

**HARNESSING IGBA NDU (COVENANT MAKING) AMONG THE IGBO AS A
MODEL FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN TRADITIONAL AFRICA**

By

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ABSTRACT

African traditional communities struggle to manage conflict due to complex cultural, social, and historical variables. Indigenous belief systems and cultural traditions may help resolve conflicts. Igbandu, or covenant making, may be a conflict management model. This study examined igbandu as a conflict management model in African traditional beliefs and societies. It investigated the historical relevance, cultural background, and practical applications of Igba Ndu in dispute resolution and social cohesiveness. The qualitative study examined igbandu's cultural and spiritual aspects using ethnographic approaches. To understand covenant making, community people, traditional leaders, and religious practitioners were interviewed semi-structured. Semi-structured interviews and focus groups with community residents, traditional leaders, and religious practitioners collected data. These methodologies enabled for in-depth investigation of participants' igbandu and conflict management viewpoints and experiences. Data analysis used thematic coding of interview transcripts and focus group talks to find igbandu and conflict management themes and trends. Igbandu prevents and reconciles conflict among African traditional beliefs and communities, according to the study. The practice is rooted in culture and spirituality, and covenant violations result in inexplicable illness, untimely death, infertility, affliction, curses, retrogression, and life crises. The research suggests promoting igbandu as a conflict management strategy and integrating traditional practices into formal conflict resolution methods. Traditional and modern conflict mitigation institutions should collaborate to conserve and adapt indigenous approaches to modern conflict concerns. Igbandu provides conflict management concepts and techniques for African traditional beliefs and communities, according to the study.

Key Words: Conflict, *Igbandu*, Igbo, Management, Model and Traditional

Introduction

Conflict management has been essential for social cohesiveness and community stability in African traditional civilisations, frequently influenced by indigenous belief systems and cultural traditions. Among these customs, igbandu, or covenant making, is of paramount significance as a framework for conflict resolution and the preservation of harmony among

communities. This study investigates the function of igbandu in dispute resolution within African traditional beliefs and communities, analysing its historical importance, cultural background, and practical implementations. According to Ele, IgbaNdu functions as both a preventive and reconciliatory approach, profoundly embedded in Igbo tradition and essential to social frameworks (35).

In Igbo community, the breach of covenants, referred to as igbandu, is perceived to have grave repercussions in both spiritual and social domains (Ajakor and Ojukwu 146). The repercussions of violating a covenant are deemed substantial and may encompass enigmatic illnesses, abrupt mortality, sterility, afflictions, curses, regression, and life crises. Conflict refers to substantial disagreements or disputes among individuals, communities, or nations, frequently regarded as harmful to social cohesion and human welfare (Tamuno11). Nevertheless, advocates of conflict theory propose a more nuanced perspective, indicating that conflict can have beneficial results. It can promote social cohesion by uniting groups against external dangers and serve as a catalyst for society change, destroying outdated ideas and oppressive systems to enable the rise of new goals and values. Coser, characterises social conflict as a contest over values, status, power, and limited resources, in which opposing parties strive to attain their desired ideals while simultaneously seeking to neutralise their rivals (8). This term elucidates the competitive essence of conflict and its consequences on societal functioning. Nevertheless, it overlooks indigenous conflict resolution approaches, which are essential for a thorough comprehension of conflict dynamics. Similarly, Orite and Ogion define conflict as a struggle stemming from irreconcilable differences over scarce and valued resources, emphasising its tendency to provoke violent dissension within society (360).

The concept of a covenant refers to a written agreement or contract that obligates parties to adhere to particular duties, responsibilities, or terms. It frequently entails a serious pledge or obligation among persons, groups, or entities, delineating reciprocal responsibilities and anticipations. Covenants may be religious, legal, or social, and are frequently considered sacrosanct or inviolable (Okonkwo 87). In light of the aforementioned excerpt, social covenants may regulate interactions within a community or society, establishing behavioural norms, rights, and duties. The practice of "covenant making" is of great importance in Igbo society, traditionally functioning as a means to promote social unity and address disputes, as

noted by scholars like Afigbo (69). Ezeani further highlights the swift decline of traditional values and practices due to modernisation, raising questions about the adaptability of covenant-making in resolving conflicts within changing socio-economic contexts (45).

The Nature of *IgbaNdu* (Covenant Making)

Igbandu ritual holds a sacred position within Igbo culture, symbolizing a covenant between parties committed to coexisting in peace and harmony. This covenant, traditionally sealed with the drinking of palm wine, represents a deeply ingrained custom believed to have persisted for centuries, reflecting the rich cultural heritage of the Igbo people (Obinwa 446).

The theological significance of the *IgbaNdu* ritual extends beyond its cultural implications, embodying a sacred bond believed to be entered into by parties in agreement to uphold peaceful cohabitation. This covenant, revered for its solemnity, is perceived as an agreement not only among individuals but also with the divine, with God serving as a witness to its sanctity (Ezenwoko and Osagie 135). In Igbo society, the *igbandu* covenant plays a pivotal role, often uniting families or communities in a shared commitment to maintain social order and cohesion. Its significance within Igbo religion underscores its role in fostering communal harmony and spiritual unity (136).

While the *igbandu* ritual is a distinctive aspect of Igbo culture, it also finds resonance in other African societies, reflecting a broader tradition of covenant-making across the continent. Despite its prevalence, the *igbandu* covenant remains a solemn commitment among the Igbo people, with a firm belief in the dire consequences of its violation, reinforcing its enduring significance in shaping societal dynamics and moral conduct (137).

Types of *IgbaNdu* (Covenants) Among the Igbo

Blood Pact or Pact of Blood Brotherhood

Blood covenants, also referred to as blood pacts or blood brotherhoods, constitute a significant form of covenant-making within Igbo traditional religion and society. These covenants forge a close bond between individuals not bound by kinship but seeking social relations underpinned by stronger sanctions than those derived from mere communal, tribal, or trade connections. Despite some physiological parallels and shared terminology with

kinship, blood covenants do not establish conventional kinship relations, thus rendering the term "blood brotherhood" somewhat misleading (Patrick Okeke, OralInterview).

Among the Igbo people of Nigeria, blood covenants are deeply ingrained in their cultural history, notably known as *igbandu*. He further adds that, this ritual involves the exchange of blood between two individuals, typically drawn from a small cut on the palm, symbolizing a sacred covenant believed to create a bond stronger than any other (OralInterview). However, *igbandu* ritual unfolds in several stages, beginning with preparation, where the individuals ready themselves through fasting, prayer, and spiritual readiness. Subsequently, the celebration stage follows, marked by feasting and festivities to commemorate the covenant (NkemjikaOmuna, OralInterview).

Ordinary (Joking) Covenant

The ordinary (joking) covenant represents a variant of *igbandu* entered into by individuals for amusement or casual entertainment. Often initiated among friends or family members, it embodies a lighthearted commitment devoid of serious implications or legal bindings (Obinwa 14). Despite its non-binding nature, the ordinary covenant is approached with a level of reverence akin to other forms of *igbandu*, underscoring its significance within Igbo culture. The exchange of gifts, such as kola nuts or drinks, symbolizes goodwill and camaraderie, constituting an integral aspect of the covenant-making process (Umezurike 68).

Despite its playful nature, the ordinary covenant remains a vital component of Igbo cultural fabric, fostering social cohesion and camaraderie within communities. Nwaofuje Bright observes that it is predominantly undertaken among acquaintances who share a deep familiarity, providing an avenue to express mutual friendship and goodwill (OralInterview). Integral to social life in Igbo communities, it serves as a conduit for individuals to affirm bonds of friendship and solidarity, underscoring its enduring significance within Igbo cultural practices (Umezurike 67).

Secret Society Covenant

Secret societies, known as "Otu" in the Igbo language, constitute a significant form of covenant-making within Igbo traditional religion and society (EzehNwakego Mary, oral interview). Typically, the covenant is solemnized through the symbolic use of blood,

signifying the gravity of the commitment and the essence of life itself (Faith Nnaji, oral interview).

In Igbo Traditional Religion and society, the secret society covenant serves spiritual purposes, granting members access to spiritual powers believed to benefit both individuals and the wider community (Jonathan Ifeanyi, oral interview). Rituals and ceremonies play a crucial role in cementing these relationships, often involving the exchange of gifts, sharing of food, and the symbolic use of blood to signify the seriousness of the agreement (Obinwa 3; Mbaegbu 56).

Covenant with Demons for Power and Protection

Covenanting with demons for power and protection does not align with the *igbandu* tradition within Igbo traditional religion and society. In Igbo cosmology, the supernatural realm is categorized into three entities: God, spirits, and ancestors, with a belief in a singular Supreme Being known by various names across Igboland (Mbaegbu 56). Demons, perceived as malevolent spirits capable of causing harm, are associated with afflictions such as sickness, poverty, and death. While the Igbo acknowledge the potential threat posed by demons, they rely on charms and amulets for protection, considering them as safeguards against malevolent spirits rather than as covenants (57).

The covenant-making process in Igbo tradition is a sacred endeavor characterized by rituals and ceremonies aimed at solidifying agreements between parties, often sealed with blood as a symbol of life and the seriousness of the commitment (Umezurike 70). Similarly, the exchange of gifts and the sharing of food and drink, integral to covenant establishment, are gestures of goodwill and camaraderie that foster unity among individuals and communities, devoid of any association with demonic forces (OralInterview). Therefore, while covenant-making serves as a means of establishing relationships within Igbo society and with the spiritual realm, it does not encompass pacts with demons for power and protection (OfokeChinyere, OralInterview).

Sexual Covenant

The concept of "*IgbaNdu*," or covenant-making, holds a profound significance within Igbo traditional religion and society, encompassing various types of agreements that are

considered sacred and binding. Among these, the "Sexual Covenant" stands out, delineating agreements related to sexual relations and unions. In Igbo culture, these covenants are deeply intertwined with spiritual beliefs, ancestral reverence, and communal norms, reflecting the holistic nature of Igbo life (Eze Friday, Oral Interview). Negotiating and accepting such covenants entail rituals, prayers, and the involvement of spiritual leaders to invoke blessings and ensure the protection of the union (Makinde 72).

Moreover, the sexual covenant extends beyond the individuals involved to encompass the spiritual realm, involving the participation of ancestors and deities in overseeing the fulfillment and prosperity of the union (82). Community intervention and prescribed rituals or ceremonies may follow any perceived disruption caused by covenant violations, reinforcing the communal responsibility and collective consciousness ingrained in Igbo society (Ezenwoko 140).

Leadership Covenant

IgbaNdu, a covenant-making ritual in Igbo traditional religion and society, signifies a sacred agreement between multiple parties, underpinned by divine authority through solemn oaths. One distinct form of *igbandu* is the Leadership Covenant, which underscores several key principles: an ethos fostering empowerment, mutual care, and mutual accountability; a leadership approach grounded in servant leadership; a decision-making process characterized by participation; a structural framework devoid of centralization; and a workplace culture infused with spirituality (Fischer 1). This covenant ritual, deeply embedded in African-Igbo cultural concepts, involves ratification through blood rituals and ritual meals, echoing biblical narratives and challenging foundational beliefs of the ancient Near East worldview (Obinwa 5).

For the Igbo people, who maintain strong ties to their religious heritage, the covenant-making ritual of *igbandu* holds profound significance within their traditional beliefs. Reverence is paid to the Supreme Being, divinities, and ancestors, with the belief that the universe and its order stem from the Supreme Being's creation, governed by principles of justice and equity (Onunwa 210). This ritual, characterized by its divine backing and solemn oaths, forms an integral part of Igbo societal and religious fabric, illustrating a chosen kinship arrangement

mirroring principles found in Old Testament Scripture and carrying substantial cultural weight (Nwambam Jude, OralInterview).

Covenant of Fame or Prominence

The Covenant of Fame or Prominence stands as a distinct form of *igbandu*, underscoring a sacred pact between an individual and a deity, sanctioned by divine authority through solemn oaths. This covenant highlights three key aspects: firstly, a commitment between the individual and the deity to attain fame or prominence; secondly, a pledge for protection against harm; and thirdly, an agreement for the provision of wealth or prosperity (Ernest Okenya, OralInterview).

This covenant-making ritual holds broader implications, echoing themes found in Old Testament Scripture while challenging fundamental beliefs of ancient Near Eastern worldviews. Despite its resonance with biblical concepts of covenant, its impact in Africa has been somewhat muted due to inadequate translations and general neglect in African theology (Chukwuma 16). Thus, this covenant stands as a significant pillar of Igbo traditional religion and societal norms, reflecting the enduring cultural and spiritual identity of the Igbo people (Chukwumerije Simon, OralInterview).

Covenant for Ritual Performance/Medicine Men

Covenant making holds profound significance within Igbo traditional religion and society, serving as a sacred practice that forges a connection between the community and the divine realm. This mutual agreement, known as *igbandu*, is considered binding on both parties and is enacted through ritual ceremonies typically overseen by esteemed medicine men, who are believed to possess the ability to communicate with the divine and conduct the necessary rituals to formalize the covenant (Angulu 94).

In Igbo cultural and religious practices, this covenant-making ritual conducted by medicine men plays an integral role, shaping the community's religious traditions and beliefs (Okoisu Jeremiah, OralInterview). Covenant-making also, is thus viewed as a sacred endeavor that reinforces the relationship between humanity and the divine, with ritual performances orchestrated by revered medicine men serving as a conduit for this connection (Osike Eunice, OralInterview).

How *IGgba Ndu* (Covenant Making) Takes Place among the Igbo

IgbaNdu, or covenant-making, stands as a cornerstone of conflict resolution within the Igbo society of Anambra State, embodying a deeply rooted cultural and religious practice. Rooted in the concept of a sacred covenant between individuals or groups, *igbandu* entails taking an oath, a solemn act believed to possess divine validity and everlasting efficacy (Nnaji Patricia, oral interview). Initiated by the aggrieved party, the covenant-making process unfolds in the presence of elders, who serve as mediators, facilitating dialogue and ensuring fairness (Ajayi and Buhari 138). If both parties consent to the covenant, they solemnize their agreement through rituals and sacrifices to the gods, symbolizing their commitment and invoking divine sanction (38).

As emphasized by Ezeanya-Mayo, *igbandu* holds multifaceted significance within Igbo culture, shaping communal relationships and individual responsibilities (50). This practice, deeply intertwined with rituals, spirituality, and communal participation, serves as a framework for ethical conduct, fostering harmony and accountability (Ezeanya-Mayo 50). The involvement of elders and the broader community underscores the collective nature of the covenant, reinforcing its impact on social cohesion and familial ties (63).

Moreover, the spiritual dimension of *igbandu*, invoked through rituals and prayers, adds a sacred and binding element to the covenant, underlining the repercussions of its violation (Mbiti 108). While undergoing adaptations influenced by modernity and globalization, *igbandu* retains its core principles of commitment, communal harmony, and spirituality (Ezeanya-Mayo 83). In Anambra State, it transcends mere ritualistic significance, emerging as a cultural philosophy guiding interpersonal relationships, ethical behavior, and communal solidarity (John Oko, oral interview).

Instances of *IgbaNdu* (Covenant making) and Resolution of Conflicts in Igbo Society in Anambra State

Instances of *igbandu*, or covenant-making, played a significant role in the resolution of conflicts within Igbo society, serving as a traditional mechanism for restoring peace and harmony. Deeply embedded in Igbo culture, *igbandu* involved the making of solemn covenants or agreements aimed at resolving disputes and preventing future conflicts. Hence, conflicts between Aguleri, Umuleri, and UmuobaAnam communities, spanning several

decades, were fueled by various factors, including disputes over land ownership, struggles for supremacy, socio-economic disparities, and instances of maltreatment and militarization (Ifediora 13). These conflicts escalated into violent clashes, resulting in loss of lives, destruction of property, and widespread insecurity within the affected communities (Abada 17).

Despite the complexity of these conflicts, *igbandu* emerged as a vital instrument for peace-building and reconciliation. The process of *IgbaNdu* involved the parties coming together to make solemn commitments, often in the presence of witnesses and spiritual authorities, to uphold the terms of the covenant (Ugochukwu Okafor, oral interview). The involvement of the community and spiritual elements added a sense of sacredness and obligation to the covenant, reinforcing the commitment to peace and reconciliation (ObiomaNwosu, oral interview).

Through *igbandu*, the conflicting parties demonstrated their willingness to move past discord and work towards maintaining peaceful coexistence within the community (ObiomaNwosu, oral interview). This traditional practice facilitated mutual understanding, forgiveness, and the restoration of relationships, thereby fostering communal harmony and stability (Ugochukwu Okafor, oral interview). Moreover, *igbandu* served as a platform for addressing the underlying causes of conflict, including land disputes and struggles for supremacy. By engaging in the covenant-making process, communities were able to negotiate and resolve contentious issues, thereby preventing further escalation of hostilities (Ifediora 13). However, the impact of *igbandu* extended beyond conflict resolution, influencing socio-economic activities and developmental projects within the affected communities. The restoration of peace through covenant-making enabled communities to focus on rebuilding and rehabilitation efforts, thereby mitigating the adverse effects of the conflicts on livelihoods and infrastructure (Ezeanya-Mayo 49).

Resolution of the Conflict

The resolution of the Aguleri-Umuleri-Umuoba Annam war in Anambra State, Nigeria, demonstrated the effectiveness of traditional conflict resolution techniques, including mediation, adjudication, reconciliation, negotiation, and oath-taking. Oath-taking, in particular, played a crucial role in restoring trust and confidence between the warring

communities and establishing a framework for future conflict resolution. In the case of the Aguleri-Umuleri-Umuoba Annam war, oath-taking ceremonies were conducted, involving symbolic objects like kola nuts, alligator pepper, and palm wine.

Import of *IgbaNdu* (Covenant Making) in Conflict Resolution

Covenants hold significant roles not only in Igbo traditional religion and society but also in various African societies. They address major ethical concerns encompassing individual, societal, and religious aspects of life, emphasizing aspects such as the mystery of life and death, domestic and social values, sex and sexuality, and forms of self-identity.

In conflict resolution, covenant-making serves as a powerful tool, ensuring peace, positive development, and the cessation of hostilities among communities. Spiritual involvement in covenant-making ensures compliance among parties, as it invokes the spiritual realm to enforce agreements. In Igbo society, covenant-making is deeply intertwined with spirituality, distinguishing it from ordinary secular agreements or contracts.

Hence, setting for conflict resolution and covenant-making typically occurs at community adjudication centers, such as village or market squares, where issues like boundary disputes are addressed. This choice of venue underscores the community's importance above individual interests or social units. In essence, covenant-making plays a crucial role in conflict resolution within Igbo and other African societies, intertwining spiritual, social, and communal elements to foster peace, harmony, and mutual respect among parties involved.

***Inu iyi* (Oath-Taking) in Covenant Making**

In Igbo society, traditional conflict resolution strategies are deeply ingrained in their culture and have evolved over time to address disputes effectively. These methods, rooted in Igbo heritage, are integral to their social structures and religious beliefs, reflecting the fundamental principles of Igbo religion and African Religion. When conflicts arise, whether involving individuals, groups, or communities, the Igbo employ traditional conflict resolution strategies such as oath-taking (*inuiyi*) and covenant-making (*igbandu*).

Various deities in different regions of Anambra State and Igbo land are believed to administer mystical retributions to wrongdoers, making oath-taking a credible method of conflict resolution. The end of the oath period is marked by celebrations, signifying the restoration of

peace and normal relationships. However, the practice of oath-taking raises questions, especially in religious contexts influenced by Christianity, Islam, or Judaism, which caution against making oaths.

Curses and Covenant in Conflict Resolution

In Igbo Traditional Religion and society, *igbandu*, or covenant making, holds immense significance in conflict resolution and social cohesion. However, it's crucial to recognize that breaching the terms of a covenant is believed to bring severe consequences, often in the form of curses and punishments. These consequences are deeply rooted in Igbo belief systems and serve as a means of enforcing the sanctity of the covenant.

While the curses associated with covenant breaches may seem harsh, they are not intended to inflict harm but rather to uphold the sanctity of the covenant and ensure adherence to the agreed-upon terms. In cases where breaches are deemed redeemable, rituals or tributes may be performed to appease the offended deity or shrine, seeking restoration and forgiveness.

Consequences of Violation of Covenants in Igbo Society

In Igbo society, the violation of covenants, known as *igbandu*, is believed to have severe consequences, both in the spiritual and social realms. When individuals or groups breach the terms of a covenant, they are believed to incur the wrath of the gods, deities, or shrines in whose presence the false covenant was made. The consequences of breaking a covenant are considered to be significant and may include the following:

Mysterious Sickness: Those who violate covenants may suffer from unexplained illnesses or ailments, believed to be a result of spiritual repercussions. This belief is deeply ingrained in Igbo culture and emphasizes the consequences of breaching sacred agreements.

Sudden Death: Violating covenants is associated with the risk of sudden and unexpected death, reflecting the severity of the consequences. This belief underscores the importance of maintaining spiritual integrity and adhering to the terms of covenants.

Infertility: Breaching a covenant can lead to infertility or reproductive issues, impacting the violator's ability to have children. This consequence is seen as a form of divine retribution for transgressions against spiritual agreements.

Affliction and Curses: Covenant violations may result in afflictions and curses, manifesting as hardships or misfortunes in various aspects of life. These consequences serve as potent spiritual sanctions, emphasizing the importance of upholding sacred agreements.

Retgression and Crises in Life: Covenant breaches may lead to a regression in one's life, hindering progress and causing crises in personal, social, or economic spheres. However, the belief in these consequences reinforces the sanctity of covenants and serves as a mechanism for maintaining order, justice, and social cohesion within Igbo society.

Recommendations

The study on harnessing *igbandu* as a model for conflict management in African traditional beliefs and communities offers insightful recommendations to address the challenges facing traditional conflict resolution practices among the Igbo people.

Firstly, it is crucial to prioritize the preservation of traditional values and cultural heritage to ensure the continuity and relevance of *igbandu* in contemporary society. This entails promoting awareness and appreciation of Igbo traditions, fostering intergenerational knowledge transfer, and safeguarding cultural practices from erosion due to external influences.

Secondly, the study advocates for promoting community engagement in conflict resolution efforts to enhance the inclusivity and effectiveness of *igbandu*. By involving community members in decision-making processes, conflict resolution mechanisms can better reflect the diverse perspectives and needs of the affected parties.

Lastly, the study emphasizes the importance of balancing traditional and modern legal systems to address the complexities of conflict resolution in contemporary Igbo society. While traditional practices like *igbandu* hold intrinsic value in preserving cultural heritage and promoting communal harmony, integrating aspects of modern legal frameworks can provide a comprehensive approach to resolving conflicts.

Conclusion

The study on harnessing *igbandu* as a model for conflict management in African traditional beliefs and communities underscores the enduring significance of traditional practices in

navigating conflicts and fostering communal harmony among the Igbo people. Despite the challenges posed by modernization and globalization, *IgbaNdu* remains a vital tool for resolving disputes, promoting reconciliation, and upholding cultural values within the community.

Moving forward, it is imperative for policymakers, community leaders, and scholars to collaborate in safeguarding the integrity of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms like *igbandu*. By fostering dialogue, promoting cultural sensitivity, and prioritizing community involvement in conflict resolution efforts, the Igbo people can navigate the complexities of modern society while upholding their rich cultural heritage. Through a harmonious integration of traditional wisdom and modern approaches, *igbandu* can continue to serve as a beacon of communal harmony, societal cohesion, and sustainable development within the Igbo community, exemplifying the resilience and adaptability of African traditional beliefs in the face of contemporary challenges.

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LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

SN	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUPATION	PLACE	DATE
1.	Chukwumerije Simon	M	56	Trader	Achalla, Awka North West LGA	28/05/2022
2.	Okoisu Jeremiah	M	35	Trader	Amansea, Awka North LGA	27/09/2022
3.	Osike Eunice	M	65	Farmer	Urum, Awka North West LGA	27/09/2022
4.	Nnaji Patricia	F	54	Business/farmer	IsuAniocha, Awka North LGA	29/04/2023
5.	John Oko	M	38	Pastor	IsuAniocha, Awka North LGA	27/09/2022
6.	UgochukwuOkafor	M	31	Business/farmer	Mgbakwu, Awka North LGA	27/09/2022
7.	ObiomaNwosu	M	29	Business/farmer	Mgbakwu, Awka North LGA	17/10/2022
8.	UgochukwuOkafor	M	31	Business/farmer	Mgbakwu, Awka North LGA	27/09/2022
9.	OfokeChinyere	F	45	Pastor	Ugbene, Awka North West LGA	30/04/2023
10.	EmekaNnajiOnu	M	57	Trader	UmuenwelumAnam, Anambra West LGA	28/04/2023
11.	GoodluckNnajiOnu	M	58	Farmer	UmuenwelumAnam, Anambra West LGA	28/04/2023
12.	ChukwuebukaOfor	M	20	Cyclist/farmer	Owelle, Anambra West LGA	28/04/2023
13.	Eze Friday	M	35	Driver	AwbaOfemili, Awka North West LGA	30/04/2023
14.	Ernest Okenya	M	40	Trader	Achalla, Awka North West LGA	30/04/2023
15.	James Eze	M	49	Farmer	UmudoraAnam, Anambra West LGA	29/04/2023
16.	Benjamin Obor	M	56	Farmer	GRA Phase II, Onitsha North LGA	29/04/2023
17.	IfeanyiIkechukwu	M	67	Farmer	Odoakpu, Onitsha North LGA	29/04/2023
18.	UchennaOkpokwu	M	65	Farmer	Oroma-Etiti, Anambra West LGA	30/04/2023
19.	Nweze Ede	M	49	Business	Neni, Anaocha West LGA	30/04/2023
20.	Francis Chukwu	M	45	Business	Neni, Anaocha West LGA	30/04/2023
21.	Nwambam Jude	F	54	Pastor	Ugbene, Awka North West LGA	30/04/2023
22.	Nwonyi Joseph	M	76	Farmer	GRA Phase I, Onitsha North LGA	27/05/2023