promotion of Igbo culture. Nsukka senatorial zone is not an exception.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Recommendations

1. The community leaders should ensure that the festivals are celebrated in a peaceful conducive atmosphere. There should be improved security arrangements during the festivals to secure lives and properties and protect foreigners who will be in attendance during the festivals.
2. The government can help by reviving and reviewing the festival of arts and culture (FESTAC) which is one of the sure means of advertising and promoting the key concepts of traditional festivals. It should begin at the local government level. Winners should be sent to state festivals and finally to the federal festivals of arts and culture competitions. By doing this, the basic essentials and appreciation of Nigerian cultural heritage will be inculcated into younger generations. Media coverage of these cultural festivals would also broadcast the nation's heritages to the wider audience or to the world.
3. The government can also help in building industries in rural areas to check the mass movement of the youths into urban areas.
4. The cultural related institutions like the various ministries of arts and culture and tourism should identify, package and market Nigerian traditional festivals across the country.
5. Parents should develop interest in educating their children on the culture of the society as well as encouraging them to participate actively in promoting traditional festivals in their community.

Conclusion

The traditional festivals are the living legacies which the ancestors left for their children to regenerate themselves in religious culture-bound humanistic symbolism. In other words, festivals in Igbo society are traditional ceremonies that promote cultural values and help to transmit it to future generations. This is one of the greatest medium through which all come together to achieve one purpose-unity.

Traditional festivals are cultural entertainment through which the community showcases its diverse cultural endowments. Igbo community is enriched with colourful festivities celebrated to honour the gods, consolidate societies and maintain culture. Since

values are integral part of culture and culture defines people's identity, then the values that a people hold are what differentiate them from another people. It appears that culture always try to maintain those values that are necessary for the survival of their people. For the Igbo, for instance, we see that the close kinship relations are held at a high premium. The synergetic nature of the society that allows people to build houses and work on farms together is directly opposite to the western individualistic model. Kinship ties and love are what characterized the traditional African culture. For instance, the recent trend in suicide bombing can be curbed by using the traditional rulers, kinsmen, and even families of recalcitrant individuals who know their people and share similar worldviews. These social deviants come from families, clans, tribes and villages; they did not fall from the sky. Deviants and potential deviants can be monitored and checked through their established links of social bonds. They can caution and sensitize disgruntled youths from participating in crime because they have developed cultural acceptable ways of deterrence, prevention, conflict resolution and even punishment.

It is only love that would make a community, for instance, tax themselves through the sale of the product of cash crops like palm oil and use the proceeds to educationally support a child who is brilliant but has nobody to sponsor him. Let us revive our culture. Reviving the culture and tradition of the Igbo society will eventually lead to the revival of the festivals which includes discipline and moral rectitude.

REFERENCES

- Achebe, C. (1958). *Things Fall Apart*. London: Heinemann.
- Adeoye, B., Ojobo, I. & Ezinma, C. (2010). *Issues in development communication*, Enugu: John Jacob's Classic Publishers Ltd.
- Awolalu, J.O. & Dopamu, P.A. (1979). *West African Traditional Religion*: Ibadan, Onibonoje Press Ltd.
- Berger & Berger in Igbo E.U.M & Anugwom, E. E. (2002). *Social changes and social problems: A Nigerian Perspective*, Nsukka, A.P. Express Publications.
- Dubnick, M. (2003). *Clarifying accountability: A ethical theory framework*, Rutgers University Network.
- Echeruo, M. J .C. (2009). The dramatic limits of Igbo ritual: A critical source book. Lagos; *Nigerian Magazine*, Pp 126-48.
- Ekpunobi, E. & Ezeaku, I. (1990). *Socio-philosophical perspective of African Traditional Religion*, Awka: New Age Publishers.
- Ifesiah, E. I. (1994). *Religion at the grassroots, (Studies in Religion)* Enugu: Snaap Press, Ltd.
- Igbo, E. M. (2003). *Basic Sociology*, Enugu: CIDJAB Press.
- Illogu, E. (1974). *Christianity and Igbo culture, A study of the interaction of Christianity and Igbo culture*, New York, NOK Publishers.
- Leonard, A. M (1968). *The Lower Niger and its tribes*, Birmingham: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.
- Mbiti, J. S. (1969). *African religion and philosophy*. London: Heinemann Education Books.
- Mbiti, J. S. (1970). *African Traditional Religion*, London: Heinemann Pub.

- Nsofor & Maduakaor (1979). *Traditional festivities of Anambra state*, Enugu; Cultural branch information unit cabinet office.
- Odo, C. O. (1990), *An introduction to the sociology of education*, Nsukka: Chukwuka Educational Publishers.
- Okwueze, M. I. (2003). *Ethics, religion and society Biblical, traditional and contemporary perspectives*. Nsukka: Prize Publishers.
- Okwueze, M. I. (2004). *Religion and social development in contemporary Nigeria perspectives*. Lagos (MIP) Merit International Publications.
- Orji, M. O. (2009). *The history and culture of the Igbo people: Before the advent of the White Man*. Nkpor: Jet Publishers.
- Uzoagba, I. N. (2002). *Certificate model notes on arts theory (including essay type question with answers) for schools and colleges*, Nsukka: UNICA Art Publishers.