



Vol. 23, No. 1, 2025

DOI: 10.14746/jpg.2025.23.1.1

Oladosu Olusegun Adebolu

Obafemi Awolowo University (Nigeria)

ORCID: 0000-0003-3623-7010

Bateye Bolaji

Obafemi Awolowo University (Nigeria)

ORCID: 0009-0002-9432-0517

Akinwumi Paul Akintunde

Obafemi Awolowo University (Nigeria)

ORCID: 0009-0002-5156-6162

Ademuyiwa Adewale Lukman

Ladoke Akintola University of Technology (Nigeria)

ORCID: 0009-0004-8977-4957

Abiyamọ (Constructive Mothering) and Abiyaya (Destructive Mothering): Dynamics of Gendered Parenting in a Globalised Yorùbáland and Indigenous Feminism

ABSTRACT. Using the notions of abiyamọ and abiyaya, we examined the dynamics of gendered parenting in a globalised Yorùbáland and indigenous feminism, basically as encapsulated in Yorùbá orature. More often than not, parental mannerism and ethical instruction among the Yorùba is dispassionately imbued with gender control. Yorùbá orature is replete with proverbial directives that epitomise parental nobility in constructive child training. A parent is either referred to as abiyamọ, when the child is adequately trained or abiyaya, which is a derogatory connotation of the term abiyamọ to depict the antithesis. The authors elucidate that although abiyamọ grammatically applied as a feminine term, it can be used to represent all genders and also is not limited to fecundity. Several theories and viewpoints attempt to explain the multidimensional process of motherhood and child training. In this paper, we purposefully adopted the feminist theories of motherhood and the Durkheimian socio religious analysis of religion to interrogate data. It was concluded that the ethics of abiyamọ must be upheld and sustained in order for the vast majority of social evils and vices associated with globalising influences to be ameliorated.

KEYWORDS: *abiyamọ*, *abiyaya*, child training, parenting, indigenous feminism, Yorùbá orature, Durkheimian sociology, globalization

Introduction

Child training in Yorùbá worldview is all-encompassing because it takes a normative structure built upon an ideal societal value. If a child assimilates the culture of the society in a better form, which improves the stakes of development of that society then the parent receives the accolade of *abiyamọ* but if otherwise the parent will be considered as *abiyaya*. The category of *abiyamọ* as recognized by Yorùbá culture in recent times has reduced significantly allegedly due to globalised modern training methods and the detrimental habits of parents toward the discipline of children, which has adversely impacted indigenous education and its values. In this paper, we argue that just as there are positive mothering, there can also be negative mothering. This refers to parenting behaviours that are detrimental to a child's total well-being. Traditionally, many local communities did not follow a strict male/female binary. Instead, they recognised more fluid gender roles that allowed for individuals to embody elements of both male and female roles. The analysis and evaluation of these acts from the backdrop of religion and cultural ethics form the philosophy of our discussion in this paper.

Dale Carnegie notes that “destiny is not a matter of chance but a matter of choice” (2007). This wisdom finds expression in the Yorùbá attitude to child training. The Yorùbá from time immemorial never take to chance how their children (both biological and dependent young relatives) were educated. Instead, they but make a frank decision in their comportment of how a child should be mentored. Mentoring a child is engaged with virtue theory that showcase a medium of cultural identity. In this theory, evidence of mannerism and ethical standard is a priority. The evaluation of this theory in Yorùbá parlance is seen in the worldview of *Ọmọlúàbí* literally a person of good character, integrity and one who behave as a patrician. *Ọmọlúàbí* is an indigenous epistemology of the Yorùbá people that is summed up in the word *Iwa* which can be translated as character. Bolaji Idowu (1996, p. 161), indicated through ifa corpus, *Ogbe ogunda*, that *Iwa* from Yorùbá understanding is a stuff that makes or mar destiny or that makes life a joy because it is pleasing to God. In this epistemology, *Orunmila*, the oracle of wisdom, mandated *Iwa* as a means of success in life. This is indicated in two different sayings among the Yorùbá people:

- a) *Obinrin s'ọwa nu*
O ni oun o m'ori ọkọ w'aye.

A woman who lost her good character,
was lamenting that she was not destined to have a husband

- b) *Iwa nikan l'oşoro,*
Iwa nikan l'oşoro,
Ori kan ki buru l'otu Ife,
Iwa nikan l'osoro.
Character is all that is requisite,
Character is all that is requisite,
There is no destiny that is unfortunate in *Ifẹ* city,
Character is all that is requisite.

Engaging a child with manner in Yorùbá culture is the responsibility of parent and such parent that does it rightly are considered to be *abiyamọ*. The attitude of parent in one hand and the manner in which a child is directed are mediums through which the character of the child will be molded. During formative stage, a child is always onward looking to their parent. Whatever the parent does will become a trademark for the child to emulate, with this direction; parent is very careful to give signal that can distort the thinking of a child at this very particular stage.

Development to this thinking is the philosophy of breach considered to be a new normal in the acts of parenting which allowed children more freedom as against socio-cultural and religious values and norms of Yorùbá people which are to edify social habits in a more positive way. The major factor for the cause of this is seen to be the attitude of parents in the standard they engaged their children in this modern period towards training and habits that make them men or women. The parents that involved in this act, as used in this paper, are tagged as *abiyaya* which is semantically antonym of *abiyamọ*. In other words, *abiyaya* is a tonal-play derived from *abiyamọ* and is used in a way to satirize the parents who their parenting styles are against socio-cultural and religious values of Yorùbá people.

Yorùbá society has two levels of society; one is micro society while the other is macro society. In the first level, the act of pre-school teaching considered as home training is significant and necessary while the macro is seen as the echelon that gives aesthetic training in terms of practical influence from different structure of the society. In both levels, socialization of a child is considered to be important. In the former, parents played a major role while in latter, environment and the society determines how a child will be socialized.

The imposition of certain unwarranted manners in the macro stage as against the pre-school teaching has modified the way of life of younger generation nowadays as this is noticeable in the realms of dressing, children upbringing, form of family system and religion. In this development, parents are considered to have mastermind these inappropriate character or behavior developed by the younger generation. The challenge of modernity to the concept of *abiyamọ* and *abiyaya* as a form of mannerism in parenting will therefore be identified through this essay via the model of mother and father to child relationship among Yorùbá people. This will be done with the systematic interpretation of proverbial symbols and Ifa corpus that engaged the cultural ethics and religion of the people.

Foregrounding Existing Relevant Literature. The Theoretical Framework

Previous works on motherhood and mothering focused on variegated themes. Acholonu theorized motherhood by promoting the concept of motherism, which she sees as a positive male-female cooperation rather than being combative. Olúwolé (2001) sought for a redefinition of women within cultural the ambit Ogungbile (2009) highlighted motherhood symbolism and ritual essence in African Indigenous spirituality. In the same vein, Bateye (2013, 2019) theorized motherhood in the esoterical context of ritual purity. Solanke & Oladosu (et al., 2015) investigated the utilization of maternal health care services by examining its relationship to religious affiliation in Nigeria and Oyěwùnmí (2015) probed the colour of the gender of motherhood. O'Reilly (2019) examined maternal theory vis-à-vis patriarchal motherhood and empowered mothering. Moreover Olayinka (1997) analysed a selection of femininity – related proverbs from a feminist hermeneutical view, while Oladosu, Aluko & Sa'Adú (2022) examined feminism and deity personification in selected Yorùbá proverbs. Furthermore, the paper adopted socio-religious theory of Emile Durkheim, which investigates the moral value of religion in a society. Uricoechea (1992) and Thompson (2015) affirmed that Durkheim propounded this theory based on his view that religion is part of the society and the main purpose of religion functionally is to serve as an identity and to guide faith and social behavior. Durkheim's view religion has high influence on the society as he emphasizes religion

as fundamental part of the society established to ensure social order and coercion.

Sociology of religion in line with Durkheim's theory can be theorised in four ways. First, religion as a social phenomenon, that not just a matter of belief or faith but also a social phenomenon that is infused into the social structure. That is why the adherents of certain religion behave and structure their lives based on the template and doctrine of their religion. Secondly, religion create social coercion and solidarity by providing individuals a common set of belief and practices that can be referred to as enhancement social integration. Thirdly, religion reinforces social norms and values with a set of moral guidance and a framework for understanding right and wrong doings in the society. This is to make the social folks to share sense of morality and maintain social order and stability. Religion expresses the collective consciousness of the society by influencing human relationship with their immediate environment.

In relation to oral literature, this paper examines religious concepts of this claim in literary texts. This is to investigate how literature serve as social guidance. At the context of this paper, Durkheim theory was useful in interrogating Yoruba proverbs and Ifa literary corpus with a view to extracting Yorùbá religious and socio-cultural perspectives on child training in Yoruba society and the influence of parents as *abiyamọ* or *abiyaya* in the social habits of their children.

The Yorùbá in Time and Space

The Yorùbá are extremely fundamental in the history of West Africa. Century back, the race existed as one of the dominant empires during the Sudanese states. They acquired serious scholarly attention during old Oyo hegemony and their contention with the Fulani jihadist around 1350 AD. The Yorùbá are commonly ascribed to different tribes which are linked by geography, language, history and religion and these tribes are found among Nigeria, Benin and Togo (Awolalu & Dopamu, 2005, p. 2). Yorùbá myths emphasized that the founders of the Yorùbá states were the sons of Oduduwa and this shaped the appellation "*Omo Oodua*" (children of oodua) among the Yorùbá people till today. Ile-Ife is universally recognized as the oldest and ritually most important Yorùbá city and it is believed to date to about 500 to 850 AD. Other dialectical Yorùbá groups include Oyo, Egba, Ekiti, Ibadan, Ijebu, Ijesa, Ikale, Owo and Ondo.

Motherhood *Abiyamọ* in Yorùbá Culture

Akujobi (2011) identified meaning given to motherhood in different ways. From the scholar analysis, motherhood is an automatic set of feelings and behaviours that is switched on by pregnancy and the birth of a baby. It is also seen as a moral transformation whereby a woman comes to terms with being different in that she ceases to be an autonomous individual because she is one way or the other attached to her baby. With this dimension, Akujobi (2011) indicated that motherhood is wrapped in many cultural and religious meanings. Culturally, the society think what the mother should be and religiously, what the practiced faith of a society attaches to motherhood. The indication therefore shows that there are certain elements associated to being a mother. The truth about motherhood from this emphasis according to Akujobi (2011) is that it is an experience that profoundly shaped by social context and culture.

The social and cultural experience of motherhood is what the Yorùbá people tagged to the concept of *abiyamọ*. It is a medium through which social and cultural elements of the society fixed as qualities in parenting are espoused in the children. The experience possesses a manifestation of norms and values that are initiated through cultural and religious life style of the people. *Abiyamọ* is then a Yorùbá adaptation of how a woman or man that are capable and use all their possible strength to take care of their God given gift which is their children in building them to become a useful vessel to their self, parents, country, community and to God. This is an act of parenting that involve both male and female. Yorùbá people in this situation engaged a virtue theory that influence a child towards a standard that incorporate good ethics and manners in a child. The upbringing of a child towards good tidings that will make a society a better place and that gives a child a social identity is a necessity and an onus upon the parent to integrate. The children need their parent to guide them through life. The virtue theory is characterized in two phases. The first characteristic is humanism which deals with attitudes, doctrines and values, the second characteristic is communalism which deals with beliefs and practices. Both characteristics are tagged under practical value with a realization of practical learning that involve meaningful and purposeful living. In this category is utilitarian value which advocates actions that foster happiness and oppose action that cause unhappiness. With this learning, whatever a child will do must be functional, sensible, pragmatic, and have a medium of commonsense. When a child is trained in this direction then it is con-

sidered for such child to be wrapped in the philosophy of *Ọmọlúàbí* and the parent of such child addressed as *abiyamọ*. Any portraying habits less than this is seen as a manifestation of a reprobate and the parent involve tagged as *abiyaya*. The manner in which a child is seen or behave will give the direction the motherhood of such parent will be addressed in this way.

It is worthy to note that the concept of *abiyamọ*, for the purpose of this paper, refers to both parents although mothers are invariably considered to embody the principle and practice of *abiyamọ*. The reason for this is not farfetched as perceived by Osunbade (2025, p. 25) that:

[...] the Yoruba culture largely credits only men for a child's positive orientation to the *Ọmọlúàbí* values while blaming women for the opposite behavior; should Yoruba women then reactively leave parenting with the *Ọmọlúàbí* culture for men alone?

The foregoing confirm that the backlog of the responsibilities of parenting is exclusively the responsibility of the mothers and as such, over time the concept of *abiyamọ* have become synonymous with mothers. However, as earlier noted, the position of this paper is that *abiyamọ* is inclusive and all encompassing.

The Belief of Esoteric influence on Child Parenting among Yorùbá People

The sociological interpretation given to child training from Yorùbá traditional background indicates that there are unforeseen circumstances that capable to influence the process of training a child. In this case, it is believed that influence from supernatural forces on good parenting could never be undermined and can militate the good outstanding expected from the development of a child. This is why not everybody can be referred to as *abiyamọ* and according to Ilésánmí (2013) *abiyamọ* in Yoruba society is a form of cult '*awo abiyamọ*'. Malevolent or sinister influences ranges from witchcraft, evil spirit, juju, curse by ancestor or deities are major life threatening that can affect child behavior and development towards a bad manner. It is considered that the naivety of a child is always prone to the attacks from the opposing forces. This is evident in a Yorùbá proverb that goes thus; '*Oromọ 'diẹ ko mọ awodi, iya rẹ lo mọ aṣa*' (A young chick does not know a hawk, it is its mother that

knows the eagle). The proverb indicates the naivety of a child to beware of social evils and the awareness of mother to protect her child. In this vein, Yorùbá people therefore claim through their saying that *Omo kan ko ni oun o ye, iya re ni ko ni gba* (Oluwaseyi & Esther, 2017) (a child survives and thrives only at the mother's will). This saying approximately identifies that a child could undergo sudden change in their acts at any moment if their parents shy away from their responsibilities. There is a common understanding among the Yorùbá people that there is a tendency for one to be bewitched through magic or through malevolent attacks which in a way affects human destiny or cause bad luck. This scenario is the medium through which children are seen to always been affected in their internal and external behavior in certain ways. Building reputation is a task that parents must monitored adequately in their children and when an esoteric influence is perceived, then parenting effort is under siege and this may turn out to be a big climax in the life of the child. Sometimes this issue of esoteric influence may be alluded to claim without a substantive evidence.

The moral issues under consideration in this work are sociological and at the same time seen in the realm of esoteric because in modern days, parenting habits have grown beyond the normal for it to be seen with the influence of esoteric manifestation because most habits could be termed to be beyond physical and visible actions. (Bateye, 2013; Oladosu, 2022) Therefore, the action of the parent allowed children to be lured into decimated life styles against societal principle and ethical standard. There are engaging rules attached to human social action and relation especially in the contemporary Nigerian society, which checkmate unscrupulous manners that affect the society. The manners are found to be instigated by the action of some parents against the wellbeing of their children and wards. This situation has therefore verified the saying in Yorùbá that "*Qmọ ti a o ba kọ ni yio gbe ile ti a kọ ta*", which literally translates: "an untrained child destroys and ruins family properties and hence brings shame to the entire family". This saying has so far proved the negligence of some parents over their wards in certain respect. Aluko, Onabanjo and Alliyu corroborate this assertion that:

On one hand, in the communal atmosphere of the traditional family, parents of children who behave in approved ways are socially approved as successful, while on the other hand, parents whose children misbehave are shamed and advised to "put their houses in order." (2011, p. 95–97).

This statement adequately presents the contextual meaning of *abiyamọ*, i.e., a parent who is successful when their children behave in an accepted way, in the right order of what Yorùbá community refers to as motherhood in the light of good parenting; when it comes to good manners and values. On the other hand, such a parent will be labelled *abiyaya*, i.e. a negative or somewhat negligent parent.

The Plight of Motherhood vis-à-vis the collapse of Indigenous Values

It is no gainsaying that the tendency of infringement is certain when there is a slide in the pursuant of moral norms. In many communities, there are rules and regulations prohibiting undue actions in public but which are not fundamentally practiced due to immoral image experienced from the acts of parents in some ways. In the case of drinking and smoking in Nigeria, rules guiding smokers underlined principles attached to the action with a ban on the underage, i.e., anyone below eighteen (18) years engaging in the acts. It is also mandatory that, producers of cigarette are mandatorily enforced and obliged to write the tag “smokers are liable to die young” on the packet of the cigarette when packaging it for advertising and for sale. The habits of underage drinking of alcohol is also forbidden within the law. These rules and many others have transformed overtime especially at the onslaught on globalizing agents. It is significant that the model of socialization adopted by parents in Nigeria in recent times have seen these principles and laws been deregulated beyond proportion. Field work research shows that a greater percentage of parents have acquired a lackadaisical act of pampering when socializing their children, thereby abetting and exposing the children to a slide in moral decadence. Among the Yorùbá, the place of the family in social transformation is highly sacred because Yorùbá tradition admonishes home training as the basic need in any pressing matter. They see this as the modicum of sensitizing the community and the entire country to greater sustainable development, through the solid training given to the younger generation that are seen as agents of development. Failure in their moral training are considered abysmal at different levels of positive adjustment needed for a sovereign nation. In this dimension, the Yorùbá adopted the slogan of civic responsibility, viz: “*ile ni a tii nko ọṣọ r’ode*”, which directly translates as “charity begins from home”. Any family or parent that uphold this watchword and

instructs their children accordingly is regarded as the apostle of moral upliftment and thus considered as *abiyamọ* but if on the contrary, the reason for being a good parent is defeated.

Yorùbá ascribes giving home training to their children as parental duty that should be paid to their children. They believe that the kind of upbringing given to a child will determine the kind of habit that the child will be known for. This is portrayed in the Ifa literary corpus below:

Bá a kọ ọmọ eni
 Won agbọn fe fe
 Gege bi Ire,
 Ọmọbinrin Olokun
 Bá o kọmọ eni,
 wọn a da bi oponu ati omugọ,
 gẹgẹ bi Ibawini, ọmọkunrin l'otu Ife.
 If one train one's children
 they will be perfectly wise,
 as Ire, the daughter of Olokun (river goddess)
 If one does not train one's children,
 they will be stupid and foolish,
 like Ibawini, the son in Otu Ife.
 Adewale (1986, p. 63)

The literary corpus above shows the Yoruba cosmological belief that the input training of a child will determine the output manner of the child. This notion also shows in the Yoruba proverbs that says '*bi o ba se to omo re ni o se ba a*' which means 'you will see your child, just exactly as you train him/her'. From this perspective, parents as *abiyamọ* have been socially responsible to the proper upbringing of their children. (Osunbade, 2025).

Another indigenous value that parents need to add to the total packaging of their children is occupational value. This has to do with giving their children what will be his/her means of livelihood. The example of this is evident in the Ifa literary corpus below as seen in Abímbólá (2006, p. 61–62):

Iná kú feérú bojú;
 Ọ̀ṣùpá kú firàwọ̀ọ̀ lẹ;
 Ẹ̀ṣàà nìràwọ̀ tí í ẹ̀látílẹ̀yìn fọ̀ṣùpá
 A díá fún Ọ̀rúnmilà

Ifá ń sawo, ń sàpọ́n
 Nwọ́n ni ó kaakí mọ́lẹ̀
 O jàrẹ
 Ẹbọ ni ó ẹ
 Ìgbà tó rúbọ̀ tán
 tó bímọ̀ tán
 Ó wá nín àwọ̀n awo rẹ
 Àwọ̀n awo rẹ n yin'Fá
 Ó ní aya ló nigbá obì
 Ọmọ ló nígbá ata
 Bì aya tí ń gbégbá obì
 Lọmọ ń gbégbá ata
 (Abímbọ́lá, 2006, p. 61–62)

Fire died and is covered with ashes
 Moon died and leaves stars
 It is uncommon for stars to look after moon
 Cast divination for Ọ̀rúnmìlà
 Ifa was divining and still a bachelor
 They told him to get prepared
 Hurriedly
 And perform sacrifice
 After he has performed the sacrifice
 After begotten child
 He was praising his priests
 His priests are praising Ifá
 He said kolanut tray belongs to wife
 pepper tray belongs to child
 as the wife was carrying kolanut tray,
 the child was carrying pepper tray.

From the Ifa literary corpus above, it is deduced that the belief in the responsibility of parenting of a child is holistic and this entails equipping the child with a source of livelihood. This is encapsulated in the lives of Ọ̀rúnmìlà's wife and child. They engaged in trading activities, which was their acquired occupational value. Mother was selling kolanut, while child was selling pepper.

Giving adequate charity to children from home by parent involves three condiments which are religion, norms and values. Religion is important here because it stage manage the values and norms from been used negatively but where such is compromised then the society will have problem.

When children are engaged or induced with a good value, better norms and right belief practices then they are seen as blessing to the community and their home. In this way, the adage “*ọmọ ni iyọ aye*” which means ‘children are the salt (pleasure) of the earth’ becomes relevant mainly because the Yorùbá intentionally train children such that they become a delight-some that society benefits from in view of the virtue embedded in them.

One may inquire about what makes a child delightful? A child become delightful when such is involved in good act, moderate social relationship, organize social habit and control manner. With these, the child becomes pleasurable in the midst of people and therefore give pleasurable recognition to the parents. The purpose of this work is to make reference to some appalling attitudes in the society today that are against the right value-oriented actions which parents serve to be an accomplice. Bringing this to fore will address the depressing area of motherhood and parenthood that are needed to be reformed for the benefits and progress of the society.

Conclusion

In this paper, we delved into the concept of *abiyamọ*, *constructive mothering* and *abiyaya*, *destructive mothering* in the light of the dynamics of gendered parenting in globalised Yorùbá land and indigenous feminism. It emphatically utilised data from the field and Yorùbá orature. We elucidated that being an *abiyamọ* or *abiyaya* are the two ways of parenting among the Yorùbá and Africa in general. *Abiyamọ*, which is a traditional way of nurturing children as guided by social values and religious diktat, conversely, *abiyaya*, which is supposedly a modernized way of child upbringing that deviates from the standard norm of the society and breeds a set of bad children in the society. It is observed that the primary aim of religion is to teach morals and maintain social order as it is depicted in the Ifa literary corpus used in the analysis. Also, the role of socio-cultural value is to guide social folks into the right path and that is why some Yorùbá proverbs used in the analysis portray the concept of ọmọlúàbí ethos. In the contemporary society, self-acclaimed modernity and civilization has caused the neglect and devaluation of social, cultural and religious norms that form the bases for the standard acceptable norms of the society. Owing to this neglect and devaluation, the crop of parenting styles in the society have translated into upshot of morally derailed children who become nuisance in the society. Consequentially, the authors concluded that in order for the vast of social

evils and vices to be ameliorated, parents need to shift to parenting via the standard cultural norms of society and remold their idea of modernity and civilization to align with the ethics of *abiyamọ*, which exemplifies constructive mothering/parenting.

REFERENCES

- ABÍMBÓLÁ, W. (2006) *Ìjìnlẹ̀ Ohùn Enu Ifá: Apá Kìn-ín-ní*. Ibadan: University Press.
- ADEWALE, S. A. (1986) 'Ethics in Ifa'. In: Abodunrin, S. O. (ed.) *Religion Ethics in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Daystar. Pp. 60–71.
- AKUJOBI, R. (2011) Motherhood in African Literature and Culture. *Journal of Comparative Literature and Culture*. Vol. 13:1. Pp. 2–7.
- ALUKO, A., ONOBANJO, D. O. & ALLIYU, N. (2011) The Centrality of Women in Moral Teaching in Yoruba Family System. *The Nigerian Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*. Vol. 9. Pp. 94–109.
- AWOLALU, J. O. & DOPAMU, P. A. (2005) *West African Traditional Religion*. Ibadan: Macmillan.
- BATEYE, B. O. (2013) Rethinking Women, Nature, and Ritual Purity in Yoruba Religious Traditions. In: Adogame, A. U. (et al.) (eds.) *African Traditions in the Study of Religion, Diaspora and Gendered Societies*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate. Pp. 147–161.
- BATEYE, B. O. (2019) Ọkunrin láda, Obinrin Lágba (Men are Cutlasses; Women are Senior (Superior). A Radical Feminist Sociological Investigation of Gendered Metaphorical Maxims in Yoruba Religion and Culture. *Obitun: Journal of Humanities*. Vol. 10. Pp. 243–255.
- CARNEGIE, D. (2007) *The Art of Public Speaking*. New York: Cosimo.
- IDOWU, E. B. (1996) *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief*. Ibadan: Longman.
- ILÉSÁNMI, T. M. (2013) *Obinrin: A Critical Assessment of Yorùbá Women*. Ogbomoso: Astra-J Multimedia.
- O'REILLY, A. (2019) Maternal Theory: Patriarchal Motherhood and Empowered Mothering. In: O'Brien, L. et al (eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Motherhood*. (1st edition). London: Routledge. Pp. 1–17.
- OGUNGBILE, D. O. (2009) 'Ile' (Earth) and Sustainability: Motherhood Symbolism, Sex Metaphor, and Ritual Essence in African Indigenous Spirituality. *Orita: Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies*. Vol. 41, Issue 2. Pp. 84–101.
- OLADOSU, O. A., ALUKO, P. O. & SAADU, T. (2022) Feminism and Deity Personification in Yorùbá Proverbs. *Journal of Gender and Power*. Vol. 17, No. 1. Pp. 85–95.
- OLAYINKA, B. O. (1997) Proverbs: Issues of Yoruba Femininity from a Feminist Hermeneutical Perspective. In: Saayman, W. *Embracing the Baobab Tree: The African Proverb in the 21st Century*. South Africa: UNISA Press. Pp. 214–224.
- OLUWASEYI, O. A. & ESTHER, A. A. (2017) Surrogacy and the Motherhood Question in Yoruba Culture. *Bangladesh Journal of Bioethics*, 8(3). Pp. 26–32.
- OLÚWOLÉ, S. B. (2001) Womanhood in Yoruba Traditional Thought. In: Ogundele, W. A. O., Olu & Abodunrin, F. (eds.) *Character is Beauty: Redefining Yoruba Culture and Identity*. Iwalewa-Haus, 1981–1996. Trenton, New Jersey/Asmara: Africa World Press.

- OSUNBADE, A. O. (2025) A Good Child is the Father's, a Bad One, the Mother's: De/Responsibilising 'Omoluabi' Ideological Orientation in Yoruba Parenting Discourse. *Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Lecture Series*, Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Ogbomoso.
- OYĚWÙMÍ, O. (2015) *What Gender is Motherhood?: Changing Yoruba Ideals of Power, Procreation, and Identity in the Age of Modernity*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- SOLANKE, B. L., OLADOSU, O. A. et al. (2015) Religion as a Social Determinant of Maternal Health Care Service Utilisation in Nigeria. *Etude de la Population Africaine. African Population Studies*. Vol. 29(2). Pp. 1868–1881.
- THOMPSON, K. A. (2015) *Emile Durkheim (Revised Edition)*. London and New York: Routledge.
- URICOECHEA, F. (1992) Durkheim's Conception of the Religious Life: A Critique. *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions*. No. 79. Pp. 155–166.