INEVITABLE INTERACTIONS FOSTERING PEACE IN THE CONTEXT OF CULTURE AND RELIGION

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Abstract

The inevitability of interactions among the Yorùbá as a community of people regardless of their religious differences is the focus of this paper. Here, the author presents how the Yorùbá have displayed a substantial evidence of freedom of religion and understanding of their neighbours to manage conflict and sustain their peace. One of the ways in which religion has been useful to maintain good relationships among the Yorùbá is its focus on tolerance, patience, and other virtues that heads of families and community leaders teach their members. Their social interactions at home and within their community are inevitable, and these helped to keep the Yorùbá in harmony and to settle conflicts and disputes more often than would have thought of in other communities.

Note: This paper is a part of the author's research findings and contains some of chapter seven of the dissertation with a few amendments to suit this journal article requirement.

I.   Introduction

Many works have been written on conflict theories,[1] attempting to address the unhealthy situations in human societies to bring about peace and normality. Despite such ventures been credible and worth pursuing, the author pays attention to seeking to understand relatively peaceful societies as being established by scholars like Bonta, Fry, and Melko et al[2] and how such communities retain their peacefulness. Some refer to this as the use of peace lens or described as peaceful societies (PS) in anthropology. This type of study is necessary because when harmonious relationships are not kept, the peaceful communities might begin to erode into violence. The paper focuses the southwest Nigerian Yorùbá with attention on their religion(s) and cultural interests. So, what laudable features do the Yorùbá religious community possess to encourage peacefulness in their societies?

II.   Methodology and Findings

This paper is a part of chapter seven of the author's primary research. It focuses how the Yorùbá de-escalate tension to keep their peace. The study employed thick description method with a short electronic survey (ES), three focus group meetings (FGD1, FGD2, FGD3) and interviews (FI) to generate the data. The data were processed with NVivo pro 12 to generate nodes and subsequent themes among which is: the inevitability of interactions that foster peace among the Yorùbá.

Religion is a major theme mentioned in the data generated from this study as a source of support for the Yorùbá in times of provocation, and useful for de-escalating conflict and sustaining the peace in their community. Among other themes that emerged are their culture and social interactions within their communities.

(a) Religion as an Inevitable Point of Interaction among the Yorùbá

Religion as presented in this study is further sub-classified into several units shown in the mind maps figures below as derived from the nodes generated from the NVivo pro 12 used in the data analysis. Some of the interconnected sub-themes that influence religions and how it is played out are: a personal belief, freedom of religion, religious consciousness, knowledge of religion, leaders' roles in conflict management, formal and informal dialogues, love and tolerance, interdependency, and dynamics in religious interaction or interpretation.

Figure 1 *mind map* that originated from a simple survey (ES) shows the relevant sub-themes connected with the display of positive religious values among the Yorùbá summarised as harmony and responsible religious leadership. The Figure 2 shows the themes connected with religions and value system from the focus group discussion (FGD1) among a community considered as peaceful in Yorùbáland, summarized as indivisible mutual multifaith community life. Figure 3 shows the connections with religious values from the third focus group (FGD3) at a location that once had conflict, but had it resolved. Being the last focus group to be conducted, it brought in focus what had been learnt in connection with religious values, which are: religious: - tolerance, consciousness, freedom, religious/cultural management of mixed marriages as well any emerging conflict. Figure 4 shows the religion and its related values obtained from the interview (FI) with the connected sub-themes like those in figure three but more emphasis on family. In addition to religion, social interactions, and culture feature in the data.

(b) Social life and Culture as Inevitable among the Yorùbá

Social connections play a significant role in the life of the Yorùbá. The themes generated from the data also show the interconnectivity between the Yorùbá culture and their social life along with several other sub-themes as presented in the ES – survey, FGD – focus group and the FI – interviews. Figure 5 shows the connection between the community, family, and the effort put in place to keep the peace in a social context. Figure 6 displays the community life and support in kind and cash towards the wellbeing of the society. Figure 7 shows the community support and conflict resolution effort obtained in the FI – interview, which resembles the ones obtained in FGD1 – focus group one. Figure 8 shows family, communication style and sense of community belonging from my FGD3 – focus group three.

These together form channels of inevitable interactions that strengthen the harmony among the Yorùbá. This paper, therefore, is an illustration of how religion(s) and social life embedded in the culture have helped to keep their communities in harmony.

III.   Discussion of Findings

Day and Wole in FGD3 (2016) illustrate good community relations as helping to de-escalate conflict and retain their harmony. Wole mediated in a complain procedure and *peacemaking* during a grievance lodged by a Christian lady against the Muslims' early morning 'loud' call to prayer, and both parties were reconciled to retain their initial peaceful neighbourhood in Ibadan. A survey (ES) participant describes the idea of *sabr* (which means patience), the Islamic tradition taught among the [Yorùbá] Muslims to help in de-escalating conflict. The Christian counterparts in the ES refer to the Bible teaching that Christians should live in peace with others, with a reassurance of the promise of eternal life.[3] The religious teachings of the Yorùbá Christians and Muslims coupled with their Yorùbá culture contribute to the way they respond to provocation and the resultant effect on how they sustain or return to a harmonious living after a crisis.

 Considering the elders' roles, Ismaila, a Yorùbá Muslim participant in FGD3 underscores the uniqueness of the prevailing culture among the Yorùbá, which became obvious to him while working outside of the Yorùbáland in Kebbi northern state as an NYSC staff. NYSC stands for the National Youth Service Corps, the Nigeria Federal government programme for university graduates under the age of 30 to work in a State often, other than their own to learn more about the country and serve their people with less wages. Ismaila said that he observed less respect shown for elders in a local Kebbi community when compared to the

practices of the Yorùbá, where elders can settle disputes. Since both Islam and Christianity are practised in the Kebbi northern state and the Yorùbá southwest Nigeria, the contents of both cultures and religious teachings of the two regions must provide an explanation for the harmony enjoyed by the Yorùbá community in religious sphere.

Going by secondary sources, Lateju[4] argues that the leadership style in northern Nigeria is different from that which is seen in the southwest and eastern Nigeria. The reason he gave was that while the north exclusively adopt the Arabic culture expressed in Islam, the Yorùbá has culture that provides an alternative feature that complement both Islam and Christianity which the Yorùbá admire. An example that comes to mind is, while Muslim north criminalize the conversion from Islam as apostacy warranting death, the Yorùbá southwest cherish life and often accuse occultist who kill humans for rituals as being outlaw and Yorùbá Muslims will not support the murder of an apostate. Blood or human's life is precious to the Yorùbá in general. However, there are examples of violence among the Yorùbá, especially during election political campaigns that many are ashamed of referencing. Yet, non-occult religious violence leading to death is rare.

In this study, while Saratu (FGD3), a secondary *ethnie*, considers the Yorùbá's peacefulness as timidity, Meriani (FGD3), another secondary *ethnie* calls it love in line with FGD1 responses. The Yorùbá's action and inaction requires thick description here. Meriani regards the Yorùbá as her brothers and sisters claiming that the Yorùbá do not often want to offend people. She suggests: 'The Yorùbá have good values and respect and we like to keep ourselves and our names out of trouble'. Meriani includes herself as a Yorùbá, using a possessive plural pronoun 'ourselves'. She added that the Yorùbá have certain values, such as the desire to maintain a good name and wanting to distance themselves from trouble in an ideal situation. This is like the thoughtfulness Wole mentions in FGD3. It is, therefore, necessary to closely examine how the Yorùbá maintain a harmonious community. As it appears, the interaction among the Yorùbá of different religions, Christians and Muslims especially are inevitable. The Yorùbá indigenous religion contribute to this harmony being the host by providing a base for the culture they all share.

(a) Culturally Based Ethics and its Influence on Religions' Interactions

The motivation for the Yorùbá's religious interaction is their belief in and consciousness of Heaven, or life after death, which has a strong ethical dimension for Yorùbá Christians, Muslims, and the indigenous Yorùbá religion worshippers. The cultural connection with their religious beliefs encourages them to interact at a social level based on convictions relating to their worship, the idea of the divine, funerals, the new-born, and weddings cumulating in the social progress (*aaremise*) periodically celebrated in their community. *Aarmise* is a saying that encourages people to actively participate in a social function with the understanding that such will be reciprocated in due course. They use ethical common ground such as love, prayer, scriptural teaching, fasting, heterosexual marriage, modesty, and honesty to strengthen this relationship and interaction. They sometimes challenge one another by asking an erring person: 'does your religion allow you to do that?' Such ethical question brings shame on the erring individual even while among non-members of his/her religion.

Considering secondary sources, Parrinder noted the harmony and commitment to sustain such among the Yorùbá community at large:

> One has heard it asked whether a Muslim may act as sponsor at a Christian baptism? Among the Yorùbá it is not uncommon to find Christian, Muslim and Animist in the same family [. . .] Many Christians teach in Muslim schools, and innumerable Muslims children attend Christian schools [. . .][5]

This interaction and willingness to render help is not uncommon among the Yorùbá. Although the details of each religious practice may pose difficulties for the others' beliefs, they have learnt and keep learning to respect one another's choices in different contexts and sometimes embark on dialogue for a better understanding of their different beliefs and practices.

To illustrate the interaction amongst the Yorùbá, Lateef, in an interview (FI) commented about Muslim men wearing hats at their worship centres (Mosques) while Christian men do not in their churches. It is a

common understanding that Christians patronize Muslim abattoirs and buy their produce. About handling strained relationships, some Christians politely decline the meals offered during the *Eid Al-Adha* feast, while others do not mind eating at the feast as evidenced in FGD1 and FGD3. This offers some clues to their level of deep interaction, understanding, freedom, and tolerance. Deficient understanding, in contrast, could be one of the causes of the violence experienced by troubled multireligious communities. According to Lateef:

> Yorùbá people often 'tried to avoid conflict so that there would be tranquillity in the society [. . .] If you study the geopolitical zones of this country, there is a low rate of conflict in Yorùbáland compared with other regions of Nigeria'.

On the human potential to cause violence, Lateef observes the violence seen in northern Nigeria:

> When you see violent people, it is important to see beyond the religion to that person's personality . . . The Yorùbá are very slow to react to anyone who offends them, whereas, in other cultures, once they are offended, immediately attack without thinking of the consequences. If a person is a Muslim, they will say it is his religion, whereas such reactions are due to cultural upbringing.

Lateef's argument for a 'peace culture' among the Yorùbá is substantiated in FGD1 and FGD3 in two different towns in this study. As the author has lived in northeast Nigeria, he ascertains the presence of peace-loving people among the northern local communities, especially when politics is not involved. His wife, Remi, narrated an experience at the Monday Market in Maiduguri (2003 – 2006). This is an international market with people from Niger Republic, Chad and Cameroon coming to Nigeria to trade. Remi was holding two bags in her two hands and her baby on her back. This is an African way of keeping the baby warm and secured to the mother's back while on the move. Remi accidentally brushed past a man with one of her bags while walking along the market's narrow paths. She stopped to apologise, but the gentleman looked at her, smiling and asked her to keep going and not to worry, as she was 'doing more than enough.' A man with an 'unfriendly culture' would demand an apology before the woman could even speak, but this gentleman, an indigene of northeast Nigeria Maiduguri showed understanding and empathy. This is one example of peace-loving northern individuals that constitute the backbone of the supposed northern 'peace culture'. Yet, one can also ascertain that the upbringing, the content of the promoted culture as well as religion have corresponding influence on a person's behaviour. Nonetheless, Lateef's claim about the north not being peaceful because of their culture cannot be held absolutely.

What determines a community's peacefulness is whether peaceful contents of a culture or religion is being taught and how much effort is placed on its propagation to become an acceptable norm in such a society. The contents of a culture and religions as being taught in turn frames how loving and caring the people will be. By comparison, in Senegal, the Sufi Muslims 95% and the Christians 5% speak many languages, belong to different religions yet live harmoniously.[6] Peace or violence, thus, has to do with what has the upper hand in a community at a given time: a culture of peace, tolerance and empathy or aggression and intolerance. In addition, an interpretation of a religion based on the promoted contents geared towards love, or hatred geared towards violence and the level of support given by their promoted culture and leadership are relevant to a society's peacefulness. If Lateef was right that the Yorùbá culture helps to facilitate harmony as suggested by some scholars like Lateju, it implies that the people and their leadership support peacefulness to make it work in favour of their community at that time and space as they teach it regularly to keep the custom. If they relax the keeping of the tradition of teaching and mentoring, the people will obviously follow other traditions or unhelpful behaviour to produce a culture of violence.

The roles of religious and cultural teachings in the making of the individuals' behaviour, the community, and corresponding responses to disputes and conflicts cannot be over-emphasized. Culture and upbringing must have contributed to the Yorùbá people's application of their religious teachings to the existing social context, making them responsible neighbours. The level of tolerance expressed within the Yorùbá culture and the people's religious maturity underpin how the Yorùbá manage their disputes and crises to maintain harmony in various contexts.

The cultures are not always constant, as new settlers will either lose their own cultures ('detribalization',

as the host becomes dominant) or mix with the host to form a hybrid of cultures ('retribalization'), as suggested by Wiberg[7] and reinforced in this research by Ifa in the focus group three (FGD3). Ifa [or Ifá] claims that the Yorùbá Christian and Muslim population have supported one another over the centuries. Ifá suggests the Yorùbá Muslims have early morning prayer around 5.00 am, and the further calls to prayer in the afternoon, which have possibly motivated some Christians to pray more often, while the Christians' night (vigil) prayer has also inspired the Muslims to hold night prayers. The Christians emulating Muslims for a regular prayer may be particular to the area where Ifá lives in Ilorin, as many churches in Nigeria have early morning prayers with the Christian daily devotional[8] at homes and churches. Yet, one cannot rule out the possible mutual social implication or benefit of seeing one another going for prayer. In addition, Ifá suggests some Christian girls cover their heads when going to church, as their Muslim female counterparts (with the hijab) do because the Christian women see this as acceptable both in their Yorùbá culture and according to some interpretations of their scripture (1 Corinthian 11:1-16). This leads to mutual interactions and understanding between the Yorùbá Christians and Muslims. Sharing and borrowing from their respective religious cultures, according to Ifá, enhances peace, making the Yorùbá culture-positive and advantageous for community harmony, without necessarily being syncretistic.

Understanding the culture and values of a people thus plays a significant role in the maintenance of harmony and good relationships with outsiders. In the Yorùbá context, Christians and Muslims adapt the ethics of their religions to their host Yorùbá culture and are thus able to get along. They both participate in joint programmes that allow participants to pray in their own individual ways like the parents' and teachers' association in schools and at community meetings. They seek to avoid syncretism and endorse freedom as much as their religious dogmas permit. The level of permissiveness among the Yorùbá Muslims is discussed by the author under *Kyidà* in another article titled 'Religious Hermeneutics as a Means of De-escalating Conflict and Sustaining the Peace'.

Three Yorùbá pastors among the interviewees – Akan, Ayo, and Diran (2016) – present their views regarding peaceful relations among the Yorùbá people. Akan (FI) lived in northern Nigeria for many years before returning to southwest to train as pastor sees the Yorùbá as accommodating. He observes that the Yorùbá often think and weigh consequences of what they want to do before acting unless they are under the influence of peers, alcohol, or have an ulterior motive. This comment is in line with Lateef's assessment of the Yorùbá's temperament in time of conflict, Omobo [or mbo] (FI) and Wole's concept of *aláròjinl*, (deep thought).

Ayo, a secondary *ethnie* with a Ghanaian mother and Yorùbá (Nigerian) father, has been fully integrated into the Yorùbá community. He trained as a Baptist minister and is currently a pastor at a Yorùbá-speaking church. Ayo is pleased that he was accepted into the Yorùbá community and not discriminated against for his mixed blood. He considers the Yorùbá to be welcoming and loving. This is in line with Ade and Odu's (FI) assessments of the Yorùbá communal life and generosity towards visitors or settlers. This idea of generosity is reinforced by Ìyab's assessment of the non-biological family concept of *Ebí* among the Yorùbá during the interview (FI).

Similarly, Diran pastored a church in northeast Nigeria for over six years and then relocated to Kwara State in the southwest. Diran, who has lived in Yorùbáland throughout, except while on a pastorate in northeast suggests that the Yorùbá are accommodating and generous, always ready to provide space for others. They are not easily provoked to indiscriminate violence. This mirrors Lateef's thoughts and Wole's view of *aláròjinl*.

Diran and Akan have non-Christians in their extended family and relate well to one another. Ayo, Akan, and Diran all suggest that outside influences and unacceptable behaviour have begun to creep in through violent non-indigenous people like the *Bororo* Fulani herdsmen, and unethical internet activities such as movies featuring pornography, gun violence, and robbery. Diran suggests such non-ethnical behaviours could be controlled at the local family level to ameliorate the situation.

Wole (FGD3) emphasizes the religious consciousness and Yorùbá cultural moral ideals/values as being strongly associated with life after death and eternal judgement, a doctrine the three religions have in common –

5

Islam, Christianity, and indigenous Yorùbá religion. He further suggests that the indigenous oath-taking is potent and often kills people mysteriously, thereby instilling fear and providing easy access to fair justice. Olupna[9] supports this belief. This is not far from the idea of karma in the south and southeast Asia tradition,[10] but believed to work faster among the indigenous Yorùbá religion's practitioners. FGD2 also alludes to this idea, while a Christian interviewee (in Spetrí) attests to some violent Muslims dying mysteriously while a sympathetic Muslim cleric was spared through God's personal intervention to defend innocent people during a conflict in their town. The interview with the Muslim cleric mentioned in this narrative reveals similar understanding. Ade (or Adé) mentions something similar concerning some Yorùbá Sunni Muslims cautioning their youth against the violent activities of some youth they considered to have 'the Shiite' tendencies who had antagonised the local Muslim leaders. It is not clear if those youth were Shi'ites or nicknamed as such by the peace-loving Yorùbá Muslim parents. There are no intentions to relegate the Shi'ites or any religious group in this study, but only presents the views of some Muslim parents. According to Adé, the violent youth leader later fell to his own death in the public view of others while on the stage to address his audience.

Wole states that the Yorùbá endeavour to avoid conflict as much as possible. As a result, sincere and devoted Yorùbá Christians, and Muslims, who have God's judgement as a common ground in their culture and consciousness live and interact well with their neighbours. Wole, nonetheless, notes some exceptions, where some Yorùbá leaders lost sight of these virtues while in political office. Odu also mentions the role of contemporary politicians in causing moral decadence and abuses of power in the Nigerian state.

In the discussion of how the Yorùbá handle disputes or conflicts, Alhaja (2016) (FI) at the salagbd compound interview emphasises *sùúrù* [patience]. This is like R3 (ES), using the Arabic term *sabr*, [as mentioned above]. In his publication, Abiodun mentions characters like *sùúrù* (patience), and *ìwàple/* (gentle character),[11] as relevant terminologies often used among the Yorùbá to retain harmony. A lack of *sùúrù* can lead to conflict. *Sùúrù* in the Yorùbá culture is a virtue taught by both the Yorùbá Christians and Muslims. A close interaction among people of different religions but with some shared values help in building harmony.

(b) Social life and Freedom of Religion

Like the discussion on culture, Wole (FGD3), Ldun (FI), a retired Muslim teacher and Lateef (FI) mention the freedom of religion employed by the Yorùbá as a significant contribution to the harmony enjoyed by the people. A portrayal of freedom can be visible in the day-to-day social interaction across religious lines. Ope (FGD3), a Christian who has Muslim friends ate with them at the end of each day's fasting, even though she did not observe the Muslim fasting. Ope had a Muslim elder in her maternal family home and there had been no occasion of violence among them as a family.

Freedom of religion is identified as a strong contribution to peaceful relations, allowing the Yorùbá to interact for their mutual benefit. The Yorùbá are believed to have the freedom to select and practise their own religions. According to Wole, each person can practise their religion and religion should not be enforced on anyone. Freedom to accept or decline invitation is the principal factor for Wole.[12]

That notwithstanding, there have been strained relationships because of conversion to other religions, where the convert considers it as freedom, but the family calls it worrying. A major conflict among them can have serious consequences for their family unit and community, hence they often try to avoid inter-religious conflicts. Similarly, the relationship of the Yorùbá community in their traditional setting and a conversion between two denominations of Christianity are relevant to this discourse. Of paramount importance are the evangelicals' conversion activities, the Muslims' response to apostasy and the Yorùbá people's vigilance not to allow 'imported foreign religions' (Christianity and Islam) to cause disunity among them to lead to violence. Clearly, these have not resulted in honour killings,[13] or executions among the Yorùbá in contrast to what is seen in some other parts of the world. However, the Spetrí conflict suggest that conflicts can start in a small way and escalate. Conflict could originate from conversion to cause stress within the family. While some Yorùbá may not completely object to conversion to other religions, some find it difficult to cope with and resort to grudges. Nevertheless, most converts see this as religious freedom: being able to choose the

religion they prefer. It requires wisdom to handle such situations to please the parties directly involved – the happy converts and the worried relations.

Conversion is a part of the freedom of religion exercised among the Yorùbá, especially when done without coercion and among those who follow their own minds, despite the initial shock to the family, close friends, or the community. Dispute and conflict management skills at family and community levels might be required in such situations. Similarly, family unity is observed in the idea described as *gbm fún miwò* or *fúni lmo wò* – the practice of giving youngsters to newly married couples, uncles, or other relations to bring up to adulthood. This has led to youngsters sometimes converting to the religion of the host family, which Christians have mostly benefited from over the years, as seen in Kunle's narration (FGD2). Muslims help their Christian relations as reported in FGD1. Most Yorùbá parents do not prolong their objections to conversion if they sense such children would grow up to be educated and keep a moral tradition (like the *mlúàbí*) of their culture. This could be why Kunle's father (FGD2) eventually agreed to his conversion to Christianity, although the brother was not pleased with the situation for some time after the conversion.

Considering secondary sources, Singh discusses the ineffectiveness of Christian witness to Muslims while using polemics, being the reason for their search for new approaches in mission especially in the West.[14] In contrast, the study among the Yorùbá, according to Nolte, Ogen and Jones confirm the peacefulness observed among the Ede town's three prominent religions (Islam, Christianity and the Indigenous Yorùbá religions).[15] For the Yorùbá outside of the formal church and mosque worship, their social interaction is expected to be first cordial and second, inevitable. This interaction, when it leads to conversion, will not be volatile on the condition that the new convert will not turn aggressive by being unsympathetic to their family or loved ones. The distinctiveness of the Yorùbá community's peacefulness might be a less use of polemics. These concur with the PS' avoidance of competition, arguments and ostracizing any member that brings their society into disrepute. Common positive values and caring social relations, therefore, contribute immensely to a society's peacefulness.

(c) Mixed Marriages and social contexts

According to Singh, Goli, and Sekher: 'Mixed marriage is the term typically applied to a marital union of two individuals from a different race or religion.'[16] These scholars extend the definition to cover couples of different social, economic, and castes. Mixed marriage is a complex union,[17] most especially among couples across ethnicity or nationalities,[18] possibly raising bilingual children.

Imamura's research on marriages across international traditions of residents of southwest Nigeria with women (21 in all) from the UK, USA, Africa/West Indies, and Western Europe underscores love as the primary basis of the unions.[19] However, the research found out that the husbands' society in Nigeria reacted more on the differences in their ethnicity whilst the couples paid attention to the similarities and their love stories. The family's role in supporting the couples to live in harmony can suffer some setbacks, but their union does not often end in divorce.[20] Chae's work on marriage in sub-Sahara Africa found various forms of marriages whether formal or informal that could be stable, unstable, and/or memorable.[21] Cottrell, in a literature review of 33 examples found that mixed marriages run the risk of psychological, cultural, and social marginalization. Some are multicultural, and the society's acceptance or tolerance played a major role, even among the Japanese and Koreans who put greater value on the purity of their race.[22] So, in line with Feyisetan & Bankole's suggestion, the involvement of the extended family in the life of married couples in Nigeria, from the introduction of the suitors to marriage and raising of the children cannot be over-emphasized.[23]

Samples in this study are mixed marriages across religions (Islam and Christianity) within southwest Nigeria. There are many cases of mixed marriages among the Yorùbá. Some participants in this study testified that they showed respect to their spouses and tolerated each other as some practise different religions while some converted to the religion of the husbands.

There is a growing literature on mixed marriages that can be compared with the situation among the Yorùbá.

Mixed-faith marriage is an example of mixed marriage, limited to marriage between two individuals of different religions or denominations. Although mixed-faith marriage [in a religious context] is viewed as between persons of different religions like Islam and Christianity, Bouma suggests it includes between denominations of the same religion as the Christian Reformed Church and any other Christian group.[24] Bouma argues that some people do not admire the mixing as they consider it could be potentially unhelpful to both the marriage and their denomination or religions. The idea of a religion gaining or losing its members is crucial, but evangelical Protestants in the United States have gained more through such unions.[25] Baber added that a greater number of children in Catholic-Protestant mixed marriages were being raised as Protestants.[26] Other religions like Islam and Hinduism also recorded an increase in their membership as noted in the Religious Landscape Study.[27] However, another opinion shows that although Christians (Americans) marrying outside of their faith try to retain their beliefs, the idea of Christian authority regarding superior knowledge of the divine could be diminishing with time as mixed-faith marriage continues.[28] There are studies on the Catholics and Protestants coping in mixed marriages by often allowing the couple to make decision that suits them. [29]

Considering African setting, the increase in the number of women in education and professional jobs has shown a potential to reduce the fertility rate in developing countries like Nigeria as the age at marriage or childbearing is being deferred.[30] Yet, there are more complexities when it comes to mixed marriages as it still affects women, and the children born into such unions. Among the Yorùbá, the wife could be systematically forced to follow the husband's religion and the children go through some latent stress of determining which religion they should follow as they grew older. Children born outside of wedlock also suffer some psychological trauma,[31] but contrary to Chinwuba's argument, such children would be free of stigmatization as they progressed to adulthood.

However, the Yorùbá place a high value on marriage and responsible elders seek harmony and endeavour to make marriage work, even in a mixed marriage situation. Otite writes on marriage in Nigeria with some attention to the Yorùbá. According to Otite, there are three types of marriages in Nigeria, namely: The indigenous (or traditional), Christian, and the state type of marriage. While Otite categorizes marriages among Muslims under the traditional marriage,[32] Efoghe adds that the Muslims' type of marriage is separate from the traditional marriage,[33] the Church, and Court or statutory marriage. Boparai[34] provides a comparison between the customary and statutory (Common) laws. Otite adds that Christian marriage does not permit divorce, while the state and traditional forms of marriage do. The three wedding types have similar features like the joining and celebration with differences in the length of the accompanying ceremonies, depending on how much each couple and family have to spend of display.

Nevertheless, the traditional marriage allows polygyny which Christians to not officially accept.[35] Islam also allows polygyny and divorce, but in a Christian marriage, the parties must seek the assistance of the state for a divorce to be carried out.[36] However, in the neighbouring Cameroon, theologians, missionaries, and women in the community have engaged in theological discourse by developing their biblical interpretation that accepts polygyny as an acceptable union in [the African] Christianity.[37] Howbeit, some African Christians have also begun indigenous Christian theology in response to their cultural and theological needs, which has led to the establishment of African independent churches.[38]

Marriage problems often reach the stage of divorce in court, when one party insists on divorce and will not recognize the alternative dispute resolution (ADR) of the leaders or elders. Although people have the freedom to divorce their spouses, this is not encouraged or considered the norm. A divorcee living in her father's house is called *m-osú*, an indication that there were unresolved marriage conflicts that ended in divorce among the Yorùbá.

Lawson and Gibson describe polygyny as the marriage between a man and more than one wife at the same time, which he noted as common among the rich, the cause of which is attributed to women out to compete for marriage partners. Rivalry is not uncommon among the wives in such relationships,[39] even among the Yorùbá. In his research on aggression among couples in Ekpoma current Edo State in Nigeria, Efoghefound:

> [s]ubjects in polygynous marital unions were more aggressive than subjects in monogamous marital unions [also] . . . subjects in religiously heterogamous marriages were more aggressive than subjects in religiously homogamous marital unions.[40]

This by no means suggests a home without conflict, but more pronounced in polygynous identified in the above research.

Polygyny is not opposed, but rather encouraged among some Yorùbá Muslims if the husband is able to meet the wives' needs and love equally. The Yorùbá Christians, on the contrary, discourage polygyny, although some do find themselves in such unions. The Yorùbá cherish marriage as they do not want to embark on conflict with in-laws and if this happens, it is often a bitter experience, as in the case of the If-Modákke and Offa and Erin-Ile conflicts raised by Ifá [FGD3] and mb [FI]. Hence, violent conflicts involving in-laws are rare. While FGD2 discusses this extensively, Ade (FI) adds that mixed marriage helps the family as relations seek to treat one another with respect.

The complexity of mixed marriages is evident as Yorùbá Muslims officially accept and promote polygyny, while the Yorùbá Christians officially uphold monogyny. Yet, the Yorùbá do not have unanimous teachings or same understanding about mixed marriages. Lateef[41] argues for his male Muslim followers to marry Christian women, but teaches that the Muslim women should not marry Christian men:

> Muslim ladies have no right to marry Christian men. Christian ladies who marry Muslims must know that their husbands would want the children to practise Islam.

Rodríguez-García has described this as exogamous in Islam, where Senegambian Muslim men marry within and from other religions whereas their women are not allowed to marry from outside of Islam. Women who violate that rule are considered having *kafir* as children (unbelieving children).[42] Rodríguez-García's suggestion among the Senegalese in the European context is in congruence with Lateef's argument in this research about [Yorùbá] Muslim men's freedom to marry non-Muslim women and in a polygynous relationship while Muslim women are not allowed to marry non-Muslims.

How children born into mixed marriages among the Yorùbá decide their religion is a point of concern, based on the criteria Lateef lays down, which is not strange to many Yorùbá mixed families. Additionally, the peace expressed in mixed marriages is based on the couple's preparedness and in connection to the extended family supporting the union if they live close by. The stress in mixed-faith marriage is inevitable, according to mb [a convert who married outside of the parents' religion], although not as dangerous as in the cultures where converts are subjected to the threat of death or imprisonment by the society. For mixed faith married couples, their children's choice of religion and interrelations with their in-laws and the larger extended family are all areas that could pose challenges. These problems are particular to the Yorùbá traditional homes and the wider community. Mixed faith marriages pose problems about the social and religious status of the children, and the extended family. Lateef contends that children born into mixed families with Muslim fathers would not be allowed to practise Christianity. He adds: 'Muslims can marry Christians as wives but cannot allow the Christian wife to take their children to church. It happens, but it is not common'. An important question here is how such couples settle their disputes. Lateef replies, 'It is an internal conflict, and they resolve it internally'. I consider this as unsafe, subject to abuse if the woman is not co-operating. So, Lateef's answer is not satisfactory as it gives no space for the freedom of religion that he and other contributors such as Wole and Maku have described earlier.

On the sustainability of harmony in a polygynous mixed marriage and conversion to other religion in different parts of Yorùbáland, Lateef suggests:

> Family brackets allow Yorùbá people to live in peace and to value the contributions the individuals bring to the larger family including a convert to another religion. So, there is an economic aspect to peaceful relations and tolerance within the Yorùbá larger extended family. Family brackets mean we value the development we bring to the family.

One of the reasons for the Yorùbá's quest for harmony is the benefit each relation brings to the family,

regardless of their religion. It is no surprise that the idea of *m ìyá kanna* in both the biological and primordial senses is well-known among the Yorùbá, as families are required to cater for one another. Kings are thought to be responsible for the welfare of their people and accountable to their ancestors as a means of sustaining the peace. In general, marriages (mostly monogamous, and even polygyny) among the Yorùbá often receive the support of the extended family and community to endure and avoid conflict as much as possible. This is like Otite's suggestion regarding the support traditional family offers homes:

> Such affection, strong as it may be, is often the product of cooperation in economic activities and child rearing in the traditional family process. Both the Christian and State type of marriage may be used to consolidate the traditional form although the rules of all three may be incompatible.[43]

The interview at the salagbd compound illustrates this extensively. Otite adds that marriage among the Yorùbá is not a perfect type as some spouses caught up in extramarital affairs, which could lead to divorce, often seek mediation and reconciliation if the innocent party [like the legal wife] does not want a divorce. Connections within the families, therefore, help to heal the concerned couple and reinforce support to keep the peace,[44] although it sometimes allows indulgences.

Giddens writes: '[a]ll cultures have some recognisable form of the family system, in which there are values and norms associated with the care of children'.[45] The reciprocal care among the Yorùbá is noted as a uniting force for harmony and the continuity of their race. Giddens goes on:

> The institution of marriage is a cultural universal, as are religious rituals and property rights. All cultures, also have some form of incest prohibition – the banning of sexual relations between close relatives, such as father and daughter, mother and son, or brother and sister.[46]

When such values begin to diminish, it is expected that harmony will deplete. The current harmony among the Yorùbá is, therefore, due to the ability to sustain the common virtues, especially those promoted by their religions and culture. Maku (FI), a Muslim cleric argues: '[t]here is peace in Yorùbáland because we are *m ìyá kanna* from Adam and Eve'.[47] He adds that cultural values, intra-tribal understanding, and communal and mixed marriages have been useful in keeping violent conflict at bay. These ideas are also emphasized in FGD2 and FGD1.

Mythological, theological, ancestral, and religious discourse about Adam and Eve are suggested as encouraging tolerance between the Christian and Muslim Yorùbá. In traditional Christian and Islamic theology, humans are said to originate from the same parents, cherished by the devoted Yorùbá religious people. This theological connection supports their disposition towards one another. This theological discourse goes beyond the Abrahamic faith already discussed by scholars.[48] The creation story especially the first human parents, is one of the crucial points for harmony among the Yorùbá Christians and Muslims. The understanding of the connecting stories like Adam and Eve in an inter-faith context is an area for peaceful engagement in the religious milieu. This attempt to answer the question, what features do religions and culture have in common to sustain the peace in this regard?

Maku argues that changing one's religion has an impact on the convert's family and on the community at large; yet he repeated patience (or *sabr*) as required to settle conflict. Maku further comments:

> There is no freedom of religion for a Christian woman who marries a Muslim man. A Christian woman who is not ready to become a Muslim should not marry a Muslim. Muslim girls marrying Christian men should not come back to the mosque. She should stay with the Christian husband. A Christian girl marrying a Muslim has technically adopted Islam. So, think carefully before you marry a person of another faith, as the family of the other man or woman will be unhappy about the relationship at least for some time.

On marriage, Maku warned anyone going into a mixed marriage of the need to convert to the husband's religion, [even though it does not always work that way]. mb has Muslim parents but became a Christian and claimed to be happily married to Mic (FI), a Christian gentleman. This is in congruence with Maku's

10

suggestion to go with the husband's religion but negates Lateef's recommendation that Muslim women should not marry Christian men. Another example is Labake [or Làbák/] and her husband who the author met some years ago (1988). Làbák/, Wasiu's mother was from a Cherubim and Seraphim Christian tradition but married Wasiu's father, a practising Muslim, and both practised Islam, in line with Lateef's suggestion. This shows the complexity of mixed marriages in the Yorùbá worldview, assumed to take place in the context of religious freedom. The immediate family often experience a shock because of such unions but later recover so that the emotional (psychological) conflict does not deteriorate into physical violence (or murder).

Comparing Maku's and Lateef's positions on mixed marriage, there are differences in their understanding and the teachings from the Islamic tradition. For Lateef, Muslim men are free and encouraged to marry Christian women, whose children must practise Islam – or at least half of their children should; while Muslim women are not (officially) allowed to marry outside of the Islamic faith like the Senegambians in Rodríguez-García's study. Ldun (FI), a Muslim retired teacher, does not condone conversion from any religion, although he is married to a Christian background lady. For Maku, all women are warned to think well before making a choice in marriage. They must be ready to practise the religion of the man they marry and allow their children to do the same. The suggestions appeal for harmony by giving warnings of what the future spouses could expect of such marriages.

Singh and others have noted that mixed marriage is more pronounced among women with a higher education and socio-economic development but low in the poor local communities in India.[49] Bandyopadhyay & Green also suggest marriage for convenience, social-economic reasons, culture [or value], and similarity in education level,[50] as bases for mixed marriage in the European context among the immigrants and the host community. Rodríguez-Garcíarates social class and citizenship as the relevant factors often considered in a mixed marriage in the West rather than the culture.[51] In contrast, Murphy suggests the importance placed on marriage within the same religion in the United States but not as strong as it was in the past among their older couples.[52] However, scholars vary in their opinions about the relationships between couples with the same religions compared with those in mixed-faith marriages. Some specific research in the US shows:

> That members of certain religious groups [like Protestants in the US] are more likely than others [the Hundus, Mormon and Muslims] to be with someone of their faith, whether they are married or living together in a romantic relationship.[53]

One may ask, does the reason behind mixed marriage have anything to do with the people's economic or financial gains, or the community's cherished values (maybe values within the culture or religions)? Smith and others suggest an increase in intermarriage in the United States, especially religious people with a 'religiously unaffiliated population'.[54] This connecting point between the Christians [Americans] and the unaffiliated spouses could be explored further to unveil if such relationships have any relevance to a commonly held values.

Among the Yorùbá, women advancing in age sometimes experience pressure from family and friends to possibly accept marriage proposals that may end in polygyny (that is being the second wife) or in a mixed marriage. Mixed marriages across cultures and nationalities are common in the southern part of Africa as their connection with Europeans and Asians over the centuries has provided the chances.[55] There are also mixed marriages across ethnic groups and religions in West Africa. Bandyopadhyay suggests:

> [There are] ... strong evidence that measures of modernization such as literacy/education, urbanization, wealth, non-polygamous marriages, later age at marriage and non-agricultural employment are correlated with inter-ethnic marriage, which helps to explain why inter-ethnic marriage rates have been steadily increasing in Africa since the 1980s.[56]

Considering Singh et al.'s research in India, education, economic potential, and value systems have correlations with mixed marriages, meaning that the wealthy and educated are likely to be open to marrying a person of their choice often with similar values to make the marriage work.

In as much as a social class is considered in mixed marriage in Africa, the family and community values

embedded in their culture and religions are emphasized among the Yorùbá. Could education and socio-economic bases be the reasons for the harmony in Ldun's mixed marriage, but he would not recommend mixed marriage for others? Each situation seems peculiar and must be handled carefully. In a very traditional place like India for instance, Singh and others suggest there was a drive to promote mixed marriage to increase the 'socio-economic progress [. . . mixed marriages. . .] as a critical indicator of socioeconomic integration in society.'[57] However, there are still reports of honour-killings when victims violate the family or community's regulations against mixed marriage despite India's over fifty years' legalizing inter-caste marriages.[58] Maku in my interview stated:

> Christians and Muslims should not treat each other as enemies. Christians and Muslims both take a strong interest in the family relationship and oppose violence. *Ajobi wa ko ni baje o* [may our family relationship not grow sour or stale]. 'Your religion is yours and mine is mine.' Insults should be avoided in the contents of sermons/*waasi*. In Shaki, a Muslim was banned by other Muslims from preaching because he preached provocative sermons and the Muslim communities threatened to hand him over to the police if he violated the ban.

This reflects the desire of an elderly Muslim leader to keep the peace among his people and could suggest what an average Muslim would interpret as 'Islam is peace', a kind of thick concept, giving warnings and not seeking to force Islam on others. Lateef's suggestion for Muslims to marry Christian women and to keep the children in such mixed marriages within Islam appears more aggressive than Maku's teaching, both found in the 'peaceful' Yorùbáland.

Adé suggests that mixed marriages help family relationships and that the Yorùbá leaders discourage any attempt to use religious differences to cause conflicts. Anike makes a similar comment in FGD1c, with a reference to Sun the King and his advocacy for harmony among Christian and Muslim residents of Ògbómoso.

mb, a woman from Muslim parents, narrates her own experience. She was brought up in a Muslim family but converted to Christianity and married Mic at a Customary Court in Nigeria. mb was a practising Christian when she married Mic and she has continued to be so over the past 30 years. From a Muslim family of four children, one of her siblings became a Christian, while the other two have remained Muslims. mb's parents had disputes with her over her choice of a Christian husband and her parents were upset at the time of her wedding, suffering the stress that Maku notes often follows conversion. mb's parents eventually attended the wedding, having changed their mind. The Yorùbá parents' view was that it would be unfair to reject their daughter because of her choice of husband and to later attend the weddings of her siblings. This also shows the complexity of the culture of tolerance and love and their freedom of religion. Since the wedding, there appears to have been no conflict between mb and her parents, even when it became clear that mb and Mic (the husband) would not be celebrating the Islamic festival (the sacrificial mandate in Islam) with the family. Mic and mb, however, care for her Muslim parents and siblings in some other ways. According to mb, 'whatever may happen, we would not go into physical, economic or other forms of violence with one another'. This quote mirrors the FGD1 Christian participants saying, 'You cannot continually be fighting [quarrelling] with your cousins'. Similarly, mb suggests that the Yorùbá think deeply and the reason that if they lose anything during any violent conflict, there may not be a way of repairing such damages easily, talk less of a loss of life. This is in line with the use of the term '*aláròjinl*' by Wole to describe this idea, claiming that they would not destroy property because of religion. They, nevertheless, do destroy property because of political conflict, which is beyond the scope of this study.

Raising the children born within mixed marriages requires patience, tolerance and understanding and there is no one way of doing this, even in the view of religious leaders. Muslim children are permitted to live with their Christian cousins and vice versa if certain ethical standards are maintained and there is a promise of looking after their parents as they grow older. This author gathered that education and social status is helpful in maintaining harmony in homes, as with Ldun and his wife, Mic and mb, and as illustrated in the European context. However, Wasiu's parents did not receive literacy education and belong to a low social class yet claimed to live harmoniously. What other areas of life would have been significant in keeping Wasiu's parents in harmony in a mixed marriage context? Higher education and social status alone may

12

not necessarily be the only factors behind harmony in mixed marriages as they were lacking in Wasiu's harmonious mixed marriage.

(d) Co-operation for Conflict Management

Some scholars have identified the quest for power, politics, and money as the root causes of conflicts in Nigeria in the last few decades.[59] Odumosu and Omale,[60] on the other hand, suggest the potential of the local indigenous organizations to settle religious and political disputes in Nigeria. Some Christians and Muslims have met for social purposes under religious banners set up by Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), such as PROCMURA.[61] Frederiks also mentions the roles of 'social collective enlightenment' in uniting Christians and Muslims.[62] This, he argues, involves peace action, protests injustice and campaigns for awareness on health-related issues, as championed by NGOs or other sectors. Sholagbade suggests that some NGOs support the health-related campaign.[63] Social work has also helped with what Akinade calls the 'dialogue of life',[64] which has profited the Yorùbá a great deal. Frederiks writes on the current trends in Christian-Muslim relations and argues that a lack of knowledge of the other religion, the use of 'inflammatory words' and the implementation of *Sha'riah* in northern Nigeria have been responsible for the conflict in some parts of the country. This implies that the ability to manage such problems where it surfaces is beneficial for peaceful coexistence in communities.

This research has shown that the Yorùbá's knowledge of the religions practised among its people, their use of language in their sermons and their avoidance of inflammatory words are useful tools for peace maintenance. Other useful means for the avoidance of conflict and maintenance of peace among the Yorùbá are the messages conveyed in the music and media and positive social functions. These suggest that the lack of one or some of these tools could be responsible for the tension in other multi-religious communities that are prone to religious conflicts.

Through the study of religious texts, scholars have responded to the lack of knowledge of their neighbours' religions, organizing dialogue conferences such as those led by PROCMURA. Similarly, Albert[65] blames the poor use of media and communication management by some leaders for many conflicts, while Adé, in this study, suggests that the positive engagement of the Yorùbá people through radio broadcasting is profitable for peace. The use of the media by the Yorùbá has helped to strengthen their harmony, as suggested by Adé and Blessing (FI). Adé uses his skills as a senior staff member of a radio station to promote harmony among the Yorùbá and Blessing reinforces this idea citing appropriate use of music. Osaghae and Suberu elaborate on the approaches for managing conflicts:

> Decentralisation of conflicts [. . .] thereby reducing the capacity of such conflicts to polarise or destabilise the entire federation', i.e. creation of multiple states instead of 'regional centres'.[66]

So, other approaches include the division of each major ethnic group, the empowerment of each community and the establishment of a judiciary at the grassroots level for all aggrieved people to obtain justice when wronged.[67] The decentralization of conflict helps to reduce the agitators' capacity, which benefits political leaders who want to subdue and control their people, but it does not provide a lasting solution to the problems that led to the agitation and protests. This is seen in Nigeria three regions divided into twelve and later, 36 states. The division of the major ethnic group for easy development in Nigeria has inflicted more agony and prevented the people from airing their views to obtaining the support they needed. Yet, they did not receive the infrastructural development the division into states was meant for. Each community therefore take the bull by the horn to look after their family and one another through the local joint projects like building of schools, roads, and vigilante groups for their security.

(e) Control vis a vis Management of Aggression

A search into secondary sources can probe, how the peaceful societies (PS) manage their conflicts. Briggs argues that although the Inuit society show aggressiveness, sometimes committing murder, they often seek peace, meaning that they reject violence as a norm but project their cherished peaceful values among their

communities through joking, reassurance, and ostracizing culprits.[68] Inuit are nomadic and during dispute use songs to diffuse tension.[69] According to Bonta:

> While the strategies for managing conflicts employed by these peoples are comparable to those used in many other small-scale societies, their world-views of peacefulness and the structures they use to reinforce those world-views do distinguish them from other [violent] societies.[70]

Briggs further provides approaches to averting conflict as the communities express their wishes indirectly not to offend others, and the use of jokes to present their requests or needs, (Briggs, 2000). Biesele and Howell add that the Ju/'hoansi prevent conflicts as they discourage wealth accumulation while strengthening their social bonding of their young.[71] Bonta compares the western approach to conflict with that obtainable among the PS:

> Several common notions about conflict and conflict resolution that are asserted by Western scholars can be questioned considering the success of these societies in peacefully resolving conflicts: namely, that violent conflict is inevitable in all societies; that punishment and armed force prevent internal and external violence; that political structures are necessary to prevent conflicts; and that conflict should be viewed as positive and necessary. The contrary evidence is that over half of the peaceful societies have no recorded violence; they rarely punish other adults (except for threat of ostracism); they handle conflicts with outside societies in the same peaceful ways that they approach internal conflict; they do not look to outside governments when they have internal disputes; and they have a highly negative view of conflict.[72]

The distinctions identified above serve as qualities that strengthen the peacefulness of many of the identified (PS) societies in anthropology. Some Yorùbá also use jokes to present their requests although this appears to be fading away but the idea of not wanting to offend while presenting a request is still in use and is described as shyness (*ojú ntìí*) among the Yorùbá. A secondary *ethnie* calls this timidity [as mentioned in *'Religious Hermeneutics as a Means of De-escalating Conflict and Sustaining the Peace'*], but it works to diffuse tension. So, violence is avoidable where people are willing. Peace also is obtainable where it is promoted, and the parties involved are ready for it. The key features to peacefulness, therefore, are the people's worldview, values, and the available structure to both manage conflict and sustain their serenity.

In response to some psychologist's linear cause and effects relationships of frustration causing anger that leads to aggression, Robarchek argues that frustration among the Semai causes fear rather than anger, and they have learnt to cope with situations that have the potential to lead to frustrations with the use of their charms, exorcism, and their good interpersonal relationships.[73] Semai's dispute resolution technique (*a bcaraa*) requires the parties involved and some members of the community to be present. Though the case in question is well known to them, their goal is to seek peace but not to determine and punish the guilty. In doing this, they try to avoid emotions, and present their case and viewpoints. The headman will conclude the meeting with a lecture on peacefulness, acceptable behaviour, unity, and the benefit of interdependence on one another.[74] Bonta, with reference to Robarchek, argues that whereas the modern communities like Pennsylvania (in the USA) seek an attorney to defend them, to win their cases and get a reward, familiarity among the Semai is helpful in conflict resolution as the Semai look up to one another for help and the betterment of their children rather than aggravating a conflict situation for a personal reward.[75] Many of the Yorùbá communities are known to want to keep friendships hence they often seek ways to end conflicts or prevent them from happening. This is seen in a secondary *ethnie* describing the Yorùbá as timid while another participant calls it the Yorùbá *mluabí* attribute of peacefulness in FGD3. Recently, at the peak of some herdsmen's aggravation of violence in southwest Nigeria, Chief Sunday Igboho [Adeyemo],[76] a Yorùbá activist would rather instruct an identified accomplice-kidnapper to leave the Yorùbáland rather than being violent at him, except for self defence. Similarly, most PS seem to have solidified their worldview on peace whilst violence sometimes emerges mostly out of their slackness in safeguarding it.

14

IV.   Summary

The Yorùbá interact at various levels, in homes, communities, within their towns and villages for cultural, religious, and social purposes. While they found the bases of their interactions inevitable as it surrounds essential events of their day-to-day activities geared towards meeting their needs, it also involves their friends and families in social and cultural contexts. Christian and Muslim Yorùbá come together under inevitable interactions for social/cultural and cooperative ventures, which often result in a better understanding for conflict management and developmental joint ventures. With all the available methods and theories of managing conflict and bringing about peace, conflict is still a regular experience in some quarters. A study of the sustainability of peace, when proactively using certain features of culture and religions that foster unity can support human's understanding of peace.

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16

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Figures

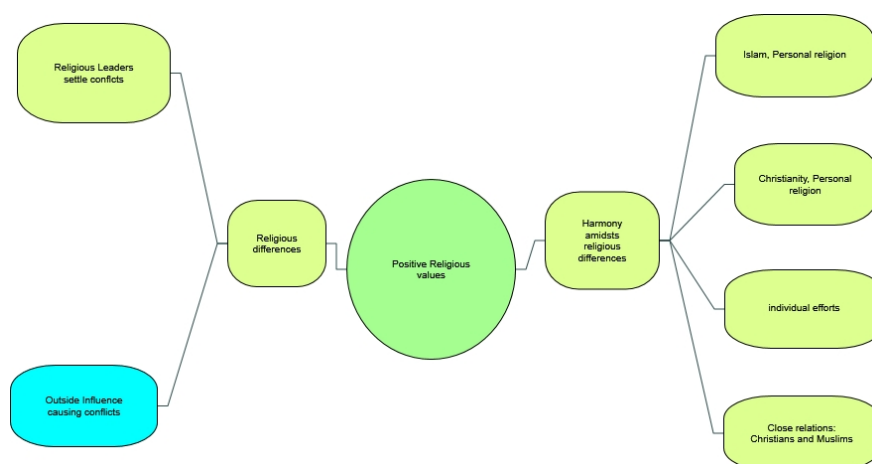Figure 1. ES mind map - positive religious values

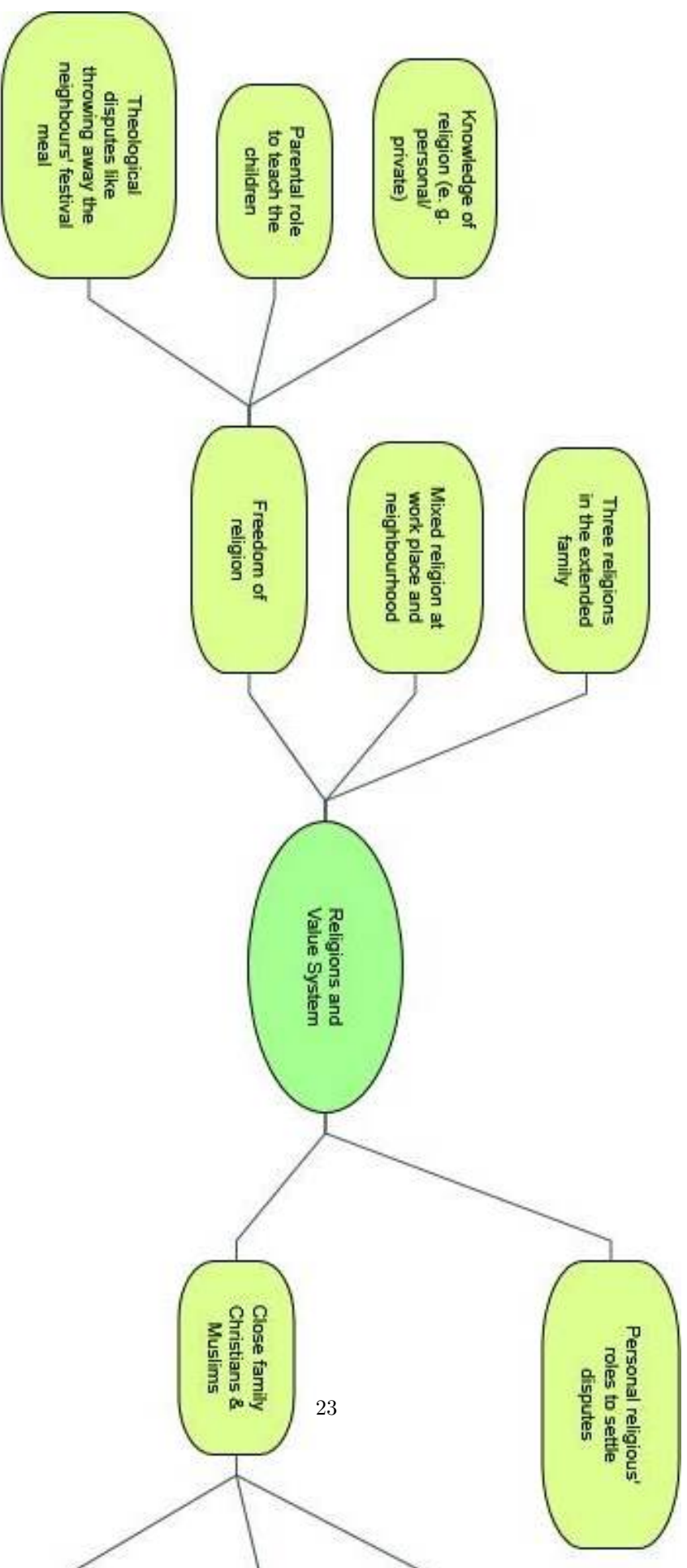*Figure 2.* *FGD1 mind map on the knowledge of religions and value system.*

Theological disputes like throwing away the neighbours' festival meal

Parental role to teach the children

Knowledge of religion (e. g. personal/ private)

Freedom of religion

Mixed religion at work place and neighbourhood

Three religions in the extended family

Religions and Value System

Close family Christians & Muslims

Personal religious' roles to settle disputes

Figure 3. *NVivo FGD3 mind map religious values*
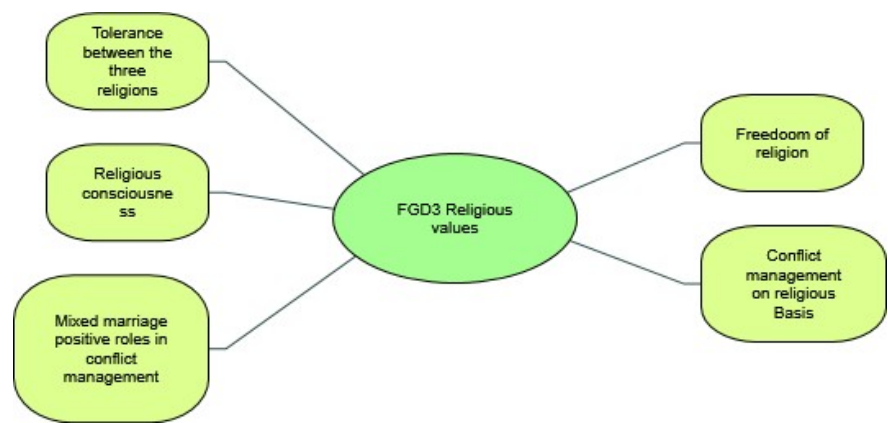
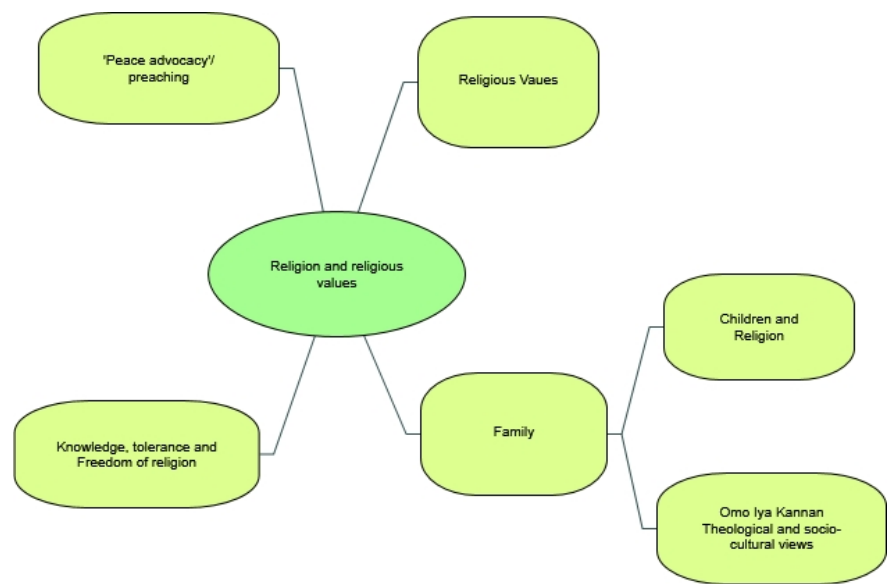Figure 4. FI Interview mind map for religion and values

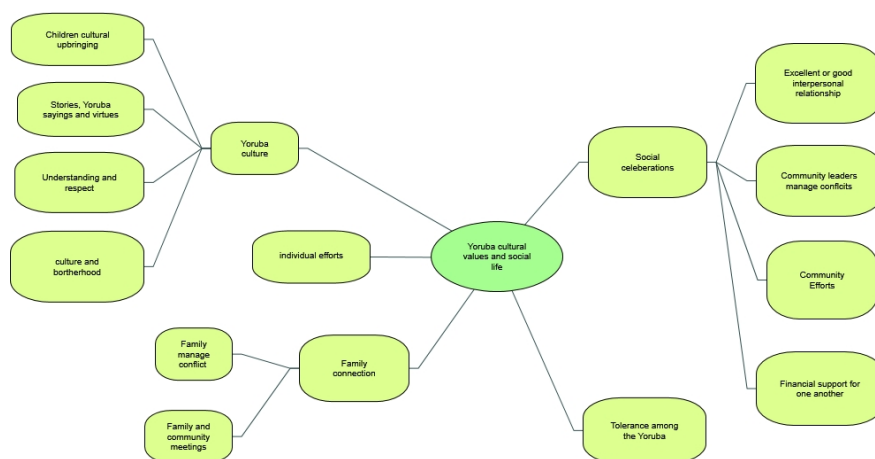Figure 5. ES mind map – Yorùbá cultural (and social life)

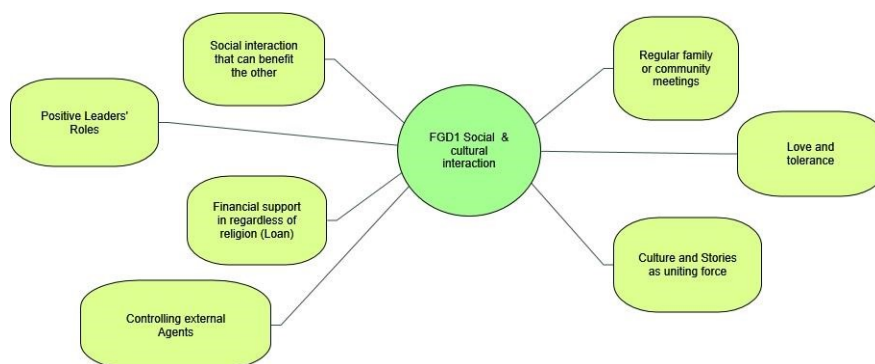Figure 6. *FGD1 mind map on social and cultural interaction*
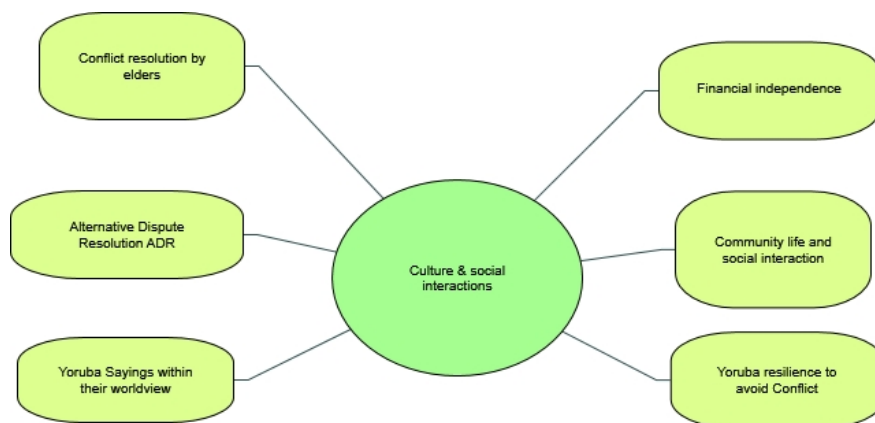

Figure 7. FI Interview mind map for culture and social interactions

Figure 8. *NVivo FGD3 mind map culture*

Sense of community

Yoruba culture

Family ties

Social values and support

Elders' role

FGD3 Culture with Efforts on Peace making/Social Support

Positive media outlet

Conflcits in Yorubaland are Multi faceted

Effective communication