DYNAMICS OF AFRICAN TRADITIONAL AND CULTURAL PRACTICE AS A SOCIAL CONTROL MECHANISM: A DETERRENT THEORETICAL ANALYSIS ON THE ALEKWU BELIEF SYSTEM AMONG THE IDOMA PEOPLE IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Strong traditional and cultural convictions prevalent in many African communities place a premium on deference to established rules and refraining members from abominable or deviant behaviour. These ideas have the potential to exert strong social control by discouraging individuals from acting in an abnormal manner. Traditional and cultural customs in Africa have long been used as a form of social control mechanism which is known for regulating conduct and preserving community peace. The Alekwu belief system is one such tradition that is firmly ingrained in the Idoma community of Nigeria. In this paper, the Alekwu belief system of the Idoma people will be discussed, along with its strengths and weaknesses as a social control mechanism.A spirit-medium known as the Alekwu is thought to be able to connect with the afterlife. Alekwu is usually consulted for a number of purposes, such as giving advice on way forward on private problems, marital issues, diagnosing and treating illnesses, and settling arguments among relatives, couples and community members.The paper unveils how the Idoma traditional belief system affects their morals, attitudes, and actions as well as how it helps to preserve social order in their neighborhood. This paper is anchored on deterrence theory of punishment as a framework to analyze the Alekwu belief system's deterrent effects on behavior within the Idoma community and provide a theoretical analysis of the Alekwu belief system as a deterrent mechanism that influences social norms, values, and behavior among the Idoma people.

Keynotes: African, culture, alekwu, traditional and control

Introduction

The African continent is woven together from a variety of cultures, each with its own set of customs, belief, and social systems. In actuality, the African continent is a colorful tapestry of various cultures. Africa is home to a huge variety of ethnic groups, languages, traditions, and customs, with 54recognized countries and a population of over 1.3 billion. The cultural diversity of the continent is a reflection of the diverse historical, physical, and social forces that have molded its various societies.Countries like Kenya and Tanzania in East Africa display their own rich cultural diversity. Popular ethnic groups in Kenya include the Maasai, Luo, Kikuyu, and Swahili, each of which has its own unique cultural traditions and beliefs. The Maasai are distinguished by their own cultural identity and are well-known for their colorful attire, beadwork, and pastoralist way of life. Similar to how the Sukuma, Chagga, and Nyamwezi ethnic groups in Tanzania contribute to the country's rich cultural landscape through their unique languages, customs, and artistic expressions.Another remarkable example of cultural variety comes from South Africa. Numerous ethnic groups reside in the nation, including the Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, and Sotho peoples.

Each group has a unique cultural legacy that is expressed in its languages, customs, music, artwork, and gastronomic practices. The Zulu people, for example, are renowned for their colorful beadwork, traditional dances like the "Indlamu," and the preservation of their ancient traditions.

Beyond the aforementioned instances, there are innumerable additional cultures on the African continent that add to its plurality of cultures. The pluralism is enormous, ranging from the Berber people of North Africa to the Akan in Ghana, from the San Bushmen of Southern Africa to the Amhara in Ethiopia. Each culture contributes its distinctive artistic, linguistic, musical, religious, and social expressions, creating a mosaic of customs that strengthen the social structure of the continent.Take the tremendous cultural diversity of Nigeria in West Africa, for instance. There are about 250 different ethnic groups in Nigeria alone, each with its own customs, dialects, and traditions. Among the several ethnic groups that contribute to Nigeria's rich cultural tapestry are the Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, and Fulani. Each group has distinctive cultural practices that reflect its particular origin and identity, such as annual celebrations, music, dancing, clothing, and cuisine.

The Idoma are an ethnic group largely found in Benue State, Nigeria. They have a rich cultural legacy that is intimately woven into their daily life. The Alekwu belief system is deeply embedded in their social structure, serving as a guiding force that influences individual conduct, enforces communal rules, and develops a sense of collective identity. The age-old tradition of Alekwu's regulation on sexual conduct, locals disputes, human cruelty to man, discrimination, and a variety of interpersonal and intergroup issues is being conserved and transmitted down from generation to generation. More specifically, any household under the tutelage of Alekwu runs the risk of premature and unexpected mortality of the majority of its male children, unfortunate occurrences, unusual ailments that are likely to resist medical treatment, and in the event of a delayed or prolonged consultation with the gods, the head of the family pays the ultimate price with his life.Idoma traditionalists maintain that the Alekwu is the "Spirit of the Ancestors" who is frequently invoked and worshiped at Otukpa, Orokam, and Owukpa in Ogbadibo Local Government. It is believed that the Alekwu are the eyes of the gods, guarding against evil and punishing transgressors.

The Alekwu Belief System and Practices

The Alekwu belief system is rooted in the spiritual and supernatural realm of the Idoma culture. It involves the veneration of ancestral spirits, deities, and forces of nature. Central to the belief system is the concept of divine power and influence, which is believed to impact all aspects of life, including health, fertility, prosperity, and protection. The Idoma people believe that adherence to Alekwu practices ensures harmony with the spiritual world and fosters well-being within the community.The Alekwu belief system, which has a strong cultural foundation in Idoma society and has historically been used as a tool for social control. It includes a variety of rites, traditions, and beliefs designed to engender fear and obedience in people as well as to prevent criminal activity inside the society. The

reverence of ancestor spirits, calling upon supernatural forces, and conducting ritual rites are characteristics of the belief system.

The Alekwu ceremony is typically presided over by a priest or priestess known as the Alekwu priest or Alekwu priestess. The priest/priestess is usually highly respected in the community and is believed to have supernatural powers that enable them to communicate with the spirit world. The ceremony itself involves the use of various symbolic objects, including a sacred stool, a gong, and a variety of plant materials such as leaves, bark, and roots. The priest/priestess may also wear special clothing or adornments, such as beads or feathers, during the ceremony. The Alekwu ceremony is a highly secretive and exclusive event that is usually only open to members of the community who have been initiated into the practice. The initiation process is also highly ritualized and involves a period of fasting and purification, as well as various other rites and rituals.

The Alekwu belief system fulfills several roles within the Idoma community. Firstly, it serves as a moral compass, guiding individuals' behaviors and promoting ethical conduct based on cultural values and norms. Alekwu practices reinforce community cohesion and provide a sense of identity, cultural heritage, and continuity. Additionally, the belief system provides a framework for resolving disputes, maintaining social order, and seeking justice within the community.The significance of Alekwu in Idoma culture is examined by Ogbazi and Akpala (2021) in their paper, "Traditional Religion and Culture among the Idoma People of Nigeria." They pointed out that Alekwu is among the most significant religious rituals in the area and is regarded as a means of establishing a connection with the spirit world as well as of asking for direction and defense against the forces of good and evil. The study by Ogbazi and Akpala is based on interviews with Idoma people and their personal observations of Alekwu rites.

The Alekwu belief system relies heavily on rituals and rites. These rituals act as channels for interacting with the spiritual world and asking for blessings, direction, and safety. Offerings, sacrifices, prayers, songs, and dances are frequently a part of rituals performed by selected spiritual leaders referred to as Alekwu tradition guardians. . The "Alekwu" ritual proceeds when the head elder, or Ad'alekwu, is contacted (someone who prays to the ancestors on behalf of the community). As a result of the renewal of allegiance and commemorative offerings, this becomes mandatory, and descendants of each ancestor, according to their kindred, make the most of such accession (Onmoke, 2018).The relevance of Alekwu in Idoma culture is emphasized by Ogaba (2020). He observes that the ritual is held in the highest regard and reverence and is recognized as a means of preserving the harmony between the material and spiritual worlds. Ogaba's book is based on both his personal research and an analysis of the literature on Idoma culture. He supports that Alekwu is a significant aspect of Idoma culture and has a significant impact on the lives of Idoma people. The study offered a thorough review of the significance of Alekwu in Idoma culture and emphasizes the ways in which Alekwu is applied to tackle issues of justice and conflict resolution in the community.

Alekwu as a Social Control Mechanism

African communities employ a variety of mechanisms to mitigate the detrimental impact of evil. Janowitz (1975), defined social control as "the capacity of a social organization to regulate itself." He argued that social control is not just about preventing deviance, but also about maintaining social order and stability. These mechanisms, among others, are listed by Shishima (2014:61) as oracles and ordeals. Because Africans think that oracles are the means by which solutions to issues that are outside the scope of human knowledge are sought and acquired, they may be used in the detection of evil. Individuals' normative conformity is created by a series of procedures known as social control. According to Schaefer (2002), social control refers to the procedures and strategies used to avoid deviant human conduct in any society. Social control formation is a result of strong social bonds/relationships with parents, teachers, and other positive sources of traditional socialization (Jensen, 2003).

The term "social control" was first used in US sociology in the late 1800s to refer to the institutional foundations of social order (Deflem 2008, Chriss 2013, Deflem, 2017). In sociology, the phrase social control mechanisms refers to the social measures that regulate the behavior of individuals or groups which could be informal or formal. Informal social control refers to the manner in which people are influenced to comply to social norms by their friends, family, and community. Formal social control refers to how laws, rules, and regulations affect people to comply to social norms. This paper focuses on the informal social control mechanism which are those constituted and unwritten set of strategies or techniques used to regulate the behavior of people or groups such as norms, beliefs and values. The impact of Alekwu's social control mechanisms can be functional to their community in the following aspects;

Societal Ideals and Standards are Reinforced

The Alekwu belief system can promote social norms and values by educating individuals about the repercussions of breaking them. People may refrain from acting abnormally if they believe that the Alekwu are keeping an eye on them and will punish them if they do so. People may be discouraged from stealing from their community, for instance, if they think the Alekwu will punish them for it.

Conflict Resolution

Resolution of conflict is another skill that the Alekwu may offer. The Alekwu can be contacted to arbitrate a dispute if there is one between two persons. As a spiritual watch over community members, Alekwu is believed to be unbiased, and frequently consulted to assist in determining a solution to conflicting issues that are difficult for humans' comprehension. By doing so, social harmony can be preserved and conflict can be traced and stopped in its tracks.

Maintains Social Order

In order to preserve societal order, Alekwu belief system can be useful. People may refrain from actions that would disturb social order as they believe Alekwu to be powerful. For instance, if someone is thinking about instigating and committing an offense, they might be discouraged by the idea that the Alekwu will punish them. This can assist inConflict resolution is also aided by the Alekwu worldview. The Alekwu can be consulted to mediate a

dispute between two parties if there is one. The Alekwu are seen as being smart and impartial, and they frequently assist in determining a resolution that

Social Cohesiveness

There are several ways to look at the Alekwu belief system as a social control mechanism. By motivating people to work together and support one another in times of need, for instance, the belief in the Alekwu can aid in the promotion of social cohesiveness. The Alekwu belief system offers a mechanism for people to communicate with their ancestors and pass on their cultural heritage to subsequent generations, which can aid in the preservation of cultural traditions and values.

Alekwu chastises unfaithful married women

Adultery is a concept that is generally despised and the most proscribed evil in marriage; a woman is made to go under the pledge of Alekwu when getting married to an Idoma man by accepting some special kolanuts from her husbands' people. It is believed that the Alekwu spirit has been evoked to supervise the activities of the married couple. Thereafter, the spirit checks the fidelity of the woman and her total submissiveness. However, when such situations presents itself, the Ogbadibo people do not take accusations of adultery lying down. If an accused observes the established guidelines for purification at the temple or shrine of Alekwu and reports any instances of adultery, Alekwu will dismiss the transgression. The remedy, they believe is for the offender who is usually a woman to confess and go for cleansing and be free. On the contrary, failure to follow the guidelines will bring the wrath of the spirit on the offender's family, beginning with the mysterious deaths of the offender's children. If a man is aware of his wives infidelity and helps the wife conceals the act committed from the elders of the family and keeps eating food prepared by her, he will be visited with unbearable punishment.

Furthermore, economic Independence is believed to make a woman powerful therefore in Idomaland where Alekwu is practiced, a working class married woman does not have the economic power over her income. She is meant to only spend what the husbands approves for her, she is forbidden from giving a financial help to her parents, siblings or other relatives without the permission of her husband. It is proscribed by the belief for a married woman to receive help from a man without her husbands' approval.

The Impact ofDivine Punishment on Gender Inequality

The belief those women's acts and decisions are susceptible to the danger of divine punishment by the ancestors gods of their land has its roots in cultural and religious beliefs that are practiced in numerous countries. Aspects of human life, including as morality, behaviour, and social order, are seen to be subject to the power of intervention by ancestral gods. In this belief system, women are frequently perceived as being susceptible to divine punishment, especially in situations where their behavior is strictly controlled and supervised. By placing women as being in charge of sustaining the moral structure of the community, this idea serves to promote traditional gender norms and expectations. Women's decisions and actions are extensively examined and evaluated in light of societal and cultural norms of conduct. Women are forced to comply to set

gender roles and have their agency and autonomy limited by the prospect of divine punishment, which is attributed to ancestor gods.

In her research on "Gender, Religion and Culture in Africa: The Impact of Cultural and Religious Beliefs on Women's Autonomy and Agency," Mukonyora (2007) looks at the ways that cultural and religious beliefs can support traditional gender roles and hierarchies in Africa. She contends that women's behavior is controlled and regulated by the notion that ancient gods punish them for adultery and infidelity, which limits women's freedom and autonomy in matters of sexuality and relationships. Mukonyora's study is based on a review of the literature on gender and religion in Africa, as well as on her own research in Zimbabwe. She finds that the belief in ancestral gods punishing women for adultery and infidelity is widespread in many African cultures. This belief can lead to women being ostracized, beaten, or even killed for violating sexual norms. As a result, women are often afraid to exercise their sexual autonomy and agency, even in private. Mukonyora's study is important because it highlights the ways in which cultural and religious beliefs can contribute to the oppression of women in Africa. Her findings suggest that it is necessary to challenge these beliefs in order to promote gender equality and women's empowerment.

Tamale (2003) explores the impact of cultural and religious beliefs on women's sexual and reproductive rights in Africa. She argues that the belief in ancestral gods punishing women for perceived sexual transgressions contributes to the construction of women's sexuality as a source of moral concern and control, ultimately restricting their autonomy and decision-making power. Tamale's study is based on a review of the literature on gender and sexuality in Africa, as well as on her own research in Uganda. She finds that the belief in ancestral gods punishing women for perceived sexual transgressions is widespread in many African cultures. This belief can lead to women being accused of witchcraft or sorcery, or even killed for violating sexual norms. As a result, women are often afraid to exercise their sexual and reproductive rights, even in private. Tamale's study is important because it highlights the ways in which cultural and religious beliefs can contribute to the oppression of women in Africa.

The concept of divine punishment by ancestral gods varies across different cultural and religious contexts. The specific actions or choices that are believed to warrant divine punishment may differ, ranging from adultery and infidelity to breaking cultural taboos or norms. However, the underlying message remains consistent: women's behavior is subject to heightened scrutiny, and the threat of divine punishment serves to reinforce societal control and maintain traditional gender hierarchies.

The belief in divine punishment by ancestral gods not only influences women's behaviour but also perpetuates gender inequalities within societies. It reinforces the idea that women are inherently more susceptible to moral transgressions and need to be regulated to maintain social order. This belief system places the burden of upholding community values and norms primarily on women, contributing to their marginalization and reinforcing traditional gender roles.

The threat of divine punishment can have far-reaching consequences for women's autonomy and agency. It restricts their choices and freedom, particularly in matters related to their sexuality, relationships, and personal autonomy. Women may face social pressure and internalize the fear of divine retribution, leading them to conform to societal expectations and sacrifice their own desires and aspirations.

The belief in divine punishment is deeply embedded within cultural and religious systems, which are often intertwined with social and political structures. These beliefs are reinforced through rituals, religious teachings, and socialization processes, influencing both individual behavior and the broader social fabric. As a result, gender stratification becomes deeply entrenched, limiting women's opportunities for empowerment and perpetuating unequal power dynamics. These beliefs need to be challenged and transformed using a variety of tactics. It entails challenging the fundamental beliefs and values that support gender inequality as well as promoting other readings of cultural and religious teachings. In order to refute these ideas and advance gender equality, education, awareness campaigns, and feminist movements are essential.

Theoretical Framework

The study employed the Deterrent Theory of Punishment. The Enlightenment-era writings of philosophers like Jeremy Bentham and Cesare Beccaria, as well as classical ideas of punishment, are where the idea of deterrence first appeared. Beccaria's influential work "On Crimes and Punishments" (1764) emphasized the importance of certainty and swiftness of punishment as deterrent factors (Beccaria, 1764). Bentham further developed the concept of deterrence, introducing the idea of hedonic calculus and arguing for proportionate and utilitarian punishment (Bentham, 1789). Cesare Lombroso: Lombroso, an Italian criminologist, discussed the role of punishment as a deterrent in his work "Crime: Its Causes and Remedies" (1899). He emphasized the significance of punishment in deterring potential offenders (Lombroso, 1899).

The Deterrent Theory is a criminological and sociological theory that contends punishment acts as a deterrent to stop people from engaging in criminal or deviant behavior. It suggests that the threat of punishment serves as a deterrent by inspiring fear or apprehension about the possible bad outcomes connected with particular actions. The hypothesis has historical roots and has undergone multiple iterations and extensions over time. The Deterrent Theory holds that people act rationally and assess the advantages and disadvantages of their options which means individuals are less likely to engage in deviant or prohibited behaviors when they perceive the likelihood of punishment or negative consequences. According to the hypothesis, people would refrain from acting in ways that could result in legal repercussions, social rejection, or other types of punishment when they are presented with the threat of punishment. The theorists argue that to dissuade people from committing crimes, punishment should be immediate, certain, and proportionate. The Deterrent Theory's growth was made possible by the concepts put forth by these pioneering philosophers.

According to the Deterrent Theory of Punishment maintains that punishment acts as a deterrent by instilling fear in people and preventing them from engaging in wrongdoing or illegal action. It implies that the perception of risk or unfavorable effects connected with particular activities is influenced by the threat of retribution, whether from heavenly or societal sources. The Deterrent Theory can be used to interpret the notion of divine punishment for adultery in the context of African ancestral beliefs. The belief that the ancestral gods have the authority to punish adulterers has a dissuasive effect on potential offenders within the community. By instilling fear and preventing people from having extramarital relationships, this belief system changes social norms, expectations, and behaviors.

This theory is predicated on the premise that social control and the preservation of social order within a community are intimately tied to cultural practices and beliefs, including the belief in divine punishment. The idea that adultery will result in divine retribution acts as a control mechanism to maintain social norms of fidelity and marital commitment and to deter behavior that could endanger family structures and communal harmony. The basic assumptions of deterrent theory of punishment is based on several key points:

Rationality: The theory assumes that individuals are rational decision-makers who weigh the potential costs and benefits of their actions. It suggests that individuals consider the potential consequences, including punishment, when making choices about engaging in deviant or criminal behavior.

Certainty: The theory assumes that the certainty of punishment plays a crucial role in deterring potential offenders. It suggests that if individuals believe there is a high probability of being caught and punished for their actions, they will be deterred from engaging in deviant behavior.

Severity: The theory posits that the severity of punishment influences its deterrent effect. It suggests that more severe punishments will have a greater deterrent impact compared to lenient or minimal punishments.

Deterrent Theoretical Analysis on Alekwu belief System:

1. Social Norms and Values: The Alekwu belief system reinforces and upholds the social norms and values of the Idoma community. It establishes a set of guidelines and expectations for behavior, promoting obedience, respect for authority, communal harmony, and adherence to cultural traditions.

2. Fear and Consequences: The Alekwu belief system employs fear as a deterrent mechanism. It instills a sense of awe and reverence for ancestral spirits and supernatural entities, creating a deterrent effect by threatening potential negative consequences for deviant actions. The fear of retribution and punishment acts as a powerful deterrent to individuals who might consider violating societal norms.

3. Ritual Ceremonies and Public Display: The Alekwu belief system utilizes public rituals and ceremonies as a form of social control. These ceremonies, often performed in a

communal setting, serve as a display of the community's collective beliefs and values. Publicly condemning deviant behavior through these rituals reinforces the deterrent effect by shaming the transgressors and affirming the consequences of violating social norms.

4. Collective Responsibility and Social Cohesion: The Alekwu belief system emphasizes the collective responsibility of community members in upholding societal norms. It promotes a sense of unity and social cohesion, as individuals understand that their actions impact the entire community. The fear of ostracism and social exclusion acts as a powerful deterrent, as deviant behavior is seen as a threat to the overall well-being and harmony of the community.

The Deterrent Theory offers several strengths:

The theory has practical implications for criminal justice policies and practices. It suggests that implementing certain punishments, such as increased penalties or stricter enforcement, may effectively deter individuals from engaging in criminal behavior. The theory focuses on preventing crime by creating a fear of punishment, which aligns with the goals of crime prevention strategies and social control. The belief in divine punishment can exert significant influence on women's lives by shaping their decisions and actions. The fear of retribution from ancestral gods can act as a deterrent, effectively curbing behavior that may be deemed deviant or transgressive within the community. Women may internalize these beliefs, leading to self-regulation of their behavior to align with societal expectations, as they seek to avoid divine punishment and maintain social acceptance.

In this way, the belief system contributes to social cohesion and stability within the Idoma community. The Alekwu belief system functions as a social control mechanism within Idoma society. It helps maintain order, harmony, and moral conduct by instilling a sense of accountability and reinforcing social norms and values.People may refrain from acting beyond the norm because they dread the punishment of Alekwu. This is due to the fact that people do not want to suffer punishment by the Alekwu ancestral spirit, who are capable of harm. The Alekwu belief system can also be utilized to compel people to adhere to social standards and values through the threat of ostracism. Being rejected by one's community as a result of breaking social norms can be a potent deterrent.The Alekwu belief system can also encourage conformity by urging individuals to follow social standards and ideals in order to avoid punishment or rejection. This can support preserving social harmony and order.

The Deterrent Theory: The Weaknesses

Critics argue that the theory's assumption of rational decision-making overlooks the influence of situational factors, emotional states, and psychological dimensions that may affect individuals' choices in engaging in criminal behaviour, especially in the context of impulsive or emotionally driven actions.The theory does not account for variations in how individuals perceive and respond to punishment. Factors such as age, socio-economic status, or prior criminal involvement may influence the effectiveness of deterrence.

The theory does not account for individual differences in risk perception, moral values, or psychological factors that may influence an individual's decision-making process.Critics argue that the theory's exclusive focus on punishment overlooks broader social, economic, and systemic factors that contribute to criminal behavior, limiting its explanatory power. It overlooks the structural inequalities, social disorganization, or cultural factors that may shape criminal behavior.

There are detractors of the Alekwu belief system. Some contend that it's an example of superstition that's harmful for society. Despite being strongly embedded in Idoma society, the Alekwu belief system is not impervious to questioning. Some people contend that it is a type of superstition that might be detrimental to society. They claim that the Alekwu concept can result in the mis-identification of innocent people as evil and adulterous, which can have serious repercussions including exclusion, discrimination, or even physical harm. Concerns regarding the belief system's effects on social harmony and personal wellbeing are raised by its vulnerability to misunderstanding and abuse.Additionally, some assert that the Alekwu belief system is out of date and no longer applicable in the contemporary world. They contend that sticking to outdated beliefs might impede innovation and prolong harmful practices in an age marked by scientific advancements and rational thought. It's possible to dismiss the idea of ancestor spirits and their meddling in human affairs as irrational and incompatible with rational scientific explanations of natural occurrences.
In conclusion,

Conclusion

In Nigeria, the Alekwu belief system among the Idoma people acts as a potent social control mechanism, discouraging antisocial conduct and reiterating social norms and values. Within the Idoma society, the belief system upholds social order and promotes social cohesion through dread, repercussions, ritual rites, and the encouragement of collective responsibility. Understanding the dynamics of African traditional and cultural practices, such as the Alekwu belief system, can offer insightful information regarding the function of cultural legacy in forming social control mechanisms and preserving community peace.

Despite its criticisms, the Alekwu belief system continue to remain of significance to Idoma society. It is crucial for preserving the Idoma people's cultural identity and helping them stay connected to their ancestors. The community benefits from a strong sense of continuity and belonging that is fostered by the belief in ancestral spirits, which also promotes a sense of shared heritage. It serves as a repository for collective memory, passing on significant cultural beliefs, customs, and information from one generation to the next.In general, the Alekwu belief system is a complex social control mechanism with several facets. The Alekwu belief, system is a significant component of Idoma culture and continues to contribute to the preservation of harmony and order in Idoma society.

On a final note, the Deterrent Theory emerged from historical sociological and criminological foundations and has been shaped by various scholars. It is based on the assumptions that individuals are rational decision-makers, punishment certainty and severity

influence behavior, and punishment acts as a deterrent. While the theory offers practical implications for criminal justice policies, it has been criticized for its limited view of decision-making and neglect of contextual factors.

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