



The Impact of Umuada Group (The Powerful Daughters) in Umuorah-Umuohiri

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Authors' contributions

This work was carried out in collaboration between all authors. Authors AA, OO and AD designed the study, wrote the protocol, managed the literature searches and wrote the first draft of the manuscript. Author BCEE performed the analysis while authors EWA and BCEE contributed in the review of the manuscript. All authors approved the final manuscript.

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ABSTRACT

The role of community development as well as conflict resolution is not one issue strictly reserved for men as some groups of women have in the past shown that these tasks can also be handled by women. One of such groups is the Umuada Ndi Igbo of the Eastern part of Nigeria. The main focus of this study is to investigate the impact of Umuada in Umuorah-Umuohiri in Isiala Mbano local government area of Imo State. This was deemed necessary to study so as to be well informed of the various contributions of the Umuada group in Umuorah-Umuohiri Community. This

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phenomenological research study involved Umuada daughters of Umuorah village, adult community members as well as chiefs. Oral interviews using a structured interview schedule was used as the method for data collection. The data was presented by highlighting the responses of respondents. This study reveals from reports gathered that the Umuada group of women in Umuorah village were resourceful and had a strong impact in certain issues pertaining the village including settling inter and intra-communal disputes, ensuring law and order as well as community development. Conclusively, the Umuada group in Umuorah village is necessary forces involved in pertinent issues regarding the village. This has earned them respect as morally responsible agents where they serve. Their role in conflict resolution and culture/norms implementation in Igbo land is worthy of note. Further enquiry into the system of interaction between UMUADA and formal systems meant to ensure law and order in Nigeria is however recommended.

Keywords: Female leadership roles; development; woman rights; Eastern Nigeria.

1. INTRODUCTION

The position of women in Igbo tradition has been a contentious subject and the issue of female power is viewed in terms of the “physical woman”, that is; in relation to her physical attributes. Women in traditional Igbo societies are forces in political, legal and social issues. Long before the colonial masters arrived in Africa, during and after colonialism, women had been a powerful part of the Igbo society. The Nigerian woman is bold and industrious. She is a mother as well as a leader in the family and community [1,2].

Despite the growing interests of the male gender in the affairs of the home due to certain socio-economic, demographic and cultural transformations, women are still major providers of home care even as greater work responsibilities are assumed by them outside their homes. This is usually felt even outside their homes which could have been the reason why it has been reported that if given the task of developing the country, women would do so excellently, as an average woman is more dedicated, hardworking, prudent, God fearing, sincere, devoted, less tribalistic and focused [3,4].

Historically in the Nigerian cultural perspective, informal institutions held sway and were strongly involved in justice administration, conflict resolution as well as development of the different regions which presently form the Nigerian state. These included the empires and rulership of the Sultan of Sokoto, Emir of Kano, Ooni of Ife, Alaafin of Oyo, Queen Kambass of Ijawland Queen Owari of Ilesha, Obi of Onitsha, Eze Ndigbo etc. Amidst the various pre-colonial informal institutions *the mind of the female child was one that was developed to play the role of a*

woman as mothers, home-builders, decision makers as well as religious leaders so as to preserve the traditional custom for the development of the community [5:pg 80,para 2] as seen in the exploits of Iyalode (women leader) of the old Oyo Empire who was part of the council of chiefs and thus involved in the ruling of the empire as well as involved in mediating inter-ethnic rivalry, the exploits of Moremi during the Ife-Modakeke war who saved the people of Ile-Ife from a marauding forest people etc. This however changed in the colonial era “*when the British Colonial masters introduced western ideology which relegated Nigerian women to the background in the affairs of the nation*” [5-7], Nevertheless certain women who had received western education were able to break free from the barrier placed on the functions of the woman in the society during this colonial period. These women played active roles in the policy, administrative and business systems in Nigeria and included Mrs. Margaret Ekpo who was a fierce Nigerian women’s rights activist and a pioneering female politician in Nigeria’s First Republic; Mrs Janet Mokelu, a member of the Eastern House of Assembly who mobilized women and demonstrated against the police killing of 21 miners who were protesting non-payment of mine allowance in Enugu; the late Mrs. Olufunmilayo Ransome-Kuti who was involved in the politics of the Western Region, Mallama Gambo Sawabo who waged a fierce battle for the political and cultural emancipation of women in the North amongst many others [3,5,6,8,9].

Igbo women on their own however, had many forums, such as the Titled women, Christian mothers, Ndinyom, Association of market women, Umuada Ndi Igbo, Modern day professionals which were designed to present and protect women interests. Umuada is different

from “Ndinyom” or the married wives. Igbo women are generally grouped into these groups in their political, economic and social life power sharing [1].

The most important of these female forums was Umuada Ndi Igbo which is vanguard in the struggle for equal opportunities for women and children in the society. The ideology of Umuada was created by tradition during the pre-colonial era where women were held sacred and they participated in collective decision making on sensitive issues that concerned them. Their involvement in this process was done through the Umuada Ndi Igbo [10]. The Umuada are defined as the powerful daughters in Igbo culture. Umuada means native daughters of a common male ancestors or “daughters of the soil”. Umuada is a collective term for all first daughters and is formed from two Igbo words: Umu and Ada. Umu is a generic plural word that conveys the sense of many. Ada is a name and means daughter. In generic usage, every Igbo woman is “Ada” and is recognized as such even in her matrimonial home. In a particular usage, Ada refers to the first female of a family, often called “Adaobi”. Umuada connotes therefore, many daughters in a social group in the same lineage [11,12].

It has been stated that every adult Igbo woman represents a comprehensive nature of Igbo womanhood as viewed by tradition. To maintain their status, Igbo women organize themselves from the early stage for the work motherhood. From the young age of 10 to puberty, girls form ikpa onu or enwe-oru groups to assist in the farm work. They take turns to farm for the family of a member till it goes round. They can be hired occasionally but the main purpose of the group is to contribute to the economic wellbeing of the family members. This group of girls is part of the Umuada. The Umuada or Umuokpu (as it is called in some places) are the daughters of the lineage [13].

The Umuada group was one of the most organized, peaceful and endowed women groups in Nigeria. As individuals and groups, they engaged in economic and cultural life of the people; take care of village squares and places of religious worships. They come to make peace in marriages having problems within lineage such that they deal with men who misbehave and also teach the unfaithful and uncaring wives lessons in a hard way; this is aimed at deterring future wives from misbehaving. Umuada as a socio-

cultural group has an assumed identity, embracing all daughters of Igbo land. It has been certified and registered by the Corporate Affairs Commission, Abuja under the Companies and Allied Matters Act of 1990 and thus are recognized by the Nigerian government. It has its national headquarters at Enugu, Nigeria. As non-political, non-governmental, cultural and corporate organization, Umuada derives its members from the seven Igbo speaking states of Anambra, Imo, Enugu, Ebonyi, Abia, Delta and Rivers. Igbo daughters in Diaspora are members of the organization. Thus, this is a group that is fully embracing of all daughters of Igbo land and its interest is the peace and progress of Igbo families and homes [11].

The Umuada kept watch at dress codes of their daughters and directed their conducts. Pre-marital sex was abhorred in Igbo land. Young girls who got pregnant were fined or ostracized; their mothers in some places also punished at the same time. This cultural law was very strong before the advent of Christianity; unmarried pregnant girls were then given out to widowers in marriage after they performed purification rites. Some parents gave out their pregnant girls into marriage, forcefully at times, to avoid the “shame”. One of the duties of the Umuada was thus to educate and advice their girls against unwanted pregnancies and anti-social behaviours in the society [11].

Umuadas are often recognized by community members as the first people complaints should be taken to prior to seeking resolution, if necessary from the traditional ruling council. The Umuada’s often intervened whenever the norms of the village were violated by any man or woman married from another village to that village and they imposed sanctions on offenders. Umuada weighs the power of finality in issues concerning women in the family, community and in conflicts where men are unable to settle them [1,14].

The dominance of the Umuada in Igbo land is indeed noteworthy. However, as a result of communal and traditional differences among the various Igbo communities, the Umuada socio-politico-economic impacts may differ which has thus made it necessary to specifically study and ascertain the impact of the Umuada in individual communities. Our study focussed on assessing from a human anthropology and sociology perspective, the activities of the Umuada group in Umuorah-Umuohiri Community located in Imo

State as there was no objective data laying out neither the impact nor the extent of impact of the Umuada in community development as well as conflict resolution. The main themes are centered on socio-political structures, organisations and conflict resolutions and the sub themes centers on citizenship and moral living. The results of this study would further shed light on the need for women to be actively involved in policy and decision making processes that would directly contribute to nation building and development nationally and internationally.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The phenomenological research design was adopted for this study which was carried out in Umuorah Village which is located in Umuohiri in Nneato-Nweafor Dikenaofeyi Ugin-nna autonomous community in Isiala Mbano Local Government Area of Imo State, Nigeria which has a total of 28 autonomous communities. Isiala Mbano has an area of 166 square km and a population of 198,736 as at the 2006 census. It shares common boundaries with Ugu-ala, Ezeka, Obihuru, Opa-ala, Umuezealaoma and Umuonyeka [15]. The occupation of the people is mainly trading and farming. Farm produce cropped include cassava (akpu), yam (una) and cocoyam (ede), cash crops like palm oil as well as palm kernel. The king is referred to as Eze, all elderly men are called Dede and elderly women called Dada, the people speak the Igbo language. 11 Otu Umuada Umuorah members, 5 adult community members and 4 members of the village ruling council were selected by utilizing a cluster sampling technique after prior

stratification, which made up the study population. Data was collected using in-depth oral interviews aided by structured interview guides after all necessary permission was granted by the required authorities. Questions asked included what level of impact the Umuada had, if the Umuada involved themselves in community development projects within the community, making of laws, if the laws made were in any way helpful as well as if they were involved in settling disputes. The decision to participate in this study was also voluntary. Where necessary, the Igbo dialect was used in order to ensure optimal comprehension of questions being asked. Selected statements from the respondents were gotten based on the criteria of relevance to the research objectives and provision of new insights into solving the research problem. Collected textual data was then transcribed and analyzed into required themes of analysis.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Categorization and discussion of the results of the in-depth interview was done under 4 major themes:

- Umuada as a powerful force
- Umuada as being involved in Community development
- Umuada, instrumental in making and implementation of laws and maintaining order
- Umuada being vital during conflict resolution.

Category	Result
Umuada as a powerful force	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Umuada group are always called upon to handle certain cases including injustice, maltreatment etc, that are regarded as difficult for the men to handle and in which the highest levels of fairness and justice are required. • Umuada were regarded as pillars that held the Community up and thus had to be revered and reckoned as a powerful force. • The decision-making abilities of the Umuada are usually so peculiar and decisive, that it makes every member of the Community (including miscreants) to respect the members of the Umuada and are thus deterred from involving in deviant behaviours. • The Umuada group had influence on which members of the community got married to especially if the spouse was coming from another community. This they say is done to protect their community members from getting married to morally-negative individuals.
Umuada Involvement in Community Development in	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Umuada had contributed immensely to the provision of jobs to the youths in the Community through the erection of a factory

<p>Umuorah -Umuohiri</p>	<p>as well as an oil mill in the Community. This has thus reduced poverty and improved the standard of living of Community dwellers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Umuada group had also been involved in the setting up of certain infrastructural projects in the community including the provision of electricity, a bridge and internal road, re-construction of the Community school building as well as involved in the construction of the Community town hall and the Catholic Church building. • The Umuada had been involved in ensuring improved health care as well as provision of water and sanitation for the Community. • They have also assisted in making commodities cheaper in the Community through subsidy on prices paid for these commodities.
<p>The Role of Umuada in the Making and Implementation of Laws and Maintaining Order in Umuorah</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laws against spousal maltreatment in marriages were made by the Umuada group in order to protect both spouses from maltreatment or lack of care. • Laws prohibiting crime and theft were also made by the Umuada and were punishable by excommunication of the defaulter(s) from other members of the Community. • Laws against immorality, getting pregnant out of wedlock etc were also made by the Umuada and punishment of defaulters ranged from being stripped and flogged publicly to excommunication from Community activities. • The Umuada made laws prohibiting fighting and vices that could cause harm to an individual or his property especially during disputes. Defaulters faced the punishment of being banished.
<p>Umuada Umuorah-Umuohiri Impact in Conflict Resolution</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Umuada had been involved in settling disputes/conflicts among family members ranging from disputes over inherited property to cases of battery. • Umuada have also been instrumental in settling disputes between Umuorah and other Communities. • Based on the decision of the Umuada, a conflict in the home and Community caused by an unruly married woman; the woman was sent back to her people as a punishment.

The role of the Umuada as a force in ensuring justice, fairness and making decisions that seemed too difficult for men to take cannot be overemphasized as is attested to by majority of the respondents. In Igbo land, the Umuada Ndi Igbo are historically known for their dignity, principles, strength, bravery, determination, no surrender, no compromise and fighting spirit. In fact Igbo women are unique worldwide. They are among the strongest, liberated, independent-minded, fearless freedom fighters and cannot stand injustice. They are thus vital elements in ensuring that negative societal influences that tend to pollute the cultural and social norms in Igbo land, are effectively rooted out and dealt with [14].

Vital testimonies to the fact that the 'Otu Umuada' has added value to the Igbo community

were given in this study, as the group does not relent in developmental matters in the Community. This is evident in the fact that their developmental efforts are remarkable in the families, the community and the church. This is corroborated by other findings that have reported the Umuada as major players involved in family and community development which impacts on the lives of those dwelling within the villages and towns where their jurisdictional power reached out to [11,13]. The study also showed that the presence of Umuada in the community has made the male folk to realize the worth of women, thereby bringing about mutual respect. This is corroborated by other reports in which the male clan members respected the roles of the Umuada. [8]. The Igbo women participation in the socio-political life of the Igbo nation predates the advent of European civilization. The village

squares were places and centres of cultural and economic life of the communities. The women grouped themselves accordingly for meetings and dialogue. In their groups as market women, titled women association, dances, etc, their concern was the welfare of their members and the good of everyone. Their meetings were focused on the establishment and operation of morally justifiable institutions and the protection of the dignity of women and children. For the Igbo women, social justice means creating equal opportunity, rectifying the wrong and restitution. [12,16].

From the stated findings, Umuada's reconciliatory role in families as well as ensuring that laws are kept and order is ensured in Umuorah is unsurpassed. The study revealed that the Umuada as an organization in Umuorah has helped in bringing peace to various homes and the community at large. The group has helped in the reduction of intra and inter communal violence. The sanctions given to erring members of the community by the Umuadas has brought about deterrence from anything antisocial in Umuorah village. This agrees with reports of other authors on the socio-political activities of Umuadas who exercise a lot of influence within any Igbo community. They (the Umuadas and other women of Igbo background were among the strongest, liberated, independent-minded and fearless freedom fighters who could not stand injustice [17,18]. Igbo women or Umuada have special roles during community crisis as well as fighting for justice. In certain cases when the men also called "Umunna" ("sons of the soil") failed to agree on any issue regarding discipline as well as the rights of women, Umuada will step in and resolve the matter. In complex conflicts of conjugal matters the intervention of Umuada was always required. Umuada are strict and fair in their interventions and enforcements. For example, when a man is seen maltreating his wife and no one would stop him, Umuada will step in and straighten him out. On the other hand, if a woman married into the clan becomes unruly, the Umuada would also intervene and resolve the matter even if it involved sending her back to her maiden home for her to realize her mistakes and return remorseful [9,12,13,16-18].

The results of this study have also shown that the Umuada are very much involved in settling disputes and conflicts in the homes within the Communities where they serve. Conflict

comprises three elements namely: people, process and problems. Umuada are aware of the problems inherent in family or communal conflicts where people are at the centre. The process and method of settling a problem differs from one group to another but the Umuada give people the chance of expressing their own ideas and opinions to the case. No matter how big a problem may be, the Umuada take care to resolve it amicably. In conflicts concerning marital infidelity, mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law, Umuada come in whether invited or not and play their role of ensuring lasting peace within the family units, eliminate subjugation and encourage them to imbibe mercy, forgiveness and justice. In any of these cases, the Umuada takes a neutral stand as the conflicting parties are called to resolve the issues. The Umuada will extract the facts, analyze them and decide appropriate measures of penalty to be apportioned on the guilty party and their decision is final on the matter. The Umuada can act as a "court of arbitration" (though not with legal force) and as a mediator in conflicts. They can ask the guilty party to pay fine, or cook a certain portion of meal, or to bring a cock, or ram, in addition to kola nuts for reconciliation. Before this is done, guilt and pardon have been obtained and accepted by the parties in the case [2,10,11]. Despite being instrumental in implementation of socially-acceptable norms in the areas where the Umuada serve, it was not established in this study how the Umuada group interacts and works with formal systems meant to ensure law and order in the society. This could provide an avenue for future research. Due to also having a small sample size in this study, a systematic review of the activities of different Umuada groups in different parts of Igbo land could also widen the horizon of understanding regarding this subject matter. An evaluation of any negative actions of the Umuada including any cases of alleged injustices meted on the 'Ndinyom' by them was not done by this study, thus opening up more avenues for further research.

4. CONCLUSION

The Umuada group in Umuorah-Umuohiri community in Imo State, Nigeria has been shown to have a great deal of positive leadership impact within the study area in matters of effectiveness and community development. They have also been shown by this study to be a reckonable force within the study area where they have been shown to be instrumental in ensuring that laws of the Igbo land based on culturally acceptable

norms and values are strictly adhered to. Their role in conflict resolution within the study area and thus other areas of service has also been shown to be undoubtedly established.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

UMUADA AS A POWERFUL FORCE IN UMUORA-UMUOHIRI COMMUNITY

A respondent who was a member of the village ruling council admitted that “the Umuada is powerful because whenever a case was strong for the men, Umuada would be invited because at times the men take sides in our case but the Umuada cannot do it.”

Another village ruling council member revealed that “our daughters and sisters are powerful because that have a way of doing their own findings which we the men cannot do.”

According to a community member “the power that the Umuada has is that, any case that we the ‘Umunna (sons of the land)’ cannot handle the Umuada has a way of handling the case. So even we the men are afraid of them”

According to another community member, “they are powerful in the sense that we men can kneel for them but the Umuada cannot kneel for us the men and if they do it is a curse to we in the land”

Another community member said “the Umuada is powerful in decision making and when they do nobody interrupts them”

A community member admitted that “the power the Umuada has is that they are like the pillar that is holding our community”.

Another respondent revealed that “anything that the men found difficult to do the Umuada would be invited and the men gave them the chance to do it”.

A community member acknowledged that “they are powerful in the sense that if a woman was married from another land they can’t watch their brother maltreat her”.

According to a member of the Otu Umuada “We are powerful in the sense that the men can bow for them but we can’t do that because if we do, it is a curse given to the men.”

Another respondent explained that “the Umuada are very powerful in the sense that whatever we the Umunna cannot handle especially like our wives whom we married from another land, if they are too strong for us to handle, and then we call our sisters the Umuada to come and help us”.

An Umuada member said “the power we have is to protect our brothers from marrying bad wives or making mistakes when they want to get married”.

A member of the Otu Umuada said “the power we have is that when our brother dies we must make our own investigation before burying him the same applies to our daughters who are married out of our land”.

Another member said “a boy caught raping his mother would be banished by the Umuada from the community.

Yet another member opined that “if a man was caught having sexual intercourse with another man’s wife, the Umuada would see to it that they were excommunicated from other members of the village”

A member also asserted that “the Umuada is powerful in the sense that if we the men handle a case unjustly, if it gets to their notice, the Umuada will come and re-judge it. In that case we the men had no say in the matter anymore”.

Another Umuada member noted that “the kind of power that have is for example if a our brother dies and it gets to our notice that the wife maltreated him, and she is denying, we the Umuada will make her take an oath to be sure that she is not the cause of her husband’s death.

Yet another Umuada member commented that “we are powerful because when someone is doing what is not right in the village and it gets to the person’s notice that the Umuada is coming the person will stop doing that thing”.

Other Umuada members asserted that “the power the Umuada have in our community is that if a man is married to his wife and the wife is starving him of food and sex and fighting him, if the Umuada is called upon, and after investigation if the woman can’t give any good reason the woman will be sent back to her parents and out of her husband’s house”. Also it was stated that “the power we the Umuada have is that when a case of mothers reporting her daughter of not taking care of her or not coming to see her and she is married out, we the Umuada will make our money available and go in search of our sister. If the man is the cause for her not coming home we will take action at once.

UMUADA INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN UMUORAH -UMUOHIRI COMMUNITY

A member of the village ruling council affirmed that “The Umuada help us in building factory for our children to have something to do in the community”.

Another asserted that “the Umuada are the owner of the functioning oil mill in the community”.

According to a member of the Umuada, “the electricity project and the Catholic church building project in our community were initiated and partly funded by the Umuada

According to another Umuada member, “the Umuada helped in building the bridge that is between Umuorah and Obiohuru communities in 2008”.

Other Umuada members said that “the community school we have now, we also contributed from our own money for the building in the year 2000”; “when our government school fell down the government refused to come and build it, it got to our notice and we built it”; “ the oil mill that is functioning in the community was built by we the Umuada”; “the Umuada helped in providing money for the light project in 2014 for the community”.

A community member said “the Umuada were involved in the town hall project, oil mill and factory” in the community.

Another member maintained that “if a serious project (borehole) was going on, Umuada also helped by providing one third of the project fund”.

Another member also added that “we the Umuada helped in providing canopies and chairs for rent at low prices in the community.

A member also maintained that “Umuada contributed money for the construction of the village internal road”.

A community member attested that “the Umuada help in the building of the community health centre.

THE ROLE OF UMUADA IN THE MAKING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF LAWS AND MAINTAINING ORDER IN UMUORAH

According to two members of village ruling council “ if a male indigene was caught having sexual relationship with a female indigene, the Umuada would make sure they were stripped naked and flogged round the community after which they would be forced by the Umuada to make some sacrifices to appease the gods of the land”. “The Umuada help the Umunna in making laws like calling on women newly married to the community to let them know that anyone caught stealing from another person’s farm would be disgraced and sent back to where she was from”

Another ruling council member admitted that “in his own case Umuada stopped all villagers from accompanying him to marry a new wife, even when his wife could not bear a male child. The Umuada would not allow his present wife to be sent away from his house and nobody would go with him to marry the new wife and so it was”.

An Umuada member acknowledged that “if a married woman from another community or even from our own community and she maltreated her husband that eventually led to his death, the Umuada would also maltreat the woman just as she did to her husband and after that they will send her back to her family”.

Another reported that “the Umuada don’t allow fighting in the market place”.

According to another Umuada member “our brothers are not allowed to maltreat their wives and our wives are not allowed to fight our brothers, and no woman should be caught holding her husband’s manhood”.

Other Umuada maintained that “if a girl gives birth without being married, if the mother is caught going to her daughter’s house for “omugwu (visiting her daughter who had just been delivered of a baby to assist and take care of her and her baby)” the woman will pay a sum of fifty thousand naira and she won’t be allowed to attend any marriage ceremony taking place in the village”.

A community member also conceded that “the Umuada made a law that anybody who is caught stealing from another person’s farm or taking anything without the owner’s consent or permission will be excommunicated from other community members”.

A community member claimed that “if two members of the Umunna are having land disputes and one of them dies in the process of the land problem, the one who is living would be banished from the community and never to come back on any occasion. This law was made by the Umuada since 1984”.

UMUADA UMUORAH-UMUOHIRI IMPACT IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Members of the village ruling council pointed out that “the Umuada settled a case in 2015: a case of two brothers who were on one another’s neck because of their late father’s properties”. Also “the Umuada settled family disputes in the family of Obin in the year 2014”.

According to some Umuada members, “a case of two sisters with the intent of marrying the same man was settled by the Umuada in 2013”; “Umuada settled the case between Opaala and Umuorah villages in 2015”; “an unruly married woman causing much problems in the land was sent back to her people”; settled a marital dispute (A case of not being able to bare children) in 2009 and “a case of wife battering in Duru-uzo family in 2013 was handled by the Umuada”.

A member of the Otu Umuada stated that the constant problem between two brothers after the death of their father was settled by the Umuada”.

A community member reported that “the Umuada settled land dispute between Umuorah and Uguala village in 2007”.

Another community member also emphasized that “in 2010 when a man was maltreating his wife, it was the Umuada that intervened and stopped him from doing such”.

Another respondent said “the Umuada settled a family dispute between two brothers of the community”.

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