

## **JEEDO PRACTICE AMONG ELDERLY WOMEN IN BAUCHI: A SOCIAL CAPITAL PROSPECTS STUDY**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Population ageing has been identified as one of the most potential crises across the globe, that requires urgent attention. One of the most crucial issues related to this development, is the critical issue of care and wellbeing of the elderly. This study is aimed at a social capital prospect analysis of the Jeedo practice in Bauchi Emirate, North Eastern Nigeria. Interviews were held in different locations within the emirate. Participants were recruited from the Jeedo congregation, and members of the emirate community. Data obtained was analyzed using thematic analysis. The result shows that, the Jeedo practice has social capital prospects, that can be mobilized to accommodate and care for more elderly people. The practice has been in existence for over two hundred years, and offers the platform for religious devotion, preparation for death, sickness, religious information sharing, strong relationship ties of sisterhood, and purposeful series of reciprocal exchanges. Despite the expression of satisfaction with the benefits of derive from the congregation, significant efforts are required to strengthen and mobilize social capita in the practice, towards accommodating more elderly people to cope with old age. Recommendations includes the policy legislation, budget and support from the government, and above all the restoration of good will sources within the emirate.

**Keywords:** Religious social capital, elderly women, Jeedo practice

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

For more than two centuries, the *Jeedo* religious practice has served as social capital for elderly women in Bauchi emirate. Over such period, the Jeedo has been the bases for coping, through the mobilization and investment of social capital in spiritual, self-help, networking, friendship, and reciprocity. Furthermore, the Jeedo practice is unique and peculiar practice to Bauchi

Emirate, among elderly women in menopause. In this study, social capital in the Jeedo practice was traced through interviews held within the emirate, at various locations during the research. Findings revealed the social capital prospects of the practice, and its relevance to eldercare. The research was necessary and important owing to the need for an exploration into methods that can be strengthened, to address the existing inconsistency, between the provision of statutory formal Social Support, and the needs of elderly citizens. In addition, the focus on social capital potentials of the Jeedo is pertinent, especially now that, there is rampant destitution among the aged due to population aging and the insurgency in North-Eastern Nigeria. An exploration of the potentials in the Jeedo system in this research, is aimed towards suggesting areas that need improvement in the Jeedo capacity, to accommodate more elderly people. Based on this objective, the Jeedo was analyzed through the existing concepts, and relationships upon which the practice was established.

## **2. PROBLEM**

The global experience of population aging has intensified the need for care and social support for the elderly, more than any period in human history. The age of aging as the period is referred to, is occurring within the developing countries such as Nigeria, in the context of poor commitment and absence of political will, to protect the elderly segment of the population. The result is non-availability of formal support, alongside a poorly provided informal type. Furthermore, as a result of these discrepancies, a significant number of elderly Nigerians exist in pathetic conditions that needs urgent attention. A gap therefore exists for the need to source for options within the informal sources. Specifically, the situation warrants the search for optional strategies that can be mobilized to strengthen eldercare (Bloom et al.; Agarwal et al.; Help Age India; Troisi). Hence the Jeedo practice was identified as a source of religious social capital, towards this end.

The choice for a religious social capital analysis, follows the nature of North Eastern Nigeria, as a predominantly Muslim society. In addition, the research setting was Bauchi, the seat of Bauchi the famous Islamic Bauchi Emirate, in the north-east of Nigeria. However, the Jeedo has no documented study. Therefore, this study is a pioneer effort and therefore explorative in nature.

## **3. CONCEPT CLARIFICATION**

### ***(a) Religion***

Broadly, there are two ways to define religion within the sociological tradition. First, the classical and second, the exclusivist. For the classical perspective, the 'Elementary Forms of the Religious Life' provides an early classical definition of religion by Émile (Gorski). This definition, can be the basis of our sociological analysis and mobilization of social capital arising

from religious sources. The Durkheimian understanding of religion, views religion as an integrated system of beliefs, and practices, relative to sacred things, set aside and regarded as forbidden. This perspective can shed light to the possible creation and sustenance of prospective beliefs and practices, that unite human groups into a single moral community. If this becomes feasible, then the moral community becomes a potential asset for promoting collective interest. This is more so when we consider the collective nature of religion as a positive aspect of social life, with the sacred representing aspects of society that bind people together during collective rituals. In addition, this might also result in the likelihood of commonness of emotions and collective effervescence (Garrod and Jones).

The exclusivist definition of religion, which is the explanation of religion based on the presence of God. (Stark and Bainbridge) , provides a reality of religions that assume supernatural powers have the capacity to compensate adherents. The most imperative of which is the Heavenly rewards in the afterlife. This can justify why adherents of such exclusivist religions remain in need of such supernatural belief systems. Importantly, such belief in the supernatural powers, remains a valuable asset that can be mobilized towards the formation of social capital. The reason being that a belief in the supernatural, form the basis of meaning to existence (Garrod and Jones). Therefore, Religion remains a significant factor in all aspects social life, among adherents (Mellor and Shilling; Turner).

***(b) Social capital***

Social capital refers to goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit. It also refers to resources and forms of support that can be accessed through genuine relationships(Stanton-Salazar, 2016) Putnam, (2000) distinguished between three level for the operation of social capita ; namely bonding social capital referring to intra-group networking, bridging social capital referring to horizontal linkages between a group to other groups, and linking social capital referring to the vertical relationships between a group with structure of power.

***(c) Religious social capital***

Religious capital consists of the extent of mastery of a religion, and attachment to specific religious culture. As such, religious capital involves both the skills and knowledge required for integration into a religious community. Furthermore, emotional attachment to a religious community, creates the possibility of life long loyalty of members. Religious social capital in this regard, can be seen as those social resources available to individuals and groups, by virtue of their social connections with the religious community. These resources among others are shared

values, trust, and loyal adherence to the religious hierarchy (Stark and Bainbridge; Stark and Finke)(Stark and Finke).

***(d) Prospects of social capital***

Social capital as a concept has a lot of potential that can be invested and organized for coping with both cognitive and tangible difficulties in the life course. For example, individuals can resort to Social Capital in order to achieve collective goals that they cannot reach alone, in old age (De Tocqueville; Yip; House et al.; Okun and Keith). The potential for investing social capital was captured from the three characteristics mentioned by Coleman, (1988), namely convertibility, reciprocity, and community. Convertibility and community applies to macro level investment of social capital, while reciprocity can be considered individual level investment of social capital. According to Putnam (2000), social capital models can be applied on a wider scale. At the community level, this can be done by a focus on public welfare. Therefore, community level mobilization of Social capital has a potential to facilitate co-operation within or among groups. At the individual level, social capital investment runs in Parallel terms to the concept of investment in both economics and finance. Social capital on individual level investment, can be seen as the stock of efforts and relational resources, devoted to daily interaction, within a group. Such efforts ends up building social capital for an individual, in both short-term and long-terms (Keeley & O E C D, 2007; R Putnam, 2001)

Social capital investments are based on cultural norms, implying an almost natural occurrence, involving little or no conscious risk calculation. In most cases, social capital investment is aimed at building trust. To invest in social capital, a person does not need to be wealthy. What is needed is the effort and time, but may include money and materials, specific talents and other strengths, that can be offered freely. Social capital investment is unique to individuals, as the sum of efforts invested in interpersonal relationships. The eventual proceeds of which are not transferable. Unlike economic capital, social capital investment differs as to what is required in terms of purposeful behavior, solid trust and calculated risks in addition to professional investment decisions, required in economic investment. More still, economic investments are wealth investments, transferrable to others (Chen et al.).

**OBJECTIVE**

The study set to discuss the following aspect of the Jeedo:

1. Nature of religious social capital in the Jeedo practice
2. Relevance of religious social capital to the Jeedo adherents

3. Suggest ways of strengthening the prospects of the Jeedo for eldercare

#### **4. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS**

##### ***a) Qualitative Research Design***

This study used qualitative research methodology to explore religious social capital, and prospect for eldercare care in the Jeedo practice. The role of the researcher was to act as an interviewer, observer and analyzer; in other words, the researcher interviewed the selected members of the group and took his time to analyses the phenomenon.

##### ***b) Techniques of Data Collection***

The techniques of data collection were, interviews and use of observation by taking pictures and notes based on the responses of the interviewees.

##### ***c) Population of the Study***

The population of this study encompasses fourteen senior chiefs and ten ordinary members in Jeedo, while seven informants were interviewed from Bauchi emirate council members, community leaders, and the clergy. Within the Jeedo Elderly Network, both categories of participants for the interview were conveniently drawn from the main congregation of seventy. On the whole, a total of 31 were interviewed according to their convenience.

##### ***d) Methods of Data Analysis***

The methods of analysis for the data generated by this study involves the thematic analysis. Therefore, thematic analysis offers an avenue for both interpretation and involvement of the researcher in the analysis. The focuses were on identification of codes and themes (Joffe, H. 2012).

#### **5. RESULTS**

##### ***a). Research setting***

The word Bauchi according to a definition given by sultan Mahmood bello in his “*Infaq al-Maysur*”, is a Hausa word, implying a geographical area occupied by a diversity of tribes. Bauchi lies within Coordinates 10°18'57"N 09°50'39"E , within the Hausa states. The city of Bauchi spreads within a land mass of 49,119 km east of Adamawa, Yobe, and Gombe States. Bauchi lies South of Plateau and Taraba States. On the northern frontier, it shares borders with Kano and Jigawa States, and to the west with Kaduna State. Bauchi city also serves as Bauchi State capital and the emirs palace, which is the setting for this research

There are two ways of looking at the elderly population in Bauchi. The first is the Islamic definition of old age, based on which Bauchi has a population of about 4.653,066 people, out of which, the elderly constitutes 855,791, accounting for eighteen percent of the total population (18%) (Bensaid and Grine). The second definition is based on western industrial definition of old age as 65 years. This definition implies that, the elderly in Bauchi accounts for 198,847 (4%) according to the last population census data since 2006 (National Population Commission (NPC) [Nigeria] and ICF International) . Both perspectives imply an increase in the size of the population in conformity with the general demographic characteristics of the country.

Before the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio, the area known as Bauchi was inhabited by many small tribes, that spoke languages related to Hausa, and some of whom were Muslims. The living was harmonious, and survival was based on the spirit of togetherness, within a common environment. Islam came to Bauchi through the Borno axis in early 14th century; however, towards the end of the 17th Century, the religion of Islam became strong across Hausa land. This was as a result of the jihad that established the Sokoto Caliphate (Abdullahi). Bauchi was conquered between 1809 to 1818, led by Mallam Yakubu Gerawa, a Prince educated at Sokoto under Sheik Usman dan Fodio. The Emirate was founded in the early 19th century in what is now Bauchi town as the capital. (V. Beek). Malam Yakubu became the first Islamic ruler of Bauchi. As a flag bearer for Shehu Usman dan Fodio, he was given a strong religious and morale support (W. van Beek; Johnston.). Mallam Yakubu also initiated the Jeedo practice as part of the Islamic structures, resulting from the jihad.

The emirate enjoys a peaceful atmosphere as well as economic opportunities in agriculture under *Sarki Rilwan Sulaiman*, the current Emir (Kaigama). Bauchi contains various ethnic groups such as the *Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Fa'awa, Gerawa, Jarawa, Kanuri, Karekare, Sayawa, and Bolawa*. Islam is the main religion, whereas there are also Christians and followers of traditional religions. The two vegetation zones found in the state are Sudan and Sahel savanna types. Annual rainfalls in the range of 1300mm and 700mm in both vegetation zones respectively. (*Bauchi State of Nigeria :: Nigeria Information & Guide*).

***b). Profile of the participants***

Interviews were conducted within the Jeedo congregation involving the Jeedo leader, 14 members of the high council 10 ordinary members and 7 community members including the emirate staff, the clergy and members of the emirate at different venues and time.

**Table 1: Age Characteristics of the Jeedo General Congregation of 70 members interviewed.**

General Congregation			14 chiefs interviewed (General congregation)			10 members interviewed (General congregation)			7 community members interviewed		Total number interviewed
Age	No	%	Age	No	%	Age	No	%	No.	%	
60-65	6	9	60-65	1	4	60-65	1	4	1	14	
65-69	9	13	65-69	4	17	65-69	1	17	2	29	
70-75	25	36	70-75	6	25	70-75	4	25	2	29	
76-79	23	33	76-79	9	37	76-79	2	37	1	14	
80+	2	3	80+	2	8	80+	2	8	1	14	
80+104	5	7	80+104	2	8	80+104		8			
Total	70	100	Total	14	100	Total	10	100	7	100	31

From the Figure above, the ages of Jeedo members range from 60-65 years (6), 65-69 years (9), 70-75 years (25), 76-79 years (23), 80+ (3), 80+-104 years (5), the community members were also within the ages of 60-80. Therefore, the total number interviewed was 31. The above table also describes the demographic characteristics of the participates in the various interviews held outside the Jeedo Elderly Network group. Their ages were 45-49, 50-64,65-70, 75-79. The description of the socio-demographic characteristics is meant to expose the readers of this study to the characteristics of the Jeedo congregation. In addition, socio-demographic characteristics are very important considerations, because the profile of a group may strongly predict the type of policies, programs and services that need to be created to address them.

**Table 2: Interview Responses**

Theme	Subtheme	Sample statements
<p><b>Religious basis of the Jeedo Practice</b> reward</p>	Spiritual	<p>To start with the word Jeedo unlike the pronunciation by most people around as Jeedo” should be understood from its Hausa meaning which means Jeedo i.e. transferring an object from one place to another. For example, ants can come out in millions to transfer the contents of a barn to its nest by gradually picking one grain after the other until the whole barn is emptied. Such cannot be accomplished by a single insect but because of team work and the spirit of oneness the ant or bees are able to accomplish that much within a night or even a shorter period. This literally describes the basis of the word Jeedo as a Hausa word implying the transfer of large number of items from one point to another through team work. Such team work activity is called Jeedo the Jeedo is originally based on Islamic motives, so most of the Jeedo practice is centered around religious activities and spiritual reward in terms of what each member can appease and obtain certain reward from Allah. so the Jeedo is not for worldly gains its main purpose is spirituality, based on the belief of a reward from Allah in the hereafter. The more one engages in the Jeedo the more reward she accumulate (lada ) to farewell before Allah in the hereafter. Every time you see them gather in the mosque and the school. They mostly found also in the Jeedo section of the central mosque”</p> <p>“the mosque is the house of Allah so sweeping it is full of reward ( <i>laddah</i> )as we were though by our ulama and parents. We are in the Jeedo for abundance (<i>falala</i> ) to get the blessing (<i>tabarraki</i> ) and we hope to die doing it and reciting the Quran, and may Allah protect us and give us blessing (<i>baraka</i>)the mosque is the house of Allah”</p> <p>“old women came from all over and wait for the Jeedo before entering the mosque. After the prayer they come to the Palace to form a circle and circumvent around the Jeedo (lailaya ), and mostly, they wear simple white dresses. You need to see them on Friday as they come out early morning on Friday. They gather more during Ramadan to listen the (Dalalaini) tafseer after wards the enter the palace where another preacher attends to them and then they will be given items for breaking the fast ( iftar ) and they will leave.</p>
<p><b>Basis of Religious Social Capital</b> congregation</p>		<p>Good will</p> <p>“We are always seventy in number within the hierarchy,</p>



each with a specific function for the both religious needs and care of the co members while the rest are ordinary members but still obtain full attention and care. We share responsibility based on specialization because we have different past knowledge and experiences as well as status.

Mutual care They are enthusiastic and every Friday you see donations from Jeedo of over two thousand Naira and above including items. they believe in doing everything good for the mosque to seek more reward as ordained by Allah. They trust and rely on the Jeedo practice as an opportunity to learn. how to worship Allah properly and achieve something to compensate for the past and they are after returning to Allah as preached by the Prophets especially our leader Muhammad saw) and the Sahabas.

**Formation and investment of Religious social capital**

Community engagements

I always like to come here to assist others from the little I have. At this age I feel assisting as a daily life routine. Emphasis on spiritual assistance across members from Jeedo is both Islamic , spiritual, educative and caring for us the members. it assist in our preparation towards the final transition. help to one another in the caretring aspect is also important to me

“we old people sweep the mosque by learning from the past. It is said that who sweeps the mosque will go to heaving as preached by the prophets especially our leader Muhammad saw) and the Sahabas”.

**Prospect for social support**

it is easier to intervene and repair spiritual matters more than formal ones. that is the major problem we are facing presently. The major reason for the weakness of the Jeedo in eldercare is the lack of an Islamic organization to work for the welfare of the older people, what we need is more awareness on this

If other avenues can be available to help them. the JNI as an organization that is internationally renowned can apply for funding from donors to execute programmes. Although we have some programmes but we need more .

Therefore, the model we can suggest improving the Jeedo should be based on funding from Sadaqah waqaf zakat to be mobilized to improve the Jeedo, Since our organization is responsible for management of these sources locally from within emirates environment.

“evidence of support to the jeedo from the central mosque, the Jamaatu Nasril Islam and the Emirate as support to the jeedo both financially and materially. This ranged from a commuter bus, a building dedicated to the Jeedo, assistance from the state governor and the emir on certain occasions or when complaints are made by the Jeedo. wrapper and food items as well as grains and cash are donated through the central mosque to the Jeedo . Information gathered through interviews revealed that maintaining one’s membership in the Jeedo depends on participation and sacrifice”.

## **6. DISCUSSION**

### ***1. (a), Nature , basis and pillars of Religious Social Capital in the Jeedo Practice***

Within the classical Durkheimian understanding of religion, the Jeedo practice unifies the elderly women as a single moral community. This is because Religiosity in the Jeedo, plays a vital role in solidarity within the group. This is more so when we consider collectivism as the spirit behind diligent devotion , the Jeedo practice instills in the adherents. The practice achieves a high sense of community, by binding adherents together in performing collective activities and rituals (Garrod & Jones, 2009). Within the exclusivist perspective of religion, the Jeedo practice is based on the presence of God (Stark and Bainbridge, 1996), as evident in the reasons for joining the practice. The main reason given by most adherents is based on a perceived special

relationship with Allah. Therefore, the religious basis of the practice, implies a potential of improving our understanding of the role religious involvement can play, in eldercare within the emirate and North-eastern Nigeria. This potential is important to this work since practices like the Jeedo can provide the bases for consolidating options in elder care.

***(b), Pillars of Social Capital in The Jeedo***

As evident from the interviews, pillars of social capital in the Jeedo practice are the congregation, reciprocity (zumunta), networking, spirit of Jeedo practice and goodwill of the emirate. Although these pillars were evident and well discussed in the interviews. it did not necessarily imply a good measure of ascertaining if these variables were not mere potentialities in social capital, that do not actually transform into support and function as positive supportive outcomes to the elderly women. This is because of the numerous challenges currently faced by the Jeedo practice of recent. Until such challenges are overcome, the sources will remain unutilized for eldercare

***i. Congregation and Good will***

The congregation is performed at regular intervals within the Jeedo house, Jeedo chambers and women section of the central mosque. The congregation spreads across Bauchi emirate with representation at different levels, sharing the spirit of membership. This form of religious social capital serves as the avenue for spiritual activities and also involves linking the members to civic engagements (Putnam (2000)). From the core congregation of 70 Jeedo regular members, much is carried out through a fellowship of sisterhood. This includes financial contribution for sickness and nursing of the sick (jinya). Care of the sick is undertaken to any length financially and physically. On regular occasions, when a member is sick, the chief Imam is notified at the central mosque and announcement are made for linkage with the larger congregation across the emirate, for donations. Part of the donations also come from the central mosque. The sick is regularly visited, while a member or two is stationed with the sick to assist in taking care of her needs during the sick role. Furthermore, the Jeedo is also responsible for the hospitalization and care of the member till death. This includes the bills and responsibility care in sickness (*Jinya*). Others are washing and cleaning of the sick member and proper clothing.

***ii. Community engagement***

Generally, assistance is rendered to the larger community by the Jeedo normally on request or notification. Where necessary, resources are requested from the emir as well as sources within the network. This includes food, clothes and cash, consumables for community engagements civic duties.

Sweeping is a core obligatory activity in the Jeedo, and the very essence of membership. The main target of engaging in the sweeping of any mosque by the Jeedo, is line with prophetic Sunnah and copying the life style Sayyida Maryam (AS). Grave yards are swept and maintained regularly. However, the grave Mallam Yakubu, the founder of f Bauchi is swept and maintained every Friday. The Eid ground, like the Friday mosques is weeded and cleaned few days to Eid. Sweeping and cleaning of the mosque is regularly performed, based an old woman's rank in the Jeedo hierarchy , and according to the portion allocated to her in the Mosque. Higher Jeedo members can sweep the inner chambers of the imam, and a point for the Emir, where he observes his prayers. Irrespective of social status, all members within the core 70 and beyond are sweepers.

The Cremation of destitute women that die without any relative or those in destitution or other kind s of pathology are attended to by the Jeedo. The Jeedo ensures that they are properly buried according to Islamic rites. The expenses are also incurred by the Jeedo network. Most of the members assist as midwives whenever their services are needed.

### ***iii. Good will***

All over the emirate, the relationship between the elderly women and the emirate community, implies both duty extension of good will from the emir. This relationship results into voluntarism, solidarity and community service. The Jeedo therefore is not for material gain but, the basis of social capital from the Emirate. Furthermore, since the major activity of the Jeedo is mainly centered around the maintenance of the mosques all over the emirate, the Jeedo enjoys prestige and abundant solidarity from the public for their selfless services. This serves as another source of social capital. For example, there are instances when substantial donation is made to the Jeedo in form of vehicles, cash, clothing and other items in recognition of the selfless services the group offers to the society.

The spirit of community service by the Jeedo also extends sisterhood and sympathy towards needy, across various segments of the society. As such, the Jeedo promotes social intercourse with individuals and families by intervention in various disputes. (Woolcock, "Social Capital and Economic Development: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy"; Stanton-Salazar; World Bank; Keeley and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.)

However, recently, this aspect of goodwill suffered a setback, as a potential within the Jeedo practice. The current state of neglect suffered by the Jeedo in relation to the new emirate regime has weakened the bridging qualities of the group, implying bad social capital. Thus, the bridging social capital between the emirate and Jeedo, which existed for over two hundred years, has suffered a setback. Consequently, this has hindered the effectiveness of the functional inter-

dependence of duty and goodwill among the two institutions, similar to what Durkheim refers to as mechanical solidarity. (Fukuyama; Goldstein; Li et al.). Again, this implies limitations on the activities of the group (Sen, 1999; Putnam (2000) and a likelihood of resulting into less participation, less volunteer activities, and fall in the services rendered.

*iv. Bonding bridging and linkage social capital in Jeedo practice.*

Bonding social capital in the Jeedo practice plays a vital role by linking each member with a sense of common identity as member. This provides common norms and values that facilitates cooperation in carrying out spiritual activities. Bonding also enables the Jeedo members to operate as a homogenous group, sharing similarity based on gender and purpose of membership (Putnam, 2000). Furthermore, bridging social capital links the Jeedo to the emirate and other bodies across Bauchi community, as reason for interaction beyond the group, with other groups sharing similar networking values and sense of identity. Examples are ties between the Jeedo, *Jamaatu Nasril Islam*, the state Government, women schools and the central mosque (Helliwell; Woolcock, "The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes").

Linkage social capital function, is evident between the Jeedo and other social structures across the emirate. For example, with the *Jamaatu Nasril Islam* in form of conducting welfare services. With the state government, the Jeedo offer prayers at the Government house on occasions. With lower classes of people in need of help, the Jeedo links up to assist with beggars and destitute. As such the Jeedo is connected both further up or lower down the social ladder. Within the Jeedo as a group, this linkage it is also evident among members, since some are well to do while others are poor. As such, the Jeedo consists of individuals with unequal power and resources. Linkage also exists as a form of representations of the Jeedo in local mosques across the emirate (Harper & Kelly, 2003; Scrivens & Smith, 2013; Woolcock, observer, & 2000) .

Although all the three types of social capital exist in the Jeedo practice, not all have been adequately supportive as sources of coping for the elderly women in the network. (Kawachi and Berkman). Consequently, there is the need to mobilize these dimensions of social capital into coping resource and a sort of social endowment that Jeedo members can rely and draw from to handle stress (Thoits).

**7. RELEVANCE OF RELIGIOUS SOCIAL CAPITAL TO ADHERENTS OF THE JEEDO**

As argued by Putnam, (2000), connections among the Jeedo members historically transforms into social network from which the concept of *zumunchi* (reciprocity) was upheld for over two centuries, based on trustworthiness and satisfaction derived from the network. At the level of the individual, trust is produced as social capital through the belief by the members, that the Jeedo is

supportive and always act in their interest (Misztal; Koniorodos; Smidt et al.). The trust in the ability and efficiency of the Jeedo, is a value shared by all the adherents, as the basis on which they interact towards the performance of their spiritual activities. This virtue, and expectations on the reliability of the Jeedo, has overtime resulted in the formation of a social fabric that has ultimately transformed into an asset for survival of the group (Beem; Aldrich and Meyer) Beem, 1999). However, such an asset remains merely a potential unless actively mobilized, delivered and experienced.

Reciprocity within the Jeedo is produced (*zumunchi*) in form of exchange of good deeds for sickness, bereavement, fire accident, and happy moments, based on the combination of trust and social ties in the Jeedo (Glanville et al.). This is usually based on an understanding that such deeds are going to bring returns, like an investment after death. Contrary to R. Putnam, (2001), the concept of “*zumunchi*” among the congregation of the Jeedo is very strong, and serves as reservoir for delayed gratification towards death. The nature of *zumunchi* in Jeedo is based on the spirit of a sisterhood for preparation towards the afterlife. As a network of elderly women spread across Bauchi emirate with representation in at different levels, the spirit of *zumunta* is well shared. Generally, the members indicated contentment with support offered by the Jeedo, whenever they need it. This results into availability of resources, which results to even greater volunteering, in both material and non-material items, into active Networking and unending series of exchange in items. Such items may cover both cognitive and physical dimensions and has tended to make the Jeedo stronger (RD Putnam).

Another way reciprocity tends to be mobilized in the Jeedo is through obligation and expectation as elements of membership both are enforced by prescriptions , such as weekly contributions, and adherence to the rules of the Jeedo practice based on Prescriptive norms. Similar to Coleman, (1990), in this regard, an individual’s interest is converted to be in favor of the collective (Aldrich and Meyer).

## **8. INVESTMENT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AND STRENGTHENING THE PROSPECTS FOR ELDERCARE**

To mobilize the potentials social capital within the Jeedo, calls for an analysis of how the investment of social capital can be done in relation to the practice. Similar to an economic investment, the social capital in the Jeedo can generally be invested, to function as a facilitator in spirituality and eldercare. This can be achieved based on the investment of social capital proposed by Putnam (2000), and captured within the three characteristics mentioned by Coleman (1988); namely convertibility, reciprocity, and community. In a similar manner to physical, financial and human capital (Putnam, 2001), convertibility implies that, the potential social capital in the Jeedo can be transformed into other forms of capital like, skills promotion, health

and problem solving information, stronger sense of community responsibility, supportive experiences, and connectedness into an active response to the needs of elderly women in Bauchi and beyond .

Going by Putnam (2001), Coleman and North (1999), investing social capital can occur at two levels of operation. These are; bonding and bridging or macro and micro levels (North 1990), between the Jeedo and other components of the emirate community. Bridging social capital investment can shape the macro level interaction of the Jeedo as a group with others in pursuit of spiritual activities. The bridging social capital can enable the Jeedo benefit from supportive strategies such as more educational support from the women school, the provision of larger chambers, bigger women mosques, and the inclusion of the Jeedo practice in policy and budget by both the emirate and state government. These strategies can influence the wellbeing of the members to a large extent. Therefore, as a group concerned over the safety of its members, the Jeedo can undertake bridging strategies to strengthen the trust and collaboration beyond its own social circles. [] (Putnam, 2001).

Within the Jeedo social capital can be invested within various dimension of spiritual activities and supportive features. This investment can be conceived as the sum up of elements that together bond the group into a single spiritual community. This implies expansion of good will and cooperation among members of the Jeedo, towards the creation of a bigger network [] (Robert D Putnam; R Putnam).

## **9. CONCLUSION**

Going back to the definitions of social capital, the Jeedo system clearly constitutes a source of religious social capital. First of all because it is embedded in social relations, and secondly, because it provides opportunities for trust, cooperation and mutual benefit. The benefits of the Jeedo are quite numerous: it provides a strong support network based on trust and solidarity. In addition to religion and spirituality, the Jeedo can serve as informal source of coping and assistance towards the wellbeing of the elderly women. If the Current support for the Jeedo practice based on the good will of the emirate, can be restored, the Jeedo can prevent a significant number of elderly women towards eventual drift into destitution.

Since the Informal nature of the Jeedo as a source of religious social capital arises from values and norms of showing solidarity and supportive attitudes among the members, upholding these values are can go a long way in promoting spiritual devotion, and assistance between members through reciprocity ranging from material assistance to services, delivered when in need.

## **10. LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

Although the study dwells on the congregation in Bauchi, the knowledge may not be applicable across the whole of Nigerian societies. This is due to cultural factors, especially the fact that, Bauchi is a Muslim dominated emirate. Additionally, the study focused on a homogenous group of Muslim women participants without a sample of individuals, from other ethnic and religious groups. Further studies, should determine the perspectives of other congregation from other ethnic and religious groups through multiple focus groups, to cross check whether same results emerge.

Findings from this study suggest that, elderly women's congregation is a long-standing practice in Bauchi, practiced across the emirate. since the study reported in this research were more detailed on religious social capital analysis, there is the need to explore spiritual wellbeing derived from the Jeedo congregation. This is because we captured religious satisfaction from many of the participants during the interviews. There is the need for future research that is based on purely spiritual investigation into the efficacy of the congregation on spiritual wellbeing to provide the necessary guidance towards the needs for the elderly spiritual wellbeing.

Finally, this paper has provided a prospect analysis of the Jeedo practice around the concept of social capital, as an explanatory framework. The foregoing analysis of social capital potentials in the Jeedo with aim of strengthening the practice for wider population of the elderly, reveals that , the effectiveness of social capital in the Jeedo depends on the extent of mobilization and involvement of linkage to the emirate community. However, sources of bad social capital must also be mitigated, to allow the formation of stronger religious social capital , that can promote the ideals of the practice and affirm them. This implies the existence of a well-developed support from other sections of the emirate.

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