FROM GERONTOCRACY TO OHACRACY: A CRITICAL SURVEY OF SOCIO- RELIGIOUS DYNAMISM OF ELDERSHIP IN IGBO COSMOLOGY

NGANWUCHU, GEOFFREY CHIAZO

University of Nigeria Nsukka geoffrey.nganwuchu@unn.edu.ng; 08033103468

ANIZOBA, EMMANUEL

University of Nigeria Nsukka <u>Emmanuel.anizoba@unn.edu.ng</u>; 08036060396

And

MOLOKWU GEOFFREY CHIDEBEM

Paul University Awka geohope4all@gmail.com; 08033272903

ABSTRACT

Long ago, the Igbo concept of eldership connoted the old men who naturally have attained old age. These men sat at judgments over critical moments of justice and its delivery in Igboland. They are drawn from all the families that constitute the family folk. Special regards was given to the oldest man on whom was conferred the privilege to superintend over the insignia of traditional power. Governmental system was gerontocracy. This paper seeks to critically examine the concept of eldership in the primordial Igbo society and the emerging democratic administration in Igboland. Primary and secondary methods were used for data presentation. The study discovers that in contemporary times the concept of eldership has changed drastically from age umbrella to contemporary socio-religious ideologies. The idea of leadership has transformed from gerontocracy to Ohacracy, a form of egalitarian democracy in political administration of the Igbo. Eldership was no more attained only through natural acquisition of age. Young men and women who have acquired skills in communication, became wealthy, politicians and image makers have gone to the center stage of policy making and administration in villages and towns today. The problem created by the young elders is the hasty methods of decision making and execution that lacked primordial expertise. Such decisions have dealt a great blow on the cohesion which was the hallmark of the Igbo nation. The researchers discovered the justice anomaly perpetrated by these young elders and recommends that proper training be given to them for execution of right justice and cohesion of the Igbo nation.

Key words: Igbo, Eldership, Gerontocracy, Government, Policy making

1. INTRODUCTION

The word elder in Igbo world is very much attached to age. It means those people who have culturally and traditionally acquired old age through the length of time they have stayed and positively spent on the earth. Naturally such people are identified with their vociferous grey hairs. They are respectfully addressed as *okenye*, *okei* according to dialect. In whichever dialectical form they appear, their penchance to do things the right way at any point in time marks them out as those to be respected in clans and communities of Igboland. The elders take roles assigned to them as custodians of the clans and communities traditions and cultures. They are seen as repositories of ancient wisdom, tact and reference points especially in matters of what the ancients have demanded in occasions of doubt. The Igbo believed that whoever sees the elder has seen the ancestors.

In the olden days, elders were given sensitive roles in the villages and clans as holders of the insignia of authority. Some communities refer to them as *aka ji ofo* that is hands that hold *ofo* stick. [The word (ofo) is deep that it cannot be explained away as it is the insignia of traditional power, wisdom and authority but with strong mystical correlation. The *ofo* is a sign of traditional justice representing ancestral personalities

and the attendant truth that sets people free when they are innocent but executes offenders when they swore with it without recourse to truth]. Scholars have in recent times seen elders as those who exhibit certain qualities and traits that help another individual, group or larger community in time of need. The position of the elders primordially had assumed such an exacting but prominent place amongst the Igbo that certain titles as traditional *nze* and *ozo* were reserved for them. This accorded them a strong traditional position that each person alive strove to get to such position in Igboland. Even in transition and death, the manner of burying them are special.

In Igboland of the olden times, the elders sat in judgment over all judicial matters of the clan. The oldest amongst them was the chief custodian of the traditional seat. There was no central administrative seat or a single decision maker as all the kindred's presented one or two elders to represent them in the committee of the elders. So administration was representative in nature. Gerontocratic in nature, there was a form of agreement over judicial matters by the majority of all elders present in meetings. It was actually a quasi-democracy in the sense that every kindred was represented by selected elders and each elder was expected to voice his own opinion as such voice represented the mind of each kindred present. Matters were of social, cultural or ethical but each with strong religious undertone. Any matter that was not easy to be decided was taken over by the masquerades, (Achebe, 1956). In some localities like Awka, Ihiala, Nsukka and so on, an elder representing must be an *ozo* title holder as non-titled men were seen as *agbala* (women) (Achebe, 1956, 1958) and would not be allowed to talk, (Arinze, 1970, Ilogu, 1986).

However, contemporary Igbo understanding of eldership has taken a paradigm shift. Elders are no longer the old men with grey hairs keeping *ofo* sticks and sitting under the trees in market places to drink palm wine, break kolanuts and sat over matters of family and kindred concerns. The understanding has shifted to modern age occasioned by globalized interactions. The insurgence of colonialism and the introduction of the European government and judicial systems have deeply weighed down on the ways and manners general administration is executed. The introduction of formal education and the Church have redirected contemporary Igbo society and her thinking over critical issues that initially sought the attention of those old men who were initial cynosure of all eyes. The Igbo Kwenu which was a call for synergy and togetherness has given way to strong individualistic quest for inordinate government recognition and the quest for materialism has become the next step towards compartmentalization of the Igbo question regarding leadership and followership. Even those who initially would be called to address issues of utmost religious implications have seen themselves torn in-between financial gain and fear for their lives in the face of government intimidations and threat to their lives. The Igbo now see herself in the center of counterclaims and charges.

The reason for this work therefore is to address the issues raised by the contemporary meaning of the eldership questions among the Igbo of Nigeria and what it portends. The researcher adopting historical survey method will strive to puncture the balloon that has puffed up over contemporary globalized leadership and eldership puzzle among the Igbo. The work will proffer possible solutions to this malaise and for the preservation of eldership respect among the Igbo of the South-Eastern Nigeria.

2. Conceptual Definition of Eldership in Igboland

An elder in Igbo terminology is a person (man or woman) who has attained old age usually through long life and custodial accumulation of wealth. The elderly are therefore those men and women who have crossed over from active life of gathering garnering and mentorship to periods of social inactivity. In this frame of mind, they retired from participating in active production of goods and services to be tended by either their children, the extended family (Odera, 1999) and the society which they had labored from in their active lives.

Elders in Igboland are therefore those people who have over the years acquired indispensable doses of learning's in cultural and traditional knowledge about people, work relationships, theological observations or rituals and practices of the people. They have a vast knowledge of spiritualties that qualifies them for deep reflections that students of different fields approach, them for learning deep knowledge of

the clan and the society. The elders are so much nearer the ancestors that they can relate to the wisdom of the sages and convince the young on the vileness of practicing unethical behaviors capable of destroying not just their future but the commonwealth of the community. The Igbo would often say that "he who see the elders have seen the ancestors".

Religiously the elders regulate the spiritual dimensions of the society and balance the inefficiencies of postmodern liturgical practices prevalent in the contemporary times. Religion defines man's relationship with the divine. Nigosian (1994) argues that religion is an invention or creation of the human mind for regulating all human activity and this creative activity is a human necessity that satisfies the spiritual desires and needs inherent in human nature"(p.4). In olden times, elders are strongly linked with socio-religious life of the people as they are the rallying point of the community and that includes administration of their different communities. The society consists of different families and clans. Pearsall, (2001) says that the community is ä social division in a traditional society consisting of families or communities linked by social, religious or blood ties, with a common culture and dialect typically having a recognized leader"(p.153).

Francis Eneh (oral communication 2021) said that....in Udi in Enugu state of Nigeria, the elder must have been between 70/80yrs of age. Such an elder must be able to tell stories about the past and rites cognizant of the ceremonies, religious functions and rites of the communities; they can conveniently spell out boundaries, settle family issues and explain quite lucidly secrets of the community. Henry Maduabuchi (oral communication 2021) explains that in Ebem Ohafia in Abia State, elders are conferred with ornaments known as *Mpata* and automatically perform the rite of *Eze Otosi*. He sits on s special seat and rarely comes out for community function. He was attended to by slaves and other assistants. He was able to settle vexing community issues and proffer solutions to inter-community disputes amicably.

Brief Review of Igbo Cosmology

The way Igbo conceive of God is quite intriguing. It is because the Igbo view of God/god is not just historical but historical metaphysic. Mbaegbu references that:

It was through proper examination of the historical background of the Igbo that a lot of valid conclusions will be drawn regarding the Igbo. Ford and Jones for instance remarked that the Igbo are generally held to be tolerant, ultra-democratic because they dislike and suspect any form of external government and authority and they have a practical unromantic approach to life (P.89).

Historical in the sense that application of divine dealings and activities on the Igbo is flowing from experiences of the past. The background is drawn from activities in which Igbo (elders/sages) partook in divine actions as he became part and parcel even the centre of Gods/gods presence through revelations, medicine men, chief priests and even in judgments'. The Igbo see his world as the world of God/god, and other human beings are highly acknowledged and held in high regards. For instance, the Igbo believes that the earth *ana/ani* possess ultimate divine presence as to own man and also the custodian of justice so, *ani/ana* is viewed on two thresholds a physical enclave where man lives and performs all spirit-social activities to appease and placate the gods/God and also the entity that controls man's dealings with each other and with the divine. At last after man had laboured at the face of the earth, he returns back to his maker. So, the outermost part of the earth becomes the habitation of the living while the bowl of the earth becomes both the eternal bed of man and his judge. When for instance the Igbo behaved in certain socioreligious abnormality, he was reminded that "the land is alive that takes charge of actions", and when he acts in positive ethical manner the same land was invoked for blessing-*ana be anyi gozie gi*-let the earth of our fathers bless you".

The spiritual and social, impacts of ana/ani-earth can be seen in names attributed to divine presence and activities like.

Anazodo - let the land protect

Anamezie - Let the land correct

Such other names exist in the Igbo spiritology based on divine experiences within a specified, spiritual encounter. The land therefore plays active part in man's life and efforts to pear the metaphysical eventualities manifest in his earth a battle he must daily encounter until he breathes his last. But beyond ana/ani is Chukwu the supreme being of the Igbo cosmology. Chukwu is the custodian of life he who commands and owns the ancestors and spells how the earth is governed. He is the ultimate "tremendium" of the Igbo world. He is unsurpassable, Ubiquitous and the defender of the earth, having made the earth and is answerable to no one. The dear of Chukwu/Chiukwu/Chineke, etc is so widespread that everybody runs away from His wrath and yet He is worshipped in reverence and all. In Igbo cosmology, He is the "known and yet unknown". Nzomiwu (1999) avers Basdens confirmation that amongst the Igbo people is a distinct recognition of a Supreme Being-beneficent, in character-who is above every other spirit good or evil. He is believed to control all things in heaven and earth and dispenses rewards and punishments according to merit. Chukwu controls all other spirits and forces according to His divine dictates and whims in all levels of administration be it primordial or postmodial. Nzomiwu still notes that "Chukwu" (as he is called) is Supreme, and at His service are many ministering spirits whose sole business is to fulfill his command.

In the Igbo politics and primordial administration God/god plays out in Igbo metaphysics as the Supreme being who devices ways how people are ruled and directed according to His divine will. He reserves power and gives to whom He wills to govern the earth and to instill His divine well on subjects. This assertion has not being doubted by any scholar.

In some places, the administration and government of the people rest on the elders whom the Igbo see as the mouthpiece of God/god and as such words were not spoken to them carelessly. The administrators who are elders therefore honoured and respected. Ejiofor (1982) made certain revelations about *Obiship* in Ezechima Kingdom. He says that:

Close and repeated observation confirmed the people's perception of the king. The Obi is at the centre of social and political life in Umuezechima. He is the point around which all activities gravitate and from which policies constitutionally and legitimately emanate. He is at once the chief priest, the highest title holder and therefore the custodian of traditions and customs of the people. He is of course the head of government and administration (p.143).

But having seen Ejiofors painting of the Obi in Umuezechima beyond, it is the action of Chukwu in the selection of who becomes the most senior amongst the communities elders. Of course in the central Igbo of the past, there was no central administrative formular as each clan was governed by the council of elders (not necessary chiefs) as most Igbo communities were not divided into chiefdoms and fiefdoms. Administration was based on the fact that God/gods exist and have all round and triangular logicalism and that whoever does not recognize God/gods in primordial Igbo politics and administration will not go far. Mbaegbu (1982) argues according to Obiego (1978) that based on names which the Igbo had answered long ago:

Even if these {names applied directly to God} do not suffice there are certain Igbo names which explicitly assert that God exists. Such names are Chukwudi (which means: God is, idi is the very word, to exist. Odi is the third person. Singular meaning; he/she/it exist or is. In the above name, it is stated simply that Chukwudi (God is) and Chukwdifu (God still exist).

Having observed this fact, it is factual to convince every dispenser that pre-mordial Igbo reserve this respect for Chukwu who is the Owner of administration and who have entrusted leadership to the elders

Eldership and Leadership in Igboland at Primordial Times

As stated eldership in Igboland subsists with older men and women whose lives have passed through long periods of longevity. The age bracket in ancient Igbo count was most difficult as there was no record of birth dates as Anglicized by the Church and civil administrations within the period of British colonization of Nigerian territories in the Pre-independence. So as age count was most difficult, the reckoning in age then depended heavily on the person who became the eldest depending on survival mechanism of that time.

Both infant and adult mortality was on the increase due to acute lack of health maintenance, poor dieting, and absolute lack of conventional medi-care, very poor sanitary condition and avoidable catastrophes of that time. So the concept of *Ökenye isi awo*"- "grey haired elder" could not possibly may be due to long age but could be as a result of aforementioned traditional eventualities.

Whatever might have been cause/s of age in the primordial Igbo tradition, those elders from different age formations formed the administrative nucleus of that society. Igbo administrative model was gerontocracy. This means that these elders drawn together from different families spend quality time adjudicating on critical matters of the moment. According to Okoye (1998) ages 41-65 and above becomes the age of wisdom. He reasons that at that age, an individual is expected to display wisdom acquired over the years. It is a period of bald-headedness for those with alopecia running generically in their lines. It is a period of special appointment and social recognition when individuals become Board members, holding key positions, receiving local and national titles as chiefs or recipients of national awards..."(P.7). At this age, expectations are that these elders were able to deal with the disturbing and perplexing issues of the moment. Placing administrative formations and ranks in Igbo judicial functions exposes the diverse experiences of human predicaments and that dependence leads to the old men's wisdom in taking far reaching decision. Once decisions are reached over any case (which in most cases wear religious toga), the equanimous engagement of its finality ends in the invocation of divine rite and rights through traditional affirmation of "isee". This term has no anglicized equivalence but could mean. "Let it be as we have affirmed", or amen". The Ofo stick that belonged to the kindred was the religion-legal emblem of affirmation. When used to tribute a case, it was not revocable. Njoku (2009) say about the Ofo in this manner.

Ofo--- is an authoritative emblem symbolizing justice, righteousness, and truth. The symbolism of Ofo lies not in the piece of wood as it is used in the context of ritual ratification of accepted norms of behaviours passed into law. Infact Ofo, does what it does and it is respected accordingly because of its contextual ritualization or application, hence it plays a performative role. The conducts over which Ofo is invoked do not otherwise in the absence of Ofos ratification; hence it is not the Ofo that makes such behaviours moral or legal (P.37).

Based on the fact that in most cases women and children were not allowed to play active parts and juridical functions of the clan, it largely became a common parlance that justice administration and exercise of relevant decisions in the kindred was an all men affair. Of course, it was the oldest man in the Umunna partrilineage that held the Ofo emblem. The men of titles who were the major primordial judges had their tongues ritually immolated in such a way that ritually they were spiritually mandated to execute such important socio-religious and spirit-legal obligations amongst the Igbo. They were trusted for their avid truthfulness in that it was unheard of that the elders of the clan took bribe to pervert justice or had sex with a woman to change the course of natural actions to favour a woman who was a culprit in a case for instance in matters of incest. So elders in Igboland in primordial times took up issues that concern the socio-religious lives of the people and adjudicate very amicably those vexing problems which have kept the traditional community intact. According to Emesi (1985), there was no purely political or governmental organization and there was no clearly delimited political sphere of political affairs. Being basically segmentary, central government within each relatively autonomous unit was a federation of equivalent segments, each of which retained a large measure of power and authority. Among the Igbo, religion, law justice and politics are inextricably bound. Law and custom were believed to have been handed down from the spirit world, and from time immemorial, from ancestor to ancestor.

The method of constituting elders was not actually wealth or financially motivated. There was a strong pointer that inasmuch as wealth was not ruled out from appointment of elders, it also pose a serious foundational factor. The reason is that an elder must not be a beggar. He must be a man of means and in which case, he must be a professional farmer with more than one wife. A large compound was always a strong qualification because such an elder must have taken at least one title with a befitting titular nomenclature. This explains the place of agriculture in the Igbo elders social life and well-being. He must not be an (*efulefu*) a worthless person" in his own society. This means that a traditional Igbo elder carried

oneself with dignity not bought over through illicit and unknown wealth but through veritable industry and craft.

Ethically, he must be a man of truth and forthrightness. His words must be found not to twist a known traditional and religious procedure no matter whose ox was gored. If the case was even against him, he must stand by the truth and defend it to the last. His yes must be yes and no to be no at all times. Because of the respect and awe for *ani/ana*-the earth goddess whom it was believed to strike with the force of *Egbeigwe* (thunder) for any infraction of natural process. The elders represent the ancestors of the clan who detest frauds and falsehood. Parrinder (1954) asserts that all *Ibo* believed that their lives are profoundly influenced by their ancestors, and this belief has far reaching sociological consequences... sacrifices has to be offered them at regular intervals or when a divines indicates... "(p.57). With these few mentioned qualities of primordial elders, it is easy to decipher that the extent at which they mediated in the traditional Igbo juridical and social life, there were efficacies of traditional well-modulated life styles. The albatross posed by recent young men entrusted with traditional judicial life will be discussed on the next sub-topic.

Contextualization and Redefinition of Eldership and Leadership in Igboland.

As already discussed, gerontocracy had been in existence from time immemorial and had been the mainstay of Igbo administrative outfit. But from the close of 20th century, the form of administration in Igbo had taken a paradigm shift. The concept eldership in the traditional sense has been contextually deflated and redefined in modern fashion. The society been dynamic naturally has exposed young men and women to modern organic growth. For instance, with Colonial and Church Missions Introduction of trade and modern formal education, accumulation of modern administrative experiences and connection with governmental agencies and personalities has ushered-in new understandings of eldership. This also has grossly affected forms of administration among the Igbo. Many issues raised by modernism in the concept eldership and Igbo administrative system are discussed briefly.

Firstly is the impact of formal education. With the inception of colonial and Mission education which is formal in nature all aspects of domestic informalities were displaced and replaced with formal acquisition of certificates. Achievements of colonial and mission education cannot be overemphasized. Nwuzor, Igboabuchi and Ilorah (1998) succinctly discussed these achievements. According to them.

The foundation of Western type education so laid brought literacy to the people and its impact moved Nigeria several centuries ahead of her civilization, and helped to widen contacts and associations and to break tribal boundaries and limitations. Christianity and Western-type education brought enlightenment to the people and suppressed social ills like slavery and slave trade, cannibalism, human sacrifice, ignorance and superstitions. These forces were anti-productive and dysfunctional to development (P.43).

Apart from modern colonial and mission type education the link with the colonial administrators also changed the tenor of eldership and administrators also changed the tenor of eldership and administration amongst the Igbo. Working with colonial administrators introduced change to gerontocracy and radically changed administrations method to democracy which is translated as *Ohacracy*. *Ohacracy* is just the Igbonised form of government under the hands of selected or appointed holders through modern voting system. This is innovative in the sence that the modern growing administrators have garnered governmental mental faculties that defends modern minds and thinking, a system gradually away from tangential religious elements and communication. The contents of new administrative system include functional courts (initially governed by the colonizers) but latter handed down to natives, colonial trained lawyers, police force (not masquerades) as witnessed during the primordial gerontocracy. Nor (2007) suggests that democracy is adjudged the best system of governance when contrasted with other systems developed by man for the same purpose. By its virtue, democracy is anchored on moral principles, which tend to promote and propagate abundant life for the mass of the people"(p.276)

Another factor that changed the face of primordial administration among the Igbo is business and international trade and foreign administrative orientation. Igbos has always been the roving type in several

states and areas of Nigeria ever before amalgamation of Nigeria by the colonizers 1914. For instance, Awka metal smith had constructed a metal gate c. 1880s and still domiciled in the Queens yard in London. The Terra Cotta art which was an Igbo invention has also being deposited in international museums and treated with pride. It has encouraged experts of artistic ideas between the Igbo and this diaspora. But at no time had the Igbo travelled outside the country that of the close of the 20th century especially after the civil war between 1967-1970. Igbo traders travelled so rapidly into almost all the nooks and crannies of the world in search of articles of trade and international business. The resultant effect is that money and wealth started changing hands. The erstwhile primitive Igbo landscape started changing into modern capital cities, young men because of flow of money started taking unwarranted traditional titles which was formally the mainstay of agriculturists and farmers of the primordial era.

One of the dangers posed by this new business entrants that most young men who found themselves in the enclave of Igbo administrative domain had no known occupations. Their only claim is "I am a business man". Whatever he is trading on has no economic definition. Some of them are criminals in their areas of foreign business operation while some are capons in Advanced fee Fraud Conglomerate (419). That may be the possible explanation of adept criminal involvements in Igbo native administration of the recent times and which is rocking the Igbo native functions today. Some of these young men are political thugs to affluent national politicians snatching ballot boxes and engaging in elicit political games for money and promises of juicy political positions in Nigeria. Armed with such huge cash, such venomous personnel entered Igbo eldership forum with profound demand for power and infraction of justice. Some even ascend as far as becoming traditional rulers of their kingdoms. With these type of administrators in course of leadership there is no doubt that "Things must fall apart and the center cannot more hold", Achebe (1958).

Future of Eldership and Leadership in Igboland

While the researchers are not entirely condemning the dynamic changes inherent in the Igbo eldership and leadership system due to contemporary challenges, serious sociological adjustments must of necessity be observed.

Modern academics have taken the centrestage in training youths in modern administrative models. For instance, the introduction of Dennis Memorial Grammar School Onitsha, St Charles College Onitsha and so on have bridged the academic gap from the informality of the days of our fathers. Therefore modern administrators who have taken the mantra of leadership in Igbo must introduce new patterns of *Ohacracy* to suit contemporary expectations.

Business has diversified with contemporary ideas. The Igbo youths who were trained through the apprentice system and who have travelled beyond the shores of the Igbo must rise to the challenge of effective administration. They are the modern crop of the past. With wealth acquired from abroad, current method of development is rife. *Ohacracy* of the modern period must encourage wealth creation and balanced home grown administration. Wealth would not be seen as a tool of disintegration of existing political structure amongst the Igbo.

CONCLUSION

As stated in course of this work, eldership stronghold on gerontocracy has served its purpose among the Igbo in the primordial times and achieved laudable goals in the economoscope of the days of our father and gave room for older people to take decision behalf of the communities. The elders were trusted by the people that they will deliver as it was deemed that they can see beyond the ordinary. Being guided by spiritual revelations, agricultural economy of the period gave sociological landscape for social institutions to thrive under the wisdom of the selected few old men. When they commit ritual errors, the communities' chief priest came in to correct the errors and prescribe ritual objects for sacrifices against errors committed. They were the informal courts of the people, placing judgments on household issues like divorce, obstinate wives, incest, recalcitrant children, suicide incidences and so forth. Some of these incidences had informal penalties which had been enshrined in the hearts of the villagers and time acceptable rituals forms and manners were employed.

As time evolved, modern political era also gave rise to the elders nominating by fiat representatives to councils. Consensus candidates became the norm as the elders themselves decipher the young man who was reared in the village and who understood the ethos and customs of the people and will speak-up for his people. They knew a good husband who was not deceived with bribes or who cannot be led astray by woman and who has philanthropic attitude. They knew a man who mastered oratory using the local proverbs and idiomatic expressions and who was not a social outcast as such fellow was not qualified to represent the people. So many other socio-religious qualities were considered.

But with the advent of modern democracy (*Ohacracy*) it was impossible for the few elders to sit in judgment over others. It was a period of garnered opinion of the people. So eldership assumed a modern paradigm shift. For instance marriage issues though community oriented has shifted to personal matters of taken to civil court or to the church. The elders no more command socio-judicial authority over such issues.

In matters of politics from ward to council elections modern democratic principles are being adopted through ball box exercise or option A4 as adopted by Prof. Humphrey Nwosu a former independent National Electoral Committee (INEC) Chairman. In this case, there was no review of the persons official behaviours. As such a person was loyal to the party and not to the people. Its weakness is that fraudsters, drunkards, womanizers corrupt people of different shades and colours have been elected to represent the people in different sensitive layers of government.

The researchers candidly suggest that a measure of the time-tested gerontocracy which was natural with Igbo local administration be reinforced. This will definitely reduce unnecessary financial loss to the Igbo cohesion. The *Igbo Kwenu* which was a clarion call for Igbo brotherhood will come back to life.

Another option worth exploring will be the merger of the two political cultures viz gerontocracy with democracy in such a way that the elders who have seen great age will contribute their own quota to the success of *Ohacracy* (democracy). Such political merger will truncate the modern political provisions which have continually given room for wanton political profligacy amongst modern Igbo politicians.

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