

IWA AND OMOLUABI: A PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE YORUBA ETHICAL CONCEPTS ON RAPE CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

Despite the inherent nature of human being to explore and experience his own sexuality, it remains one of the least discussed subjects in the circles of human. The perceived sacredness and secrecy of sexual related discourse among the African societies have led to gross inabilities to effectively study and relate the influences of cultures on African sexuality. However, the increasing prevalence of the mass media (including social media) have led to a massive awareness of sexuality and its attendant consequences in our societies. Increase in the occurrence of gender based violence, such as rape, is an indication of a widespread moral decadence and flagrant disregard for the human basic rights. Nigeria being a socio-centric society, places an onus of shame, which prevents the victims of such violence from opening up about their traumas, with perpetrators going further to commit greater offenses leading to more breakdown of laws and orders. Hence, it is imperative to utilise socio-cultural approaches to demystify the problem of sexual violence in Nigeria. This paper philosophically analyses the ethical and deontological perceptions of the Yoruba society on sexual violence. These include the preventive structures embedded in the Yoruba culture to curtail sexual violence and misdemeanours and the attendant consequences of perpetrating sexual violence. This paper also recommends the indigenous Yoruba society paradigms of altruism and critical appraisals of the omoluabi and iwa ethos, as evident in the Yoruba Ifa corpus and general ways of life, as panacea for the prevailing incidence of rape culture in the Nigerian society, as the Yoruba ethical concepts of altruism, omoluabi and Iwa are thoroughly against social vices in the human societies.

Keywords: Rape, Omoluabi ethics, Altruism, Iwa ethics, Yoruba society, Sexual violence

Introduction

The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in Nigeria brought about a great awareness of the consequent realities of the pandemic and its attendant Government policies such as the “stay at home” order. There was a massive increase in the occurrence and reportage of sexual violence and rape, which makes many to wonder if it has silently been a part and parcel of our society or it is just becoming a National issue of concern due to the wide-spread influences and easy accessibility of the social mass media. The numerous unsettling stories of rape, ranging from the rape of minors, the elderly, people with mental disabilities, women and even the male gender has been a cause of concern, questioning the moral sanctity, norms and value of our society. The recent surge in the occurrence of rape in Nigeria places a great moral burden on our ethical standings and places the society in an ethical peril. Rape legal cases are reported, people are incarcerated, shocking statistics released, campaigns against sexual abuse and rape held, but each day brings with it even more horrendous cases of sexual violations such as gang rapes and the rape of infants.

Rape is a multi-dimensional socio-cultural problem with different complexities in its social, moral and philosophical considerations. There had been great difficulty in giving a definite definition to the concept of rape. The concept is considered controversial and the different definitions often considered unsatisfying (Scully 1994, Smith 2004 and Rowland 2004). Similarly, it is generally accepted that rape is an underestimated social challenge due to its under-reportage and the societal stigma attached to the victims (Groth and Birnbaum 2004, Miller 2004 and Rowland 2004). The problem of rape is made more complex by the myths that are embedded in its analyses (Ward 1995, Benedict 1993), and it is an established fact that despite the massive awareness and acknowledgement of the prevalence of rape in our society, rape culture is still subtly encouraged and little to nothing is sincerely done to address this menace. These facts further raise socio-religio-cultural questions as to the philosophy and psychology of rape and how far the Nigeria varying cultures address it. The “façade” attempts made at the debates on rape are masked by what du Toit (2005:256) calls “the institutional ‘normalisation’ of rape whereby rape is officially illegal but officially tolerated. Hence, rape exists as a complex multi-dimensional phenomenon with broad implications for the general social wellbeing of a society- Nigerian, African and the global society.

The polarizing nature of the issues of sexual violence and rape, since its recognition as a crime and destructive form of victimization, has been an issue of socio-philosophical discourse (Kristine, 2016). Although, this type of crime was not openly discussed, research has provided a greater understanding of the offense, its devastating effects, and the social forces that continue to create an ecosystem where it can thrive (Roni, 2011). This ecosystem exists as a place where significant numbers of people are sexually assaulted, victims often feel silenced, and when they do speak, their voices frequently fall on deaf ears. Rape myths continue to dominate the dialogue about sexual assault, and they also tend to place blame on those who have been victimized. According to a research study on the role of communication in perpetuating rape culture, Burnett *et al.* (2009) provide a number of examples of rape myths. For instance, if a woman says “no,” she really means “yes;” women are strong enough to resist rape; women who get raped are promiscuous; and women tend to falsely report rapes. Further, rape culture is created when victims are challenged about what they were wearing at the time of the incident, what/how much they were drinking, and with whom they chose to spend their time. Victim blaming, then, emphasizes the victim’s supposed role in the rape and places responsibility on her/him.

The harsh realities of the prevalence of Rape in today’s Nigerian society no longer only raise the question of whether Rape has been with us since or it is just becoming evident due to prevalence of social media, but it further raises mind boggling questions on what can be sincerely done, individually and collectively to address this social ill. The present day Nigeria is where our daughters and sons are not safe and no one could entirely trust close family relatives to take custody of their children. It is well documented and widely accepted that rape causes severe physical and psychological pain and suffering. Further, it is undisputed that rape can have serious physical, psychological and reproductive consequences for the victims, including death, unwanted pregnancies, complications in childbirth, and sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS. The Nigerian government compounds these acts of torture by failing to exercise due diligence in bringing perpetrators to justice and by failing to offer victims (particularly women and girls) any form of redress or reparation. The prevalence of issues of extreme paedophilic behaviours, sexual violence and assault of teenagers and even the rape of aged and vulnerable places the lives of every citizen in perpetual danger and fear of violent death. As suggested by Olowu and Erero (1995), addressing this panacea of sexual abuse and rape in the Nigerian society requires a solution deeply rooted in the country’s systems,

structure, values and culture. This implies that only a local solution can alleviate or mitigate a locally adapted problem.

This paper particularly suggests that in order to have a final institutional framework that will provide the needed panacea to Nigeria's sexual abuse and rape issues, it is essential to learn and explore the nation's valuable cultures, ethos and indigenous institutions which have been proven to effectively cater for the welfare of the local people even in the face of the failure of modern government to improve the lives of citizens. These ethos, cultures and norms are well represented and similar across various tribes in Nigeria, and they have been pointed out as major pillars in maintaining law and order before the advent of the Whites (Olowu and Erero 1995, Okunmadewa *et al.*, 2005). The perception and institutional understanding of local people, in particular, matter and the indicators of governance need to be redefined to reflect the expectations of local stakeholders, as well as their culture and norms (Olowu and Erero 1995). Hence, it is imperative to utilise socio-cultural approaches to demystify the problem of sexual violence in Nigeria. This paper philosophically analyses the ethical and deontological perceptions of the Yoruba society on sexual violence. This include the preventive structures embedded in the Yoruba culture to curtail sexual violence and misdemeanours and the attendant consequences of perpetrating sexual violence.

Rape: A Hidden Mountain

The word "rape" from the Latin verb "*rapere*", means 'to seize or take by force'. It is a forced, unwanted sexual intercourse; it is sometimes also called sexual assault, which can happen to both men and women of any age (Medhelp, 2008). Rape is perceived by many people as a sexual act. However, although rape involves sexual acts, it is motivated by the desire for power and control over another person, rather than by sexual attraction or the desire for sexual gratification. In other words, rape is a crime of violence (Omoera, 2004). Rape also occurs when someone forces or tricks another person into unwanted sexual activity, even if actual physical violence is not involved (Medhelp, 2008). Rape is a form of social deviancy which varies from one country to another; it changes overtime. Bourke (2001) argues that there is nothing timeless or random about rape, it is not a metaphor for the ruin of a city or nation, it is not an environmental disaster, and it is the embodied violation of another person. Bourke (2001) further describes rape as a felony in which a person is forced to have sexual intercourse without giving consent. Although reports by non-

governmental organizations, some police records, statements by state prosecutors and media reports indicate that rape in the family, the community, and by the police and security forces occurs on an alarming scale, lack of comprehensive official statistics make it difficult to establish accurately its true scale. The lack of comprehensive official figures also makes it difficult to assess the extent of direct state involvement in perpetrating gender-based violence against women, or state failure to prosecute and punish perpetrators of rape. Some countries substitute the term 'aggravated sexual assault' for rape. Many countries include homosexual rape, incest, and other sex offences in the definition of rape. Cooper (2000) asserts that rape is most often motivated by extreme anger toward the victim or a need to overpower the victim. The motive is rarely sexual and violence is always involved. Forced sex is intended to abuse, humiliate, and dehumanize the victim. Liebling, Sleg, and Ruratotoye (2012) observe that in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), women and girls bearing children from rape is a poorly understood subject area as a majority of the people hardly appreciates the underlying causes and consequences of sexual violence, and their impact on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Rape is also seen as sexual intercourse with a woman by a man without her consent and chiefly by force or deception (SmarterSex, 2010). However, there are many rumoured or even reported cases of men who have been raped in contemporary societies, including Nigeria.

The concept of rape, both as abduction and in the sexual sense made its first historical appearance in early religious texts. Rape culture is a concept of unknown origin and of uncertain definition; yet it has made its way into everyday vocabulary and is assumed to be commonly understood. The award-winning documentary film, *Rape Culture* made by Margaret Lazarus in 1975 takes credit for first defining the concept. The film's narration relies heavily on jargon such as 'rapism' and 'phallogocentric society' and is more illustrative than definitive in dealing with rape as depicted in movies, music, and other forms of entertainment. Authors of the popular 'Transforming a Rape Culture' define the phenomenon as a "complex of beliefs that

encourages male sexual aggression and supports violence against women ... a society where violence is seen as sexy and sexuality as violent" (Buchwald and Roth, 1993).

Characterizing Rape Situations in the Nigerian Society

According to the African adage that says “self-awareness is the first step towards getting cured of madness”, characterizing the rape phenomenon in the Nigerian society is the essential in the journey to address the menace. Day by day, there arise new cases of rape taking several dimensions and with several premises. At times, the premises surrounding a rape situation makes it difficult to make conclusion of the occurrence as rape. Hence, justice is subverted, undelivered or misguided in such situations. Generally, rape situations in the Nigerian society can be classified either as:

- **Forcible Date Rape:** This rather refers to “acquaintance” or “friend” rape, involving a non-consensual sexual activity between people who are friends or even people who have an existing romantic relationship, where consent for sexual activities is out rightly not given, or given under compulsion (Mosadomi, 2008).
- **Blitz Rape:** The rape suspect is not familiar with the victim. No contact has been previously established and it is also called stranger rape.
- **Group Rape:** This is also referred to as “gang rape”, where more than one person has a non-consensual sexual activity with victim. The victim might be more than one also. However, it must be established that more than one person had sexual contact with the victim.
- **Incestual Rape:** This form of rape is incest, and is committed by the child's parents or close relatives, such as grandparents, aunts and uncles. It is considered incestuous in nature but not in form when committed by other elders, such as priests, nuns or other religious authorities, school teachers, or therapists, to name a few, on whom the child is dependent.
- **Statutory Rape:** This refers to sexual activity which the victim is below the age-of-consent. Unfortunately, the Nigerian age-of-sexual consent is a subject of controversy, as the Nigerian constitution is not expressly clear on it, whether it stands at 11years or 18years.
- **Prison Rape:** Many rapes happen in prison. These rapes are virtually always homosexual in nature (since prisons are separated by sex). These acts are mostly committed by people who were not homosexual before their imprisonment (FIDA, 2006). The attacker is usually another inmate, but prison guards may also be involved.
- **Bottle Rape:** This involved coerced sexual penetration with a foreign object.

- **War Rape:** Rape is usually used during wars, armed raids and military interventions as psychological warfare tools to humiliate the enemies. The Nigerian society is frequently occasioned with several reports of war rapes. Example of such is rapes during military invasion of Ugborodo community in Delta State (2002), Odi community in Bayelsa state (1999), Choba community in Rivers State (1999) among many local invasions which are unreported or left unattended to.
- **Spousal Rape:** This is also known as marital rape, and till date is vastly regarded as impossible and non-consequential by the Nigerian populace. The African culture does not regard a forceful sexual intercourse between a woman and her husband as an act of rape (Kolawole, 1999), and it is believed that sex is a spouse's (emphasis on husband) right in marriage, and "grabbing" of such can never be regarded as assault. In many countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa, Malawi to mention a few, it is not possible to commit the crime of rape against one's own wife or husband. Spousal rape is often accompanied with spouse abuse, domestic violence and retributory murders.

Iwa Omoluabi: The Socio-Philosophical Character Formation

The concept of virtue is one of the fundamental socio-philosophical cascades, as it deals with the ability to judge actions with regards to appropriate actions at a given time. *Omoluàbí*, the Yoruba term that mostly describes the theory of virtue ethics, presents a model (template) to compare individual characters with expected socially-acceptable characters. Hence, the *Omoluàbí* ethics serves as a mirror to reflect the deficiency of human characters. The concept of *Omoluàbí* signifies courage, humility, respect, strength, worth, moral excellence, wisdom, as well as moral goodness (Bosede and Folake, 2019:1). *Omoluàbí*, an adjectival Yoruba phrase with "Omo + ti + Olu-iwa + bi" as the components can be literally translated as a "child born by the chief of character", and such a child is expected to be exactly as his father (Wande, 1975). A Yoruba adage says:

"Omo Ajanaku kin ya ara, omo ti eya ba bi, eya ni njo", meaning that "an Elephant's child can never be dwarf, a child born by Eya (bush animal) will surely resemble Eya". Hence, the son of the "Iwa Chief" is expected by the society to be just like his father in terms of impeccable characters, which are expressed in several ways such as (Akanibi and Jekayinfa, 2016) *o`ro` síṣọ* (spoken word), *ìteríba* (respect), *inú rere* (having a good mind towards others), *òtító* (truth), *ìwà* (good character),

akínkanjú (bravery), *ise'* (hard work), and *opolo pípe'* (intelligence). The end of Yoruba traditional education is to make every individual "Omoluabi". To be "Omoluabi" is to be of good character. That is why the goal of Yoruba traditional education has always been to foster strong character in the individual and to prepare each person to become a useful member of the community (Jekayinfa, 2016:13).

The *Omoluàbí* concept is an encompassing one that determines the morality and the immorality of an act in Yoruba society in Africa, and *Iwa* (good character) sum total the center core of the Child begotten of Iwa chief. This is evident in the Yoruba oracle corpus on *Iwa, Ogbe otura*:

Orisa lo se laa ni feere - It is Obatala who made pawpaw like trumpet

O se enu re dududu - He made the mouth of the trumpet systematically

Komo araye o le maa ri n fon - For all humans to use for rhythm

Difa fun Orunmila - made Ifa reading for Orunmila

Baba n lo ree gbe Iwa niyawo - He wanted to marry Iwa (character)

Ebo ni woni ko wa se - a sacrifice was prescribed for him

O gbebo mbe o rubo - He made ebo as prescribed

Nje Alara o riwa n mi? - King Alara did you find/see Iwa(character)

Iwa la n wa o Iwa - We are in search of Iwa(character)

Ajero o riwa n mi? - King Ajero did you find/see Iwa(character)?

Iwa la n wa o Iwa - We are in search of Iwa(character)

Owaran-gun o riwa n mi? - King Owaran-gun did you find or see my wife?

Beeyan lowo laye - If one is rich in life

Bi o niwa owo olowo ni - If he doesn't have good character the riches will be lost

Iwa la n wa o Iwa - We are in search of Iwa(character)

Beeyan nire gbogbo - If one has all blessings in life

Bi o niwa ire onire ni - If he lacks good character all the blessings will vanish

Orunmila, often associated with divine knowledge by the Yoruba society, was described to have married Iwa (Character) as a wife. However, due to his recklessness, he lost Iwa and things went wrong with him. He made divination and he was instructed to make sacrifice. However, despite the prayers and

sacrifices offered, things did not get right with Orunmila. He was advised to look for his wife, *Iwa*- virtue, and until then will life be good with him. This is a pointer to the fact that the Yoruba society believe that a man without virtue is living an unworthy life.

The Yoruba also attributes the disorderliness in our society to lack of *Iwa* virtues (Makinde, 2007:306):

Aimowa hu ni ko je ki aye gun

Ologbon ni eni ti o ti ko eko ogbon mimowahu.

Ogberi ni eni ti ko ko ogbon

Meaning that “it is want of knowledge of right conduct that has made the world a horrible place to live in. He is a wise man, who has studied the possession of the act of good, moral conduct. He who has not done so is a novice”. The Yoruba believe that wherever there is one problem or the other, the people involved are short of virtues and they are deemed ignorant. Similarly, the following maxims on *Iwa* revealed the esteemed position virtue occupies in the Yoruba society:

(i) *Ìwá l’esin* (character is the ultimate religion) (Abimbola, 1977: 155)

(ii) *Ìwá l’ewa* (character is a person’s beauty)

(iii) *Ìwá l’óbá awure* (character is the best mystical protections)

(iv) *Ìwá rere lèsó èni’òn, ehín funfun lèsó èrin* (Just as white teeth enhance a laugh, so does a good character benefit a person) (Abraham, 1970).

Iwa: Peace in the Chaotic World of Rape

The ontological analysis of *eniyan* (man) and existence in traditional Yoruba thought system made it vivid that we exist in an imperfect world ruled by multiplicity of good and evil forces, with forces influence and man, at the centre of the muddle. Man is vulnerable and the law of reciprocity prevails in men societies. These socio-cultural assumptions make the Yoruba society to hinge morality or appropriate mode of behaviour on the doctrine of *Ìwàpèlé* (Abimbola, 1975; Fayemi, 2009). *Iwa*, a core of *Omoluabi*, is a character that abhors aggressiveness as mode of relations (Oladipo, 2002). Traditionally, the attitude of mind exhibited in *Iwa* manifest and is demonstrated in various ways, among which is the observance of taboo and right doing. The Yoruba society, among the taboos, forbid recklessness and impunity. This is reflected in various Yoruba proverbs such as:

“Sise sise lo nmu ewure, ti o fin s’oko iya ewure,

Sise sise lo nmu agutan ti o fin gun iya e”

(It is a misdeed and unfortunate act to have forbidden sexual relationship)

“Idimere so igi gun, ki o ma baa gungi aladi”

(The chimpanzee should be careful of what tree to climb, lest he climb the ant infested tree)

The Yoruba concept of *Iwa* and *Omoluabi* campaign against reckless behaviours, as it is believed that every behaviour has consequences. These consequences are both spiritual and social. In fact, an essential quality among Ifa initiates is the mental discipline to be moderate and never over-indulge in any matter (Ilawole, 2006). Hence, an *Omoluabi* is expected to shy away from any act that might bring disrepute to his name and lineage. Rape (*Ifipa ba ni sun, Ifipa ba ni lopo, Ibalopo nipa etan*) is considered a social-ill that is a taboo in the Yoruba society, with attendant consequences to both parties. Hence, the victim is expected by the Yoruba society to stay away from any act or association that might make him/her vulnerable to rape, and the perpetrator is expected to be severely punished. However, they in no way address the placement of burden of guilt on the victim.

Curbing Rape through *Eko Ile*

Eko ile (home training) is a fundamental part of the Yoruba family. It is the means through which family and societal values are inculcated into the young ones. It is considered as an inherent parental responsibility which should be shared by members of the entire community. The Yoruba society does not consider the *eko ile* as a duty solely reserved to the parents, rather, any member of the society (*Omoluabi*) is expected to share in this sacerdotal duty. A character deficient person, either adult or juvenile, is regarded as lacking home training and the blame is either put on the Parents, Community, individual or all as a whole. *Eko ile* can be informal or formal and it cover cultural greetings and actions, decency in language and dressing, respect for the elderly, knowledge of cultural norms and practices, history of a persons’ clan and family structure, riddles, stories and proverbs that teach wisdom, vocational choices and communality; all of which are reflected in sexuality. Informally, it takes the forms of storytelling, gossips and conversations, folk songs. Formally, sexuality education is carried out

through cultural practices in plays, dances and arts, cultural beliefs, in taboos, in religious practices and involvements in various performances (Olaniyan, 2016).

Eko ile, as an indoctrination, begins from the home and in the long run defines the morality of an individual. This is evident from maxims such as “*Bibiire ko se fi owo ra, bibiire ni ibi omoluabi*” (You cannot pay to be born in a virtuous home, birth/background is the foundation of being *Omoluabi*). Family upbringing fundamentally anchored on strict observance of taboos is the common character-moulding attribute expected from all would-be *Omoluabi* (Oyebade and Azenabor, 2018:12). These taboos cut across all strata of human endeavours, hence, all families and the community, at large, strive to align with the order. Therefore, “nothing mortifies a Yoruba more than to say that his child is ‘*àbiikó*’ (a child that is born but not taught, that is, a badly brought up child). A child is better *àkóogbà* (a child that is taught but does not learn), where the responsibility is that of the child and not his parents” (Awoniyi, 1975). The modern parents do not have time to inculcate *Iwa* into their children as expected of the Yoruba society. Hence, we have many misguided juvenile, youths and adults who behave as deemed fit, against the fundamental Yoruba *Omoluabi* ethos. Likewise, the erosion of our culture of neighbourhood by the Western world culture of individualism have led to a massive disruption in administration of *Eko ile*, as neighbours will rather keep quiet and look away than discipline another man’s child. Hence, this paper is of high opinion that bringing back *Eko ile* as a part and parcel of our society, as practiced by the Yoruba society, will go a long way to shape the philosophical outlook of individuals on the subject of rape. *Eko ile*, as an indigenous model, is an ideal of character development for individuals, state actors and societies at large, and helps to inculcate *Iwa omoluabi* which are fundamental to a safe living.

Rapist: Looking into the *Ifa* Corpus

An academic inquiry into the stand of *Ifa* corpus on Rape indicated that little was actually said about it, despite many *Odu ifa* on sexuality and sexual orientations. The Yoruba *Ifa* divinity in a verse of *Odu Ika turupon* gave an insight into the divinity on rape and sexual abuse. The verse in *Ika turupon* goes thus:

Ori omode ko wo koto (a child’s head cannot enter a calabash)

Ika tio ba wo idi alabahun ko tun jade mo (a finger stuck in the tortoise shell never escape)

A fi l'aju eyin (except when you apply the hot charcoal)

Lo difa fun Agberowoye olori ode (Makes divinity for Agberowoye, the chief hunter)

O ri arewa obinrin ninu odan ti o fe fi s'aya (He saw a pretty lady in the forest, he wishes to marry her)

Awon agba ni ki o pa eran ki o fi tu loju (the elders asked him to appease her with bush meat)

Agberowoye ko, o ni ko je o (Agberowoye refused and said the lady did not accept him)

Lo ba d'ebu ti arewa l'oke odo (he laid ambush for the damsel on the way to the river)

Agberowoye ba fi ipa gba ibale re (He forcefully disvirgined the lady)

Ode, ki lo de ti o fi ipa gba ibale re (Hunter, why did you rape her)

Agbon se, Ikamudu se (He bluntly denied)

Agberowoye bura niwaju orisa (Agberowoye swore an oath of innocence before the deity)

Nkan omokunrin ko ba de mo (His manhood hence stayed erected and refused to soften)

Agberowoye ba wo'nu igbe o ri alabahun (He entered into the forest and saw a tortoise)

Lo ba gba ibale alabahun (He raped the tortoise)

Ika tio ba wo idi alabahun ko tun jade mo (a finger stuck in the tortoise shell never escape)

Agberowoye di oko alabahun (Agberowoye was stuck to the tortoise)

This *Ifa* corpus, which was the only explicit corpus on rape, relayed that though, there was no direct spiritual consequences to rape, the social consequence is disgrace and embarrassment. Likewise, Yoruba believed that sexual intercourse involves exchange of energies between the parties involved, hence having an indiscriminate sex can lead to series of spiritual implications.

Conclusion

Rape, being a multi-dimensional phenomenon, requires aggressive multi-dimensional approaches to curb it in the Nigerian society. As much as the Government tends to be combative in addressing this social-ill, this paper preaches the proactive measure of inculcating the Yoruba ethos of *Iwa omoluabi*, as this will form a basis for positive character formation. An *Omoluabi* will not rape, *Omoluabi* will not sexually abuse as he/she has been nurtured to see crime to fellow human as a taboo. The *Eko ile* component of *Omoluabi* ethos will go a long way in building adults who will acknowledge that indeed, a good name is more than gold or silver. Imbibing the *Omoluabi* cascade of character formation in Nigeria will build a society that will shun systemic and surface decadence. This paper argues for the indoctrination of the Yoruba *Iwa omoluabi* in our children by involving it in Civic educations in institutions of learning, and encouraging families to embrace spending time together. Prevention is surely better and cost effective than cure.

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