

**OHU AND AMADI COMMUNAL COMPLEX IN NKANULAND:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR EFFECTIVE CHRISTIAN EVANGELISM**

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AWKA-ANAMBRA STATE  
NIGERIA**

**May, 2017**

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## CERTIFICATION

I, ISIALA CHUKWUEMEKA with Registration Number 201127006F, hereby certify that this dissertation is original and has been written by me. It is a record of my research and has not been submitted before in part or in full for any other Diploma or Degree of this University or any previous publication.

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Student

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Date

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Very Rev. Dr. P. E. Nmah

.....  
Date

## APPROVAL

We ratify that this dissertation carried out under our supervision has been examined and found to have met the regulations of Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka. We, therefore, approve the work for the award of a Ph.D. degree in Religion and Human Relations.

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my two daughters, Chukie and Nmesoma.

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**List of Maps**  
Map of Enugu State Showing Nkanu



Culled from National Archive Enugu State







**ABSTRACT**

This work discusses the *ohu* and *amadi* class structure in Nkanuland implications to effective Christian evangelism. The two families or groups lived harmoniously and maintained mutual relationship in the land before the advent of the British missionaries, chattel slavery and the introduction of warrant chieftdom in the area. War broke out and its aftermath led to incompatibility because the *amadi* continued to claim superiority to the *ohu*. Unfortunately, community meetings, new yam festivals, political rallies, and other activities which upheld the unity of the citizens were disrupted by frequent altercations and gang ups occasioned by *ohu* and *amadi*. Its negative implication on effective Christian evangelism was palpable. It is in a bid to finding out how *ohu* and *amadi* syndrome hinders effective evangelism gave rise to this study. It analyzed several factors which would bring about unity and exposed various negative implications like cold war, inferiority complex culminated in by *ohu and amadi*. The methods of data analysis were polymethodic which comprised historical, area culture and missiological. It was historical because the researcher explored the historical origin on Nkanuland. Area culture was employed in interpreting Nkanu culture and practices. The findings in this research showed that the forefathers of *ohu* were purchased with money and agricultural produce and to make them free a kind of ceremony would be organized to expiate and reverse the trend. To find a lasting solution to this impasse, there is a need to organize a dialogue whereby the two parties will be brought together to air their views and find a lasting solution.



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

It is widely believed that there are two families in Nkanu: the families of the *amadi* or freeborn and the *umuodes* or *ohu*, slaves-so called. There existed a healthier relationship between the *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland before the advent of the European missionaries. Enechukwu (2000) states that slaves formed the fulcrum of the existence in Igboland as they were indispensable in their day to day existence. They were also associated with the household daily routine as well as in farmwork. In compensation, shelter was provided for them as well as food, wives and portions of lands. However, with the introduction of the slave trade this hitherto harmonious relationship was adversely affected that *amadi* started to claim superiority among the *ohu* and felt that it was a taboo for them to co-habit. Thus, all kinds of brutality were unleashed on the *ohu* as an inferior stuck in such unholy acts as kidnapping, rape, indiscriminate killings, and forceful suicides. The tide of those incessant crimes has forestalled development in many areas of Nkanuland.

Again, the introduction of warrant chieftdom culminated in dichotomy, unrest and schism which were extended to Christianity and

evangelism as the two social groups found their relationship incompatible and sought for avenues to disrupt evangelism on every occasion. This has also created an unhealthy church due to the activities of die hard adherents of the social system. Consequently, this syndrome transferred from one generation to another, because the trend is inculcated in the children and youths. It virtually runs in their bloodstreams and are made to believe and accept that there are certain people they must avoid and that is *ohu*.

### **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The healthy relationship that existed between the *ohu* and the *amadi* was broken down by the introduction of warrant chieftom and the increase in the slave trade in the 15 and 16<sup>th</sup> century. Since then, the two groups found themselves incompatible. Consequently, the stark hatred that emanated from this impasse was passed from generation to generation as children and youth grew up with the idiosyncrasy to hate. The incompatibility between this two groups caused the members to seek for opportunities to vent their anger on perceived opponents. They carried this out by disrupting social gatherings like new yam festivals, political rallies, etc. Above all, the warfare was also carried out by adherents of both *ohu* and *amadi* during evangelism programmes to ensure that it is disrupted. They

burn tyres, at the crusade ground, display masquerades, and some times, carry out assaults on the preacher.

### **1.3 Purpose of Study**

This research is aimed at finding a lasting solution to the problem of *ohu* and *amadi*. The purpose therefore of this study includes:

1. To investigate how *ohu* and *amadi* hinders effective Christian evangelism in Nkanu; which has been bastardized by those who propagate *ohu* and *amadi*.
2. To examine the *ohu* and *amadi* structure in Nkanuland, and its implication to effective Christian evangelism. With the emergence of numerous new churches and social groups like Maduobuofu Movement, Idinotu Association, Nkanu leaders of Thought among others, yet the gospel has not impacted positive changes in the lives of the people and community.
3. To analyze several factors like social, religious and political in a bid to finding a lasting solution to this impasse. For example, using social approach dialogue as a medium of reconciliation will give room for both

parties in question to air their views. This will give room for freedom for active participation in the day to day activities of Nkanuland.

4. To evaluate the extent of cold war, schism which *ohu* and *amadi* crisis has generated.

### **1.4 Significance of Study**

The study is significant in a number of ways. The research is significant to religious groups, because it will serve as a tool that will enlighten and educate them on the implications of *ohu* and *amadi* in evangelism.

The research is also significant to the government, because if such social stratification is overlooked, it is capable of bringing down any government as stark disunity will be the order of the day. It is also significant to Nkanu people as they should not tolerate any beliefs and practices which tear them apart rather than uniting them as the saying goes that “united we stand and divided we fall”. In addition, the *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanu should employ dialogue as one of the best options in tackling this cankerworm rather than resorting to violence and taking laws into their own hands.

Finally, it stands also to serve as a scholarly reference and guide to research students, universities, families and those who seek for the peace stability of any nation.

### **1.5 Scope of the Study**

The scope of this work is on the content and the area covered. The content is mainly on *ohu* and *amadi* communal complex in Nkanuand and its implications for effective Christian evangelism. In the process, the social, religious and political approaches which were instrumental to finding a lasting solution to *ohu* and *amadi* impasse have been analysed.

The dichotomy that existed between the *ohu* and *amadi* started after the advent of the British missionaries. Nevertheless, useful insight and historical explanations are sought from before and after the stated period. The study begins its investigations before the advent of the British missionaries to explore the nature of how *ohu* and *amadi* was practiced before the advent of the colonial regime and what brought about the trend. The dichotomy started after the invasion and subjugation of Nkanu by British between 1910 and 1915. In the process the gerontocratic principle of governance in Nkanu was changed to Warrant Chiefdom which attracted

salary as Enechukwu (2000) pointed out. The British missionaries empowered the *amadi* by issuing them with certificate. However, it was when they issued certificate to the *ohu* (slaves) against the will of *amadi* that brought about war and unrest in different communities. The slaves and their descendants used that avenue to seek for their freedom at all cost. They knew that this move and the establishment of their own communities would enable them settle on the lands of their own, free them from their servitude, enable them partake in Igede dance and occupy a high place in the political set up of Nkanuland. The attempt by the missionaries to end the wars that erupted in different communities and to resettle the slaves yielded fruits. The scope of this study is also defined by the areas covered by the study which are Nkanuland, Ngbo and Ezza.

## **1.6 Methodology**

The nature and purpose of any research determine the methodology to be adopted therein. The researcher used both primary and secondary sources to obtain information for his study. The primary sources include questionnaire and oral interviews which involved interviewing those who have the ideas of *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland. The secondary sources

include textbooks, church minutes, dictionaries, sermon books, journals, magazines and encyclopaedia. These sources refer to reports of second-hand information or third hand authors; which are less reliable than the primary sources, which are direct information. The methods of data analysis used were polymethodic, which comprised historical, area culture and missiological. This was because the researcher would explore the historical origin on Nkanuland in a view to finding out the nature of how *ohu* and *amadi* was practiced before the advent of the colonial regime and what brought about the dichotomy. However, area culture method of interpretation was employed in interpreting Nkanu culture and practices. It extended also to some areas such as Ngbo and Ezza, where the practice of *ohu* and *amadi* was compared to Nkanuland. Finally, it used missiological method because missions, priests and churches were involved.

### **1.7 Definition of Terms**

Some key words need to be defined for proper clarification. They are *ohu*, *amadi*, Christian evangelism and Nkanu.

### 1.7.1 Ohu

Within the context of Nkanuland, *ohu* could be defined as a person whose rights and privileges have been temporarily restricted by the master (*Nna nwem*). This emanates from the fact that when an *ohu* is acquired, there is a tendency that he or she can still regain his or her freedom and all lost rights and privileges could be regained. This is similar to the Hebrew historical incident when the Israelites were taken as captives to serve their enemies until the time of redemption was completed. In Nkanuland, the people who pawned themselves acquired the status of an *ohu* until redeemed, and the children of the unredeemed person are also regarded as *ohu*. Uzoma (2005) states that, “Besides financial motives, many people were taken into slaves because they were rogues, stubborn or lazy and could not render much help to the community. Such people were sold. Many people were also sold into slavery who were victims of tribal wars” (p. 250).

The freedom of the slaves was restricted to the owner. Gaius (cited by Barclay (2010) states “The terror of slaves was that they were absolutely at the mercy of the master’s whim” (p.208).



In Nkanuland, there was a romance that existed between the *ohu* and *amadi*, and for that reason, they enjoyed certain privileges. Edward (1960) states that they could appoint slaves as chiefs. They could enable slaves to sit in native courts. They also allowed the slaves to have acres of land through the payments of redemption, but ensured that the *ohu* could not have real equality with the freeborn. Eventually, the *ohu* gave up the struggle for complete acceptance as “son of the soil” and settled for the right to be called by a new name. It became illegal to call any one an *ohu*. Instead they were known as *Ndi obia* (those from elsewhere). Some moved also into villages of their own.

The cruel treatment meted to slaves was the aftermath of the slave trade when the Europeans hunted for slaves in Africa and Igboland in order to export them to Europe to work on their sugar plantation. Alexander (2001) states that:

Many slave relationships in Africa revolve around domestic slavery where the slaves permanently work in the house of the master but retain some freedom. He could be considered part of the master’s household and would not be sold to others without extreme cause. He could marry and own property. (p.44).

The cruel treatment meted to slaves was the aftermath of the slave trade when the European hunted for slaves in Africa and Igboland in order to export them to Europe to work on their sugar plantation.

### **1.7.2 Amadi**

The name “*amadi*” in Nkanuland implies the aborigines of the land. It implies that there is the existence of two families in Nkanu and beyond. The families are the (*amadi* or freeborn) and the *umuodes or ohu*/slaves-so called. The *amadi* have always claimed to be the masters of the *umuodes* from time and many unrepentant persecutors among them still maintain it till date, even with the prevailing globalization. Aninjoku (2014).

In Nkanuland, the *amadi* claim the ownership of the *ohu*. They offered a kind of protection to the *ohu* and took care of their welfare. The emergence of slave trade and the abolition era brought to an end the healthy social relationship which the *ohu* saw as an opportunity to break away for their own full freedom. Enechukwu (2000) remarks that:

The name *amadi* was a borrowed word from the Aros which was translated and equated as *nna nwem* (masters). The *amadi obia*

system arose as a matter of economic disposition where the poor had to serve the rich in order to feed. This arose in a bid to be extricated from the political and economic hardship of the time. (p. 447).

The *Aros* championed the cause of slave trade in Igboland before it spread to many areas including Nkanuland and most of the slave cultures were borrowed from them. Nwokeji (1994) states that “The *amadi nkume asaa* (Literarily, the *amadi* of the seven stones-euphemism for the founding lineage-group, the upper-crust *amadi* (nobility), derived from the number of the Arochukwu lineage-groups (*orusi* or “stones” which reached as seven) only after 1850’ (p.100).

It implies that the name *amadi* has to do with nobility, which means that those who are *amadi* are not mere personalites and this has manifested in their dispositions.

### **1.7.3 Christian Evangelism**

To Krass (1982), the Greek word which is translated ‘preach’ in English is the Verb *Kerussein*, which means to ‘proclaim’ or ‘announce’. This verb came from the noun *kerux*, which means a herald. A herald is

one who either goes before a king or chief to announce that he is coming, or goes at the direction of a king or chief, to announce his will, or give his instructions, or his edict or laws. The message that Christians are to announce is the 'evangel'. This word came from the Greek word evangelism (from angelion), meaning news, and (eu meaning good), and means the 'good news,' that is the good news concerning Jesus Christ. The story of the Samaritan woman is an example of evangelism that is of mission. It shows what happens when one person testifies to another what he has believed and experienced in Christianity. But this is only the beginning of the process. When the other person believes, then his meeting with Christianity begins.

Chronic (1998) asserts that, "Evangelism denotes getting people saved" (p.250). Elwell (1996) opines that, "Evangelism normally is translated gospel denoting the content of good news. But it can also be a noun of action describing the activity of telling that news" (p.10). Evangelism entails preaching the good news to unbelievers that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and saviour of the world. Oha (2010) defines an effective evangelism as:

A deliberate Spirit –inspired programme and effort on the part of the Christians to ensure that sinners hear and believe and act on the message of salvation as a result of which they become saints in Christ's Evangelism and soul winning are the careers of every Christian irrespective of age, sex, status, position, office or rank in the local congregation. (p.195).

The aforementioned definition highlighted the fact that Christian evangelism is the primary duty of every Christian irrespective of age or status. In addition, it can be carried out through different media like television, radio, personal witnessing and so on. In this modern day evangelism, different methods have been adopted with the aim of convincing people easily to believe and luring them to join their different Christian organizations and churches. This includes sharing of material things like clothes, food items, provision of free medical care, free education and so on. It is rather unfortunate to observe that in the name of evangelism, some churches or individuals have resorted to casting aspersions on their fellow churches in order to steal their members to increase their own membership. This is an aberration of a

true Christian evangelism. A Christian evangelism is aimed towards conversion of unbelievers to believe in Jesus Christ.

The definition according to Krass (1982) is preferable to me because it denotes announcing the good news of Jesus Christ and the finished work of the cross. When preachers preach about themselves and doctrines it cannot impact positive changes and bring transformation to the hearers. Above all, some preachers use the gospel as a weapon for self defence. This does not bring about effective evangelism.

#### **1.7.4 Nkanuland**

Nkanuland shares border in the east with Ohozara and Ivo Local Government Area in Enugu State. In the west, it shares border with Udi Local Government Area. In the north, it shares border with Nkalagu while in the south, it shares border with Aninri and Awgu Local Government Areas. The population is estimated to be 2 million. Agbo (2013) stated that Nkanu as a group has no common ancestry. Its ancestors originated from a man who was given a certain name Nwa Awuwa (son of God) by his contemporaries due to his fame, wisdom and bravery especially in hunting and craft, which degenerated into cold war and led to his eviction. He

migrated and settled in the present *Ibeagwa-Nike*. He demonstrated great generosity through his craft hunting and sharing of meat. That led to the nickname “*Ome nka*” (craftman) and *Ome anu* (meat provider); hence, the contradiction *nka-anu* (Nkanu).

In addition, *Nkanu* is also endowed with rich natural and human resources hence the name *Nkanu Ogbuzuru Ogbuzuru* and *Nkanu Ebuka*. (Nkanu is large) Agbo (2013) opines that:

As a people, Nkanu people are the dominant political bloc in the present-day Enugu state. And as an emergent political powerhouse, or a meeting point of political activism in the state, no political decision can be taken without an input from Nkanu people. (p. 10).

The fore-going lends credence to the fact that in the politics of the present day Enugu State, Nkanu cannot be sidetracked due to some notable politicians who have made various impacts in the politics of both Enugu State and Nigeria. Besides, they are also religious people which lend credence to the emergence of many churches and religious groups in Nkanuland. However, it is believed that two families existed in Nkanuland, the *ohu* and the *amadi* and in that aspect, it is either you are an *ohu* or an *amadi*.

In the next chapter, we shall be x-raying some relevant extent materials.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The social stratification of *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland is glaring and constituting a source of worry to many men and women of goodwill. This explains why the issue has attracted reactions from concerned individuals and authors. In this section, the works of these authors on the issue of *ohu* and *amadi* were reviewed. For a clearer and more methodic and logical presentation, the review was done under the following sub-headings:

- (a) Conceptual framework
- (b) The theoretical framework
- (c) Empirical studies.

### **2.1 Conceptual framework**

#### **2.1.1 The Amadi and Ohu**

The practice of *ohu* and *amadi* do not give room for a clear conscience to take its place as it culminates schism, cronyism, and marginalization. Enechukwu (2000) defines *amadi-ohu* syndrome as “a system of parallel segregation and dichotomy between the *amadi* and *obia*

(*ohu*) social groups in Nkanuland. The word “*amadi*” has been described as “freeborn” while the *obia (ohu)* was described as a slave-born’ (p.447).

The *amadi* and the *ohu* lived in harmony until the advent of the colonial regime and the increase in slave trade with its accompanying exploitation that brought about the dichotomy. Enechukwu (2000) further defines *amadi-ohu* as an archaic discriminatory practice with its polluted and obnoxious norm that wretchedly lack equity and good conscience (p. 457).

Perry (1999) defines stratification system as “the overlapping manner in which societal members are ranked in classes, statuses, groups and hierarchies of power” (p.146). He stated that the more complex societies are the more unequal they tend to distribute their scarce goods.

The complexities associated with different societies from the above definition are also applicable to Nkanuland, judging from the fact that they are of no common origin. Ezea (1999) stated that in many Nkanu towns there was a preponderance of slaves (*obia/ohu*) who in opposition to the freeborn (*amadi*) brought about several frictions in virtually all their localities. This posed serious administrative difficulties for the European

colonial administrators, who had to contend with series of revolts in Nkanu area.

The unequal distribution of wealth in Nkanu owing to the *ohu and amadi* system lend credence to the friction that degenerated to full blown wars that were witnessed in many communities and still exists till date. This can be witnessed in their political, social and economic aspects. A more balanced view is that of Dike (1999) who asserts that:

In any heterogeneous society, the population is normally sub-divided into layers. This stratification makes for clear distinctions of status or social elite, society with slave culture would reduce some of their citizens for a sub-human status. This allows for, in many ways ethnocentrism and in usual definition, ethnocentrism is the feeling that is characterized by or based on the attitude that one's own group is superior. (p.36)

The above definition brings out the truth on the features of *amadi* who always exercises dominion on the *ohu*. They are inclined to having upper hand in every decision making which involves the *ohu*. They do this to show that they are superior to the *ohu* who are assumed to be of a lesser class. This is the order of the day in any society that practices social

stratification. This worrisome development of *ohu* and *amadi* in *Nkanu* prompted Nwobodo (2000) to say. This class system is archaic and barbaric”(p.20).

Law (1969) in a bid to define African slavery states that slavery existed in Africa but it was not the same type of slavery that the Europeans introduced. The European form was called chattel slavery. A chattel slave was a piece of property, with no rights, slavery within Africa was different. A slave might be enslaved in order to pay off a debt or pay for a crime. Slaves in Africa lost the protection of their society through enslavement. But eventually, the slaves or their children might become part of their master’s family and become free. This was unlike chattel slavery in which enslaved Africans were slaves for life, as was their children and grand children.

This foregoing clearly differentiated the meaning of *ohu* (slave in the African context) from the European. An African slave is redeemable while the European is not redeemable. Cuguano (cited by Law, 1969) remembered “slaves as being well fed and treated well” (p.90). Furthermore, Equiano (cited by Law, 1969) further confirmed that “In large states some slaves worked in government administration, and might

become an important state or royal official with wide ranging power. (p. 90).

That is what prompted Humboldt (cited by Edward, 1960) as saying that “slavery is not only opposed to the principles of morality, but as it appears to me, is pregnant with appalling and inevitable danger to the Republic” (p.662). The truth is that the protagonists of slavery do not apply pure conscience in the slavery activities. This is because absolute liberty cannot be guaranteed. Grotius (cited by Edward, 1960) substantiates on the meaning by saying that ‘slavery in all its forms, in all its degrees, is a violation of divine law, and a degradation of human nature” (p.923). Divine law upholds the liberty of human being and slavery does the opposite as it puts men in bondage either temporary as it applies in the African system of *ohu* or as perpetual as it applies to the European type of slavery. Consequently, Webster (cited by Edward, 1960) gives his own definition from his personal observation that:

From my earliest youth, I have regarded slavery as great moral and political evil I think it is unjust, repugnant to the natural equality of mankind, founded only in superior power; a standing and permanent conquest by the stronger over the weaker: The Religion of Christ is a

religion of kindness, justice and brotherly love; but slavery is not kindly affectionate; it does not seek another's and not its own; it does not let the oppressed go free; it is but a continual act of oppression. (p. 623).

The definition from the foregoing is applicable to the European system of slavery whereby human beings are perpetually kept in bondage, and also are subjected and exposed to diverse kinds of dangers. The biblical or Hebrew kind of slavery which applies to Nkanu and Igboland is a conditional type of slavery which if the conditions are met, the slave stands the chance of regaining his or her freedom and is entitled to the rights and privileges a full citizen enjoys.

On the contrary, Nwobodo (2000) argues that even if slavery existed in Nkanuland in the past, there is nothing like that now judging from the definition of a slave which means one who belongs to and works for another. He explains that:

Slavery is very practical. Once one cannot force any kind of order on another, once everybody does his things at his own instance, has right over what is his and has the right of existence and can no longer be used as inanimate wealth, there is no slavery. Anybody

who thinks such makes the greatest mistake. In the meantime, the slave concept is more of a verbal attack on the emotions of the other than real (p.238)".

In spite of his analysis on the definition of *ohu* and *amadi*, there is no gainsaying the fact that *ohu and amadi* existed in Nkanuland. For Nkanu people you must either belong to one or the other. The old custom still raises its ugly head practically in every nook and cranny of their social, religious, economic, and political life. Durant (1944) in trying to define slaves under the law said, "In law, slaves were not people but things" (p. 207). Aristotle (cited by Durant, 1944) said "there can never be friendship between master and slave, for they have nothing in common for a slave is a living tool, just as a tool is an inanimate slave" (p.207). The definition above might have informed the ordeal that accompanied the treatment of slaves in the slave era as their lives were owned and controlled by the master. Paul the Apostle in his letter to the Ephesians, exhorted slaves to be obedient to them that are your master according to the flesh, with fear and trembling in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ. Not with eye service, as men pleasers, but as the servants of Christ; doing the will of God from the heart (Ephesians 6:5-6).

However, Mgbobukwa (1996) in analyzing the type of freedom that exists for the *ohu* said, “What is rather unfortunate is that in our various towns and villages, those designated as *ohu* or *ume* are free, but are in chains with which their grand fathers were bound. This is real in Nkanuland today because the *amadi* cannot marry an *ohu* freely. If the *amadi*, for example, insists on that marriage, the family where he or she belongs will disown him or her instantly. Falk (1979) is of the view that slavery was a consistent part of the social system in West Africa. Whether in the Niger Delta, Igbo or in Yoruba land, slaves were the principal source of investment to indicate wealth. The acquisition of slaves was regarded as adding dignity to a man and enhancing his social status, just like the custom of having several wives. In Yoruba land, the work on the farms and households were basically done by slaves. Slaves dominated Yoruba land and outnumbered the Ijaw and Efik people. It is a clear indication from the foregoing that the degree of number of slaves in the Yoruba land was a sign of dignity to the owners. Slaves were used to stabilize their economy and enrich themselves. Igbo (2012) defined *ohu* as:

Person who is propertied or held as a property, a person bought with money or bartered by exchange of goods or services, and is expected



to render drudgery services to his master whom he or she is submissively devoted. An *ohu* has lost the power of resistance. He or she is his master's property. An *ohu* was offered in sacrifice to the spirit of the owner when dead or by the master to his ancestor. Sometimes, he was given as a substitute to suffer the death penalty incurred by his master or in fulfillment of a vow. Those who were offered to their dead master were believed to inter-live with those deceased owners. (p.179).

The issue of submission of an *ohu* to the master is not questionable as indicated from the above definition. The *ohu* may exercise some freedom but not above the dictates of the master. If he or she dares such limitation, the repercussion may be too heavy for him to endure and sometimes it may be tantamount to death penalty. Igbo (2012) also draws a distinction between an *ohu* and *osu*. He said that the word *osu* means a slave, but one distinction from an ordinary slave (*oru*) is the fact that he is the property of the gods, in plain language "a living sacrifice". Once devoted to a god, there is practically no prospect of such a slave regaining freedom, and, formerly his movement is restricted to the precincts of the

shrine to which he was attached. Redemption is possible but of extremely rare occurrence even then the fact is remembered against the one redeemed.

Basden (1966) posits that in the past, a slave (as distinct from pawn) was reckoned as of no more value than an equivalent in money. He was entirely at the disposal of his owner, even to life itself. He had no privileges beyond those extended to him by the goodwill of his master. Should that good will be of small extent, or much extent, the slave was in rather a disrespectful position so much depended upon the attitude of the owner. The master was not unaware of his terms with his slaves for opportunities abound for them to retaliate if treated badly. The definition of the slave further confirms the fact that there are certain privileges accrued to the slave. He is not totally alienated from the right to live and live well. Brown and LoveJoy (2010) stressed that “when Europeans arrived along the West African Coast, slavery already existed on the continent. (p.201). Davidson (cited by Edward, 1960) pointed out that “slavery in Africa and the brutal form of slavery that would develop in the Americas were vastly different. African slavery was more akin to European serfdom- the condition of most Europeans in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, (p.203). Uzoma (2001) stated that:

Men captured in war were forced into what may be called domestic slavery, that is, they became the servants of those who captured them so did certain kinds of slavery that had long existed on the other continents. In Africa, on the other hand, a man who owed domestic slaves had to look after them. They could marry the master's daughters and inherit property. They could even become kings or rich merchants. (p.50).

The problem of domestic slavery was that one could not be so easily sold for it was built into traditional structures. Ezea (1999) noted that:

There were, therefore two classes of these Igbo slaves in the Delta- those who served their masters as traders and those who carried out only manual labour. The former lived well and had opportunity to accumulate wealth while the later lived in penury and had no opportunity to build personal wealth. The slaves helped to develop Delta communities and made possible the high standard of living of the Delta Elite in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (p.4).

The general assessment of *ohu* in the African context is that the procurement of slaves added colour and dignity to the owners and their services increased their wealth accumulation. In the European context, Law

(1969) opined that “slavery was a legally recognized system in which people were legally considered the property or chattel of another. A slave had few rights and could be bought or sold and made to work for the owner without any choice or pay” (p. 86). Consequently, Ajayi (1965) opines that:

Hitherto it had been the external slave trade that was a sin, to abolish which Britain was penetrating the country domestic slavery, supplying labour for economic development was a social evil which need worry no conscience unduly, indeed, under the guise of redeeming slaves and Pains “it became a Christian duty, but from 1838 onwards domestic slavery was becoming recognized as a offence against both the Christian and the Britain golden rule of do unto others as you would be done by (p.169).

The underlying truth is that slavery in all its ramifications is a sin against humanity. The humiliation and debasement that is associated with it underpins its widespread condemnation and disaffection. The slaves in the African setting were predisposed to some privileges. In addition, Douglas (1962) stated that:

Under the influence of Roman law, a slave is usually considered to be a person male or female owned by another without rights,

and –like any form of personal property – to be used and disposed of in whatever way the owner may wish. In an ancient Near East, however, slaves cannot acquire various rights before the law or by custom and these include ownership (even of other slaves), and the power to conduct business while they were yet under the master’s control. (p.1110).

It is obvious from this definition that the freedom, rights and privileges of the slaves were completely eclipsed by the owners. Nevertheless, Williams (1989) has contrary view to this:

Slaves are known to have existed in the ancient Near East from earliest times, although they were not always the personal property of their owners to be used in any way desired. They would acquire legal rights which included ownership of other slaves and the power to conduct their own business. (p. 520).

The definition from the foregoing is similar to the practices of *ohu* in the African context which was predisposed to some privileges. Charles (1975) stated that “slave was usually a domestic servant rather than an agricultural or industrial worker” (p.201). This type of slavery is enshrined into the family setting as was the case in Nkanuland and Igboland before

the advent of the British missionaries. Consequently, Pujari (2012) defines stratification as:

A process by which individuals and groups are ranked in more or less enduring hierarchy of status. It refers to the division of a population into strata, one on the top of another, on the basis of certain characteristics like inborn qualities, material possession and performance. (p.206).

It is worthy of note that in a freeborn and slave social stratification there is usually a division of population as in the foregoing. Murray (cited by Pujari, 2002) defines social stratification as “horizontal division of society into higher and lower social units” (p.230). Lunderberg (cited by Pujari, 2002) is of the view that “a stratified society is one meted by differences among people that are evaluated by them as being lower and higher” (p.237).

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework.**

The issue of social stratification has been analyzed by sociologists for centuries, its root cause and effects in the society. That is why the researcher has adopted two main theories to tackle the issue. They are as

follows: (a) the Marxist Theory. This theory was propounded by Karl Marx. He was a German philosopher, economist and evolutionary sociologist. Marx based his idea that society has two classes of people; the bourgeoisie are the owners of means of production, such as factories and other businesses while the Proletariat are the workers. Marx argued that the bourgeoisie (owners) give workers just enough to service, but in the end the workers are exploited.

As a result of this exploitation, Marx foresaw a worker revolution. He believed that revolution and misery would eventually drive the working majority to come together and overthrow capitalism (bourgeoisie) through global revolution. Once the dust is settled after the revolution, the worker would then own the means of production and the whole world become communists.

Above all, this theory argues that inequality exists in society because there is always a struggle over who gets what. Inequality results because social positions are attained not by talent or ability, but by force, by birth, by dominance, by exploitation, by coercion. Pujari (2002) opines that:

In the view of Marx, the concept of class is fundamental. Class, according to Marx, is a historical category. It is connected with a certain stage in development of production relation. Classes increase for reason of historical necessity connected with appearance of exploitative mode of production. The first exploitative mode of production was slavery in which the principal classes are slaves and slave owners. (p. 3).

The same scenario in the Marxist social theory is applicable in the *ohu* and *amadi* syndrome in Nkanuland whose existence is perpetrated by economic reason whereby the ruling class takes advantage of the lower class. The *amadi* who projects the course of this social stratification have exploitative tendencies over the *ohu*. This is noticeable in Nkanuland and its environs where there are complaint and counter-complaints by those who feel that they are being denied their common patrimony.

Marx conflict theory of stratification holds that inequality gives room for a fixed system of winners and losers. The losers who are caught in this web have little chances to improve their situation since those at the top are more influential both politically and economically. Marx Weber (1930) agrees with the fundamental tenet Marx had that control over



property was a basic fact in the determination of the life-chances of an individual or class. Weber (1930) says “classes are stratified according to the production and acquisition of goods.”

In addition, class is determined by a person’s market situation, which largely depends on whether he owns property. Market situation determines income, and the life chances. Other sociologists, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert More (1945) believe that stratification serves an important function in society. In any society, a number of task such as clearing the streets or serving coffee in a restaurant, are relatively simple. Other tasks such as designing sky creppers, performing brain surgery are complicated and require more intelligence and training than the simple tasks. Those who perform official tasks are therefore entitled to more power, prestige and money. Davis and More (1945) believe that no unequal distribution of society’s reward is necessary to encourage people to take on more complicated and important work that required many years of training. They believe that reward attached to a particular job reflect, its importance to society (Mundal 2010).

Many marginalizations that were experienced in Nkanuland have social stratification undertone. A situation whereby the resources of any

group or community is hijacked by an individual or group is not to the best interest of that community and hinders effective evangelism which requires money or other resources to be actualized. The disadvantaged community will be disenfranchised from the resources that are essential for effective evangelism. Gaius (cited by Barclays, 2010) says “The terror of slaves was that they were absolutely at the mercies of their masters Whims” (p. 208). This fundamental law places the master of the slave in the position of being a lord. In Nkanuland, even if the slaves live and beget children of their own, their entire family and possession still belong to their master and their welfare recycles under their master’s prerogative.

Furthermore, Varo (cited by Barclays, 2010) propounded a theory on agriculture which he divided agricultural instrument into three classes – the articulate, the inarticulate and the mute. The articulate comprises the slaves, the inarticulate, the cattle, and the mute, the vehicle. A slave is no better than an animal that happens to be able to talk” (p.207). There is an undisputable fact from the foregoing that the values of slaves have been reduced to mere property.

In the same vein, Mc Gregor (cited by Nmah, 2004) in his theory says “Most people must be coerced, controlled and threatened with punishment to get them work” (p. 22).

When a person has to be threatened with punishment to get him or her to work, it implies servitude has set in which Varo (cited by Barclays 2010) says “is no better than animal”. Randal (1994) states that it is in the interest of those who have wealth to keep and extend what they own, whereas it is in the interest of those who have little or no wealth to try to improve their lot in life. This can also be explained to include any society’s morality, and by extension their definition of deviance. Anything that challenges the control of the elite will likely be considered “deviant or morally reprehensible.” Omoregbe (1993) in his view provides a clue to the exploitation and the oppression of man which is enshrined in Marxist theory:

It would be a waste of time persecuting religion without destroying the capitalist system which produces it by its exploitation and oppression of the masses. For, as long as there is capitalism, there will be exploitation, oppression and suffering, and consequently, there will be religion. The best way to get rid of religion then, in

Marx view, is to destroy the exploitative capitalist system and replace it with socialism. Once capitalism is destroyed and economic exploitation disappears with it, religion will die a natural death and disappear with capitalism. (p. 12-13).

This hinges on the fact that what drives man into religion is exploitation and religion in itself is man's self alienation and the rich encourages religion so as to use it to oppress the poor or as opium, a suffering of the exploited masses. Therefore, the oppressed poor look up to God for deliverance.

The second theory adopted in this study is the functionalist theory. This theory was propounded by Kingsley Davis and Wilbert More (1945) who were prominent American Sociologists. They observed that social stratification inevitably occurs in any complex society, particularly in an industrial society and it serves some vital functions in such societies. Social stratification is indispensable to any complex society, they said. This view is known as functional theory of social stratification.

Parson (1991) argues that stratification system derives from common value. In Parson's words, stratification in its natural aspect is the ranking of units in a social system, in accordance with common value

system. Thus, those who perform successfully in terms of society's values will be ranked higher and they will likely receive a variety of rewards. They will be accorded high prestige. For example, if a society places a high value on bravery and generosity, as in the case of the Sioux. Indians, those who exceed in terms of qualities will receive high rank in the stratification system. He also argues that since different societies have different value systems, the way of attaining a high position will vary from society to society.

It follows from Parson's (1991) argument that there is general belief that stratification is right and proper since they are basically an expression of social values. Thus, the American business executive is seen to deserve his rewards because members of the society place a high value on his skills and achievements.

According to the functionalists, the relationship between social groups in the society is one of co-operation and interdependence. As no one group is self sufficient, it cannot meet the needs of its members; it must therefore exchange goods and services with other groups. So the relationship extends to the stratification system.

In societies with a highly specialized division of labour, some members will specialize in organization and planning, others will follow their directives. Parsons (1991) argues that this inevitably brings about inequality in terms of power and prestige. Those with higher power of organization and coordinate the activities of others will have higher social status.

As with prestige differential, Parson (1991) argues that inequalities of power are based on shared values, power is legitimate authority in a sense that is generally accepted and just and proper by members of the society as a whole. He sees social stratification both inevitable and functional for the society. Power and prestige inequalities are essential for the coordination and integration of a specialized division of labour. Without social inequalities, Parson (1991) finds it difficult to see how members of society would effectively cooperate and work together.

In addition, the first person to present the most famous functional theory of stratification was Davis and More in 1945. According to them, stratification exists in every known human society. They argue that all social systems share certain functional prerequisite which must be met for survival and effective operation. One of such functional prerequisite is

effective role allocation and performance. Davis and More (1945) argue that all societies need some mechanism for ensuring effective role allocation and performance. This mechanism is social stratification. They see stratification as system which attracts unequal rewards and privileges to different positions in the society.

This theory was adopted to enhance quality, skills and achievements in performance which is a prerequisite for attaining excellence.

### **2.3 Empirical Studies**

The works the researcher has studied and reviewed by Enechukwu were History of Nkanuland, and History of *obe*. The *wawa* struggle, A history of factional dissension in Igboland. The social stratification is an age long system that is common in different places all over the world taking into consideration the foundation upon which those cities were established as different historians assert. Enechukwu (2000) is of the view that, since 1910, *amadi* and *ohu* have stayed as the descriptive names for master and slaves respectively because for slavery to flourish, social differentiation or stratification was essential. Also essential was an

economic surplus. Surplus was also essential in the slave systems where the owners expected economic gain from slave ownership.

The submission as noted from the above statement is that the slaves were fashioned to boost the income of their owners. Their flourishing income was as a result of the influx of slaves from slave trade. However, it is not far-fetched that slaves in Nkanuland were acquired to boost their economic activities as they are noted for agriculture which is the mainstay of their livelihood. Paradoxically, the trend of *ohu* and *amadi* has suffocated the political, social and economic life of Nkanuland. Enechukwu (2000) points out, “Nkanu communities generally lack development despite their proximity to the city of Enugu. One of the major constraints to development in Nkanuland is the suffocating saga of *amadi /ohu* (p.459). To corroborate on the foregoing, Nnamani (cited by Enechukwu 2000) says “The socially establishing phenomenon called *amadi/obia* is one major source of disunity in Nkanu which resulted in unnecessary fratricidal warfare between the two groups” (p. 459).

The underlying fact is that effective evangelism cannot thrive in an atmosphere of disunity. This is because the foundation gospel of Jesus Christ must be well anchored on a virile society. Any society that lacks this



basic ingredient (unity) that makes a house stand will definitely collapse. It was for the same economical reason mentioned earlier that pushed the chiefs in the colonial era to pawn their children to the missionaries as Kalu (1978) points out:

Furthermore, in times of distress, many including chiefs pawned their children to the wealthy missionaries. Such children became servants and worked for the missionaries until those who pawned them had refunded the money loaned. (p. 115).

Brown and Love Joy (2010) state that in the early twentieth century, the Nkanu clan area of Igboland, south eastern Nigeria, was renowned for large concentration of slaves and freeborns. One had expected that the imprint of *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland as indicated above would have been swept under the carpet. Nonetheless, it is indeed regrettable that the scourge has continued to slacken Christian evangelism and forestall the general development of Nkanu. Enechukwu (2000) confirms this:

But with the arrival of the British Government in Nkanu in 1910, things began to fall apart between the *amadi* and *obia* groups. Slavery was universally abolished in 1807, but the abolition had no

effect in Nkanu as the practice continued after 1807 in Nkanuland. (p. 452).

The cankerworm of *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland which nearly destabilized the colonial regime is still a headache in the past administrations of Enugu State till date and any administration that did not apply caution in handling the issue will pay dearly for it.

Basden (1966) reprint outlines the peculiar nature of a domestic slave which was distinct from the “chattel slavery” that was practiced by the Europeans; the problem of domestic slavery was that it could not be so easily erased for it built into traditional social structure. For once a domestic slave decided to quit the family that owned him traditionally, the master would not reclaim him. However, he continued to have social status of slave.

It was the domestic type of slavery that was obtainable in Nkanuland which was built into traditional social structure that made their separation difficult. That would explain why there is no community in Nkanu today that has no combination of *ohu* and *amadi*. One could outnumber the other but there are pockets of *ohu* in every *amadi* communities and vice versa. This is in spite of the healthy relationship that

existed between them in the past which is now a mirage. In Nkanuland today, effective evangelism is punctured because the *amadi* still feel that superiority complex over the *ohu*. They feel that nothing good can come out from them. That is why in the past, the *ohu*, that vie for ministerial training were stopped. However, it is quite disappointing that after many years, majority of the *amadi* still feel that it is a slight to their personality to sit under the leadership of *ohu* who is a minister. That was what lends credence to the decline of membership in many churches the *ohu* pastors in Nkanu. However, Brown and Love Joy (2010) recalls that in 1922, hundreds of slaves called *ohu* rose against their owners in different communities in Nkanu.

It is pertinent to observe from the foregoing that the political hierarchies that have been dominated by *amadi* from the time of the missionaries have cut across the generations of Nkanuland till date and have given room to all sorts of marginalization and have limited natural resources to the *amadi*. Above all, it has some implications to effective evangelism in the sense that the spirit of lopsided secular politics has also filtered into the church creating disharmony, discrimination, disunity and secularism which do not give room for effective evangelism. Some who

carry out evangelism are seen as double dealers and agent of discrimination as a result, effective evangelism is weakened. This is because many of the unrest in different communities are traceable to them yet on Sunday they occupy the front seat in churches and often embark on evangelism. For example, one of the protagonists of Ugwuaji/Amechi War is also a lay preacher in one of the churches in Nkanu. Nwobodo (2009) highlights the report given by the District Officer, Udi division on *ohu* and *amadi* issue during the colonial regime:

It has been my aim to practically ignore the difference between the freeborn and slave born when submitting this proposal, at paragraph 33 of the report it will be seen from the approximate figures given that the male slave born population in both towns out-numbered the freeborn. It has been the government policy to ignore the existence of slave born population for some considerable time and I consider any definite distinction made when dealing with the re-organization is more likely to do harm than good. (p. 146).

The leadership quality of the colonial masters in handling the sensitive issue of *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland should be commended. Their attitude is antithetical to the ineptitude of the present leadership in

both Nkanu hierarchy and in Enugu State in handling the sensitive issue of *ohu and amadi*. However, the leadership qualities of some administrators in Enugu State like Dr. Chimaroke Nnamani who exercised equity in his administrative settings brought serenity in his regime as against Bar. Sullivan Chime, whose disposition and unfair treatment against his deputy was frowned at by all and sundry, all in the name of *ohu and amadi*. Unfortunately, when the government who should partner with the church to preach a message of peace, unity and reconciliation turns out to become an agent of social discrimination, effective evangelism will be affected because the implication is that the government will indirectly attack churches who preach against it.

On a positive aspect, Ezea (1999) states that the influx of the Igbo slaves into the Niger Delta had a very marked effect on the Delta society; Igbo language almost replaced Ubani in Bonny in 1853. Some of the slaves became successful traders. The slaves in Bonny collected palm oil from the inland markets, paddled the canoes and carried out other tasks involved in the trade. Some of them took part in buying the palm oil and clever ones among them used the opportunities to make personal wealth. There were therefore, two classes of these Igbo slaves in the Delta, those who served

their masters as traders and those who carried out manual labour. The former lived well and had opportunity to build personal wealth. The slaves helped to develop Delta communities and made possible the high standard of living of the Delta elites in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The issue of *ohu* and *amadi* has some positive implication in Nkanu because those who are being discriminated against or the *ohu*, in spite of their population are also strikingly rich and successful in their different fields of endeavours. This is partly because they struggle to make a mark in whatever thing they lay their hands on. This affluence is also extended towards effective evangelism as some single handedly built churches and fund evangelism campaign in areas under their influence. Some of the items that aid effective evangelism which include buses, musical equipment, Bibles and free food items are freely donated by those wealthy personalities. Consequently, some of them have extended their generosity by single-handedly embarking on road construction, provision of electricity and pipe borne water in a bid to better the lives of their communities who are discriminated against. However, Anyabolu (2000) states that because the Igbo slaves were not plantation slaves, and could not therefore be disciplined in closely controlled gangs, the city-state freeman created a

special type of slave status for the Igbo. The slave became a member of the “house”, an institution which was an extension of the traditional African family and which now incorporated the canoe team. Slave of ability and intelligence were loaned goods and allowed to trade and keep a percentage of the profits. They could also own personal property as was allowed them by law. Slaves could accumulate enough property to buy their freedom and could even become heads of houses themselves. This form of slavery prevented any possibility of slave rebellion under intelligent leaders. Wealthy slaves could also become slave owners and were often great defenders of the system which enslaved them.

Here, Anyabolu (2000) distinguished the relationship between the *ohu* and the *amadi* in Igbo setting, distinct from the plantation slaves who were specifically allocated to work in sugar plantation of the European. In the Igbo setting, the *ohu* became part of the prestige of the family. Some of them who were trusted enough by their owners were entrusted with the whole affairs of the entire household. Anyabolu (2000) further states that:

Before slave trading became big business, slaves were used as labourers in various parts of Nigeria, prior to the arrival of the Europeans. These were treated with dignity because they were

important facet of the society. They built the great walls of Kano, and great palaces and roads in Benin. Slavery was common in Nigeria, and every Nigerian used them to undertake construction projects. (p. 53).

The same circumstance was obtainable in Nkanuland but the increase in slave trade in the 15 to 16<sup>th</sup> century and the subsequently social evils severed their relationship. It is the discrimination that slacked the social, economic and political setting of Nkanuland and subjected them to a dilemma that they are yet to recover. The dichotomy which was the culmination of this stratification also created stark hatred in the subsequent generation of the youth who were instrumental to the havoc done to the well being of its citizens, and constituted nuisance to evangelism. The increase in slave trade culminated in the debasement of human being. Isichei (1976) stated that:

Forty slaves were killed at the death of Obi Ossai of Aboh in 1845 and greater numbers were sacrificed at the death of Delta rulers. In the Nsukka area, the going rate was ten slaves for a horse a rate rather were flattering to humanity than that described by Leo Africans in sixteenth century Bornu, where it was fifteen to twenty slaves to a horse. At Uburu in



1880s, a horse was exchanged for four to six adult slaves. The practice of human sacrifice comes to be a way of dispensing of sick and disabled slaves. In Ohuhu, such slaves were called *Ovulabo* because they were carried in long baskets to Uburu, to be sacrificed to the spirit of the brume springs (p. 47).

The social stratification *ohu* and *amadi* is palpable in some communities. One example is the ordeal which the people of *Umuode (ohu)* in Nkanu East Local Government Area of Enugu State undergo. In the South-east of Nigeria, the people of Umuode in Nkanu East Local Government Area of Enugu State, who are said to be the descendants of *osu*, are being treated as second class citizens. In their *Oruku* community made up of *Umuode*, *Umuchani* and *Onwugwu*, the people of *umuode* are strongly discriminated against from the rest of the communities because of their ascribed *osu* status in the community. The local churches also embroiled themselves in this situation that they could hardly appoint the people of *umuode* to positions of responsibility like stewards, secretary, and treasurer .etc

The class ostracism is operated in such a manner that any person from the *amadi* who talks to, or greets any person from *Umuode*, pays a

fine sometimes as high as (#1,000) naira. Because of this situation, the people of *Umuode* operate their own local market different from the Eke in *Oruku* market which is owned by *Onuagowo*. The people of *Umuode* have waged wars against this social stigma since 1995 and have lost.

The aftermath of this social stratification in *Oruku* is that the church is embroiled in this web of discrimination (Agboegbu 2000). This has a negative implication on effective evangelism. The footsteps of Jesus who ignored the social stratification disposition of the Samaritan woman in John 4:1-8 and reacted with love paved the way for effective evangelism; this should be the step to be taken by churches in Nkanuland, instead of a mere playing to the gallery. Perry (1999) observes that:

As applied to stratification, power is probably the most important dimension of stratification because it affects the manners in which Society's goods and services are distributed. In traditional, non-industrial societies, power is held by small elites, while the majority of people are relatively powerless. In industrial societies however, relatively powerless, power is spread among many people, largely as a result of universal

suffrage and general living standard of the majority of the population. (p. 145).

The assertion above lends credence as to why many people in different societies are die hard adherents of the stratification which hinges on acquiring power to enable them dominate the lower class. The same thing is the order of the day in Enugu State whereby the Nkanu people have played the dominant role in the political structure. Even in the era of the erstwhile governor of Enugu State, Bar. Sulevan Chime, it was the chief of staff, Mrs. Ifeoma Nwobodo, an Agbaja woman married to Nkanu man that determined where the pendulum of governance swung to and was instrumental to the depose of the deputy governor. (Aninjoku 2014).

In this type of prevailing circumstances where stratification is encouraged, with its accompanying social evil, like nepotism, indiscriminate killings, vandalism, sectionalism, effective evangelism is affected as the same people that promote this scourge are purported Christians who evangelize.

The slave system in Africa can be compared to the system of serfdom as was practiced then in Europe under feudalism in the middle ages. Jensen

(2009) states that serfdom is the status of peasants under feudalism, specifically relating to manorialism, it was a condition of bondage which developed primarily during the High Middle Ages in Europe and lasting in some countries until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. India and Cuba are some of them.

Serfs who occupied a plot of land were required to work for the lord of the Manor who owned that land, and in return were entitled to protection, justice and the right to exploit some fields within the manor to sustain their own living. Serfs were often required to not only to work on the lord's fields, but also his mines, forests and roads. The manor formed the basic unit of feudal society and lord of the manor and his serf were bound legally, economically and socially, Serfs formed the lowest social class of the feudal society. The scenario is applicable to the *ohu* in the Nkanu slave setting who are entitled to protection, justice and the right to exploit certain fields. The *ohu* enjoyed those privileges until the European system of exploitative slavery set in and everything crumbled.

## **2.4 Summary of Literature Review**

In summary, social stratification provided modality through which societal members are ranked in classes, status, groups and hierarchies of power. This is because the more complex the society is the more they are unequal in distributions of scarce resources. It is this unequal distribution of the available resources that generated tension and war in different Nkanu communities.

From Law through Mgbobukwa, Basden show that the European practiced a kind of Chattel slavery distinct from the domestic slave system which was built into the traditional structure of Igbo family, and as such was difficult to break off. Consequent upon this, the slaves were provided for. The form of maltreatment that the slaves in Nkanu underwent was the aftermath of the slave trade.

From the African setting, the procurement of slaves added colour and dignity to their owners and increased their wealth accumulation. That is what contributed to the development of Benin and raised their standard of living. The slaves in the African setting were predisposed to some

privileges contrary to the Chattel type of slavery which were subjected to different kinds of inhuman treatment.

However, Marxist theory pointed out that the existence of social stratification perpetrated by economic reason whereby the ruling class takes advantage of the lower class. This is what is obtainable in Nkanu. In spite of the defect of social stratification which centers on Capitalism, Omoregbe (1993) provided a clue that Capitalism with its exploitative tendencies must be destroyed and replaced with socialism for religion to die a natural death, since the rich encourages religion in order to use it to oppress the poor masses.

Consequently, Davis and More pointed out that social stratification was indispensable in a complex society like industrial society. He stressed that social stratification encourages people to take on more complicated jobs since it earns a higher reward and increases their societal values.

In the next chapter, we shall be dealing with the ethnography of Nkanuland.

### **CHAPTER THREE**

## **NKANU PEOPLE: A BRIEF ETHNOGRAPHY**

In this chapter, a history of Nkanu people was explained which included the origin, location, the people's occupation, their history, traditional religion, social structure and their major institutions.

### **3.1 Origin**

The people of Nkanu can be said to have a common ancestor known as *Osagwede*. He was a hunter from *Ogwugwu* in *Ntuegbe Nese* of Awgu local government area. This clan was founded from a culmination of his hunting expedition in the forest areas that are today known as *Akegbeugwu* and *Obuoffia* communities. Nwobodo (2000) states that *Osagwede* on discovery of *Nyaa* and *Etavu* streams decided to settle in *Obueghu Akagbeugwu* from where he finally moved down to *Obuoffia*. He got married to a lame woman from *Amurri*. However, it is said that the woman was thrown into the forest from where *Osagwede* picked her. The woman bore *Osagwede* four children namely *Akaegbe*, *Obuoffia*, *Amodu* and *Ngwuta*. Enechukwu (2000) states that the people of *Nkanu* equally belong in Igboland to a political and social group referred to as *wawa*. *Wa* means no and *wawa* means emphatic no. The word was negatively used for the

first time in 1916 as “bush people” by foreigners in Enugu against the people of Nkanu, Ngwo and Agbaja. As the name implies ‘*Nka-Anu*’ (provider of meat) was so named to preserve the name of the progenitor *Osagwede* who was a great hunter that earned himself that sobriquet in view of his outstanding hunting and craft. He also demonstrated great generosity and benevolence to his people by supplying meat and craft to them on a constant basis expecting nothing in return. For this reason, he earned for himself that reputation. Nkanu is one of the oldest towns in Enugu state and occupies an important position in the geo political, economic and social landscape of the state and Nigeria.

### **3.1.1 Social Structures**

In this section, we studied the *ohu* and *amadi* structure.

#### **3.1.2 Ohu**

The sobriquet *ohu* is derogatorily linked to a person who has lost his fundamental human right and freedom and is bound to serve others. In Nkanuland, this situation is attributed to a lot of factors such as the quest for survival. Some people just in a bid to survive willingly surrendered themselves into the hands of the wealthier people in the land for protection



and shelter in a bid to survive the economic hardship of the time. In addition, some other forms of slavery were brought about by the aftermath of tribal wars. However some families sold their sons and daughters into slavery in exchange for economic gains. Some slaves in Nkanuland were as a result of abominable deed. In the pre-colonial times, there existed a chemistry of harmony and mutual relationship between slaves and their owners until jealousy, dichotomy, and bitter resentment became the order of the day and entered the fabrics of the lives of many generations of *Nkanuland*. Enechukwu (2000) states that “slaves were inherited in the same way as any other inheritance in *Nkanu*. The descendants of slaves were the properties of the descendants of their masters and all of slave possessions were his master’s properties.” (p.362).

### **3.1.3 Amadi**

The word *amadi* has been described as free-born or my master (*nna nwem*). Enechukwu (2000) claims that “it was a borrowed word from Aro” (p.7). This group in *Nkanu* claims the originality or the aborigines of the land which they protect with every sense of jealousy. *The amadi in Nkanuland* consider the *ohu* as their properties and such do not possess the

right to question their course of action. To demonstrate the extent of their influence, a man slaughtering of an *ohu* was not regarded as an offence against the earth goddess and the offender was not asked to kill himself. But in the killing of *amadi*, the killer is demanded to hang himself or hang another *amadi* and not an *ohu* for *amadi*, since they were regarded as unequal in status. Above all, the *ohu* was used for any derogatory duties like climbing of palm tree, and cutting of wood. It is an abomination for an *amadi* to climb a palm tree or to marry an *ohu*. Marriage between the *ohu* and *amadi* is *aru* (abomination) as the *ohu* and *amadi* must marry among their social groups respectively.

### **3.1.4 The Village Council**

Nkanuland exercises a form of democratic structure of government in village circle as are prevalent among communities in Igboland. In this circle the eldest man among the group regarded as the president presides over issues that affect the community. However, he could not enact laws solely on his own unless he is exceedingly powerful. In addition, he must possess oratory skill and the knowledge of the village as an added advantage. An aphorism that a poor man's voice is not heard is true judging

from the fact that wealth plays a major role in determining the influence a ruler exerts on the people he governs. The leaders of different lineages come together to form a quorum for decision making. There was freedom of speech and the body had the right to withdraw for deliberation on any complicated issue (*igba izuzu*). Enechukwu (2000) maintains that “the people of Nkanu regard *ofo* as the messenger and interpreter, who bears all prayer to God, ancestors, and other deities. It is widely regarded as the “keystone to religious or social life of the Ibo” (p.201). The *ofo* remains a symbol of authority. The feature of administration of family in Nkanuland was made distinct with the *ofo* title holders which were given to the family heads to enable them discharge their spiritual obligations. Idigo (2012) said that “the administrative system down the ladder was such that *ofo* was given to each family head who officiated as spiritual heads with authority to rule their individual families”. (p.104). It is the *ofor* that separated the family heads from the rest of the people as it is the symbol of authority. The deduction from the foregoing is that the attainment of native tradition doctors is a process which starts with a simple process.

### **3.1.5 The Lineage**

Nmah (2003) maintains that, “Igbo is a society with strong patrilineal groups (*umunna*). A child is weaned up in his father’s lineage, but he is also in contact with his mother’s lineage as the child grows, he comes to be aware of wider social world” (p.39). In Nkanuland, the lineage meeting is also presided over by the oldest man and other men of proven integrity that rally behind him to enable them make decisions that will carry the family through. A break down in mutual relationship in the *Umunna* will destabilize the family and can affect the entire village government. Enechukwu (2000) states that:

The executive authorities of towns in *Nkanu* were a consular body composed of at least one representative from every kindred within the group. These elders were believed to be the living embodiments of the founding fathers of their lineages, and they were distinguished with staff of truth, decorated with iron rings (*echi*) which was untouchable by people outside this group. (p:133).

### **3.1.6 Occupation**

Similar to what is obtainable in different parts of Igboland in the past, agriculture remains the major occupation in Nkanuland and every other economic activity revolves around it. In spite of the exodus of the teeming population to urban areas for white collar jobs, agriculture remains the major source of existence of a majority of Nkanu people. It remains the glimmer of hope for the less privileged when all other means of livelihood fell through. In pre-colonial era, certain days like market days and feast days are mapped out for rest in which case nobody is allowed to farm. Nkanu people grow yam (*ji*), cassava (*jigbo*), water yam (*mgbala*), cowpea (*akiji*) garden eggs (*anara*) maize (*oka*) and vegetables (*ugu*) of various kinds. The act of domestication was also a prominent feature. Tilling is prohibited for women. Moreover, the introduction of cassava in Nike, for instance was in 1930 and it was regarded as *ohu* crop and therefore, an offense against the goddess of the land. A. Onwe (personal communication, 2010) states that “*Nnamani Nwangene from Umuigbo in Amurri* was once ex-communicated for three good years by the entire people of *Amurri* for introducing cassava”. Yam was the symbol of greatness and richness. Nkanu people are also notable in trading and marketing brought about by civilization.. Above all, they are also notable for butchery to preserve the

legacy of their progenitor Osagwede noted for hunting and craft. However, Onuigbo (2009) states that:

The set-back in agriculture in Igboland is that young ones who ought to engage in the farm work are in the cities and abroad for white-collar jobs and some other businesses. Consequently, farm work is left principally to the aged men and women at home who produce what could barely satisfy them. He cited Basden who corroborated on this idea as saying that in the olden days the goods offered for sale in the market were mostly collected from the domestic side of the household but today, most markets are flooded with materials imported from different parts of the world. (p.15).

Finally, with the increase in population and with the advancement of technology, there is an influx of people into tertiary institutions. To enhance this course, primary schools, colleges and universities have been built to encourage people to acquire knowledge. The recent transfer of Enugu State University of Science and Technology (ESUT) from its original base to *Agbani (Nkanu)* and the establishment of Renaissance University and Nigerian Law School at the same Agbani by the erstwhile governor of Enugu State, Dr. Chimaroke Nnamani, is a welcome

development. The aim is to serve as a morale booster for the people of Nkanu to embrace quality education and to fine tune their God given talents for the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **3.1.7 Traditional Religion**

Idowu (cited by Nmah, 2003) as saying “there is no way a person can understand a man without studying the man’s religion” (p.25). Traditionally, Igbo people are religious people and in Nkanuland, religion remains a unifying factor preserving the unity, culture and the norms governing the land. It is a vital element that enhances mutual understanding among the Igbo. Nnamani (2009) opines that:

The norms and religion were meant to regulate the conduct and behaviour of the citizenry in order to maintain societal peace, harmony and co-existence. *Igo muo* or *Igo Arusi* was the ancestral religion of Nkanu people. They had religious beliefs, observed religious ceremonies and rites. They equally make proverbs and myths that conveyed religious beliefs, customs and traditions which safeguard the lives of individuals and community. These were passed

through conversation and preaching from one generation to another.  
(p.19).

Nkanu people believe in magic, ancestors, deities, Ala – the guardian of morality and practice medicine. They also believe in Ndichie –living dead and Almighty God (Chineke) who observe every action and activity. Sacrifices and offerings were part of the permanent features of the Nkanu traditional religion. They also practiced divination as a way of obtaining answers to enigmatic issues mainly conducted by the traditional priests (*dibia*). There are major abominations in Nkanuland which include stealing of yams, stealing of palm wine from palm trees, suicide, poisoning of others, climbing of palm tree by a woman, death of a widow while mourning her husband and disclosing the identity of a masquerade publicly. In Nkanuland, *ofò* remains a symbol of authority. However, the advent of Christianity has to a large extent lessened the effectiveness of the traditional religion in so many places.



## 3.2 Major Institutions

### 3.2.1 Marriage

Marriage is a very important institution in Nkanuland like in other Igbo communities. Ogbajie (1995) states that, “It is a point where all the members of a given community meet; the departed, the living and those yet to be born” (p.23). In the African setting, marriage cannot be contracted without an involvement of the society. It is a means of procreation. In Nkanuland and other areas of Igboland, the marriage between the (slave and freeborn) *ohu* and *amadi* is forbidden. Even in the Diasporas, Sutra (1968) said that, “In Muscovy and China, slave owners could sell or will children apart from their parents, but marriages were inviolable” (p. 294).

It should be noted that Nkanu people are exogamous, and as such they are permitted to marry from another kindred. Some related kindreds in most communities in Nkanu are in inter-marriage relationship, because they believe that they are of a common ancestor. It is established that a sacrifice could be offered to appease the fore-fathers of the couple for the blessing of such a marriage or else the couple would be struck to death. Nkanu people have specific days and months of which marriage are contracted which varies according to the norms and peculiarities of

different communities within Nkanu. The marriage is contracted through the middle man (*Ottawa*). Yams and palm wine were used as a bride price in pre-colonial days.

### **3.2.2 Age Grade**

Age Grade constitutes group of males or females within a certain age group usually from 15 and above Nkanuland. They undertake such responsibilities like clearing of village squares, market places and springs. In addition, they organize dance groups and masquerades societies, collection of fines, prosecutors of all forms of offenders. In families, they are very active in executing farm work and other prominent duties like rearing of livestock which is an aspect of *Nkanu* domestic occupation. Every family strives to protect the interest of their children by ensuring that they are not denied of what is due to them. The age grade also plays an important role during burial ceremonies like digging of graves and sensitizing the community about the death of its citizens especially if the victim is an influential person. The notification of such death is a way of expressing their displeasure for the deceased.

### 3.2.3. Ozo Title

In Nkanuland as in Igboland generally, title holders have special prestige and are greatly respected. Ogbajie (1995) opines that “*ozo* title is non-existence in Ohafia, Arochukwu, and Bende Umuahia area of Igboland. Yet even in those areas where it does not exist *ozo* is recognized for what it stands for” (p.36). It carries both a religious and social influence and its installation is accompanied with a lot of ceremonies. Nmah (2003) states that the *ozo* titled men enjoy some privileges such as being the lords in the society. This denotes political and social status. In some Igbo areas, it is only the *ozo* title holders that are qualified to hold any political office and to represent their families and lineages in the village group councils and preside over settlements of new cults. Socially, they belong to noble men’s rank. At public meals, they are to be served first and they are to carry and blow the elephants tusks. They are to put eagle feathers on their caps, sit on goat’s skin on the dais, and pour libation to the spirit of the dead ancestors. The situation in Nkanu is also similar to the foregoing as those honours and privileges are accorded to them.

### 3.2.4 Missionary Enterprise in Nkanuland

Nkanu people put up a lot of resistance before they surrendered to the British colonial powers. However, the establishment of schools to satisfy the people's demand however, gave room to Christianity as well.

Nnamani (2009) opines that:

After the discovery of coal in Enugu in 1909, and the commencement of mining in 1915, as well as establishment of Enugu urban in the same year, the church missionary society (CMS) moved into Enugu. In 1916, Rev. Isaac *Uzowulu Ejindu* from Obosi and Richardson were stationed at Enugu to evangelize the area. A Street in coal camp Enugu was named after Rev. Ejindu while another in *Asata* area was named after Richard (p.92).

It is interesting to note that the educational system in Nkanu was established under three churches namely; Church Missionary Society (CMS), the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM), and the Primitive Methodist society (PMS). Lands especially evil forests (*ajo ofia*) were allotted them to build their churches and schools. Chinonyerem (2010) narrates that though Catholicism was the first orthodox body to enter Nkanu, the Catholics did not pioneer to Agbani even though they were operating in the neighbouring

town in *Akpawfu* until later time. This is due to the opposition by the people. This is because the white missionaries were categorical and uncompromising in their religious teaching. Those who believed in ancestral cult, polygamy and deities were ordered to be queried and jettisoned. The disposition of the white missionaries and their hostility towards the traditional life style resulted in isolation and stiff opposition from the villagers who thought that they have come to sideline them from their traditional system. This made them withdraw their children from the white missionaries to avoid being influenced with the western culture. However, some factors led to the spread of the gospel in Nkanuland. First, there was keen competition among the chiefs. However, C. Ugwu (personal communication 9/2/2010) states that there was a keen competition among the chiefs who were trying to receive favour from the missionaries in order to solidify their portfolio and their territories. They did this by forcefully accepting their religion and providing shelter for them. The chiefs also provided free lands for the missionaries for the establishment of schools and the spread of Christianity in Nkanuland. The missionaries used philosophized and aesthetic appeal to subdue the villagers into submission.

When the missionaries condemned the beliefs and practices of the Nkanu people and encountered stiff oppositions from the natives they quickly changed their method and sharpened the traditional Igbo awareness of Chukwu. They claimed that Chukwu appeared in this world in visible form in the person of Jesus Christ and Chukwu wanted every person in heaven after death. However, the new tactics employed by the missionaries was crystallized. E.E. Chime (personal communication 4/7/2013) stresses that the missionaries also used the chiefs to penetrate the hearts of the people and achieved their aims. This, they did by offering gifts and supports to enable them consolidate on their governance, and the traditional rulers offered them the support they needed.

The domination of the three notable churches, Catholic Church, Anglican and Methodist is not in question. However, there are other churches which were instrumental to the spread of Christianity in Nkanuland. They are the Christ Ascension Church (CAC) and Abosso Apostolic Church (AAC).

Enechukwu (2000) states that Pentecostal churches or indigenous churches started on September, 10 1958 when Christ Ascension church was introduced at Nara by Rev. Godwin Ogbonna Nwoye, born in 1930. The

church, according to S.C Onyebuchi, was conceived in 1907 and established in 1918 at Ijebu Ode. Ogun State, Nigeria. The spiritual contribution of D.O. Odubanjo, J.B. Esinsinade and J.A Babalola resulted in the establishment of the church. It was originally called “Faith Tabernacle”, but it changed its name in 1931 to the Apostolic Church “Nigerian Apostolic Church” and finally “Christ Ascension church in 1942. From Nara, the church spread to Agbani in 1950, and in 1957, it spread to all the towns in Nkanuland except in Amankanu. Rev. Godwin Nwoye was the General Superintendent of the Christ Apostolic Eastern District until 1981 when a conflict in the church led him to form a new church in 1984 known as Christ Ascension Church. The church at present has over 2000 branches in Africa and its pastoral and Bible College is located at Isiogbo, Nkanu L.G.A of Enugu State. Another spiritual church which made an impact in *Nkanu* was the *Abosso* Apostolic Church. The origin of the church in Igboland is carefully traceable to *Amaba-Isuikwuato* in Abia state. It was founded by Daniel Ejimofor an ex-slave from Amaba who came back from America in 1941. He founded the church on October 24, 1941 at Amaba establishing branches at Aba, Port Harcourt, Lagos, and Enugu and later at Amodu Awknanaw and Obe in Nkanu in 1959. It was

brought to Amodu Awknanaw by Elijah Nnamene. Enechukwu (2000) opines that;

The Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) and *Abosso* Apostolic Church (AAC) caused a real evangelical revolution in Nkanu as many traditional worshippers and other Christians from both Methodist and Catholic churches decamped and cross-carpeted to the new churches. The people were attracted to the churches because of its giftedness in prophesy, faith healing, eradication of witches and wizards, and vision interpretation, which was seen by the people of Nara as an offshoot of their traditional divination. (p.222- 323).

Enechukwu (2000) stated that the undue negative missionary attitudes to the people's belief in ancestors, deities, and other spirit gods were queried and jettisoned. Most of the cherished Igbo social values were discarded by the missionaries without reason. Such values include ancestral cult, polygamy, filial obedience, and family solidarity, love of status and conviviality in music, dance and festivals. Masquerades and native dancing were, however, admired but not entirely commended.

Eze (personal communication, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2013) stated that there were clashes between the missionaries and the natives. For instance, the Roman



Catholic school and church was once closed at Onitsha Agu and all the teachers and catechists were expelled in late 1930s. In 1928, some members of the Methodist church in *Amodu Awknanaw* were locked up by their Warrant chief, because they refused to do forced labour without pay. And the church members who refused to work on Sundays were taken to Court in Nomeh.

In spite of the fact that Nkanu is a large town with communities made up of diverse cultures and traditions there was a healthy relationship among the people. Many things binded them before the advent of the European missionaries ranging from lineage meeting, age grade, occupation, festivals and title taking. That communal spirit was palpable in their socio political and economic life. The presence of *ohu* and *amadi* did not break that mutual relationship and harmony that cemented them. That was the true picture of Nkanu before the advent of the missionaries. But when the missionaries came and introduced their system of administration coupled with the increase in slave trade with its subsequent social evil; dichotomy, schism, prejudice became the order of the day. This cold war affected community meetings, political rallies, and above all effective

Christian evangelism. Most of the cherished Nkanu values like filial obedience were creamed off.

In the next chapter, we shall be dealing with how *ohu* and *amadi* were practiced in selected places compared with Nkanu.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### OHU AND AMADI IN SELECTED AREAS COMPARED WITH NKANULAND

In the 1990s, the practice of *ohu* and *amadi* was still in force in different areas of Igboland notwithstanding the fact that the effectiveness in certain areas today has waned to an extent due to the activities of agents which strongly advocate against the practice.

#### **4.1 *Ohu* and *Amadi* as practiced in Ngbo**

*Ngbo* is a town in *Ohaukwu* local government area of Ebonyi state. It is made up of different villages. They are *Ukwuagba*, *Umuogudu*, *Ekwashi*, *Amofia*, *Okposhi* among others. *Ekwashi* is the oldest village in *Ngbo*. There is a clan in *Ngbo* called *Ameze Asaa*. These people are scattered in different villages that make up *Ngbo* town and are believed to be slaves, because they migrated from outside of *Ngbo*.

A. Isiala (personal communication 9/8/2013), stated that “The appellation *Ameze Eze Asaa* came into being as a result of the recurrent death that claimed a member of the family each time the number of seven

is about to be exceeded. In other words, any time the male in each of the family of *Ameze Eze Asaa* wants to exceed seven, one person will die mysteriously to ensure that the number of seven is not exceeded. That is how the name *Amaeze Asaa* came into existence and it became a mystery that defies comprehension. This clan is scattered in different villages in *Ngbo* and are being segregated in the past because of the negative peculiarities that surround them.

Such segregation touches the area of marriage because they marry among themselves. Secondly, they are restricted from certain practices or ceremonies in *Ngbo* such as sacrifices to the deity. In contrast with *Nkanu* situation of *ohu* and *amadi*, the *ohu* system in *Ngbo* as it concerns *Amaeze Asa* has been buried in the sand of time. It has been so swallowed that it does not demarcate who is who. Above all, Christianity has swallowed most of the antiquated practices and customs that tend to divide the people. As at now, people have freedom of association, marriage and movement. The issue of slavery as it pertains *Amaeze Asaa* does not hinder effective evangelism as it is the order of the day in *Nkanu's ohu and amadi* saga.

## 4.2 Ohu and amadi as practiced in Ezza

*Ezza* comprises *Ezza* North and *Ezza* South, but generally they are scattered everywhere and even extend to *Eziulo* hence *Ezza Eziulo*. *Ezza* in *Nkubo* in Enugu State gave rise to *Ezza Nkubo*. Every *Ezza* man has an ancestral home in *Ezza* south called *Onu Eke*, which culminated in an adage that if you say you are a true *Ezza* man “go and show your grandfather’s grave which signifies that every *Ezza* man has aborigine from *Ezza* South. There are different kindred in *Ezza*. They are *Umuezeokoha*, *Umuezeoka*, *Umeaka*, *Ameka* and *Umuogharu Orizo*. In these kindreds we have sub kindreds like *Umuonata*, *Umuawo* and so on. In *Umezoka*, they have *Umualuma* and *Umezebe*. Generally, the *Umualuma* in *Umuezeoka* were slaves, because their origin is questionable; hence they are immigrants. The first son of *Ezza Ezekona*, the progenitor of *Ezza* is *Ezekona*, but due to lack of obedience, he assumed the position of a second child while *Amana* who was not a biological child now became the heir (first son). According to S. *Agbom* (personal communication 5/6/2014), there was a day it was raining and their father instructed them to go and bring fire embers to enable them prepare food. The first son declined on going for the errand while the second child gladly obeyed. On sharing the

food, the father instructed the second child to take the first share in place of the first child, and from that day, the son who was not the biological child assumed the position of the first child.

In *Ezza* community, the state of *ohu* and *amadi* is still prevalent till date. For example, in the area of marriage, one cannot marry without inquiry into which group the other party belongs. One's lineage must be traced to know one's status before marriage can be contracted. In other words, no parent will just give away their daughter to a man discovered as *ohu* on the basis of wealth. One's pedigree must first be ascertained as a first step towards a marital relationship.

In contrast with Nkanu's system, some amendments or sacrifices can be made in order to integrate the *ohu* to any kindred who will deem it fit to absorb them and from that time onwards, they will become part of the common wealth of *Ezza*. But in the case of Nkanu, once somebody is *ohu*, he or she remains perpetually *ohu* until death. The Christians of Nkanu will use the Abraham, Sarah and *Hagar* episode as a barometer to substantiate their dogmatism that after all God told Abraham to expel *Hagar*, so that her son will not share in the inheritance of Abraham. *Amana* and *Ameka* are regarded as slaves in *Ezza* while *Umeka* is the real *Ezza* people. Marital

links with the people considered as slaves were not permissible. The slaves are known as *nlamala*. There is no ceremony that is performed before their citizenship is consummated, but as they grow or increase in number, they will find kindred they would like to integrate and if the kindred deem it fit to absorb them, they will become a part of them. However, the *Umualuma* are the clan in *Ezza* that has absorbed many of the immigrants and that is why they are more in population. Consequently, taking of titles by slaves is strictly forbidden. Second, they will neither be priests nor become members of any cult deity. Above all, they are not allowed to participate in any major ceremonies except in some minor ones such as new yam festival.

#### **4.3 The Amadi Communities in Nkanuland**

Before delving into details about the communities that are predominantly *amadi*, it is expedient to note that most of the *amadi* communities have pockets of *ohu* residents. Most of them have so intermingled that it is hard for anyone to actually differentiate who the *ohu* is unless a critical issue of concern breaks out in such communities. Some of them have naturalized or were swallowed up by time and events. Nkanu is made up of a block of twenty-one towns namely: *Agbani*, *Akpawfu*,

*Mburumbu, Amagunze, Amankanu, Amodu Ihuokpara, Obuoffia, Obeagu, Isiogbo, Ugwuaji, Akwuke, Amechi, Nike, Akegbe Ugwu, Nara, Nkerefi and Obe. The Amadi communities are: Akagbe ugwu, Obuoffia, Amodu, Amurri, Amechi, Nike, Obe, Agbani, Amankanu, Nomeh, Uhuokpara, Nara, Akpugo and Akpawfu.* We shall be discussing amadi communities as follows:

### **Akegbe**

*Akegbe* was the first son of the progenitor of Nkanuland named *Osagwede*. Nwobodo (2000) states that:

He was named after the trigger of his father's gun (*Aka-egbe*). His father did so to portray his trust in his gun for livelihood. *Akaegbe* had to leave *Obuoffia* for where he now settled in the hilly area of *Okunano*, near the boundary of *Okunano, Ozalla and Udi* (p. 7).

His dwelling on the mountain was believed to be a divine\ direction in a bid to protecting the rest of the brothers from the constant attacks and harassment from the *Agbajas*. The community is made up of *Okwuo Ugwu, Okwuo Uwani, Ibite Ugwu and Ibite Uwani*. Enechukwu (2000) states that the founding fathers of *Akegbe Ugwu* fondly hunted in an area near the present *Ugwu and Ani* shrine where there were series of palm trees and



palm nuts covered with bats and with palm kernels (*aku*) eaten by kites (*egbe*) littering the whole area located on the hill (*Ugwu*). The area was later identified with three significant words of *Aku* (kernels) *Egbe* (kites), and *Ugwu* (hills) which formed the compound now *Akaegbe Ugwu*.

### **Obuoffia**

Obuoffia was the second son of the progenitor *Osagwede*. He was named after the compound of his father where he hunted. The name was derived from two Igbo words *Obu* (compound) and *offia* (forest). This was to show his appreciation of the shelter and food, which the forest offered him. Another version has it that the name was derived from a forest where honey is in abundance (forest of honey) and it came to be as a result of the heap of honey (*Obo*) found in the forest (*offia*) inherited by the founding fathers of *Obuoffia Awknanaw*.

### **Amodu**

Amodudu (den of tsetse fly) now called Amodu. He was the third son of his father. Enechukwu (2000) states that he was named after the

village square (*Ama*) of his father land (*Ntuegbe*) which he believed was his guardian angel and from wherever he went. This name also is a fusion of two Igbo words (*Ama Nedu*).

### **Amurri**

Amurri was the corrupt form of Amoriri, which was a description of the eating and resting center of the people of Amurri during their pre-colonial wars. Amurri is said to be the biggest town in Nkanu west local government Area of Enugu state. In the north, it is bounded by Agbani and Umueze communities and bounded by Obe community in the North-west, in Nkanu west. In the west it is bounded by Ozalla community. It is equally bounded by Ugbawka, Ogbaku and Agbaogugu in the south. Arinze (2008) opines that:

It is said that Amurri originated from a particular community in the town known as Umuigbo. A man known as Ohanwokoro founded Umuigbo. That is why Umuigbo is the eldest and the founding father of Amurri and that is why they are called Umuigboanuodem pama (existence). They held the first position in the land but since the first son failed in his responsibility of taking care of his sick father till the

point of death, his elderly position (birth right) was shifted from Umuigbo to Amaegbele where the daughter(*Ada*) of the man married. (p.4).

The town is divided into four autonomous communities (1) Umuigbo (2) Enuagu (3) Eziokwe (4) Amankanu.

### **Amechi**

*Nwobodo* 2000 states that the Amechi people are descendants of *Ngwuta Osagwede*. *Ngwuta* moved from *Obuoffia* to *Ugwuagba* and settled there. He got two children, *Chukwu Ngwuta* and *Anuchukwu Ngwuta*. *Chukwu Ngwuta* is the great ancestor for the people of *Amechi*. One then wonders why they answer *Amechi* to the detriment of their father's name. Yes, *Amechi* is not the name of any person, the white man who visited the people of *Obeagu* and *Amechi* on inquiry was told that the central square for *Ani Oha* festival where he was received was "ama echichi" (central square) and he chose to identify the area and the people around the area as the people of Amechi.

## **Nike**

Nike is believed to be the oldest town in *Nkanu* so named because of their strength and fame in war. The word *Nike* mean by force. *Nnamani* (2009) says that “if any group failed to obey them, whatever they wanted would be done by force. It is said that “*Nike* town had standing army which they trained to fight for them, even before the coming of the white man” (p.86). This story is substantiated by *Enechukwu* (2000) which states that in the pre-colonial *Nkanu*, *Nike* was the strongest because they had a standing army as a result of the castration of the male person born on Eke day. They were giants, because of their castration (*Ipi ami*). The bride price of all the girls married on Eke day belonged to them and traders from Nike paid special sum of money to them on every Eke day. The *Agu Ato* lived wild life and was the warriors of Nike who fought for the town on Eke day in pre colonial era.

## **Obe**

*Enechukwu* (2000) states that *Umuafojam* was the oldest village in *Obe* and was founded by *Owo Ike Ujam*. The *offia diety* in the village was

the object of the first festival in pre-colonial *obe* – a festival which signalled the beginning of the New Year. The people of the village were referred to as *Umu Ofia* (descendant of *Offia*) *Ujam*, because it was believed that *offia* deity initiated and propitiated by *Owo Ike Ujuan*. (*Ujam*) was the owner of the village children since every child in the village must be dedicated to the deity during the feast. The deity was asked to be the custodian and protector of its children. *Amofia* as the name of village in Nara *Unateze* was an indication that the people of the village were at a time a part of *Umuoffia Ujam in Obe*.

The people of *Umuenenta* in Enugu *Obe* were also the descendants of *Chime Ani Nwa onyeabor Achime*, an immigrant from *Ihuona Ugbawka*. *Chime ani Nwa Onyeabo Achime* was acclaimed to be a great warrior and his immigration to *Obe* coincided with the period of a great war between *Obe and Awknanaw*. He volunteered to fight for the people of *Obe* against *Awknanauw*. He constituted himself into a one man squared and raided the people of *Awknanauw*. In appreciation of his great deed he was fully accepted as an *Obe* man and was equally given a woman known as *Oba* (*Oba Chime Onyeabor*) as a wife. The people of *Umuenenta* commonly

offer sacrifice and observe religious ceremonies in honour of their great ancestor, *Chime Ani Nwa Onyeabor Achime*

### **Agbani**

The people of *Agbani and Akpugo* have a common descent from one *Ubulueke Ukachu Ukwali*, the founder of *Akpugo* whose son or brother *Ani Obodo* left *Obele Akpugo*, where the original founder lived on a hunting expedition and while resting under a certain *Agba* tree noticed that the land (*Ani*) was fertile and suitable for settlement and decided to move there to settle permanently. *Oha* (2000) states that “*Agbani* had three warrant chiefs who were instrumental to the white man’s positive reception. However it was warrant *Chief Nnaji Onakporoko* who actually received the missionary first and helped him locate his school and church at *Apkoeke*” (p.4).

### **Amankanu**

Two towns made up the *Amankanu* autonomous community. They are *Obeagueze and Umuedum*.

## **Nomeh**

*Nomeh* according to *Enechukwu* (2000) are closely related to Nara and both communities originated from *Ogwugwu in Awgu* local government area of Enugu state. The people of *Nomeh* believe that they descended from one *Ayi-Ali Njo* whose younger brother left the town to found Nara. This confirmed that the younger brother was one *Unata Eze* and that periodically they visit *Nomeh* to sacrifice at *Nkpume Orlo* where *Unate Eze* originally lived. The younger brother of *Nomeh* was *Unateze*, hence the name – *Nomeh Unateze and Nara Unateze*. *Unateze* was the son of *Igbudu Eze* who immigrated to *Nomeh* from *Ogwugwu* before the founding father of Nara left *Nomeh* to *Umuiba Nara* where he settled after falling in one *Ojorowo River and Arara Nuata (Ara Nwata)* fruits.

## **Ihuokpara**

The people of *Ihuokpara* have *Anyi, Ngenebenebe, Agwoshi, Ngenemkpume, Avu Oha* and *Ojukwu Jibia* as their principal deities. Different villages in *Ihuokpara* had no different earth goodness, except *Amunakwa*. In *Nkanu*, the first local Government council school was the layout school

Amafor Ihuokpara (now called Oganiru primary school Amafor Ihuopkara) founded in 1956.

## **Nara**

Nara is made up of seven villages. They are *Amaofia*, *Umueze*, *Amagu*, *Umuokpare Ngene*, *Umuawalagu* and *Umuaja*. Their founding fathers were said to have migrated from Ogwugwu after their initial settlement at *Nomeh*. Enechukwu

(2000) digs an insight on how the name came to be:

The founding father of Nara left Nomeh on a hunting drive, while hunting at the present site of Nara, his dog disappeared, but later reappeared when the hunter was resting at Eke *Izu*. The hunter was fascinated to discover that the dog was soaked with water. He followed the dog and arrived at *Ojorowo* stream and liked it. He rested and passed the night at Eke *Izu* in *Umuiba Nara*. In the morning, he looked up and saw the *Ara nwata* fruit (baby breast) and he plucked and tasted it. He was delighted to notice that the *Ara nwata* fruit was sweet as *Ara* (breast milk) there and then; he named his domain Nara, derived from *ARA NWATA* fruit. (p.61)



## **Akpugo**

Nwankwo (cited by Enechukwu 2000) as saying that:

Akpugo” was the center for slave traders who were going to *Uburu*. It was actually not surprising that *Okoani* stopped some slave trade dealers who kidnapped a beautiful woman and was about taking her to *Uburu* for sale. He took her and she eventually became his second wife. His first wife who had been barren for years miraculously became pregnant almost at the same period with the second wife. The first wife gave birth to her only son named *Onyinwodo* while the second wife gave birth to two sons named *Eze Newo Ogu and Ogbom Nze*. (p.62).

The largeness of *Akpugo* was attributed to the increase in population of *Enuvu Akpugo*, coupled with *Ihunakwagu* in *Ogonogo Eji Nduino Akpugo* founded separately by *Enegu Igwe*, a deported smith from *Nike* who first settled at *Obele in Ezi Obodo Aghara-Agu Uhunakwagu* where he gave birth to *Agu Enugu Igwe onyia Enegu Igwe and Aneke Igwe*. On the other hand, other parts of *Awknanaw* strongly believe that *Umueze Awknanaw* migrated from *Ihukwuagu Akpugo*.

*Umueze Awknanaw* had a serious case with *Enugwu Amodu Awknanaw* which resulted in excommunication and invasion of *Umueze* and in the past *Ihunakwagu* had chains of antagonisms with other members of *Enuvu Akpugo* which resulted in hostility against *Ihunakwagu* by other members of entire *Akpugo*.

### **Akpawfu**

*Akpawfu* was embroiled into a number of land disputes. *Nnamani* (2000) remarks that “they were involved in land disputes with *Obunaw Akpugo*, Oruku Nike,” Enechukwu (2000) corroborates on this fact that “*Akpawfu* poisoned 28 persons from Nike which made Nike invade her and chase a section of *Akpawfu* out of *Emene* where they originally lived. The name *Emene* means do not do (that is do not do what is an abomination) referring to the poisoning of 28 Nike people. Those who poisoned the *amadis* in that onslaught were equally prohibited from answering Nike as a name after the killing of their war hero *Akpachi Akpa* whose skull was used by the *Atama Anike* as a worshipping throne. This bridged the gap of inter marriage between Nike and *Akpawfu*. The people of *Emene* were war fugitives from *Akpanwu Onyinwodo* and because of the atrocity they

committed against *Nike*, they were invaded and colonized and were prevented from worshipping *Anike* deity.

#### **4.4 The Ohu Communities in Nkanuland**

The *ohu* communities are *Ugwuaji Akwuke*, *Isiogbo*, *Obeagu*, *Mburumbu*, and *Nkerefi*.

##### **Ugwuaji**

Enechukwu (2000) states that the town was founded in 1928. A dispute between *the amadi and ohu* around the southern *Nkanu* gave rise to the *Nkanu* patrol of 1923. Shortly after the patrol another dispute broke out with the violence in *Awknanaw* area of *Umah (Amaechi and Obeagu)* occasioning a different settlement from the rest of *Nkanu* town in *Agbani* native court area. That settlement worked with much friction until 1928 when as a result of further troubles, it was found necessary to create a special settlement near the Ayo railway station of *Ugwuaji* for the *secundus* settlers from *Umah*.

## **Akwuke**

*D.I Animba* (personal communication 4/2/2013) states that “*Akwuke* was originally referred to as *Ndiagu Akaegbe or Akaegbe Ndiagu Obia*”. The area is made up of different farmlands such as *Ngene, Agbara, Okpukwu Agu Utu*. *Enechukwu* (2000) states that it was in 1955 under the supervision of the district officer of Udi division, MR E.R Chadwick, that *Akaegbe Ndiagu Obia* was officially recognized as an entity of her own under the name *Akwuke* as proposed to MR Chadwick by Christopher *Nwoye*. The *secundus* settlers from *Akegbe* were resettled at *Akwuke* in 1936 after a heavy fight in *Akaegbe Ugwu* in which six children were stolen and five prime settlers of *Akaegbe Ugwu* were sentenced to seven years imprisonment each for their part of the fight and kidnapping, which for the *Obias (ohu)*, only four were sentenced to ten years imprisonment each for the part they took in the affairs. A land was offered to the *ohu* at *Akwuke* with the assistance of the district officer *Agbani*. The native administration provided the road connecting the new settlement to *Agbani* Enugu road. And in the order of the supervision of the Agricultural officer planted 1933 selected palm seedlings in the area. More than 200 *obias*

(*ohu*) families moved to the site within four months and between 1936-1938, the settlement was completed.

### **Isiogbo**

Isiogbo is one of the seven villages that Nara is made up of. It was created in 1938/39 by MR H.H.P. Weherell, the District Officer of *Udi* division as a settlement village for the secundus settlers in Nara, and yet it was also created in 1991 as an autonomous community with seven kindred units.

### **Obeagu**

They are known as *Obeagu* because they occupy the farmland of *Ngwuta* Osagwede, the fourth son of *Osagwede*, the progenitor. They have different villages notably *Amagu Obeagu and Amaegbu Obeagu*. Enechukwu (2000) states that the people of *Amagu Obeagu* in actuality are the only people in Nkanu (*Awknanaw*) that possessed the *nkwa* group called *Nkwa Ndene* cultural musical group that was played during the death of any influential and wealthy men. That is why it is

believed that they migrated from *Umueze* who are believed to be the only custodian of the *Edene* group who might have migrated to *Obeagu* as a result of their war with *Amechi*. To substantiate this fact, *Nwobodo* (2000) states that:

Even in the present time, it is only in *Umueze* that *Edene* dance would go for burial and sleep over night to mark that it used to be in *Umueze* that it cannot sleep in any other community of Nkanu overnight. (p.17).

The people of *Amaegbu Obeagu* were equally said to have migrated outside the *Awknanaw* group. This could be the reason why the people of *Amaegbu* were prevented by other Nkanu group from forming their own *Igede* traditional music.

## **Mburumbu**

There are six villages in *Mburumbu*, four from *Amaokpara* (*Uhuagu Umunafor, Uhuegbe and Amaoru*) and two from *Amachara* (*Umuadara and Obinagu*). They have no common origin. *Enechukwu* (2000) states that they originated from *Nenwe* and that account to why the people of *Awgu* and *Mburumbu* assisted each other. The people of *Umudara* came from

three different places, *Arochukwu*, *Awgu* and *Isu*. *Umudara* originally settled in the present location of *Uhuagu*, but were chased out to her present habitat by the people of *Nomeh* who constantly fought them. When the people of *Uhuagu* arrived *Mburumbu* from *Awgu*, they were persuaded to settle in the vacated area in order to curtail the dangerous incursion of the people of *Nomeh*. *Uhuagu* and *Uhuegbe* were said by a version of *Mburumbu* oral tradition to have migrated from a common area and both were related to *Ugbawka*, hence *Ugbawka and Mburumbu* don't kill each other. The people of *Amaoru* were initially living with the people of *Uhuegbe* before the former migrated to their present location at *Amaoru*. *Amaoru and Obinagu* were probably founded by other emigrants from other places for in the very words of *Eze* (personal communication 9/3/2013), 'the emigrants from *Isu* helped to form the other villages of *Mburumbu*.

*Umunafor* was acclaimed to have been founded by a hunter called *Nugbe* who equally migrated from *Awgu*. The thesis that the people of *Mburumbu* came from different places at different periods would be accepted as a naked truth. After all, the name "*Mburumbu*" simply means, 'live and let live'. It was the brain child of *Umudara* who was attracted to

the area by the *Udara* orchards they found in the area. As the first settlers in the area, *Umudara* decreed that they don't want to chase away any other that came to live with them. Every group should live and settle like others, hence the philosophy *Buru ka m Buru- Buru m Buru m* (live and let live) *Mburumbu*.

### **Nkerefi**

Ajah (1993) claims that they are the descendants of *Nzeijeoma of Edemberi Ezza* at one time. They used to make periodic sacrifice at their ancestors shrine at *Ezza* but the custom had ceased for many years. They claim friendship with *Ugbawka, Onicha Agu and Uburu*, But according to A. *Obioha* (personal communication 13/2/2013), The founder of *Nkerefi* migrated and first settled at *Ogo* from where he decided to call it mass of plain land. "*Nkerefi*" because it had plenty of cows (*efi*) "*Nkerefi*" therefore means core of cows.

### **Amagunze**

*Amagunze* executive council consist of the elders from all the kindreds, presided over by the speaker (*Eze Oha*) who was the oldest man



of *Umunaji Ujor* family of *OSU* quarter. He summoned the meetings which took place at *Obodo Nvu* located at *Umu Okpala* village of *Amagunze* which was regarded as a holy place. The pre-colonial people of *Amagunze* absented themselves from farming activities on *Nkwo and Eke* days respectively.

#### **4.5 Factors Responsible for *Ohu* Communities**

Several factors were responsible for *ohu* communities. They are (1) chieftaincy title, (2) land ownership, (3) elderly position, (4) dancing the *Igede* dance, and (5) political factors.

##### **4.5.1 Chieftaincy Title**

The invasion and subjugation of Nkanu by the British between 1910 and 1915 changed the gerontocratic principle of governance in Nkanu as the warrant chieftaindom was introduced. The British administration empowered the *amadis* by issuing them with warrant certificates to lead and head their areas of jurisdiction. However, when they issued warrant certificates to the *ohu* (slaves), it sparked unrests as the *amadi* warrant chiefs rose to challenge the British government in court. Ten *amadi* warrant

chiefs from Nkanu petitioned the British government and sounded it clearly to the *ohu* that they have no right to the position of chieftaincy. The controversy generated from this chieftaincy saga coupled with the increase in slave trade in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century by Britain sparked fire among the slaves and their descendants whose population had skyrocketed to seek for their freedom with the last blood in them. The open conflict resulted in the war between the *ohu* and *amadi* in *Awknanaw* which brought Uguwaji into existence in 1928 as a settlement area for the freed slaves from *Amechi and Obeagu Awknanaw*, Secondly, Isiogbo Nara was equally founded in 1938/39 for the freed slaves from the seven villages of *Nara* while *Akwuke* was founded in 1938 for the settlement area of freed slaves from *Akaegbe Uguwu*.

To cap it up, the creation of chieftaincy which attracted salary brought competition among those aspiring for the office.

#### **4.5.2 Land Ownership**

Land ownership was acclaimed to be the exclusive right of the *amadi* since the *ohu* had no right to it. The *ohu* knew that the best option was to seek for a separate settlement in order to build their own house, cultivate and exercise their freedom without fear of molestation.

### **4.5.3 Eldership Position**

The slaves were regarded as servants, no matter their age and since most deities needed the services of elders, there is no way an *ohu* will be permitted to partake in offering sacrifices, In order to exercise their spiritual liberty they embarked on forming their own communities as their only option since they were despised.

### **4.5.4 Dancing the *Igede* Dance**

The *Igede* dance in Nkanuland is made for the rich and influential men. Since the *ohu* were regarded as inferior and mere men who cannot participate in the dance, they are meant to be spectators of this dance which is not the ideal thing for them. And for this reason they have to actualize their emancipation by forming their own community. Enechukwu (2000) said that:

The ordained *Igede* cultural music was meant for the rich, influential and adventurous men, and since the *ohu* were regarded as inferior men who were peasants, the dancing of *Igede* music was not for them, though they could play the musical instrument

which was equally regarded as an act of servitude to their masters who danced it. (p.456).

#### **4.5.5 Political Position**

For *ohu* to occupy a high place in the political setup in Nkanuland is an up hill task. They were made to be comfortable in their servitude. They were made to eat the crumbs of bread that fall from the table of the rich. The *ohu* knew that liberation was the only option from the perpetual suppression and that to create their own communities was the best option.

#### **4.6 Factors Responsible for Amadi Communities.**

Some of the factors responsible for amadi communities are (1) increase in population and (2) Attracting the presence of government. (3) Forstalling the incursion of the intruders.

##### **4.6.1 Increase in Population.**

Some of the communities that were occupied by the *amadi* soon overflowed with people. With the continuous procreation, some felt that they needed their offspring to feel a new lease of life in the world of their

own. To actualize this, they sought to occupy a new settlement since they had vast land at their disposal.

#### **4.6.2 Attracting the Presence of Government**

The *amadi* communities that disintegrated and formed new communities did so in order to attract the benefits of the government of the day. They knew that forming new communities would attract new chieftaincy positions and greater incentive.

#### **4.6.3 Forestalling the Incursion of Intruders**

The *amadi* communities disintegrated and formed new communities because they believe that there is a possibility of intruders to trespass vast lands sooner or later or claim total ownership. In order to forestall this occurrence, the best option would be to extend their tentacles wide by forming new communities.

## **4.7 THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN NKANULAND**

Many lament the bad state of the social stratification in Nkanuland as compared to what is obtainable in other places. The painful reality is that in spite of the efforts made by groups and individuals to cushion the effect of *ohu* and *amadi*, it has continued to flow down through generations in its usual sad way. Some people in authority have taken advantage of the situation to exploit their citizens. The arm of the pendulum of this stratification that is swinging is producing a more unfavorable than favorable circumstances to many of her citizens.

### **4.7.1 Impacts of Social Stratification**

The effect of *ohu* and *amadi* syndrome is felt by all and sundry and is worrisome even to those who put up bold faces that all is well. Many have recourse to other alternatives like extending their social relationship beyond the boundaries of Nkanuland just to placate their grieved emotions and to found their rhythm socially, politically and economically. Incidentally, it is obvious that the negative impact of *ohu* and *amadi* division has sent warning and dangerous signals to innocent and well

meaning individuals and groups who may have good intentions for Nkanuland to tread with caution when dealing with Nkanu issues as to many Nkanu citizens. It is a matter of life and death in which they can go to any length to maintain the status quo. Barton (1969) outlines one of the root causes of disaster in a community setting:

On the other hand the creation of a general climate in which the victims are held to ransom has a very powerful effect in the other directions once created, such a belief tends to maintain and strengthen itself, even in the face of massive experience to the contrary. Racial self hatred or self deprecating class stereotypes are common among the severely deprived, and constitute one of the most damaging products of deprecation which is supported by vested interest and controlled community. This is another snowball effect in which the more people accept an idea, the more they influence the remaining people to do so. (p.259).

This is attributed to the fact that individuals and communities use it to gain dominance and strengthen their influence.

#### 4.7.2 Economic Deprivation

Majority believe that the *ohu and amadi* is orchestrated by the desire for economic exploitation. The aphorism that human wants are insatiable is generally acceptable with regards to the clutching hands of those who continue to hold tenaciously to the doctrine of *ohu* and *amadi*, whose underlying motive is for economic exploitation. It ranges from land to all other things that accrue from it like agriculture which is the fulcrum of their source of living. Incidentally, while the *amadi* take the advantage of usurping the resources of the land by dominating and intimidating the *ohu*, the later, become victims of economic deprivation, because their welfare are played down upon by the *amadi* in every quarter.

For example, when the *ohu* is denied of some key positions like chieftaincy, the benefit that accrues from such positions is denied. Second, because the *amadi* is in the position of attracting government presence quicker, the infrastructure will flow more to them leaving the *ohu* and their few communities economically bankrupt. In retrospect, some of the slave masters who were enmeshed in the trade in human beings had economic benefit in view to satiate and boost their economic surplus. The same motive has continued to percolate down to the generations of Nkanuland on



the side of the perpetrators thereby rendering the *ohu* economically impotent. In South America, for instance, around 1830, slaves were imported, because of the labour shortage coupled with the high death rate of the indigenous population culminated in the shortage of gold and silver in the mid 16th century. Sutra (1968) opines that:

Around 1800 about half population of Brazil consisted of slaves, but the percentage declined to about 33 percent in 1850 and 15 percent after the shutting off of imports around 1850 combined with free immigration to raise the proportion of Europeans. In some parts of Brazil such as Pernambuco, some two-thirds of population consisted of Africans and their off springs. (p. 291).

This is in corroboration with economic motive that accompanied the slave trade in Europe where the Africans were forced to work in cotton, tobacco and sugar plantation.

### **4.7.3 Inferiority Complex**

It is natural that when one's rights and privileges are submerged by a stronger opposition, the natural tendency is that inferiority complex will set in. In Nkanuland, the dehumanizing effect of *ohu* and *amadi* places the *ohu*

in the pedestal of undignified let down. To the *amadi*, the appearance of *ohu* is an eyesore and their presence generates resentment to the *amadi* because they feel of unequal status. This intimidating influence on the *ohu* engenders inferiority complex. The backlash that was unleashed on the *amadi* during the colonial era boiled down to the categorical statement by the *amadi* that the chieftaincy position was their birth right and that the *ohu* should consider occupying that position as a malaria dream, because they are of unequal status. The inferiority that stems from this trend has continued to rock the *ohu* of Nkanuland of late. Consequently, Onoge (1993) cites an analysis by Giwa:

The second dimension which Professor Lamek Giwa describes as brain hemorrhage refers to willful destruction of brain power at home by various forms of misuse or abuse. Since 1975, we have undertaken periodic purges, sudden shifts and transfer, premature retirements and promotions, frequent and willful misapplication of the concept of federal character. By so doing, we have been cannibalizing our intellectual assets, when a neurosurgeon is obliged to abandon his practice and earn his living only running of Transport Company, or when a semi illiterate but successful trader is appointed

to the council of a university to oversee the work of outstanding scholars it is an open denigration of the intellectual. A donkey may win prizes for being the best load carrier, you do not, on that account promote it to a horse, brain hemorrhage is perhaps more pernicious than the brain proper for it pollutes the intellectual environment and stifles initiative (p.57)

The foregoing indicates that people are not positioned in areas they can best function. They are denied functioning in their area of specialization. Those in governance are so biased that the people are disenfranchised of their rightful position due to the *ohu* and *amadi* saga. This is what brings about inferiority complex, abandonment and weakens their mental power.

In our contemporary society, inferiority complex has increased of late because of the European factor in the sense that many of the youths have abandoned their cultural values in quest for the “European stuff”. This overstretched inclination has made slaves of them.

It is an accepted fact that due to the advancement of Europe in technology that has placed them far above the Africans. However, we

should not lose the consciousness that God has not made a mistake by empowering us with enviable values that embellish us as Africans. We cannot jettison those values in place of what the European can offer us. If we do we have lost our God's given heritage and subject ourselves to another dimension of servitude.

#### **4.7.4. Lopsided Political Structure**

The political structure in Nkanuland in particular and Enugu state in general has been lopsided because of the social stratification. This is because there is no sense of equity in their governance. The challenges facing those in authority from the time of the European masters have been to create a sense of equal participation in governance and to ensure that the benefit that accrue from it is equally distributed to every community without bias. Among the administrators that have ruled Enugu state since inception, only few have tried to live above board by creating a favourable atmosphere for the amadi and ohu the amadi has tried to relegate the ohu to the background claiming that the ohu has no equal right with them in governance. The fact that the ohu have been subjected to various kinds of maltreatment does not speak volume about their credibility. Their

involvement with the *amadi* in the political struggle is considered as a mixed up. This posture does not enhance equal distribution of the resources of the state. Those who vie for different political positions are imbued with the tendency of winning at all cost. That breeds the politics of intimidation, thuggery and assassination. These entire struggles are to ensure that the embers of *ohu* and *amadi* are kept alive.

The subsequent administration of Enugu State should be applauded for their unabated effort to change the landscape of Enugu State especially the administration of Governor Sullivan Chime whose scintillating impact has changed the landscape of Enugu state especially in the urban. His good work so far should be commended but generally the past government of Enugu State has not done enough to arrest the social stratification factors that has kept the progress of the state which comprises different communities stagnated. The same dichotomy and marginalization arising from *ohu* and *amadi* is extended to the neighbouring town of Awgu. This has aroused a serious concern for Awgu indigenes to form a body called Save Awgu Forum Enugu. SAVE with its slogan which includes say no to oppression, discrimination, marginalization and deprivation. This is aimed at reclaiming their rights and privileges in Enugu state. However, in spite

of many waters that have gone through the bridge God has remembered them by raising their illustrious son in the name of the Deputy Senate President Hon. Sir. Ike Ekweremadu and HRH Prof. Sir S. C. Ukpabi whose magnanimity has been extended to many communities in *Awgu* areas. The construction of good roads and electrification of the entire zone from *Awgu* town to Ndeaboh, Mpu, and *Okpanku* across to *Akeze* in Ebonyi State is one of the laudable achievements of the senator.

#### **4.7.5 Overall Retrogressive Development**

The bane of Nkanuland in their overall retrogressive development is largely attributed to the social stratification. Enechukwu (2000)'s introspection was clearly evident in his comment "the segregate meetings of the two groups, especially those of the *obia (ohu)* who often want to avenge what they perceive as atrocities committed against their fore – fathers hamper the development of Nkanu" (p. 459). To say that there is a scanty development in most communities of Nkanu is an under statement. Most rural areas are littered with dispirited young men and women who have lost grip of direction and focus in life. They now play second fiddle to politicians who use them as thugs to achieve their selfish ambitions. Those

who were elected to the position of leadership are more interested in who is who instead of embarking on aggressive rural development. That is why many of the roads in Nkanu remain death trap. Moreover, few communities have electricity while pipe borne water is lacking virtually in almost all the communities. The divisive politics emanating from the *amadi – ohu* affair is eminent in all the towns in Nkanu. In most towns, the dichotomy eclipsed all efforts at meaningful development and relationship and the communities are threatened by forces of retrogression and malfeasance. These towns remain in a state of disarray, dismay and derision and wobble like a tired hippopotamus. In those meetings, the diabolic strategies for destructive confrontation with the opposite group tend to dominate the proceedings.

Biblically, God himself testified that the builders of tower of Babel excelled because of their unity of purpose, an indication that there would be little or no progress and development in an atmosphere of rancor, bitterness and muscle flexing in a social setting. This lack of unity is due to the absence of love. Barrett (1968) said, “African Christians had discovered agape for themselves from the scripture and had no intention of allowing Christianity to be misrepresented on their continent” (p. 158). This lack of

development gives rise to many hazards' like poor health condition and different kinds of mortality and unemployment. Robertson (1970) opines that:

Indians have been chronically, desperately, sick for more than 100 years. Illness is built into their traditions and their emotional reactions. Police have frequently been called in to enforce quarantines. Reserves have, at times, been death camps. The Indians were not allowed to leave; while people not allowed entering (p.142).

India is one of the nations in the world that is bedeviled by social stratification and it has affected the socio political, and economic welfare of her citizens and the general development. That is why many cities in India like Calcutta are so undeveloped that many of its citizens are living below poverty level.

Francis and Chinonyerem (2010) captured the report of one of the notable missionaries. A.R Richardson:

Nara is a large town in the south eastern corner of the Udi district of Nigeria. It is the center of a very populous and fertile area. There are hundreds of thousands of absolutely heathen people and it is difficult



to find any trace of civilization among them. The district has a notorious name and its past history as well as the fact of the present seems to justify it. These churches of Nara were eager for us to start the mission and to have a school in this town, but his people were fearful lest this new thing should bring evil. More bitterness and opposition existed in the early days of our opening and rumors' spread like wild fire into the natives. But we are gradually overcoming these obstacles and the people are rallying around us. The Sabbath day was unknown among these pagans until our mission started. We have proclaimed it and called for their observance. Services on Sundays are regularly held. A number of natives attend besides those directly or indirectly attached to the mission. (p. 99).

The truth lies in the fact that the first missionaries that landed at Nara whose presence would have changed the destinies of their citizens were manhandled and as a result their plans and vision for the community were short lived.

#### 4.7.6 Cold War

The heat that the *ohu* and *amadi* complex generated during the colonial regime culminated in physical war. In order to find a lasting solution the government of the day intervened by providing a separate settlement for the *ohu*. However, in spite of those measures, the war is far from being over as cold war, prejudice, schism and dichotomy became the order of the day. In spite of litters of religious organizations and the emergence of churches it has not eradicated the intoxications of this social stratification. People die everyday in Nkanuland with reckless abandon. For example throughout the three years the researcher spent at *Amurri* in the course of his evangelical work, there was no weekend that people mostly young people were not brought home dead for burial. Some of the deaths were mostly victims of poisonings and charms and brutal assassinations. Many of the youths who are living in cities prefer to stay there than to come back to the village to meet their untimely death. Many who are domiciled at home live with the fear of the unknown. They run to many churches to seek protection and not because they want to worship God.

In Nkanuland, the effects of the wars in different communities were bitterness and stark disunity. The wounds that precede wars take a long

time to heal. A clear case of a two school children who were poisoned by their father's relation when they travelled to his place on holidays at Amurri was one of the effect of cold war. This is not a healthy atmosphere both to Enugu State in general and Nkanuland in particular and need to be arrested. Oyedepo (1997) states that:

When love has a question mark in your heart, you suffer torments in life. That means hatred breeds torment, every man that embraces bitterness is bound to suffer torments. Hatred is a curse, it inflicts curses, and if you do not love you're abiding in death. Bitterness has a choking effect. It brings about health break down, mental pressure, unproductivity, name it: bitterness is an enemy of man's progress. It's a secret destroyer; it's a very silent destroyer; you don't hear its footsteps, it just creeps in and begins to destroy. It causes havoc, it's deadly. (p. 96-97).

It is these repeated social evil that have forestalled progress and development in Nkanu.

One had expected that the church would have been a safe haven for those who are victims of racial discrimination, prejudice and the

downtrodden, but the reverse is the case. Nmah (2008) expressed his reservation and registered his displeasure on the shaky foundation laid by the European because of their mutilated interest in evangelism "The problem is not planting Christianity in Igboland but the method which is characterized by envy, hatred, jealousy and covetousness by which the missionaries carried out their evangelism" (p.68).

The crisis that erupted in the colonial era still rears its ugly head in various churches making evangelism a mere playing to the gallery. The irony of it all is that instead of fighting Satan, we fight our fellow being. Above all, the desperate politicians have exploited the porous nature of the churches to achieve their political motives thereby watering down the efficacy of evangelism. The church has become an arena through which politicians exercise their manifestos and establish their mandate especially during elections campaign Nmah (2008) attributes this sellout to unemployment.

In modern Nigeria, unemployment has forced many youths to form churches in order to support them economically. This is noticeable among the secondary school dropouts, the illiterate men and women

in villages and towns such as Onitsha, Aba, Kaduna, Yola, Maiduguri, Bauchi, Jos, among others” (p. 40).

The cold war which preceded the social stratification of *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland was because some people wanted to amass wealth for themselves by trying to gain dominance over others. The cold war which preceded the lack of unity was what precipitated failure on the side of the church and the citizens of Nkanuland. This is because where there is strife, disunity, resentment, rancor etc the people will lack the power to face opposition and challenges. Nmah (2011) is of the view that some of the causes of our powerlessness include disunity among Christian workers, disunity among Christians themselves, spiritual barrenness, apathy, lack of political will and courage to face reality that is the truth.

Okeke (2002) stated that man wants to be accorded some honour and to be regarded as strong. In the home, the office, the church, the state, industry people want to be considered as bosses and to lord it over others. The strong and the powerful desire to give orders so that others will obey. Dominating others is man's paranoid. Might is right, man seems to think. So the world steeped in the self, presumes superiority. On international levels, the mighty swallow the weak and the infirm; and their islands are

annexed to the strong's mighty and large empires. Today, America is all mighty, dictating the pace of international relations unsettling at will the strong holds of nations it considers confrontational and arrogant and making Africa states and nations in the middle East at best parish nations. The global picture portends uncertainties and fears.

That is the disposition of some of the Nkanu leaders who want to perpetrate the course of *ohu* and *amadi* to enable them dominate the people and unleash their tyrannical arsenals on those who are disloyal to their dictation. This is not to the best interest of overall welfare of its citizens and Nkanuland will rather shoot themselves in the foot if they will not refrain from their actions.

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#### **4.7.7 Tainted Social Relationship**

The strain of *ohu* and *amadi* social stratification in Nkanuland has strangulated good social relationship among communities and individuals in Nkanu. This is because a typical Nkanu man or woman is so conscious of *ohu* and *amadi* that they hardly give their mind to you without first ascertaining your social status. Their inner consciousness is constantly put on the check upon discovering that you do not belong to the same social

class with them. They will keep you at arms length. The truth remains that the issue of *oha* and *amadi* is not taken for granted. However Ugwu (1996) stated that when Prof. Bath. Nnaji an Nkanu man and the former minister of Power and Energy, reputed as the first African to be invited by the United States secretary of state to give a lecture in 1996 when asked to mention specifically what he felt had been the problem with the state, the 41 years old genius graphically put it thus: the number one factor is infighting among the various groups and components that make up the state. There is no unanimous agenda for the advancement of the state; people do not take seriously issues, relating to good education improved healthcare, functional industries and overall improvement of lives of our people. Rather what occupies our mind is what position and from where. Talents are not recognized just as merit and competence are thrown overboard. We worry about how to ensure that others do not progress unless they are from your side or they have your blessing.

The deplorable situation as pointed out in the foregoing is one of the predicaments created by *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanu which has dent their social relationship. One may be tempted to ask, “Why should society really care about the extent of inequality and exclusion?” This is because

inequality and social exclusion in whatever guise induces “spillover” effects on quality of life even for people not normally affected by material wants.

#### **4.7.8 Hypertension**

The psychological defect resulting from resentment, rejection, dichotomy and segregation from the victims of *ohu* and *amadi* complex among Nkanu citizens can result in hypertension which can ultimately result in cardiac arrest and death. Marieb (2000) opines that:

Acute hypotension is one of the most important warnings of circulating shock, a condition in which the blood vessels are inadequately filled and blood cannot circulate normally. The most common cause is blood loss. A brief elevation in blood pressure is a normal response to fever, physical exertion, and emotional upset, such as anger and fear... because the heart is forced to pump against increased resistance, it must work harder, and in time, the myocardium enlarges. When finally strained beyond its capacity to respond the heart weakens and its walls become flabby. (p .342).



The underlying truth is that many citizens in Nkanu undergo emotional trauma arising from *ohu* and *amadi*. They suffer rejection, isolation to an extent that even in social gatherings and in the church they are isolated. That is why in Nkanuland many of their youth have chosen to marry outside Nkanu and those who do business chose to stay outside Nkanu. They prefer environment where their opinion count and where their dignity will not be trampled upon. Some of the cases of suicide that occur on repeated basis in Nkanu are not far from hypertension arising from isolation especially when one finds himself or herself in an area dominated by unfavourable group. Many of the victims of this social stratification are engulfed with the fear of the unknown as they are imbued with the sentiment that their destinies are at stake. Mayor (cited by Subritzcky, 1982) as saying that “fear affects the heart, the circulation, the glands, the nervous system, and the health generally” (p. 16). He also cited the science digest of 1980 which discovered that “stress caused by fear can produce lethal changes in the muscle and can cause death” (p.17). Above all, the sorrows that accompany slavery are beyond human description. Gilroy (1987) recalls:

The sorrows of the heart which Douglass heard in the slave's songs conveyed the terrible character of slavery was so profound yet carefully concealed that Whites who heard it were able to speak of the singing of the slaves as evidence of their contentment and happiness. (p.139).

The foregoing reveals that some slave owners derived joy in the suffering and sorrow of the slaves in the slave era.

#### **4.7.9 Proliferation of Churches**

The competitions that stemmed from this stratification have given rise to the emergence of different churches in a bid to create different environment of serenity that will enable them rediscover their identity and redeem their battered images especially on the side of *ohu* and relax tension. However, some of those churches created are imbued with resentment, jealousy and the attacks are directed often to human being than to the devil. Some of the churches established as a result of this incident and their locations are: St Luke's Methodist church *Ugwuaji* situated at *Ugwuaji*. It was opened to accommodate the people of the same social status. Assemblies of God church at *Amechi Idodo* situated at the community of *Amechi Idodo* Christ Assension Church *Isiogbo Nara*

situated at Isiogbo Nara founded by Rev. Prof. Godwin Nwonye. Some of the sister churches are scattered at Enugu and beyond.

One had expected that with the formation of many Churches in Nkanu it would have reduced the rate of social crime and delinquencies to the barest minimum. However, the reverse is the case. Instead of cultivating ecumenical spirit the churches embark on unhealthy competitions which increase animosity among their members. For example, if one church discovers that their sister church has opened a new station in a certain area, she will try to open a bigger one to show class. It is also applicable to crusades programs because they use it to show popularity or to show how powerful they are. That is not the spirit of Christianity. Similarly, the churches use crusade programmes to scandalize one another or to show weak the ministers of other churches are. It is those unhealthy rivalries that culminate in looting of church property to weaken their evangelism programs. Consequently, in churches that have the combination of *ohu* and *amadi* as members, they carry out such animosity, cronyism, and schism that even heathen would not.

## **CHAPTER FIVE:**

### **THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION ON EVANGELISM IN NKANULAND**

The *ohu* and *amadi* syndrome in spite of its various implications socially, economically and politically has also adverse effects on effective Christian evangelism in Nkanuland in the following ways:

#### **5.1 Its Effects on Marriage**

There is no gain saying the fact that the issue of marriage between the *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland is incompatible. To the *amadi*, it is a taboo that they should marry an *ohu*. This is because the *ohu* are seen as second class citizens and the *amadi*, as the freeborn and as such marrying an *ohu* is seen as downgrading themselves. The *ohu* may not find it difficult to marry the *amadi*. To them, it may be a privilege but to the *amadi*, it is a dignified let down. D. Aga (personal communication, 20/3/2011) said “a true Nkanu man will not take this issue lightly, and any person who compromises on it will pay dearly for it”.

This is not a matter that is handled lightly. If a son or a daughter of an *amadi* insists on marrying the *ohu*, he or she may not be able to contain the consequences like ostracism or death that may arise. This is because it will be handled with utmost seriousness as the *amadi* group will go to any length to ensure that the marriage is quashed. Consequently, Christians are not left behind. To Nkanu people, Christianity does not influence this practice. D. Agbo (personal communication 4/3/2008) said that if his daughter marries and gives birth to many children, and after some years he discovers that the husband is an *ohu*, no matter the years his daughter might have spent in that marriage, he will cancel the relationship and take back his daughter and if she insists on marrying that man, he will banish her forever.

Consequently, a notable minister from Nkanu who insisted on marrying an *ohu* against the will of the entire community was regarded as an outcast. The regard which the entire community had on the family of this minister could not place him above the boundaries of *ohu* and *amadi*. A. Nnaji (personal communication 20/5/2012) narrated that of the key figure in the scripture union was advice not to enter into a marriage alliance with the *ohu* girl which against all odds insisted on marrying her. However,

after many years of marriage he had no children. This was inspite of all prayer and fasting made on their behalf by notable ministers of God. Enechukwu (2000) said that “intermarriage between the two groups was an abomination as it was believed that the blood of the *ohu* would contaminate that of the *Amadi*” (p. 456).

This shows that the teachings of Jesus Christ that believers should be one and be united does not have any effect on Nkanuland on the issue of marriage because the *amadi*, sees it as a taboo. The disposition of that woman on marriage from the foregoing and among others hinder effective evangelism because when she professes to be a Christian or preaches to the *ohu*, they will neither believe her nor listen to her. Nwobodo (2003) said “inter-marriage between the two factions is unheard of and it will be at least a generation before such mixed marriages are possible” (p. 142).

Above all, another way the issue of marriage hinders evangelism in Nkanuland is that the *amadi* seldom attends any marriage ceremony that involves the *ohu* even though they may belong to the same church. If such wedding should be conducted in any church dominated by the *amadi*, the church will be deserted instantly. Ironically, those who champion the course of dichotomy in marriage occupy the front seat in the church and

also embark on evangelism from time to time. Because their roles amount to hypocrisy, their preaching has no impact on the lives of the people predominantly the *ohu*.

In addition, if the man who is an *ohu* wants to marry an *amadi* girl whose parents are from a different congregation for example, a Catholic and the man who is an *ohu* is a member of the Assemblies of God Church, the parents of the girl can use that denominational differences to manufacture an excuse that they do not give their daughter to a non-Catholic as a way of warding-off the man. However, at the back of their minds, the main reason for their refusal is because he is an *ohu*. The repercussion that follows those who go against their family stand on this issue is enormous ranging from rejection, ostracisation, and death.

### **5.1.1 The Effect of Land Ownership**

Land has been one of the strongest economic factors in Nkanuland. This is because it is seen as a means of livelihood. Agriculture is the mainstay of their livelihood and it is the acquisition of vast lands that enhances their agricultural exploits. It is for this reason that the desire for land ownership has increased of late, coupled with the fact that the acquisition of more lands will enhance the creation of more communities and development as those autonomous communities will definitely attract

government presence to it. The *amadi* employs the stratification of *ohu* and *amadi* as an excuse that it is their rightful inheritance and that the *ohu* has no chance whatsoever in this aspect. This is what has generated tension, strife, and full blown war in the past. Different strategies can be employed to forestall that move. For example, the owner of the land may be dissuaded from selling it to him. If it is a land owned by the community, the elders of that community will manufacture different excuses for not selling their land. By this, evangelism has been hindered because church is the agent that carries out effective Christian evangelism.

Consequently, if there is an outbreak of war resulting from land dispute between two or more communities, evangelism activities will be greatly hindered and punctured as evangelism cannot be carried out under the life threatening condition resulting from war. No one will dare to risk his or her life to preach the gospel in the face of turbulence. The gospel of Jesus Christ who is the Apostle of peace can only thrive in the atmosphere of peace, love and harmony. Above all, the fact remains that those who promote this war and exploitation also live in the same community with the victims and also attend the same church with them. This hinders evangelism since their double dealing disposition water down effective



Christian evangelism which should be devoid of brutality, nepotism, and exploitation. It is clearly understood from the teaching of Jesus Christ that one of his primary motives of coming to this world is to set free those that are bound and oppressed. Therefore, when those who are agents of evangelism derive pleasure in oppressing the poor and the disenfranchizing them of their patrimony in the name of *ohu* and *amadi*, the tendency is that the evangelism they claim to propagate will lack the temerity and ingredients to save souls.

### **5.1.2 The Effect on Eucharistic Service.**

The prejudice, dichotomy, and schism that accompany *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland is also extended to the church. If a minister who is from *ohu* community is posted to an area dominated by *amadi*, there will be low turn out of people for Holy Communion. This is because the *amadi* can do anything than receive Holy Communion administered by the minister. They see it as a taboo to receive communion from the hand of an *ohu* minister notwithstanding his ministerial status. The same thing happens if the minister is an *amadi* posted to an area dominated by *ohu*. However, it is more predominant in areas dominated by *amadi*. This

particular practice is not healthy to the Church and to effective evangelism. The bottom line is that even the said minister cannot carry out effective evangelism since the people have already downgraded him and considered him or her unfit to minister to them no matter his or her spiritual endowment. Their negative idiosyncrasies and mind set towards the minister which debar them from active participation in Eucharistic services will be replicated when the said minister will preach to them because they had already been formed a hatred toward the minister.

### **5.1.3 Its Effect on Socio-Political Issues**

The fact remains that the church and effective evangelism is influenced by what is happening in the society. For example, it is very difficult to find a church devoid of corruption when corruption is the order of the day in such a society.. When the church is corrupt and weak, she cannot carry out effective evangelism because the same people that see to the day to day activities of the society also occupy the front seat on Sundays.

The political setting in Nkanuland and in Enugu State has not lived up to expectation in setting an enduring legacy and land mark in handling

*ohu* and *amadi*. This is as a result of not handling this issue with equity and good justice as they did by ensuring equitable distribution of both human and material resources and did not give room for undue favouritism.

It was observed during the regime of Bar. Suilevan Chime that the deputy governor from Isiogbo Nara believed to be *ohu* community was subjected to all kinds of inhuman treatment ranging from intimidation, denials of his privileges and finally unlawful removal from office. That was what attracted harsh criticisms from Enugu state and beyond. If the deputy governor was not from *ohu* community, the manner of his deposition would have attracted a backlash from Nkanu people. Anijoku (2014).

This was not a good omen to that administration. Such socio-political issues hinder effective Christian evangelism since they claim they are Christians and sometimes gather in the same umbrella of Christianity while they have oppression, intimidation, and brutality at the back of their mind. They do not showcase what they claim they are. As seen in the foregoing, if the said woman come out tomorrow to claim she is a Christian or preaches unity nobody will take her serious since her words and actions did not reflect the virtue of Christianity. If the government does not check such actions it might rub off on the church sooner or later since it is the

same people that occupy different churches and bear the label of Christianity. That is why those at the helm of affairs should not leave any stone unturned in ensuring that any trend that is inimical to the general well being is stamped out or nip in the bud before it will become a tradition.

#### **5.1.4 Prejudice /Bias**

If a minister who is *ohu* is posted to an area which is dominated by *amadi* or vice versa, no matter what he preaches, the *amadi* will not be open to assimilate his message. This is because they have already formed a mindset that he or she is fake or inferior. In some extreme cases upon discovering that the person is *ohu*, they will outrightly lock the door against him or her no matter how spiritually equipped he or she may be. This is a concrete way of hindering effective evangelism.

In 2013, an *ohu* minister was posted to one of the churches in Nkanu which was in the area dominated by *amadi*. When a statistics of membership was taken at the end of that year, it was discovered that about 100 person had dropped. Consequently, another sad event took place in one of the churches in Nkanu dominated by *amadi*. An *ohu* minister who was posted to that church was a victim of all kinds of attack. Many times he

was beaten up by armed robbers. When the situation became worse, he vacated the premises and pastured the church from his home town but to no avail. Unfortunately, in one of the subsequent attacks he was so beaten up that he developed acute hypertension and could not survive it . He died afterward.

In some churches the number of such congregation will drastically drop because some people would automatically stop coming to church. In addition, they will never grant such minister access to some vital issues or materials that will make his evangelism process easy. This attitude hinders effective evangelism. In some instances, the minister may be barred from entering the Manse instead they will have an apartment outside the church vicinity. Sometimes, the gospel equipment that is vital for effective propagation is denied of him. Sometimes, a minister may be outrightly rejected on hearing that he is not of the same social status. In such a circumstance; it is an exercise in futility for such a minister to force himself to them as it may culminate in physical assault and harassment. For example the researcher once witnessed in one of the churches in Nkanu where a minister who had been warned that he was not needed tried to force himself in to a procession and he was pulled out by some rough boys

before he quietly left the premises. This is because they were already biased.

#### **5.1.5. Lack of Ecclesiastical Cohesion/Disunity**

In Nkanuland, effective evangelism has been hindered because churches are not united. There is no unity of purpose. Some of those churches are formed out of negative bias because their legal rights have been denied at their mother churches. They form their own churches in a bid to redeem their image and prestige. This is what makes unity of the churches difficult. Because they lack cohesion, they find it difficult to speak out against any social evil especially as it pertains to *ohu* and *amadi*. Because the churches in Nkanuland are not united they cannot carry out effective evangelism. To exacerbate the situation, the warfare is often directed to the sister churches instead of to the devil. This is a misrepresentation of what they have stood for. The churches in Nkanu design programmes to suit their selfish interest. Their energy which should have been directed to soul winning is redesigned to boost their doctrines. The churches in Nkanu embark on palliative messages to cool off sinners who hide under the umbrella of the church and continue their oppressive

acts. Many of them are after their own business and only seek for avenue to acquire wealth and prestige. That is one of the brains behind the numerous churches that are established on daily basis simply because they want to protect their interest, redeem their image, and have a sense of belonging.

### **5.1.6 Blowing up Lapses**

It is a common phenomenon that if an *ohu* is posted to an area dominated by *amadi* or vice versa, there is a tendency that every little mistake made by the minister is blown up to dent his image and weaken his message. All his messages will be misinterpreted. All his immunity as a minister will be drastically reduced.

In addition, they cook up false stories and all forms of propaganda to call a cat a bad name in order to hang him. They also set up all kinds of traps and pitfall for that minister. They can use women to set up his downfall and if he is not wise enough, he can fall a victim. And if he does, they will capitalize on it and eject him while the reverse is the case because for those who have similar status with the people dominating the church he over sees. All his sins and atrocities are covered up. He surrounds himself with bulwark of important personalities that see to his or her welfare. They ensure that his welfare is taken care of while the other minister who is not

of the same social status with them is left to suffer. For that person let God send manna from heaven. Similarly, all his or her gospel messages are misinterpreted and misjudged. All these things weaken the effectiveness of Christian evangelism.

### **5.1.7 Wrong Foundation**

It is a disheartening omen in Nkanuland that even children are enshrined into the cult of *ohu* and *amadi* and this idiosyncrasy is carried into the church system. In evangelism, *amadi* children are keen on avoiding anything that has to do with *ohu*. In the church, the segregation is also carried out based on the information that they are spoon fed at home. The tendency is that they grow up with this mindset and usually they constitute nuisance to any place their opposition is organizing crusade by burning tyres, to scare people, dismantling gadgets or creating a calculated panic all in a bid to foil evangelism plans. All these attempts is just another way of registering their apathy and creating dichotomy.

In some instances, a direct attack is directed against crusades to ensure that their evangelism plan does not hold water. This is done by beating up the preacher or initiating other physical assault. Some can



arrange a masquerade to scare people away. Above all, the children have been psyched to adopt dichotomy, prejudice as a life style. That is why they are keen on identifying who is an *ohu* and an *amadi* in the church and be wise enough not to have anything to do with them.

The researcher was opportuned to pastor a church in one of the Nkanu areas where there was a combination of *ohu* and *amadi*. What he observed was totally an eyesore considering the way the *amadi* children ignored and isolated the children of *ohu*. The isolation ranges from exchange of greetings, keeping companies and sharing of materials. The *amadi* and *ohu* children were completely in the world of their own. One can imagine what the situation will be if those children would grow up with those character traits. It may tantamount to eliminating one another. This informs the reason behind indiscriminate killings, forceful suicide, rape, broad day robbery that occur daily in *Nkanuland*. The trend goes on and those who are victims will also try to revenge by planning and unleashing all kinds of terror on their opponents. Unfortunately, they also extend this terror to their opposite groups by disrupting evangelism programmes through calculated attempts. Many times there are cases whereby churches are broken into and all equipment meant for evangelism are carted away.

During crusades, young people may gang up to create a big distraction to the preacher who is ministering the word of God. They do this by creating noise through knock out. Sometimes they dismantle electricity or electronic gadgets all in a bid to create distraction and hinder effective evangelism.

Sometimes, a group of boys will lay ambush on those who attend such programmes and harass them. They even force girls to rape them all in a bid to create a bad report around that programme. Kalu (1980) states that: “Slavery would never be eradicated unless a new class of people not satisfied with the substance to arise to upset the old system in the same way the industrial revolution in Europe produced the men who upset the mercantilist system in which the European slave trade had been used (p.621). Because *ohu* and *amadi* are passed down from generation to generation it is difficult to be stamped out.

### **5.1.8 Lack of Holistic Message**

For fear of harassment, intimidation or attack, preachers around Nkanuland do not openly preach against the stratification of *ohu* and

*amadi*. If an *ohu* who is a minister does that in the area dominated by *amadi*, no one knows whether he will come out alive to tell the story.

The bottom line is that such fear of the unknown weakens effective evangelism and makes the preachers equivocal in their declaration of the good news. For instance, A. Agbo, personal communication (12/10/2013) narrated that a woman preacher posted to Ndiagu Amechi did not stay beyond a year for openly preaching against the stratification of *ohu* and *amadi*. The *amadi* quickly ganged up and ensured that she was transferred out of their town because to them, that is the worst message and a disposition they would stomach. That is why many of the preachers that are sent to Nkanuland are economical with the truth of the gospel when it comes to *ohu* and *amadi* having in mind that the issue is a matter of life and death for Nkanu man.

### **5.1.9 Double Dealing Attitude of the Preachers**

In Nkanuland, effective evangelism is weakened by the compromising attitude of some ministers who are notable as agents of *ohu*

and *amadi*. They often embark on evangelism, preaching to the same people they discriminate against while repentance is far away from them. To such people, no matter what they preach their message will never make any impact because the people see them as hypocrites.

In addition, some people who occupy front seats in most churches in Nkanu are agents of *ohu* and *amadi*. Each time a critical issue comes up in the church or outside the church they twist the truth to suit their *ohu* and *amadi* tradition. When people discover this chameleon attitude in the church, they thought that is all about evangelism and turn deaf ears towards it. This is because the attitude of those they see in the churches is nothing to write home about. The compromising attitude of preachers in Nkanu over *ohu* and *amadi* has destroyed the trust and confidence the people had on them. This is because the people see them as a mask with two faces. The fear of safety and the quest for self gratification have made them compromise their calling. Some of the ministers that preach the gospel on the other hand are secret agents of *ohu* and *amadi* social stratification and the majority of the people knew it quite alright and preacher impacts more on people's lives than what he preaches. Some of the preachers are the oppressors of the people. Ajayi (1965) said that: "The

missionaries were dependent on the traders for their transport and provisions but they could not convincingly reconcile their teaching with the Atlantic slave trade and slavery as practiced in the new world” (p.4)

## **5.2 Denial of Ministerial Candidate**

In the past, those who vie for ministerial training are often rejected upon discovery that they are from *ohu* community. This is the order of the day in many churches in Nkanuland especially in the Methodist church. Because the candidates originated from their local churches, their names are either omitted or given a bad name that will bring about their rejection. This is in spite of the spiritual gifts that the candidate is endowed with. It is interesting to note that all the people Jesus handpicked as the 12 disciples came from different social backgrounds. Jesus did not discriminate, this is what made his evangelism effective because the combination of those talents became a force that won thousands to Christ and turned around the history of the world.

## **5.3 Antiodote to *Ohu* and *Amadi* Social Stratificaiton**

### **5.3.1 True Leadership**

Onah (1993) defines leadership as:

The use of influence to achieve or direct group behaviour in a number of ways: this includes getting employees to make what will be of benefit to group/cooperate interests. Moral leadership has to do with values and the same requires that followers to be given adequate knowledge of alternatives to make intelligent choices between different courses of action. Leadership is the non-coerce influence to shape the groups or organizational goals, motivate behaviour towards the achievement of those goals, and help define going and organization culture. (p.255).

The above definition clearly indicates the fact that leadership that is lopsided in its administration or the one that forcefully bends the will of the people in order to satisfy its end is not credible leadership. A true leadership is devoid of parochialism in all its ramifications. In a bid to curb the disturbing factor of *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland, the leadership of Nkanuland should re-orientate their priorities in such a way that the citizenry should be treated on equal basis. There is an aphoristic saying that a group without a leader is a mob. It can be understood from every ramification that the bane of our country today is our leaders, and the same scenario plays out in our churches. The disequilibrium in our economic,

social and political system today is synonymous with the type of leaders who occupy various driver's seat of leadership. Ibeh (2007) opines that:

When leaders in the church or other related ministries focus on using the people to achieve personal goals, the people withhold their commitment and only do things that will yield personal profit to them. The leader's life set a cultural temperature in every organization. To influence the people to continually make sacrifices that will help grow an organization; the leader must set the example by his own personal sacrifices and commitments to both the people and the organization. (p.18).

Nkanu needs leaders that will fulfill the aspirations of the people to bring to an end the impasse of *ohu* and *amadi*. Ukpabi (cited by Ugwu 1996) states that "A good leader is one who is a good manager of man and the resources of a given organization and who motivates a given group in its efforts to achieve certain objectives" (p.63). To make a true leadership that Nkanu needed, the leaders must be;

**No. 1 Visionary.**

Nkanuland needs leaders that must be open to the yearnings of Nkanu citizens whose desires are to abolish the trend that divide Nkanuland than unite them. They should not be adamant to the sufferings of the people who are victims of *ohu* and *amadi* syndrome but rather take pro-active steps to call both parties together for a dialogue to enable them air their grievances.

**No. 2 Balanced Leadership.**

A true leadership that Nkanuland needs should not have prejudice running in his blood. It must be a leader who is ready to sacrifice his own personal comfort in order to bring justice to the down trodden and the oppressed. A leader whose conscience can easily be brought over to favour a particular group over the other is not a credible one.

**No. 3 Versatility.**

Nkanuland needs a leader whose is versed with the tenets of administration. Such leaders must be magnanimous enough to extend their



tentacles wide in a bid to seeking solutions to the problems of *ohu* and *amadi*. By being versatile, they can be open to diverse ideas and suggestions that can bring about solution. A leader who is self centered cannot make any appreciable impact to the solution of the social stratification of *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland.

#### **No. 4 A Strong Leadership**

A strong leader possesses the ability to influence his society and turn a bad situation around. Liardon (2008) reported that when Idahosa the founder of Church of God Mission, was invited to speak at the fire conference in Harare in 1986, said, “The church can stop Marxism, Communism and bad Politicians, and that South Africa’s problems could be solved by signs and wonders” (p.1336). This man of God singlehandedly influenced the domination of witchcraft operation in Benin City and rendered them immobile as an evidence of what a strong leadership can accomplish through the instrumentality of the gospel. His outspoken nature made him a viable instrument in God’s hand. Shambach (1991) says that, “God choose to work through the spoken word of his representative in this world” (p.98). Murdock (1996) in trying to fashion out one of the leadership qualities in Jesus states that:

Each person around you contains a different body of knowledge. It is up to you to drop your pail in their well, and draw it out, where no counsel is, the people fall, but in the multitude of councilors there is safety,” (Proverbs 11:14). Look at those who surrounded Jesus a tax collector, fishermen, a woman who had been possessed with seven devils. Some very poor some were wealthy, while others were passive. Some were explosive like Peter, others, like James, were logical. Be willing to listen to others. Everyone sees through different eyes. They feel with different hearts, they hear through different ears. Someone knows something that you should know, you will not discover it until you take the time to stop and hear them out. One piece of information can turn a failure into a success. Great decisions are products of great thoughts. Jesus networked with people of all backgrounds... this was one of the leadership secrets of Jesus. (p. 95).

The forgoing highlights the practical leadership quality in Jesus whose ministry was devoid of nepotism, racial prejudice and discrimination as those who followed him were from different backgrounds. Despite that, he nurtured, harnessed and treated them with equity. This is irrespective of

the differences in the display of their character. He never harbored any resentment. This is one of those attributes that distinguished him from others and made him stand tall in the midst of his contemporaries. Mandela (cited by Smith, 2010) states that: “Ideology could wait until freedom had been won” (p.231). This indicates that an ideal leadership is one who holds the freedom of the people paramount in his priorities. Ayandele (1970) replicates the same virtues on Holy Johnson:

Intimately sympathetic, he knew no social distinctions in his courtesy. He was accessible to all who cared to approach him and was uniformly affable to all – rich and poor, high and low, educated and unlettered, Christian and non-Christian. He made himself the tribune of the people, sometimes at the expense of his personal interest. On no account did he ever turn away any body seeking his help. (p.377).

The unity that was harnessed among the disciples stood the taste of time and God used them to transform the whole world. He never discriminated. His inclination of being amenable to different kinds of people endeared him to the hearts of many and distinguished him as the son of God. The citizens of Nkanu who have identified themselves as God’s

children should also follow his footsteps in all ramifications especially in avoiding actions which will tend to promote racial prejudice and discrimination.

The blanket of superstition that has blindfolded some Nkanu religious leaders to believe that *ohu* and *amadi* can never be eradicated cannot allow them imbibe the culture of love which is vital to Christianity. They should, however, realize that posterity will judge them for complacency on tackling this social malaise called *ohu* and *amadi*. Liardon (1984) questions, “did you yield your mind, body and spirit to God, or did you yield yourself to the temptations of sin, when you accepted the temptation of sin and do them, you were working for Satan’s kingdom not God’s.” (p.178). Church leaders who promote the *ohu* and *amadi* social stratification in Nkanu by not speaking against it should have a rethink whether they are actually promoting God’s kingdom or Satan’s. However, true Christian leadership is what Nkanu need to steer the direction of the church to fight against the social ill and should not rely on the attitude of some leaders who through their actions have shown that they do not have the courage. Whatever short comings are found in the church today is because of her leaders. What our students manifest all around in the nation

today is largely due to their teachers, their parents and leaders who were careless to live recklessly before those impressionable youths. Corruption sweeps through most nations of the world today because the leaders are corrupt and have no personal standard for their own lives anymore. The fact remains that the life of a leader is directly proportional to what the people would be. The leader either exerts a positive or negative influence on those he or she leads and this has culminated the bane in our country today. The result of bad leadership by our past leaders has hatched the evils that have rocked the peace and the stability of our nations causing the innocent citizens to live on their nerves Fredman (2004) described the humanistic and credible life style of Jimmy Carter a former U.S. President:

He built houses with habitat for humanity. He's flown around the world to ensure fair elections. When he was the thirty-ninth president, he helped make a historic peace agreement between Egypt and Israel. For this dedication to human rights, he was awarded the Nobel peace prize in 2002. (p.23).

This is the type of leadership style that hinges on selfless service devoid of egocentrism and parochialism. However, in the struggle to achieve the desired result, the women should not be neglected because one

cannot underestimate the role women can play to ensure that in Nkanuland is librated from from from *ohu* and *amadi*. In the past God had used women with credible virtues to bring emancipation to different nations and to gain victories in different dimension of national struggle. Golda Mier (cited by Ammeh, 2009) states:

To attain peace, I am ready to go any hour, to any place to meet any authorized leader of any Arab State to conduct negotiations with mutual respect, in parity and without preconditions and with a clear recognition that the problems under controversy can be solved. For there is room to fulfill the national aspirations of all Arab States and of Israel as well in the middle East and progress, development and cooperation can be listened among all its nations, in place of barren bloodshed and war without end” (p.118) . She played a key role as the Israeli Minister to Moscow in bringing peace to the troubled Arab peninsula. In addition, Benazir Bhutto who was the eldest daughter of a former Pakistani leader of a Muslim country played a tremendous part in the liberation struggle of Pakistani people.. It was her unwavering passion and commitment that gave room for the Pakistani citizens to vote in their first open election in more than a

decade, and Bhutto's PPP won a majority in the National Assembly. In her address to the US Congress in Washington, D.C, June 1989 she said: "Mr President, distinguished members of the congress" As salaam-o-Alaikum peace is with you. We gather together, friends and partners who have fought, side by side, in the cause of liberty we gather together to celebrate freedom, to celebrate democracy, to celebrate the three most beautiful words in the English Language- we the people, I stand here conscious of the honour you bestow on my country and on me. I am not new to America, I recall fondly my four years I spent here as a student at Harvard. It was reported that she captivated congress with a speech portraying herself as the evidence of democracy, a spokesman for women, youth and those in the Islamic mainstream, a fighter for freedom in Afghanistan and a political descendant of John Kennedy. (p 75).

The foregoing is an indication that if women are given equal opportunity, they can be a force that can bring about revolution that can sweep out evil and other social vices in any society. Nmah (2008) opines that:

During the British war against Hitler Churchill read the mind of the British people and told them what they wanted to hear; ‘Blood, Sweat, Toil and Tears. He motivated them to work harder. That is a perceptive leadership. During the emotions – never in the field of human conflict – if those few could make the greatest sacrifices of all the British people should also be prepared to make sacrifices. (p.165).

In credible leadership, sacrifice is necessary for a positive result. Second, the leadership should be able to be sensitive to the psyche of the people and know what the people want and what it takes to achieve the desired objectives. The role of women in fighting injustice and bringing reconciliation cannot be over- emphasized. That made the Organization of African unity (OAU) place special emphasis on the need for their recognition. Ammeh (2009) opines that:

The organization of African Unity (OAU), in response to the United Nations Decade for women in 1981 enumerated strategies for economic development in Africa from 1980- 2000<sup>th</sup> emphasized the importance of giving special attention to the women in such vital



areas as education, machinery, communications and mass media, health nutrition and fairly life, research, data collection, analysis, legislature and administrative matter. In the area of employment, the need to promote recognition and documentation of women's contribution to agriculture was emphasized. (p.184).

The foregoing is a confirmation that the neglect of women by any society is to their own detriment. In a bid to tackle the problems of *ohu* and *amadi*, the women should be integrated into the mainstream of evangelism of this millennium. Mary Magdalene's audacity in spreading the news of the resurrection of Jesus Christ prior to his death reflected the true nature of women evangelism. This manifested disposition has been the life style of some notable women like Maria B.Wood Worth Etta, Juanta Bynum, Kathryn Kuhlman, Aimee Semple McPherson, to mention but a few. In Kathryn Kuhlman's meetings, denominational or social barriers were thrown in the air all in a bid to hear her preach the gospel that was accompanied with healing, signs and wonders. In the course of effective evangelism, Nmah (2003) highlights on importance of women:

The woman who is determined to contend against the forces of the adversary will have the victory thanks to God of Jesus Christ under

whose protection she gives. Making women the target of evangelism is a good method because the determination and spirituality of women have a great impact when it comes to transforming the nation in which they live, in both spiritual and material terms. A deep faith, a life of prayer and fasting and effective practice of Christian ethics are needed to cope with the situations which will help the women to surmount all obstacles to freedom. (p 17).

There is a need for Nkanu Christians to imbibe the import of this statement and place themselves in a pedestal that will enable them to fulfill their role in evangelism and in the subsequent campaign to eradicate *ohu* and *amadi*. Furthermore, Nmah (2003) states some factors that militate against the equality of women which among them are illiteracy, widowhood practices. Therefore the clarion call to enhance the educational system in Nkanuland will be a welcome development as women will be in a better platform to take their education to a respectable level. The establishment of two universities and a Law school in Agbani in Nkanu by the erstwhile governor and Senator Dr. Chimaroke Nnamani is a right step in a right direction and more elites should emulate his good works. It is through education that women in Nkanuland will be better equipped to

overcome various cultural limitations that stymie their progress in different fields of endeavors. Because of the faith, tenacity and determination of women generally some women if well educated can outdo men in championing the course of transformation that will make society better.

## **5.4 Social Approach**

In addition to religious approach, the issue of *ohu* and *amadi* can also be tackled through the social approach which involves the following.

### **5.4.1 Dialogue**

Mason (2004) says “You can succeed in almost anything for which you have limitless enthusiasm, the world belongs to the enthusiastic” (p.21-22). One of the ways of sustaining the enthusiasm for the social change of the obnoxious *ohu* and *amadi* syndrome is through dialogue. If those at the helm in Nkanu will engage in a healthy dialogue, it will help in fashioning out strategies and mechanisms that will pave the way for the eradication of the *ohu* and *amadi*. Such dialogue should be preceded with careful planning to enable it yield the desired result. The aphorism that failure to plan is a plan to fail is real. Planning is instrumental to success.

Dialogue will enable both parties in question to air their views and also give room for freedom for active participation. This will pave the way for a consensus to be reached which is a high way for its eradication. It is only through dialogue that the grievances of each party will be fully diagnosed before a lasting solution can be reached. Therefore, the parties of *ohu* and *amadi* can be brought into dialogue in Nkanu to reach consensus for peace and serenity to take its place. J.C Taylor employed dialogue in settling dispute and fracas between villages in the pre-Colonial era especially in the fracas between Onitsha and *Ogidi* as Okeke (2006) states “on a number of occasions Taylor was called to intervene in near explosive fracas between Onitsha and *Ogidi* villagers. This benevolent attitude sold out the heart of the people to him and made him stand out among his peers” (p.5). The fact is that human being has a will and cannot be controlled as one does the devil. Hagin (1986) states that “Although we have authority over demon spirits, we do not have authority over our fellowmen or their will, we miss it a lot of times in thinking that we do” (p.55). All these confirm the fact that dialogue remains one of the best options in tackling disputes. It is important to note that some people were enslaved through a voluntary submission to a powerful person for his

protection. Second, there was a form of oath taking as a form of agreement which all parties consented to. Therefore in settling the matter, the option of breaking such oath is necessary before any effective dialogue can take place.

Dialogue creates a level playing ground for the cross-fertilization of ideas and it's a vital tool pivotal for peace negotiation in every sphere of life. Bisong (2009) states that it is not enough for the religious leader's to criticize top officials openly. This is because they would have ready and well rehearsed response to such criticisms. Invitation to them by their religious leaders for private dialogue whereby they are told what other fair-minded and unbiased followers feel about their actions can make them realize that they have perverted justice and possibly follow the path of justice in future, in spite of pressures, enticement and perquisites of office. The dialogue will also give the top officials the opportunity of explaining their actions, since the admonition that may follow will be based on a balanced judgment of the perception of the top officials.

Instead of taking to arms or sitting at the complain counter, one of the measures to be adopted to arrest the spiral effect of *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland is dialogue since it will give both parties the platform to

negotiate and finally come to a compromise. The power of dialogue was made manifest and was instrumental in quelling the menace of Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) whose nefarious activities was a worrisome development for the entire nation of Nigeria and beyond, and has defied every solution until the former late president of Nigeria Musa Yar Adua came on the saddle and brought the impasse to an end. That exercise yielded enough dividend to all and sundry and also helped to restore the image of Nigeria abroad and before the international community's whose diplomatic tie with Nigeria have been severed due to some security reasons.

The use of force may not be ideal as it can cause a reprisal. Even the early missionaries did not apply force in sidelining the people from their evil practices. Ekechi (1972) states that the missionaries were anxious to see the rapid transformation of the Igbo social order but they recognized that it would be disastrous to effect this by radical means. Such an approach, they feared, would inevitably result in strong counter attack and reprisal, and, for this reason the missionaries were willing at first to approach the problem cautiously.

#### **5.4.2 Changing Some Obnoxious Cultural Practices**

It is natural that every community or city is guided and governed by norms and by laws to enhance the welfare of its citizens. To this end, a lasting positive change can be achieved in Nkanuland if the powers that be deem it fit to change some obnoxious practices once detrimental to their peace and progress. In addition, penalties will also be meted out to those who will remain recalcitrant to the new system as a way of establishing it. It is necessary that a kind of task force should be put in place to crack down on offenders and all those who will be anachronistic to the innovative changes. Ajah (1998) states that “the Biafran leaders claim that Eastern region was pushed out of the federation citing the case of mass genocide or pogrom against the indigenes of eastern region living in the North of Nigeria” (p.138). It was the same case of racial discrimination against the people of the east by the north which resulted in the resistance by the faction known as Biafra led by the Biafran warlord Chief Chukwuemeka Odumegwu. Ojukwu led a ragtag that waged a war against all intent that unleashed untold hardship that trapped many Nigerians into vicious poverty and slacked our burgeoning economy. Ajah (1998) opines that:

The objective to combat racial discrimination in all its manifestation should be implemented both nationally and internationally. As in the

case against Apartheid in South Africa in which Nigeria performed creditably. Other states including Nigeria combated it in the United Nations and its organs. International conventions have concluded denouncing racial discrimination and national news media and lectures are employed to educate people about the evil of racism. But it is within the scope of the states, using its law courts that racial discrimination can be more effectively combined under the principle of Reciprocity or Nationality. In an international system that is becoming more inter-dependent Nigeria should provide an adequate and effective diplomatic section for its citizens abroad who eastern victims of racism and racism discrimination. (p.180).

However, this can be possible after a healthy agreement must have been reached prior to the dialogue. Once the foundation that brought the *ohu* and *amadi* into existence has been broken down some practices that do not promote the unity and progress of Nkanuland can be changed so that defaulters will be punished to serve as a deterrent to others. Any culture that does not enhance the unity and the general development of the people should be exterminated because its continuous existence is to their detriment.



### 5.5 Political Approach

The political approach involves the intervention of the government in a bid to finding a lasting solution to the issue. There has been approaches by different past administrations to curb the influence of the social stratification in Nkanuland, for example the government was responsible for the creation of *ohu* communities in *Akwuke*, *Ugwuaji* and *Isiogbo* areas in a bid to forestall the face offs that culminated into a full blown wars which resulted in many loss of lives. Okafor (cited by Ugwu, 1996) remarks:

In various parts of Enugu state, politics of dichotomy is known to have reared its ugly head in the form of caste system, a social practice or attitude which stratifies the people of one particular community or area into two social categories, son of the soil, freeborn or true indigenes (*amadi* in the local dialect) on one hand, and strangers or slaves (*ohu / ofu / odenigbo*) on the other hand. The system reminds one of the bitter forgotten apartheid systems in South Africa. It makes the deprived invest aboard and establish marital linkages, exogenously, Wawa land, thus suffer socially and

economically, because this obnoxious cultural practice cause fight of capital, drains of brains and division of society. ( p.34).

One of the factors behind the perpetration of *ohu* and *amadi* stratification is partly political; therefore, a political approach should also be adopted to find a lasting solution.

### **5.5.1 Government Intervention**

The government of both Nkanu and Enugu State should place the issue of *ohu* and *amadi* paramount in their priority as a way of tackling the impasse as Nkanu cannot be abstracted from the mainstream of its administration. In the past, it has posed a major source of worry and concern for the past administrations. For example Ugwu (1996) captured the address of the then military administration of Enugu State, Col. Ahman, in 1996, a native of Zuruland in Kebbi state on the occasion of marking a one year anniversary:

The various communities where the caste system is still in operation should set machinery in motion to dismantle the obnoxious order, a situation where we have second class citizens in our state for any reason, whatsoever is not acceptable to me. All people of Enugu state are equal and nobody should be seen to be more equal than the

other. God created us equal and free and our constitution has guaranteed that nobody therefore can impose a stigma or servitude on us. (p.36).

It was this worrisome development of the caste system in Nkanuland that resulted in unrest and bloodshed in the past. Disappointedly, inspite of the measures taken in the past by past administrations, the cold war has continued to spiral. Therefore, there is a need for the government of the day to take proactive measures that will nail this scourge to the coffin. This can be done by using their prerogative to invite both parties and engage them in healthy interactions. A committee can be set up to implement this action. Those committees should be made up of those who know the terrains of *ohu* and *amadi* and how they affect their social and religious wellbeing. Secondly, they should set machinery in motion to fish out the perpetrators and bring them to book as a way of sanitizing the social system of Nkanuland. Thirdly, they should place equal chances of opportunity for leadership position of Nkanu and Enugu state without any sense of undue favoritism or negative bias. Nkanu citizenry have the right to freedom. It is interesting to note that in the event of the Second World War when the Jews were singled out in Germany and

Austria for mass destruction by Hitler and his henchmen, the world leaders opposed such move. Ayah (1998) spotlights that:

It was in this mood that president F. Roosevelt on July 6 1994 addressed the

United States congress on the four freedoms which he demanded must be implemented all over the world. That includes: (1) freedom of speech and expression, (2) freedom of religion, (3) freedom from want, and (4) freedom from fear. (p. 110).

This shows that the whole world is in need of freedom. Those in authority should be able to exhibit disposition of the erstwhile Queen of England. Queen Elizabeth 1. Hasting (1915) notes that:

In 1500 Sir John Hawkins sailed to Guinea, obtained 300 Negros, sold them in Hispaniola, and came back to England, Queen Elizabeth told him that if any Africans should be carried away without their free consent, it would be detestable and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertaking (p.608).

This indicates that freedom is vital in human lives and those in authorities have this as their watchword.

### 5.5.2 Education

It is no news that one of the greatest mountain before any human is ignorance. It is the bane of most communities. Coopers (cited by Edward, 1960) on education as says “Neither piety, virtue, nor liberty can long flourish in a community where the education of the people is neglected” (p. 167). This remark highlights the deplorable state of any community or state where the education of the people is bastardized. It is tantamount to building an upstairs without solid foundation as the crash will be enormous. Therefore, the race to finding a lasting solution to the *ohu* and *amadi* social stratification in Nkanuland anchors on a careful laid down plan for a massive education of the citizenry on the dangers and ills of this syndrome. More importantly, the education of the youth should take the center stage. The future destiny of any nation lies on the youth of the day. If there will be a reposition on the character and on the psychology of the youth, education is the prerequisite tool for the needed change. The importance of education inspired Falk (1979) to say that “they were convinced that education not religion was the white man’s source of strength” (p. 436). That is to say that education is power and confirms an aphorism that what distinguishes or makes a man stand above others lies in what he knows which the other person does not. Therefore education provides information

that extricates ignorance. Ogara (2011) harps on the importance and the dangers which lack of education will impose:

We can conclude by saying that the world has discovered a mutual interest in education. This is born of the conviction that education is the engine of development. When assessed against the background of our many educational problems and collective giants it becomes clear that the survival of our country is at stake. When he toys with education, we place ourselves in danger of mutual destruction. What cannot be over-emphasized is that since education is for all it is the responsibility of all. The good news is that we have all the required resources, if only we are prepared to work as a team. (p.148).

Education still remains a vital instrument for social reformation.

Ngwu (2002) also highlights on the importance of education when he said:

We must agree with President Olusegun Obasanjo who said “any money spent on education is a legitimate investment in the nation’s future” As a factor of production, education produces the attitudes, skills, knowledge and personalities upon which modern technology industrialization and organized development and production depend. And again, education is an instrument for social reconstruction and

cultural regeneration. Many leaders have used education to forge national youth services corps, the establishment of federal secondary schools and the introduction of universal primary education. (p. 107).

An aphorism that “anybody is what he is taught” cannot be taken for granted in view of what education can achieve in the life of any person who is committed to it. Society needs education in every ramification in order to flush out barbarism from their behavior. Murdock (1996) emphasized the need for leaders to educate their subjects:

It is very important that you mentor someone. Train them; teach them what you know especially those over whom you have authority, any instruction for you, such as employees, children and so on. Successful businesses have employees who are informed, well – trained, and confident about carrying out their instructions. This takes time. It takes energy, it takes great patience. Every song needs a singer, every achievers needs motivation. Every student needs a teacher. Jesus was a master teacher. He taught thousands at a time. Sometimes he sat with his twelve disciples and fed information and inspired. He taught them about prayer (Mathew 26:36-46), he taught them about hell

(Luke 16:20-31) he educated his staff on many topics including his purpose, giving and relationships. Here is the point none of us were born with great knowledge. You became what you are, you discovered what you know, it took time, energy and learning, your staff will not know everything. They may not see what you see. They may not feel what you feel. (p.84).

Education pays off in every ramification. It is said that information transforms a man while lack of information deforms him. The situation in Nkanuland requires education so that the people will know the implications of perpetrating all sorts of vices against their neighbours or brothers in the guise of social stratification.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

#### **6.1 Summary**

This research has tried to examine the *ohu* and *amadi* and its consequent implications in Nkanuland. In the introduction, we explored the



antecedents of *ohu* and *amadi*, the implication to the Nkanu people, and the significance, scope, and methodology were x-rayed. In chapter two, we examined the works of different authors whose contributions and suggestions will be of immense help to tackling this scourge. In chapter three efforts were made to explore different origins and occupations of Nkanu people, their traditional religion, social structure and major institutions. In addition, in chapter four, the practice and dimension of *ohu* and *amadi* in different communities were examined and compared with that of Nkanuland such places are Ngbo and Ezza. Above all, the antecedents of different communities of *amadi* and *ohu* were explored together with the factors that are responsible for the formation of those communities. In chapter five, the impact of *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland were x-rayed ranging from inferiority complex, lopsided political structure as other communities within Nkanuland were disenfranchised from basic amenities. It has also resulted in frequent warfare. Above all, it inhibits the spread of Christian evangelism through disunity, strife and prejudices. Finally, it proffers different approaches to finding solution which ranges from social, political and religion.

## 6.2 Conclusion

It is because of the social stratification's negative effect on effective Christian evangelism on Nkanuland that places greater burden and responsibility on the church to stand out on the fight for the abolition of this scourge. It is high time they put aside their denominational differences against *ohu* and direct their energies and resources to ensuring that the embers of *ohu* and *amadi* is extinguished. Kalu (1978) recalls one of the aims of the advent of the missionaries:

The second reason why the missionaries came to Nigeria at the time was to alleviate certain human miseries; these included rampant warfare, homelessness, chaos and confusion which resulted from the slave trade. Other miseries which they came to wipe off were cannibalism, human sacrifice, and trial by ordeal, superstition, disease and ignorance. (p.36).

It is appalling that the church in Nkanu, which should follow the footsteps of the missionaries in fighting these evil has deviated but it is high time they took the bull by the horn and seek for solutions that will end *ohu* and *amadi*. Agha (1977) states that "slave trade was one of the factors that brought about the missionary movements to West Africa" (p.67).

However, most of our missionary fathers who laboured for the abolition would turn in their graves with astonishment and dissatisfaction on the resentment, dichotomy and indiscriminate killing that rock Nkanu today. It is for this reason that the churches in Nkanu should strive to end *ohu* and *amadi* so that the legacies left behind by the missionaries will be preserved. Wilke (1991) has a word of consolation for the downtrodden, which is suited for the victims of *ohu*. “The test of faith you are experiencing may be necessary for you to see the glory that God has prepared for you. Hold your head high because through Jesus Christ and God’s Spirit, you are an overcomer” (p.73). The consolation words above is suited for those at Nkanu who are victims of indiscriminate killings, rape, cronyism, nepotism, stark injustice and all forms of human right abuses as a results of *ohu* and *amadi* syndrome and are carried out by both families. However, it is beneficial to ask whether slavery in all its ramifications has actually ended with the abolition of slave trade. Ojukwu (1989) observes that

The humiliation of the African did not end with the slave trade but was closely followed by colonialism and subsequently, neo-colonialism. Today, we are still a long way from our desired goal which is to achieve for the black man, respect among the comity of

racess. The struggle for dignity can only be a counting one. The problem of the black-man is essentially the same whether he is in Southern Africa, the Diaspora or even in Nigeria. (p.89)

There is need for unity to enable us fight a common cause as Africans, Igbo and the Nkanu man. Our country has suffered a lot of setbacks because they cannot unite to fight their common course. It is only in football that Nigerians can think and speak with one mind. Ojukwu (1989) observes something we must do to achieve unity in Nigeria:

Nigeria cannot progress without unity. Without unity Nigeria cannot hope to establish the black personality which should be respected by all humanity and be recognized fully as part of the human race. To enhance unity, we must avoid a situation where Nigeria is only granted contract appointments in certain areas of their fatherland. To enhance unity ethnic origin must be diffused. To enhance unity, conscious effort must be taken to insulate the spirit of oneness among all Nigerians, we must create an atmosphere in which Nigerians can live and work together as brothers and sisters. (p.91).

The late great statesman has looked into the periscope of the Nigeria's future and observed that Nigeria cannot move forward in the

atmosphere of discrimination, rancor, injustice and promotion of racial prejudice. If Nkanu citizens could imbibe the words of the late icon to eschew bitterness which stems from the *ohu* and *amadi* syndrome, Nkanuland would be a safe haven for both the citizens and non citizens. Above all, they would together harness the rich cultural and natural resources which God has endowed to them. Paul (2011) states that:

Many territories are known by one striking characteristic or the other, peculiar sin-habits of the inhabitants, perpetual subjugation of one ethnic group or another, some are known for one form of negative attitude, reproach or other vices. Majority of these influences are orchestrated by the presence of one negative altar or the other. (p.11)

Altars are powerful and when they are built with negative or false foundation it connotes bad omen and orchestrates strange happenings against the very foundation of such communities and inflicts a big blow on the destinies of the people. That is why every family or community where strange things are happening should do a historical mapping to discover the root cause of such malaise and nip it in the bud.

It is expedient to observe that the slave trade in a general sense was not all completely a letdown to Africans and Nkanuland. The trade founded the bedrock of civilization which the African milked from. (Toyin 1989) states that “The real gain was that Nigeria-European contact led to the introduction of new crops into Nigeria chief products among these were maize and cassava which revolutionalized the diets of Nigeria on the coast” (p.183).

It is credible that Nkanuland has greatly benefitted from this development as this chief product has greatly boosted their economic gain and increased their consumption satisfaction. It is also noteworthy that these products are instrumental to the production of other consumable items like bread and beverages which serve for the well-being of Nkanu people and other Nigerians. Consequently, the trade also brought a lot of positive cultural changes. Toyin (1989) states that the contact between the Europeans and the Africans living in the West and the subsequent trades in slave, lead to changes not only in the way the Africans dressed but also in their etiquette and language. Since the Europeans exchanged such items as linen, wollen cloth, copper, bracelets, glass beads and coral for their slaves,

African dressing habits naturally began to change. Some of the new clothes provided a standard mode of dressing for courts, royalties and personages.

With regard to language, the development of a mixed language comprising English, Portuguese and the local Nigerian languages, emerged in the Delta areas of southern Nigeria. This language became the medium through which slaves conducted their business with the African chiefs and middlemen. The language, which is Nigerian, was called pidgin, and it had its equivalent in the Indies and the rest of the new world where it was known sometime as Creole.

It is indeed unfortunate that the limitation of slavery in Nkanuland did not end with the slave trade and its subsequent abolition; rather it was overstretched into the *ohu* and *amadi* which carries a lot of devastating aftermath. The harmony which existed between them turned out to be unending face off. Nwanuobi (1992) states that

Ethnographies of the Ila of central Africa, the Nupa and the Hausa of Nigeria, the various city states of the Niger Delta (Nigeria) and the Nigeria of Uganda indicate that domestic slaves invariably acquire economic resources on their own and would constitute themselves into power brokers. They often require direct political power. Indeed,

it has been estimated that most members of the royal army in Congo were made up of people of slave descent. (p.129).

Similar scenario would play out in Nkanuland if there is harmony between the *amadi* and *ohu*. In that circumstance the intellectual and other God given endowment would have been harnessed to make Nkanuland worth living.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

Tackling the issue of *ohu and amadi* social stratification in *Nkanu* requires a superhuman effort to supplant this outmoded cankerworm, because those who oversimplify its influence on *Nkanu* citizens need to get into the mainstream of their social activities and discover its negative magnetizing effect on the younger generation who are the future hope of *Nkanuland*. Therefore, the need to check this trend will help to forestall the hostilities that were witnessed in the past; this done will leave those who are already infected in their ideologies that the issue of *ohu and amadi* can never be stamped out befuddled. The tackling of this problem will take three dimensions namely, religious, social and political.

#### **i. Religious Approach**



The tackling of this problem that has creamed off most of the cherished values of Nkanu will send light down the tunnel as God's intervention in any situation sprouts undeniable changes, oppositions and ideologies notwithstanding. Above all, for the fact that the problem bothers on effective evangelism, it is ideal to employ a religious approach as a way of attracting God's intervention to the impasse. Gilroy (1987) states that "the struggle to overcome slavery, wherever it develops involves adaptation to Christianity" (p.159).

## **ii. Effective Evangelism**

It is Oha (2010) who states that:

The task of witnessing to a church goer requires an uncompromising approach. The church of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has become a cold room to preserve sinners, corrupt men and women; preachers are therefore expected to revisit their roles on evangelism. (p.190).

The obvious truth is that half- hearted approach towards evangelism cannot salvage Nkanuland from her present predicament. It took the sincerity of the twelve apostles in evangelism to reshape the history of the world. That was the type of evangelism that was devoid of sugar coating

and parochialism which will only have a superficial impression on people.

Nmah's (2009) corroborated on this:

Some people develop ways of thinking and acting which can prevent them from facing difficult situations. These are called defensive mechanism, because they protect or defend us, from things that upset our sense of security and our self esteem. (p. 67).

It is not far-fetched that preachers and ministers of God can use preaching as a means of defensive mechanism. In other words they employ palliative messages as soft landing to achieve their materialistic tendencies while they continue to fiddle, play ostrich and circumnavigate around vital issue of *ohu* and *amadi* without calling a spade a spade. Morris (cited by Duewel, 1989) as saying "whenever the gospel is faithfully proclaimed, there is power" (p. 52). The effectiveness of the gospel proclamation is also directly related to the faithfulness of the ministers of God who do the proclamation. The power that changes lives and makes positive impact on people can only be available when the minister eschew materialism, self ego and imbibe selfless and unwavering commitment to what he has been called to do. When the reverse is the case, the whole thing will amount to

gimmicks and playing to the gallery. This shows that love is the bedrock of a true evangelism.

Effective Christian evangelism also entails ministering to the material needs of the people. In the time of Jesus ministry on earth he fed the hungry crowd with physical food. After he rose from the death, he fed the disciples. He was conscious of both spiritual and physical food. At this time of economic hardship, evangelism can be made more effective if people's physical need can be a matter of urgent priority. This is because a hungry man can hardly listen to the gospel. The preacher's at Nkanu can inculcate this virtue in their evangelism programs to embrace everybody irrespective of their social status. By doing so, they will win the mind and heart of Nkanu people. A situation whereby preachers take from people instead of giving to them is an aberration of God's standard. It has become a norm in Nkanu that preachers dupe the members in the name of prophecy. The gospel should center on Jesus Christ whose attribute is love demonstrated in giving. He even gave his life for mankind to be saved. Consequently, the effective Christian evangelism which preachers in Nkanu should imbibe hinges on personal integrity of the preachers. Evangelism is carried out always on daily basis however, because there is

question mark in the lives of most preachers, the efficacy of their messages are dampened. Most of the preachers indulge in immorality like rape, kidnapping, theft and embezzlement. As a result, the evangelism they embark upon does not make impact in the lives of Nkanu people. In one of the local churches in Nkanu east, a pastor was caught in sexual affairs with a married woman. He was just lucky to have escaped by night when the villagers called for his head.

That was how his evangelistic mission in that community ended. Similarly, many preachers in Nkanu use the name of the gospel to run after rich and wealthy men in Nkanu and in Diaspora in order to enrich them. At times the fund that is allotted to evangelism and church project are diverted into their personal purses. The disposition of ministers of the gospel in Nkanu has reduced their personality to mere beggars and as such hinders effective evangelism which should be an offensive weapon against *ohu* and *amadi*. It is because this idiosyncrasy that water down effective evangelism in Nkanu.

### **iii. Ecclesiastical Intervention**

The fight against *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland requires collective effort and unity of purpose in order to make an appreciable impact. It also

calls for setting a priority and throwing ones weight and a consuming passion to actualize it. To this end, churches and Christians of Nkanuland should place the eradication of *ohu* and *amadi* first in their priority otherwise their faith and Christianity will be bastardized through their nonchalance. Their set objective through their ecclesiastical intervention is to find a workable and a lasting solution to this perennial issue. This ecclesiastical intervention imbued with a clear-cut vision of their set target can attract the presence of well meaning personalities, groups and government to champion the course of this eradication and crack down on the agents of perpetrators. Moreover, they should ensure that the perpetrators who use the church as a cover are fished out and disciplined in accordance with the laid down rules and regulations. This done will serve as deterrent to others. In this way, Christianity can be used to curb the social malaise. Nmah (2008) cites an example, using a case study of what transpired during the regime of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania:

During Julius Nyerere's governance, Christianity manifested itself in the political thought arena of Tanzanians. The Ujamaa programmes which were dedicated to human services by him were very much influenced by Christianity. He did not appeal directly to the scripture

to promote the “Ujamma” but it should be pointed out that these political social thoughts were very much influenced by Christianity. (p.53).

In the same vein, the *ohu* and *amadi* complex in Nkanuland can be curbed through the instrumentality of ecclesiastical intervention. This can be done if all the churches could come together and invite both parties in question in a healthy dialogue so that they air their grievances and their differences as a way of finding a way forward and a lasting solution. Second, the churches can unite to appeal to the government of the day to intervene in the situation. This can be done by enforcing a dialogue in case the powers that be at Nkanu are lackadaisical about the whole situation.

Ogara (2011) states that a well organized ecumenism promotes neighbourly relations and reduces increasing cases of wars and conflicts among Christians. The unity that is demanded of the churches is not unity in diversity but a type of unity that will constitute a force that will combat tenets of *ohu* and *amadi*. Tenney (1998) states that unity is manifested as we take our eyes off one another to worship and gaze with awe, adoration and driving hunger upon the face of the king of glory (p.137).

Most of the time Nkanu churches have united under umbrella of Christianity was during general election. This was usually to give their support to a notable figure who would vie for a political position. In such circumstance, every religious difference is laid aside because the gathering would yield some dividend. If they had replicated such virtues in fighting some social evils like *ohu* and *amadi*, it would have been eradicated. The fight against *ohu* and *amadi* does not require a half-hearted approach because it has eaten deep into the fabrics of Nkanu citizens, hindered effective evangelism and the general development. This can only be actualized if their differences occasioned by *ohu* and *amadi* are laid aside. Nevertheless, they should make unity and tolerance their watchword.

This implies that there is a need for the churches in Nkanuland, Anglican, Methodist, Catholic etc to form a formidable force that can rattle the camp of the enemy whose intention is to hold Nkanu citizens in perpetual bondage through the obnoxious syndrome of *ohu* and *amadi*. The above three mentioned churches dominate Nkanuland in the religious circle and are capable of leading a spiritual insurgence against the forces behind *ohu* and *amadi*. This will be actualized if they will remove the barriers of internal rivalry and discrimination.

#### iv. Prayer

The importance of prayer in human lives cannot be over-emphasized, for it is the extension of man's hope when he has exhausted his elasticity. It is prayer that conveys the positions of man's heart to God and brings back solution. When man's life is full of complexities, prayer serves as a prerequisite tool for effecting a change and a restoration. The general assumption that the *ohu* and *amadi* social stratification cannot be stamped out of Nkanu may be correct, but not when God steps in. Prayer is one of the necessary proactive measures to solicit God's presence for the needed change. In spite of the prevaricating attitude of some Nkanu indigenes that are intransigent of this social stratification, prayer will offer a permanent solution to the impasse. Time is ripe for Nkanu citizens to rise to the wakeup call for prayer in order to attract the hand of God against the perpetrators of the social decay in Nkanuland. When God rises to the occasion to effect a permanent change in response to prayer, people will call a spade a spade.

In Biblical times, there are case studies of God's interventions in response to prayers. For example, when the Jews were about to be annihilated the prayer and fasting of a woman known as Esther was



answered and that premeditated pogrom was averted. (Ether 4.16-17). Prayer is a necessary tool that will smoke out interest from all and sundry and compel well meaning citizens to be potent enough to tackle the situation without bias and fear of being untrammelled by the threats of men. Okeke (2002) says, “For there are many things the believer would often feel free to do were it not for the remembrance that God’s eyes is ever upon him” (p.76). The consciousness of God which creates the fear of God enabling an individual to resist the temptation of dabbling into certain actions is brought about by prayer. If churches fail to pray, a lot of social ills will continue to repeat itself. Powell (2010) states, “When a church is significantly out dated and irrelevant, it loses its ability to influence people for Christ and eternity” (p. 162). Therefore churches in Nkanu should stop sitting on the fence rather intensify their prayer power directed towards the eradication of the *ohu and amadi* communal complex. Above all, prayer should anchor on positive life style. Shambach (1991) said that “God chose to work through the spoken word of his representatives in world” (p.56).

The episode in Nkanuland where mysterious things like indiscriminate killings, hatred, cold war, ineptitude and nepotism happen

are signs that the forces of darkness is at work and prayer remains an unavoidable option. Agbom (2012) states that:

We need to pray earnestly that God should make available for us helpers that will help us get to pinnacle of our dreams and visions. It is also important to pray that the devil will not use those helpers to frustrate our dreams and visions just the way Eve frustrated that of Adam. The success stories of the great achievers of our time in the secular world would not have been possible without the significant role of the personalities who acted as helpers on their way to the pinnacle of their achievements. If helpers do not come your way, you will ever remain wherever you are. (p. 87).

It means that with prayers one can stop the wiles of the enemy that stops our progress. Without prayer one cannot make real progress in life .Cho (1993) cites a personal experience which emphasizes on the invaluable assets which embodies on prayer:

In 1958, about fifty students graduated from our Bible School. Out of those fifty students, only five of us went to early Morning Prayer meeting. The other students slept in the dormitory and even made a public resolution to stop us because we made much noise praying

that they could not sleep. We five students were praying every morning beginning at 4:30am. Just the other day a few of our alumni got together and were looking at class pictures. I was amazed to realize that only the five students who attended the early Morning Prayer meeting are still in the ministry, and are still alive today. My heart was greatly shaken (p.62).

The conglomeration of the churches in Nkanuland to fight this common cause will add bite to the forces that will help to combat the syndrome of *ohu* and *amadi*. In the diaspora, the ecumenical force had impacted positively in times of crises and confusion. When churches come together to speak out against the evil in the society, it will help in crime reduction. Nmah (2004) opines that fasting is one of the instruments which God has designed to facilitate answer to our prayers and to weaken the force of evil that conglomerate against the design of God for us and our loved ones. In the case of the little girl whom Jesus casted out devils, he attributed the victory to two factors prayer and fasting. (Matthew 17:21). The examples of Daniel, David, Hannah and Esther is enough evidence to confirm that fasting is designed to generate power that will flush out the menace of the evil ones. Shambach (1991) opines that:

Fasting is an important part of self- denial. The desire for food the richest, tastiest, and best-is one of the strongest desires of self. It was for food that Esau sold his birthright. It was to physical hunger the desire for food – that Satan directed the first in a series of temptations of Christ when he was in the wilderness. Paul the great apostle of power declared that he was in fasting often, see 2 Corinthians 11:27 food itself is not sinful. But if it is given undue importance it becomes a god and when it becomes a god, it is a sin. (p.70).

It was the fasting of Esther with her household that was instrumental to the emancipation of the Jews from the premeditated pogrom. It's an important institution that will not be toyed with if we would expect a tremendous breakthrough in time of troubles. However, if Nkanu people especially Christians should declare fasting as an addendum to their prayers, the network built around the *ohu* and *amadi* will definitely crumble.

Prayer has a way of repositioning the intercessor because prayer involves the three things, psychological, spiritual and physical. This means that for one to succeed in prayer, one must be in a right frame of mind to actualize

success. Beckman (1989) remarks that intercessory prayer may affect a change in you before it affects the one for whom you are praying for. Often, the power of effective intercessory prayer cannot be underestimated. The motive behind intercessory prayers generally should be love. It remains the motivational force which should not be overlooked or else it is in vain. One cannot pray successfully for people in the face of prejudice and dichotomy. The Christian leaders in Nkanu should imbibe the culture of equality before God to enable them reposition them for the desired result. A right mental attitude is also necessary for one to achieve success in prayer because in the light of emotional dys-functioning and imbalance, distraction would be the end result. A positive mental disposition towards prayer will produce positive result. Marson (2004) says “Obstacles can temporarily detour you, but only you can make you stop. Your struggle may be lasting, but it is not everlasting. It is wrong to think that there is nothing more paramount than these temporary situations (p.126). There is a need that *ohu* in Nkanuland summon courage even in the face of the prevailing circumstance so as to be able to face a promising tomorrow. Courage propels somebody to move forward in the face of hapless situation. The absence of courage brings depression. Seligman (1995) in

describing the relationship between depression and its adverse effect on the dysfunctioning of the brain opines that:

The brain and the immune system are connected not through nerves but through hormones, the chemical messengers that drift through the blood and can transmit emotional state from one part of the body to another. It has been well documented that when a person is depressed the brain changes. Neuro transmitters which are hormones that relay messages from one nerve to another can become dilapidated. One set of transmitters, called Catecholamine's, becomes depleted during depression. Depression also seems to affect the way the immune system responds. (p.177).

Depression tends to dislodge the proper functioning of the nerve cells and the hormonal structures and ultimately the psychological effect. When the mind is in right psychological condition, the spirit will be in the positive position to align itself to God. This individual will maintain his spiritual equilibrium and focus. This will forestall unnecessary distractions and double mindedness which automatically hinder answer from God. Owen (1995) remarks that depression clouds and distorts thinking. People

with depression usually view their past, present and future negatively. In turn, the negative – thoughts create more depression. It's as if everything is done through the opposite of rose-colored glasses. Depression does create sadness but feelings of sadness might also play a part in maintaining the cycle of depression. To start with, the main feelings of depression are generally sadness, despair, irritability, emptiness and inadequacy. It is obvious that the hopelessness that emanate as a result of the social stratification is immense and can cause the victim to have a jaundiced view of events and circumstances and ultimately such people may even blame God for creating them. Therefore, it is necessary that such victim need external assistance and encouragement to enable them reposition their thought life to be able to forge ahead in life and also make a meaningful impact in the society in which they belong. This is necessary because the lives they live now hinges on comparing their lives with others and convincing themselves that they are not worthy. Mason (2004) opines that:

Making comparisons is a sure path to frustration. It's a waste of time and energy when you compare your life to that of other people. Life is more fun when you don't keep score with others. Success really is, simply a matter of doing what you do best and not worrying about

what the other person is going to do. You carry success or failure within yourself. It does not depend on outside conditions. Success in someone else's life does not hurt the chances for success in yours. (p. 109).

This foregoing stretches credulity to the limit that it is dangerous to depend on someone else's to make your own success. It is through prayers that the obstacles to success in life could be overcome. Ukpai (2014) states "You have to come to a place where nothing intimidates nor makes you lower. There are things that look intimidating and whenever you come in contact with them, maintain your stand by saying in your heart I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me. Your heart is the ultimate source of miracle and victory (p.42). That is why the average number of time that people try to achieve a new goal is less than one. As soon as they think of the goal these fears overwhelm them, and like a bucket of water on a small fire extinguish their desire completely, the second mental obstacle, closely aligned to fear, is self doubt. We doubt our own ability when we compare ourselves unfavorably to others and think that others are somehow better, smarter and more competent than we are. We think us not good enough we



feel inadequate and inferior to the challenges of achieving the great goals that we so much want to accomplish.

“Fear and inferiority complex can water down the efficacy of prayers and places an individual in the bottleneck of unanswered prayers. God’s injunction is clearly stated that God is incapacitated in the atmosphere of fear and double mindedness; the fearful is like the sea and has no clear destination. “If any of you lack wisdom let him ask of God that gives to all men liberally and upbraided not and it shall be given him. But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering, for he that waver is like a wave of sea driven with the wind and tossed, and let not that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord, (James 1: 15 – 17).”

This entails that Nkanu Christian should dispel fear, doubt and inferiority complex and any negative lifestyle that can weaken their prayer force. The evils that trails the citizens of Nkanuland is a culmination of the low self -esteem that they have been subjected to by the dilemma of *ohu* and *amadi*. This has made them develop a bad mental picture of their lives which to them have been consigned to the garbage heap of forgotten citizens of society. Such person to persons should borrow a leaf from those who have risen to an institution from a zero level.

**v. Unification of Abolition Movement**

In the recent past, some concerned individuals have come together to form associations to fight the ill wind of *amadi* and *ohu*. Some of them are; Mmadubuofu Movement, Idinotu Association, the Nkanu Brotherhood Association (founded by Barrister K, N Ude), Nkanu Leaders of thought founded by Chief V.V. Chuckwuegbo, and Nkanu Patriotic League (headed by patriot Ken Arum). All these groups were formed with the aim that Nkanu people should come together as brothers and sisters and speak one language, but it had not yielded any tangible result. However, we recommend that those separate groups should come together under one nucleus to tackle this problem and with God's help they would find a lasting solution.

**vi. Spiritual Cleansing**

Enechukwu (2000) states that, the forefathers of *ohu* were purchased with money and agricultural produce. Therefore, we recommend that present heads of *ohu* group should organize a ceremony whereby the heads of the *amadi* will be present and the *ohu* will rebate for the money,

domestic animals and agricultural produce paid on their ancestors in order to celebrate them. It is through this sacrifice that the gods of Nkanuland and their ancestors who promulgated the segregated law that have set the *amadi* and *ohu* apart will be settled. It is only through them that the hatred associated with this trend will end. Paul (2011) states that:

Many territories are known by one striking characteristics or the order peculiar sin-habits of the inhabitants, perpetual subjugation of one ethnic groups or another, some are known for one form of negative attitude, reproach or other vices, Majority of these influences are orchestrated by the presence of one negative altar or the other.(p.11)

The truth is that is when the *ohu* and *amadi* elders entered into the said covenant an evil altar was established and the spirit behind the altar started tormenting the generation of Nkanuland culminating in all sorts of evil.

#### **vii. Self- Development**

Through self development one can work himself or herself out of slavery and even other entanglement that negatively influence his world.

Freedman (2004) gives a fantastic short biography of Fredrick Douglas in this way:

When he was a slave, he would trade his food to neighbourhood boys so they can teach him to read and write, about his experience became a powerful force of change, Writer, Speaker, and Journalist Abraham Lincoln. He wrote three different auto-biographies during his life time including the best-selling the Narrative of the life of Fredrick Douglass an American slave. (p.25).

Nkanu citizens should also embark on self development to cushion the effect of the social stratification. Through self development one can work himself out of slavery and every other entanglement that negatively influence his world. Self development also entails building up a positive consciousness around one self, inculcating a positive mental picture which entails expecting the best to happen to you instead of the worse. Klok (2006) states “expecting the worst can never bring you the same results. Many believers go through life defeated and depressed because that is what they expected” (p.19-20). The *ohu* in Nkanu should develop a positive attitude to enable them overcome and instill confidence in themselves to overcome any challenges as they come.

### **viii. Taking a Stand for Social Justice**

Christian leaders can take a stand for social justice in spite of what it might cost them and with sheer persistence and boldness they can have their way and cause the evil perpetrators do a turn around in their evil tendencies. Liardon (1984) described Charles Finney as a man who could take a social stand against evil. Upon returning to New York; Charles found that the issue of slavery had captured the consciences of many lives, Charles routinely denounced slavery from the pulpit and even refusing communion to slaves owners” (p.323).

The evil of slavery was overcome through the stance of one man who was devoid of the fear of man or devil. Nkanu ministers should follow such foots steps and avoid double- dealing.

### **6.4 Suggestions for Further Research**

This research has undoubtedly interest in many areas which the researcher would wish that more works could carry on. Such areas are:

1. The problems encountered by the past administration in tackling the issue of *ohu* and *amadi* in Nkanuland.

2. The attitude of the believers towards *ohu* and *amadi* complex in Nkanuland.
3. How *ohu* and *amadi* has affected the Church and the general development in Nkanuland.

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