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### Indigenous Knowledge in ÀbÈní Alágbo-Òru (a Yorùbá Video Film): Panacea for Social and Political Disharmony in Nigeria

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Yorùbá indigenous knowledge is a resource that the people use to solve local problems maintain healthy living and manage local affairs among others. As we modernize our society in response to global change and challenges, the society has distanced itself from indigenous ways of solving problems; discriminating against it as outdated, fetish and unfashionable. This negative attitude is regrettably reflected in the contents of most Yorùbá video films. The producers of Àbení Alágbo-òru aware of this, decided to project the Yorùbá indigenous knowledge in the film with the aim of revealing a people to itself and the entire world. This paper therefore, examines how the film presents Yorùbá indigenous people and their knowledge in the area of health, education, administration and cultural import to promote Yorùbá indigenous values for the nation's social and political advancement. It also assesses the significance of Yorùbá indigenous knowledge embedded in the contents of the film and posits that Yorùbá indigenous knowledge can be used to resolve the health and socio-political challenges in contemporary Nigeria.

Keywords: Yorùbá, indigenous knowledge, film, Àbení Alágbo-òru, health.

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Research area: politology.

#### Introduction

Yorùbá film is one of the most educative components of building the society. It is on record that the Yorùbá film industry emerged in the 1970's as an offshoot of the Yorùbá Traveling Theatre Movement, Timothy-Asobele (2003:1), Àlàmú (2010:24). This Yorùbá itinerant theatre was pioneered by Hubert Ògúndé (Adédèjì (1971), Jeyifo (1984), Ògúndèjì (1988)) who created an enviable tradition for other indigenous dramatists to follow. The production of Yorùbá

film industry began in 1976 with the production of Olá Balógun's Àjàní Ògún (Jeyifo (1984), Àlàmú (1991), Adélékè (1995)). The film which featured Adéyemi Afoláyan and Dúró Ládiípo theatre troupes presents the social problems of treachery and corruption. Ever since, the production of Yorùbá films has witness a tremendous growth. Àlàmú (2010:28) reports that Kolá Olátúndé's *Igi dá*, produced in 1990 was the first Yorùbá video film. He asserts that it was Muyideen Arómire (which many people believed pioneered Yorùbá

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video film) that popularized it with his consistent productions and collaborations with other producers after his debut in 1992. The production of Yorùbá video films which is running into several thousands today is making its impact felt globally.

The contents of the Yorùbá video films are diverse and numerous. Unlike in the past when the contents are carefully selected to reflect the producers' intention to provide vital pieces of information about the Yorùbá socio-cultural and political heritage in order to fulfill the task of socio-political mobilization and mass education of the society, the contents of most of the Yorùbá video films in contemporary Yorùbá society are found to be blasphemous, obscene, indecent and injurious to morality. Most of these video films expose our traditions to ridicule, encourage illegal or criminal act, reinforce the corruption of public morality and glorify the use of violence such as robbery, kidnapping, sexual violence, prostitution, and greed.

Among the few Yorùbá video films that uphold the moral values of Yorùbá is Àbení Alágbo*òru*. The film fall under what Àlàmú (2010:48) described as improvisational mythological films. According to him, such films perform the functions of myths; they are more individualistic, flexible in synthesis of characters, themes, locale and topically current. For instance, Abení Alágboòru uses the Yorùbá indigenous knowledge to explore the goings-on in contemporary society by reflecting the society back to itself in order to have social equilibrium. Àbení Alágbo-òru though set in the past but sees the past as the necessary precondition of the present. The major focus of the film is on some aspects of our indigenous health practices and it gives some fine images of what we have lost due to our excessive attachment and idolatry of Western culture and value system. The film presents the indigenous people and their knowledge by showing among other things how

the indigenous health and political systems can be used to resolve our health and political challenges in the contemporary Nigeria. It is against this backdrop that we examine the significance of the indigenous knowledge embedded in the themes and contents of Abení Alágbo-òru and how they are used to promote Yorùbá indigenous values for national social and political advancement.

#### Yorùbá Indigenous Knowledge

It will be misleading to adopt one definition for indigenous knowledge. This is due to the fact that there is multiple understanding of indigenous knowledge which is dependent on local environments. A scholar such as Rajasekaran (1992:4) defines indigenous knowledge as a systematic body of knowledge acquired by local people through the accumulation of informal experiences and intimate understanding of the environment in a given culture. Battiste and Henderson (2000:42) believe that indigenous knowledge includes know-how skills, innovation practices, teaching and learning handed down from generation to generation. They also assert that it is the expression of the vibrant relationships between the people, their ecosystems; and other living beings and spirits that share their lands. These scholars observed that these multilayered relationships are basis for maintaining social, economic and diplomatic relations through sharing with other people. They conclude that indigenous knowledge is never static but rather dynamic in its shape and substance. Steiner (2008:9) claims that indigenous knowledge gives essential knowledge for survival and that its value lies in its ability to deliver social and economic goods which can help to alleviate poverty if popularized and integrated with modern systems. Janke (2000:5) observes that indigenous systems are orally based and that it develops overtime through intergenerational refinement. He added that indigenous systems are constantly evolving and subject to complex kinship relationship about who may hold and disclose knowledge. From the foregoing, it is evident that indigenous knowledge is a developed system which is unique to a culture. It is learned and passed through generations. However, it is not static. On this premise we shall examine Yorùbá indigenous knowledge.

Yorùbá indigenous knowledge is a resource that the people use to solve local problems, to maintain healthy lives, prevent conflict, build solidarity and manage local affairs. It is expressed through the language which provides the most accurate way of understanding the knowledge. As we modernize our society in response to global change and challenges, the society has distanced itself from indigenous ways of solving problems in such a way that local solutions were discriminated against as outdated, fetish and unfashionable. This has led us to overlook and neglect the potentials of indigenous knowledge as a resource. This negative attitude towards Yorùbá indigenous knowledge is regrettably reflected in the contents of most Yorùbá video films. The producers of Àbení Alágbo-òru aware of this fact, decided to project the Yorùbá indigenous knowledge in the film with the aim of revealing a people to itself and the entire world.

## The Producer of Àbệní Alágbo-òru: A Short Biography

The story was written and produced in 2012 by Ìbíkúnlé Kabir Adémórítán (an Ìkòròdú ANTP Cultural Ambassador). Mr. Ìbíkúnlé was born into a Muslim family on 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1971 in Ìkoròdú, Lagos State, Nigeria. He started his elementary education in African Bethel Primary school in Ìkoròdú before moving to Etùnrènrèn primary school where he graduated in 1985. As a youngster, he fell in love with Yorùbá culture and even led a cultural troupe in his primary school days. Ìbíkunlé attended United High

school Ìkòròdú between 1985 -1991. He studied Economics at Lagos State University, Qʻjoʻ in between 1996 - 2000. He currently works as a school officer at Ultimate Concept, an educational consultant to Lagos State Polytechnic which he co-founded with his elder brother, Honorable Saheed Qládàpo. Mr. Ibikunle Kabir is married to Alhaja Sherifat Ibikunle many years ago and they are blessed with children. Mr. Ibikunle has produced other Yorùbá video films. This include Jagun Qʻké (2003) and Akuko Qràn 2011.

#### Synopsis of Abení Alágbo-oru

The film portrays a society controlled by forces (good and evil) which exert their influences on the society. The influences present conflicts in the life of the people. This is made into a story woven around Abeni, who possesses the mystical power and the ability to harness the potency of plants to cure all manner of ailments. Abeni's deep conviction to render her services for free stemmed from the origin of her powers. At tender age, Àbení asked her mother, Fehintolá, whom she got the power from, why it is always in the night that she prepares the concoction she gives to her client for free. Fehintolá told Abení the origin of her power and why she should not levy anyone for her services. Abení obeyed the spiritually backed directives of her mother. Trouble however, started when the coalition of cultist tried to drag her into their confraternity in order to swell their exploitative rank. When Abení turned down the offer of membership into the confraternity, the group decided to punish her by implicating her in a murder case. Àbení was arrested; she pleaded her innocence but was imprisoned. In prison, Abení became wild and decided to punish the town for their ingratitude. She later went to Bóorépé on self exile when the Ayédáadé's warriors rose against her. Bóorepe was not trouble free for her. However, she won all battles that confronted her and she was honoured.

## Indigenous Knowledge in *Àbèní Alágbo-òru*

The cinematographic representation of indigenous people and their knowledge in  $\grave{Abeni}$  Alágbo-òru is embedded in its themes and contents. For this study, the following are selected for discussion in the film: Health, Education, Administration and Cultural import. The significance of these to the society will also be examined.

#### Health

Health is the absence of disease/ sickness. Sickness may be spiritual, emotional, mental, personal or family health. A healthy state is when one is free of pain or discomfort, a state when one is at peace with oneself as well as others and is in harmony with other elements of one environment, Joe (2001:2). Yorùbá aboriginal healing is based on tradition which believes in the use of herbs as primary sources of medicine. This is reflected in the old Yorùbá song below:

Sélerú àgbo

Herbal concoction that spring forth Àgbàrá àgbo

Flood-like concoction

LOşun fi ń wemo re;

Are what Qsun used to heal her adherents Kí dókítà ó tó dé.

Before medical (orthodox) doctors arrived.

Long before the orthodox medicine, indigenous way of healing play a significant recognized role in the health care of the people. For example, among the Yorùbá people, rural dwellers prefer herbal medicines in form of roots and herbs than orthodox ones. Some indigenous healers identify themselves as herbalists, others as spiritualists or diviners and many as combination of both, Lopez-Levers (2006:89). Among the

Yorùbá people, the various terms that are used for traditional doctors are *Babaláwo*, *Adáhunṣe* and *Onísegùn*.

Wikipedia shows that Traditional African Medicine is a holistic discipline involving indigenous herbalism and African spirituality, typically involving diviners and herbalists. Little has been done in recent decades to enhance and develop the beneficial aspects of Yorùbá indigenous health systems which are locally accessible, culturally relevant and most times affordable. Lack of proper documentation, standardization and regulatory mechanism has rendered it unsafe. The fact however remains that Yorùbá indigenous medicines, techniques and knowledge were effective because they have been time-tested and in many instances used for treating physical, cultural and psychological ailments. Bearing this in mind and the fact that something is fundamentally wrong with the current health status of Nigerians, many of which are caused by poverty, poor condition of environment (social and physical) and government, the producers of Abeni Alágbo-òru takes us back to the root. In order to generate a desired result, the film shows that indigenous medicinal practice involves a complex combination of activities: beliefs, witchcraft, herbs and incantation- a verbal aspect of mystical and magic used to control the physical and metaphysical world. The reason for this may not be far fetched. The African universe is a world of relationships and interactions between the living and the dead, between the natural and the supernatural, Anselm Adodo (2002:20).

The film shows how both Fehntolá and her daughter Àbení acquired the knowledge of how to use herbs to heal in a supernatural way through witchcraft. The film reveals how Àbení was given leaves and roots to eat in her dream and how she was given a strange pot filled with water:

#### Extract:

"...Ewé nìyen o, má a jẹ́. O ti béwé mulẹ lónií, ó di dandan kéwé ó jẹ́ fún ẹ. Gbogbo ìgbà yóòwù tóo bá fẹ́ lo ewé, la àtẹ́ lẹwọ́ ẹ, kó o bu yẹpẹ̀, kí o wá sa odù Ifá kan si, Qsá méjì ẹlẹyẹ; kí o wá pe gbólóhùn yìí pé 'ewé dìde, jẹ́egùn! (lẹ́ẹmẹ́ta)... wà á da iyẹpẹ̀ náà sí ara ewé kan ṣoṣo, ó di dandan kígba ewé máa jẹ́ fún ọ..."

"...These are herbs, eat them. You have covenanted with herbs today. It must do your bidding. Anytime you need herbs, get some sand, open your palm and make the sign of Ifá oracle for Qsá méji eleye and say as follow: 'Arise leaf and be effective.' (Three times) Spread the sand on a leaf, it is a must for other leaves to be answerable to you..."

Àbení woke up to see leaves in her mouth. The dream became a reality. Abení not only prepares her concoction in the night, she cooks it with the fire she invoked. Acquiring powers through witchcraft is not strange among the Yorùbá people. The belief in witchcraft has such a dynamic force on Africans in spite of the influences of western education, industrialization and modernization, Ògúngbèmí (2007:127). Throughout in the film, Abení is so passionate when it comes to healing people with diverse ailments. This earned her a sobriquet Abení Alágbo-oru, Aşèwòsàn mágbè jé (Àbèní, owner of night concoctions. The one that freely treats her patients). The people of the town loved and revered her. One lesson to learn from this is that all professional, such as Teachers, Lawyers, and Engineers and most importantly the Medical practitioners: Nurses and Doctors should have passion for their profession. The medical doctors

should put other people's interest above selfinterest as shown in their oath:

"...The health of my patient will be my first consideration..."

If this is followed, it would reduce incessant strike action over unfulfilled promises by the government in the sector and promote both the national and the patient interest.

The importance of good health to the economic growth and overall development of a nation cannot be over emphasized. It is said that a healthy nation is a wealthy nation. In other for public health goals to be realized in Nigeria, government should put in place a programme which would allow collaboration between Traditional and conventional Medical Practitioners. The cooperation between the two bodies would enhance better and reliable primary health care delivery system, Agiobu-Kemmer (2014:22). Ordinarily, orthodox medicine and alternative medicine are acceptable worldwide. May be that is what prompted the World Health Organization to promote the integration of Herbal medicine and complementary and alternative medicine into the nations healthcare system. Bakare (2014:10) reports that scientific interest in herbal medicine in the countries of Asia and Europe has continued to grow. In Germany, one-third of graduating physicians studied herbal medicine and a therapeutic guide to medicines has long been published there. Agiobu-Kemmer (2014:22) also asserts that technologically advanced countries like Japan, China and India have integrated their traditional folk practice into their healthcare system. A drug ZMAPP developed and patented in the USA and approved by its Food and Drug Agency to fight Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) is gotten from Nicotiana Benthamiana (The Punch August 30, 2014). Nicotiana is a herbaceous plant indigenous to Australia. Muanya (2014:46) observes that countries like China, Germany,

United States, India, Australia and France are raking in billions of dollars annually from traditional medicine. The reverse is the case in Nigeria. This is so because we are always skeptical about discoveries made by Nigerian scientists. This reminds us of the Yorùbá old adage: 'Onígbá níí pe igbá rè ní àákàrá kí wón tó ba fi kó ilè' – How others treat your possessions depends on how you handle them (sótúndé 2009:300). If not, the United States Environmental Protection Agency would not termed Nano-Silver, a drug manufactured by a Nigerian as an antidote to Ebola Virus Disease that had become endemic in West Africa and a scare in the world as pesticide in order to market their untested ZMAPP. One is short of words when Nigeria government requested that United States should send the untested drug to her to cure Ebola in the country.

Instead of spending millions of naira on untested foreign drug, Nigeria government should look inwards by examining the claims by a member of the national committee on Ebola and a professor of Phamacognosy, Professor Maurice Iwu who said his company has developed orógbó (bitter kola) drug Garcina IHP which improve immune system of the body. Likewise, government should not downplay the claims by Professor Adébukunola Oşítélù, a consultant ophthalmologist at college of Medicine, University of Lagos/Lagos University Teaching Hospital (LUTH) that Corchorus olitorius, Ewédú 'Jute' can improve the body immune system and cure Ebola and bitter kola drops for glaucoma cure. (The Guardian September, 11, 2014 pp 41,48). Adebayo (2014:12) reports that a research fellow at the Nigerian Institute of Medical Research, Lagos, Dr Dan Onwujekwu has noted that boosting immune system might help most patients survive the onslaught of Ebola virus as none of the survivors got any experimental drug during treatment. In order to sustain our healthcare

system, government should initiate a process to formalize the extraction, standardization, safety and efficacy of tradomedicines in Nigeria.

#### Education

Yorùbá indigenous education is a long process where the society is the 'school'. It starts from home. That is why it is called eko ilé 'home training'. *Eko-ilé* embraces what Awóníyì (1975:365) calls character building as well as the development of physical aptitudes, acquisition of moral qualities, knowledge and techniques needed to take active part in social life. The end product of èko ilé is to make an individual an omolúàbí. According to Awóníyì (1975:364), an omolúàbí must be honest, courageous, sociable, devoted to duty, have respect for old age, loyalty to one's parents and traditions and must be ready to assist the needy. In Abení Alágbo-òru, Abení is omolúàbí personified. Her love for Avédáadé her town, and Bóorépé, the town she sojourned knows no bounds. She is humble, this she showed in the way she greets the kings and chiefs with respect. Whenever her dead mother appears to give her instructions, Abení obeys, even when such instructions is painful and contrary to her wish. Besides, Abení discharges responsibilities with high task commitment and attitudes. This is reflected in her commitment to heal the king's daughter in Bóorépe and her willingness to save the town from destruction that looms on the natives. Abení is truthful and hardworking. Though, her truthfulness brought agony to her when the coalition of cultist implicated her in murder case.

For sustainable national development, we have immense lessons to learn from Yorùbá traditional education based on the concept of *omolúàbí*. If every citizen endeavour to imbibe and practice the qualities of *omolúàbí* in private and public lives, our nation would be better for it as it would remove political instability and

reduce crime and corruption in the society. Foreign and local investors would like to invest in the economy; this would in turn avert economic dormancy, stagnation or retrogression.

#### Administration

There are differences in political and social structure within Yorùbá country. The study of these differences, however, constitutes one of the major fields of historical research, Llyod (1973:207). Despite the variation noticed in the social and political structure of Yoruba society, the institution of kingship is common throughout the country. All Yorùbá towns with few exceptions have the same origin, share identical features and built on one uniform plan, Johnson (1921:90). Every town is headed by Oba-king. The oba elects the village heads - baále who must necessarily be answerable to him. Both the Oba and baále appoints his chiefs and other civil officers that help in the administration of justice within his domain. Every chief or other appointee is responsible to the oba/baále. This system of administration is shown in the film Abení Alágbo-òru. Àbení is a native of Ayédáadé where she lives and practices as herbalist and healer for free. When Abení was alleged to have committed murder, the chiefs advised the oba to deal with her ruthlessly. Instead, the oba put Abení in prison pending the outcome of his investigation. This generated a conspiracy among the chiefs and the people. They rose against Abení and the oba. Àbení went on self exile on the advice of her mother. There was a greater pestilence after Àbení left Ayédáadé. *Iyá Qba* (the king's mother) advised him to consult Ifá (which is believed to be the custodian of all divine wisdom in Yorùbá cosmology). The solution to Ayédáadé's problem is that Àbení Alágbo-òru must be brought back to Ayédáadé. When Abení refused to come, the chiefs advised the oba to wage war against Bóorépé where Abení sojourned. Oba Ayédáadé

however use the advice of his mother to maneuver his way to avert war with Bóorépé. There was also epidemic in Bóorépé before the arrival of Àbèní Alágbo-òru. A strong herbalist and a warrior caused the epidemic to punish the people because its *oba* in council renege in the agreement they had with him that he would be made *Balogun* of the town if he could kill the monster that troubles them.

The significance of these for national development cannot be far fetched. In what happens in Ayédáadé, and Bóorépé, our national leaders should always draw a line between aids with selfish and self-centered advice and those who in the interest of the nation may want to give a genuine advice. The leaders should also differentiate between malevolent, mischievous objective criticism. National leaders who willingly entered into agreement with professional Labour association to better their conditions of service should endeavour to honour such agreement. This would show that our leaders are men/women of integrity, people to be trusted and honoured. By this, it will remove bitterness, anger, mistrust, fear and deep suspicious from the citizenry. Beside the fact that this would ginger the workers to contribute their quota to the nation building, it will also solve the problems of social disharmony and political repression and instability.

#### **Cultural Import**

In contemporary Yorùbá society where western culture seems to have interfered and revolutionized indigenous Yoruba culture in terms of dressing, food, language, religion, occupations and ceremonies, the producer of Àbệní Alágbo-òru believes that culture has significant impact upon the behaviour and attitudes of individuals. That is why the film promotes indigenous cultures through the use of language, exotic costumes and natural

background. First, the film uses standard Yoruba language for effective communication. Yorùbá language is an integral part of people's culture. The totality of a people's culture is usually transmitted by means of language. Unfortunate enough, the younger ones in our society today are now drifting away from the indigenous language in preferences of foreign language. Government should therefore come up with a well language policy aimed at revitalizing our indigenous languages in schools.

Second, the film projects Yorùbáin digenous fashion in the use of Adire, aso-oke and akún/ ilèke (beads) as necklaces and earrings. The decline in the demand for adire and other locally designed fabrics in Nigeria were largely caused by the collapse of major indigenous textile mills across the country in the early 1990s. During the period, many Nigerians working in the industry lost their jobs. Today, àdire industry is one of many textile industries that might soon vanish from our society if spirited efforts are not taken by relevant stakeholders to address the fundamental issues involved in the decline. Government should put in place consistent economic policy that would remove the waning patronage of the indigenous fabrics. Funds must be earmarked to fully strengthen and develop the textile industry. This would at the end create employment for many citizens across the country, reduce the influx of foreign textiles, improve internally generated revenue drive and bring foreign exchange through the exportation of the indigenous fabrics. The hair-do of the women in the film is indigenous. There is no arrant display or exposure of boobs as we have in other Yorùbá contemporary films. Interestingly, the producer of Abeni Alágbo-òru is a Cultural Ambassador. During our interaction with him, the song on the lips of this cultural enthusiast seems to be 'going back to the basics.'

#### Conclusion

Yorùbá mythological films are adaptations of legendary narratives that present part of the beliefs and practice of the Yorùbá people. This type of film was spearheaded by the late Hubert Ogunde (Oyewo 2003:144) in the production of *Aiye* in 1979 and *Jaiyesinmi* in 1980. Thereafter, Yekínì Ajíléye produced *Kòtò Qrun* and *Kòtò Ayé* in between 2000-2003. In light of this, it shows that *Àbení Alágbo-òru* was not the first Yorùbá mythological film. However in our opinion, *Àbení Alágbo-òru* was the first Yorùbá mythological film whose themes and contents may be applied to current issues in the society.

Film is a veritable tool for social and political engineering in any national development. It can be used to effectively mobilize people and create awareness on topical issues in the society, Amu (2001:169). This as the basis, the production of Abení Alágbo-òru is in a way, a major contribution to the debate on importance of integrating the alternative medicine in the healthcare system of the nation. The challenge in the health sector in the country is enormous. For instance, malaria is a great killer. It kills more than the dreaded Ebola. Today, malaria virus has shown greater resistance to some of the antimalaria drugs produced in recent times. Muanya (2015) writes that Nigerian researchers have produced potent anti-malaria herbal cocktail for orthodox drug-resistant malaria. Also, Umeha (2014:54) reports that Hepatitis B virus is more infectious than HIV. According to National Survey of Viral Hepatitis, no fewer than twentyone million Nigerians are living with hepatitis B and C (inflammatory conditions of the liver). Furthermore, beside the number of death recorded by the Ebola Virus Disease, the disease took enormous toll on the nation economy, individual lifestyles and businesses. The solution to these health challenges reside in alternative medicine. For instance, Oyeyemi (2011:45) writes that Professor G.O Onajobi of Hematology/Oncology Department, Howard University, Washington D.C said that traditional medicine has always provided solutions to (malignant neoplasm) cancer patients. Therefore, to harness the potentials in traditional medicine, government and the private sector must aggressively invest more resources into herbal plants research development in Nigeria in order to improve scientific evidence from test done to evaluate the safety and effectiveness of traditional medicine products. As much as possible, government, (through relevant ministries, departments and agencies) needs to recognize the protection and practice of traditional medicine and integrate it fully into the primary healthcare system.

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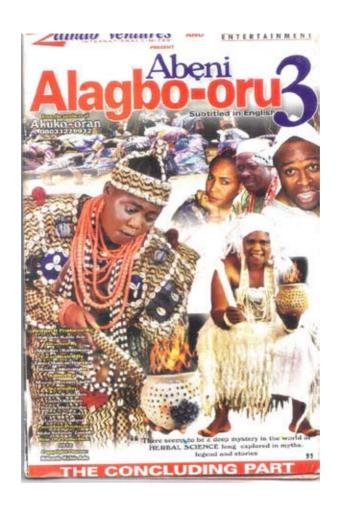
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#### APENDIX 1



# Знания коренных народов в Абени Алагбо-Ору (Фильм йоруба): панацея от социальной и политической нестабильности в Нигерии

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Знания коренного народа йоруба являются ресурсом, используемым людьми для решения локальных проблем, поддержания здорового образа жизни и местного управления. По мере модернизации нашего общества в ответ на глобальные изменения и вызовы общество дистанцировалось от национальных способов решения проблем, считая традиционные знания устаревшими, фетишистскими и немодными. Такое негативное отношение, к сожалению, находит отражение в содержании большинства фильмов йоруба. Создатели Абени Алагбо-Ору, зная об этом, решили показать знания коренных народов йоруба в фильме с целью обратить на них внимание страны и всего мира. В этой связи данная статья посвящена исследованию того, как фильм представляет коренной народ йоруба и их знания в области здравоохранения, образования, администрирования и культуры, с целью продвижения ценностей йоруба для социального и политического развития страны. Более того, дана оценка значимости знаний коренных народов йоруба, демонстрируемых в фильме, и сделан вывод, что данные знания могут быть использованы для решения социально-политических проблем и проблем здравоохранения современной Нигерии.

Ключевые слова: йоруба, знания коренных народов, фильм, Абени Алагбо-Ору, здоровье.

Научная специальность: 23.00.00 – политология.