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Cultural concepts employed in child discipline within rural Yorùbá households: the Ayetoro-Oke African community

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Social scientists have long been concerned about social control, not only of adults, but also of children. In recent years, however, concerns have escalated globally, particularly regarding the lack of integration of indigenous knowledge about many aspects of children's upbringing. The present research addresses knowledge gaps around aspects of the Yorùbá culture employed in rural African communities to ensure child discipline, and consequently social control among all members. Employing a descriptive case study research design, we describe the cultural concepts employed as instruments of child discipline within households in the Ayetoro-Oke community of Oyo state. Using 6 focus group discussions involving 45 persons across the community, we identify and describe 7 cultural elements employed in child training within the households in the rural community, ranging from "Ijiya" (punishment) to "Orin" (songs). The article concludes shaming is a key element upon which such cultural concepts are built and guides child discipline among the people of Ayetoro-Oke. It also notes differences between traditional discipline and western child-rearing practices may lead to potential conflict in attempting to integrate the indigenous with the modern. It concludes by suggesting the use of indigenous knowledge in developing parts of societal life is warranted, and based on the findings, recommends areas requiring future research.

Keywords: rural sociology; household; child discipline; culture; community

Introduction

Social scientists long have been concerned about social control in rural communities. In recent years, concerns have escalated given the widespread permeation

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of technology, globalisation, influence of the World Wide Web and social media increasing the distribution of information and increasing statistics of the occurrence of delinquent acts in numerous societies across national boundaries. While the use of different techniques has been espoused in promoting the avoidance of deviance, as well as curbing the rise of delinquency, not least the adoption of child discipline in a bid to churn out model individuals, such well-meaning efforts have been met with huge resistance from child rights' activists who believe children should not be so treated. In western climes, it is not rare to find parents being locked up for "offences" related to the maltreatment or flogging of their own children, with social services (workers) often removing children from these supposedly "abusive" parents (Van der Kolk, Hopper, & Crozier, 2001). Despite the continued borrowing of culture from Europe and America, such practice is yet to fully sit within the practices of the communities of developing countries, such as Nigeria, simply because of the notions that children, if left to their own devices, would turn out badly (Ndofirepi & Shumba, 2014). Additionally, the role of the family and other primary groups, as agents of socialisation, are still seen as key to the growth of the nation's next generation and individual human and child rights are not as strong as they are in the developed world (Jiang, Wang, & Lambert, 2010). Although the childhood experience, including child-rearing practices in urban centres in Africa, have undergone tremendous transformation as a consequence, child-rearing practices in rural areas still remain child rights' challenges (Boakye-Boaten, 2010).

Recently, research on the social consequences of cultural contact witnessed in the developing nations, in Africa particularly amongst the Yorùbá ethnic nationality of Nigeria, identifies quickly eroding indigenous culture. Ogunsina (1992) describes the situation as a problem of moral decadence which only cropped up due to the emergence of a hybrid culture. Adejumo (2010) further conceived of the problem as one resulting in a nonchalance towards societal norms and values due to the eroding of several aspects of the Yorùbá culture, particularly the "shame culture", which often guided social actions. Historically, concern about the hydra-headed problem, traceable to the early twentieth century, condemned annihilation of the Yorùbá race's cultural heritage. An example of this concern can be found in the Scrutator column of the *Eleti-Ofe Newspaper* (14 March 1923) describing the gradually fading aspects of the Yorùbá culture at the time, such as the loss of sexual preservation prior to marriage. Since the 1920s, much of the Yorùbá culture has been lost, for instance clothing, language, living patterns and modes of child upbringing, particularly in urban parts of what is left of the Yorùbáland. While effects of changing culture on children's upbringing and diversity of disciplinary measures employed are evident, little is known academically.

Exploration of how cultural contact affects child discipline measures is needed to support claims of social change and that these changes may be responsible for the increased spate of deviance and criminality witnessed in African societies. No

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recent academic research identifies what aspects of Yorùbá culture can be used to ensure child discipline or question the effectiveness of cultural practices. Although numerous empirical studies on the Yorùbá people exist, little published work examines the intertwined nature of cultural elements and the subsequent creation of what the Yorùbá term, the "Omoluwabi", which Ayanleke (2013) defined as an "embodiment of the best character traits". This concept has neither been researched holistically nor recently, particularly relating to child discipline or with specific attention paid to the cultural elements that go into its formation. Such research is needed to develop knowledge about child discipline and child rights. The present article fills this literature gap first by reviewing the literature and second by presenting findings from primary research conducted in the rural community of Ayetoro-Oke investigating cultural elements related to child discipline that are still used. Findings are discussed in light of existing research and their usefulness to child discipline and upbringing in the public interest are suggested along with future directions offered.

Literature review and theory

Child upbringing and "Iwa Omoluwabi" among the Yorùbá people

Numerous studies spanning different time periods have delved into issues revolving around the development of "iwa omoluwabi", child upbringing and social control among the Yorùbá. Since the 1970s, social scientists have sought to inform the public about different aspects of Yorùbá social life and its implications for general society. Akiwowo (1983) explored how "Ifa", the literary corpus of the Yorùbá, can be used to understand social life, Fayemi (2009) discussed the concept of the "Omoluabi", with a view that it answers the question of the very nature of personhood within the Yorùbá philosophical context, and Oderinde (2015) emphasised proper training of children is critical to the development of the "Omoluabi" trait which is of supreme importance for understanding the dynamics at play in child training within the Yorùbá ethnic nationality. Fadipe's (1970) classic sociological research about cultural aspects of the Yorùbá nation provided an exposition on the responsibilities and roles of household members and the rules binding each. Fadipe (1970) documented aspects of the Yorùbá social life maintaining individuals' social status, noting the multiplicity of individual roles, yet singularity of purpose inherent to those roles which strove towards fitting into the familial network.

Conceptual issues in child upbringing and discipline among the Yorùbá

In researching child upbringing, child discipline and social control, some studies (Adeboye, 2007; Oyerinde, 2006) assess aspects of culture directly relating to social control and overlook dimensions regarding the upbringing of children.

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Conversely, other studies (Balogun & Oladipupo, 2013; Fayemi, 2009; Omobowale, 2008; Oyerinde, 2006; Sofola, 1973) delve into understanding the idea behind the concept of the "Omoluwabi" without taking an in-depth look at processes relating to culture which are involved in individual development. Some (Majasan, 1969) point out literary aspects of child upbringing without looking at how the "Omoluwabi" is created, or the notion of child discipline. These studied, therefore, provide an incomplete understanding of processes that go into the development and discipline of the child within the household in rural communities.

The "Omoluwabi", or alternatively Omoluabi, is a product of the socialisation process where communally exalted values are reinforced and values considered anti-social or labelled deviant are taught as traits to be eschewed. While Balogun and Oladipupo (2013) point to the Omoluwabi as essentially "a good person", Fayemi (2009) discusses the concept in light of personhood, from a sociological-normative perspective stemming from an enquiry into the cultural and personal identities as perceived by group members. Ayanleke (2013) defines the Omoluabi to mean a child endowed with all the best gifts of humankind, such as commitment, patience, love, respect and truth. For him, Omoluabi stems from the phrase "Omo ti Olu Iwa bi" (The offspring of Olu Iwa). "Olu Iwa" is Oduduwa (Odu to da iwa – the creator of character), who coincidentally is the father of the Yorùbá people. Ayanleke (2013) notes Yorùbá traditional education revolves around good character ("iwa"), which is the end product of all grooming individuals receive within the household and from interacting in society, and attaining the personhood of "Omoluwabi" is everyone's utmost goal; Omoluwabi is regarded as a highly responsible person, respected and interpreted by other community members as from a good home and worthy of association. Oderinde (2015) emphasises proper child training is critical to development of the "Omoluwabi" trait, distinguishing two categories of persons who lack the character traits as being either "a bi i ko" (untrained) or "a ko o gba" (one who refuses to accept training), and asserts that lack of this trait would produce "itiju" (shame) for the parents and other kin since "iwa" (character, whether good or bad) was like smoke which cannot be hidden from public glare (Omobowale, 2008). Likewise, Oluwole (2007) asserts "Omoluwabi" refers to a properly trained person who lives by the precepts of the training. The characteristics of the Omoluwabi are marked as "iwa rere" and extolled, while attributes of those falling foul of the "iwa rere" are marked as "iwa buruku" or "iwa ibaje" and taught to others as behaviour traits to be eschewed.

Group members are taught to learn from their elders, folklores, as well as the experiences of others around them. Every aspect, whether religious or political, economic, social or educational, of the Yorùbá culture in homogenous societies is geared towards the raising of group members who are Omoluwabi in all aspects of their beings. Ocitte (1971) notes there are five philosophical principles (preparation, functionalism, communalism, perennialism and holisticism) guiding

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African indigenous education**.** Building on Ocitte's work, Akínyemí (2003) and Awoniyi (1975) assert the principles of Yorùbá (African) traditional education are based on the concept of Omoluwabi. Ayanleke (2013) further points out that Yorùbá indigenous education teaches children to imbibe values, such belief in God/spirituality, respect for elders, spirit of sharing, knowledge of family linage, avoidance of crime, avoidance of conflict, knowledge of family roles, success through hard work and responsibility to the larger community, among other such values in their personhood.

Child discipline in the Yoruba culture

The United Nation's Childrens Fund (UNICEF, 2010) notes physical punishment is used in households in many parts of the world, even when it is not considered necessary, with the primary caregiver, in most cases the mother, responsible for determining when to employ the use of physically violent measures or non-violent measures for child discipline. Non-violent child-punishment often involves taking away certain privileges, explaining why the act was wrong, and giving the child a task. Excluded cultural aspects are important because culture is the totality of a people's way of life. Ojo (2014) notes culture's importance, quoting Alaba (2004, p. 2), "it is a continuum beginning from their subsistence, communal, agrarian life of the pre-literate and pre-colonial times to the capitalist, individualistic free enterprise life of the literate, colonial and post –colonial, modern times". Second, Ajiboye, Atere, and Olufunmi (2012) reveal many parents among the Yorubas today, particularly in urban centres, have deviated from traditional ways of caring for children, highlighting Ugboajah's (2008) view that parents in today's society now see modern child-centred ways of child upbringing, some which promote social vices and delinquency, as much better than traditional ways of child-rearing. Aboluwodi (2015) also points out that traditional ways of educating children based on the extended family system, where everybody helps educate, has been, and is continually being, toppled by modern modes of child discipline. This continued toppling of traditional child-rearing practices is explained by Imoh (2015) who identifies contrasts between social constructions of childhood in many parts of Africa and other parts of the world. Further, Imoh (2015) notes there is need to explore constructions of childhood and the child-rearing practices attached to them to enable scholars to identify a middle ground between global standards and local norms and values in relation to child-rearing and the socialisation process.

Finally, Adebileje (2012) writes that the Yoruba culture is made of norms and mores governing the ways individuals must behave. These norms are transmitted through the family, age sets, elders and secret societies in diverse ways. Many stories, for instance, are used in teaching "iwa omoluabi" abound in Yorùbá folktales and Ifá verses (Ayanleke, 2013; Oluwole, 2007) which are considered vital to providing an education for younger generations. In the pre-colonial traditional

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set-up, children were taught to do good right from infancy, through every day practical examples and instructions from their parents and older ones in the household, and through moral lessons, songs, proverbs and other such cultural aspects during moonlight story sessions (Ayanleke, 2013).

Theoretical framework: Variations in the theme of sociation

Akiwowo's (1983) primordial social groupings of Ajobi (consanguinity) and Ajogbe (co – residentship) can be said to have roots in what he termed as the "Orunmilaist" perspective of human society which sees humans essentially as "asuwa" (a physiological organism) capable of forming groups and becoming an "asuwada" (a social organism). These groupings bear striking semblance with Durkheimian "mechanical" and "organic" solidarity, as well as Tonnies' Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft societies (Adesina, 2002). However, Akiwowo's (1983) "Ajobi" so differed from Durkheim and Tonnies that he opined that the ajobi among the Yoruba consisted of a relationship where every member regards other members as kin and each other's primary responsibility, whether dead or alive, and believes they are held together by a bond. Ajobi sociation extolls indices representing desirable character traits (iwa rere) among members, believed the basis of Omoluwabi and different from what is obtainable in ajogbe (relationships based upon co-residence) which often arise from cultural contact, emphasising competition, envy, and conflict over the means to success, weakening bonds of consanguinity. Fayemi (2009) translates Omoluwabi to mean "the child begotten by Iwa", showing Omoluabi and the expected character traits merely make reference to proper internalisation of the Iwa taught to children by members of the ajobi in whatever manner they deem fit, whether corrective, eulogistic or even "abusive" (Coker, 2012).

Research methods

Research design and location

This article investigated cultural concepts employed as instruments of child discipline within households in the Ayetoro-Oke community of Oyo state to answer the research question, "what are the aspects of indigenous culture used in disciplining erring children?" The research design used a descriptive case study for the purpose of describing aspects of the Yorùbá culture employed in the disciplining of children by household members in Ayetoro-Oke community. Case studies focus on either individuals, groups or whole communities and utilise instruments as life histories, documents, oral histories, in-depth interviews and participant observation (Berg, 2001). Case study was chosen to provide in-depth analysis of the cultural concepts involved in child discipline in a single or multi-community setting. By examining practices inherent within the rural community, the design seeks to give a detailed analysis of community practices using Akiwowo's (1983) theoretical framework of sociation.

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The unit of analysis for the study was the household. Akiwowo (1983) noted Nigerian society has become more of an ajogbe setting. Increasingly, due to many historical incidences, particularly Western incursion, it has become increasingly difficult to find alajobi settings. As Payne (1992), quoting Akiwowo (1983), stated, "Ko sii alajobi moo, alajogbe l'o kuu" (there no longer exists consanguinity, rather only co-residentship exists) to support the claim of gradually disappearing bonds of consanguinity. However, there exist some communities within the Yorùbá nation-state who maintain the characteristics of Agbo-ile (households) living, and training of young ones as Sofola (1973), Oyerinde (2006) and Abdul (2014) described. These characteristics we have termed the "ajobi-based" society. The continued existence of such traits, as well as the homogeneity inherent to this type of society, have made the Ayetoro-Oke community of Okeho in Oyo state an ideal environment to research the manner in which the desirable traits "iwa rere" expected of the Omoluwabi persona, particularly with reference to the use of cultural concepts, appear. The study area, Ayetoro-Oke village of Okeho in Oyo state, was, thus, purposively selected as the area retains its homogeneity and "Agbo-ile" setting. The study area, situated on the rocky area enroute to Saki and further from the Iseyin town, is located in Kajola Local Government Area of Oyo state and is surrounded by Okeho town, Iwere – Oke village and Ilero town in Africa.

Sampling, instrumentation and research constraints

The sample size was made up of 6 households (totalling 45 persons comprised of 28 men and 17 women), purposively selected on the basis of the availability of both elderly males and females with adequate knowledge of cultural practices used in child upbringing. Research participants were determined through a pilot study, as the researcher had no prior affiliation or contact with the subject community. The data collection instrument was Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The FGD interview guide comprised of questions, which sought answers to cultural concepts, and processes involved in child upbringing and were derived from the research objective. FGD questions included: (1) What aspects of culture can be used in child upbringing? (2) How often are these cultural concepts used to facilitate the relationship between child upbringing and iwa omoluabi (iwa rere) within the agbo-ile (household)? FGDs had at least six persons for each household and focused on generating information on those aspects of culture used in disciplining erring children. The criterion for inclusion was household membership, without bias for gender, education or religion; however, the age criterion for inclusion in the FGD was 40 years and above, which put participants' experiences as prior to the period of globalisation of child-rearing practices, and childrights activism.

The study sought approval from the University of Ibadan's Social Sciences and Humanities Ethics Committee. Informed consent and voluntary participation

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were sought from the respondents without inducement. Participants were informed of the study's purpose, as well as the type of information the researcher wanted from them. In addition, the FGD guide was structured in a manner that would cause no discomfort to the respondents and was translated into their local language for easy understanding and to avoid misinterpretation. The questions were neither dehumanising nor demeaning. Participants' confidentiality and anonymity were ensured by not requiring the names of any respondent, or asking them to answer in ways that might give their identities away.

The research was limited by time, as obtaining ethical approval took longer than anticipated. Gathering household members together during the day was a big challenge with many of them being busy with different chores and quite a number being away on the farms or out visiting others. However, this challenge was easily resolved by visiting the households with research assistants in the evenings. Also, male respondents had the tendency to dominate discussions in some groups, however, the researcher ensured females' experiences were heard. Research data were transcribed, and subsequently interpreted and analysed using typologies. A typology is a systematic method for classifying events, actions, objects, people or places, which are similar to discrete groupings (Berg, 2001). Collected data were assessed for mutually exclusive categories and all of the elements accounted for were classified in exhaustive groups. Finally, categories and their contents were examined, and theoretically meaningful appraisals were made.

Findings

Findings were classified according to the seven cultural concepts discussants mentioned: Ijiya, Oruko pipe, Orin, Owe, Ibawi ni gbangba, Ikilo ni gbangba and Itan. Examples of each concept are presented to illustrate how cultural concepts informed participants' experiences with child discipline.

1. Ijiya

The first category, Ijiya, demonstrates the cultural concept of reward and punishment. To illustrate this, a discussant shared his experience of being treated with starvation, noting that while there was reward for good behaviour, Ijiya was the reward for bad behaviour or failure to engage in what is expected of one:

> *As a child, I loathed going to the farm, I would refuse going to the farm severally, so because of that we were often given an "ijiya"* [punishment]. *The punishment was such that the women of the house would not give the offender food, and whilst other children were eating, the women joined by the other children would be singing: "Boo ko se, o ko jeun"* [Meaning – If you don't work, you won't eat]. *When we are sent on errands and we refuse to go on such errands, we would be starved of food, we won't be given anything to eat, either by way of not cooking our food with those of others, or cooking it and hiding it. We would often be very hungry especially upon returning from school. Once we arrive home from school, we would have put off our school uniforms with the expectation that our food was going to be given to us, but on such days, our expectations would be cut-off. After waiting a while, when all the other children have eaten, they would then tell the offender to*

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> *go and put water for "amala"* [already prepared yam-flour] *on fire, and the offender should make his or her own amala as his* [or hers] *was not made alongside the general food because of his or her offence the previous day. Such a person would now have to boil water by himself or herself, as well as go ahead to make the amala despite its rigorous stirring process while other children in the yard were watching and laughing at the struggles of the offender.* (Household 6, Male, 67 Years)

Children were often punished with the instruments of hunger and shaming, with others within the household being present to enhance the humiliation felt by the person being punished:

> *When the amala was ready, the next round of torments would begin. The mothers would tell the erring child to go and collect soup from those people whom he obliged when they sent him on errands the previous day; this would attract laughter from the other children at the expense of the now-perplexed offender. The offender would now have to beg often reduced to tears for soup for some time again before it would be given to one to use in eating the probably cold amala ... Punishment is in a bid to ensure one desists from bad deeds, and such punishment here includes not getting food to eat to time.* (Household 6, Male, 67 Years)

2. Oruko pipe (name calling)

Second, the "oruko – pipe" was used to ensure idojuti is performed on an individual:

> *One of the things that can be said to someone who does a bad thing or behaves badly particularly to a girl who sleeps around without being married, in public as a way of using idojuti on such a person is to call him or her "omo lasan"* [Useless child]. *It is the shortened form of "Omo lasan ikeji aja"* [Useless child second to the dog]. *We can use this to teach such a person iwa omoluwabi* [Good character] *for example, a girl that is not yet supposed to be having sex with a boy, now let's herself have sexual encounters with a boy and gets pregnant, the parents themselves will call her names like aja* [dog or prostitute], *omo adojutini* [A child that brings one shame], *they may also leave her to fend for herself and cater to her own needs especially if she cannot identify the person responsible for impregnating her, or if the culprit is unwilling to accept the pregnancy.* (Household 6, Female, 54 Years)

3. Orin (song)

The third cultural concept used in child discipline-related song. One song used to discipline illicit sex and pregnancy among young adolescents who, when on visits to urban areas such as Ibadan or Iseyin, were drawn in by the lack of moral values believed to be prevalent in those parts and, as such, were thought able to be lured to let down their guards and jump into the beds of deceptive men in those urban parts, is given below. This song also served to prompt general deterrence among would-be offenders:

"*Eyi le tun mu tibadan bo,*	*This is what you could bring from Ibadan,*
Eyi le tun mu tibadan bo,	*This is what you could bring from Ibadan,*
O si n loyun lai dele okunrin o,	*You are getting pregnant without being married,*
Eyi le tun ri mu tibadan bo,	*This is what you could see to bring from Ibadan,*
O n bimo ku lai dele okunrin o,	*You are having still births without being married,*
Eyi le tun ri mu tibadan bo"	*This is what you could see to bring from Ibadan.*

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As one participant explained:

This is usually sung for a girl who visits Ibadan, and gets pregnant, without being old enough to engage in sex. More often than not, it is usually sung in public hearing by any elderly woman in the household, especially by the eldest woman living in the compound as a form of targeted abuse in a bid to use idojuti to deal with erring female members of the household. This would constitute itiju not just for the erring child, but for the parent(s) who failed to impress upon the child the moral values held within the household … (Household 5, Female, 58 Years)

4. Owe (proverbs)

Fourth was the cultural usage of proverbs. One discussant who gave examples of proverbs that can be used to perform child discipline stated:

… when maybe a child does something bad to another person, and when you ask the child why he or she did it, the child said it was someone else who put him or her up to it. The elder judging the matter may say "Eni ti a ko ni ika ti o se e, o ni ika ninu tele ni" [Meaning – if you are taught evil and you go ahead with the act, you yourself already had the evil in your heart beforehand]. *We have seen several situations where this kind of use of owe particularly as idojuti in the public has led to many children crying in shame.* (Household 4, Male, 73 Years)

5. Ibawi ni gbangba (public correction)

Fifth was the concept "ibawi", public correction, which, as one discussant's illustration reveals, was used for child discipline:

For example, sometime ago, a child came visiting … This child got here and was begging for money. I had beforehand had a mind to give the child something whenever they decided to leave, but because she was begging members of the household for money and I got wind of it, I shouted at her to stop begging, and told her I would not give her. I also told members of the household not to give her anything again. She ran to her mother and told her: "Mummy, she does not want to give me money". I now replied: "Yes. I will not give you, because you are begging for money" I believe anyone particularly a small girl should not be begging for money. So I told the girl's mother who as I said earlier is my relative: "Talk to this child o. if she keeps begging like this when she grows up, she is a girl o. she will go and beg for money from someone, and that's how they will impregnate her". "Ah!" others in the house exclaimed. They said "how old is she? She is just a little over four years of age". I said that is how it starts … when they were leaving and some members of the house offered her money she did not collect it. (Household 6, Female, 54 Years)

6. Ikilo ni gbangba (public warning)

The sixth type of cultural practices related to specific behaviours which often were used as warnings. For example, one discussant stated:

Sometimes, one's parents or elders could pull one's ears in public while one's peer are watching and say "ti o ba tun se nkan bayi o, oo je iya" [if you do such and such again, you will be made to suffer for it], *that is a form of idojuti through ikilo* [warning]. (Household 3, Female, 54 Years)

7. Itan (tales)

Finally, tales were told that often ended with a wise-saying or proverb to pass across a message aiming to guide behaviour. One example provided was:

Several years ago, in a village called Iya [in Saki town], *there lived a certain man who was a herbalist. Another man lived in another area called Asunnara, he was called Aringborojeun. One day, Aringborojeun visited the herbalist from Iya to get a charm that would enable him go and come back on this very important*

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> *job he was going to do. The herbalist asked him what sort of job he planned to engage in that would require protective charms. He said he was going to steal the "elubo" (yam flour) belonging to a certain farmer. The herbalist charged him nine kobo, and upon being paid six kobo instead, instructed Aringborojeun to go to the farm to steal the "elubo" at exactly eight p.m that night. The herbalist then sent word to the owner of the farm to warn him that a thief would visit his farm at exactly eight p.m. Upon receiving the herbalist's message, the farmer and his sons set out for the farm and hid in the bushes. Aringborojeun tarried till ten p.m before making his way to the farm to steal the elubo, however as he attempted to carry the sac, he was nabbed by the farmer and his sons, who took him to the king and laid their complaints before the ruler as was the custom. When the farmer had finished making his case, Aringborojeun spoke in defense of himself. He did not deny that he attempted to steal from the farmer, but emphasized to the king that he had received the backing of the herbalist in Iya who had given him a charm to ensure his not being apprehended, yet sent a warning to the farmer, and pleaded with the King to judge the matter wisely. Thereafter, the King sent for the herbalist at Iya, and upon his arrival asked him, for his own side of the story. The herbalist did not deny being approached by Aringborojeun, nor making a charm for him, but claimed that instead of the nine kobo he had charged as his fee, he had received six instead, thus prompting him to charge the herbalist the remainder, thus making him to work for both parties. The king replied with what has today become a proverb, he said: "Iwo ni o ko ole pe ki o ja, iwo lo si tun ko oloko ko lo so oko re?"* [Meaning – you taught the thief to steal, then you taught the farmer to watch his farm]. *Subsequently, the King commanded that both Aringborojeun and the herbalist be remanded in the palace prison. In Yorùbá land, this story is used to serve as idojuti for someone who tries to create chaos or confusion between two people in one way or the other.* (Household 4, Male, 69 Years)

Discussion and conclusions

Findings revealed kin look out for each other and ensure that members belonging to an "agbo-ile" help one another by all means possible to attain those values thought to be unique to the "omoluwabi", irrespective of the manner in which this is achieved. This may be by using cultural practices such as eulogies or punishments, and displays how powerless or helpless the person on the receiving end of the discipline may feel. Olaniyi and Onibere (2014) asserted that the care of one's kin is saddled on kinsmen and women as a responsibility to enhance the sustenance of the family, with the seriousness of this task noted in the cliché, "awo nigba awo ni gbonwo bi ako ba gbe awo nigbonwo awo yio gba ete awo yio si ya (sworn clique must guard the initiate away from disgrace; to prevent his betrayal of the trust entrusted to him)" (p. 3) and further discussed as, "the care of a kin was assumed as a duty binding on every member of a caucus, clique, household or clan, and homestead" (p. 4). Ajiboye further added that popular among the Yoruba is a saying, "eniyan kan lo ma nbi omo, sugbon gbogbo ara ilu lo ma nto ju won", meaning that, only one person is the biological father or mother of a child, but the entire society becomes the parents when it comes to child training and rearing. Gbadegesin (1991, p. 63) further commented:

> Inside each apartment, the children of co-wives and other elderly members play together and are overseen by the elders. A child who misbehaves is corrected immediately and may be punished by any of the elders … Then in the larger compound, all the children play together and, again, any of them may be punished by any older member of the household for misbehaving.

Hence, the present study contributes to the broader cultural idea that if one disciplines a child engaging in bad acts within the household, there is a likelihood the

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child will not bring abuku (disgrace), "èsín" (ignominy), or "ete" (ridicule) to the family in the future. The need to avoid shame to the family prompts the use of several cultural concepts in dealing with children. The present study found seven key cultural practices were used to support broader child-rearing ideas.

> "Ijiya" (punishment) came in different forms, sometimes as flogging, the most common form, or being forced to do tasks that one might not be pleased to do. Findings showed punishment may come in the form of being starved, or being forced to work for others to pay a fine. This is in concord with Fadipe's (1970) assertion that flogging was often commonplace in dealing with erring children within the compound amongst the Yorùbá. He notes that "Ijiya" can be carried out by any adult member of the household, but with limitations in place for younger women who were married into the compound, depending on factors such as her age, the age of the child, and her actual relationship to the child. Although household members do plead for the offender while he or she is being treated with ijiya, they however would not intervene unless they considered it an excessive punishment for the offence.
>
> "Oruko-pipe" (name-calling) reflected an important part of the Yorùbá culture, the giving of names. The name of a person typifies his or her personality. Thus, a person's name greatly affects individuals' actions, choices, and ultimately life-path. This is acknowledged within the oral literary corpus of the Yorùbá race and often verbally reiterated in the guise of the popular sayings (Babade, 2008; Olateju, 2005), such as "Oruko n ro ni, Oriki n ro niyan" (meaning – One's name influences one's action, so also does one's pet name) and "Ile laa n wo, ki a to somo loruko" (meaning – we look at the house/family before we name the child). Noting the importance of naming and names to the Yorùbá, it is pertinent to note that individuals are subsequently given nomenclatures that are believed to be perfect fits for the behavioral attributes they exhibit. Olateju (2005) further suggests that the Yorùbá people sometimes give persons with untoward behavior the names of animals to which their actions are synonymous, with "aja" (dog) referring to characteristics of promiscuity, being an uncritical follower, or a lack of table manners (proper eating habits) and "igbin" (snail) referring to attributes of sluggishness or laziness, amidst many other animal characteristics which were dependent on the knowledge of the Yorùbá people about the animals around them. The present study found support for such name-calling, specifically a promiscuous girl being called a "dog".
>
> "Orin" (songs) were another cultural practice participants drew upon. Songs were rendered depending on what specific misdemeanor the child committed, and servee the purpose of expressing one's displeasure at the child's conduct, as prior research found (Omoniyi, 1995). They also were used to shame the offender into learning expected behavior and were either orin eebu (abusive songs) or orin owe (proverbial songs), designed to ensure both the object of the song and the other members of the household grasped the message being passed. For instance, songs may show stealing is not condoned within the family and adults can instruct the erring child and younger ones within the household to sing songs to produce shame. Abdul (2014) notes the individual is not isolated from the family (household), gaining his or her identity by being associated with the household. Likewise, this study found when a child behaves badly within the household, more often than not, a song deemed as befitting the offence is sung by the elderly mothers in the compound, but could also be sung by young children for their peers who have engaged in shameful activities within the household.

One of the cultural concepts employed to ensure children understand the extent of displeasure regarding a certain action is the use of "owe" (proverbs). The Yorùbá have several types of owe for different actions. Bada (1985) asserts the use of owe should be employed in teaching the younger generation about moral values while Owomoyela (2005) writes that owe is often a better means of communicating an

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idea to an individual, as well as teaching about "iwa omoluwabi", as it prompts deep and reflective thoughts on the subject-matter by the receiver of the message. Numerous owe dealt with child discipline within the household and were used frequently by family members because, as Babade (2008) highlights, the Yoruba race believe that "esin ile ya ju esin ode lo" which is translated to mean "disgrace within the house is better than the outside disgrace".

Although child discipline is thought to be achievable using rebuke, which can either be public or private, it is assumed among the people of Ayetoro-Oke that "ibawi ni gbangba" (public correction) is far more effective in ensuring discipline is carried out. One of the most common forms of child discipline, this is thought to work by means of shaming the offender through public correction or rebuke and is usually attempted with the belief that the receiver will adapt due to fear of being disgraced in public again. Fadipe (2012, p. 101) notes, "… rebukes take place within the full hearing of neighbours in the compound, and although each individual's weaknesses and vices are open to the observation of other members of the compound … " and continues,

> … as a rule, the Yoruba cannot afford to pretend to be indifferent to the public – however anonymous – and its opinion. In the first place, the public has begun to have a meaning for him from early childhood, and from inside the compound. (p. 309)

Public correction was widely found in the present study showing the importance of this belief.

Often going hand-in-hand with "Ibawi", "Ikilo ni gbangba" (public warning) is usually used to drive home the point being made. Public warning attempt to ensure individuals conform by desisting from a particular act and often, but not always, coupled with a thinly veiled threat that "so and so" will be done to you if you err. This is different from "ikilo ni kooro" as, unlike the latter which is usually between the person being warned and the person doing the warning, the former entails the presence of some or all household members as audience (Fadipe, 2012). This is what gives this act the power of idojuti as some members of the group, particularly age-mates and younger ones, are likely to find it funny and laugh at the person being warned, which is thought to be more effective than private warning, as participants recalled.

Fasoro (2012, p. 1) writes:

> Traditional African (Yorùbá) people taught their young ones to be morally upright by devising effective and pragmatic ways of imparting certain ideals and virtues … The act of story-telling fostered communal spirit and unity among the people … The soul-searching questions often asked at the end of each story were meant to prick the conscience of the listeners to enable them discern what was believed to be good from what was evil.

Aside from its use in teaching morals, often times, "itan" (story-telling) can be used as a means of child discipline, as participants' experiences evidenced.

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Examples revealed itan can be told in the hearing of the offender, and other age-mates of the offender who are privy to the offence, in a bid to cause the offender to be ashamed, and usually do end with a proverb or a moral lesson, as prior research suggests (Bada, 1985).

Burawoy (2005), like other social scientists, have raised the question of whether empirical research should be oriented around the accumulated body of knowledge, or, seek to address public interest whilst providing the knowledge required to build civil society. This research has contributed to both objectives by not only providing critical indigenous knowledge on how to improve general society, but also has delved into the areas of social control, rural sociology and child discipline wherein literary discourse is vast. Based on a sample size of six households, we found that the cultural aspects employed in child discipline in the Ayetoro-Oke rural community can be classified with seven categories. Although this study provides a comprehensive description of these aspects of culture, it has limitations. The research purpose was to document and describe the use of cultural elements in child upbringing among the people of Ayetoro-Oke and to provide needed literature on the inter-play between cultural elements and child discipline, for social scientists. Thus, the study was limited in scope, largely to understanding if these cultural elements were positive or negative and short- or long-term for the child-offender. In general, responses asserted positive effects.

One key finding of this study was that all seven cultural concepts identified during the study relied heavily on the roles of idojuti (shaming) of the offender, and itiju (moral sensibility or sense of shame), which actively develop in the erring child and other children within the household as a result cultural aspects over time. Ajiboye et al. (2012) pointed out that cultural practices were, however, fast dying, with the introduction of the western life style creating what can be termed a "cultural lag", with its attendant social problems which is "iwa buruku laarin omode" meaning delinquency or deviant behaviour among children. Challenges in the context of newly emerging child rights movements may arise particularly as a result of the use of shaming in child discipline (Grille & McGregor, 2015). Based on the findings of this study, child psychologists and rights' activists may be concerned with the use of elements of traditional African child discipline in modern society. These concerns should, however, take into cognisance the difference in the socio-cultural constructions of childhood and child rearing (Imoh, 2015). Imoh's work pointed out that children were being fed by adults, rather than being the ones feeding the adults, thus accentuating the dependence of children on their parents in the social construction of children in Africa.

Future research should look into the continued usage of cultural elements in child discipline as rural societies experience globalisation, striving for a more comprehensive understanding of how individual elements affect children who may react differently to each element. Issues regarding the violation of child rights

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are problems to be expected from the application of the study's findings. Hence, long- and short-term consequences, and how culture is employed, should be examined without assuming cultural elements are homogeneous across rural communities. New directions for methodology and research designs should be considered as each has its unique strengths and limitations, and triangulation of methods may prove particularly useful. In summary, this article supports the belief that borrowing from indigenous culture may be the best way forward for many developing nations to raise better members of society. Transferring the knowledge obtained to other indigenous groups would require teaching or looking to identify similar cultural elements that may be used to ensure child-members of households within communities are well-disciplined and grow up to be better members of their societies (Aboluwodi, 2015).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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