

ATTRIBUTES OF TRADITIONAL METHOD OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN IGBO LAND: A CASE STUDY OF ABOH-MBAISE

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Abstract

This study examined the attributes of traditional conflict resolution methods in Aboh-Mbaise Local Government Area, Imo State. Data were collected using focus group discussions and questionnaires distributed to 240 indigenes. Analyzed using frequency distribution, mean, and percentage, the study compared traditional and modern conflict resolution methods in terms of attendance, listenership, training duration, sitting time, and language use. Traditional conflict resolution in Aboh-Mbaise is characterized by performance stance, resolvability, convenience, demonstration of customs and norms, trust in peace facilitators, public appeal, transparency, accessibility, collective responsibility, truth, non-partiality, and community communication. The community prefers this model due to its effective time management, resource maximization, simplicity in facilitator education, justice integrity, and truth emphasis. The paper recommends integrating functional aspects of traditional conflict resolution into modern methods without undermining indigenous culture

Keywords: Traditional Method, Reconciliation, Attribute, Conflict Resolution, Aboh-Mbaise

Introduction

Issues of conflict resolution have not been easily determined in Aboh-Mbaise Local Government Area these modern times because deciding on what method to adopt to elicit truth and reconciliation has not been all that easy. Aboh-Mbaise people have established norms and customs which have progressively engineered good institutions with effective network of relationship. This had been quite productive in their social and economic development. For instance, today, individuals still adhere to burial rites befitting aged parents. Their physical separation from their families still draws out concern, sympathy, fear and friction. Properties left behind have frequently caused rift between their

children and this has caused conflict. However, the words handed down while on earth have become reference points for resolving whatever conflicts that were triggered by their departure.

Researching the attributes of conflict reconciliation in traditional society has not been so easy for scholars. There has been paucity of data to assist scholarly writings. Agents of conflict reconciliation are no longer easy to come by and where available. They have been largely rigid in dishing out vibrant data for scholarly documentation. The documentation of pre-colonial conflict reconciliation Method would have facilitated sufficient understanding of the knowledge associated with them and thereby enabled reconcilers to design articulated process of adapting the Method in contemporary cultural setting. Zacharys (2012) rightly observed that the system of thought underpinning colonialism in Africa promoted the idea that “civilization” in the colonies could only come from the west, as a result of this, all African knowledge systems were attacked, denigrated, ridiculed, and systematically undermined.

The understanding of the attributes of traditional method of conflict in Aboh Mbaise has not been properly captured in the literature using the rates of attendance; listenership of both traditional and modern conflict resolutions; the suitability of duration of training, and timing of both reconciliation models; and the languages of both Method of conflict resolution to discover the *attributions* people make of the traditional conflict resolution, even in this modern Aboh-Mbaise society.

No doubt, a lot of works been written on [Igbo traditional method of conflict resolution](#), but none has been able to identify particular attributes of traditional conflict resolution in specific Igbo clans. Thus, the attributes of the indigenous conflict reconciliation in Aboh-Mbaise are significantly emphasized in this work because the knowledge accruing from understanding its uniqueness and popularity amongst the indigenes will facilitate peace, and encourage enhancement of harmonious relationship contemporary Aboh-Mbaise society.

Most researchers on traditional conflict resolution have attempted to cluster Africa as though it were a people having same traditional method of conflict resolution, thereby undermining the uniqueness and diversity of the peoples, cultures and customs of Africa. African method of conflict resolution might be similar but obviously not the same, because her culture is rich and diverse as it keeps changing from country to country in the continent. Africa is one individual continent within which many cultures and traditions can be found. Its cultures centre on ethnic groups and their family traditions. In the same vein, most researchers of traditional conflict resolution have presented the Igbo as though it were a strictly homogenous community of people and have failed to study them clan by clan.

For instance, Umezurike (2016) in his study of pre-colonial Igbo rightly pointed out that Igbo society was not at all times peaceful; hence, it had well-structured social-political institution that enhanced conflict resolution. But, his work was neither a field work nor a case study as he obliged to have dwelled more on secondary sources of data gathering. Similarly Tasie (2014), in his work drew attention to the existence of well-articulated social control mechanisms in traditional Africa that can be used for conflict resolution, but was not specific in the part of Igbo he actually studied. Similarly, Olowolafe & Olonade (2020) did a contextual analysis of three major tribes' traditional conflict resolution mechanism in pre-literate Nigerian society. They agreed that conflicts took place in Igbo land in the South Eastern part of Nigeria, but were unable to do an ethnographic description of any Igbo society. Their research interest was to re-capture those social organs that made living harmonious in Pre-colonial Igbo society. In doing this, they carried a descriptive study but placed more emphasis on secondary sources and eye witness experiences. These gaps necessitated the search for the attributes of traditional conflict resolution that is particular with people of Aboh-Mbaise.

Theoretical Framework

This research work adopts Kelley's Co-variation model. This theory suggests that when we focus on how people behave, we make or place attributions on them as observers. In all social interactions

there are actors and observers, and we can assume any role as we interact. The Co-variation model believes that once we have the knowledge of how the actors behave in different situations, and how others also behave in those or similar situations, then we can attribute or characterize the causes of their present behaviours based on consensus, consistency and distinctiveness of the observed information.

Consensus is the extent to which our respondents agree in similar ways with the actors in a present situation. If an actor's present behaviour agrees with other peoples' behaviour, then we can say that there is a high consensus. High consensus leads to attributing causes to behaviours in question. Consistency focuses on how stable the actor's behaviour is across time or situations, while distinctiveness tells us how actors' (ie, Aboh-Mbaise) present behaviour stand out from others' (ie, non-Aboh-Mbaise Igbo) behaviours in similar situations.

If we found that a particular attribute is associated with conflict resolution in Aboh-Mbaise, then there is high distinctiveness. This theory was successfully used to test level of exposure to traditional conflict reconciliation at the village square, attendance to traditional reconciliation arena, group and individual listenership to traditional conflict reconciliation, timing of training and sitting of both modern and traditional Method of conflict reconciliation and relevance of the indigenous language during reconciliation. In all the theory helped to make attributions about the traditional conflict resolution method in Aboh-Mbaise based on the different combinations of contributory information from the respondents.

Methodology

This work is an ethnographic study and therefore, both questionnaire and focal group discussion were adopted to elicit data. The research design is based on quantitative method. Unstructured or open-ended questions were used on the respondents. This was used because it provided flexibility in the manner, order and language of the questions. It is also useful especially in this preliminary study where the results can lead to more structured questions for other studies.

Data were analyzed using descriptive statistics such as frequency distribution, means and percentage. The objective was analyzed with any of the statistical techniques mentioned using frequency distribution, means and percentage where appropriate since our concern is with answering of research questions subsumed in the objectives.

The study area of this research is Aboh-Mbaise Local Government Area in Imo state of Nigeria. According to Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, Aboh-Mbaise is head quartered at Aboh. The towns and villages which are now called autonomous communities are: Nguru Ahiato, Nguru-Nweke, Nguru-nwenkwo, Okwuato, Enyigogu, Lorji, Amuzu, Uvuru (*Nigeria Media, 2024*) and Mbutu. The Local government has an area of 184km² (71sq mi), with the total population 195,652 (according to 2006 census). According to Agulanna, E.C. (2008) it has an area of 184 km² and a population of 194,779 at the 2006 census.

From 1999 to date, many other autonomous communities have been created when President Obasanjo took over power from the military government. Many of them are still having issues of non-recognition either by the people or subsequent governments and therefore only one of the newer ones are included in this study, in addition to the older 9 communities. This addition made it a total of 10 communities for study. The reason for adding only one community is because the people of Amuzu requested for division of the old one and there are no trait of conflict or misgiving in the division of Amuzu into Amuzu-Nwe-Afor and Amuzu-Nweke.

The population of the study included men and women from thirty years and above. The choice of this population is predicated on the belief that people of this age bracket have received training in either modern or traditional conflict reconciliation mechanisms since it is assumed that in this age bracket, average Aboh-Mbaise person has either travelled or received enough education to be able to compare

traditional and modern conflict reconciliation Method. They may have also participated in or observed adequate aspects of traditional conflict reconciliation and prevention.

Twenty-four (24) respondents were randomly selected from each of these ten (10) autonomous communities. In all, two hundred and forty 240 persons representing 240 households/families were selected for interview and questionnaire.

In each of the selected villages the list of possible households were obtained through the help of the village heads. These households were listed alphabetically and numbered serially and randomly selected. In our unstructured interviews and participant observations, we selected 10 communities through stratified random sampling technique. This means that 10 communities were sampled. This does not mean that these 10 communities are more important than the rest, but because the total population of 10 communities will sufficiently represent the entire population of 195,652. In our study, out of 10 communities listed, 240 people were stratified randomly for interview for increased homogeneity of the sampled strata, because Igbo people of Aboh-Mbaise origin are alike on the selected variables. The table below shows the breakdown of the communities and their population.

Table 1: Ten Communities in The L.G.A That Were Stratified For Interview / Participant Observation.

S/no	Name	Popul. “000	No. Of pers. Interv. Obs
1	Nguru-Ahiato	20,302	28
2	Nguru-Nweke	16,650	28
3	Nguru-Nwenkwo	19,952	28
4	Okwuato	18,890	28
5	Enyiogugu	21,602	28
6	Lorji	18,854	28
7	Amuzu-Nwe-Afor	12,100	28
8	Uvuru	30,100	28
9	Amuzu-Nweke	11,102	28
10	Mbutu	26,100	28
	TOTAL	195,652	240

Source: Authors’ compilation, 2023

Table 2:- Distribution of Respondents According to Level of Exposure to Traditional Conflict Reconciliation at Village Square-

In table 2 below, respondents are distributed according to exposure to traditional conflict reconciliation at village square showing that 27.5% had between 1-20 exposures in a year, 41.6% of the respondents had between 21-40 times exposures per year, 13.8% had between 41-60 exposures to the reconciliation programmes. 11.3% people had exposure of between 61-80 exposures yearly, as 3.3% had 81-90 exposures per year while 2.5% had 91-above exposures per year.

No of times per year	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1-20	66	27.5
21-40	100	41.6
41-60	33	13.8
61-80	27	11.3
81-90	08	3.3
91-Above	06	2.5
Total	240	100

Source: Field Survey 2023

Table 2 shows that every Aboh-Mbaise adult indigene has attended several conflict reconciliations held at the village squares. The mean exposure of conflict reconciliation at village squares is 40 times.

Table 3:- Distribution of Respondents According To Attendance to Traditional Reconciliation Arena-

In Table 3, data collected according to attendance to reconciliation arena shows that 93.7% attended traditional conflict reconciliation arena while only a negligible 6.3% shows apathy to attendance to traditional reconciliation arena. Hence, majority of peace arena attendants has access to traditional peace information from the arena.

Attendance to reconciliation meeting	Frequency	Percentage
Attended	225	93.7
Don't attend	15	6.3
Total	240	100

Source: Field Survey 2023

Table 4:- Distribution of Respondents According To Group and Individual Listenership to Traditional Conflict Reconciliation.

Listenership Status	Frequency	Percentage
Group listenership	74	30.8
Individual listenership	166	69.2
Total	240	100

Source: Field Survey 2023

This shows that everybody is individually committed to reconciliation of conflict and anyone found guilty will not hide under family affiliation to seek for exoneration. Listenership to peace reconciliation in traditional arena is better when the community is not subdivided by interest groups who may wish their own to win the case as it happens in modern court system where people group themselves together in support of one party to the litigation.

Table 5:- Distribution Of Timing Of Training And Sitting Of Both Modern And Traditional Method Of Conflict Reconciliation-

Timing Of Training And Sitting	Frequency Yes	Frequency No	Percentage Acceptance
Training of practitioners and timing and language of reconciliation in traditional method is better	225	15	93.7
Training of practitioners and timing and language of reconciliation in modern method is better	15	225	6.3
Total	240		100

Source: Field Survey 2023

Table 6:- Perception of relevance of Language of Reconciliation

Language	Frequency	Percentage
Igbo alone	190	79.1
Igbo & English	30	12.5
English alone	20	8.4
Total	240	100

Source: Field Survey 2023

In table 6, data on language of the reconciliation shows 79.1% used Igbo alone as suitable for traditional reconciliation. Combination of Igbo and English languages is supported by 12.5% of respondents as 8.4% said English language alone is suitable for traditional reconciliation, showing

how foreign culture has fairly affected contemporary Aboh-Mbaise culture. It is also important to deduce that almost all respondents are at home with the traditional method in terms of and language of reconciliation.

Discussion of Findings

Kelley's Co-variation model was successfully used to test level of exposure to traditional conflict reconciliation at the village square, attendance to traditional reconciliation arena, group and individual listenership to traditional conflict reconciliation, timing of training and sitting of both modern and traditional Method of conflict reconciliation and relevance of the indigenous language during reconciliation. The research paper adopted the model to gather peoples' placement of attributions on the practice of the traditional conflict resolution method in Aboh-Mbaise. The researchers interacted both as actors and observers in finding how the respondents characterize the traditional conflict resolution in Aboh-Mbaise; and the following are the findings:

Distribution of Respondents According to Level of Exposure to Traditional Conflict Reconciliation at Village Squares-

From focus group discussions and analysis of data collected through questionnaires, traditional conflict resolution in Aboh-Mbaise has the attributes of performance stance, resolvability, convenient venues, demonstration of the customs and norms, deification of the ethical framework and trust of conflict for the facilitation of peace and enhancement of harmony.

In table 2 above, respondents are distributed according to their exposure to traditional conflict reconciliation at village squares. This shows that all the respondents whose responses formed the data for characterizing traditional conflict resolution in Aboh-Mbaise have attended several conflict reconciliations held at the village squares and therefore have enough experience of same. The mean exposure of conflict reconciliation at village squares is 40 times. Peace and harmony, one way or another reigned supreme at village squares which somehow produced unique atmosphere for peace to thrive; and community development became dynamic. It is important that the features of indigenous conflict reconciliation included performance stance, resolvability of conflict due to the adopted Method and venues, demonstration of the customs and norms, deification of the ethical framework of the society and the trust of conflict reconciliation for the facilitation of peace and the enhancement of harmony. Only a few people observe modern peace facilitation either directly or through any other means. There is apathy for court system as utilizers are seen as wasters of money and time; and those who are afraid of nemesis of the ancestors who show fierce wrath on deliberate liars. The end of conflict ceremony was no doubt ritual-based and ancestor-focused, to the extent that such a ceremony concluded the conflict reconciliation business and restored peace and normalcy to the society. [Umezurike](#) (2016) observed that the people are exposed to such institutions as council of village elders (Umunna), title men (Ndi Nze na Ozo), traditional rulers (Ndi Eze), daughters of the land (Umuada), married women (Ndi Inyom), youths/age grade (Umu na eto eto) or (Ndi Ntorobia), priests (Ndi Eze mmuo), the Oracle (Arusi), and the earth goddess (Ala).

Distribution of Respondents According To Attendance to Traditional Reconciliation Arena-

From focus group discussions and analysis of data collected through questionnaires, traditional conflict resolution in Aboh-Mbaise has the attributes of public appeal, time convenience, transparency and accessibility.

In Table 3, data collected according to attendance to reconciliation arena shows a negligible 6.3% apathy to attendance to traditional reconciliation arena. Hence, majority of Aboh-Mbaise people has access to traditional peace information from the traditional peace arena than from the modern court system or mass media. [Umezurike](#) (2016) agrees that the system of pre-colonial government of Igbo people gave everyone, old and young, titled and ordinary men and women roles to play in the society. The traditional method of resolving conflict, he observed, includes (but not limited to) mediation, oath taking, covenant, adjudication, reconciliation, cross examination, negotiation, sanction, and are more

result oriented in conflict resolution than the modern/ western culture of litigation settlement in law court.

This attributed to the advantage of being present in community gathering as absenteeism is a hindrance to traditional peace initiative. Illiteracy is not a barrier to attendance and understanding of the procedure and proceedings of the peace forum. Neither distance nor language could be hindrances since everybody lives closer to each other and speaks same Igbo dialect. The reconcilers are to exhibit transparent concern for the parties to the conflict on one hand and the society on the other. Lamidi (2021) agrees that the traditional method of resolving conflict is quick, in intervention, cross examination, negotiation and mediation of differences.

Distribution of Respondents According To Group or Individual Listenership to Traditional Conflict Reconciliation.

From focus group discussions and analysis of data collected through questionnaires, traditional conflict resolution in Aboh-Mbaise has the attributes of collective responsibility, truth, non-partiality, enlarged individual listenership and community communication.

Table 4 agrees with the principle of collective responsibility which exists in traditional Aboh-Mbaise society. Properly ascertained grievances needed collective action to surmount. This was also akin to the practice of being ones brother's keeper in times of crisis. Truth, which is associated with the positive conduct of life, was quite at home (and in place) with conflict reconciliation mode in Aboh-Mbaise society. This shows that everybody is committed to reconciliation of conflict and anyone found guilty will not hide under family affiliation to seek for exoneration. This is contrary to *theintactone.com 2019*, document which erroneously accused the traditional method of expecting the aggrieved to keep silent over grievances; but the reverse is rather the case. The modern method expects the aggrieved to keep quiet as the lawyers, who may not have known them before, and whose interest is to make profit, debate the matter with complex intrigues. Listenership to peace reconciliation in traditional arena is better when the community is not subdivided by interest groups who may wish their own to win the case as it happens in modern court system where people group themselves together in support of one party to the litigation. Professional modern information media do not subscribe to non-professional sources of peace information such as friends, village heads, guilds and cooperative organizations as worthy of being listened to. Nonetheless, we can deduce that face-to-face communication medium is the best way to disseminate peace information to peace facilitators and participants in Igbo communities. From the data, it can be said that Aboh-Mbaise people cannot replace community communication with modern mass communication.

Distribution of Respondent According to Timing of Training and Sitting of both Modern and Traditional Method of Conflict Reconciliation

From focus group discussions and analysis of data collected through questionnaires, traditional conflict resolution in Aboh-Mbaise has the attributes of non-wastage of time, maximization of available resources, and simplicity of education and non-miscarriage of justice.

Table 5 agrees that Aboh-Mbaise people are at home with the traditional method in terms of time and language. In addition to accepting the time of sitting, the time for training people into the modalities of traditional conflict resolution is acceptable to the people. For Aboh-Mbaise people, spending five to six years of formal education at a stretch, just to train somebody in the art of reconciliation, is waste of time that could have been invested in farm produce or viable trade. Data collected on timing shows that Aboh-Mbaise people are more comfortable with the traditional method of conflict resolution since its timing agrees with their life schedule. Again, they appreciate its simplicity which is devoid of unnecessary bottlenecks that characterize the modern judicial system where justice is easily miscarried. Number of years spent in education was used in measuring the level and degree of wasteful formal training in conflict reconciliation. It will be a wrong and hasty conclusion to say that Aboh-Mbaise indigenes are educationally backward. The reason for non-inclusion of highly educated

people in this study as respondents is the frequent and usual migration with which the Igbo elite is known for. This no doubt has impacted positively on the popularity of the traditional conflict reconciliation Method in Aboh-Mbaise. The number of years spent in peace operations was used to ascertain degree of experience in traditional method of resolving conflicts. The mean year for an Aboh-Mbaise indigene to have informal training in traditional peace education is 14 irregular or alternate years.

Data analyzed show that Aboh-Mbaise people are more eager to learn the traditional method of conflict reconciliation than the modern method and are therefore willing to spend longer time doing so, but not at the expense family responsibility of care-giving. This training is done as a past time and on part-time basis. The timeliness of attending to conflict situation is very significant here. There is no occasion for time wastage rather time is both conserved and preserved for greater development of cultural events and activities. The time to be supposedly wasted on resolving conflict and mending fences is judiciously spent on agricultural activities, industrial works and social connections. Even at the escalation of conflict, the peace facilitators maximized time by dissemination of useful information, and identifying with the supernatural being towards comprehending the divine order of social control. Thus, at the venue of conflict reconciliation, many other significant activities are packaged along with the issues which bordered on the conflict in question. This is to justify the fact that time must not only be bound and bonded with events and activities, but also for developmental process.

The people are not in support of the unproductive years of training and practice; and by extension, timing of modern conflict reconciliation, because it runs contrary to their seasonal farming activities. This might be as a result of delay in modern litigation, arbitration or mediation since the rural farmer believes that a delay in resolving a conflict may lead to a denial of time for farming activities and introduction of hunger in the family.

Again, dissemination of court summons can be hampered by bureaucratic bottlenecks so much so that the defendants may not be aware of a case instituted against them on time for proper and adequate legal representation. Ninety-one percent of the respondents agree that divination, a medium of traditional religion is more preferred to modern courts; and that the family's stand on an issue of conflict is more relevant to them, and therefore should be relied upon than the court. The family is the bedrock of relationships and development; the unit of political culture, and as such the foundation of conflict reconciliation. The family plans the art of conflict reconciliation as championed by the family head. They therefore have the capacity of resolving conflicts of marriage, between children and parents as well as quarrels arising from property inheritance.

Perception of relevance of Language of Reconciliation

From focus group discussions and analysis of data collected through questionnaires, traditional conflict resolution in Aboh-Mbaise has the attributes of clarity of indigenous language based on knowledge and experience, traditional communication of persuasive proverbs and folklores, and elimination of falsehood by inclusion of the divine.

In table 6, data on language of the reconciliation shows Igbo language alone is more suitable for traditional reconciliation. This means that English language has no significant influence on traditional conflict resolution in contemporary Aboh-Mbaise. It is also important to deduce that the people had an existing conflict reconciliation language before western influence came, and so, the saying that first impressions die hard could apply here. The living elders, therefore, are the instruments of evolution of language based on knowledge and experience of conflict reconciliation. This enables them to acquire the tradition of communication through proverbs and folktales with which they persuade parties to the conflict and the crowd of listeners at the venue of reconciliation to reason. It is, however, not easy to acquire and master, as well as apply them at an impromptu manner while addressing issues of conflict. This suggests that the mental alertness and versatility of the living elders are commensurate to that found in other climes. To have been persuaded by the elders in a given

conflict situation suggests the manifestation of their experience and capacity in the art of communication. The elders, therefore, are seen to have the wherewithal of the power of persuasion and language of conviction derivable from their age long wisdom.

Parties to the conflict, witnesses, and the listening or participating audience could have been made possible by the serene spiritual essence of the ancestors surrounding the scene of conflict reconciliation. This agrees with Mbakwe (2017) who noted that Mbaise people believe in the great God (*chukwu*). Such divine mood is charged with maximum attention, intention and commitment geared towards eliminating lies and falsehood but articulating and hammering on the truth. It is important to know that truth is the only language and the instrument for facilitating peace and harmony in Aboh-Mbaise. The language of pacification and persuasion must be a soothing balm and must saturate the conscience of the parties to the conflict. This explains the reason proverbs and idioms are instruments of communicating truth and ascertaining of facts in the issues of conflicts in Aboh-Mbaise.

Conclusion

The research paper used Kelley's Co-variation model to gather peoples' placement of attributions on the practice of the traditional conflict resolution model in Aboh-Mbaise. The researchers interacted both as actors and observers in finding how the respondents characterize the traditional conflict resolution in Aboh-Mbaise. The following attributes were discovered: performance stance, resolvability; convenience of training, sitting time and venue; demonstration of the customs and norms; trust on peace facilitators; public appeal; transparency and accessibility. There are also, the attributes of collective responsibility, truth, non-partiality, enlarged individual listenership and community communication. Aboh-Mbaise people are at home with the traditional conflict resolution model because of its attributes of time management, maximization of available resources, simplicity of education of facilitators, non-miscarriage of justice and elimination of falsehood by inclusion of the divine. These attributes stimulate the people to exhibit maximum attention, intention and commitment geared towards eliminating lies and falsehood but articulating and hammering on the truth, because truth is the galvanizing instrument for facilitating peace and harmony in Aboh-Mbaise. This research work finally concurs with Mbakwe (2017) who argued that the negative narrative about the pre-colonial African societies is now no longer worthy of intellectual attention.

Recommendation

This paper recommends that:

- i. The functional aspects of the traditional conflict resolution model should be adopted in Aboh-Mbaise judicial system without casting aspersion on any aspect of the indigenous culture.
- ii. There should be an official employment of extrajudicial method in the process of instituting peace and restoring social harmony since it has yielded positive results both in the past and in the present.
- iii. Since the traditional reconcilers are versatile in Igbo language for the purpose of pacification and persuasion, the modern legal system should insist that their legal practitioners must show dexterity in the use and application of local language relaxing and healing the bleeding conflicting souls.
- iv. The reconcilers should continue to exhibit transparent concern for the parties to the conflict on one hand and the society on the other so as to alleviate injured feelings, to restore peace, to reach a compromise acceptable to both disputants and to satisfy the insatiable desires of the people for social justice.

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