

Socio-ethical appraisal of life after death among the traditional Ibibio

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Abstract

The problem of this research is the gap in literature on life after death among the traditional Ibibio. The study explores the impact of the belief in life after death on the socio-ethical life of the traditional Ibibio worshippers. The methodology adopted for the study is qualitative survey. Plato's theory of immortality is the theoretical framework adopted for the study. Information was gathered from primary and secondary sources. The researchers found that among the traditional Ibibio, leading a morally good life is the nitty-gritty for having a comfortable life hereafter. The study concludes that life after death is an essential component of Ibibio indigenous religion and its value cannot be underestimated. Among other things, the study recommends that people should learn to respect each other's religious belief for peaceful coexistence in a religiously pluralistic society like Nigeria.

Keywords: Socio-ethical, Appraisal, Life after death

Introduction

Many scholars have written on birth, death, burial rites, life after death, reincarnation and the Ibibio traditional worldview, such that if a researcher intends to embark on further research in these areas of study, he or she may be told that those areas have already been over flogged. However, it has been observed that there is no research on the socio-ethical implications of life after death among the traditional Ibibio; not even on Google can one find relevant articles in this area of research. This is what informed the choice of the present research to investigate the socio-ethical implications of life after death among the traditional Ibibio worshippers for the benefit of votaries of the religion and the society at large.

Plato's Theory of Immortality

The theory of immortality states that there is an indefinite continuation of a person's existence after death. This theory was popularized by Plato in the fourth century BC. Plato presents four different arguments to prove that although the body of human perishes after death, the soul still exists and remains eternal. He explains the argument from opposites, that is, the argument about forms and their existence in opposite directions. His second argument is the theory of recollection which assumes that every information that one has in his or her mind is related to the soul and plays an important role in remembrance (Madu, 1997:56). While trying to convince his readers, Plato proposes another argument claiming that the soul and the body are different forms. While the body is visible and mortal, the soul is invisible (Madu, 1997:56). Therefore, Plato suggests that the soul is immortal and does not vanish after death and it is a living entity. In order to broaden his listeners' perspective on immortality of the soul, Plato guides them in grasping that there are two kinds of existence: visible and invisible existence. He tried to demonstrate the fact that while the body is visible and mortal, the soul is invisible.

Therefore, when one dies, the visible part of the body vanishes away, while the soul preserves its existence (Madu, 1997:56). The crux of Plato's argument is that the soul is immortal and thus imperishable. This explanation offered by Plato is similar to reincarnation in Ibibio Traditional Religion and African Traditional Religion at large, where it is believed that after death, while the body perishes, the soul acquires a new body and returns to the human world through the birth of a new born baby. Hence, Plato's theory of immortality is considered suitable for this research.

The traditional Ibibio people believe in life after death. Ibibio traditional ethics provide the rules for the right conducts, and prohibits wrong acts. It places emphasis on living a good life. A good man is a man of good moral character who abstains from evils, such as murder, rape, adultery, incest, theft, disrespect to elders, telling lies, ridiculing deformed or unfortunate people, cruelty or doing harm to people. A good character does not end at avoiding evil only. More importantly, it involves inculcating virtues such as kindness, generosity, hospitality, justice, respect for elders, obedience to constituted authorities, humility, chastity before marriage, etc (Akpan, 2016:21).

In Ibibio traditional ethics, doing good to others is the essence of goodness. On the other hand, evil consists of doing harm to others. Ibibio traditional ethics is basically interpersonal, with emphasis on the well-being of man in society. Also, communal life is a common feature of Ibibio traditional ethics. The traditional Ibibio society is based on communal living. Communalism is the foundation of the Ibibio traditionalist concern for the well-being of his neighbour. This is the core of Ibibio traditional ethics. The principle of communal living is anchored on the saying: *edehe udim*, which means that the

community is strength; *ubok mmum ubok mmum anye atud ekrat* (many hands put together would push a fallen tree). The strength and respect which a man has is derived from his community (Uduak Ekong, Aniefiok Tom, Monday Effiong, Uduak Sampson and Daniel Sam, personal communication, January 17, 2023). Individualism and selfishness are considered as vices; hence, they are condemned (Akpan, 2014:14).

In Ibibio traditional society, there are customs, traditions, set forms of behaviour, regulations, laws, rules, observances and taboos that constitute the moral code and ethics of society. Any breach of this ethical order is unacceptable, and is considered evil, wrong or bad; it is an injury or a destruction to the acceptable social order and peace in the society. Ukpong (2007:6) affirms this by saying that in Ibibioland, there are sanctions recognized as the approved standard of social and religious conduct for individuals in the community. Failure to conform to the acceptable pattern of behaviour is considered to be a taboo, and the culprit would incur the wrath of the ancestors of the land. As it is in civilised societies all over the world, social order and peace are recognized as essential and sacred in Ibibio traditional society (Emmanuel Okon, Odudu Brown, Peter Essien, Enefiok Umoh and John Ineme, personal communication, January 19, 2023). Where the sense of life is highly valued, it is inevitable that the solidarity and stability of that society must be maintained; otherwise there will be disintegration, disharmony, dislocation, and destruction of lives, property, and values in the society (Akpan and Eton, 2022:87).

The traditional Ibibio people have a great sense of right and wrong. This moral sense brought about customs, traditions, rules, laws, and taboos which are highly valued by men and spirit beings (the ancestors) who act as invisible police, and met out punishment to offenders, including capital punishment – death penalty. The solidarity of the Ibibio traditional society is maintained by customs, traditions, taboos and laws which constitute the moral code of the community. Violation of these moral principles results in disorder, and social dislocation (Patrick Effiong, Daniel Udobio, Mfonobong Edet, Linus Akpan and Manasseh Udo, personal communication, January 23, 2023).

Every traditional Ibibio man or woman is very conscious of the social dimension of morality. They see moral ethics from social and religious angles. They are conscious that any serious violation of the moral order has a social impact which involves serious social implications. The whole community may be affected; for every evil act has adverse effects on the individual and also on the community. The stability and order in Ibibio traditional society depend largely on strict observance, and adherence to the established cultural norms of society. Ekong (2001:17) agrees to this when he observes that the Ibibio traditional society recognizes and holds firmly to values identified as fundamental to the proper functioning and well-being of the community. To violate or go contrary to those values results in the breakdown of law and order where the cosmic order would be dislocated. When this happens, sanction must be meted out to the culprit or appropriate rituals must be performed to restore the peace and harmony of the community, for the Ibibio ancestors cannot behold taboo.

The sanctity of the traditional Ibibio society is maintained through strict observance of traditional cultural norms and values. Social order and stability is achieved in Ibibioland by observing the customs and traditions of the ancestors. Failure to conform to the customs and traditions of the land would bring punishment, such as *ubong ukot* (elephantiasis), *nyook* (swelling), poor yield, and eventual or sudden death upon the wrong-doer and his family or the community at large. Such death is considered a bad death with grave consequences, one of which is that the deceased would be denied proper burial rites, and acceptance in the community of the Ibibio ancestors (Hanson Idiong, Daniel Ekong, Okon Effiong, Eno Eshiet and Michael Akpan, personal communication, January 25, 2023).

Among the traditional Ibibio people, a person can harvest his palm fruits from afar, carry them on his head, and gather them on the bush path where motorcycle or a car can transport them to his house. Those palm fruits could be where the owner kept them from sunrise to sunset (morning to evening) without anyone watching over them; yet, no one dares to steal them. A person would visit his farmland and notice that another man's trap has caught an animal in his farmland; he will not touch that animal because he is not the owner of the trap. If he takes the animal without informing the owner of the trap, the latter may pour *mbiam* (charms) which would result in swelling, and the eventual death of the culprit. Such death does not receive burial rituals. The corpse is hurriedly discarded (Iniobong Effiom, Harry Sam, Samuel Basse, Etetim Inyang and Iboro Akpan, personal communication, January 30, 2023). Victoria Udeme observes that in her village at Ibiaku Uruan, a certain man was paid to harvest palm fruits. After the harvest, he went to the farm again behind the owner, and harvested more palm fruits for himself. The aftermath is that he was bitten by a snake which almost cost his life. Eventually, he confessed his evil deed. He was taken to the owner of the palm fruits who told him that he will die, but after a passionate plea by the thief's wife, the owner of the palm fruits imposed heavy fine on the criminal. Thus, the fear of dying an untimely death, which is a bad death in Ibibioland and denies the victim the opportunity of becoming an ancestor, can hinder the Ibibio from indulging in unethical conducts.

Furthermore, Akpan (2019:82) observes that customs and traditions are the means through which the social ethos of the Ibibio traditional society is maintained. The values of the society are passed from one generation to another and the process of socialization through education of the young ones is made possible by customs and traditions. Harmony and equilibrium are in this way maintained as every member of the community knows what to expect from his or her neighbour and what to give to his/her neighbour in return by simply observing the customs and traditions of the ancestors. No one in the community is expected to deviate from this (Ekanem, 2015:67).

The Ibibio people strive to live a morally good life because of the belief in life after death. They put great emphasis on moral character. In Ibibio, character is known as *ido* or *eduwem*. If a man has good moral character (*etido* as it is called in Ibibio), he will have good relationship with his neighbours and ancestors (Godwin Jonah, Godwin Ekene,

Solomon Asuquo, Bassey Ibanga and Esemé Okon, personal communication, February 2, 2023). Character is interpersonal. It surpasses everything. Everything depends on good character. It is expected that every member of the community in Ibibio acts in a way and manner that will always promote the good of the generality of the community. If a person chooses to abide by the customs and traditions of his forefathers, it is for the good of the person and the community at large. *Etido*, an Ibibio name borne by both male and female, further underscores the importance of having a good moral character among the Ibibio people. A person who has good character is highly valued by the community where he lives. Such a person does not only abstain from evil, but does good to all by treating everyone equally: old and young, children, widows and orphans, the rich and poor (Godwin Mfon, Inemesit Effiong, John Jeremiah, Ukpong Unwana and Clement Etop, personal communication, February 3, 2023).

A good character, among other things, means kindness, hospitality, magnanimity, truthfulness, abstaining from evil, chastity before marriage, protection of women by the men, keeping covenant relationships, observing taboos, respect and honour for elders, condemning evil, falsehood and hypocrisy. One must abstain from stealing and incest. The community condemns the seduction of another man's wife. Any man that does all these is regarded as not only doing the will of the society, but also the will of the ancestors. A person who does the contrary is considered to violate the customs and traditions of the ancestors, and will not go unpunished. The Ibibio also value greetings; thus, a person who is fond of greeting people in the community may also be regarded as a person of good moral character. He or she would be loved by the community (Nyah Joseph, George Hanson, Favour Bassey, Abia Akpan and Peace Edet, personal communication, February 5, 2023).

In the past and even now in Ibibioland, leading a morally good life, and doing good to others attract a reward, such as a chieftaincy title. In a way, this can spur people to do good in the community. More often than not, the fear of *ikan* or *ikpaisong* (the ancestral spirits) and *ndem isong* (the gods of the land) have often compelled the Ibibio people to obey the customs and traditions of the land (Essien Etim, Ndifreke Usoro, Bassey Akpan, Atim Udo and Precious Bassey, personal communication, February 6, 2023). Mbiti (1968:43) corroborates this by saying that the belief in divine moral code, and the ability of the gods of the land and ancestors to punish any infraction or violation of their ethical order is the most powerful instrument of social control in traditional African societies. Idowu (1973:7) also supports this by noting that in African traditional society, morality is seen as intimate relationship with the ancestors who established the moral principles for the good of the society. Any secret infraction or violation of their norms is a contradiction in life, and brings about a physical disorder which is indicative that someone in the community has done something wrong. The culprit would be fished out, and appropriate sanction meted out to him if not directly by the ancestors.

In the light of the above, most married women fear to sleep with a man other than their lawfully wedded husbands except he is dead because of *ekpo nkawo* – the ancestral spirits; this carries death penalty as the ancestors do not spare any culprit in their judgment. A man does not take another man’s land and call his own. If a land is in dispute in Ibibioland, the contenders will be made to swear an oath. The consequences of swearing an oath falsely could result in madness, strange sickness or death. Such deaths are not celebrated in Ibibioland. They are considered as bad deaths (Akpan Udim, Ukeme Eyo, Ntiense Udo, Silas Edet, Bassey Etim and Enam Ifiok, personal communication, February 13, 2023). To live morally means to live ethically, which is one of the requirements for becoming an ancestor and saving one’s soul from becoming a wandering spirit after death (Akpan, 2017:182).

There is no doubt that in traditional Ibibioland, ancestors are dreaded by traditionalists and Christians alike. An Ibibio Christian would dare not to perform all the traditional burial rites practiced in his community because he is a Christian, neither would he dare not to perform all the traditional marriage rites. Such deviant behaviour to customs and traditions of the land would incur the wrath of the ancestors and the penalty is death (Eyo Udo, Kufre Akpan, Nkereuwem John, Friday Ukeme and Timothy Nseyen, personal communication, February 25, 2023).

Ubok mmi afia (my hands are clean) is a common expression made by men and women in Ibibioland when something tragic happens, such as untimely death which would prompt people to find out the cause of the death. When thunder strikes, anyone who committed a secret sin will be apprehensive since thunder, known as *Abuma* in Ibibio, is anti-wickedness divinity that punishes moral offenders. Hence, death from thunder is considered a bad death. Also, in many parts of Ibibioland, widows and orphans are treated with kid gloves. People are careful not to hurt them so that they do not cry or weep, for their lamentations can move the Supreme Being, the divinities and ancestors to intervene on their behalf, and the culprit will incur the wrath of the spirit beings (Okon, 2015:20).

In Ibibio, it is the duty of parents, elders and older members of the society to teach their younger ones the various ethos, beliefs, customs and traditions of the land as a way of life through which peace is maintained in the community. These customs and traditions define various aspects of human behaviour and social activities that are approved and disapproved in the community. Almost all the ethical codes of morality in Ibibioland are in the form of prohibitions sanctioned by the ancestors who by themselves made those prohibitions. A strict adherence to the customs and traditions of the land qualifies the traditional Ibibio for a comfortable place hereafter (Eyo Essien, personal communication, March 5, 2023).

The Ibibio believe that when death occurs, the personality soul, which is the spiritual substance in a man and the essence of being, leaves the physical body. The physical body perishes, while the personality soul returns to the Supreme Being from

where it originated. The Supreme Being would then determine the fate of the departed soul based on the deceased moral character while on earth. He would either admit the soul in the company of the Ibibio ancestors or reject it. If the soul is rejected, it ends up becoming a wandering ghost that goes about haunting the living (Inemesit Bassey, personal communication, March 11, 2023). If everything were to end with the decomposition of the physical body in the grave, it would have been enough to enjoy as much life as possible, doing whatever one thinks will suit one's selfish desire without adequate regard for the discomfort of other people. But since it is in the traditional Ibibio people's subconsciousness that death only brings a change of life, and that at death, one passes from this physical world into a new world of life where one's conduct in the physical world will be judged, the Ibibio people then prepare themselves for this final end in their daily lives by ensuring they live a morally good life with their neighbours through the observance of customs, traditions and taboos of the land (Essien Essien, personal communication, March 12, 2023).

The Ibibio people believe in two types of death, namely: *mkpa etiewo* (the death of a good person) and *mkpa idiokowo* (the death of a bad person). They are sometimes referred to as *mkpa usong* (death at ripe old age) and *mkpa nsek* (untimely death) or *ediwad mkpa* (sudden death). Each of these two categories of death is determined by the type of life a person lives while on earth. Those who die bad death do not receive full funeral rites in Ibibioland. For example, when a child dies, the parents and relatives lament and bury the corpse as soon as possible since it is considered a bad death. Death as consequences of committing an abomination such as abortion, adultery, desecrating a sacred place like a shrine, breaking a taboo, etc, may be seen as punishment from spiritual unseen forces – the Supreme Being, the divinities or the ancestors who are the guardians of public norms and morality. Hence, the deceased are often buried with ritual purification and expiatory rituals.

All bad deaths in Ibibioland do not usually receive normal burial rites. Before the deceased are buried, certain rituals must be performed by specialists or traditional priests who are knowledgeable in essential rituals to prevent future reoccurrence, among other reasons. For instance, those who are drowned in Ibibio are usually buried just beside the stream or river where they were drowned with appropriate rituals; their corpses are not usually taken home for burial. The belief is that the marine spirits that indwell in that river or stream have ceased them. Thus taking the victims corpses home for burial would anger the spirits and may result in untold consequences for the deceased family, except appropriate rituals are performed to appease the spirits. Eno Williams (personal communication, March 15, 2023) corroborates this; he notes that one of his two sons who was a final year student of University of Uyo went out with some of his room mates to bathe in a stream behind Uniuyo ravine. Unfortunately, he was drowned. One of his friends who was still in the hostel called to inform him (the father) of the sad incident. Mr. Eno said when he got to the scene, he saw the lifeless body of his son laid down with

people watching. He wanted to take the corpse home for burial, but he was persuaded to bury him there because of the consequences.

Another explanation for such death is that the victim may have committed an offence secretly which led to capital punishment from the goddess of the stream. That is why such deaths do not usually receive normal burial rites. Those who die bad death in Ibibio cannot join their ancestors neither can they reincarnate. Worthy of mention here is that the goal of every traditional Ibibio worshipper is to be ancestorised and admitted in the company of the blessed departed, that is, in the community of Ibibio ancestors in the grave beyond. Only ancestors have the ability to reincarnate. To be an ancestor in Ibibioland, one must have led a morally good life while alive; ancestors are regarded as role models of good conduct in the community. They are sources of the customs, traditions and stability of the community. This is why the Ibibio people make a distinction between good and bad death. People who die bad deaths in Ibibio do not enjoy the privileges reserved for the ancestors. No funeral rituals are accorded to them. They are not given much thought; their deaths are not discussed beyond the need to dispose of their corpses as quickly as possible. They do not receive such attention given to the ancestors. They are not usually remembered and offered libation and sacrifices. They do not have ancestral shrine. Also, prayers are not offered to them. The only rituals that are performed are aimed at cleansing the community of their sin since it is believed this may affect the harmony of the community adversely. Hence, cleansing rituals are performed to maintain social harmony in the society (Akpan, 2020). This explains the collective nature of the traditional Ibibio conceptualization of sin. The sin of one man is capable of affecting the whole community; therefore, cleaning rituals are performed to remove such sins (Nse John, personal communication, March 18, 2023). And because the spirits of such dead people are not admitted into the company of the blessed departed, they end up becoming wandering ghosts or spirits, caught between the land of the dead and the world of man. They are known as *mfim mfim ekpo* in Ibibio Language. Udo (1983:12) corroborates this by saying that a person who is not given proper burial rites or a person who died accidentally or abnormal death cannot find a convenient place in the land of the dead. Each new comer must knock at the gate in the spirit world. After a while, *Abasi* (the Supreme Being) would respond: *aniewo idoro* (who is it)? When the person answers, the door would be opened, and the person would be granted access. He would find himself in a great hall where the Supreme Being sits in His throne surrounded by men.

Abasi would ask the new comer, “what gifts have you brought?” The new comer may say: “cows, goats, sheep, fowls, clothes, yams, manilas, pots and so on, all spent on my funeral ceremony.” The new comer would be welcome and allotted a convenient or a befitting place in the community of his or her ancestors. However, a poor man with no gifts given to him at burial is cast into the world beneath where there is utter darkness; from there, the souls of wicked people or those who died bad deaths and were not given proper burials, wander about in this world as *mfim mfim ekpo* also called *ukpakka ekpo*

(wandering ghost). Manasseh Udo (personal communication, March 16, 2023) affirms this by saying that when a person dies, his spirit hovers around the compound waiting for the funeral rituals to be performed to facilitate its transition to the spirit world. If the rites of passage are not observed during the funeral ceremony, this would hinder the acceptance of the spirit of the dead in the spirit world. To this end, the Ibibio traditionalists are careful to observe all the moral precepts or the extant laws of the land in order to be in the good books of the Supreme Being, the divinities and ancestors who are the guardians of public norms and morality. This of course, among other things, will qualify them for long life, good health, and complete funeral rituals after death which are prerequisites for membership in the company of the Ibibio ancestors. A life well lived in the human realm guarantees the same type of life in the spirit realm after death, as the spirit world is believed to be a carbon copy of the physical world.

Good death takes place when one lives to a ripe old age. Living a morally good life qualifies the traditional Ibibio people for good health, long life and good death. All good deaths in Ibibioland are attended with much merry making, embellishments and traditionally approved elaborate burial rituals. The death of an old person is an occasion for much rejoicing; the ritual elaboration is heaviest at such funerals since people see nothing tragic about it. Such death is regarded as a celebration of life well spent on earth (Iniobong Effiom, personal communication, April 12, 2023).

From the foregoing, out of the 63 persons interviewed as sample representatives from the nine Local Government Areas that make up Uyo Senatorial District (Ibibioland), none disagrees that the traditional Ibibio people believe in life after death. They all admitted that without living a morally good life in Ibibio, one may not be in the good books of his ancestors who are the guardians of public norms and morality, and that one may die untimely death as a consequence of one's sin. Such death is considered a bad death, and as such, it is not celebrated throughout Ibibioland, but denied normal burial rites which is one of the requirements for becoming an ancestor among other things, where lies the goal of every traditional Ibibio man or woman. We can, therefore, say in simple percentage that 100% of the respondents all agreed that the belief in life after death has socio-ethical implications among the traditional Ibibio people.

If there were to be no hope for life after death, the traditional Ibibio people would have lived their lives any how according to their whims and inclinations, according to the dictates of their selfish desires without consideration for what is the acceptable standard of behaviour in the society. If all that the traditional Ibibio people do in life were to end here on planet earth, with no punishment for evil conducts, whether in this life or in the next life, and reward for leading a morally good life, the Ibibio man would kill his fellow man when he is highly provoked, and commit all manner of atrocities in as much as he is able to hide his evil deeds from the searching eye of the law. People would take other people's property and call their own; a man would take another man's wife. People would take their own lives when it seems the whole world has fallen on them, just to walk away and

be free from the numerous challenges and problems in this life. Thus, the belief in life after death influences the socio-ethical life of the traditional Ibibio people - it makes them good citizens and law abiding, thereby promoting peaceful coexistence in society.

Conclusion

From the above, obviously, the traditional Ibibio people believe in life after death and think of it as having similar features as the present life. It is also clear that the idea of hereafter to them is correlated with the belief in reincarnation. Both ideas are reaffirmed in the belief in ancestors – the living-dead. This is the driving force behind the various rites performed for the dead, and these rites are very significant and important to the people. Their importance explains why the Ibibio go to any length to perform them for their dead relations.

The Ibibio believe that the quality of life after death for good people is an enlarged copy of the life lived here on earth but without labour, sorrows and toils. The community of ancestors is organised in a way similar to the earthly society, but with amenities for peaceful coexistence and happiness considerably enhanced. The real picture of life after death for the traditional Ibibio, therefore, is a life of an unending fellowship in the community of one's kith and kin who had gone earlier to the grave beyond. Leading a morally good life guarantees the Ibibio a comfortable place after death. The belief in life after death is, therefore, an essential component of Ibibio indigenous religion that has impacted positively on the ethical life of the Ibibio traditional worshippers. It makes them law-abiding and good citizens and thus, promotes peaceful coexistence in society.

Recommendations

The following have been recommended:

Everyone is entitled to his or her own religious belief, provided such belief does not constitute harm in any way to the health of the society, such as ritual killing, noise pollution, or making the road impassable for other road users as we often witness during most religious rallies, festivals, crusade or open-air service.

Also, no religious belief can be said to be superior or inferior to another. All religions are equal but different in forms. They are different paths to the same God.

The present researchers wish to encourage other Ibibio indigenous scholars of African Traditional Religion to carry out more research on Ibibio Traditional Religion, so that more literature will abound for future researchers on Ibibio Indigenous Religion.

There is no gainsaying that nowadays times are hard; hence, it is unfair to one's self to expend all the resources that could have been used to improve one's life just to bury the

dead. This does not suggest in any way that the traditional Ibibio adherents should not show respect to their departed loved ones; of course, they should, but not at the expense of selling off their valuables and sometimes incurring debts to bury the dead. Such excesses could be written off so that after the burial, the bereaved family will have what to fall back on. This is possible as tradition was made for man, not man for tradition.

Finally, this work is strongly recommended to the general public, particularly students and teachers of African Traditional Religion. It promises a useful companion for future research on Ibibio Indigenous Religion and African Traditional Religion at large.

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Primary Sources

S/N	NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	PLACE	DATE
1.	Uduak Ekong	55 years	Herbalist	Uyo	17/1/2023
2.	Aniefiok Tom	40 years	Bricklayer	Uyo	17/1/2023
3.	Monday Effiong	49 years	Bricklayer	Uyo	17/1/2023
4.	Uduak Sampson	42 years	Bricklayer	Uyo	17/1/2023
5.	Daniel Sam	40 years	Bricklayer	Uyo	17/1/2023
6.	Emmanuel Okon	42 years	Teacher	Uyo	19/1/2023
7.	Odudu Brown	44 years	Civil Servant	Uyo	19/1/2023
8.	Peter Essien	52 years	Tailor	Uyo	19/1/2023
9.	Enefiok Umoh	40 years	Teacher	Uyo	19/1/2023
10.	John Ineme	46 years	Teacher	Uyo	19/1/2023
11.	Patrick Effiong	47 years	Tailor	Uruan	23/1/2023

12.	Daniel Udobio	63 years	Herbalist	Uruan	23/1/2023
13.	Mfonobong Edet	40 years	Public Servant	Uruan	23/1/2023
14.	Linus Akpan	45 years	Engineer	Uruan	23/1/2023
15.	Manasseh Udo	60 years	Retiree	Uruan	23/1/2023
16.	Hanson Idiong	55 years	Farmer	Etinan	25/1/2023
17.	Daniel Ekong	54 years	Bricklayer	Etinan	25/1/2023
18.	Okon Effiong	40 years	Civil Servant	Etinan	25/1/2023
19.	Eno Eshiet	59 years	Retiree	Etinan	25/1/2023
20.	Michael Akpan	43 years	Civil Servant	Etinan	25/1/2023
21.	Iniobong Effiom	45 years	Estate Valuer	Ibesikpo	30/1/2023
22.	Harry Sam	40 years	Welder	Ibesikpo	30/1/2023
23.	Samuel Basse	41 years	Businessman	Ibesikpo	30/1/2023
24.	Etetim Inyang	50 years	Businessman	Ibesikpo	30/1/2023
25.	Iboro Akpan	39 years	Electrician	Ibesikpo	30/1/2023
26.	Victoria Udeme	40 years	Businesswoman	Ibesikpo	30/1/2023
27.	Godwin Jonah	40 years	Bricklayer	Nsit Atai	2/2/2023
28.	Godwin Ekene	37 years	Teacher	Nsit Atai	2/2/2023
29.	Solomon Asuquo	40 years	Teacher	Nsit Atai	2/2/2023
30.	Basse Ibanga	50 years	Businessman	Nsit Atai	2/2/2023
31.	Eseme Okon	40 years	Civil Servant	Nsit Atai	2/2/2023
32.	Godwin Mfon	53 years	Village Head	Itu	3/2/2023
33.	Inemesit Effiong	47 years	Farmer	Itu	3/2/2023
34.	John Jeremiah	59 years	Retiree	Itu	3/2/2023
35.	Ukpong Unwana	60 years	Retiree	Itu	3/2/2023
36.	Clement Etop	50 years	Teacher	Itu	3/2/2023
37.	Nyah Joseph	40 years	Businessman	Nsit Ibom	5/2/2023

38.	George Hanson	45 years	Welder	Nsi Ibom	5/2/2023
39.	Favour Bassey	43 years	Plumber	Nsit Ibom	5/2/2023
40.	Abia Akpan	52 years	Teacher	Nsit Ibom	5/2/2023
41.	Peace Edet	40 years	Public Servant	Nsit Ibom	5/2/2023
42.	Essien Etim	50 years	Farmer	Nsit Ubium	6/2/2023
43.	Bassey Akpan	46 years	Welder	Nsit Ubium	6/2/2023
44.	Nfreke Bassey	60 years	Herbalist	Nsit Ubium	6/2/2023
45.	Atim Udo	55 years	Midwife	Nsit Ubium	6/2/2023
46.	Precious Bassey	40 years	Trader	Nsit Ubium	6/2/2023
47.	Akpan Udim	57 years	Farmer	Ibiono	13/2/2023
48.	Ukeme Eyo	54 years	Plumber	Ibiono	13/2/2023
49.	Ntiense Udo	63 years	Farmer	Ibiono	13/2/2023
50.	Silas Edet	59 years	Farmer	Ibiono	13/2/2023
51.	Bassey Etim	70 years	Trader	Ibiono	13/2/2023
52.	Enam Ifiok	43 years	Welder	Ibiono	13/2/2023
53.	Eyo Udo	58 years	Civil Servant	Uruan	25/2/2023
54.	Kufre Akpan	46 years	Civil Servant	Uruan	25/2/2023
55.	Nkereuwem John	56 years	Public Servant	Uruan	25/52/2023
56.	Friday Ukeme	45 years	Public Servant	Uruan	25/2/2023
57.	Timothy Nseyen	46 years	Farmer	Uruan	25/1/2023
58.	Obot Isaac	60 years	Trader	Uyo	1/3/2023