

IBEKU WOMEN AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN TRADITIONAL SOCIETY, SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA

Chiedozie Ifeanyichukwu Atuonwu

History Unit, School of General Studies,
Michael Okpara University of Agriculture Umudike
dozieatuonwu@gmail.com

Abstract

In traditional African society, women have always been regarded as second-class citizens. Women's views on certain issues in life are not usually given pride of place. Most times nobody seeks their view when decisions are to be taken, even those that concern them. This may have been the reason for this popular saying "Women's education ends in the kitchen. The level of conflicts being experienced around the world especially within the African continent, with the devastating effects would have been avoided, if women were allowed to make their contributions. But today, things are gradually changing for good. For many years now, the disparity between men and women has gradually gone into extinction. Internationally and locally, there has been a series of calls and resolutions for the total empowerment and emancipation of women folk. Women on their part have never relented in seeing that the erroneous impressions the men have against them are corrected. This has since started achieving its goal as the women entrusted into various positions (be it political, religious, social, business, and even in the civil/public service and other headships) have been performing credibly and have been achieving the desired goals and more. In

Ibeku, the women are not relenting in making sure they are given their pride of place. This has been made possible through the instrumentality of the formation of various women's associations and/or groups both in the communities, academia, politics, and government offices and in their different professions. As it is constant in life, there has been a remarkable change in the method of conflict resolution among Ibeku women, and equally, some methods are still being upheld due to their ability to withstand the test of time. The involvement of women in conflict resolution is evident in their neutrality and fearlessness. Their involvement has brought relative and noticeable peace to the area. Oral interviews, archival materials, and other secondary sources were used in the research.

Key words: Women, Umuada, Ibeku, Conflict, Resolution, Society, Igbo.

Introduction

Conflict is as old as the human race on the planet Earth; as a result, the human race cannot do without it. Also, because different people hold different meanings to every issue in life, for instance, there are diverse customs and traditions which is equally the reason for conflict. However, conflict can erupt as a result of emotional, psychological, physical pressures of life due to the inherent differences in personalities within a given environment.¹

The first human conflict recorded on this planet Earth (as contained in the Bible) was that of Cain and Abel. But the problem in this case was that there was no adjudication or peace moves before Cain killed his brother Abel in the bush having tricked him



into going into the fields with him where he (Cain) attacked him. According to Christian belief, this conflict arose as a result of jealousy and Abel himself knew not that his brother (Cain) was planning evil against him.

According to Feleti, "Conflict is so difficult to point at a single cause as being responsible for the disorder within the society.² Conflict is an ill wind that blows no good to any man, the reason being that many lives. Properties have always been lost and destroyed; economic activities crumbled, and people's homes destroyed thereby rendering them homeless. Funds meant for the development and welfare of the people is then diverted to the reconstruction of damaged structures.

The bitter experiences of women in times of war and other forms/types of conflicts often make them strong adherents of peacebuilding/making agents. Women organizations, on this premise, used to push for constitutional provisions that would provide effective and reliable ways of conflict resolution, whether at the local, national, or international levels.³ Some of these provisions are contained in the United Nations Charter on War, United Nations Resolution on human Rights, United Nations Resolutions On the Protection of Women and Children; various constitutional provisions across the countries and continents, etc⁴

Peace and conflict resolution is neither only left in the hands of national and international organizations nor the hands of the Local, State, and Federal Governments alone, but it descends low to our various Autonomous Communities, villages, and families.⁵

On this, posits that "Women Organisations" and the "Umuada Unions" in Igbo land play major roles in conflict resolutions which its sole aim is to bring peace to the society.⁶

Nigeria today is on the verge of disintegration if proper steps are not taken against the Islamic sect Boko Haram.⁷ The ugliest aspect of this subject matter is that women and children share more than 70% of the negative- effects of this cankerworm called conflict.⁸ It is not only the Boko Haram issue, there are communal conflicts as a result of land disputes; there are other family quarrels and bickering which result in disharmony and disintegration in such families. If not checked, they generate something else than could be imagined.⁹

Ibeku is one of the two major communities that make up Umuahia North Local Government Area of Abia State. The other notable community is Ohuhu. Ibeku covers about 250 square kilometers of the Umuahia North LGA and also is located at the heartland of the Abia State capital city (i.e. it houses the Abia State Government House).¹⁰ The present-day Ibeku share borders with Bende (in Bende LGA) on the east, Uzoakoli (in Bende LGA) on the North, Olokoro (in Umuahia South LGA) and Ikwuano LGA on the South, as well as Ohuhu (in Umuahia North LGA) on the North-West and Ozuitem (in Bende LGA) on the North-East.

The name "Ibeku" accordingly was/is an acronym of two names - "Ibe" and "Eku".¹¹ He said that "Ibe" and "Eku" were brothers and they were great warriors before they migrated to their present kingdom or location. Because of the actions of those two brothers,

people started calling them one-inseparable brothers. Njoku stated that myths and legends have it as history that "Ibeku conquered the area it is occupying in the 18th and 19th centuries, and settled thereafter.¹² In the said conquest which took place in the pre-colonial era, Ohafia Udumeze, Abam, Ihechiowa, Edda, Ututu, etc assisted Ibeku in the said fight. From there, Ohafia Udumeze and the rest of the warriors migrated to their present kingdoms.

The present-day Ibeku stretches 18 kilometers North-South and 14 kilometers East-West from the enclosed map. Ugwueje, E. A. (2001). By the 1991 census, Ibeku people have a total of 48,403, out of which females are 23,242 both married and unmarried, NPC (1991) gazette. By the 2006 census, the total figure of females in Umuahia North, Ibeku females inclusive is 108,558 and 112,102 males, making a total of 220,660 according to NPC (2006) Official Gazette and National Bureau of Statistics (2006) Official Gazette.¹³

Ibeku has seven clans called "Egwu Asaa" making the Ibeku-Egwu-Asaa. They include: Isieke, Afarata, Afaraukwu, Ossah, Ndume, Emede, and Amaoforo. Ibeku-Egwu-Asaa has 46 villages, according to Onuoha (1996). The Ibeku-Egwu-Asaa and their 46 villages include:

- i. **Afarata:** Amaeke, Amuzukwu, Isiadu/Umuezeagwu, Mbom, Nkata, and Ugba
- ii. **Afaraukwu:** Isiam (made up of: Mgboko, Umuobasi and Ndagbo), Okwulaga, Ohobo, Ohokobe, Umuokeyi

- iii. **Amaoforo:** Ajata-Okwuru, Amuzuoro, Avonkwu, Iyienyi, Eronte, Okwuoturu, Umuhu
- iv. **Isieke:** Ajata, Ihie, Okwuoyi, Okwuta, Ukome, Umuajiji
- v. **Ndume:** Ihie, Lodu, Ofeke, Ohokobe, Umuafai, Umuana, Umuaroko, Umuezeala 1, Umuezeala II, Umuhute, and Umuohu Okpuala,
- iv. **Emede:** Agbo, Ubani, Umuodudu, Ata, and Umueze
- ii. **Ossah:** Eziam, Mgbaja, Uhabiri/Umuchima, Amanso, and Uzi-na-Akpizu.

(Culled from an Address of Welcome by HRH Eze S, I. Onuoha - The Ogurube the 4th [1996]).¹⁴

Ibeku is known for fairness, justice, humility, and peace-loving. The basic unit of the Ibeku village group with a family head "Opara-Thu-Ezi" (which means: "The First-Son-of-the-Family and he lives in front of the Compound). He is usually the oldest man in the family and is been looked up to for settling domestic family disputes. For governance and justice, Ibeku is led by an Eze called "Ogurube Ibeku" who is usually elected after the death of an Ogurube. This fact showcases that Ibeku had been practicing democracy for decades of years before the advent of the white man.¹⁵

The election of Ogurube is rotational among the Egwu-Asaa. The Ogurube, who is not an island has a palace council made up of representatives from each of the Egwu-Asaa known as the Eze-in-Council. Each of these Egwu representatives is always a title holder. The Eze's council is the highest ruling body in Ibeku. Another organ in Ibeku, worthy of mention is the Council of Chiefs.

This body is answerable to the Eze-in-Council. They are in charge of every development project going on in Ibeku land. Also in Ibeku land, they have a council of elders who are saddled with the responsibility of advising the Ogurube and his entire cabinet during difficult periods. Ibeku is not counted out in the Age grade system which is a common practice in the whole of Igbo land. Ibeku calls its age-grade system "Uke" or "Otu-Ebiri" (meaning: people of the same age bracket). The age-grade system in Ibeku land goes in three years brackets: 1970-1973, 1974-1977, 1978-1981, etc. The age grades constitute the workforce, they equally serve as both the military and police department (i.e. security) in the community.¹⁵

Women in Ibeku, during the pre-colonial days (whether born in the said area or married into the area), were not given important roles in the scheme of things. Women were not given chieftaincy titles as a result; women don't form part of the Eze-in-Council, and therefore excluded from resolving conflicts even the ones that concern them. Also, in land conflicts, women don't have much to offer, sometimes, women are not even allowed to come and listen to the proceedings of the matter, especially when such matters are being discussed at the Eze-in-Council meeting point.¹⁶

Women do not owe or sell land in Ibeku, according to Njoku-He further said that Ibeku believed that women were not the real owners of the land because the women would (or should) marry and settle in their husband's place/house. Women do not have a land inheritance in Ibeku land because Ibeku is not matrilineal in their belief.¹⁷

Today, women are being honored with chieftaincy titles. However, women now resolve conflicts, and their decisions are held in high esteem because it is believed that they pass judgments with equity and fairness. Women also mediate when crucial matters arise in Ibeku, especially through the instrumentality of the "Umu-amuru-amu" (meaning: 'children born into the family) popularly called the "Umuada" (meaning: "Daughters of the Land)" and that of the Women Organisation (being women married into Ibeku land) popularly called "Ndi-Nwunye-Ibeku". The above shows that there are two major women organizations or groups in Ibeku land comprising of; The Umuada Group and the Married Women Group.¹⁸ It is pertinent to note here that all the daughters of any particular setting in Igbo land, Ibeku inclusive, form the "Umu-Amuru-Amu" of that place. But their daughters that are married are known as the true "Umuada".¹⁹

Umuada

Most communities in Nigeria are deeply patriarchal, and the Igbo, one of the largest ethnicities in West Africa, are no exception. In many parts of Igbo land, it is a common belief that men are superior to their female counterparts, and this view is enforced in many aspects. Making laws, inheriting property are responsibilities seen to be exclusive to men, while women are groomed to be better daughters, sisters, and wives right from infancy.²⁰

However, Igbo land makes room for Umuada, an association of indigenous women who are influential and powerful and have been for hundreds of years. Umuada is a compound term derived

from the two Igbo words ‘umu’ which loosely translates to people and ‘ada’ which means the first daughter. This group goes beyond the first daughters and encompasses all the daughters whose ancestry is traced to a village or town.²¹

It is open to them whether married or unmarried, young or old, widows, divorced or separated. They are highly respected at local gatherings and are accorded such in private and public gatherings. At this point, it is okay to describe the Umuada as a socio-political group that acts as a functional forum for women. Depending on the community, their roles can either be grouped into two: secular or spiritual.²²

The secular roles are almost general and cut across many communities in Igbo land. They include the settlement of disputes among fellow women and the community, infidelity issues involving offending wives, conflicts involving physical fighting between parties, assault or physical attack of a wife on her mother-in-law, and other issues under these categories that may fall under their jurisdiction.

In communities like Isuokoma in Ebonyi State, it has been recorded that the Umuada had contributed to settling disputes between fighting communities, management of domestic crises, and other forms of conflict in different Isu communities especially when women in their community were involved.

The Umuada is also responsible for bathing the body of deceased female relatives and preparing it for burial. Apart from this, they are involved in the celebration of the ritual passage of the deceased

into the ancestral stream and the spiritual cleansing of the community during feasts and festivals.

In some cases, the Umuada has also served as checks on the abuse of power by the Council of Elders. Being a sect that represents the interest of women, it has served as a bridge between the women and the men. The women group, in this case, includes the wives of their brothers. When the wives are not pleased with certain things and when they are displeased with the state of affairs in their fatherland, they interfere in this capacity.

It can be argued that the Umuada has been instrumental to women's empowerment in Igbo land and Nigeria generally and thus, important for the feminist movement. The Umuada respects tradition and works under the structures of modernity but remains insistent that men are the heads of the family, leaving them unaffected by modern developments in a way. Nonetheless, it has led to some sort of balance in the community for the women. The forum is the vanguard in the struggle for equal opportunities for women and children in society.²⁴

Umuada Ibeku

The Umuada is a very important arm of the women's group in Ibeku. This group was/is formed to serve as a unification organization for all the daughters of the land that had been married and for peace and progress of their homelands i.e. for the development of their various clans and villages. Most times, they intervene in conflict situations, even without being invited. They also implore force to secure strict compliance. This can prove their role during the conflict between Eze Ndukwe of the Amaoforo

Autonomous community and his Prime Minister in 2005, when the conflict was getting out of hand, the intervention of the Umuada brought a lasting solution to the dispute. Also, in the conflict between Eze Hope Onuigbo and the children of Late Eze Akomas (all from Ossah Ibeku Community) during the late 1980s and early 1990s, the "Umuada-Osaah" played a very important role in its settlement. The said case and situation escalated that even court action couldn't bring a lasting solution to the dispute; that the two kinsmen wanted to kill themselves; and to the extent that the entire Osaah-Ibeku Community was divided along the interest and support groups.²⁵

One striking thing about women and conflict resolution in Ibeku is the mindset of maintaining peace and reconciliation, especially among the women to bring development in the area. With this vision, women groups in all Egwu-Asaa have started one developmental project or the other in all their respective communities, while some are completed and others nearing completion. Some of these developmental projects include healthcare centers, civic halls, markets, shops, sinking of water boreholes, etc. Women in Ibeku believed that the costliest peace is better than the cheapest war or conflict. Therefore, the role of women in conflict resolution in Ibeku land will be x-rayed herein.

Role of Women in Conflict Resolution

All over the world, the roles women have played in conflict resolution cannot be over-emphasized. These have been possible through the different approaches to conflict resolution which is grass-root based. These include women bringing in a different



perspective, women hearing what others say, education and civil societies; women may be more open to bridging a quarrel that would have escalated, etc.²⁶

Women in other parts of the world have contributed by playing an active role in conflict resolution and post-conflict periods. According to Kelvin M. Cahile, "In Colombia, pressure from women's groups during the 1980s and 1990s was pivotal in pressuring the Colombia government and the revolutionary armed forces of Colombia (FARC) to engage in peace talks in 1999.²⁷ Even after the collapse of the peace talks in 2002, women's groups remained steadfast in their course to encourage a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Also in Sri Lanka, women like Visaka Dhamadasa continued to work restlessly on peace activities. She worked to convey messages from the liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and refused to speak directly with government officials. She also initiated dialogues among community leaders from different sides of the conflict. She organized a group called "Mobilizing Mothers for Peace" that urges the government and (LTTE) to stop violence and conduct other peace-building activities.

Mrs. Eileen Johnson Sirleaf has become the first woman in Africa to emerge as a president of a country. Due to her ability to restore peace in Liberia, she became the first African woman to win the world's most prestigious award of Nobel Prize for Peace Advocate 2011.²⁸ Also, women of great personalities like Margaret Ekpo and Funmilayo Ransome Kuti have these testimonies accredited to them, Funmilayo's activism led to various reforms in the gender

position of women folk both within Nigeria and outside the shores of Nigeria. This was traced to have impacted her agitation against oppressive taxation for women folks. Margaret Ekpo, believed strongly that to have peace is not just the absence of war, but the presence of political, economic, and social justice. She felt convinced that if women were not encouraged to compete with men at a level in which they realized their best potential, acrimony would pervade the nooks and crannies of Nigeria.

The Role of Women in Conflict Resolution in Ibeku.

It is on record that women have played significant roles in conflict resolution in Ibeku land in particular. In an address read by the President General of Ibeku Women Group Chief Mrs. Mercy Odochi Orji during the 2014 Ibeku Women August Meeting, she reiterated the achievements of the Ibeku Women in conflict resolutions across the Ibeku land. She mentioned some of the cases already decided to include:

- i. Reconciliation of husbands' and wives' quarrels in their various villages, which brought back lost hopes and reinvigorated peace in such families. But no mention of the names of the concerned families for security reasons.
- ii. Resolution of the conflict that came up in the "Orie-Ugba Market" where a young boy poured water on a married woman in the area.
- iii. Resolution of the market crisis that came up in the "Orie-Ugba Market" between the women that were married in Ugba and Ibeku in general versus other women traders of sharing of the days each group would come to market, among other things.

- iv. Resolution of a case on dragging of shade between two married Ibeku Women at Ohokobe-Ndume Market.
- v. Resolution of a quarrel that would have escalated between two married women at Ofeke-Ndume Ibeku.
- vi. Resolution of marriage dispute between two mates-in-marriage at Ossah Ibeku.
- vii. Settlement of a case, i.e. fight between two married ladies at Amaoforo Ibeku.
- viii. Withdrawal of a case from the Police Area Command, Umuahia. This involved two married women from the Afaraukwu Community and the case had been settled.

Further in her address, she also commented on the roles that have been played by the "Umuada Ibeku". She commended the "Umuada Ibeku" for being resolute in their quest to broker peace across Ibeku land. She equally said that the "Umuada" operated at the various Communities that make up the Ibeku Clan and that it was only the leadership of the various communities that formed the leadership at the center. The said central leadership holds executive meetings and disseminates the same to their membership.

Umuada Ibeku and Conflict Resolution

In an interview with Mrs. Uzuegbu, she said;

that the Umuada Ibeku has performed creditably. She equally said that under her watch, each executive of the Umuada has been re-strengthened. She said that many conflicts have been resolved by the Umuada in the various

*communities, but none has been specifically resolved by the Umuada-Ibeku Central Executive or Organisation.*²⁸

When asked as to know the reason, she said that the “Umuada-Ibeku were all married women who had responsibilities in their various married places. Therefore, it was always difficult for them to come under one umbrella at the Centre. She also said, since the Umuada at the various villages and communities were strong, that the central executive was happy with their activities and didn't need any further stress on the said women.”²⁹

Because of time, Mrs. Uzuegbu was able to analyze only one conflict situation that the Umuada-Ibeku had judiciously resolved in the past year. She said that the case happened in Ugba-Ibeku between the communities of

*"Amaoke- Ugba against the Umuagom-Ugba community". According to her, "the case was a 'land dispute' where the two brothers were involved in a land. All avenues to resolve the issue failed. But the intervention of the ' Umuada-Ugba- Ibeku resolved the dispute".*³⁰

She further stated that the conflict arose when the Abia State Government wanted to acquire land belonging to the Ugba Community at the Umuahia Forest. It was said that the Umuagom people claimed ownership of the land while the Amaokwe people also claimed ownership of the said land. It was only the Umuobasi village in the said Ugba Community that didn't put eyes on the said land. To broker a lasting peace on the matter, the "Umuada-Ugba-Ibeku" decided that since the Abia State Government wanted to

acquire the said land, it would be better for the compensation to be paid, be shared equally between the two villages that claimed ownership of the said land (since they were two brothers) for peace to reign. She said that the leaders and elders of the said two villages, having considered that it was their son who was the Governor of Abia State in the person of His Excellency Chief T.A. Orji, that it would be a shame to an average Ibeku person who would not want the progress of his brother in governance. There and then, peace was brokered.³¹

Currently, the two villages of Ugba Autonomous Community as well as the third village are living in peace. She equally stated that the average Ibeku person values his or her child. She also informed the interviewer that any married lady out of the family is a crown to the family and that she is accorded high respect.³²

She went further to elaborate about the cooperation of the daughters of the area, who are not yet married, into the Umuada group, reiterating that while adjudicating such cases, unmarried ladies are not allowed to participate. But, if it is something like burial rites, every daughter of the area, whether married or not, is involved. She further noted that the reason for such unmarried ladies not to be involved in such conflict resolution was not because they do not know what to say or contribute, but because they have not started building their own families and do not carry such family responsibilities.³³

Confirming the information by Mrs. Uzuegbu, Ex-Councillor Frank Nnochiri of Umuagom-Ugba Village, Chief Nnaji from

Umuagom-Ugba Village, Mr. Uwadileke Onuigbo from Umuobasi-Ugba village and Chief Mgbeoji Onuoha from Amaokwe-Ugba village said that there was really a land dispute between the Umuagom-Ugba village and their brothers from Amaokwe-Ugba village. They said that even their brother who was the Executive Governor then Chief T.A. Orji could not broker peace in the said matter. But when the "Umuada-Ugba-Ibeku" came in, peace was brokered and they are living in peace today.³⁴

They unanimously agreed that the contributions of their wives (Ndi-Nwunye- Ugba-Ibeku) and that of their daughters ("Umu-Amuru-Amu" or "Umuada- Ugba-Ibeku") cannot be overemphasized. They equally informed the interviewer that their daughters have been a very reliable source of conflict resolution in the area. They equally said that at times, they used to invite their daughters to witness the ways and means by which peace was brokered in the community.³⁵

Conclusion

From the pre-colonial era, women only took part in conflict resolutions affecting the community. Their participation in conflict resolutions have been basically on “domestic” and “intra-communal” issues. They have not been prominent in “inter-communal” issues. Formation of pressure groups like Ibeku Women Cultural Association (for married women in Ibeku land popularly called: “Ndi-Nwunye-Ibeku) as well as “Umuada-Ibeku” (known as the daughters of Ibeku) has helped in no small measure to boost women participation in conflict resolution, especially since the post-colonial days. Although civilization has made a



serious impact in bringing some changes to women's participation in conflict resolution mechanisms, considerable peace has realistically been attained in the land through the different mechanisms of conflict resolution employed by the women. Generally, this is a piece of glaring evidence to show that women's participation in conflict resolution has become a blessing to humanity in Ibeku land in particular, and the society at large.

End Notes

1. Raheed Olamiyi, *History of Conflicts in Nigeria* (National Open University of Nigeria,2027),21-28.
2. S.A, Faleti, *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies* (Spectrum Publishers, 2006), 45.
3. Shadrack Gaya Best *Introduction to peace and conflict studies in West Africa* (Spectrum Books Limited,2006),31.
4. United Nations Resolution 1385 (2004): Conflict Prevention and Resolution: The Role of Women.
5. S,C.Nworgu, *Women's Position and Protection during Conflicts in Nigeria* (Sico Press,2012),7.
6. Ibid,2012:8
7. Ibid.2012:10
8. Ibe Jude, *Women and Family Problems: Roles and Responsibilities, Being a Paper presented during the Amaekpu-Ohafia Women August Meeting 2009.*
9. O.N.Njoku., P Murray.,U.B.Ekwe., C.Park., H.O.Ogbonna, *Ibeku in Igbo History*, (Spectrum Books Limited Ibadan, 2008),54.
10. J.U.J.Asiegbu, *The Umuahia People and Their Neighbors: An Introduction to the Traditional History and Indigenous*



- Technology of a Dynamic Igbo People* (Nelson Pitman Limited), 24.
11. S.I.Onuoha, (HRH Eze), An Address of Welcome Presented by HRH Eze S.I. Onuoha – The Ogurube the 4th during the Ibeku – Egwu-Asaa New Yam festival (Igba-Ekpe-Ibeku),1976.
 12. Ibid
 13. O.N.Njoku., P.Murray P., U.B.Ekwe, C.Park., H.O.Ogbonna, *Ibeku in Igbo History*, (Spectrum Books Limited,1987),9..
 14. S.I.Onuoha, (HRH Eze), 1976.
 15. Ibid
 16. Ibid
 17. Ibid
 18. M.L.A.Salawu, *Philosophies and Great Personalities of Peace* (The National Open University of Nigeria, 2009), 17.
 19. E.A.Ugwueje, Ibeku, *A Search For Census and Cooperation* (KAB Publicity,2015),15.
 20. C.J.Pleass, Intelligence Report on Ibeku clan: Native Administration Chief Secretary Office (NASCO), 1947.
 21. Agbu, Osita, *Introduction To Conflict Resolution Processes II* (National Open University, 2010),9.
 22. M.C. Kelvin, *Issues of Peace and Gender Complex Emergencies in the Emergency Relief Operation, 2003*,(National Open University,2012),26.
 23. United States Agency for International Development (USAID): pdf.usaid.gov/pdf-docs/PNADJ133.pdf-kew-cxozki

24. M.L.A Salawu, *Philosophies and Great Personalities of Peace* (The National Open University of Nigeria, 2009), 19.
25. E.A. Ugwueje, Ibeku, *A Search For Census and Cooperation*, 23.
26. Uzuegbu, Adaku (Mrs.) (2015): Oral Interview on the Role and Activities of the Umuada-Ibeku in Conflict Resolution. An interview was conducted on 13/06/2015.
27. Ibid
28. Ibid
29. Ibid
30. Uzuegbu, Adaku (Mrs.) (2015): Oral Interview on the Role and Activities of the Umuada-Ibeku in Conflict Resolution. An interview was conducted on 13/06/2015.
31. Ibid
32. Ibid
33. Ibid
34. Ibid
35. Orji, Mercy Ogechi (Chief Mrs.) (2014): Being an Address Presented by the President General of Ibeku Women during the 2014 Ibeku Women August Meeting held at the Proposed Site for the Ibeku Women Hall at Ogurube Layout, Umuahia.