Women and the Age-Group System among the Ìjèbú of Southwestern Nigeria

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Abstract

Contemporary studies have revealed that Yorùbá women, particularly Ìjèbú women, have contributed to the development of Yorùbáland. Apart from the traditional roles of women in Yorùbáland, Ìjèbú women have cut a niche for themselves in the age-grouping system. It is the intent of this study to establish the contributions of Ìjèbú women to the upliftment of their society and indeed of the Ìjèbú nation. This study therefore reveals that women in régbérégbé (age group) organizations have contributed immensely to the development of Ìjèbúland. Just as men in age groups have benefitted, the women's age groups have also enjoyed government patronage, support, and interest. This was demonstrated when the Ogun State government offered employment to some of the age group members. The involvement of these women has shown that Ìjèbú women are active in the development of Ìjèbúland through the age-group system and this has further debunked the erroneous public opinion that Ìjèbú women are party-goers and docile. On the contrary, they are hard-working, social, nationalistic, and community-development oriented.

Key words: age group, women, lléyá (Eil-d-Kabir), Ojúde-Qba, Ìjèbúland

Introduction

As children grow up within the Yorùbá community, the first social setting that they find themselves in is the age group. Children that are born within two to three years of each other are regarded as peers and are assigned to the

same age group. It is within this age group that they will spend their entire life, passing from birth to death as a group. They climb up on the rungs of the ladder of responsibility within the community in the same group and contribute to the politics, economy, and social development of their communities through the age-group system.

An index of the growth, prosperity, and tranquillity of nineteenth-century ljèbúland was the systematic organization of age groups, known as régbérégbé, every three years with titles (names) reflecting significant events within their communities or important events surrounding the throne of their king. Most of the names of the age groups centered around the paramount ruler (awù-jalè) of ljèbúland and indeed around the ljèbú nation. The régbérégbé constitutes a major instrument of social cohesion and mobilization in ljèbúland. Age groups and their individual members come together to help one another in serious need. They help to further strengthen the society and execute community projects

The régbérégbé have always been the lynchpin of traditional ljèbú democratic form of government. The awùjalè, Qba Adétònà, has revived the régbérégbé for the continuous and rapid development of ljèbúland. This initiative has been yielding fruitful results and the régbérégbé are in healthy rivalry for the development of ljèbúland

Age Groups among the ljębú: A Brief

The index of the growth and prosperity of the ljebu people could easily be measured in the organization of what is today called the régbérégbé or age groups with their names given at the intervals of three years reflecting significant events around the town or events in the personal life of the paramount ruler of the ljebu nation.

In the words of Adébàjò,¹ the need for cooperation in the areas of the socioeconomic and political well-being of the Ìjèbú people actually informed the setting up of the $r\acute{e}gb\acute{e}r\acute{e}gb\acute{e}$. Although it was recorded by Òkúbótè² to have been established by Obańta, who was regarded as the founding father of Ìjèbú-Òde, the first known and recorded $R\acute{e}gb\acute{e}r\acute{e}gb\acute{e}$ was the people born between 1777 and 1780, and they were known as the $egb\acute{e}$ bá sá n lé,³ which implies that the people born around that time met certain customs and traditions in the

^{1.} Sola Adebajo, "REGBEREGBE: A Tradition That Is as Old as the ljèbú Nation." Presentation at the Bóbagúntè Recognition 2012 at the Aàfin Ebùmàwé of Agó-lwòyè. December 1, 2012.

^{2.} Ökúbótè, Moses Botu. *The History of the Ìjệbú. Qnànúgà*, C.O. and Şógbèsan, B.A. eds. Ìbàdàn: Third World Information Service Limited 2013.

^{3.} National Archives Ibadan/ Ije prof 1/656/ Age Grade Societies in Ijebu Province, 1.

society that should be emulated and imbibed. It is therefore not out of place to put on record that the age-group system had started in ljèbúland even before 1772, as the reign of Qbańta who was said to have used them as his army was already well-advanced before 1772.⁴

In yet another vein, Salami⁵ posited that the origin of the age-group system is somehow controversial, but it can be suggested that its evolution must have been an unconscious reaction to the need for mutual co-existence among the people of the same age bracket. Its formation could also have been a political device to involve all members of the community in contributing to the development of the society.

The above position is perhaps indicative that the egbé bá sá n lé (1777–1780) may not have been the first (régbér)égbé to evolve among the ljèbú people. It may therefore not be out of place to note that the régbérégbé in ljèbúland is as old as the ljèbú nation itself, because the ljèbú are known as people tied together for social and communal development, a trend that has not changed, even in the twenty-first century.

The régbérégbé was part of the ancient culture of the ljèbú people and it has been proudly used for the general administration of the ljèbú nation. The result is that the groups are consulted at various times and their views represent the consensus opinion of the people, and constitute some of the views that guide the administration of the land.⁶

This grouping, it should be noted, was not based on kinship ties but on the principle of agreement among interested individuals in the society who belonged to the same age group. This trend has changed over the years as membership of the age groups today is based on registration and acceptance of basic terms and conditions for operation, co-existence and co-operation.

According to records, the age groups in ljębúland had numbered about a hundred, and today they are attracting more attention and indeed they are one of the catalysts of development in ljębúland. Today there are about fifty-five functional age groups in ljębú named under the administration of different awûjalę.

^{4.} Okúbótě, 119.

^{5.} Wálé Sàlámì, A Historical Survey of the Pre-Colonial Socio-Cultural Life of the ljệbú, in Studies in ljệbú History and Culture, ed. G. O. Ògúntómisìn (lbàdàn: John Archers, 2002), 71.

^{6.} S. K. Adétònà, Awûjalệ: The Autobiography of Aláiyélúwà, Oba S. K. Adétònà Òg-bágbá II. Ìbàdàn: Mosuro Publishers, 2010. 217.

The Importance of the Age Groups

The age-group system among the ljebú and indeed the Yorùbá people was a common way of dating children's dates of birth and important events that took place in the community, since non literate communities were not disposed to use the Western calendar method of dating.⁷

The age-group system is a sociopolitical institution of the state, an ingenious mechanism of organizing the people for the maintenance of social morality, for law and order, and for public works and prosecuting wars. For the performance of public works or other related events, each age group was assigned specific duties to be carried out within a stipulated time-frame.⁸

The importance of the régbérégbé in ljèbúland is too obvious to be overlooked. It is obvious that modernity, Westernization, and indeed globalization have been unable to kill and subdue the régbérégbé activities in ljèbúland.

In a society like that of the Yorùbá and indeed the Ìjèbú people, where seniority is given credence and is of great importance to the people, age groups function as a means of differentiating seniors from juniors in the communities. The age groups at this level also serve as a training ground for leadership, resourcefulness, and discipline.⁹

The members of the different age groups perform economic, social, religious, and recreational functions for their members and the community. They carry out various communal duties like clearing the foot-paths leading into and out of their towns and building and repairing the palace and community halls. In other words, they do public works. ¹⁰ In addition, they carry out whatever assignment they are given by the chiefs of their towns, with the supervision of their leaders in most cases, while in some other cases they are without any supervision as it is believed that at that stage they are adults.

This was corroborated by Odùwòbi¹¹ when he pointed out that "age-groups meetings began from about the age of eighteen or twenty-one. This meant that members were old enough to take up the responsibilities, as well as enjoy the privileges, of citizenship. They could be assigned civil as well as military duties." He explained further that the mobilization of the *régbérégbé* for

^{7.} Victor B. Jatula, "The Life and Times of Timothy Odùtáyò Kútì (a.k.a. Àbùsí Édùmàrè)," in *Themes in the History of the Ìjệbû and Rệmọ of Western Nigeria*, ed. O. O. Olúbòmehìn, 123–125 Ìbàdàn: Bamon Publishing Company, 2010.

^{8.} N. A. Fádípè, *The Sociology of the Yoruba*. Francis Olú Òkédìjí and Oládèjo Òkédìjí. O. eds. Ìbàdàn: Ìbàdàn University Press, 2012 (Reprint).

^{9.} A. Fájánà, "Age-groups in Yorubá Traditional Society," Nigeria Magazine 98 (1968): 232–239

^{10.} Sàlámì, 73.

^{11.} Túndé Odùwòbi, ljèbû under Colonial Rule 1892-1960. An Administrative and Political Analysis (Lagos: First Academic Publishers, 2004), 15.

communal functions was handled by a political society known as Pampá, which announced the projects to be undertaken and the age groups to be involved in each assignment.¹²

The age groups also function as a systemic welder of people and talents, an organ of growth and development for the community. When they are newly formed the members gather first to learn their civic responsibilities to the land.¹³

The age-group system fosters close relationships among members. Members support one another and this helps to enhance their prestige. In particular, when a member retires, the other members rally round and provide all the necessary support needed by the retiring member.¹⁴

Further, the age-group system is like other unifying factors among the ljębú people such as the àgémo, ebí, obinrin òjòwú and the Ojúdé oba festivals, which were regarded as the ultimate unifying factors among the various ljebú communities and the people of the same age brackets in the nineteenth century. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, some age groups in Ògèré and lpéru¹⁵ were said to have made a route to link Rémo with ljèbú-Òde, an indication of their community support. And this singular act facilitated the movement of people, goods, and ideas among the people in lièbuland and also promoted inter-group relations. 16 The functions to be performed by the age groups may be based on their seniority, as the lièbu lay emphasis on seniority and therefore it is expected that youths should respect elders at their various meetings, they discuss matters concerning the welfare of the town and communicate their decisions to the òsùgbó in council, depending on the case. When important matters requiring consensus among the age groups are to be discussed, an assembly of the age groups known as the ajo is called. The assembly is composed of representatives of age groups in the town. Decisions taken at such meetings are communicated to the olójà or the òsùgbó as the common will of the age group. 17

The voice of the awiijale is indeed the collective voice of the régbérégbé. This was amply demonstrated in the year 2009 when all the age groups wore the same outfit in total demonstration of a community in support of a singular

^{12.} Odůwòbi, 16.

^{13.} Adétònà, 213.

^{14.} Adetóún Şộte, Ojúde Qba Festival of ljebů Ôde (lbàdàn: African Book Builders Ltd., 2003), 15.

^{15.} Ògèré and lpéru are towns in the Rémo area of Ògùn State.

^{16.} O. O. Olúbòmehin, "A Survey of Inter-Group Relations in ljebúland in the Nineteenth Century," in *The ljebú of Western Nigeria: A Historical and Socio-Cultural Study*, ed. O. O. Olúbòmehin (lbàdàn: College Press and Publishers Limited, 2010), 21.

^{17.} G. O. Ògúntómisìn, The Transformation of a Nigerian Lagoon Town, Épệ 1852-1942 (Ìbàdàn: John Archers, 1999), 38.

cause: the formation of the ljèbú State. This shows that the age groups perform political as well as social functions.

In more recent times, attention of the age groups has shifted to the construction of projects such as a modern palace and library, the sinking of boreholes, the building of a mini-theatre to host the annual *Ojúdé Oba* festival, education, and city beautification. The age groups have also provided the much needed security for the towns and villages in and around ljèbú-Òde. Since their emergence, these contributions by the *régbérégbé* to the development of ljèbú-Ode and environs have not stopped, or diminished.

The different age groups, in the bid to touch the lives of the residents of ljèbú-Òde and its environs, provided medical infrastructure for the residents and indigenes of ljèbú-Òde. This was done by the egbè oba fùwàjí age-groups (people born between 1950 and 1952) They donated a 10-bed Special Amenity Ward during the fiftieth coronation anniversary of Qba S. K. Adétònà to the General Hospital in ljèbú-Òde. 18

In like vein, the egbé bóbagbuyì age group (people born between 1941 and 1943) had contributed to the rehabilitation of the outpatient department of the State Hospital lièbú-Òde.

Although most of the projects carried out by the different age groups were done by men, some recent ones were joint projects involving the women also. The egbé bóbagbìmò obìnrin (age group of females born between 1953 and 1955) also donated a borehole for the State Hospital in Ìjèbú-Òde. In like sense, the egbé bóbagbuyì also initiated a medical scholarship award in November 2005 for indigent but brilliant students of Ìjèbú origin, tenable at Qlábísí Qnàbánjo University, Àgó Ìwòyè. 19

In the area of education and educational development, the *egbé máfówókù* has contributed to the development of the community. The age group gave scholarship awards to some selected indigent students of the Olábísí Onàbánjo University.²⁰

In the area of infrastructural development in the town, the age-group associations fulfilled one of the major and significant goals of their establishment. It was on record how the egbé bóbajólú commissioned on February 17, 2002 a public borehole at the Okè-Ajé market in ljèbú-Ode. The borehole was said to be for the benefit of the market community and the general public. This, it

 [&]quot;A Report on Egbé Bóbagbuyl Medical Scholarship Award." *Qbanta Newsday* 18,
(Sept. 2010): 55.

^{19.} Ibid.

^{20.} Adéwálé Adépòjù, "Régbérégbé: An Innovation in Age Group Association for Community Development in ljèbúland," Proceedings of International Conference on Social Science and Humanities (Ghana: Pan African Book Company, 2011), 17.

should be noted, should be one of the major provisions of the government, but it had failed to do this and it was left to the age groups to attend to.²¹

Further are the contributions of the age groups in the area of security and policing of the communities. As it is said that "security is everybody's business," the age groups have contributed to the security of the community by rehabilitating the Etí'talé Police Station, Ìjèbú Òde, which was inaugurated on July 17, 2004. This was done to boost the morale of the Nigerian Police and also contributes to security management in the community.²²

Apart from the contributions of the age groups to their various communities, they also perform social functions and indeed foster interpersonal relations among individual members. For instance, in the case of a death in any family of their members, he or she is helped by the rest of the *egbé*. They help the grieving member perform tasks that need to be done as well as to make the occasion grand with dancing, singing, and feasting. Their activities continue until the third day after the burial.²³ In other cases, the group may pay a certain amount of money to procure certain items that are needed.

Apart from the various functions of the age groups to both the community and their members, during special community events and occasions such as that of the *Ojúdé Oba* festival and the *Obańta* day celebrations, the members of the age groups are usually in so-ebí (uniform) for the purpose of identity and unification. The uniform also serves to demonstrate that the group has purpose and direction. And for the purpose of uniformity of style, the fabric is given to one tailor who is supposed to be a member of one of the age-groups. This is also to uplift the financial standing of the tailor-member. Likewise, for any other goods or services requiring payment, members of the groups are considered first. In a case where more than one member plies the same trade, the business is divided between them.

On the whole, therefore, it could be said that age groups are a convenient way of organizing the people for the performance of their duties as citizens of their various communities and their contributions are felt by all, as their membership cuts across the whole society.

Sociocultural Contributions of Age Groups

As a welder of the community, the age group has helped to bring the people of the whole community (members of the age groups especially) together to the extent that during the *Ojúde-Qba* festival, an avenue for all the age groups to meet after a year of dispersal, all the age groups are dressed in matching

^{21.} Ibid.

^{22.} Personal observation by the researcher, July, 2004.

^{23.} Fádípè, 257.

attire, based on their ages so as to differentiate one from another, which indeed is a sign of unity and solidarity. The male and female arms of each age group society usually choose uniformed attire (e.g., aṣo òkè) to wear at the Ojúde-Qba and/or other occasions. Members sit together at festivals under a banner with the group's name on it.

For instance, the awiijale stated that:

what outsiders find most striking is our way of dressing. All groups painstakingly go through their outfits and spend as much as a year to plan and organize what they would wear for social events. For uniformity, only the same tailor is used.²⁴

The age groups, therefore, buy the same type of clothes which they wore jointly on special occasions to show their uniformity, identity, and togetherness. This cloth is called aso-ebi by the ljębú. A group outfit cannot be worn by members except when it is exclusively assigned to be worn by all members. The significance of the aṣo-ebi in the ljębú society is basically to show a distinction between two or more groups and to establish their interest, one for another. Furthermore, régbérégbé (age-group) the clothes are worn to give color, to show differentiation between groups, and to show the uniqueness of the ljębú culture. 26

The point is that while the men were contributing to the physical development of ljebúland, the women were not left behind, though their contributions were not actually pronounced, but in their own ways they have helped members and non-members with financial and moral support where there is the need to do so.

Also, research has shown that some of the members of the age groups decided to join for the purpose of exchanging community values and dousing stress and tension. According to Aróbayò Àjeké Adéyemí,²⁷ when asked what benefit she derived from the age group, her response was, "the age group ... oh! the age group is for fun and exchange of pleasantries."

The above position was further corroborated by Alhaja Shoge Binta²⁸ when she said the age group was basically for "old-time's sake" and to further

^{24.} Adétònà, 219.

^{25.} Sekinat Làsísì A. "The Socio-Cultural Significance of ljèbú Fashion," in Themes in the History of the ljèbú and Remo of Western Nigeria, ed. Olúbùmehìn (lbàdàn: Bamon Publishing Company, 2010), 67.

^{26.} Ibid.

^{27.} Aróbayò Ajeké Adéyemí is the lyálájé of Egbé Aróbayò Obinrin Akilè ljèbú. She was interviewed at her shop in Dégun Street, ljèbú-Òde, on Saturday, Nov. 8, 2014.

^{28.} Shoge Binta is the founder of the Egbé Tobalàse age group (1971–1974). She was interviewed at her office at the Department of Petroleum and Petrolchemical Studies at Táí Sólàrin University of Education, Ijagun, Ògùn State, Dec. 12, 2014.

debunk the Yorùbá saying that ogún ọmọdé ở lè şeré fún ogún ọdún, that is, twenty children cannot be (play continually) together for twenty years. Each age group has at least about twenty members, and more.

As the ljèbú people are adjudged one of the very social people in Yorùbáland, it is their belief that one should have enough people around for both good and bad contingencies. This is in agreement with the Yorùbá saying that wò èyìn è wò ... bó lómọ ogun, bí ò lómọ ogun, wệ' yìn è wò, that is, look behind you, if you have supporters or not. Literally, the ljèbú believe in having friends and admirers around oneself. It also reflects the Yorùbá saying that bí mo bá bojú wèyìn, bí mo réni mi, inú mí a dùn, a ra mi a yá gágá, ènìyàn laṣo mí. This implies, if I look behind me and see my own people, I'll be happy ... for the people are mine (covering)

Further, during the burial ceremony of relatives or other social gatherings, it is expected that all members of the group be present to pay last respects or contribute to the success of the program. In any case, if a member will not be present at any occasion or function, such member is expected to receive permission and pay the assigned due (in cash or as may be stated).²⁹

It therefore implies that some people join the age groups so as to get support in the case of any social gathering or social function, especially those that would entail that they have a crowd. In cases where they need a crowd, the male and female age groups come together.³⁰

More so, in the collective social responsibility of the groups, they have contributed both in cash and in kind to various aspects of the society. For instance, egbé jagun mólú obinrin gave five bags of rice, 50 litters of groundnut-oil, one big pack of Milo, and Peak Milk to the orphanage at Owu-lkijà ljèbú in 2001. Other items such as toiletries and children's clothing were also donated to the home.³¹

In a like vein, the same quantities of items apart from clothes were donated to the ljębú-Òde Prison in 2001. This is indeed one of the social responsibilities of the women's age groups in ljębú Òde. These were not done by the jagunmólú age group alone; the aróbayò age group also took the same direction when it contributed to the orphanage at Owú-lkijà.³²

It is therefore not out of place to state that the social contributions of the women's age groups are more felt by women than by men. This is probably so

^{29.} Ibid.

^{30.} Interview of Jagun lyábộ Shittu at her shop along New Road, ljệbú Ôde, on Nov, 7, 2014.

^{31.} Interview of Jagun Kémi Hassan, the Secretary of Jagunmólú Obìnrin, Akilè ljèbú on Nov. 7, 2014.

^{32.} Interview of Alhaja Ibrahim. The òtún-lyálóde Egbé Aróbayò Obinrin Akilè ljèbú. Nov. 7, 2014.

because, as far as the women's age groups are concerned, they derive fulfilment in sitting one with another and discussing social issues and also sharing personal experiences. While some of the women in the groups are more fascinated by the pleasure they would derive from other people, others are fascinated by the fact that they are the vanguard of the ljebú social values and norms, while yet others take the groups as a source of information, relaxation, and leisure.

Political Contributions of Age-Groups (Traditional/Civil)

The function and the participation of the age group in community development and social upgrade has been almost exclusively political. Service on public works of various kinds is assigned by the political authorities with apportioned duties to various groups by their officials, after which it becomes the task of the leaders to arrange the details among the rank and file of the group(s).³³

There is no doubt that women have made relatively significant marks on Nigerian politics since independence; so also have ljębú women contributed to the political "atmosphere" of the ljębú nation. For instance, it was recorded that Qtúnba Gbénga Daniel, the former Executive Governor of Ògùn State, was supported by members of his age group in ljębú-Ode in his campaign to emerge the Executive Governor. In the words of the executive Governor of Ògùn State. He may have been aided in his prompt and favourable support by the fact that he is a member of the régbérégbé bóbakéye; the age group of people born between 1956 and 1958. He was also, before becoming Governor, a member of the Ojúde-Qba Organising Committee.³⁴

In addition to male politicians who have had the support of the age groups, some women have also taken the "bull by the horns" by contesting for elective offices and seeking the support of their group members. For instance, jagun (Princess) Títí Adésànyà, a good example from the jagunmólú age group, contested for membership in the Ògùn State House of Assembly in 2007. Though she was not elected, the political gladiators nonetheless compensated her with a job as a special assistant at the Federal Capital. And as a means of solidarity, she has contributed money to the Ojúde-Qba festival through her age group every year since her appointment. The bid to get some of the political office holders to disclose their age groups, it was established that they hold

^{33.} Fádípè, 253.

^{34.} Adétònà, 222.

^{35.} Interview of Jagun Kémi Hassan.

such offices for the good of the ljèbú "sons and daughters" and indeed for the "good" people of Ògùn State and as such, they represent the interest of the entire state and not just that of their age groups.

Economic Contributions of the Age Groups in Ìjèbú

There is no gainsaying that economic interest is the major driving force of most human activities. As such, the age groups in general have benefitted a lot from their membership. For instance, the aṣọ-ẹbí used by the age groups is supplied solely by a member of the group (this is dictated by group statutes). In a case where no member of a particular age group can provide it, the sale is contracted to a member of another age group. But the standard practice is that the fabric be bought from a member of the same age group and be sewn by another member. This is done to lift the finances of members of the group. A good example is that of egbé jagunmólú. They buy their fabrics from Jagun 'Títí Abímbólá, a member of the jagunmólú age group, and have it tailored by Jagun 'Tópé Yínúsà. These two members have their shops at the New Market, ljèbú-Òde. 36

According to Alhaja (Ìyálóde) Shoge Binta, the economic/financial support given to members differs. It mostly depends on their financial standing and their needs. This was also corroborated by Aróbayò Àjoké Adéyemí, when she noted that members are not expected to be "beggars," but members are given support according to their needs.

In a similar vein, therefore, between 2004 and 2005 the bàbá egbé of jag-unmólú age group, Òtúnba Gbénga Daniel, donated ten tricycles to the jag-unmólú age group and the tricycles were distributed among the members to ameliorate their financial status/standing. The beneficiaries were Jagun Kémi Hassan, Jagun Kudi Bóyèjo, Jagun Shadé Balógun, Jagun Ìyábò Smith and Jagun Ìdáyá Alímì, to mention a few.³⁷

Also, in the year 2004, a cooperative multi-functional society was established by the jagunmólú age group with an initial investment of five million naira. Of this, $\aleph 200,000$ was given to each member to start a new business or revitalize existing ones, with agreement to repay the loan within a specific period of time depending on the particular line of business. Also, within the period of time under discussion, some other members of the group were empowered by the Baba egb through the jagunmól age group. egb

Interview of Jagun Kémi Hassan, Jagun lyábò Síttu and lyálóde Egbé Jagunmólú
Obinrin Akilè ljébú.

^{37.} Interview of Alhaja Amdalat Olúwatóyìn. (Double T) lyálóde Egbé Jagunmólů (Obìnrin) Akilè ljèbů.

^{38.} Ibid.

Further, the jagunmólú age group runs a rental service where the money derived therefrom is used for the benefit of members at all levels. The service is for the members of the age group and the general public. Members can rent items at subsidized prices, and the proceeds are used for corporate social responsibilities. Shop attendants are employed to run the business, as most of the officers of the age group live outside of ljèbú-Ode. Moreover, during the construction of the ljèbú-Ode International Stadium, the Qtúnba Gbénga Daniel led administration employed (empowered) the women, especially members of the women's age groups, to serve as suppliers of construction materials for the stadium. This would have been contracted out to his political party stalwarts, as it is the practice in Nigeria, where contracts are doled out based on political affiliation rather than expertise and knowledge of the items to be supplied. This is because they (the members of the age groups) were well organized and were traceable to a source: the àfin (awiijalè's palace).

Conclusion

In closing, this research has opened up the fact that though the contributions of women's age groups in ljebú Ode are not as numerous as those of the men, and though they embarked on fewer public projects, in their own ways, the women have contributed to the development of the town.

Also, considering the fact that women have an array of responsibilities to grapple with within their homes and outside, they have also in no small measure contributed to the building of the ljębú nation. Though the contributions may not be considered great, it should be put on record that the women have helped other women against the general belief that "women are their own problems and enemies."

Also, it has been established in this research how the women did complement their male counterparts and not compete with them; complement in the sense that the women were able to take initiatives to establish the age groups and try as much as possible to manage the affairs and also contribute to the decision making process of ljebú-Ode through their representations in the régbérégbé-in-council where their opinions were communicated to the general public through the awùjalè.

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^{39.} Ibid.

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Alhaja Ibrahim. The Otun-Iyalode Egbe Arobayo Obirin Akile ljebú. Nov. 7, 2014

Jagun Iyabo Shittu at her shop along New Road, Ìjèbú Òde, on Nov, 7, 2014. Jagun Iyabo Sittu and IyalÒde Egbé Jagunmólú Obìrin Akile Ìjèbú.

Jagun Kemi Hassan, the Secretary of Jagunmólú Obìrin, Akile Ìjèbú on Nov. 7, 2014.