

**POLYGAMY IN DIALOGUE WITH ETHICS: A CASE STUDY OF
ISIALA-MBANO LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF IMO STATE,
NIGERIA**

Patricia Ebere NWAZONOB

Department of Philosophy and Religion,

Faculty of Arts,

Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki, Nigeria

E-mail: ugo_pats@yahoo.com

Phone No.: +2348037760765

Abstract

The critics of polygamy did not consider the relativity of culture involved in this aspect of marriage. Polygamy is not an immoral act in the ethical values of the people of Isiala-Mbano. Oral interviews were conducted on men and women who practice polygamy and monogamy in the three clans of Isiala-Mbano Local Government Area of Imo State, Nigeria; personal observations and related textbooks were also used in this work. All human rights groups (Women Action Network, and Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women 'CEDAW'), churches, and individuals advocating for women against their involvement in polygamy should go back to research on the cultural and ethical values of the people on reasons for marriage, and polygamy. All the advocates of a ban against polygamy are doing the institution a disservice as they disregard the ethical theories of each cultural group of the society. They should not make a faulty generalisation from the western cultural point of view. Monogamy is imposed on the people of Isiala-Mbano by the colonial administration with their teachings to school pupils and preaching to their converts in their churches. Instead a western method of politics was introduced which is now running the country down with inefficiency, indiscipline and corruption. The people of Isiala-Mbano resort to polygamous marriages because single parenthood is frowned at and the surest way of getting into the fulfilled life is by marriage or polygamy if necessity calls for it.

Introduction

Recognising the distinction between religious and moral modes of reflection and discourse is a more toward clarifying the relationship between religion and morality. The distinction affirms that a moral

argument requires an ethical premise or it is not a moral argument.¹ Polygamy is not decadent or indecent relationship but a valid part of the marriage system of the people of Isiala-Mbano even to the present day. Polygamy in this discussion refers to its practice not only to the past, but also the present. The basic thing needed in every marriage, including polygamy, is trust, although it may be difficult for a person to relate to others in a relaxed and trustful manner if once betrayed.

If polygamy was immoral, Jesus Christ would not have been born into the lineage of a “polygamous levirate” marriage. The book of Ruth in the “Old Testament” of the Bible narrates how Ruth, the widow of Mahlon, became a levirate wife of Boaz who had other wives, with the advice of her mother-in-law, Naomi (Ruth 4). Ruth and Boaz gave birth to Obed to whom the genealogy of David and Jesus Christ was traced. All the International Human Right Groups, Women Action Network, Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and so on, campaigning for the prohibition of polygamy have not suggested any alternative to it, especially in sub-Saharan Africa where it is predominant. The economic situation, the disinheritance of women, lack of security from kinsmen, community and government as it concerns women, the lust and quest for children as treasures, the desire for a name and befitting burials, subject women unreservedly to polygamous marriages for security and wealth. Old age can be a terrible period for childless individuals so, marriage is a gateway to getting such legitimate child or children that would salvage one from misery and agony in vulnerable conditions.² A childless married couple does not constitute a family in Isiala-Mbano tradition. Women get married in order to have and raise children or else, they are regarded as acquired property of their husbands if they are childless³. This gave rise to the reference of whatever that is spent to marry a woman as “bridal wealth” (*aku nwanyi*). According to the old social economy, after marriage the woman is ranked with the other property of the husband with a proportionate value attached.⁴ The man prizes his wife because he expects descendants from her, and because he has bought a valuable slave. Presently, women are gradually resisting those inhuman treatments that reduce them to mere property or slaves in their matrimonial homes. But inability to get married or have children remains an evil that could befall anyone in Isiala-Mbano.

In Isiala-Mbano, marriage is idealized to the extent that women, till today, get married to their fellow women, imbeciles, and mentally

deranged men. It seems that, “unless polygamy be practiced, many women would perforce have no chance to marry, that they, the women, are strong supporters of the institution.”⁵ Furthermore, “Must it be taken for granted that, in order for polygamy to be practiced, there must be an excess of women over men?” In like manner, “polygamy should not be abolished in Nigeria.”⁶ Those men and women who can cope with that system of marriage should be allowed to contract it.” For women in Isiala-Mbano to refrain from getting involved in polygamous marriages, there must be a collective responsibility that will dramatically and gradually change the system. Since non-marital sex is forbidden in Isiala-Mbano, marriage protects individuals against immorality by providing outlets for natural urges as well as providing physical and emotional security for both partners. A wife protects the husband from the insults of other women because the wife stands to ward off any form of insult and humiliation on her husband, no matter the life situation of the man, and vice versa. There is a strong belief here that if a fool marries a wife, he is no longer a fool but a responsible man (*Onye ihuriho luo nwanyi, ihuriho ya a laa*). The people of Isiala-Mbano like their other Igbo counterparts alienate “love” in marriage, as it is not a factor to consider. Rather men and women marry because they are ripe for marriage. Marriage is instituted to form a family.

Polygamy in Isiala-Mbano Local Government Area of Imo State

Polygamy (*igbara ndi-ome*) is not viewed as an evil in the area of study neither did the Nigerian Constitution nor African Charter of Human Rights stipulates any rule against it. It is culturally rooted in the clan, community and village system where some of the communities are said to be of the same mother and not of the same father. For instance, Osu clan which is the largest in Isiala-Mbano with three sub-clans is a by-product of polygamy. It is also noted that Ugiri and Mbama were polygamous too. All the large families in the neighbourhood are products of polygamy. Hence, the critics of polygamy only view it from the negative point of view without considering its positive aspects. Monogamy is not free of the accusations against polygamy. If people of the same mother can go to court, poison each other, confiscate pedigree and father’s inheritance’ why then should problems from polygamous homes be viewed from a different perspective.

Single parenthood is abhorred in Isiala-Mbano as a means of preventing the burden, the trials and the conflicts of having babies out of wedlock. The children born outside wedlock are humiliated, disinherited

and discriminated against in the cultural, social and political issues in their communities. It is under these underpinnings that marriage is made a compulsory issue. In this regard any pregnancy outside wedlock must have a way of keying into a family system by the mother getting married to whoever that is available. This is a local way of adoption because whoever that pays the bride price on the girl becomes the owner of the pregnancy and the child when born. The luckiest ones are married to men who are already married, who need to add to their number of wives for procreation.

The ordeal of single and unplanned parents as investigated in this study includes being “abandoned to their fate. These young girls, pregnant out of marriage, choose the devil’s alternative by giving up their babies to strangers for adoption.”⁶ This illicit act is aided by medical doctors who run social homes and turn the unfortunate girls to money- making objects. In January 2009:

James Ezuma, the medical director of Ezuma Hospital located at 101 Okigwe Road Aba was accused of selling babies for a fee between N250, 000 and N300, 000. At the invasion of the hospital by Federal Ministry of Health officials, 73 pregnant girls were evacuated. At least 10 other hospitals in Aba offer illegal adoption services. This ought to be considered as indelible experiences to the lives of these deceived girls who gave out their children, as they would live with the trauma of the bereavement of their babies lost to these hospitals forever. Worst still, if they run into the problem of childlessness or in need of the particular sex they sold out for adoption later in their lives.⁷

These girls who were compelled to give out their children for illegal adoption should have been absolved into polygamous marriages in order for them to experience joy of marriage and motherhood if polygamy were not criticized by Pentecostal churches. Orthodox churches do not encourage polygamy but are considerate if necessity calls for its practice.⁸

In other words, polygamy becomes the last resort of an only son (*okpoolu*), childless couple, the oppressed and the weak although the present generations (*ahi taa*) who are favoured have almost made it a taboo and uneasy for those who wish to practice it.⁹ Polygamy remains unabated in Isiala-Mbano in spite of the influx of Christianity and Westernisation because the reasons for it persist. Artificial insemination or intracytoplasmic sperm injection (ICSI) is still beyond the reach of the

poor and has not been given a widespread sensitisation in Isiala-Mbano so a man with a barren wife is forced to practice polygamy.

Traditional African societies tolerate and encourage polygamy even in modern times.¹⁰ Concerns about child survival serve as a push factor for the desire for more pregnancies and children. In Isiala-Mbano, when a man is not satisfied with the attitude of his wife and children as the case may be, he searches for a more cultured woman from a responsible home for a new breed of family for a genuine and trusted continuity. A wife is a wife whether first or last; there is nothing like genuine and secondary wife, neither is there a superior or inferior wife. A woman's character places her where she belongs in her husband's life (*nwanyi ji ka di na-alu ya*). A virtuous wife is the one who allows and assists her husband in marrying more wives.¹¹ On the other hand it is an evil woman who does not want the continuity and prosperity of her husband's lineage. In some cases she could be sent packing to allow her husband have his way.

The teleological theory states that, "we ought to love people, not rules or principles; what counts is not any hard and fast moral law but doing what we can for the good of others in every situation."¹² There is an age-long adage that says that marriage is not a bed of roses". Marriage is an institution that involves the negative and the positive; those who are already in it want to pull out while those who have not tasted it are applying every means necessary to get there. In Isiala-Mbano, a man goes into marriage to make sure that he sees a woman that would scrape hairs (*ikpu ishi*) for him when he dies, mourn him, and bear him the children that would care for him at old age, bury him and continue the lineage. There is no adventure without challenges therefore, polygamy should not be condemned without looking at the merits. The intrusion of western culture through Christianity into Igboland with its message of monogamy has had a domino-effect on the practice of polygamy in Isiala-Mbano. The denial of certain rights and privileges to polygamists in the church poses a serious threat.

Typology of Polygamy

Polygamy in Isiala-Mbano is not always as a result of lust or an atmosphere for competition for women. Rather circumstances beyond the practitioners' control always lure them into it even when they know the implications of it. In the American society many times when relations are strained, the husband simply deserts his wife.¹³ Then, he may cohabit with

a prostitute or another woman without marriage. Three kinds of polygamy practised in the western societies are: (1) serial polygamy, that is marriage after a divorce, and so on any number of times; (2) a man married to one woman but supporting one or more mistresses; (3) an unmarried man having a number of mistresses. These three are practised in Isiala-Mbano but the first may not be as a result of separation as divorce is rare.

Polygamy for Affluence and Distinction

Igbo people of Isiala-Mbano strongly believe in pluralism in marriage and communalism, which pave way for unity and brotherliness. Men of means marry as many wives as they could afford to show-off their wealth. This also means more hands in their farms or other means of livelihood because the children work as apprentices to their parents thereby playing supportive roles to the family income. Polygamy seems to offer the husband increased prestige, economic stability, and sexual companionship in Isiala-Mbano while offering the wives shared labour burden and an institutionalized role where a surplus of unmarried women might otherwise exist. On the other hand, women marry into renowned polygamous homes to benefit from the prestigious name and home that would consequently pave way or their children in future. In polygamous homes in Isiala-Mbano, no individual claims absolute dominion over other members of the family or the society unless there is a general consensus to that effect. This makes polygamous home a training ground for democrats.

Polygamy provides a remedy as it frees the man from the tantrums of a disgruntled wife.¹⁴ When one fails, another will minister to his needs. However, there is a stratified position of the wives as the first wife is regarded as the actual wife while others are secondary wives. In Isiala-Mbano, a wife is a wife. There is a general consensus that the character of a woman determines her place in her husband's life (*nwanyi ji ka di na-alu ya*). It does not matter who is married first or last but the issue is that whether first or last, the person, should be established (*o biara mgbe o biara odu ba kwa ya*). The establishment, in this view, is the birth of children because any woman without a child especially male child (ren), is not established in her matrimonial home.¹⁵ Most prominent homes and personalities in the neighbourhood are products of polygamy. Another point raised in this study is marrying from reputable families in order to get well cultured wife and children and as well to upgrade one's social class and vice versa.¹⁶ This affirms the problem of human personality and purpose. Wealthy men often accumulate more than their fair share of

women, while the less fortunate men are the more handicapped. In some cases guardians present their daughters to men of influential positions in order to increase their statuses.

Community and political leaders in Isiala-Mbano practice polygamy as a sign of respect and as a matter of prestige. It is the ability of a polygamous husband to exhibit good administrative qualities in his family that gives him a luminary position in the community. There is a strong belief in Isiala-Mbano that any man who could unite women from different backgrounds as his wives, children from different wives, slaves and extended family members into accepting one another in love should be a good leader. The centre of every home depends on the man. The man determines the state of his family and therefore is judged on the moral standard of his family members and the peaceful co-existence observed in the family. It is a major criterion for choosing a leader in the community. Those who practice polygamy are often relatively wealthy or influential.¹⁷

In this polygamous society, having multiple wives often become a status symbol denoting wealth and power. It is one of the factors to consider before accepting a man as an 'ozo' title holder. But, the first wife is the one to be used as the "*Lolo*" whether she is loved or hated by the *Nze*. The people of Isiala-Mbano, like many African societies, see children as a form of wealth, the more children a family has, the more powerful it is.

Polygamy for Security

Polygamy is a means of forming treaties and alliances vis-à-vis building security fence around one's life and family in Isiala-Mbano. A polygamous family is often fraught with bickerings and sexual jealousy which are internal but the entire family stands to crush any external aggression in one accord, irrespective of their differences. An only son (*okpo-olu*) in Isiala-Mbano is encouraged to go into polygamy so as to have companions to share his secret thoughts, problems and people to stand by him from the attack of larger families. In a situation like this, his wives and children are his siblings, kiths and kins. An only son can hardly win a case, especially a land dispute, because he stands alone but those from large families will extend their tentacles and throw their weights around to lobby and win. This confirms the slogan "*igwe bu ike*" (united we stand). Large families conspire, intimidate and usurp land and properties from the smaller ones. Victims and survivors of such intimidations would not like their next generations to suffer the same fate;

therefore, polygamy becomes the solution. Men also give their daughters in marriage as solution to this same problem. Women without suitors find solace in polygamy because a husband is seen as the umbrella shading the woman from insults and humiliation, and offering security to the vulnerable.¹⁸ There is no exception to this rule. Whether a woman is educated or not, she needs a husband and children of her own. Politicians sometimes marry wives when they observe that the present one does not suit their political class and ambition.

Polygamy as a Result of Infertility/Mortality

Polygamy often results in an increase in the number of children per man and therefore, the average size of the family. Concerns about child survival, especially the male, serve as a push factor for the desire for more pregnancies and children.¹⁹ In Isiala-Mbano, if a man is infertile, he may not know this until he marries more than one wife. The solution may be a sort of polyandry or natural insemination. A kinsman may be chosen to have ‘sexual access’ to the helpless woman to raise children for the unfortunate (infertile) man.²⁰ Hence, in some polygamous homes, there are many wives with fewer children if computed by the average number of children per wife.²¹ Basden further states that, the next thing to ascertain is “who is the biological father of those that are seen, for, in many instances, the husband, is not the man, although, the children call him “father.”

Also many young wives would not become pregnant if they did not find paramours outside the marriage. The husbands do not object as a rule; indeed, they often give surreptitious hints when a particularly good-looking man happens to be in the neighbourhood. This method is one of the local ways of adoption or, on the other hand, a natural insemination, ‘as numerous wives are not numerous children’ (*Igbara ndiome awughi igbara umu*). The most important thing is to establish the lineage and save it from extinction. Large numbers of children improve a household’s labour pool and provide built-in security in old age as well as treasure for retirement benefit.²²

Polygamy by Levirate

The practice of levirate marriage is that wherein a man is required to marry and support his deceased brother’s widow, as mandated by Deuteronomy 25:5-10. No matter how intimate and productive the levirate marriage may be, the levirate husband must marry his own legitimate wife if he had none before the act, else he would be scolded for not been able to

marry a wife of his own.²³ Levirate marriage forces both the widow of the deceased and the levirate husband into polygamy. It is known in Isiala-Mbano as “*nkute –nwanyi*” and “*ikwa nkwa nwanyi*” respectively. When a young man dies leaving his young wife behind, the woman is inherited by one of his siblings or a kinsmen. Investigations proved that levirate marriage in this circumstance is different from the Quranic and Biblical types. In Isiala-Mbano the children begotten from levirate marriage are regarded as the children of the levirate husband and not of the late husband of the levirate wife. This is done to consummate the wealth of their kinsman as the woman is rated alongside the late brother’s property.

If the late brother is a man of means, the levirate rituals are quickly performed to prevent the woman from having total control over her husband’s wealth. If there were no children from the marriage it is hastily done to prevent the widow from thinking of marrying another woman that will bear children and continue the lineage of her husband. The aspect of levirate marriage called “*ikwa nkwa nwanyi*” occurs when a wife dies prematurely, a sister to the deceased wife could be given to the man to replace the deceased wife if the man desires. The notion behind this act is to help in nurturing the bereaved husband and children under the propinquity of lineage. This exists where there was good relationship between the widower and the the in-laws. This is backed up with a popular proverb “*uzo di nma, a gaa ya nga abuo*”. This means, “A good road calls for a revisit”. This type of levirate is serial and void of concurrency.

Formal and Informal Polygamy

Polygamy is the situation in which one man is either married to, or involved in sexual relationships with, a number of different women at one time. It involves a man living with his lawful wife and other female sex partners.²⁴ In sociobiology, polygamy is used in a broad sense to mean any form of multiple mating. Monogamy protects the men, allowing them to play around without responsibility. Easy birth control and easy legal abortions have opened the door of illicit sex with the woman being lured into the so-called ‘sexual revolution’. Sex is a need and when necessity calls for it, a vulnerable woman has no choice than to yield. But she is the one who suffer the trauma of abortion in cases of unwanted pregnancy and the side effects of the birth control. Also there is the plague of venereal diseases, herpes and AIDS, while the male continue to enjoy himself free of worries. Formal polygamy would force men to take responsibility for their polygamous inclinations and would protect and provide for the

women and children. Contemporary critics against polygamy have created artificial monogamy, a factor which undermines the family structure, and the social, economic and political systems not only in Isiala-Mbano but in most parts of Nigeria.

The avoidance of formal polygamy by majority of the people of Isiala-Mbano have increased illicit relationships which deter the youth from getting married. The people argue that this change of attitude keeps on bringing home casualties as the youth are deported home as victims of HIV/AIDS to suffer and die shameful deaths. A sarcastic adage in Isiala-Mbano says that, married men are not good for marriage but they are good for friendship. Also a married man would not go for another wife rather will go for numerous mistresses to create artificial monogamy.

Ugandans' view on HIV/AIDS stressed that polygamy differs from Struensee own conception as they argued that concurrency is more of public health danger than serial monogamy which is unacceptable to her.²⁵ Polygamous men seek out young women, in this way formal and informal polygamy helps spread the HIV virus. The argument is "if all the men slept with only the women they married and the women did the same, HIV would not spread." Economic hardship has made it difficult for many men to provide for even one family, but they nevertheless continue to conduct informal relationships with mistresses who may have additional partners themselves, also sometimes out of economic necessity.

The Link between the Five Reasons for Polygamy

Demographic theory suggests that polygamy may occur because of a surplus of women that result from male child mortality, from accidents and warfare. Polygamy produces competition between wives for mating rights, pregnancy, childbearing and great pressure to produce male heirs in patrilineal societies like Isiala-Mbano L.G.A. In some cases both the man (husband) and the wives seem to be involved in a sort of suspicion and confusion with insinuations and assertions.²⁶ In such a situation the woman feels deeply insecure; she is easily inclined to perceive innocent teasing as an outrageous attack on her dignity. It seems to the woman that people despise her, underestimate her, and ridicule her. In other words, her reality perception is distorted. Self-centred anxiety and fear render a person far less effective in real life and less practical and exact in the conduct of daily affairs. But the real personality is capable of being strongly focused to achieve the family goals for a glorious future reward and happiness.

The five classifications are adopted as means to an end to ascertain a supportive role that leads to virtue and continuity of the family. The polygamous man is at the centre of every family squabble, the weight of squabble bugs down on him, his health is jeopardized, and could become a victim of high blood pressure and other related matters and often the first to die leaving his widows behind to enjoy the fruit of their labour. It is even worse with the monogamous man who has numerous informal wives and who then later suffers neglect from the formal wife as a result of the abuse he meted to his wife. He is sexually starved as the wife pretends not to have sexual urge any more as a form of vengeance.

The predominant feature of polygamy is that it is a struggle of the survival of the fittest. There is no secondary or subsidiary wife unless in a case of infertility where the woman allows the husband to marry in her name or she herself marries the woman for her husband as verified in this study. Polygamy is an exception rather than the rule and is traditionally restricted to men who can manage things. It is illegal for a man to marry multiple wives if he is unable to afford to take care of each of them properly. In Isiala-Mbano, if a man is poor but needs to marry a second wife, he goes on to do so irrespective of the financial stress he will encounter in the marriage.

Conclusion

Actually, there are many forms of discriminations against women. But women are often tools of discrimination and humiliation of their fellow women. It is rare for a man to taunt a woman for not getting married but her fellow woman will do it time without number to humiliate her. A married woman feels superior to an unmarried one. This is obvious on how women are addressed. For instance, a man who is a 'Professor,' 'Doctor,' 'Chief' answers the name without adding 'Mr.' to it but a woman who is awarded any of these honours would add 'Mrs' after the title just to differentiate herself from the singles.

The clamour for the ban of polygamy is due to the attitude of women. It is without doubt women cannot tolerate themselves because they feel jealous and threatened by each other. There is an age-long proverb in the neighbourhood that says, 'if a man takes a second wife, the first wife in her jealousy while pounding food in a mortar would pound, 'you will see what I have seen' (*I ga-ahu ihe m huru*). Then, the second wife would challenge the first wife in her pounding, 'what did you see and yet refuse to go' (*I huru gini ma ilaghi*). None of the respondents, both

male and female accepted that a woman could quit her marriage because of the presence or threats of her co-wife. The people of Isiala-Mbano oppose the idea of a ban against polygamy arguing that sharing and communal living are inseparable from their culture. Family squabbles are inevitable in a society where communal living and inheritance are in practice. In a family where there is more than one son, when these sons get married, their wives enter into strife with their sisters-in-law. Mothers-in-law also quarrel with their daughters-in-law. The problem of women is the struggle for supremacy, attention, affection and over-possessiveness of whatever they consider as important to them, be it human or material. The bitter truth is that, whether women like it or not majority of their husbands practise polygamy either formally or informally. However, economic empowerment, self-realisation and actualisation would save women from humiliating one another in the name of marriage.

Recommendations

Any recommendation made without addressing women's intolerance of each other will not be fruitful. Women should learn to tolerate each other, whether single or married. Those who can substitute polygamy with adoption and artificial insemination (ISCI) should resort to that while those who can cope with polygamy should do so without discouragement from any source. All human rights groups, churches and individuals who are against polygamy should come up with alternatives and other avenues that would ensure women's security and economic empowerment. These groups and individuals should liaise with the federal government and gynecologists to improve on sex selection of babies for productive mothers so as to have more male children than females else, the law of demand and supply will continue to triumph. Parents should give birth to children for love and not for economic, security, treasure, name and the continuity of the lineage. Additionally, female children should be included in inheritance plans and be accorded the same respect and dignity as given to male children.

Single ladies should be given more employment opportunities to make their education effective because education without economic means renders such education ineffective. They should also be given political appointments and be allowed to serve in many other capacities that will dignify them as is done in Rivers and other neighbouring states. For instance in Dr Peter Odili's first term in government, Miss Gloria Fiofori was appointed a commissioner while Miss Hilda Dokubo was his special

adviser on Youth Affairs in his second term. Single women should be involved in policy making in all standards that would enable them effect changes of harmful practices against women. This recognition, respect, dignity and financial empowerment will build walls of protection around women from the family to the community, locality, state, nation and the world at large. At this level a single woman would be stripped of inferiority, insecurity, humiliation, frustration, desperation, etc., which will guarantee her decision and position about marriage and lastly, polygamy. Then, the accusing fingers of women on their fellow women as husband snatchers will take a different wave because men remain sacred cows that should not be touched in the issue of polygamy. The blame is usually heaped on women, that is why they should accept to marry a man who is already married and not on the man for going for more women. Polygamy should be given a chance in the marriage institution to curb the promiscuity of both men and women. If polygamy is given a pre-eminent-role, it would checkmate the problem of teenagers who are entice to give birth to children for sale. Actions taken by women and by all interested groups needs to be supported and encouraged by Governments.²⁷

Notes and References

1. Norman Shields, *Christian Ethics*. Vol. 1. Abak: Footsteps Publications, 1996, p.13
2. Interview with Augusta Onwuchuruba at Ibeme, Ugiri Isiala-Mbano on 4/01/2009
3. Interview with Agness Ekwebelem, Beatrice Ugboaja & Joy Uzoechi at Eke-Obollo, Ugiri Isiala-Mbano on 04/01/2009
4. G. T. Basden, *Niger Ibos*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1966, p.214
5. Ibid., p.231. Also, interview with Rose Iwuzo & Isaiah Amaeshi at Anara Market, Osu Isiala-Mbano on 29/05/2009
6. Anayochukwu Agbo “Why We Sold Our Babies” in *Nigeria Is World’s Darkest Nation*. Tell, Nigeria, July 27, 2009, p.44
7. Ibid., p.47
8. Interview with Celestine Chigere & Charity Iwuzo at Umuelemai, Isiala-Mbano L.G.A. Head Quarters on 04/01/2009
9. Interview with A. Aligwekwe, D. Azubuikwe, O. Nwahiri, & J. Ugwoezuonu at Amaraku, Mbama Isiala-Mbano L.G.A. on 03/01/2009
10. Osato Giwa-Osagie *Social and Ethical Aspect of Assisted Conception in Anglophone Sub-Saharan Africa*. <http://www.who.int/reproductive-health/infertility/9.pdf> accessed January 26, 2009
11. Interview with Kezziah Ozurumba & Uzoma Amaeshi at Osuachara Isiala-Mbano L.G.A. on 30/05/2009
12. J. F. Fletcher, *Moral Responsibility*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1967, p137
13. Mary Ali. (n.d.) Who Practices Polygamy? pp. 1-4 <http://www.jannah.org/sistes/polygamy.html> (accessed December 14, 2008).
14. G. T. Basden, p.219
15. Interview with Kezziah Ozurumba at Osuachara Isiala-Mbano L.G.A., 30/05/2009
16. G. T. Basden, p.219
17. Jenab Tutunji, *Polygamy*, n.p. 2000, p.11 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/polygamy> accessed December 14, 2008
18. Interview with A. Nwanguma, C. Nwazonobi, H. Ogbonna & M. Nmaezi at Amauzari, Mbama Isiala-Mbano L.G.A. on 02/01/2009
19. Osato Giwa-Osagie *Social and Ethical Aspect of Assisted Conception in Anglophone Sub-Saharan Africa*. <http://www.who.int/reproductive->

- health/infertility/9 pdf accessed January 26, 2009 p50. See also G. T. Basden, p.232 & W. A. Haviland, *Anthropology and Aids in Cultural Anthropology*. Earl McPeck. United States of America, 2002, p.226
20. Interview with Edith Nwaka, Emmanuel Echefu & Jemimah Orishakwe at Umuneke, Ugiri Mbano L.G.A. on 29/05/2009
 21. G. T. Basden, p.236
 22. Jane Perlez, "Uganda's Women: Children, Drudgery, and Pain" in Sommers, C. and Sommers, F. (ed) *Vice & Virtue in Everyday Life*. 4th ed. USA: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1997, p.226-231
 23. Interview with Cecila Anurumba & Felix Igbokwe at January 3, 2009) Umunkwo, Mbama Isiala-Mbano L.G.A., on 03/01/2009
 24. Jenab Tutunji, p.11 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/polygamy> accessed December 14, 2008
 25. Vanessa, von Struensee (2005) *The Contribution of Polygamy to Women's Oppression and Improvishment: An Argument For its Prohibition* <http://kirra.austlii.edu.au/journals/MurUEJL/2005/2html> accessed January 26, 2009
 26. Adrian, van Kaam, *Religion and Personality*. USA: Prentice-Hall Inc, 1968, p.12
 27. CEDAW General Rec. 21, Article 14. <http://kirra.austlii.edu.au/journals/MurUEJL/2005/2.html> accessed January 26, 2009.

