## Christian Missions as Agents of Transformation: A Case Study of Baptist Missions in the Orashi Region of Nigeria

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#### **INTRODUCTION**

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were great epochs in missionary and missiological histories. The centuries witnessed significant advances in cross-cultural missions and the development of missiological theories and experimentations with mission strategies aimed at making the gospel impactful in many cultural contexts. Significantly, missionaries from many different organisations travelled across borders of nations, engaging with other cultures. In those engagements, along with the proclamation of the gospel, technical and scientific achievements were projected. Such deployments have led to significant connections of local cultures with others around the world, birthing rapid development and transformation of culture. In many important respects, missionaries were not only agents of the globalization of Christianity, they also significantly contributed to the modernization of local cultures in several places around the world.<sup>1</sup>

The history of Christian missions in Nigeria has been documented from several perspectives.<sup>2</sup> The earliest attempt at introducing Christianity into the region was in the mid-fifteenth century. That brand of Christianity fizzled out by the beginning of the seventeenth century. An enduring missionary impact began in 1842 when the Church Missionary Society began work in Abeokuta. Christian witness has spread into many locations since those years, resulting in significant societal modifications. The impact of Christianity on the nation has not been monolithic. However, there are many locations in the

country where the advent of missionary activities has permanently altered their identity. One such location is Orashi, where Christian witness began in 1909.<sup>3</sup>

This paper is an aspect of the author's PhD dissertation. Being a significant part of the overall missionary history of the Niger Delta, the author has done historical appraisal of Baptist missionary efforts in Orashi between 1904 and 2020. Hence, this paper shall provide a brief overview of the Baptist missionary history of the Orashi region. It shall also discuss the impacts of the activities of Baptist missionaries in the area to call a global Christian audience to the transforming power of the gospel in a specific location in Nigeria.

#### MISSIONS AND SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION

The New Testament demonstrates that the gospel of Jesus Christ transforms people, nations and cultures. As a testimony to this, several works have been written about the transforming power of the gospel in many parts of the world.<sup>4</sup> Two such works shall be discussed. Alvin Schmidt<sup>5</sup> describes the historical development of Christianity and the changes it has brought upon the human race. The author illustrates the impacts of Christianity on cultures, law, education and social structures through schools, hospitals, orphanages and other social institutions. He argued that missionary efforts often increased literacy, improved public health, social reforms and societal transformation. Dana Roberts argued that Christianity has undergone cultural adaption to exert

<sup>1.</sup> Kim Christaens, Idesbald Goddeins and Pieter Verstraete, eds, *Missionary education: Historical Approaches and Global Perspectives* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021), 7.

<sup>2.</sup> There are several texts written from various perspectives. Readers who are interested in the history of Christianity in Nigeria may check the following J. F. A Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria (1841-1891): The Making of New Elites (London: Longman Groups Ltd, 1965); Taye Adamolekun, "Main Trends in the Church Growth in Nigeria" in European Scientific Journal 8, (23, October: 1); E. A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914 (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1966); Michael Omolewa, Certificate History of Nigeria (London: Longman, 1986), Bulus Y. Galadima and Yusufu Turaki, "Christianity in Nigeria" in African Journal of Evangelical Theology 20 (1, 2001, 92); Ajayi, S. Ademola, Baptists of Nigeria: Their Genesis, Identity, Doctrinal Beliefs and Practices, Ibadan: BookWright Publishers, 2009.; Crampton, Edmund Patrick Thurman. Christianity in Northern Nigeria. Burns & Oates, 1979; Ekechi, Felix K. "Colonialism and Christianity in West Africa: The Igbo Case, 1900–1915." The Journal of African History 12, no. 1 (1971): 103-115; Fafunwa, A. B., History of Education in Nigeria, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979; Fleck, Ian. Bringing Christianity into Nigeria: The Origin and Work of Protestant Missions. Bukuru, Jos: African Christian Textbooks, 2013; Sanneh, Lamin. West African Christianity: The Religious Impact, New York: Orbis Books, 1992; Shaw, Mark. The Kingdom of God in Africa: A short history of African Christianity. Baker Pub Group, 1996; Turner, H.R. African Independent Church: The Church of the Lord (Aladura). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.

<sup>3.</sup>Samson Olugbenga Adebayo, *Historical Appraisal of Baptist Work in Orashi Region of Rivers State 1909-2020* (Ogbomoso: The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2023), 125.

<sup>4.</sup> There are many great works on the history of Christian missions. A few of them are Kalu, Ogbu U., (ed.) African Christianity: An African Story. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2005; Kim, Sebastian and Kirsteen Kim. Christianity as a World Religion. London: Continuum, 2008; Isichei, Elizabeth, A History of Christianity in Africa, From Antiquity to the Present. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1995; Jenkins, Philip. The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia---and How It Died, New York: Haperone, 2008; LaGrand, James. The Earliest Christian Mission to 'All Nations' in the Light of Matthew's Gospel. Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999; Moreau, Scott; Gary R. Corwin and Gary B. McGee. Introducing World Missions: A Biblical, Historical, and Practical Survey. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Bakers Academic, 2004; Neill, Stephen. A History of Christian Missions. London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1964; Oshitelu, G.A., Expansion of Christianity in West Africa. Abeokuta: Visual Resources; Pratt, Zane, David Sills and Jeff K. Walters. Introduction to Global Missions. Nashville, Tennesse: B & H Publishing Group, 2014; Shelley, Bruce L., Church History in Plain Language. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2008, Turker, Ruth A. From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1983; Walls, Andrew. The Missionary Movement in Christian History. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1996.

<sup>5.</sup> Alvin J. Schmidt, *How Christianity Changed the World* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004).

transformative power on local cultures.<sup>6</sup> Towing the lines of Schimd's thought, he catalogued the efforts of protestant missionaries to Christianize local cultures through education and social justice. Roberts added that many missionaries included Bible translation, printing and distribution, which often go hand-in-hand with establishing schools to train people to read the bible and train leaders for local churches.<sup>7</sup> She also noted that agriculture and medical work, from which specialised works dedicated to combating Tuberculosis and Leprosy and other social reform movements developed, were part of missionary arsenals. She illustrated that missionary health workers led movements against obnoxious practices in China, India and Africa.<sup>8</sup>

From the above mentioned, several inferences can be drawn about the history of Christian missions. One may infer that Christianity and its missions have significantly shaped the history of the world from the beginning. It can also be deduced that the past two centuries have experienced accentuation of missionary impacts across continents. The twentieth century has been rightly dubbed "the great century of Christian missions." One may also decipher that Christian missions have gone cross-cultural in a more dynamic way in the centuries under discussion. Another discovery is that Christian missionaries have deployed several strategies and methods to advance the course of the gospel in many lands. Such strategies included education, healthcare services, social justice, and agriculture, among many variations. It is equally significant to note that Christian missionary efforts have significantly impacted Africa, like many other continents, in the past two centuries.

#### **ORASHI REGION**

Orashi is a pseudo-political geographically delineated region consisting of four local governments in the Rivers State of Nigeria. The area was named after the bigger of the two major rivers in the region. The other river is called the Sombriero River. According to Ekiye, the political categorisation was done in the days when Peter Odili was governor of Rivers State. He explained that Kalabari land was distinguishable in several local governments. Ditto for Ikwere, Okrika and other political units in the state. The four local governments along the Orashi River had about seven different people groups. Their diversity placed them at a disadvantage. Hence, they had to create an entity that would match what other political units had. Since the Orashi River runs through the four local governments, the political leaders from the region agreed to name the area "Orashi."

Orashi region is located in the present Rivers State

of Nigeria. It has four geographically contiguous local governments. The northernmost area is Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni, a local government headquartered in Omoku. Its western portion is Ahoada West, with headquarters in Akinnima. The eastern flank is Ahoada East, with headquarters in Ahoada town, while the southernmost portion is administered by Abua/Odua local government from Abua Central. There are eight distinct but culturally related people groups in the region. They are Egbema, Ndoni, Ogba, Ekpeye, Ogbogolo, Engenni, Abua and Odual. Each of the people groups has several clans and subdivisions. According to the 2020 estimation, there are more than one million people in the Orashi region.

# AN OVERVIEW OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY HISTORY OF THE ORASHI REGION

Missionary activities in the Orashi began through indigenous witness. According to documented oral traditions, Buguma, a Kalabari settlement south of Okarki, had experienced the power of the gospel through the Baptist Missions. Atata George, a committed Christian from Buguma, was a trader on the Orashi River. He became friends with an Engenni man named Okiya. Atata George witnessed Christ to Okiya and his friend, Okorio, and the two were converted at Okarki in 1904. Atata and his new converts started a Baptist Church in Okarki the same year. From that tiny beginning, the Christian faith spread to every part of Orashi.

Baptist missions in Orashi have been indigenous in origin and initial growth. However, the fortunes of the work in Orashi were significantly influenced by the person and ministry of Miss Scagg, assisted by Miss Dale Moore. When anyone within that region mentioned the word "the missionary", 75% of the time, the reference was to Ma Joe Scagg. Her influence transcended the Orashi region. Miss Scagg was appointed missionary to Nigeria on April 12, 1939. She arrived on July 1, 1939. After a brief teaching career in the Ogbomoso Seminary (1939-40), she became a general evangelist and missionary advisor in the Benin area (1940-42) before she moved to the Port-Harcourt area as a general evangelist.

Miss Scagg moved to Joinkrama in 1942.<sup>14</sup> Her stay in Joinkrama led to the opening of what was to become the Baptist Hospital in Joinkrama, in 1945. She also started the Pastor School at Joinkrama in 1963. The school moved to Ahoada in 1967. The Pastor School has become a part of the Baptist College of

<sup>6.</sup> Dana L. Roberts, How Christianity Became a World Religion (West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2009).

<sup>7.</sup> Ibid, 48-50.

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid, 51.

<sup>9.</sup> Felix Ekiye, Interview by the Researcher, Udebu Community, 13/08/2021.

<sup>10.</sup> C. T. T. George, A Brief Baptist Work in Niger Delta 1893-1950 (Port-Harcourt: TMG, 2010), 29.

<sup>11.</sup> Chris Etiga, "A Brief History of Engenni Baptist Association" in W. O. Asita (ed) *A Brief History of the Rivers Baptist Conference* (Port-Harcourt, SAMAG, 2007), 31.

<sup>12.</sup>George, 29.

<sup>13. &</sup>quot;Josephine Anna "Ma" Scaggs" in *A Century of Nigerian Baptist Convention: A Call for Celebration and Renewal* (Ogbomoso: The Publishing Unit, Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014), 137-138.

<sup>14.</sup> Travis Collins, 41.

Theology, in Obinze, since the 1990s. <sup>15</sup> Seeing the need to equip student pastors' wives, she began the Home Craft Center in Ahoada. The school was converted into a Vocational College in 2005. <sup>16</sup> Miss Scagg's most significant contribution is in church planting and leadership development. Except for churches planted before 1945 in Orashi, all churches in the region until 1971 mentioned Miss Scagg in the history of their founding. In 1970, there were at least 95 Baptist churches in the area. Other missionary churches and para-church organizations were also significantly present.

#### IMPACTS OF BAPTIST WORK IN ORASHI

#### Education

Like most other missionary organisations, evangelism through educational institutions has been one major strategy of Baptists globally. In Orashi, Baptist missionaries introduced formal education early in their work. Primary schools were established in Okarki, Joinkrama, Emesu, and Biseni. Faith Opwuari<sup>17</sup> and Apapa Eli<sup>18</sup> indicated that those schools brought Western civilization into the region. Opwuari illustrated that several men and women who rose to prominence from the region were products of those Baptist schools. Suotor 19 added that the school at Emesu was a very prominent institution that played a leading role in the educational history of several Niger Delta communities. It was observed that many older people from the region who had just primary school education, could conveniently and fluently engage with anybody at a deep intellectual level and in English language. Some such men, including Onita Okirie, Friday Eli, and Emmanuel John rose to become prominent businessmen.<sup>20</sup> Some young people, such as Christopher Osuampe, Carson Akiagba, and Imoru Jack, went beyond primary school.21 Others went to theological schools and became pastoral leaders within the region and beyond.

Apart from the primary schools, Baptist missionaries also started the Preliminary Training College (PTC) in Abua. The PTC was initially intended to serve as a preparatory school for those who wanted to attend Pastor Schoo in Joinkrama. However, with time, the school became a feeder institution for Baptist Colleges

in Iwo and later Obinze. Many young men from the region trained in PTC, Abua became Headmasters in government schools and leaders of thought in their local churches and communities. Many young people who became university graduates from the region were children of people trained in PTC, Abua. Thus, the educational ministries of Baptist missions laid the foundation for the future educational progression of the region.

The missionaries also introduced theological education. The Pastors' School at Joinkrama (PSJ) was the oldest theological institution in the South-East and South-South of Nigeria. The school did not just train church pastors for the churches; many of such men who graduated from PSJ also became community leaders whose impacts on their communities were very significant. For instance, A. F Otoma was a pastor and a community leader in Omoku. His influence in the community was very significant. Gunn Dimogu, Michael Eluozo, Rueben Oku, Johnbull, and others did not hold traditional titles. They were pastors. Nevertheless, their leadership within their communities was significant. For example, in Engenni, most community decisions were taken in the church under the leadership of the pastors. In Obor, until his death, Michael Eluozo was a critical stakeholder in decision-making that affected the community. In Ahoada, Friday Anthony, who was trained in the Bible School, was a major key player in restoring normalcy to Ekpeye in the days when a rival cult gang war ravaged the entire region. Hence, the PSJ, which offered theological education, also significantly contributed to the positive morals in the society. Ken Enyubara<sup>22</sup> observed that beyond the ministries in the churches, Pastors trained in the theological institutions became rallying points for the development of the societies.

Related to the PSJ was the Home-Craft Centre, Ahoada. The centre was created to respond to Pastors' wives' need for skill acquisition. Those women needed to be trained in craft making and basic home economics to be good wives providing financial and other material support for their husbands. A lot of Pastors benefited immensely from that intervention. However, the success stories from the centre made more young ladies in Ahoada and the rest of Orashi enroll in the institution. At some point, enrollment was as high as 200 trainees per semester. Their curriculum was expanded to include Basic English, Arithmetic, and Social Studies.

Furthermore, reports indicated that the school became a strong evangelistic institution. Several data from the school indicated that they had regular baptismal services before graduation. Therefore, the school served multiple purposes. It trained people in basic skills for homemaking and ministry. Therefore, the Baptist school contributed significantly to estabilising marriages across the region. It also

<sup>15.</sup> Minute of the Executive Committee Meeting of the Rivers Baptist Conference, Port Harcourt, 05/09/1996, 39-43.

<sup>16.</sup> Minute of the Advisory Board Meeting of the Baptist Home Craft Center, Ahoada, 17/07/2004, 1-3.

<sup>17.</sup> Faith Opuari, Interview by the researcher, Port-Harcourt, June 2022. Faith Opuari is an Engenni woman. She is a retired staff of the University of Port-Harcourt.

<sup>18.</sup> Eli Apapa, Interview by the Researcher, Ahoada, June 2022. Eli Apapa grew up in Okarki, one of the major towns of Engenni people. He is an Accountant and works with the Baptist Vocational Centre, Ahoada.

<sup>19.</sup> Suotor John B, Interview by the Researcher, Abua, June 2022. Suotor is a retired Baptist Pastor and a community leader in

<sup>20.</sup> Christian Fai, A Brief History of First Baptist Church, Isua and the Spread of Baptist Mission in Joinkrama (Omoku: Jeff Printing and Publishing, n.d), 15.

<sup>21.</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>22.</sup> Kenneth Enyubara, Interview by the Researcher, Obinze, June 2022.

contributed to the socio-economic development of the land. Furthermore, it became the channel through which many young women became Christians. Lastly, it became a civilizing agent for the communities.

One more way the Baptist missionary efforts transformed Orashi is through orthography. The history of Engenni, Ekpeye, Ogba, Egbema, and Abua orthographies bear bold Baptist imprints. Nicholas Baba<sup>23</sup> indicates that the Engenni language was reduced to writing by Baptist missionaries. He further indicated that the first materials translated into Engenni were portions of the Bible, tracts and religious literature. The NT, which Rueben Oku translated, is a standard linguistic work being used in Engenni churches. While the history of Ogba orthography has not been documented, records show that Obulor Ochogba, one of the young men who started the Baptist church in Omoku, spearheaded the translation of a few books of the NT. This researcher sighted copies of the gospel of Matthew and Mark in the Ogba language, bearing the signature of Obulor Ochogba. He was working with the late Oba of Ogba land to produce a standard book on Ogba orthography when he died. The manuscripts are still in his house. Richard Nwaufa, who converted the New Nation Church, Okwuzi, to Baptist with his family, single-handedly produced the first textbook of Egbema orthography.<sup>2</sup> From the above, one can see that apart from starting schools and training people, Baptists have contributed to reducing the local languages into writing.

### Socio-Political

Baptists have been significantly involved in the life of Orashi. The contributions of Baptists have been enormous in the transformation of society. Baptists constitute one major force for the moral transformation of Orashi society. Respondents explained that the teachings in Baptist churches, the moral uprightness of people, and the contributions to eradicating poverty are some of the ways Baptists have moderated the social lives in the region. Ekiye and Odoya specifically illustrated that the teaching of Baptists through Sunday School and Church Training helped people to develop a sense of moral right and wrong. They added that Baptist schools and training centres were centres of moral development.

Furthermore, records show that Baptist people were the primary force that led to the abolition of the killing of twins in that region. In Engenni, each community had a forbidden forest where twins were disposed. However, two related events stopped the practice. First, the forbidden forest was allotted to Baptists for building their place of worship in the hope that something malevolent would happen to them. However, their survival defeated the claim of evil spirits eating up twins in that forest.<sup>25</sup> Secondly,

having understood the word of God, the Baptist people stopped surrendering their twins for killing. Having survived attacks with charms and other threats from the traditional communities, nothing else could be done about the twins' situation. A similar story has been reported in Oghora (Abua). So, it is to the credit of Baptists in the region that anyone born twins could live an everyday life and grow old. Baptists stopped the killing of twins and other obnoxious practices in many parts of the region.

Politically, Baptists are at the forefront of Orashi. Several Baptists have been groomed to perform leading roles in the political life of their communities and the state. They do these by being involved in monarchical leadership and democratic structures. In Ogba land, some notable Baptists who have been involved in political leadership included Richard Nwaufa, who was a palace chief in Egbema. Felix Adube, Isaac Akio and Eric Otoma were also traditional rulers. In Ekpeye, there are about six high chiefs who are Baptists.<sup>26</sup> They are making significant differences in their communities. In Engenni, most of the current traditional rulers of the communities are Baptists. The only part with least representation is Abua. More work needs to be done to get Baptists involved in the traditional rulership of the kingdom.

In democratic governance, several Baptists are making impacts. Several of them are active members of political parties. Ekpeye and Engenni are relatively better than the rest in this regard. A good number provide party leadership for political parties, while others are elected into significant political positions. At some point, there were about three members of Baptist churches in Ekpeye who were appointed Commissioners in Rivers State government. The current chairman of Ahoada West LGA is one of the children of a Baptist Pastor. Asita O. Asita, the younger brother of one of the past Conference Secretaries, and a Baptist was a Member of the National House of Representative. However, in Ogba land, the level of participation of Baptists in politics is relatively lower compared to Ekpeye. Baptists in Ogba and Egbema still feel that believers should not be involved in politics. In the same vein, the number of Baptists in high positions in government is very negligible. More works need to be done to get Ogba and Egbema Baptists to change their attitude to politics. Abua exhibits a relatively worse attitude and involvement in politics. As at the time of gathering data for this work, there is no single Baptist person known in high profile political position.

#### Health and Community Development.

The most famous contribution of Baptists to Orashi was probably in the area of health and community development. Miss Scagg, the prima missionary to the region, was significantly concerned about the health needs of the region. Orashi region, because of its location, was endemic with several disease vectors.

<sup>23.</sup> Nichola Baba, Interview by the Researcher, Joinkrama, June 2022. Nicholas Baba was a Retired Headmaster.

<sup>24.</sup> Funeral Programme for the Burial of Late Richard O. Nwaufa, 07/11/2015, 4.

<sup>25.</sup> Eli Apapa, interview.

<sup>26.</sup> Ken Enyubara, interview.

The burden of morbidity for Malaria, Filariasis, Pneumonia, gastro-enteritis and other water borne infection was very high. Hence, morbidity and mortality was high. Therefore, the siting of the Baptist Hospital in Joinkrama was a major contribution toward alleviating the health crises of the time. The hospital served a lot of persons, up to southern Ijaw and some island communities in the Atlantic. <sup>28</sup>

The health care facility served more than attending to the health needs of the people. It also led to influx of commercial activities into the region. Nicholas Baba explained that the presence of the hospital attracted a lot of commercial activities and ventures into the community. Walking through Joinkrama, one noticed that there were several abandoned commercial buildings along the Ususu bank of the Orashi River. Those buildings, according to Becky were used as stores for consumables in the haydays of the hospital. Laime<sup>29</sup> explained that as the hospital grew, more people were drawn from several locations to Joinkrama. Some of them had needs for items that were not available in the hospital. Hence, a market gradually grew on the river bank close to the hospital. Items like foodstuff, footwear, nets, and pharmaceutical consumables gradually found their way into the market. Some of the traders eventually settled in Joinkrama. The market was flourishing until the outbreak of the civil war, when the community was repeatedly sacked.

Baptist Missions also impacted the environmental health and development of transportation system in the region. Baba<sup>30</sup> and Obioma<sup>31</sup> recalled that the missionary doctors and Nurses did not use only drugs. They emphasized on personal and community hygiene. They encouraged the community to drain swamp and open up creeks. Two very important creeks that were drained were Kolo Creek and Taylor Creek. Those creeks eventually became access for goods and services from adjoining communities into Orashi region. Regina Ukwosa<sup>32</sup> reported that the creeks were the waterways they used in transporting their farm's produce to the markets of Joinkrama and as far as Nembe. Hence, the presence of the hospital enhanced both healing of the environment as well as improved waterway transportation.

One other way the Baptist brought development into the region was through introduction of agriculture. It is to the credit of the Baptist mission that new crops and fruits came into the region. Such fruits included Guava, several species of Mango, Cashew and Citrus. Many of those fruit trees are still

in the hospital compound and several locations across the region. The significance of those fruits and crops were demonstrated in their use as non-pharmaceutical healthcare intervention. An illustration will be given here. According to Osuampe, 33 his daughter was the first person treated by the missionary Nurses. He narrated that she was treated with cereal and milk. And the girl recovered. That treatment shows that the girl may have suffered from nutritional deficiency, which was consistent with the status of many communities in those days. It will be recalled that a similar situation was what gave birth to the founding of Kersey Children Home in Ogbomoso. The introduction of those crops and fruits played significant role in the enhancement of nutritional health of the region. Some of those people took the seed or seedlings of those fruits to their communities, thereby contributing to the botanical richness of the region.

#### CONCLUSION

Christian missions has been a great agent of transformation. No culture remains the way it was when it came into contact with the gospel of Jesus Christ. In the Orashi region of Nigeria, the story of the transforming power of the gospel has been very great. The Baptist missionary adventure in the region began in 1904. The instruments for the proclamation of the gospel were church planting, educational institutions, and healthcare. Those instruments facilitated leadership development, improved healthcare, transformation of culture and other benefits. The fruits of the Baptist missionary efforts in the region is a great testimony to the transforming power of the gospel of Jesus.

33. Osuampe Brantley, Interview by the Researcher, Joinkrama, 12/06/2022.



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<sup>27.</sup> Kpulubor Lucky, interview by the Researcher, Omoku, 22/07/ 2016. Kpulubor was the Senior Medical Laboratory Technologist in charge of the Hospital at Joinkrama after the government took over the facility.

<sup>28.</sup> Baba. Interview.

<sup>29.</sup> Laime Monday, interview by the Researcher, Joinkrama, 12/06/2022.

<sup>30.</sup> Baba. Interview.

<sup>31.</sup> Obioma, Interview

<sup>32.</sup> Regina Ukwosa, interview by the Researcher, Omoku, 11/06/2022.