The Role of Divination in Treatment of Disease in Kwande Local Government Area of Benue State, Nigeria

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ABSTRACT: The study was carried out to determine the role of divination in treatment of disease in Kwande Local government Area. The specific aims of the study are to determine the role of divination in treatment of disease, know disease that require divination for treatment, identify the instruments used in divination, and provide recommendations. The study adopted Fabrega’s theory of disease in the analysis while 150 respondents were selected using simple probability sampling technique. The analysis was done using simple percentages for survey, while Focus Group Discussion and In-depth Interview were analysed through verbal transcription and interpretation of respondent’s responses. The study discovered that divination has played a dominant role in treatment of disease in kwande and that most people are aware of its existence and had made massive use of it. Also divination is done mostly at diagnostic level and is effective in treatment of disease especially those precipitated by forces of the dark. The study also found that all diseases require divination depending on the aetiology however, nocturnal diseases such as ikoo (impotency), mental illness and akpiti (Arthritis/rheumatism) Dagi (hands/legs ulcer) needs divination mostly before treatment. Signs associated with these diseases include omen, undiagnosed and asymptomatic diseases. Further, it was discovered that any instrument can be made sacred and used for divination, none the less; popular instruments used include shells of divination consisting of seed pods, bones, strings, teeth of toad. Other instruments are a clay pot filled with water and mirror. The study therefore recommends for integration of divination with radiography and laboratory technology, statutory acceptance and economic reward for diviners.

KEYWORDS: Divination, disease, Fabrega’s theory

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Divination is an effort to gain vision into a question or situation by using occultic methods, standardized process or ritual. It can be seen as a systematic process of organising what appear to be disconnected, random facets of existence such that they provide insight into a problem at hand. Divination has a formal or ritualistic element and often contains a more social character, usually in a religious context, as seen in traditional African medicine. It is a practice that has occupied central position in the attitude of Traditional African people towards disease. Divination is the cap of creation around which everything revolves and whom creation must answer. In such conception, illness is to be understood holistically, metaphorically, semantically and socio-economically (Wegh, 2001). In African traditional setting such as the Tiv, disease is perceived to have both natural and supernatural underpinnings. Ailments that are not serious like minor headache and cough are seen have originated from natural aetiological causes. However, more serious ailments are believed to have supernatural aetiological causes. That is, they emanate from sorcery, witchcraft or ancestral spirits. The initial acuity of illness which demands divination is that which have defied conventional therapeutic treatment. One of the steps taken to resolve this may be to consult a diviner for spiritual diagnosis. This is with the hope of discovering the source of the illness and the appropriate action. In most African societies, illness is a serious condition which brings pain and it is in the belief of most traditional Africans (and even educated ones) that the causation of illness has supernatural aetiological causes. Thus, illness attributed to these causes cannot be explained with supra-sensible forces, agents or acts that cannot manifest directly. Such causes stems from sorcery, witchcraft and spirit possessions. As such there is a general belief that illness or diseases have aetiological causes which require the services of a diviner who must mediate between the patient and the supernatural forces to explain the cause of the disease and the required remedy. In Tiv society, divination (ishor-ikpehen) is employed in the process of the diagnosing illness (angev).
This is based on the perception of a Tiv-man about the aetiology which is basically supernatural. Basically, there are ailments which can be treated easily; however those that cannot be treated are referred to the diviners for diagnosis. This diagnostic procedure is crucial in the healing process among the Tiv of north central Nigeria. The intention of the study is therefore to investigate the role of divination in the illness healing process in Kwande Local Government area of Benue state.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Disease in Tiv society is understood in the context supernatural and natural aetiologies. In the context of supernatural causes it is seen in the circumstances of an individual violating the ritual regulations and medicines. The ritual regulations have primary laws (atindi), prohibitions and taboos (ntswer). To disregard or accidentally breach any of the laws is to violate akombo and make one vulnerable to it. Tiv people believe in cults (akombo). The cults have their regulations therefore the violation of the regulations guiding them have disastrous ramifications which have no boundary and can cut across human beings, animals and crops. Apart from the above, the Tiv are fond of employing witchcraft or sorcery to inflict disease to people who have offended them. Further, witchcraft is used by enemies inflict pain on people they perceive to compete with them for resources or those who threaten their very existence. Such illness can defile normal diagnostic therapeutic treatment unless divination is employed to know the source and the right ritual or treatment to take. Most of the diseases in Tiv Society are defined by the forces of various evils that are inflicted on individual. Thus the supernatural aetiology of such nocturnal diseases make impossible for treatment to be effective without consultation with diviners. Attempts to diagnose and treat the ailment without consulting supernatural forces to reveal source and appropriate rituals may results to worsening condition of the patient. Using orthodox diagnosis may simply be compounding the patient’s problems. The intention of this study is to determine the role divination have played in the diagnosis and treatment of disease in the study area.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study is to determine the role of divination in treatment of illness in kwande Local Government Area. Specific objectives are as follows:

(a) To determine the role of divination in the treatment of illness in Kwande Local Government Area
(b) To know illnesses that requires divination for treatment in the study area.
(c) To provide recommendations that would affect use divination in the treatment of disease in the study area.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The concept of Divination

There is no universally accepted definition of divination as it the concept connotes diverse meaning to different scholars (Peek, 1991, 1965; Brandon, 1970; Fodor, 1966; Turner, 1967). These scholars however proposed that divination gives meaning to social symbols that ease group solidarity and accord. In a way, the door to one’s preference in life for an African is not closed by destiny. A person can always do something that can change the path to destiny. Dime (1982) has conceptualised the concept of divination in African context which is somewhat different from a European perspective. His understanding of divination is simply finding out the wishes of the deity and acting by them. In this regard, Dime (1982) defines divination as “the communication to a consultant of his prenatal choices by a divinity through the instrumentality of ‘brabiwei’ (diviner)”. The diviner can inquire into what were the client’s prenatal choices, if any, so as to better his fortunes. One cannot always trace back into time and see where he/she went wrong and take the necessary steps to eradicate ill luck. According to Peek (1991) divination is the attempt to expand insight into an issue or circumstances by way of an occultic, standardized process or ritual. Used in various forms throughout history, diviners ascertain their interpretations of how a querent should proceed by reading signs, events, or omens, or through alleged contact with a supernatural agency. Amposah (2007) on his part defined divination as a means to acquire information about the future or otherwise, removed from the ordinary awareness by consulting spirits rather than human beings. Matsepei and Madise (2003) also defined divination as a method of consulting the supernatural in order to obtain information from the Supernatural that is not normally available to human beings. Within the conception of Amanze (2002:102) divination is a procedure of receiving revelation or information from the Supernatural. To him it is an extremely varied activity consisting of many different methods such as the use of dolls, stones, gourds, numbers, palm readings, forming or seeing images in pots of water, interpreting animal marks, crystal balls, a set of four calabashes, divination bones (ditaola), and directly consulting the ancestors. Faki, Kasiera and Nandi (2010) see divination as a system of obtaining knowledge to learn one’s cause of misfortunes, whether present, past or future; and ways to renounce or revoke such causes so as to better ones fortunes. They maintained that the belief and practice of divination is shared by people of various calibers, thus there are rich as well as poor
people that engaged in the practice of divination. It forms part of the process of revelation in the day to day activities of an individual. Divination can be seen as a systematic technique with which to arrange what appear to be disorganized, haphazard facets of reality such that they provide insight into a problem at hand. If a distinction is to be made between divination and fortune-telling, divination on one hand has a more proper or ritualistic element and often contains a more social character, usually in a religious context, as seen in traditional African medicine. Fortune-telling, on the other hand, is a more everyday practice for personal purposes. Particular divination methods vary by culture and religion. For the purpose of the study divination could be defined as the process of consulting the ancestors, spirits or gods in order to get instructions or find answers pertaining to social problems.

2.2 The Concept of Disease

The concept of disease has been defined by many scholars. However, the concept broadly refers to any condition that impairs standard functioning of the body. Normally, this term is used to refer particularly to infectious diseases which are clinically evident diseases that are caused by pathogenic microbial agents including viruses, bacteria, fungi, protozoa, multicellular organisms. An infection that does not produce clinically obvious impairment of normal body functioning such as the presence of the regular bacteria and yeasts in the body system is not considered a disease. By contrast, an infection that manifests no symptoms during its incubation period but supposed to produce symptoms later is usually considered a disease. Non-infectious ailments such as cancer, heart disease, and genetic disease may also be considered as disease. Parsons (1951) conceptualizes disease in terms of sick role behaviour. Sick role represents the most consistent approach to explaining the behaviour characteristics of sick-role people. This based upon the assumption that being sick is not deliberate action upon the patient, though person or group of people can be exposed deliberately to infections or injury. To Maclean (1970) disease has both subjective and objective components. The subjective components refers to patients perception of the aetiology of disease as determined by their culture, ethnicity etc. The objective component involves competent diagnosis by physicians or traditional healers and the therapeutic skills or medication towards recovery and rehabilitation of the patients.

To Emson (1987) disease is an abnormal condition affecting the body of an organism. It is often construed to be a medical condition associated with specific symptoms and signs. It may be caused by external factors, such as infectious disease, or it may be caused by internal dysfunctions, such as autoimmune diseases. In humans, "disease" is often used more broadly to refer to any condition that causes pain, dysfunction, distress, social problems, and/or death to the person afflicted, or similar problems for those in contact with the person. In this broader sense, it sometimes includes injuries, disabilities, disorders, syndromes, infections, isolated symptoms, deviant behaviours, and atypical variations of structure and function, while in other contexts and for other purposes these may be considered distinguishable categories. Diseases usually affect people not only physically, but also emotionally, as contracting and living with many diseases can alter one's perspective on life, and their personality. Disease according to Mechanic (1968) refers to some deviation from normal functioning which as some undesirable consequences because it adversely affects the individual's health status. In medical term disease could be defined as in term of biological discontinuities which are linked to dysfunctioning of part of human organism. Disequilibrium in the human organism can occur if part of the body fails to perform its functions effectively. From the perspective of medicine, human body can be in a state of health if parts of the body are functioning effectively. Effective functioning of parts of the body facilitates the state of homeostasis or equilibrium in the organism. Disequilibrium can be associated with germs or hereditary factors which is the foundation of modern medicine. Eisenberg (1977) defines disease as the harmful and abnormal physical changes in the body. For the purpose of this study, disease could be defined as the situation where there is disequilibrium in the body system including the psychological feelings incapacitation with or without visible symptoms or signs.

2.3 The role of divination in treatment of disease

The role of divination in the treatment of disease has been investigated by Atinga (1998) in Midzichenda community of Kenya. His investigations found that the people use divination in management of diseases. To him, once a person falls sick, the patient, there immediate relatives(s) or friend(s) consult a diviner (mgangawakitswa, mgangawamburuga, mpigaramli), who, through the force of supernatural powers, diagnose the problem and also identifies its source. If the problem is an ancestral spirit oriented one, the diviner may prescribe the sacrificial process to be conducted thereof likewise, should the problem have roots in demons (also called sprits), the diviner may give first aid, largely in form of herbal concoctions and if necessary, refer the patient for further treatment by a healer. Parkin (1970 – 1972) argue that role of divination is only to diagnose or recommend a doctor, but not to cure a patient. The process divination is normally followed by spirit exorcism ceremony which is conducted by healers through vigorous ritual of song and dance. This ritual could result into two significant developments: (1) total restoration of the patients’ health (2) regular spell of the problem that would eventually force the victim to yield to the powerful invasion of the sprits thereby finally becoming a diviner.
Time and efforts taken to diagnose the patient depends on the population of the spirits and how well established they are in the victim. Lesser spirits can be easily exorcised and rid of than greater spirits. The use of divination in the treatment results to big relief to the victim and the society in general. Atenga (1998) asserts that the illness is witchcraft oriented can be managed by consulting diviners. To him the role of diviners is to determine the cause of the disease, give prescriptions and then refers the patient for further attention by a healer or medicine person (mgangawaku’umbo, mgangawakuhundula, mgangawakuzikika). The healer is therefore one who restores the health of the patient through the use of herbs and related herbal concoctions and charms. The majority of healers are not diviners, similarly, many diviners are not healers.

This lucrative disparity between diviners and healers has recently caused a drastic change among the former: many diviners strive to become healers as well, so that they can diagnose, prescribe treatment as well as provide medical services to the patient, and thus, earn an extra shilling and enhance their social status. Wegh (2001) has demonstrated the role of divination to in the management of illness (Angev) among the Tiv. To him, divination is crucial to treatment of illness and that it is a diagnostic procedure in the healing process among the people. Among the Tiv, the identification of disease depends on several types of information such as the medical history, description of behaviour and most importantly social history. Afella (2010) also found divination to be crucial to healing among the Tiv. To him, it is the process that discovers the root causes of illness before healing can take place. It is therefore the diagnostic laboratory of the medicine man in Tiv society. Through divination secrets about causes of illness and misfortunes are unravelled and the mind of the ancestors, spirits and deities are made known by the interpretation of certain signs based on fixed principles or rules and once this is done the solution is applied. The Tiv generally view the cause of illness beyond natural forces to spiritual attack. So treatment of disease is not all about administering of herbs but the discovery of the spiritual force behind the illness. This is to determine types of ritual, sacrifice or herbs needed for treatment. This shows that healing in Tiv has to do with the manipulation of mystical forces and substances in the concrete and invisible world. All is aimed at making the sick whole and re-establishing his relationship with the community and spirit beings.

2.6 Theoretical Framework
2.6.1 Fabrega’s Theory of disease

Fabrega’s theory has stated that disease is concerned with the causes of diseases. He sees diseases as deriving from three factors. These are natural, preternatural and mystical determinants. The natural determinants of disease stems from the fact that disease can be caused by natural factors such as unbalanced diet, insect bites, viruses, bacteria. Worms, environmental hazards, unhygienic living conditions, accidents, natural disasters like earthquakes, pollutions, biological malfunction of the human body, injury etc. It is closely related to the theory of disease focusing on factors that can be scientifically proved as responsible for the occurrence of the disease. Pre-natural causalisation of disease states that disease can be caused by combination of natural and supernatural forces. This explanation is based largely on the belief that disease is a product of evil manipulations by fellow human beings with supernatural powers such as sorcerers, magicians, witches and wizards, who cause harm to other human beings. It must be however observed that pre-natural recognizes the presence of natural factors at the same time these factors cannot alone explain effectively disease conditions likewise the super-natural forces to cause sickness to other human beings. The mystical and supernatural explanation refers to those illnesses that are believed to be caused by God or other supernatural forces like deities, divinities, spirits, ancestors etc.

III. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Area of the study

Kwande is a Local Government Area of Benue State, Nigeria. Its headquarters is located in the town of Adikpo and the indigenous inhabitants are the Tiv tribe of North Central Nigeria. It has an area of 2,891 km² and a population of 248,697 at the 2006 census. Kwande Local Government Area (LGA) was created in 1976 with Adikpo as headquarters. Kwande is bounded by several other LGAs. On the west, it is bounded by Vandeikya Local Government, Ushongo LGA on the north, and Katsina-Ala LGA on the northwest. On the south, it is bounded by Cross Rivers State and in the east by the Republic of Cameroon. Kwande LGA also shares a common border with Takum LGA of Taraba State. It has a population of 218,774 and fifteen council wards.

The area is blessed with physical features like mountains. As a result of its mountainous nature and proximity to the Cameroonian range of mountains, Kwande Local Government usually has cold weather which makes it very conducive to traders and investors. The local government also has very big rivers which could adequately take care of agricultural and industrial needs. Food and cash crops grown in Kwande include yam, rice, beans, millet and palm trees. Other crops like vegetables, pepper, tomatoes, garden eggs, ginger are...
produced in large quantity and attract traders from far to buy in large quantities to other towns and cities. Rice and peanuts are also produced in commercial quantity and these provide opportunities for investment in the rice milling and groundnut processing small scale industries. The strategic location of Kwande Local Government on a Trunk ‘A’ federal road that runs from the North through Adikpo to the extreme South has made it easy for both traders and transporters to shift their goods from and to Adikpo with little or no problem.

3.3 Research Design

This study shall adopt both quantitative and qualitative research designs. Under quantitative design, survey research method is used while qualitative design utilised Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and In-depth.

3.5 Sample and Sampling procedure

This study sampled 150 respondents in a random sampling technique. Random sampling is a probability sampling method that gives every case an equal chance of being selected for a study. The method ensures that all cases have equal chances for selection.

3.6 Technique of Data Collection

This study adopts questionnaire, FGD and In-depth interview in the collection of data.

3.6.1 Questionnaire

In the process of administering questionnaires, the researcher engaged and trained a research assistant who could help him in the distribution of the questionnaire forms. After the completion of the training, the researcher and his assistant started the distribution. The forms were distributed for maximum on three (3) day. Respondents were required to complete their form at the instance while those who were busy were given grace period of one (1) day for completion. The researcher and his assistant, after the expiry of the grace period, went around and collected the completed questionnaires form for computation and analysis.

3.6.2 Focus Group Discussion

In the study, twelve (12) respondents were selected in Adikpo. The respondents held two discussion sessions. The discussion was conducted in a semi circular sitting formation to facilitate face to face contact among discussants and minimize any perceived difference between the discussants. To effectively conduct the discussion, the researcher engaged two research assistants who helped her in taking down the important points and recording of the discussion to complement her work of moderating the discussion.

3.6.3 In-depth Interview

The researcher visited eight (8) of the selected respondents for the interview which was held in an informal arrangement. In the course of interview visited the respondents and booked appointment with them. The researcher then visited them on appointed time for interview. During the interview, the researcher used tape recorders to record the responses while salient points were also noted down by her.

Method of data analysis

The analysis of data for the study was done using simple percentages and analytical tables for the survey while Focus Group Discussion (FGD) the analysis involved ethnographic summary that involved reviewing statements made by the group on general and specific topics and determine whether there is agreement or consensus on the issues raised by the researcher. Under in-depth interview, the analysis involves the transcription of data from tapes and notes to analyze common and divergent themes or views.

IV. RESULTS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of Respondents

Table 4.1.1 Sex distribution of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, 2013
Table 4.1.1 presents the percentage distribution of respondents by sex. The Table has indicated that majority of the respondents were men with 62 percent of the respondents while females were minority with just 38 percent.

### Table 4.1.2 Distribution of respondents by marital status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, 2013

Table 4.1.2 presents the percentage distribution of respondents based on marital status. The Table has revealed that respondents who are married constituted the bulk of the research with 64 percent while divorced respondents were the least with 12.7 percent. Further, respondents who were single had 23.3 percent.

### Table 4.1.3 Distribution of respondents by occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>61.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servant</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional healer</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>02.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>09.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, 2013

Table 4.1.3 presents distribution of respondents by percentage. The Table shows that majority of the respondents were farmers with 61.3 percent. While traditional healers were the minority with 02.7 percent. Also, respondents who were students had 11.3 percent; those who were civil servants had 15.3 percent. Further, respondents who were involved in business had 09.3 percent.

### 4.2 Role of divination in treatment of disease in Kwande

#### Table 4.2.1 Massive use of divination in treatment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, 2013

Table 4.2.1 is meant to know whether divination is widely used in the treatment of disease in kwande. The Table indicated that divination is widely used with 62.7 percent of the respondents attesting to it. Conversely, few respondents did not accept the massive use of divination in treatment of ailments with 37.3 percent.

Focus Group Discussion collaborate the findings via questionnaire. The discussion show that there is massive patronage for diviners as there is a belief that one is always targeted by enemies due to jealousy and envy. Thus a person could use black magic or witchcraft to attack one with an ailment which cannot be cured by conventional medical therapy. Such diseases demand consultations with oracles before treatment. Also there is a common belief that illness occurs because one has broken a taboo and prohibition and such disease demands the consent of the gods before effective treatment can be done.
In-depth interview also showed similar results. According to one of the respondent:

*As a man, you have to know that it is not everybody around you that likes you. Most people around you are jealous because you are becoming successful. As a result they may attack you through disease. Also there some people break taboo or prohibition and become attacked by disease. Because of these several causes of disease, the use of divination is rampant.*

**Table 4.2.2 Effectiveness of divination in treatment of disease**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>78.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Field survey, 2013*

Table 4.2.2 is intended to determine the effectiveness of divination in treatment of ailments in Kwande Local Government Area. The Table has shown that majority of the respondents felt divination has been effective in disease treatment with 78.7 percent. Meanwhile, 21.3 percent of the respondents perceived that divination is not effective in management of ailments in the area. The discussants agreed that divination is has been very effective in treatment of disease in the area. They argued that without divination most disease would not have cure since the aetiologies are more or less supernatural. To them, it when consultation with diviners is been done that revelation of the cause and method of treatment is revealed.

A respondent in in-depth interview argued thus:

*Yes it is very effective and many people would have died of their diseases if diviners were not consulted. It is when they are consulted that the cause of the disease and procedures of treatment is known...*

**Table 4.2.3 Level of treatment where divination is most effective**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During treatment</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post treatment</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Field survey, 2013*

Table 4.2.3 is intended to ascertain the stage at which divination is used in the search for therapy in Kwande. The Table has revealed that most respondents, representing 68 percent, said it is used mostly during diagnosis. Still, 27.3 percent felt that divination is used mostly during treatment process while 07 percent perceived that it is used mostly after treatment. Focus Group Discussions reveal that divination is mostly done at the stage of diagnosis. It is done at this stage to determine the factors causing the ailment appropriate measures can be taken to manage the ailment. Still few others argued that it done as the treatment is progressing so as to be getting updated on the treatment procedures.

An in-depth interview provided similar findings. According to a respondent:

*In the process of treatment of illness, divination is involved at the stage of diagnosis. It is when divination is used to diagnose the cause the ailment that the right medication is applied...*
### 4.3 Diseases that require divination for treatment

#### Table 4.3.1 Diseases that require divination for treatment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Impotency (ikyoo)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akpiti (arthritis)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagi (Hands/legs ulcer)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost all diseases</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 150 100

Source: Field survey, 2013

Table 4.3.1 is intended to identify diseases which require divination for treatment. The Table indicates that all diseases need divination for treatment with 46 percent of the respondents attesting to it. Moreover, 20.7 percent felt that potential infertility (ikyoo) while 16 percent identified Dagi (Hands/legs ulcer). Further, 17.3 percent choose Akpiti (arthritis) as one of the diseases that require divination for treatment. Focus group discussion provided results that are similar with questionnaire. The discussions show that all disease needs consultations from oracles for treatment. A common headache may require divination if the patient feels it is abnormal. However, there are diseases with nocturnal and supernatural aetiologies such as Igbe. Mental illness, Akpiti (arthritis/rheumatism), ikyoo (potential infertility) Dagi (leg/hand ulcer) and mental disorders. In-depth interview confirmed the above findings. A respondent said: Any disease can employ can be manipulated by supernatural forces therefore all ailments can require divination...but there other diseases that are mainly caused by witchcraft such as mental illness. Such ailments cannot be treated without employing the help of diviners...

### 4.4 Discussion of findings

#### 4.4.1 The role of divination in treatment of disease

The study found that has performed a dominant role in the treatment of ailments in Kwande Local Government Area. It discovered that divination is effective in the treatment of disease with 78.7%. Focus group discussion also collaborates with the above findings by stressing the effectiveness of divination which is due to the conception of the supernatural aetiologies of disease common in the area. In-depth interview also show aligned with previous findings arguing that without divination most people would have survived their ailments. The effectiveness is also stresses the massive awareness and use of divination in the management of disease with 87.3% acknowledging their awareness and 62.7% agreeing with its massive use in the area. Further, divination is done mostly at the stage of diagnosis representing 68%. Focus Group Discussion and in-depth interview confirmed this by arguing that process is done at diagnosis level to determine the cause of the illness and right medication. The above findings are similar to results found by Atinga (1998) in Midzichenda community in Kenya. He found that people use divination in management of disease and once a person falls sick, the patient, relations or friends consults oracles for supernatural diagnosis and aetiology of the problem. Wegh (2001) among the Tiv agree that determining the cause of disease in traditional Tiv setting entail consultations with diviner (or-shor) for both physical healing and spiritual cleansing.

#### 4.4.2 Diseases that require divination

Findings from the questionnaire reveal that diseases which need diviners for management include all the diseases. However, some nocturnal disease that needs divination includes impotency (ikyoo), Akpiti (arthritis/rheumatism symptoms) Dagi (Hands and Legs ulcer). Further some of the signs associated with diseases that divination includes disease with bad dreams or omen, undiagnosed and asymptomatic disease. Focus Group discussion and in-depth interview agreed with the above findings but included mental illness, also stressing that disease that cannot heal ordinarily and those that show no symptoms are others that cannot be diagnosed by herbalist. Some of the findings are similar to arguments by Friedson, (1996) in Tumbuka in Malawi. He found that for illnesses that are attributed to the ancestors, it is not possible to affect a cure with medication or therapy sought from modern health services or herbalists as they need divination. Most common ailments can be afflicted by ancestors. Wegh (2003) further, noted that among the Tiv tribe of North Central Nigeria, there diseases that are nocturnal and supernaturally oriented. Such diseases include Igbe which causes the victim to defecate, vomit food and blood persistently and Akpiti (arthritis/ rheumatism like symptoms. Such disease demands help of diviners for management.
V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion of findings

Based on the findings of the study, the following conclusions are hereby made: The study concludes that divination has performed a dominant role in the treatment of ailments in Kwande Local Government Area and that divination is effective in the treatment of disease. Also, there is massive awareness and use of divination in the management of disease. Further, divination is done mostly at the stage of diagnosis. The study also concludes that all the diseases or illnesses or needs divination depending on the aetiology. However, some nocturnal disease that needs divination includes impotency (ikyoo), mental illness, Akpiti (arthritis/rheumatism symptoms) Dagi (Hands and Legs ulcer). Some of the signs associated with diseases that divination includes disease with bad dreams or omen, undiagnosed and asymptomatic disease. In regards to theory, the study has confirmed the propositions of the fabrega’s theory which states that aetiology of disease especially in traditional African society has three dimensions; natural, prenatal and mystical. Thus treatment requires divination which determines the cause and disease type so that appropriate efforts can be done to manage it.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the conclusion drawn from the study, the following recommendations are hereby made:

(a) The Government through ministry of health should ensure the integration of diviners or oracle priest in the modern health care delivery to ensure that they compliment radiographers and laboratory technologists for disease conditions are caused by supernatural forces and as such cannot be detected by biomedicine.

(b) There should be more constitutional backing for divination which should be made possible by the legislators due to its efficacy in diagnosis and identification of the root causes of nocturnal diseases.

REFERENCES