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Enugu State.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

Nsukka Journal of Religion and Cultural Studies (NJRCS) is a product with the purpose of promoting scholarship in the context of religious, social and political problems in Nigeria and the world. This edition highlights topical issues facing contemporary Nigerian society which include insecurity, peace and conflict, indecent dressing among the youth, religious boom, ecological crisis among others. The articles were peer reviewed rigorously and published after the authors had made sufficient corrections from the peer reviewers. Intending contributors to subsequent editions of the journal should contact the editor-in-chief or the regular call for papers by the Department of Religion and Cultural Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

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Rev. Fr. Dr. Emeka. C. Ngwoke,
Editor, NJRCS

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**PEACE IN ISAIAH 2:1-4
AS AN ESCHATOLOGICAL REALITY:
IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE IN THE
CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY**

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Abstract

Isaiah 2:1-4 is usually referred to as Isaiah's oracle of peace and nonviolence. Isaiah looked forward to a time when humans will reject war and embrace peace; when weapons of war will be transformed into implements of agriculture and human wellbeing. The peace which Isaiah proclaimed is dated to an undetermined future. The dawn of universal peace which Isaiah "saw" is one that will take place "in days to come" (be'aḥārīt hayyāmīm). Such a peace which Isaiah foresees is eschatological in the sense that it points to what will happen at an unspecified time in the future. While the fullness of the peace which Isaiah points to is "a not yet" reality, it is at the same time in continuity with the present.

Key Words: *Peace, Eschatology, Disarmament, war, nonviolence.*

Introduction

Peace is one of the fundamental desires of humans in any society. Yet today some parts of the world have been rendered insecure by various shades of violence and armed conflicts. Armed conflict causes devastation and loss of lives, destroy the social infrastructure, hamper development, increase poverty and set in motion a cycle of violence. The problem of armed conflicts had bothered the people of Isaiah's time just as they trouble and

agitate the minds of people today. Isaiah envisions a world where people of all races, colours, creeds, and languages can live together in peace and fraternal co-existence (Isa 2:2-4). In a world characterized by violence, intra and inter-religious conflicts, the proliferation of weapons of war, and insecurity, Isaiah foresees a time when humans will reject war and embrace peace. Isaiah calls for disarmament and a nonviolent approach to conflict resolution. Isaiah's call to peace is hinged on a change of mindset and global disarmament (Isa 2:4). Isaiah's message of peace may appear eschatological, but it remains ad rem to our world today. This article proposes Isaiah's oracle of peace as a model of peace to the society. The work, therefore, seeks to ginger a positive change in people's relational attitudes towards one another. An exegetico-theological method of biblical analysis will be employed in this article. The Bible version employed in this work is the New Revised Standard Version.

Text of Isa 2:1-4 (NRS)

1. The word that Isaiah son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem. 2 In days to come the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; all the nations shall stream to it. 3 Many peoples shall come and say, "Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths." For out of Zion shall go forth instruction and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. 4 He shall judge between the nations, and shall arbitrate for many peoples; they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore.

Background of Isaiah's Oracle of Peace

To understand Isa 2:1-5, it is necessary to study its historical context. Isa 1:1 indicates that Proto-Isaiah carried out his prophetic ministry during the reigns of four kings of Judah:

Uzziah (790-739 B.C.), Jotham (739-731 B.C.), Ahaz (731-715 B.C.), and Hezekiah (715-686 B.C.). Isaiah's ministry can be dated between 740 and 701 B.C.

War (*milḥāmāh*) was a constant and brutal fact of daily life in the epoch in which Isaiah preached. For instance, Uzziah's long reign was a materialistic and militaristic success. Uzziah is credited with a vast network of fortifications and military installations whose very profusion and power were offensive to Isaiah as an index of man's reliance on military equipments. Isaiah's hyperbole of Isa 2:7, "their land is filled with horses, and there is no end to their chariots" points to Uzziah's arsenal of the latest model weapons acquired for military purposes. Isaiah's breathtaking oracle of peace (Isa 2:2-4) was given in the light of the constant threat of warfare that hung like a dark shadow over the land. Isaiah declared that true peace hinged on the people leaning on God and trusting in his power and not in human power and the weapons of war.

The immediate background of Isaiah's oracle of peace is the Syro-Ephraimitic war (735-733 B. C.). This was a politically troubled period during which four Assyrian kings, Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.), Shalmaneser V (726-722 B.C.), Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), and Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.), sought to conquer the Syro-Palestinian states (Fohrer, 1968). To halt the Assyrian advance, the smaller nations of this region joined forces to throw off the Assyrian domination. This anti-Assyrian coalition was led by Pekah, king of Israel and Rezin, king of Syria. When Ahaz, king of Judah, refused to join the coalition, Pekah and Rezin mustered up forces to invade Judah to remove him from the throne and to install a more cooperative ruler in his place (Ceresko, 1992). To save his threatened throne, Ahaz appealed to the Assyrian for help (2 Kgs 16:7 ff). The Assyrians under Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727) ravaged and annexed Syria and most of the northern kingdom of Israel. Under Shalmaneser V

(727–722) and Sargon II (722–705) Assyria subdued the rest of Israel.

In 701 B.C., the Assyrian monarch, Sennacherib invaded Judah, an invasion which was prompted by Hezekiah's revolt; Jerusalem only narrowly avoided being captured by the Assyrians. The Syro-Ephraimitic war (735-733 B.C.) and the invasion by Sennacherib form the historical background of Proto-Isaiah, including Isa 2:1-5 (Dempsey, 2000, Motyer, 1993). Based on the foregoing considerations, it may be correct, as Eissfeldt (1965) suggests, to date Isa 2:1-4, together with chapters 2-6 between 735 and 701 B.C. (Haeffele, 2017). Amidst all the confusions and uncertainties of the Israelite society of his time characterized by threats of war, Isaiah foresaw a time when God would act to bring about the transformation of the present reality characterized by conflicts and wars (Motyer, 1993; Brueggemann, 1998). Isaiah's oracle looks beyond conflict and war to a glorious future, when peace, not war and violence, shall reign among the nations (Koole, 2001). Isaiah emphasized that peace is vital to the survival of Judah or any other nation.

Isaiah's Vision of a New Societal Order

Isa 2:1-4 begins with a superscription that identifies the material which follows as "the word that Isaiah son of Amoz saw" (v.1a). Like the superscription in Isa 1:1, the heading in Isa 2:1 refers to the oracle which follows as "The word which Isaiah son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem". The glaring difference between Isa 1:1 and 2:1 is that what Isa 1:1 calls the "vision which Isaiah saw," is referred to in Isa 2:1 as "the word which Isaiah... saw."

The two terms, *ḥāzôn* ("vision") and *dābār* ("word"), are interchangeable in the prophetic literature. The verb *ḥāzāh* (v.1a) is a verb of sight and is often associated with the prophetic activity. Brown et al (2003) writes that the verb *ḥāzāh* refers either to what is seen with the eyes; or to what is perceived with

the inner vision. The Hebrew word, *haddābār* in Isa 2:1a, commonly signifies "prophecy" or "vision." That Isaiah saw (*ḥāzāh*) the "word" (*haddābār*) signifies, as Motyer (1993) said, that the oracle which the prophet proclaims is received by divine revelation and the message which he delivers is prompted by inspiration. In the immediate context of Isa 2:1-5, the "word" (*haddābār*) which Isaiah "saw" (*āšer ḥāzāh ješa'yāhû*) is a vision of a new societal order characterized by peace, justice, love, and brotherhood.

Zion as the Focal Point of Mankind (v.2b)

Verse 2b begins with an impressive picture of the pre-eminence that the nations will accord to Israel's God and to Israel's religion (Driver, 1961). Isaiah envisioned a time when the "mountain of the house of the Lord" shall be "firmly established" (v. 2b) as the "head" (*berō'sh*) or "highest of the mountains" (*berō'sh hehārîm*). The term "mountain" was often used figuratively as a symbol of divine presence, power, and stability (Ps 30:7; McGuire, 1967; Reed, 1962; Richards, 1985). In Jer 51:24f, God portrayed powerful Babylon as a "mountain". The expression, "mountain of the house of the Lord", refers to YHWH's Temple built on Mount Zion. Isaiah declared that this "mountain of the Lord" (*har-yhwh*) "shall be established as the highest of the mountains" (*nāḵôn yihyeh berō'sh hehārîm*) and raised up above the hills" (*wenissa' miggebā'ôt*). The phrase "shall be established" (*nāḵôn yihyeh*) points to a specific event that will happen in the future. The verb *nāḵôn* is a niphal passive participle of the verb *kûn* - "to be established" (Gerstenberger, 1997). This participle, *nāḵôn*, speaks of permanent duration.

The phrases, "established as the highest of the mountains" and "raised up above the hills" are a kind of parallelism common to Biblical poetry. The word "head" or "highest" (*rō'sh*) is often used metaphorically to describe the position of the leading figure in a society or in a group (Bartlett, 1969). It is proper to understand

"the mountain of the Lord's house" (*har bêt-yhwh*) in Isa 2:2b as referring to the rule of YHWH (Binz, 2005) in contrast to human governments.

Isaiah foresees the elevation of Mount Zion to such a height that it overtops all mountains of Palestine. The irony is that Zion is not a high mountain when compared with other mountains and hills in the Middle East (Tucker, 2001; McKee, 2017). "Highest" (*berō's*) here probably means most exalted in honour, not physically highest. When Isaiah speaks of the raising up of the "mountain of the Lord's house," he does not imply a geophysical elevation of Mount Zion among the mountain ranges in the Middle East; he means that Zion is the most exalted in honour. Authors like Wilderberger (1991), Boadt (1984), Watts (1985), Kaiser (1983), and Gray (1975) stress that Mount Zion derives its significance not because of its height, but because the Temple of YHWH is situated on it. Zion's preeminence makes it the most important and respected pilgrimage destination for "all the nations" (*kol-haggôyim*).

The primacy of Mount Zion is not political but spiritual. The spiritual significance of Zion, according to Musija (2011), has social and political effects as well. By streaming to mount Zion the nations thereby submit themselves to YHWH's authority. The exaltation of Mount Zion "as the highest of the mountains," underlines the superiority of Zion's God over all gods (Motyer, 1993; Jensen, 1984) and the importance of YHWH's Torah as a recipe for universal peace. Purely because YHWH is there, Zion attracts the nations. Watts (1985) writes that YHWH's attraction to the nations (*kol-haggôyim*) is so great that they "flow" uphill to the summit of YHWH's mountain to learn from the God of Jacob (*'ēlōhê ya'āqōb*) the lessons which will eliminate war among them and lead to peace (v.2d).

The noun construct, *kol*, is inclusive – all nations. Not only will

Mount Zion be the highest of the mountains; it will also be the focal point of all mankind: "all the nations shall stream to it" (*wənāhârû 'ēlāyw kol-haggôyim*; 2:2d). The verb *nāhârû* evokes river imagery (Fabry, 1998; Wildberger, 1957; Roberts, 1992; Martens, 2007). Isaiah employs this river imagery to paint the picture of the movement of the nations to Mount Zion (Isa 2:2; cf Mic 4:1). Here, the nations are portrayed as flowing like a river uphill to YHWH's Mountain. Motyer (1993) writes that "the incongruity of a stream flowing upwards to Mount Zion is intentional; it underscores a supernatural magnetism at work. Here the natural laws of gravity are overcome by the magnetic hill of Zion. Such is the attraction of Zion's God to the nations.

Motive of the Upward Flow of the Nations to Zion (Isa 2:3)

The nations stream up to the mountain of the Lord (*'el bêt-yhwh*) and to the "house of the God of Jacob" (*'el bêt-'ēlōhê ya'āqōb*). The phrase, "mountain of the Lord," (*har-yhwh*), is in apposition to "house of the God of Jacob," (*bêt-'ēlōhê ya'āqōb*). Here YHWH is referred to as the "God of Jacob" (*'ēlōhê ya'āqōb*). The motive of the pilgrimage of the nations to Mount Zion is introduced in v.3 by the conjunction particle *kî* (that) in v.3a. And the purpose of the journey to Zion is expressed in parallel structure in v.3b: "That (*kî*) he may teach us his ways" (*weyōrēnū midderākāyw*), "and that (*kî*) we may walk in his paths" (*wenēlkāh be'ōrhōtāyw*).

The nations (*gôyim*) stream to Zion because they can no longer endure the desperate condition in which they live. The nations come to Zion to learn the *Tôrāh*, the God-given secret of peace. The Torah-YHWH is understood as containing the ways or conducts which YHWH prescribes and approves (Gray, 1975). The Torah is portrayed as the way of righteousness and the secret of peace. The nations let themselves schooled in YHWH's Torah that they may "walk" in YHWH's ways. "To walk" is a biblical

figure of speech that embraces the conduct of the whole of life. Walking in God's paths means conducting one's life following God's instruction (*tôrāh*). YHWH's ways learned on Mount Zion bring about social transformation, from a culture of conflicts and wars to a state of peace and fraternal coexistence.

Isa 2:4: Disarmament and Nonviolence as Ways to Peace

The Torah education which the people imbibed leads to their transformation and change of mentalities. As a result of the lessons which they have learned on Mount Zion, the nations reverse their warring tendencies into the desire for peace. The nations will be so much transformed by YHWH's Torah that they will be moved to transform their swords (*ḥarbôṭām*, from hereb) and spears (*ḥănîṭîm* - pl. of *ḥănîṭ*) used for war into plowshares (*'ittîm*) and pruning hooks (*mazmērôṭ*) used for agriculture.

The result of the nations putting away their weapons of war is peace. In v.4b, Isaiah uses two sets of parallel statements to describe the worldwide peace: "they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore." "Sword" and "spear" together represent the entire military arsenal; the transformation of weapons of war into implements of agriculture serves as synecdoches for the whole of the disarmament process and a return to the era of peace.

Verse 4c explicitly expresses the result of the nations embracing disarmament and non-violence: "nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war anymore." Since nations are no longer afraid of being attacked by other nations, they will no longer see any need to stockpile weapons of war nor to train for war anymore. Such voluntary disarmament can only happen when a complete change of mind has taken place. The encounter with the God of Jacob (*'ēlōhē ya'āqōb*) can effect a

lasting change of mindset. "Learning war" will be replaced by practicing peace. The peace will be so encompassing that the weapons are transformed into implements of agriculture. Isaiah's doctrine of peace indeed sounds nice; however, many authors are of the view that the peace Isaiah envisions in 2;2-4 is eschatological and therefore, unrealizable in the foreseeable future.

Eschatological Import Isa 2:2-4

The eschatological implications of Isa 2:2-4 are undeniable. The eschatological import of Isaiah's oracle of peace is brought out by the expression, *be'ahărîṭ hayyāmîm* in v.2a. The noun feminine construct *'ahărîṭ* means "afterward." The word refers to what comes afterward, which suggests an event "in the future", but not necessarily the end of time. Thus, the feminine prepositional construct *be'ahărîṭ* means "afterward" or "after this." The expression, "in days to come" (*be'ahărîṭ hayyāmîm*), occurs 16 times in the Old Testament: here in Isa 2:2a and elsewhere in Gen 49:1; Num 24:14; Ezek 38:8; Hos 3:5; Deut 4:30; 31:29; Jer 23:20; 30:24; 48:47; 49:39; Ezek 38:16; Mic 4:1; Dan 2:28; 8:19; and 10:14. These occurrences focus on a future time of peace and fraternal coexistence (Hanson, 1999).

The phrase *be'ahărîṭ hayyāmîm* is understood to have an eschatological connotation. The phrase does not necessarily refer to 'the last days' (*en tais eschatais hemerais*) as the Septuagint (LXX) translation suggests. It points to the future, but this future is not definitive enough to place it in a specific time. Scholars like Blenkinsopp (2000), Motyer (1993), Groenewald (2016) Kaiser (1983), Herbert (1973), Tucker (2001), and Lipinski (1970) agree that the phrase *be'ahărîṭ hayyāmîm* ("in days to come") in Isa 2:1a points to an unspecific future. Although the phrase, *be'ahărîṭ hayyāmîm*, has an eschatological connotation, it neither refers to the end of time nor beyond time, rather it looks forward to a period within time and history.

The futuristic implication of this phrase is supported by many other biblical versions. For instance, the NRSV translates *be'ahărîṭ hayyāmîm* as "in days to come", suggesting an indefinite future time. This agrees with the RSV's translation ("In the latter days"). On the other hand, the NIV and the KJV read "in the last days", suggesting an eschatological, if not apocalyptic, understanding. According to Jenni (1997), the interpretation of the phrase *be'ahărîṭ hayyāmîm*; as "in the last days" seems to be influenced by the Septuagint (LXX) which renders *be'ahărîṭ hayyāmîm* as *en tais eschatais hemerais* ("in the last days") which seems to be a loose translation of a phrase. From the perspective of the prophet, the phrase points to an event that will happen in an undetermined future, but not necessarily at the end of time or outside of history (Hanson, 1999). This shows that the peace which Isaiah envisions is a future reality. Isaiah envisions a time in the future when God will intervene to establish the reign of peace among nations.

Peace in Isa 2:2-4 as an Eschatological Reality

Some important questions we need to ask are: What is the relationship between peace and eschatology? Is the peace which Isa 2:1-5 looks forward to, a present reality or a future reality? Is global peace, as Isaiah had envisioned, realizable in this world? All the authors cited in this article agree that the global peace which Isaiah envisioned is eschatological. The term, "eschatology" is derived from two Greek terms *eschatos*, meaning "last", and *logos* meaning "word" or "doctrine." Schillebeeckx et al (1969) stressed that eschatology concerns "the ultimate future". Etymologically, the word, *eschatos*, (the Septuagint for *'ahărîṭ*) means "end, extreme, last in time or place." The word also connotes "the last in a series of events."

The term "eschatology" may be defined in two senses: the narrow sense and the broad sense. In the narrow or traditional sense,

eschatology is the doctrine of the last or final events of history or "end time" (Robinson, 1996; Jenni 1962; Schmaus, 1977; Kugelman, 1965; and Rahner, 1975). In the broad or general sense, eschatology is a doctrine that deals with the events that will take place in a remote or undisclosed future. For scholars like Martins (1967), "last" designates that which comes at the end of a series. "Last" may also mean the complex of events that would mark the end of one historical era and usher in a new one.

According to Caird (1980), Jewish eschatology is a belief in two ages: the present age and the age to come. The present evil age characterized by conflict and violence will give way to the coming age of justice and peace. Isaiah's oracle of peace is in line with the Jewish eschatology. From the perspective of the eighth century B.C. prophet, the new age of peace will take place in an undetermined future (McKee, 2017). Jewish eschatology is concerned with events that will happen at the "end of days" or "in days to come" (*be'ahărîṭ hayyāmîm*) or at any period in the future. Such events include the ingathering of the Jewish Diaspora, the eschatological gathering of all peoples, the inauguration of the era of universal peace, the coming of the Messiah, and the afterlife.

In Jewish eschatology, the phrase "in days to come" (*'ahărîṭ hayyāmîm*) refers to an indefinite time or period in the future. The prophets speak of "the latter days" (*'ahărîṭ hayyāmîm*) and what God will do "in that day." Isaiah 2:2-4 is a good example of such a speech. Other passages include Isa 9:1-6; 11:1-10; 24-27; 56:1-8; 65:17-25; 66:18-24. Such a speech, according to Seitz (1999), can be grounded in the present. Because of what is happening now, the prophet may point to what will happen in the future.

Davies (1980) defines eschatology as "a dimension of belief" which holds that "history moves in a direction set by God, and that "God acts within history" to bring his purposes to fulfillment.

The term *eschaton* refers "the point" or "the moment at which God acts definitively in history to fulfill his purpose for it". If this moment is seen as having occurred already, we speak of 'realized eschatology.' The *eschaton* may sometimes be seen as an event that may happen in an undisclosed future. According to Fletcher (2011), eschatology is not simply about what happens after this life or after death, as if disconnected from life in the present. Fletcher maintained that while eschatological thought speaks of the final destiny of humankind, which is a future event, "this future is in continuity with the present" (p.622). Thus, when Isaiah speaks about the dawn of universal peace, a time when the nations will submit themselves to the direction of YHWH's Torah, and, consequently, reject war and embrace peace (Isa 2:2d-4), he is not merely referring to an end-time event, but rather an event that has a fundamental continuity with the present. Such peace which Isaiah foresees is eschatological in the sense that its actual realization looks forward to an unspecified time. While the fullness of the peace which Isaiah envisioned is "a not yet" reality, it looks forward to fulfillment in an undisclosed future.

The Distinction between Prophetic Eschatology and Apocalyptic Eschatology

Prophetic eschatology differs in literary character from apocalyptic eschatology. According to Aune (2005), prophetic eschatology anticipates God's eventual restoration of the original pristine conditions of human history by acting through historical processes. This view is well represented by Isa 2:4: "They will beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore." It is true that Isa 2:2-4 speaks of the transformation of the present order, but such event is envisioned as happening, not outside of history, but within history, through human agents. Apocalyptic eschatology, on the other hand, is concerned with an event that will take place at the end of time or outside of history. Apocalyptic eschatology regards the future as

breaking into the present. Such a breaking in of God into human history to bring an end to the present order is not implied in Isa 2:2-4. While Isa 2:2-4 is eschatological, it is not apocalyptic.

Isa 2:2-4 indeed speaks of the transformation of the present order, but such event is envisioned as happening, not outside of history, but within history, through human agents. It is important to note that Isa 2:2-4 is eschatological but not necessarily apocalyptic. While the fulfillment of Isa 2:2-4 looks towards the future, it emphasizes what will happen, not outside of history, but at an undetermined time within history. When Isaiah speaks of the time when the nations will reject war and embrace peace (Isa 2:4), he is not suggesting that the event which he saw will happen outside of history, but within history.

The Practicability of Isaiah's Vision of Peace

Isaiah envisioned a warless world, a world devoid of weapons of war, a world where human ingenuity and material resources are channelled to promote human wellbeing. It is, however, difficult to imagine total disarmament as Isaiah had envisioned. A completely arms-free world, as Isaiah had imagined it, is unrealistic. Nations will still need some weapons for security and to maintain law and order. However, that does not in any way mitigate the importance of Isaiah's oracle of nonviolence and disarmament.

It must be stressed that disarmament, even if it involves the removal of weapons of mass destruction, will go a long way in reducing tensions, diffusing the fear of war, and ensuring peace to a great degree in the world. However, disarmament does not only mean a reduction or eradication of weapons of war, it also involves putting an end to injustice, oppression, hateful and divisive ideologies that pervade the society. It is an undeniable fact that a fulsome peace as Isaiah had proclaimed is an eschatological reality. These notwithstanding, the content of the

hope expressed in Isa 2:2-4 is relevant to the present world wracked by violence (*ḥāmās*) and conflicts.

Relevance of Isaiah 2:2-4 to Global Peace

Isaiah's vision of global peace has inspired some objectives that are being pursued as policy goals in our contemporary world. According to Blenkinsopp (2008), such a dream is not as eschatologically future-idealized as it might seem. Isaiah's call for peace is ad rem to the contemporary times so full of violence, terrorism, and the threat of war in some parts of the world. Isaiah's prophecy of peaceful, disarmed mankind as Westbrook et al (2008) have noted, has inspired Jews and Christians alike. Yet a careful reading of the irenic vision of Isa 2:2-4, reveals that the dream of Isaiah for an arms-free and non-violent world is quite at odds with the state of things in the world.

The wish of "a world without war has long been a dominant theme" in international relations. Isa 2:4 has inspired some objectives of the UN in its efforts to work for a more peaceful world. In a bid to foster peace among nations, the UN uses Isa 2:4 as a motto (Kemp, 2000). The influence of Isaiah's doctrine of non-violence is demonstrated by a textual inscription of the words of Isa 2:4 on a granite wall of the UN building in New York: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore."

Also, in the north garden of the United Nations Headquarters in New York is a statue representing a man beating his sword into a plowshare. The bronze sculpture, titled "Let Us Beat Our Swords into plowshares," was created by a Soviet artist, Evgeny Vuchetich, and presented by the Government of the then USSR to the United Nations on 4 December 1959. The statue depicts the figure of a man holding a hammer aloft in one hand and a sword in the other, which he is beating into plowshares. This sculpture of

non-violence symbolizes man's desire to put an end to war and convert the means of destruction into agricultural implements for the benefit of all mankind (Feid, 2017). The use of Isa 2:4 as a motto by the UN demonstrates the influence of Isaiah's oracle of non-violence on the UN's drive for global peace. Isaiah's message of peace continues to provide a tacit impetus for nations today to co-exist in accord and goodwill.

Isaiah's Vision of Peace as a Model for Nigeria

Isaiah's oracle of peace, though addressed to the international community, is particularly relevant to the Nigerian situation where ethnocentric politics affects the peace, harmony, and development of the country. Isaiah 2:2-4 offers six models of peace for Nigeria.

1. The first key to peace that Isa 2:2-4 offers is solidarity and cooperation among nations in tackling the problem of war and conflict in the world. This model is important to the Nigerian context characterized by socio-religious and ethnic divisions. There is no better way to build a viable, strong, and prosperous Nigeria than for the geo-political zones of the country to deemphasize their differences and unite themselves for a common purpose.

2. Isaiah offers education as a secret to peace. Isaiah places emphasis on Torah education. The result of the Torah education (Isa 2:3) is that the nations are moved by their newfound wisdom to reject war and embrace peace (v.4). The culture of peace can be developed through peace education in secondary schools. Peace education means instilling the values of peace and justice in the citizenry, especially the young minds. Peace education can ginger a positive change in people's relational attitude towards one another and promote peaceful and harmonious coexistence among the tribes of Nigeria.

3. The third key to peace that Isa 2:2-4 offers is a change of mindset. For Nigeria to know real peace, there is a need for a change in the mentalities of Nigerians. This is possible if the citizenry cultivates the values of peace and harmonious coexistence as already indicated in the preceding model. In Isa 2:3-4, the learning of the Torah resulted in a change of mindset among the nations. And the transformation of mindset resulted in their rejection of the arbitrament of war and a choice for a nonviolent approach to conflict resolution. This presents a fundamental option for Nigeria. Nigeria cannot be transformed unless there is a change in the mentality of its citizens, from divisive tendencies to work for unity and harmony.

4. The fourth model of peace offered by Isa 2:2-4 is the non-violence approach. Resolving conflicts or building peace in any nation is not something to be enforced by force of arms. True peace is not imposed or enforced using arms. No peace comes from violence, no matter how reasonable the cause of violence is. The use of force is counter-productive; this is because violence destroys what it claims to defend, i.e., the dignity, the life, the freedom of human beings. The use of dialogue is a better step to peace. Isa 2:2-4 offers us the non-violent approach to peace. This involves the application of justice and equity in our body politics and addressing the issue of injustice, inequity, and marginalization which are at the root of conflicts and agitations in Nigeria since 1999.

5. The fifth key to peace is justice. Justice is pivotal to peace. Although Isaiah speaks of a "warless society", peaceful society is essentially one that practices justice. Without justice, there can be no wholesome peace.

6. The sixth option to peace offered by Isa 2:2-4 is disarmament. Ghosh (1984) highlights the relationship between disarmament and development. According to him, a reduction in the pursuit of

arms and military development impacts positively on stable and balanced social and economic development within any economic and political order. The increase in military budgets and use of the nation's scarce resources for military purposes are detrimental to the development of other sectors such as health, education, agriculture, etc. While Nigeria needs to equip the military and other security personnel for the security of the land, this should not be at the detriment of human and infrastructural development. Although Isaiah stresses disarmament, disarmament, as earlier said, means more than a reduction or even elimination of weapons of war, it also involves putting an end to hate speech and divisive and hateful ideology that orchestrate conflicts and violence.

Conclusion

When a text such as Isa 2:2-4 is interpreted, there is an accompanying reflex response among biblical scholars and theologians that the peace proclaimed by Isaiah is utopian and unrealizable. For instance, it is difficult to imagine the nations of the world today practically converting their weapons of war into implements of agriculture as Isaiah had conceived it. A wholesome peace as Isaiah had foreseen may appear utopic, peace is still a goal that humans strive for. Though an arms-free world may appear unrealistic, Isaiah's vision of peace has the power to motivate the world to strive for a more peaceful world. That the United Nations has adopted Isa 2:4 as its motto in its drive for global peace and disarmament demonstrates the influence of the text. The text offers us some models for peace. Isaiah paints the picture of the nations of the world coming together and living together in peace and harmony. Isaiah's message of nonviolence and fraternal coexistence is relevant to Nigeria and the world at large. In a nation wracked by violence, intra, and inter-religious conflicts, suspicion among tribes, insecurity, Isaiah's message is of great value.

The prophet phasized the need for disarmament as vital to peace in a world with an ever-increasing cache of weapons of war. Disarmament, however, is not possible if there is suspicion among nations. Disarmament does not only include total elimination or reduction of the flow of weapons of war in our world, but it also involves putting an end to divisive and hateful ideologies that orchestrate conflicts. Peace may not be realized in the world or any society unless there is a change in people's mindset, from the arbitrament of war to a nonviolent and peaceful approach to conflict resolutions. This is the main thrust of Isaiah's oracle of peace (Isa 2:2-4).

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INSECURITY IN NIGERIA AND CHALLENGES OF EDUCATING INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS: A STUDY OF SELECTED STATES IN NORTH CENTRAL NIGERIA

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Abstract:

This study investigated insecurity and implications on the education of Internally Displaced Persons in North-Central Nigeria. The study adopted a Survey Research Design. Twenty-four (24) questionnaire items were derived from five (5) research questions and statements of hypotheses. Questionnaires designed were administered on one hundred and sixty (160) respondents and analyzed using descriptive statistical tools, t-test and ANOVA at 0.5 level of significance. The results of the investigation showed prevalence of violence in North-central Nigeria and this is consequent upon injustice, corruption, marginalization, greed, unemployment, neglect both on the part of government and individuals on whose shoulders the task of governance lie to take responsibility.

This has negatively affected student's enrolment in North-Central Nigeria. This failure has affected the development of both the human capital and socio-economic and political development of Nigeria. The study also showed gross neglect of the educational needs of the internally displaced persons because such resources are channeled to maintain peace and order. Also, sexual harassment and early marriage are common among female IDPs and high rate of school dropout among the male students. Based on the findings therefore, government especially should be pro-active in tackling security problems by not only good governance but also introduction and promotion of security education and harmonious living among the people. Above all, modalities on the reintegration of the IDPs into the wider society should be a major policy thrust of the state.

Key words:

Insecurity, Education, Internally Displaced Persons

1. Background to the Study

Education, the world over, has been accepted as an instrument of change. In fact, it is fundamentally, an agent of social mobilization. This is one of the reasons the National Policy on Education in Nigeria (2004) envisions a democratic and egalitarian society where all citizens will have unfettered access to educational services such that will avail them the opportunity to compete globally. A critical examination of the constitution of Nigeria and the National Policy on Education showed unequivocally the efforts of successive governments to use education to effect meaningful changes in society. This is probably because of the recognition of the importance of education as a social and individual right and also an instrument through which socio-economic and political developments can

be mobilized and achieved. The importance attached to education is also possibly due to the fact that, education is the right of every citizen and also that education enables one to perform one's socio-civic and political functions to the nation more effectively (Agboola, 1987 and 1985).

However, this aim has been challenged by the spate of insecurity in the country. Jinadu (2005) observes that Nigerian societies are characterized by persistent deep-rooted and identity-related conflicts, fueled by perception of economic and social injustice. Nwankwo and Udeh (2005) maintain that right from the end of the cold war in the last decade of the 20th century, there has been an explosion of issue of identity the world over. Groups are more than ever before conscious and protective of their interest in competition with others. With the rise of ethnic nationalism and the cut-throat political and economic competitions it has generated, conflict has become a ubiquitous feature of group interactions in Nigeria. Zartman observes that, conflict is an inevitable aspect of human interactions, an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions. Although conflict is inherent in decisions even when there is only one person, social conflict... is necessarily brought on by the presence of several actors and compounded by several choices (Zartman, 1991).

Insecurity is caused by human actions and inactions and this include; struggle(s) over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values, but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Such conflicts may take place between individuals and collectivities, (and make life much unsecured (Adeniji, 2003). Consequently, Nigeria is replete with instances of cases of insecurity. For example, the North-Eastern Nigeria has been ravaged by activities of insurgents, the North-Central too, has witnessed cases of high profile kidnapping of school children and business people, banditry, in Kagara, Yakila, Mariga, Bangi

with Kotonkoro forest alleged to be their hide out in Niger state, pockets of clashes between herdsmen and farmers in Nasarawa, Taraba, and Benue states which often lead to complete destruction of villages and settlements, rendering once prosperous people, homeless and destitute of necessities of life as is the case with the places mentioned above so it is with the Tiv and Idoma people in Guma and Agatu in Benue State. The South-West is also grappling with alarming rate of high profile kidnapping of school children and demands for ransom. The South-South and South-East are not left out of this menace, as daily, defenseless people are cruelly killed for no reasons, in worship centers, market places, and leisure parks, etc. Indeed, Nigeria is under siege and the government appears to have been overwhelmed. Man has become endangered species particularly children of school age on whose shoulder the future of this great nation lies.

Everything points to the absence of government in Nigeria. At every breach of security, the government is always caught napping, helpless and unprepared to rise to the occasion of protecting lives and properties of the common citizens, which ideally should be the primary responsibility of government. There seems to be no value for the human life in Nigeria. People are killed with reckless abandon by terrorist/bandits with little or no challenge from the government forces. The maturation and manifestation of insecurity has hindered full expression of freedom of self-determination, education, etc, such that would warrant prosperity of Nigeria. More worrisome is the rising profile of Internally Displaced People (IDP) camps that have strained the meager resources and funds available to advance education and development which are now diverted to cater for IDP camps. This has raised concerns amongst scholars, stakeholders in education sector and individuals in Nigeria. It is against this background that this study examined the plights of the Internally Displaced Persons in selected states of the North-

Central Nigeria so as to direct the attention of the government, concerned stakeholders in education sector and the general public to the necessity of provision of educational needs of the IDPs. Also, the study suggested strategies that will provide a platform that enables harmonized efforts towards meeting fundamental needs of the IDPs and practical ways of improving on the quality of life of the IDPs and their eventual integration into the wider society.

2. Statement of the Problem

No doubt, education according to the National Policy on Education (2004) is an instrument for national development and invokes the spirit and provisions of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria. By this, education is the right of every citizen of Nigeria. Not only that it is a tool for social mobilization but it also enables the individual to perform socio-civic and political functions effectively. In spite of the acclaimed relevance of education in human community and its accessibility to all, there is still a perceived section of the Nigerian State (Internally Displaced Persons, (IDPs)) that are neglected, relegated to the background and marginalized of basic necessities of good life. Continued neglect of this people (IDPs) does not only amount to colossal loss of human-capital but also portends grave danger for the survival of the Nigerian State as a whole.

It is on record that since 2010 the herders have resorted to the use of arms to launch a resource-based war on the people of Benue for example to gain access to grazing land by force, things have never been the same for the people again. Between 2010 and 2021 the group has ferociously attacked, maimed, killed and displaced millions of people the north central Nigeria particularly Benue state. The devastating nature of the attacks seems to make Benue state the epic centre of the herders/farmers' war in Nigeria. The most devastating of this 'war of attrition' took place on the 1st of January, 2018, when the herders during a night raid, killed over

seventy people in Guma local Government Area of the state. Since then there has been pocket of killings linked to the herders who have often come out to claim responsibilities for the killings. These attacks lend credence to the claims by the Global Terrorism Report Index for 2015 which classified these herders as the fourth deadliest group in 2014 (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2017). The report claimed that the herders killed about 80 people between 2010 and 2013 and 1,229 in 2014. Mostly these violent attacks took place in the North central states of Benue, Nasarawa, Plateau, (Niger) and Kaduna, (Inyang and Effiong, 2022) and (Atsiya-Pius, Godiya, 2019). IDPs in North-Central Nigeria are in desperate need of live-saving assistance such as food and nutrition, health care, shelter and non-food items, portable water and improved sanitation and hygiene condition and above all education. Despite the humanitarian crisis and the suffering of the victims, there is no clear institutional policy framework or legislation that directly and squarely address the plight of the IDPs in these areas. In all, the condition of the IDPs has been reluctantly handled.

1.8 Objectives of the Study

The general purpose of this study is to examine the necessity of educating the Internally Displaced Persons in North-Central Nigeria. However, the specific objectives are:

- To determine factors responsible for violent conflicts in North-Central Nigeria.
- To determine how to improve on the social well being of the Internally Displaced Persons in North-Central Nigeria.
- To identify the challenges confronting the promotion and provision of social necessities to the Internally Displaced Persons in North-Central Nigeria.
- To provide advocacy for the Internally Displaced Persons and mechanisms to effectively check incidences of diversion of supplies to IDP camps in North Central Nigeria.

- To determine the impacts of insecurity on the socio-economic and political Development of Nigeria?

3. Research Questions

The following questions enabled the researchers to do objective investigation of critical areas of this research. They include

- What are the factors responsible for insecurity in North-Central Nigeria?
- Are there adequate provisions of social Services for the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in North-Central?
- What are challenges confronting the promotion and provision of social necessities for the Internally Displaced Persons in North-Central Nigeria?
- How do we provide advocacy for the Internally Displaced Persons and effectively check incidences of diversion of supplies to IDPs camps in North Central Nigeria?
- What are the impacts of insecurity on the socio-economic and political Development of Nigeria?

4. Statement of Hypotheses

The following null hypotheses were formulated and answered:

- There are no significant factors responsible for insecurity in North-Central Nigeria.
- There are no adequate provisions of Educational Services to IDPs camps in North-Central Nigeria.
- There are no mechanisms to effectively check diversion of supplies to IDPs camps in North-Central Nigeria.
- There are no advocacies for the plights of IDPs in North-Central Nigeria.
- There are no significant impacts of insecurity in North-Central Nigeria.

5. Scope and Significance of the Study

This study covered internally displaced persons' camps in Abuja, Benue, and Niger States of the north-central Nigeria. Also, causes of insecurity and the educational plight of the IDPs were examined. The study is significant because it provides suggestions to the challenges of provision of educational services for IDPs camps in North-Central Nigeria. The outcome of this study is expected to provide insights for teachers and policy makers about the emerging problems and dimensions of educating the citizens of Nigeria especially the IDPs in North Central Nigeria.

6. Theoretical Framework

Frustration-aggression theory explains that society is in a state of perpetual conflict because of competition for limited resources and that deprivation and frustrations emanating from the distribution of the commonwealth explain the prevalence of conflicts leading to insecurity of lives and property. The efforts McDougall, Freud and others are very prominent, (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, 1990). The assumptions are that aggression is always a consequence of frustration and this frustration could arise from economic, political, social and denial of certain opportunities, rights and privileges due the people. More specifically, they assumed that 'the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the experience of frustration, and contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some forms of aggression'. Though not in any way justifying violence, we cannot defy the fact that the spate of killings and insecurity in Nigeria can be mirrored from the purview of individuals wrongly expressing their grievances arising from frustration with the system. The adoption of the framework of analysis is justified, notwithstanding limitations that crises in Nigeria can be explained from the background of frustration, helplessness and survivalist extremism. In Nigeria for example, the collapse of social institutions and the failure of the economic

system to generate sufficient means of livelihood for the people accounts for the increasing violent activities and war situation in the country (Abdullahi and Terhempa 2014), (Abdulrasheed, Onuselogu and Obioma, 2015), (Abubakar, 2004) and (Abubakar, 2015). There is therefore a correlation between economic hardship and violent disorder which validates the assumption of this theory. Violence and insecurity in Nigeria is connected to unemployment and poverty occasioned by struggle for survival. It has also been rumored that increase terrorist attack is as a result of Fulani mercenaries that were brought into the country during the 2015 general election. Getting rid of these so-called mercenaries has become knotty for the government. From the above, given the multi-faceted dimensions and the complex narratives, tracking down the perpetrators of the crime and finding solutions to the drivers became politically sensitive. In 2017, the clashes between nomadic herdsman and local farmers led to at least 549 deaths and displacement of thousands in 14 states (Ameh, 2018). The killings had continued unabated with the mass burial of over 70 native farmers that lost their lives through the attacks of herdsman in Benue State in January, 2018. As such, the phenomenon of rural banditry in Nigeria has changed dimension from herders-farmers crisis to kidnaping asking for ransom, killing of defenseless citizens, cattle rustling and destruction of houses. It is also described as 'both a symptom and a cause of rural underdevelopment' (Kyari & Chinyere, 2015).

7. Literature Review

The Concept of Insecurity

To start with, security is the fundamental responsibility of the state. According to the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government. Security has become a big issue today because of the various forms of carnage, brutality, pogroms and even genocide

associated with it. The collapse or near collapse of the state has made physical safety the preeminent concern of most leaders and states. The state is seen as no longer able to generate the fundamental conditions for the protection of life. Before the collapse of the state became pervasive, security discourse in Africa tended to shift from its state centeredness with its attendant political and military considerations to other considerations that are remotely related to physical safety, especially the satisfaction of basic needs, the right to a sustainable environment, the protection of cultural and religious identity and so on (Nnoli, 2006).

The term security is used in different ways in different contexts. Security may be conceived as protection from danger, violence, fear, and want that impair, or capable of impairing the full development and existential wellbeing of citizens. Security implies the absence of fear and want. The absence of this is what is referred to as insecurity. Until recently, security was conceived in both academic literature and government policies in narrow and state-centric terms as the protection of a nation from foreign aggression and internal insurrection (Nnoli, 2006). As a result, the armed forces, police and other security agencies were seen as the primary tools for preserving security and national sovereignty against foreign aggression and defending domestic government. This narrow and state-centric conception of security has become anachronistic and fast losing trend. A lot has happened since the 1980s to challenge and redefine the concept of security and contingent laws, policies and decisions have been widened. There are objective and subjective dimensions of security. The objective dimension is the extent of security or insecurity of individuals, families, communities, classes, societies, nations and humanity. Subjective dimension of security pertains to feeling of security or insecurity by individuals, groups and nations. Both dimensions are interrelated.

Insecurity is seen as a reasonable level of (un)predictability at different levels of the social system, from local communities to the global level. Freedman's (1998) view is that once anything generates anxiety or threatens the quality of life in some respect, it is thus labeled a "security problem". The notion of economic security thus encourages a confrontational approach to trace policy, while that of "environmental security" has often served more to confuse than to clarify by encouraging a search for adversaries. Security, especially in the form of 'feeling secured', has been identified as a 'basic need' in the literature (Campbell, 1998). While Omede (2012) sees security as a dynamic condition which involves the relative ability of a state to counter threats to its core values and interests, Nwolise (2006) perceives security as an all-encompassing condition which suggests that a territory must be secured by a network of armed forces; that the sovereignty of the state must be guaranteed by a democratic and patriotic government, which in turn must be protected by the military, police and the people themselves; that the people must not only be secured from external attacks but also from devastating consequences of internal upheavals such as unemployment, hunger, starvation, diseases, ignorance, homelessness, environmental degradation and pollution cum socio-economic injustices.

While the two conceptualizations of security are more concerned about the administrative framework, Microsoft Encarta Dictionary (2008) provides a definition that takes cognizance of the citizens' perception of security, and defines security as "the state of being safe and protected; the assurance that something of value, for instance, job, will not be taken away; something that provides a sense of protection against loss, attack, or harm; and, precautions taken to keep something safe from crime, attack, or danger, such as security measures". When these measures are not in place, life becomes threatened thus a state of insecurity may arise consequently. Like security, insecurity has been

conceptualized from both state (Hausler, Urban and McCorquodale, 2012) and individual (Oxford Dictionary, 2013) perspectives. Of the diverse definitions and conceptualizations existing in the literature, the one adopted as being most relevant for this study is the second of the two definitions provided by the Oxford Dictionary (2013) where insecurity is defined as "'vulnerability, defenselessness, unguardedness, lack of protection, perilousness, peril, danger, riskiness; instability, fragility, frailty, shakiness, rockiness, unsteadiness, unreliability, tenuousness' as used in statements like '*we were conscious of the insecurity of our situation*'. In this study, insecurity is thus conceptualized as the feeling of vulnerability, defenselessness, lack of protection and danger affecting educational needs and advancement of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

There is a close association between education and (in)security. Insecurity undermines education and absence of quality education for citizens constitute a constraint on capacity for sustainable development. The roles education plays in promoting security and how security advances the educational system of a country is therefore sacrosanct and worthy of note in human society. To this extent education as a whole serves intrinsic and instrumental purposes. Some of these purposes have been outlined by several scholars and analysts like Malcolm Forbes; Robert M. Hutchins; Robert Frost; and Martin Luther King Jr. According to Malcolm Forbes, the purpose of education is to unsettle the minds of learners, widen their horizons, inflame their intellects, teaches them to think straight, if possible. According to Robert Frost, Education is the ability to listen to almost anything without losing your cool or your self-confidence. Education liberates individuals from the shackles of ignorance, and from the spell of falsehood and superstition. Martin Luther King Jr. maintains that Education must enable one to sift and weigh evidence, to discern the truth from falsehood, the real from the unreal, and the facts from the fiction". Education produces and

enhances knowledge, skills, productivity, governance, civility and status in society. Knowledge produced and acquired through education is the most vital and sustainable basis of national development and security.

Concept of Education

Education has been identified and globally accepted as the key to unlock the potentiality of man in association with others. Etymologically, the word "Education" is derived from the Latin words 'educare' and 'educere'. Educare refers to 'to bring up' or 'to nourish', whereas the word 'educere' means 'to bring forth' or 'to drag out'. Some others believe that the word has been derived from another Latin word 'educantum' which has two components. 'E' implies a movement from inward to outward and 'duco' refers to developing or progressing. An analysis of these words reveal that education aims at providing a learner or a child a nourishing environment to bring out and develop the latent potentiality hidden inside him <https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/8266/1/Unit-1.pdf>. Education of a human being is, perhaps, the most cherished goal of any human civilization that ever existed or is yet to come in this world. Therefore, philosophers, educationists and great thinkers have tried their best to define education. But in these definitions, one would find the mark of their conceptions of reality, values and belief systems. Although such definitions might reflect the contemporary societal systems, no single definition has been found so far that satisfies everyone. The search for a universal definition of education still continues.

The human being is the embodiment of rich inherent potentialities and it is the task of education to help him develop, enhance and realize these potentialities. These innate potentialities are to be tapped right from the birth of a child and nurtured through his growth and development of adulthood. Rousseau said, "Education is the child's development from within". Plato propagated that, "Education develops in the body and soul of the

pupil all the beauty and all the perfection he is capable of', whereas Froebel said, "Education is unfoldment of what is already enfolded in the gene. It is the process through which the child makes the internal external". According to Mahatma Gandhi, education, is 'all-round drawing out of the best in the child and man - body, mind and spirit'. T.P. Nunn says, "Education is the complete development of the individuality of the child so that he can make an original contribution to human life according to the best of his capacity". A close analysis of these definitions reveal the following: Human personality has different facets - physical, mental, social and spiritual. It is the task of education to ensure harmonious and balanced development of these innate power of an individual by providing a conducive environment for their growth and development (<https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/8266/1/Unit-1.pdf>).

From the above education, the world over, has been accepted as an instrument of change. In fact, it is fundamentally, an agent of social mobilization. This is one of the reasons the National Policy on Education in Nigeria (2004) envisions a democratic and egalitarian society where all citizens will have unfettered access to educational services such that will avail them the opportunity to compete globally. A critical examination of the constitution of Nigeria and the National Policy on Education would show in clearly unequivocal terms the efforts of successive governments in Nigeria to use education to effect meaningful changes in society. This is probably because of the recognition of the importance of education as a social and individual right and also an instrument through which socio-economic and political developments can be mobilized and achieved. The importance attached to education is also possibly due to the fact that there is the thinking in educational circle today, that, education enables one to perform one's socio-civic and political functions to the nation more effectively (Agboola, 1987 and 1985).

However, this glorious dream has become dangerously challenged by the spate of insecurity in the country. Jinadu (2005) observes that Nigerian societies are characterized by persistent deep-rooted and identity-related conflicts, fueled by perception of economic and social injustice. Supporting this claim, Nwankwo and Udeh (2005) maintain that right from the end of the cold war in the last decade of the 20th century, there has being an explosion of issue of identity the world over. Groups are now more and more than ever before conscious of their interest and the need to protect these in competition with others. With the rise of ethnic nationalism and the cut-throat political and economic competitions it has generated, conflict has become a ubiquitous feature of group interactions in Nigeria.

The Nexus between Education and Security

There is a close association between education and (in)security. Insecurity undermines education and absence of quality education for citizens constitute a constraint on capacity for sustainable development. The roles education plays in promoting security and how security advances the educational system of a country is therefore sacrosanct and worthy of note in human society. To this extent education as a whole serves intrinsic and instrumental purposes. Some of these purposes have been outlined by several scholars and analysts like Malcolm Forbes; Robert M. Hutchins; Robert Frost; and Martin Luther King Jr. According to Malcolm Forbes, the purpose of education is to unsettle the minds of learners, widen their horizons, inflame their intellects, teaches them to think straight, if possible. According to Robert Frost, Education is the ability to listen to almost anything without losing your cool or your self-confidence. Education liberates individuals from the shackles of ignorance, and from the spell of falsehood and superstition. Martin Luther King Jr. maintains that Education must enable one to sift and weigh evidence, to discern the truth from falsehood, the real from the unreal, and the facts from the fiction". Education produces and

enhances knowledge, skills, productivity, governance, civility and status in society. Knowledge produced and acquired through education is the most vital and sustainable basis of national development and security.

Many conflicts arise from ignorance and manipulation of ethnic religious and other identities. Education, not mere schooling and certifications, produces tolerance and civil citizens who are able to understand and live with people from different economic, religious, ethnic and cultural backgrounds and other forms of identities. Even though we may have the educated who are criminals, a careful observation will reveal that most people arrested for criminal behaviours lack high education who often see criminality as the quickest and cheapest way to wealth, especially when they cannot be arrested, tried and convicted. On the other hand, persons with low or without education and income are more likely to be victims of crime and other forms of insecurity which is a serious concern in this study. Children with low education are more likely to be recruited as thugs, insurgents, child-soldiers in civil or guerrilla wars and terrorism through indoctrination. Lack of education therefore is in itself insecurity and is a source of vulnerability to other forms of insecurity. A country with poor standard of education as is the case in contemporary Nigeria will lack citizens that can produce or manage competencies and resources required for developing and sustaining relevant and strong or capable institutions and leaders for development, democratic governance and national security. As long as the government glosses over funding of the education sector, so long, will the problem of insecurity pervades.

Causes of insecurity

Psychological/primordial theorists, on the other hand, are people of the view that humans have a deep-rooted psychological need to dichotomize and to establish enemies and allies, which leads to the formation of ethnic and national group identities and

behaviours. How a group perceives itself and its relationship with those outside the group determines whether their relationship will be based on cooperation, competition or conflict. Usually those within the group are regarded as better than those outside, and this leads to 'me-you', 'we-they' 'insidersoutsiders' and 'minority-majority' sentiments, (Ajodo, 2017) and (Batagarawa, 2021).

Another theory, Eco-violence, also known as environmental conflict theory was developed by Homer-Dixon (1999) in his attempt to explain the causal relationship between natural resource endowment and the outbreak of violent conflict. According to him, decrease in the quality and quantity of renewable resources act singly or in various combinations to increase the scarcity, for Certain population groups, of vegetation, farmland, water, forests etc. To Batagarawa, (2021), this scarcity of ecological resources can reduce economic productivity and competition for survival, both for the local groups experiencing the scarcity and for the larger regional and national economies. Consequently, the affected people may migrate or be expelled to new lands while decreases in wealth can cause deprivation conflicts.

Ethno-Religious Conflicts

Ibrahim and Igbuzor, (2002) identified ethno-religious conflict as a major source of insecurity in Nigeria. To them, ethnoreligious conflict is a situation in which the relationship between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such group in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society is characterized by lack of cordiality and trust, mutual suspicion, fear, and tendency towards violent confrontation. Frequent and persistent ethnic conflicts and religious clashes between the two dominant religions (Islam and Christianity), present the country with a major security challenge. In all parts of Nigeria for example, there exist ethno-religious conflicts. The claim over scarce resources, power, land, chieftaincy, local government, councils, control of

markets, deprivation and sharia among other trivial issues have resulted in large scale killings and violence amongst groups in Nigeria, (Ndubuisi-Okolo and Anigbuogu, 2019). This has hampered the education of children within school age.

Weak Security System

Poor attitudinal and behavioural disposition of security personnel is a serious issue in security treatment in Nigeria. In many cases, security personnel assigned to deal with given security situations lack the expertise, probably because of the manner in which they are recruited and most often lack of equipment to handle the situations in a way to prevent them from occurring. And even when these exist, some security personnel get influenced by ethnic, religious or communal sentiment and are easily swallowed by their personal interest to serve their people, rather than the nation. Thus, instead of being national watch dogs and defending national interest and values, and protecting people from harm by criminals, they soon become saboteurs of government efforts to secure the country, by supporting and fuelling insecurity through either leaking vital security information or aiding and abetting criminals to acquire weapons or to escape the long arm of the law (Achumba, Ighomereho, and Akpan-Robaro, 2013) and (Ndubuisi-Okolo and Anigbuogu, 2019).

Porous Borders

Achumba, Ighomereho and Akpan-Robaro (2013) observe that the porous frontiers of the country, where individual movements are largely untracked have contributed to the high degree of insecurity in Nigeria. As a result, there is an unchecked inflow of Small Arms and Light Weapons into the country which has aided militancy and criminality in Nigeria (Hazen and Horner, 2007). Available data show that Nigeria host over 70 percent of about 8 million illegal weapons in West Africa (Edeko, 2011). Also, the porosity of the Nigerian borders has aided the uncontrollable

influx of radicalized migrants, mainly young men, from war turned neighboring countries such as Republic of Niger, Chad and Republic of Benin responsible for some of the criminal acts (Adeola and Oluyemi, 2012). The porosity has raised a lot of dust which has degenerated into the ugly experiences we are currently facing today. Nigeria is the only country people troop in and out without adequate tracking and checkmating, (Ndubuisi-Okolo and Anigbuogu, 2019).

Unemployment and Poverty

Ndubuisi-Okolo and Anigbuogu (2019) observe that the degree with which unemployed youths are roaming about the street is alarming. These unemployed youths at present employ themselves by engaging in illegal activities such as kidnapping, robbery, child abduction, and other nefarious activities. As a result of the high level of unemployment and poverty among Nigerians, especially the youths, they are adversely attracted to violent crime. This is depicted by recent development in Anambra State where reports by Fides (2018) unveiled a 70-year old farmer butchered by disgruntled, hunger-infested and jobless youths residing in their villages owing to unemployment palaver. Nwagbosa (2012) posits that the failure of successive administrations in Nigeria to address challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities is one major causes of insecurity in the country. Unemployment has a severe negative implication on sustainable and national development in Nigeria. Poverty also is a threat to human existence and reduces a man to a perpetual state of infancy. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD, 2007) opines that despite Nigerian huge resources and oil wealth, poverty is still rampant to the extent that the country is ranked one of the 20th poorest countries in the world". Indeed, over 70 percent of the population is classified as poor, with 35 percent living in abject poverty (Andenrele, 2014).

8. How Education Promotes Security and Vice-Versa

Many conflicts arise from ignorance and manipulation of ethnic religious and other identities. Education, not mere schooling and certifications, produces tolerance and civil citizens who are able to understand and live with people from different economic, religious, ethnic and cultural backgrounds and other forms of identities. Even though we may have the educated who are criminals, a careful observation will reveal that most people arrested for criminal behaviours lack high education who often see criminality as the quickest and cheapest way to wealth, especially when they cannot be arrested, tried and convicted. On the other hand, persons with low or without education and income are more likely to be victims of crime and other forms of insecurity which is a serious concern in this study. Low education often translates to absence of skill for competition, adequate income, exclusion from participation in vital economic, political and social organizations and relations; lack of access to adequate food and nutrition, housing, health care and efficient public emergency and safety services – all of which are elements of human security. Children with low education are more likely to be recruited as thugs, insurgents, child-soldiers in civil or guerrilla wars and terrorism through indoctrination. Lack of education therefore is in itself insecurity and is a source of vulnerability to other forms of insecurity. A country with poor standard of education as is the case in contemporary Nigeria will lack citizens that can produce or manage competencies and resources required for developing and sustaining relevant and strong or capable institutions and leaders for development, democratic governance and national security. As long as the government glosses over funding of the education sector, so long, will the problem of insecurity pervades.

This study argued that materialism and material inequality, failure of state capacity, proliferation of ethnic-militias involved in spreading ethnic intolerance, hatred, and violence, progressive

decline in the quality of governance at all levels (Federal, State and Local Government) since the late 1970s led to lack of patriotism, professionalism, justice, capacity and effectiveness in planning, decision-making, and service delivery by all tiers of government. High rate of youth poverty/unemployment, proliferation of religious sects, and religious Intolerance and so on have been identified in this study as sources of insecurity.

9. Method

A survey research design was adopted in this study. Surveys are commonly used method of data collection in the Social sciences. A survey research design provides an effective means of gathering data from a larger population especially when the necessary data cannot be found in statistical records, for the purpose of generalization (Orsah, 2009). 400 respondents were draw from study population of internally displayed persons in three states of Abuja, Nassarawa, Niger and Benue States respectively.

10. Results Presentation

The data collected in this study were presented and analyzed in with the research questions and hypotheses as shown in table below.

Data Associated with the Respondents

The results of the analysis of data associated with the respondents are presented in table 1

Variables		Frequency	Percentage (%)
Sex:	Male	100	62.5
	Female	60	37.5
Age:	(10 - 20)	108	67.5
	(21 - 31)	51	31.9
	32 and above	1	0.6

Variables		Frequency	Percentage
Occupation:	Self employed	3	1.9
	Civil Servant	9	5.6
	Applicant/farmer	148	92.5
Marital status:	Married	2	1.3
	Single	157	98.1
	Seperated	1	0.6
Educational status:	Within primary age	104	65.0
	Within secondary age	51	31.9
	Within tertiary age	5	3.1

Table 1 provided the spread of variables considered in this study across the respondents (sample). This conformed precisely to the sampling procedure adopted in the study. Thus, 100 (62.5%) and 60 (37.5) of the sample were male and female respectively. There were 108 (67.5%) of the respondents within the age range of 7 – 15 (10 – 20) years, 51 (31.9%) of the sample within the age range of 16 – 24 (21 – 31) years and 1 (0.6%) of them with 32 years and above of age. With regards to occupation, 3 (1.9%) of the sample were self-employed, 9(5.6) were civil servants, while 148 (92.5%) of them were applicants/farmers. The marital status of the sample spread across 2(1.3%) married, 157 (98.1%) single and 1 (0.6%) separated. The educational status of the respondents revealed 104 (65.0%) fell within primary age, 51(31.9%) were within secondary age, while 5 (3.1%) were within tertiary age.

Research Questions

The data collected from the questionnaire administered on the sample were analyzed and the results presented on table 2. The result related with factors responsible for violent, conflicts, improvement of social well-being, challenges confronting the promotion and provision of social necessities, provision of

adequate mechanisms that effectively check incidents of diversion of suppliers and the determination of the impacts of insecurity on the socio economics and political development of Nigeria with regards to internally displaced persons. The decision rule for the reference was based on either to "agree" or "disagree" on which of the combined strongly agree and agree or disagree and strongly disagree that may produce the higher percentage of the frequency of response on each of the items.

Table 2: Percentages Responses of Sample by Item

S/N	Item	SA	A	D	SD	UD	D
1.	The education	5 (3.1)	10 (6.3)	32 (20.0)	91 (56.9)	22 (13.8)	D
2.	People who	39 (24.4)	62 (38.8)	31 (19.4)	5 (3.1)	23 (14.4)	A
3.	The internally	99 (64.9)	61 (38.1)	—	—	—	A
4.	Finance	75 (46.9)	83 (51.9)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	—	A
5.	There are	89 (55.6)	65 (4.6)	2 (1.3)	1 (2.5)	—	A
6.	Violent, Conflicts	43 (26.9)	83 (51.9)	—	34 (21.3)	—	A
7.	Politicians	11 (6.9)	40 (25.0)	—	109 (68.1)	—	D
8.	Violent Issues	24 (15.0)	71 (44.4)	8 (5.0)	7 (4.4)	50 (31.3)	A
9.	The Officials	13 (8.1)	60 (37.5)	13 (8.1)	74 (46.3)	—	D
10.	There are no reason	11 (6.9)	14 (8.8)	7 (4.4)	80 (50.0)	48 (30.0)	D
11.	Paucity of funds	25 (15.6)	81 (50.6)	1 (0.6)	53 (33.1)	—	A
12.	Violent crises economic	28 (17.5)	129 (80.6)	—	3 (1.9)	—	A
13.	Violent crisis led	78 (48.8)	82 (51.3)	—	—	—	A

S/N	Item	SA	A	D	SD	UD	D
14.	Nigeria faces	79 (49.4)	81 (50.6)	—	—	—	A
15.	Educational needs	36 (22.5)	122 (76.3)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)		A
16.	Many Female	96 (60.0)	60 (37.5)	3 (1.9)	1 (0.6)	—	A
17.	Violent Conflict Avoidable	37 (23.1)	118 (73.8)	4 (2.5)	1 (0.6)	—	A
18.	Community Policing	79 (49.4)	72 (45.0)	6 (3.8)	2 (1.3)	1 (0.6)	A
19.	Good Governance	38 (23.8)	111 (69.4)	2 (1.3)	9 (5.6)	—	A
20.	Politic that	20 (12.5)	122 (76.3)	1 (0.6)	16 (10.0)	1 (0.6)	A
21.	Internally	27 (16.9)	127 (79.4)	1 (0.6)	5 (3.1)	—	A
22.	Absence of Vibrant Advocacy	20 (12.5)	76 (47.5)	—	64 (40.0)	—	A
23.	There are effective	17 (10.6)	19 (11.9)	55 (34.4)	68 (42.5)	1 (0.6)	D
24.	Because there strength	61 (38.1)	90 (56.3)	1 (0.6)	7 (4.4)	1 (0.6)	A

With the decision rule as basis for agreeing or disagreeing to an item, it is revealed on table 2 that the respondents agreed in totality to request made by items 2 through to 6, 8, 11 through to 22 and 24, while a disagreed response was register for items 1, 7, 9, 10, and 23.

Research Question 1

What are the factors responsible for insecurity in North Central Nigeria?

The responses on items 4, 5, 6 and 8 that solicited opinions from the respondents revealed agreed response decision on the items. This affirmed that among the factors responsible for insecurity in North Central Nigeria, the respondents agreed that resource-curse, porous border, corruption unpatriotic security agents, unemployment, illiteracy, irreconcilable interest arising from

socio-economic, religious and political competitions among the people and politicians in addition to violent issues related to cases of delayed justice and inequality constituted identifiable factors responsible for insecurity in North Central Nigeria.

Research Question 2

Are there adequate provisions of social services for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in North Central?

Table 2 equally shows that the decision responses on items 1, 7, 9 and 10 are disagreement out-rightly which implied that there were no adequate provisions of social services for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPS) in North Central. This result shows that IDPs face a lot of challenges which include, Trauma and Bitterness: The IDPs are traumatized and frustrated because of the situation they find themselves. Most of these IDPs live in bitterness due to painful separation from their spouses, families and loved ones: Hunger and Starvation: Sexually harassment and Transmitted Diseases, hypertension, diabetes and other diseases due to lack of medical health facilities: Education: Educational needs of IDPs, as children or family members are always on transit from one place another. More to that there are no provisions by government in this regard.

Research Question 3

What are challenges confronting the promotion and provision of social necessities for the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPS) in North Central Nigeria?

A look at the percentage responses on table 2 and the decision rule, it is realized that the respondents agreed totally on items 11, 16 and 24 but disagreed on item 23 that solicited opinions in that regard. This affirmed that paucity of funds, untimely release of relief materials hindered the effectiveness of the officials of the management of the IDPs in North Central Nigeria. Similarly, many female IDPs of school age in North Central Nigeria considered marriage as a way of overcoming their predicament.

Likewise, there was no effective mechanism for monitoring and checking cases of diversion of relief materials meant for IDPs camps in North Central Nigeria. More also, because there were no stringent laws against diversion of relief materials and human rights violation in IDPs camps, it was easy and rampant to steal relief materials and violate the rights of IDPs. These responses implied the challenges confronting the promotion and provision of social necessities for IDPs in North-Central Nigeria.

Research Question 4

How do we provide advocacy for the internally displaced persons and effectively check incidences of diversion of supplies to IDPS camps in North Central Nigeria?

As can be revealed on table 2, the decision rule on responses from the respondents on items 2, 3, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 23 indicated an agreement on items 2, 3, 17, 18 and 19 but disagreement on item 23. This shows that people who were affected by crises in North Central Nigeria can be effectively integrated into the wider society. The IDPs in North Central Nigeria deserved the rights to be educated. Violent conflict, if not avoidable, can be reduced to the barest minimum, community policing would seriously discourage violent culture in North Central Nigeria, good governance and democratic culture of compromise and collective Bargaining would reduce incidences of violent culture in North Central Nigeria and policies that are geared toward skill acquisition in North Central Nigeria would arrest youth restiveness in the area. This opinion implied that there are means through which advocacy was provided for IDPS as well as effectively checking incidences of diversion of supplies to IDPS camps in North Central Nigeria.

Research Question 5

What are the impacts of insecurity on the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria?

The responses to item 12, 13, 14, 15, 21 and 22 that provided the

decision on table 2 affirmed totally an agreement on the opinions as: violent crises have slowed down socio-economic, political, religious and educational development of North-Central Nigeria; violent crises have led to loss of lives and destruction of properties worth billions of dollars in North-Central Nigeria. Nigeria faces imminent food crises and food security as a result of banditry, kidnapping and clashes that have left farmers homeless and helpless in North-Central Nigeria, educational needs of the IDPs in North-Central Nigeria are seriously under threats as a result of crises, internally displaced persons are traumatized and suffered from all kinds of human rights and sexual violation in the camps where they are kept in North-Central Nigeria. These opinions provided by the responses on the items implied the impacts of insecurity on the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria.

Research Hypotheses

In order to address the hypotheses, the means of issues of insecurity on factors responsible for provision of social amenities, challenges confronting, provision of advocacy and impacts of insecurity by sex, age, occupation and marital status (respondents' characteristics) were computed and presented on table 3.

Table 3: Mean () Scores on Issues of Insecurity in North Central Nigeria

Insecurity	Respondents Characteristics	N		SD
Factor Responsible for insecurity	Sex: Male	100	9.01	3.43
	Female	60	9.88	2.79
	Age: 7 - 15 (10 - 20)	108	8.94	3.27
		51	10.18	2.74
		1	10.00	
	Occupation: Self employed	3	7.33	1.15
		9	9.11	1.05
		148	9.39	3.33
	Marital Status: Married	2	6.50	0.70
		157	9.38	3.24
		1	9.00	

Insecurity	Respondents Characteristics	N	SD		
Provision of Social Amenities	Sex: Male	100	16.60	3.33	
	Female	60	17.15	2.77	
	Age: 7 - 15 (10 20)	108	16.49	3.27	
	16 - 24 (21 31)	51	17.53	2.74	
	32 and above	1	14.00		
	Occupation: Self employed	3	16.00	2.64	
	Civil Servant	9	15.33	1.32	
	Applicant/ Farmer	148	16.91	3.21	
Challenge Confronting	Marital Status: Married	2	13.00	0.00	
	Single	157	16.85	3.14	
	Separated	1	17.00		
	Sex: Male	100	7.91	2.05	
	Female	60	8.03	1.67	
	Age: 7 - 15 (10 20)	108	7.76	1.92	
	16 - 24 (21 31)	51	8.39	1.83	
	32 and above	1	10.00		
Provision of Advocacy	Occupation: Self employed	3	9.67	1.15	
	Civil Servant	9	9.78	1.20	
	Applicant/ Farmer	148	7.83	1.89	
	Marital Status: Married	2	8.50	0.00	
	Single	157	7.94	3.14	
	Separated	1	13.00		
	Sex: Male	100	9.23	1.76	
	Female	60	9.73	1.10	
Impact of Insecurity	Age: 7 - 15 (10 20)	108	9.29	1.77	
	16 - 24 (21 31)	51	9.71	0.96	
	32 and above	1	9.00		
	Occupation: Self employed	3	10.33	3.05	
	Civil Servant	9	9.1	1.26	
	Applicant/ Farmer	148	9.42	1.55	
	Marital Status: Married	2	8.50	2.12	
	Single	157	9.43	1.57	
Impact of Insecurity	Separated	1	10.00		
	Sex: Male	100	6.52	1.50	
	Female	60	7.10	1.21	
	Age: 7 - 15 (10 20)	108	6.56	1.49	
	16 - 24 (21 31)	51	7.08	1.21	
	32 and above	1	8.00		
	Occupation: Self employed	3	7.00	1.73	
	Civil Servant	9	8.00	0.70	
Impact of Insecurity	Applicant/ Farmer	148	6.66	1.42	
	Marital Status: Married	2	8.00	0.00	
	Single	157	6.71	1.43	
	Separated	1	8.00		

Hypothesis 1: *There are no significant differences in the responses on factors responsible for insecurity in North-Central Nigeria.*

From table 3, it revealed that the mean scores on factors responsible for insecurity for male and female were 9.01 and 9.88 respectively. The t-test on table 4 shows $t = 35.813$ at $P = 0.86$ on factors responsible for insecurity in North-Central Nigeria by respondents' sex; this shows that there was no significant difference in the opinion of respondents on the factors responsible for insecurity in North-Central Nigeria.

Table 4: Test on Issues of Insecurity

Variable	Sex	N		SD	df	T	
Factor responsible For insecurity	Male	100	9.01	3.436	159	35.813	.086
	Female	60	9.88	2.799			
Provision of social Amenities	Male	100	16.60	3.336	159	34.700	.009
	Female	60	17.15	2.773			
Challenges confronting	Male	100	7.91	2.055	159	104.721	.060
	Female	60	8.03	1.670			
IDPS camps Provision of	Male	100	9.23	1.769	159	183.790	.060
	Female	60	9.73	1.103			
Advocacy Impacts of	Male	100	6.52	1.507	159	192.011	.069
	Female	60	7.10	1.217			

Table 5 presented the ANOVA on factors responsible for insecurity which gave $F(1, 158) = 2.770$ at $P = .098$. This shows that, there was no significant difference on the responses of male and female respondents on factors responsible for insecurity in North Central Nigeria.

Table 5: ANOVA on Factors Responsible for Insecurity in North Central Nigeria by Sex, Age, Occupation and Marital Status

Source of variance	Respondents	Sum of squares	Df	Mean square	F
Age	Between group	53.817	2	26.908	2.631
	Within group	1605.958	157	10.229	
	Total	1659.775	159		
Occupation	Between group	12.949	2	6.475	.617
	Within group	1646.826	157	10.489	
	Total	1659.775	159		
Marital status	Between group	16.447	2	8.223	.786
	Within group	1643.328	157	10.467	
	Total	16.59.775	159		

Considering the age of the respondents, table 3 shows the mean scores by age as 7-15 (10-20) = 8.94, 16-24(21-31) = 10.18 and 32 and above = 10.00; so also, table 5 reveals the ANOVA on factors responsible for insecurity by age which made $F(2,157) = 2.631$ at $P = .075$. This also implied that, there was no significant difference in the responses of respondents based on age on factors responsible for insecurity in North-Central Nigeria.

Comparison of responses based on occupation as shown in table 3 provided the mean scores for self-employed respondents as 7.33, Civil Service respondents as 9.11 and applicant/farmer respondents as 9.39 on factors responsible for insecurity in North-Central Nigeria. The ANOVA on table 5 gave $F(2,157) = .617$ at $P = .541$ which means that, there was significant difference in the responses of respondents based on occupation.

Lastly on marital status, the mean scores on table 3 indicated a 6.50 for married, 9.38 for single and 9.00 for separated on factors responsible for insecurity in North-Central Nigeria. The ANOVA of $F(2,157) = .786$ at $P = .458$ also affirms that, there was no significant difference in responses on factors responsible for insecurity in North-Central Nigeria. Therefore, the hypothesis was accepted.

Hypothesis 2: *There are no adequate provisions of educational services to IDPs camps in North-Central Nigeria.*

As revealed on table 3, the mean scores on provision of social amenities with respect to sex are for male = 16.60, female = 17.15; age are for 7-15(10-20) = 16.49, 16-24 (21-31) = 17.53, 32 and above = 14.00; occupation are for self-employed = 16.00, Civil Servant = 15.33; applicant/farmer = 16.91 and marital status are – married = 13.00, single = 16.85 and separated = 17.00 respectively.

Table 6: ANOVA on Provision of Sexual Amenities to IDPs in North Central Nigeria by Sex, Age, Occupation and Marital Status.

Source of variance	Respondents	Sum of squares	Df	Mean square	F
Age	Between group	45.297	2	22.649	2.337
	Within group	1521.697	157	9.692	
	Total	1466.994	159		
Occupation	Between group	23.136	2	11.568	1.176
	Within group	1543.858	157	9.833	
	Total	1566.994	159		
Marital status	Between group	29.363	2	14.682	1.499
	Within group	1537.631	157	9.794	
	Total	1566.775	159		

The t-test on table 4 shows $t = 34.700$ at $P = .099$ on male and female respondents' opinion. The ANOVA on table 6 reveals $F(2;157) = 2.337$ at $P = .100$ for age; $F(2;157) = 1.176$ at $P = .311$ for occupation and $F(2;157) = 1.499$ at $P = .227$ for marital status. These results affirmed that, there was no adequate provision of educational services/social amenities to IDPs camps in North-Central Nigeria, as a result of which the hypothesis was not rejected.

Hypothesis 3: There are no mechanisms to effectively check diversion of supplies to IDPs Camps in North-Central Nigeria.

On table 3, the mean scores on the challenges confronting IDPs camps in North-Central Nigeria showed that male = 7.91, female 8.03 for sex of respondents; on age of respondents, 7-15 (10-20) = 7.76, 16-24 (21-31) = 8.39 and 32 and above = 10.00; on occupation of respondents, farmers = 7.83 and applicant/farmers = 7.83 while on marital status of respondents, married = 8.50, single = 7.94 and separated = 13.00. The t-test on table 4 provided a t-test of 104.721 at $P = .800$.

Table 7: ANOVA on Mechanisms to Suppliers to IDPs Camps in North Central Nigeria by Respondents' Characteristics.

Source of variance	Respondents	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig
Age	Between group	18.002	2	9.001	2.497	.036
	Within group	565.898	157	3.604		
	Total	583.900	159			
Occupation	Between group	40.901	2	20.450	5.913	.003
	Within group	542.999	157	3.459		
	Total	583.900	159			
Marital status	Between group	26.037	2	13.018	3.664	.028
	Within group	557.863	157	3.553		
	Total	583.900	159			

The ANOVA on table 7 shows that, for age of respondents $F(2;157) = 2.497$ at $P = .036$, for occupation of respondents, $F(2;157) = 5.913$ at $P = .003$ and for marital status, $F(2;157) = 3.664$ at $P = .028$. These results implied that though there was no significant difference on the mechanism put in place to check diversion of supplies to IDPs camps from the point of view of male and female respondents, the responses by the respondents with regard to age, occupation and marital status indicated that, there were no adequate effective mechanisms put in place to

check diversion of supplies to IDPs camps in North-Central Nigeria.

Hypothesis 4: There are no advocacies for the Plights of IDPs in North-Central Nigeria

From table 3, it is revealed that, the mean scores of respondents by sex on advocacies are male = 9.23, and female = 9.73; age are 7-15 (10-20) = 9.29, 16-24 (21-31) = 9.71 and 32 and above = 9.00; occupation are self-employed = 10.33, civil servant = 9.11 and applicant/farmers = 9.42 while marital status has for married 8.50, single 9.43 and separated 10.00 respectively. The t-test on table 4 provided a no significant difference in advocacies between the male and female respondents $t = 183.790$ at $P = .060$.

Table 8: ANOVA on Advocacy for Plights of IDPs in North Central Nigeria by Respondents' Characteristics

Source of variance	Respondents	Sum of squares	Df	Mean square	F	Sig
Age	Between group	6.254	2	3.127	1.276	.282
	Within group	384.690	157	2.450		
	Total	390.944	159			
Occupation	Between group	3.361	2	1.681	.681	.508
	Within group	387.583	157	2.469		
	Total	390.944	159			
Marital status	Between group	2.036	2	1.018	.411	.664
	Within group	388.908	157	2.477		
	Total	390.944	159			

The ANOVA on table 8 shows that, the F ratio by age is $F(2;157) = 1.276$ at $P = .282$; by occupation is $F(2;157) = .681$ at $P = .508$ and by marital status is $F(2;157) = .411$ at $p = .664$. These results affirmed that there were no advocacies for the plights of IDPs in North Central Nigeria.

Hypothesis 5: *There are no significant impacts of insecurity in North Central Nigeria*

Table 3 also provided the mean scores of respondents on impacts of insecurity in North Central Nigeria. On sex, the male respondents had a mean score of 6.52 while the female ones had 7.10; on age those of 7-15 (10-20) had 6.56, those of 16-24 (21-31) had 7.08 and 32 and above had 8.00; on occupation, self-employed = 7.00, civil servant = 8.00 and applicant/farmers = 6.66; on marital status, the married respondents had 8.00, the single ones had 6.71 while the separated respondents had 8.00

Table 4 provided the t-test on impacts of insecurity by sex which gave $t=192.011$ at $=.690$.

Table 9: ANOVA on Impacts of Insecurity in North Central Nigeria by Respondents' Characteristics

Source of variance	Respondents	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig
Age	Between group	10.742	2	5.371	2.684	.071
	Within group	314.233	157	2.001		
	Total	324.975	159			
Occupation	Between group	15.549	2	7.775	3.945	.201
	Within group	309.426	157	1.971		
	Total	324.975	159			
Marital status	Between group	4.873	2	2.437	1.195	.305
	Within group	320.102	157	2.032		
	Total	324.975	159			

Table 9 provided the ANOVA on impact of insecurity in North-Central Nigeria, this shows that, the responses of the respondents by age, $F(2;157) = 2.684$ at $P = .071$; occupation $F(2;157) = 3.945$ at $P = .021$ and by marital status $F(2;157) = 1.195$ at $P = .305$. This implied that whereas there were no significant impacts of insecurity in North-Central with respect to sex, age and marital status, a significant impact of insecurity was on the occupation of the respondents.

11. Discussion

Factors responsible for insecurity

The findings of this study revealed that resource-curse, porous border, corruption unpatriotic security agents, unemployment, illiteracy, irreconcilable interest arising from socio-economic, religious and political competitions among the people and politicians in addition to violent issues related to cases of delayed justice and inequality constituted identifiable factors responsible for insecurity in North Central Nigeria. This finding echoed the position of Usara and Ogoyi (2019) who posited that "one major factor at the root of most conflicts and insecurity in Nigeria is classified as socio/political-economic issues. Similarly, Gofwen (2004) identified political philosophy, mutual suspicious, ignorance and provocative acts as cankerworm capable of inflaming crisis in Nigeria. These factors or sources as it were frequently been cited as principal causes of religious, political and ethnic crises within the North-Central Nigeria.

Challenges Confronting IDPs in North-Central Nigeria

Funds, delay release of relief materials, opting for marriage, non-stringent laws and human right violation were identified in this study as challenges confronting IDPs in the North-Central Nigeria. This shows that, the North-Central architecture for addressing the needs of people during any natural or man-made disaster was either not available, grossly inadequate or corruptly hijacked by Officials of the IDPs taking advantage of the situation to make IDPs uncomfortable and frustrated. This habit cannot but resulted in irreparable wastage of human resources. This finding buttresses the views of Jinadu (2005) and Usara and Ogoyi (2019) about Nigeria intractable security challenges that is always nurtured and manifested from the economic foundations. Again, incapability of the agency saddled with the responsibility of attending to any emergency situation is a reflection of failed state just like Alozieuwa (2012) had pointed out. Akwara, et'al

(2003) also affirmed that "Urbanization and improvement in literacy makes people become a bit sensitive to material improvements, any increasing gap between the poor and the rich would usually escalate discord of varying degrees. The inadequate provision of social amenities at the IDPs could be the consequence reported by UNICEF as contained in the work of Ewetan (2014) that, Nigeria loses a quantum of her children and women of childbearing age daily.

Advocacy for Curtailing Insecurity and integration of IDPs

This study revealed that IDPs can be effectively integrated into the wider society. This approach or effort stemmed from the hope that by providing a formidable advocacy, incidences of diversion of supplies to IDPs can be checkmated. A well programmed advocacy could take the form proposed by Nnoli (2006) that gave considerations for remotely related to physical safety with sentiment for satisfaction of basic needs, right to sustainable environment as well as protection of cultural and religious identity. The potential of harnessing such buffers could leverage into what is identified as a reasonable level of predictability at different levels of a social system from local to global.

12. Recommendations

The followings are the recommendations of this study:

- It is recommended that the Government adopt and be religiously attached to the principle of fair distribution of the scarce resources and be quick in dispensing justice to avoid the temptation of jungle justice that often aggravate security issues in the north-central Nigeria.
- Since insecurity has become ubiquitous in our communities, adequate provision of social amenities/services for IDPs in North-Central Nigeria should be priory to Government. These ranges from adequate water supply, clothing and beddings, food, and other relief materials to

bringing a sense comfort and hope to the affected.

- Government should as a matter of urgency carefully put in place adequate security measures to monitor so as to mitigate incidences of diversion of relief materials by the officials involved.
- Effective integration of people affected by crises in North-Central Nigeria into the wider society should occupy a central policy thrust of government. Government should build come out with a housing scheme for the IDPs in all the local government areas in Nigeria with a well-equipped primary and secondary schools. This will discourage consideration of early marriage by female IDPs of school age.
- As a follow up of number 4 above, government should deploy medical facilities and personnel for treatment of ailments and psychologists to work on the minds of the people affected by violent conflicts with a view of integrating them into the society again.
- The national assembly should make stringent laws against cases sexual harassments and human rights violation in not only the IDPs camps but in the entire country to discourage perpetrators.
- The civil society organization and concerned persons should raise advocacy to check incidences of diversion of supplies to IDPs was made.
- The national orientation agency should sensitize the people on the need for community policing and rise to take responsibility of the security of their lives by reporting criminal elements in their neighborhoods.

- Government should recruit, train and retrain security personnel and equipped them with modern technology to combat crime and adequate remuneration of the security personnel.

13. Conclusion

Indeed, the overall improvement and protection of man the precursor of development in the society is the concern of governments and stakeholders in the knowledge industry. As good as the aim of education, its spread has been dangerously challenged by the cases of insecurity in the land. The second decade of the 21st century has been a turbulent one for Nigeria and Nigerians in terms of security of lives and properties. The North central states of Nigeria and Benue state in particular has witnessed a recurrent violent conflict between Fulani herdsmen and Idoma/Tiv farmers resulting in largescale dislocation of the people and the establishment of Internally Displaced Persons' camps across Benue state. The establishment of IDP camps in Benue state has attracted the attentions of donor agencies, international bodies, NGOs etc. that provide humanitarian interventions in the areas of shelter, feeding, education and health care delivery.

The researchers approached this study with a theoretical explanation of the root of violence and insecurity in human community. The aggression and frustration theory is pliable in this case. The first natural law is the law of self-defense. As the people struggle for daily survival and are limited severally in attaining this desire, frustration becomes inevitable and aggression becomes appealing. When this happens it increases the frequency of violent incidences. This was revealed from the study to have hampered the goal of education in Nigeria. While some feed fat on the common efforts of people, others are marginalized and relegated to the background – the victims of violence are generally are classified as the Internally Displaced

Persons, (IDPs). The integration of the people affected by crises in North-Central Nigeria into the wider society can be effectively done, to give hope and life to the crisis affected persons by integrating them to the wider society from which they had been dislocated. The findings of this study are indeed mindboggling, pitiable and threatening and demand urgent implementation of the recommendations put forward.

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NIGERIA SECURITY DILEMMA AND CHALLENGES OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

BY

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Abstract

This paper examined the challenges of security and the dilemma of continued corporate existence of Nigeria as a state. The focus was security as a major determinant of not only development of any society but the survival of such. The paper examined development, the causes of security challenges in Nigeria and the implications on the politics, economy, education and religion. This paper adopted the secondary sources of data that are relevant to the issues under consideration. From the literature reviewed there are clear indications of palpable threats to the corporate survival of the Nigerian state. And this emanated as a result of failure of leadership to understand and manage the dynamisms of our shared existence. Part of the recommendations towards a sustainable national development hinges on the urgency of restructuring the current lopsided federal structure, and until this is done, all efforts at unity and progress will be a charade.

Key words:

Insecurity, Education, Internally Displaced Persons

Introduction

When Nigeria got independence in the 1960s, she was jubilantly at the same level with fellow-oil producing and exporting countries such as Brazil, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Indonesia in her desire to attain a very high level of socio-economic, political and religious development, and also put herself on the same page with key drivers of the world economy (Uzoigwe, 2007). As a matter of fact, Nigeria was seen as the backbone and the canon-folder of the rest of Africa. She was believed and widely accepted as the giant of Africa, considering, intimidating and unmatched credentials in both human and material resources to her claim. Alas! Things fell apart and the centre could not hold. Today, Nigeria is far behind all these countries not only in terms of its overall level of economic, political and socio-cultural development but in terms of its ability to protect the sanctity of the human life and products of human efforts (property). Barely six years after the jubilant chorus of freedom, she became preoccupied with irreconcilable interests, which lacerated the chord of unity, and threw the new nation into a mega mayhem that lasted for three years. Rising from the miasma of the war since then, has snapped Nigeria in an endless circles of communal bloodletting, ritual killing, terrorism, banditry, kidnapping, corruption, mismanagement, lack of accountability and so on, which has become part and parcel of our governance structure.

Rather than recognizing our differences and accepting the challenges to our common security and development, we have become the more sharply divided against ourselves. 'The chasm between the north and south, Christians and Muslims is becoming disturbingly wider', (Kaigama, 2020). What we followed is bitterness, un-forgiveness, unhealthy cult-competitions, hypocrisy, corruption, wickedness, self-delusion and so on, which define relationship amongst individuals and the communities within the commonwealth. There has never been a

time that Nigerians have lost hope in the Nigerian project as now. Twenty (20) years ago, Nigerians could travel the length and breadth of this nation, night and day without fear of any harassment. This has long changed as mere thought of traveling on Nigerian roads has become a suffocating nightmare. However, today, our minds ache at the sight of young promising Nigerian youths on whose shoulders supposedly rest the rescue of Nigeria taking solace in suicide. Never a time have the Nigerian leaders been as confused about the way forward as now. Never a time has Nigerian leaders been this greedy, mentally and intellectually famished as now.

The so-called majority tribes have not helped matters. In fact, they have made it worse as they more often than not hijack appointments into key public political offices and citing of developmental projects, making the minority-majority syndrome looks like it's any one's choice. Never a time politicians have been so deceptive and hostile to those who speak the truth as now. Even while we practice democracy, we now compete with the military in terms of holding of political prisoners and intimidation of opponents. Never a time in Nigeria that power corrupt and absolute power corrupt so absolutely as now. Nigeria has become a casino, run by mafias and cartel of criminals for the pleasure of the rich and their cronies. Never a time has Nigerians been so divided against one other as now. Religion that should preach peace and bring people closer to their maker has become a tool to sow seed of discord among once peace loving Nigerians. In Nigeria, people fight for their god instead of their God fighting for them. Never a time has Nigerians lived in palpable fear and suspicion as now. Never a time has the Nigerian intellectuals that should lead the way and awaken our consciences been so disoriented, disconnected and compromised as now. Never a time has the Nigerian freedom fighters and activists been this drunken with tiredness as they are now. They have indeed lost the art of activism. The affected are most unconcerned. We pretend with

issues of common interest until we are hit by its reality. Because of the failed security architecture, we operate in Nigeria, Nigerians are now divided between the thoughts of staying together as a country or be divided into separate countries.

In the light of myriads of scenery painted above, not only has our development become fixated and at a dead-end but our hope of continued corporate existence and all modicum of faiths are about to shrink into extinction. Security of lives and property is very precarious. People now desire security of their lives more than what they can eat. The objective of this paper is therefore to do an anatomy of the Nigerian society such that will provide a balm for its healing and the way forward. To have the flow of ideas, this paper examines the concept of Security with its attendant implications on the socio-economic, political and religious Development of the Nigerian nation.

Theoretical Framework (Elite Theory)

Elite theory is used in this work. Elite theory was popularized by Vilfredo Pareto (1858-1923), Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) both Italians; Roberto Michels, a Swiss German, Jose Ortega and Y. Gasset, a Spaniard. It holds that all those who through educational exposure, connection and fully developed talents, intellectually and materially empowered, exercise considerable influence in the socio-economic and political life of any society, (Varma, 1975). To Pareto (1923), a minority that possesses the qualities necessary for its accession to full social and political power rules every society. Those who get on top are always seen as the best and have the opportunity to manipulate the wheel of progress. They are known as the elite. To Pareto, different occupations produce different elites and they generally come from these class. Society thus, is divided into classes; (a) the higher stratum that is also divided into the governing elites and the non-governing elites and (b) a lower stratum, the non-elite. To Mosca a nation's greatness depends on the capacity of the people,

the public, the crowd, the masses to find their symbol in certain chosen people on whom it pours out the vast store of its vital enthusiasm, (Varma, 1975). This is the point at which the elites manipulate the enthusiasms of the people because of this kind of cult-followership that make them to want to do anything, legal or illegal for such chosen and deified persons.

Basic Assumption of the Elite Theory

- That the society is nothing other than the complex group. This, Truman called the mosaic of group Bentley called it complex of group.
- The task of study of any social life is the analysis of groups, their roles and interactions.
- That any group of people has a goal or interest the purpose being to see their own betterment .
- That pressure is always a group phenomenon. They exert pressure on decision makers to ensure the betterment of their members.
- Conflict is very central to group interactions and it occurs as a result of ceaseless struggle to protect various interest.
- That people strive for positive social identity and maintain group identities which result in the 'us', versus them division that leads to inter group animosity and violence.
- That inter group competitions breed conflicting goals which generate hostility

Justification of the Theory

The application of this theory lies in the fact that not only does intergroup relations increases competitions especially amongst political gladiators and leaders but also, the elites control and direct the economy, exercise legal monopoly over the means of

coercion, dominate the structure and institution of politics as well as shape the ideological and philosophical direction of the society. They are the designers of our democracy and they continue to impede the democratic process as they deem fit. The elites see democracy as a means to a desirable end and have a tendency to self-enrichment and self-perpetuate. They struggle at all cost to attain and retain power which has become a veritable war without restraint with total disregard to the culture and convention of democracy which they clothe in mysteries. These in many ways have impaired concerted efforts at providing a safe haven for development. As the ruling elites especially, compete for positions of authority, the tighter and stiffer the access to power, the stiffer the conditions, the more tendency to adopt unconstitutional and uncivilized methods to acquire political power. In turn, this increases the propensity for violence thus making the society unsafe for people to live. These tendencies are the major generators of intergroup conflict mainly designed by the elite to divide and rule. If they want peace, there will be peace. If they want to profit from insecurity, do whatever you like, be humble to death, there will be insecurity. This explains why Achebe (1981) squarely put the blame on leadership, that is the elites, noting that leaders hold and control the paraphernalia of government. Leaders make and unmake decision that could promote peace and development and as well instigate crisis in the society.

Be that as it may if there is anything the poor do not have is power to determine the direction of things in the society. The rich who determine policies in the society have a kind of insatiable desire to have the more without consideration of the suffering class. In order to avoid resistance from the masses, they chant a slogan of virtuous character for the poor and promote a kind of cult-enthusiasm that their condition will get better someday. As soon as that is done, the rich start the process of exploitation and the cycle continues. The rich use religion to manipulate the masses

against themselves so as to forestall any possible union against their interest.

Criticisms

Notwithstanding the utility of these theories, it has not escaped the critical lenses of scholars. It has been criticized on the ground that it is culture-bound, in the sense that, it originally attempted to study and prescribe solutions for the America political system and may not win such analytical appeal in some political system because of the diversities in socio-political dynamism in them (Nnoli, 2011). It is so blinded to a fault to the extent, maybe because of its 'prostitutional appeal' that it fails to factorize the influence and sentiments of the individuality of group members. It takes the individual and treats him as a dispassionate being. First, the so-called group is a collection of individuals with differing ambitions. It is fulfillment of these ambitions that make them come together in groups. Once these ambitions are threatened individual group members could defy group interest or seek membership of other groups. This of course explain the rationale behind Nigerian politician jumping at political bandwagon or the other, no matter how much they have hitherto criticized such wagon, so far it promises them something positive in the immediate.

As already maintained by Kukah, (1993), in Nigeria nobody becomes a leader at whatever level without pretending to be religious. Leaders have religious biases and this is manifested when they come to power to the extent that people of the same religion see such as a plus as it will henceforth afford them the opportunity to get close to the corridor of power so as to possibly amass wealth. If a Christian is at the leadership position and appointments and approval of projects are made, those from the other religious faith especially, the Muslims will criticize. So also it is, when a Muslim comes to power, fellow faithful are happy because such provide a sense of security no matter how false this

may be. The Christian also are ready to criticize such Muslim leader. Many religious organizations have political wing. And such is for the mobilization of votes for their followers. This makes it difficult to ascertain if Nigeria is theocratic state or secular and democratic. This religious biases unwittingly promote sentiments and cleavages that increase threats to the security of Nigeria. This is seen when religious faithful are ready to by any means defend their religious believe.

Methodology

The data used in this paper was derived from archival sources (Nwabughuogu, 1984) and content analysis of different research findings (Okewole, 1999) in relation to security and development problems.

The Concept of Security

To start with, security is the fundamental responsibility of the state. According to the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, section 14 (1b), the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government. Insecurity is an inevitable fact of social existence. In any social formation, conflict or threat to life is unavoidable, hence the constitutional provision. Whenever there are interactions between two or more people, differences of age, sex, parentage or social class, kinship, ethnicity, religion, race, education or political interests have combined to define such relationship and the peace or otherwise of such interaction hence, the need for care.

To Nnoli (2006), national security is a cherished value associated with the physical safety of individuals, groups or nation-states, together with a similar safety of their other most cherished values. Objectively, it denotes freedom from threats, anxiety or danger. However, and more importantly, security has a subjective sense which can be measured by absence of fear, threat, anxiety or danger. No matter how much safety there is in objective terms,

unless there is confidence that such safety exists or will exist, there is no security. Security of life and property is non-negotiable fact of life. When threats to lives and property are not moderated they degenerate into violent conflicts, and terrorism, the highest form of expression of frustration and aggression and eventually, life becomes unsecured. This has been decimating large populations without apparent cure within the most foreseeable future, even with the deployment of the most powerful modern scientific and medical research, on daily basis we still witness mass dislocation of human communities (Nnoli, 2011 and Nnoli 2006, Kufuor, 2006 and (Adedeji, 2005). While Omede (2012) sees security as a dynamic condition which involves the relative ability of a state to counter threats to its core values and interests, Nwoli (2006) perceives security as an all-encompassing condition which suggests that a territory must be secured by a network of armed forces; that the sovereignty of the state must be guaranteed by a democratic and patriotic government, which in turn must be protected by the military, police and the people themselves; that the people must not only be secured from external attacks but also from devastating consequences of internal upheavals such as unemployment, hunger, starvation, diseases, ignorance, homelessness, environmental degradation and pollution cum socio-economic injustices.

While the two conceptualizations of security are more concerned about the administrative framework, Microsoft Encarta Dictionary (2008) provides a definition that takes cognizance of the citizens' perception of security, and defines security as "the state of being safe and protected; the assurance that something of value, for instance, job, will not be taken away; something that provides a sense of protection against loss, attack, or harm; and, precautions taken to keep something safe from crime, attack, or danger, such as security measures". When these measures are not in place, life becomes threatened thus a state of insecurity may

arise consequently. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1994) human security may be defined to include such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. Security means protection from hidden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life in homes, offices or communities. It is the state of being or making safe secure from danger, etc. This work adopts the definition of security as it relates to the presence of peace. Essentially, security is related to the presence of peace, safety, happiness and the protection of human and physical resources or the absence of crisis, threats to human injury among others. Security is not a discrete or measurable variable in quantitative terms. But spending on security can be used as proxy to quantify the volume of security especially if the spending is effective. At the inception of every government, the President or Governor swears to an oath to among other things protect life and property.

Forms of Insecurity

Insecurity can be classified into several dimensions. The most significant are:

- Physical insecurity – violent personal and property crimes,
- Public insecurity - violent conflicts, insurgency and terrorism
- Economic insecurity – poverty, unemployment,
- Social insecurity - illiteracy, ignorance, diseases or illnesses, malnutrition; water borne diseases, discrimination and exclusion,
- Human rights violations - denial of fundamental rights by state and non-state actors in different areas,
- Political insecurity – denial of good and social democratic governance

The above dimensions of security are interwoven and cannot be

treated in strict isolation. Kofi (1998) argues that today we know that "security" means far more than what it used to be and just the absence of conflict. We know that lasting peace requires a broader vision encompassing areas such as education, health, democracy and human rights promotion, protection against environmental degradation and the proliferation of deadly weapons. We cannot be secured amidst starvation, that we cannot build peace without alleviating poverty, we cannot build freedom on the foundations of injustice, and inequalities, we cannot prosper where education is not given desired attention and ignorance/superstition prevails. These are pillars of what is understood as the people-centered concept of human security which is interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

UNDP Report (1994) categorized human security into seven components, namely: Economic, Food, Health, Environmental, Personal, Community and Political. This conception of security is now deficient because of the absence of education as condition for security. Insecurity extends beyond threats to life and property. The UN Commission on Human Security (2003) suggests that human security should entail protection and empowerment of citizens. Protection shields people from danger while empowerment enables people to develop their potential and become full participants in decision- making, especially towards the prosperity of the commonwealth.

Threats to National Security and the Dilemma of Corporate Existence:

The most potent threats to Nigerian national security and corporate existence include global challenges; terrorism; transnational organized crimes; crude oil theft or illegal bunkering in the Niger Delta (Gubak and Kwopnan, 2018); Nigeria's borders; climate change; communal and ethno-religious conflicts; pastoralists and farmers conflicts; politics and federalism in Nigeria; governance; poverty; banditry and

kidnapping, proliferations of small arms and light weapons; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; illegal migration; economic challenges; financial crimes; information technology and cyber security; natural, man-made and medical related threats; environmental security. These are by no means the only threats to Nigeria national security. They are nevertheless the most potent and are adjudged potential sources of disaffection, discontent and instability that could adversely affect the country quest for national stability, unity and development.

The Concept of Development

Development like any other concepts in the social sciences lacks universal acceptance given its equation with other concepts like 'growth', 'change', 'industrialization', 'transformation' and so on. The interchangeability of concept of development has given birth to conceptual clarification so as to avoid further confusion. Nnoli (1993:32) argues that:

Development is a dialectical phenomenon in which the individual and society interact with their physical, biological, and inter-human environments transforming them for their own betterment and that of humanity at large and being transformed in the process for their own betterment and for that of humanity at large and being transformed in the process.

From the excerpt above, development entails a continuous process and that, all peoples have shown a capacity for independently increasing their ability to live a more satisfactory life than before. The only major difference lies in the rate of this development. The goal of the process at any particular time is circumscribed by the obstacles in the way of realizing these potentials. It varies from society to society depending on their inherited level of production, the nature of their productive forces, the nature of their relations of production that they have

established, the prevailing pattern of social and cultural relations, the quality, and creativity of the leadership and the hostility or bigness of the physical environment and the neighbouring society. Rodney, (1972), summarized the Marxist expositions by saying that, 'development in human society is a many sided process. At the level of individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being, at the level of social groups, it implies an increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relations, in fact development has always meant increase in the ability to guard the independence of the social group.' Fundamentally, overall improvement of man who is expected to be the harbinger of transformation and change in the society is the hub of development. These include:

- Free, compulsory universal education.
- Improvement of the general educational, cultural and technical training of the working class.
- Raising of people's health and extending their active life through a system of universal health checks in the polyclinics hospitals and sanatoriums.
- Rising of people's living standard to a qualitative new level.
- Ensuring that the levels and structures of consumption of material, social and spiritual goods and services are raised (Okereke and Ekpe (2002).

According to Seer (1962), to ascertain, whether a society is developed, the issue of poverty, unemployment and inequality must be brought under control. When these problems are reduced in a society, such a society would then be considered a developed society. However, for Todaro and Smith (2003), development is view as: 'a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions as

well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of absolute poverty'. Also, the following qualities must be observed:

- Life sustenance: This implies the ability to provide basic needs such as food, shelter, health or protection.
- Self-esteem: This refers to a sense of self-worth, and self-respect: not being used as a tool by others for their own ends.
- Freedom from servitude: this has to do with a fundamental sense of freedom i.e. emancipation from alienating material conditions of life and from servitude to nature, ignorance, other people, misery, institutions and dogmatic beliefs.

With respect to how man can be developed in order to serve as the vanguard of society's development some Marxist scholars advocated strongly on the followings:

- Free, compulsory and universal education
- Improvement of the general educational, cultural and technical training of the working population
- Raising of people's living standards to a qualitative and new height.
- Improvement of people's health and extending their active life through a system of universal health checks in the polyclinics, hospitals and sanatoriums and
- Ensuring that the levels and structures of consumption of material, social and spiritual goods and services are raised.

Indicators of Development

Economic Indicators

In economic realm, a number of variables are generally used as indices of development. 'A society develops economically as its

members increase jointly in their capacity for dealing with nature. The GNP is an important index of development (Rodney, 1972). Okereke and Ekpe (2002) also observed that GNP provides comprehensive pictures of the economy. It shows whether or not a country is developed. They further observed that the degree by which goods are shared in the society determines the level of development and peace and survival of such societies. If an insignificant percentage of the population controls greater percentage of the total wealth, then such a country is still underdeveloped and prone to the vagaries and selfish manipulation by the rich.

Efficiency in the Labour Output: Efficiency in the labour output per man is a very crucial index of development. The ability of labour to achieve a greater output in a short time without any decrease in the quality of work depends on a number of other factors like motivation, education, training and discipline. Agricultural development is also indicator of the rate of development in any society. As observed by Okereke and Ekpe (2002), 'the availability of an adequate supply of food is vital because food shortages will result in price hike. This in turn may lead to agitation for higher wages thus affecting the level of investment which is a prelude to development. For instance, it may lead to decrease of export earnings and necessitate huge expenditure on food importation. However, if the agricultural sector is vibrant, apart from providing sources of employment and raw materials, it will generate revenue which could be used in the development of other sectors of the economy'. Simply, it is called sectorial linkages. And this can only happen when governments not only provide modern equipment for production but beyond any doubt assured the lives and property of the farmers.

Industrialization: Rich countries are believed to be rich because they are industrialized and poor countries are backward because

they are primary producers. Though this point has been criticized by many scholars, notwithstanding, industrial potentials of a state is an important index of development. When greater percentage of the population is engaged in industries rather than agriculture, this also shows the level of development. There is no country that genuinely aspires to be industrialized that has toyed with the acquisition of plants. Technology is defined as 'a totality of the means employed to provide objects necessary for human sustenance and comfort' (Ikoku, 1981). It also implies a way of application of knowledge derived from a systematic investigation of natural forces and material. Greater production is central to prosperity, peace and progress. Therefore, countries that have been able to develop and apply technology are bound to be perceived as being more developed than those without technology.

Capital formation: To Umoh (1995), it creates greater productive capacity by laying the necessary infrastructure for industrializing economy. It enhances technical process by providing the essential facilities for research or technological adaptations, and it facilitates the development of human capital as a strategic input in the total development efforts. Okereke and Ekpe, (2002), further maintain that the extent of economic diversification is another index of development. The ability of a country to invest productively in many areas likely agriculture, industry, mining and infrastructure are precursors of development. It is typical of a developed economy that diversification process of one sector leads to a kind of symbiotic or complementary relationship with other sectors. For instance, agricultural industry, apart from supplying food for the industrial workers could also produce raw materials required in manufacturing industry. On the other hand, an economy that is not diversified is vulnerable to price fluctuation in international markets. Such an economy is more likely to suffer from perennial balance of payment deficits, hyperinflation and persistent

poverty. The only way out for such economy is to resort to external borrowing as exemplify by Nigeria today. The implications of course are glaring.

Political Indicators of Development

Political scientists like Samin Amin, Walter Rodney, Gunder Frank, Daei Offiong, Claude Ake, etc, have also added dimensions to what is development. They maintained that there is a political aspect of development and change. This is because it is a social process. Ake (1996), maintains that political conditioning is a factor in the explanation of development. From this standpoint, a number of political indicators of development have been identified. The major ones are: A clearly defined process of power succession; The level of integration; The extent to which fundamental human rights are recognized and enforced; The level of political tolerance and compromise; The level of mass mobilization and participation in politics (Okereke and Ekpe 2002).

Political succession is the first political indicator of development and modernization. The type of government in power, whether it is democratic or authoritarian does not count much. The manners through which leaders assume office determine the type of government. Though bourgeois scholars insist that democracy is the hallmark of modernisation, when a political system is able to fashion out a peaceful method of changing government, this is an index of development. If the process is characterized by bitter rivalry, chaos, anarchy, clashes in the name of democracy, then absence of development is evident. The rationale for this conclusion is that, development cannot occur, under a politically unstable atmosphere, but requires a congenial temperature to manifest and thrive. An examination of the global situation reveals that most third world countries are passing through one form of political instability or the other. Most of these crises germinate due to the struggle for power, and in the process

potentials investors are scared away, lives are wasted, property are destroyed and the survival of the state is questioned.

The levels of integration or cohesiveness that exist in a political system determine to a large extent the level of development. Nation building is seen as a crucial aspect of development. In fact, as was noted by Lucian Pye (1965), political elites and leaders of 'newly' emerging nations equate development with nation building. Thus, if the level of integration is so high that loyalty is shifted from tribal and ethnic-oriented groups to the centre, this portends development. According to Okereke and Ekpe (2002), 'in a fully integrated society, when the citizens have full participation in the affairs of their nations, disharmony and rivalry will be eliminated'. In the same vein, absence of integration is viewed as underdevelopment. This is so because it is characterized by fissiparous, centrifugal and cataclysmic tendencies. A high level of political tolerance and compromise is another important indicator of development. Politically, in a developed political system, public decision-making is to a large extent, a process of give and take. To Pye (1962), it involves respecting 'and accommodating competing views and interest.' If tolerance exists, it will be possible to decide on most public questions.

This enhances the possibility of development. In countries where political tolerance is absent and where political alternative views are ignored and where those who oppose the government are intimidated, punished, and criminalized, such societies are not regarded as developed. This is because dissident groups are likely to go underground and work against government's interest. The extents to which fundamental human and social rights are recognized and respected give a lucid presentation of the extent of development. Though there is no political system in the world that allows absolute freedom in terms of allowing citizens do what they like, those states that respect constitutional rights are

considered developed. It must be emphasized that virtually all states have entrenched elaborate provisions of fundamental human rights in their ground norms; some merely copy those rights as contained in the United Nations charter but without respecting and protecting those rights. Thus, political systems that scoff at these rights suppress freedom, arrest and detain people at will, and rule with terror are considered not developed. Conversely, those that respect and enforce these rights are considered developed. Above all, the level of mass mobilization and participation in politics is an eye-serve of development. As noted by Lucian Pye, (1962), political development is concerned primarily with 'the role of the citizenry and new standard of loyalty and involvement.

Socio-cultural Indicators of Development

Development is not exclusively related to the economic and political terrains, but it is also intertwined with socio-cultural factors as well. But given its numerous dimensions and complexities, only the most outstanding ones will be analyzed. They are: The level of social mobilization; The extent of cultural secularization; The prevalence of universalistic norms; and The extent to which recruitments is based on achievement rather than ascription. Okereke and Ekpe, (2002). Using mobilization as a barometer for measuring the level of development Ake, (1979), maintains that, social mobilization implies the strongest feelings of solidarity attached to units. It is assumed that if the level of social mobilization is high, it is an index of development. On the contrary, if social mobilization is fragmented along such units as extended family, the tribe, or ethnic group, village, the caste etc, it is an open testimony to the prevalence of traditionality as against modernity. Cultural secularization is also used to measure the rate of modernization. Secularization here implies, the 'process whereby men become increasingly rational, analytical, and empirical in their political actions'. To Max Weber, therefore, when a society continuously scrutinizes its ways of doing things

in terms of their suitability, this is an indication of development. On the other hand, Okereke and Ekpe (2002), hold that, if responses to issues are based on primordial factors rather than rationality, it is seen as a mark of traditionalism. Modern societies are those by which there is in existence universalistic laws which guide human conducts and behaviours but when these laws diffused and are not universally binding, it is a sign of primitivity.

Causes of insecurity in Nigeria

Materialism and Material Inequality: one major challenge of the Nigerian state is emphasis on wealth and power without corresponding required self-discipline, integrity, hard work and accountability which give rise to widespread corruption, fraud and indulgence in armed and violent crimes to acquire wealth and political power, competition and violent conflicts among religious and ethnic groups over the control of government at various levels for selfish appropriation. The growing awareness of inequalities and disparities even amongst government agencies, ministries, commissions, departments and so on and display of affluence amongst the wealthy leads to unholy desire by not only the poor masses but also amongst government workers and this leads to violent relationship among the people. Worst still, lack of political will by government agencies and officials who have responsibility to develop and implement plans and strategies to promote good governance, to deal with criminality, violent ethno-religious conflicts, corruption, illegal mining and oil bunkering, and other forms of insecurity in Nigeria has generated and promoted insecurity. This lukewarm disposition by government has encouraged and continues to encourage criminal tendencies.

Failure of State Capacity: once the state's capacity to secure itself or to perform in an expected manner recedes, there is every reason to expect disloyalty to the state on the part of the disenchanted and the aggrieved citizens. Logically, many transfer

their allegiance to their group leaders, some of whom gravitate towards terrorism in a way to secure communal mandate. Mobilizing support from both external and local supporters, the terrorists seek out havens in the more remote and marginalized corners of failed states where they blend in, more comfortably in the prevailing chaos associated with state failure. It is said, a government that is not ready or cannot cater for the basic welfare of its citizens in turn loses the support of the people, and to that extent not worth dying for. Political exclusion, economic marginalization and social discrimination threaten the security of citizens to such an extent that they could regard the state as the primary threat to their survival. In desperation, and the need for survival, the victimized citizens take the laws into their own hands as a mean of safeguarding their fundamental values from the threat of unacceptable government policies. The people, who believe that the government no longer represents their best interest, seek, by all means, to overthrow it or otherwise establish an alternative state. This is the genesis of agitations for resource control or secession, banditry and kidnapping, and in general term insecurity in the contemporary Nigeria.

So, the decline of the state as the guarantor of peace and protection for human security is serious; its role as the creator of insecurity is even more serious. Under such conditions it is misplaced to transpose the concept of security developed when the state was the protector of security, to the present situation. It is wrong to see security and threat to it from the prism of external enemies of the state. Now it is the internal enemies of the people that matter. That is why Nigerian military that has won international acclaim in warfare now appears to be losing the war on terrorists and bandits because of its passivity. Within the UN, at least, it has virtually become impossible to address security matters without taking account of related questions of human rights and humanitarian affairs. To buttress this point, one will understand that failure of the state has consequently led to failure

to maintain professional, well-equipped, effective and accountable security agencies to prevent or control the country's security challenges during their evolution. Culture of impunity was entrenched as political and economic wrong doers are not apprehended and dealt with appropriately.

Proliferation of ethnic militias involved in spreading ethnic intolerance, hatred, and violence. For example, Boko Haram in North-East, Banditry in North-West and Herdsmen and farmers clashes in North-central, reactions from Omotekun, and Oduduwa Peoples' Congress (OPC) in South-West, threats from the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), and so on in South-south, Indigenous People Of Biafra (IPOB) and South-East Security Network in South-East, amongst others. This has promoted proliferation of illegal arms and ammunition as result of failure of security architecture to deal with security problems dispassionately. Deriving from the above, Nigerians now appear to be prepared for self-defense at any slightest provocation. Progressive decline in the quality of governance at all levels (Federal, State and Local Government) since the late 1970s led to lack of patriotism, professionalism, justice, capacity and effectiveness in planning, decision-making, and service delivery by all tiers of government. High Rate of Youth Poverty/Unemployment; widespread poverty and diminishing opportunities coupled with growing disillusionment with the country has led to increasing recruitment and involvement of young persons in economic-related crimes such as cybercrimes – yahoo yahoo, kidnapping and demand for ransom payment, robbery, ethno-religious conflicts, insurgency and terrorism. These has increased the rates of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) who are left on their own to struggle for their daily survival as currently being witnessed in Kontagora and environs. The state is secured only when the aggregate of people organized under it has a consciousness of belonging to a common

sovereign political community; enjoy equal political freedom, human rights, economic opportunities, and when the state itself is able to ensure independence in its development and foreign policy. Nigeria's unemployment rate increased to 23.9% in 2011 compared with 21.1% in 2010 and 19.7% in 2009 and this has gone worse since 2015 to date. The country has a youth population of 80 million, representing about 60% of the total population with a growth rate of 2.6% per year. The national demography suggests that the youth population remains vibrant with an average annual entrant to the labour force at 1.8 million between 2006 and 2011. In 2011, 37.7% of Nigerians were between 15-24 years and 22.4% of those between ages 25 and 44 were willing to work but did not have jobs. The current level of social insecurity is alarming and unacceptable (National Bureau of Statistics). The UNICEF reports that every day, Nigeria loses about 2,300 under-five years old and 145 women of childbearing age, making the country the second largest contributor to the under-five and mortality rate in the world, (Ewetan, 2014).

Culture of violent and fraudulent elections that produce incompetent, corrupt, unaccountable and non-responsive government that rule without legitimacy but with impunity on one hand and the culture of zero-sum game, the winner takes all approach to politics on the other hand has encouraged and do encourage violent reactions from perceived losers and citizens, including formation of ethnic and religious militias as well as organized criminal groups so as to remain relevant at all cost even if it means to kill and wipe out a whole community so long such pays the disgruntled. On the other hand, Usara and Ogoyi (2019), provide a more electrifying insight to the source of insecurity in Nigeria. To them one factor at the root of most conflicts and insecurity in Nigeria particularly, Northern Nigeria is what could be classified as socio/political-economic issues which have continuously provoked conflicts between the northern minorities and their Hausa/Fulani neighbours. Government and religious

leaders frequently appeal to this factor as the principal cause of the many crises that have plagued this part of Nigeria.

Boer (2004a), is 'internal colonialism and indigeneness' (tribal colonialism) as an aspect of the socio-political factor in Nigeria. Tribal colonialism to him refers to the dominance of indigenous minority tribes by the majority. However, Nwaomah (2010) observes that the resurgence of the cultural identity of the minority and indigenous ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria - who now resent... economic and political domination of the Hausa/Fulani, have also contributed to the crises. For example, while offering an explanation on the Zango-Kataf riot years ago, an indigene, Yohanna Madaki, argues that the cause of the riot was socio-political. In his words: "The main issue in this whole crisis is that of oppression. Boer (2004a) quoting Madaki alleges that the issue is that of internal colonialism which is being rejected... 'the outcry against domination is age long and successive governments in the state have done nothing' about it. His voice echoes that of many others who share the same view and the same reason is given as a primary cause for the 1991 Tafawa Balewa riots in Bauchi State and the Plateau riots of 2001, 2002-2004, 2009-2011.

Again, the "indigene and "non-indigene" notion, where a Nigerian is not considered a citizen/indigene of his place of birth but of the tribe of his paternal ancestry and thus denied certain rights in the community of his birth, has played a considerable role in fueling the multi-crises in Nigeria. Commenting on this predicament, the Human Rights Watch (2005) reports on the crisis in Plateau State reveals that 'throughout Nigeria, groups considered "indigenes", or the original inhabitants of an area, are granted certain privileges, including access to government employment, scholarships for State schools, lower school fees, (indigene and non-indigene fee) and political positions. To secure access to these privileges, they have to produce an "indigene

certificate" which is granted by the local authorities. "Non-indigenes" or "settlers" are denied these certificates and the accompanying privileges. The definition of the term "indigene" is commonly understood to be based on person's place of origin, but many people born and brought up in a particular area are not accorded the status, even though they may never have lived in any other part of Nigeria.... the concept of "indigeneship" has been exploited by various groups to further their own interests.

There have been several incidences of violence in Nigeria resulting from indigene-settler conflicts. The nature and dimensions of these conflicts have been widely documented by Scholar, Albert and Olarinde, (2010), Jinadu, (2016), Yecheo, (2016), and so on. Many of these conflicts manifested in form of religious, political, economic, and ethnicity. Very central to the indigene-settler conflict is ethnicity, (Yecheo, 2016). Each ethnic group claim it is the aboriginal of the territory where it is not only dominant but also first arrival. In Jos, the Berom consider the Hausa as settlers, in Taraba, the Jukun and Nasarawa see the Tiv as settlers, Egbira in Kogi state treats the Bassa as settlers, in the South-west, the Ife treat the Modakeke as settlers. The list is in exhaustive. Insecurity is caused by human actions and inactions that result in conflicts situation. They include: Struggle(s) over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values, but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Such conflicts may take place between individuals and collectivities.

Proliferation of Religious Sects, and Religious Intolerance:

The fear of political domination has contributed in no small way to trigger and exacerbate insecurity. Virtually all conflicts in northern Nigeria have been linked to religion. For instance, the Kano, Kaduna, Kontagora, Jos etc riots, are all linked to religion - the fear of Islamization/Christianization of the areas. Gofwen (2004) identifies four reasons that inflame the religious bigotry

prevalent in Nigeria. These are:

- The differing political philosophy of the major religions in Nigeria, Islam and Christianity.
- The mutual suspicions and fear of domination between the two religions.
- Mutual ignorance of the beliefs and teachings of each other's religion and sometimes even of one's own faith.
- Provocative acts of pronouncements which hurt the religious sensibilities of people of other faiths, whether they are intended or inadvertent" (p.74).

The above circumstances could lead to misinterpretation of national events and issues. For example, when President Shehu Shagari openly received Pope John Paul II in 1982, some Muslim fundamentalists see such 'fraternization' as a reason to question the 'Muslimness' of President Shagari, claiming that Islam was losing out to Christianity and the President was losing grip of asserting himself as a Muslim leader, much the same way, Christians see the membership of Nigeria to the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) as a threat to the Christendom Kukah (1993). On the background of mutual ignorance and misinterpretation, adherents of either religious group have tended to assert themselves or even to react violently when they felt their religion was threatened or its heritage was being ridiculed. Thus, violent conflicts in which lives were lost and property was destroyed were caused by acts like the misquotation/interpretation of the Quran or the Bible, the construction of a church or mosque, religious assemblies, inciting statements and/or publications and even the protest against alleged prosecutions of religious fellow members in other countries.

Access to Livelihood/Economic Resources is another emergent source of insecurity, especially between the farmers and nomads,

and this is common in central Nigeria. For example, the attacks on the Tiv and the Idoma people of Benue State in 2012 and 2013 and 2018 were attributed to this factor. This also goes with quest for traditional chieftdom. For instance, the Katafs of southern Kaduna were for a longtime disillusioned because an Emir was presiding over their affairs. They consistently complained of their subordination to an alien traditional political institution which has often taken critical decision affecting their means of livelihood, while at the same time excluding their own traditional institutions. The Bassa and Egbura communal conflict in Toto and Doma LGAs of Nasarawa state is tied to traditional chieftdom, where the Egbura claim that the Bassa are settlers and as such should not be entitled to any chieftdom. Politicians are often in the habit of fanning the ember of discord each time they lose out or about to lose out in a political contest. They keep alluding to the fact that the so-called outsiders (settlers) would take over their share of the national cake, if they are not prevented from doing so. And the only way to do that is to chase out the settlers using whatever means or restrict them from the political space. These usually result in violent conflicts that frustrate developmental efforts.

According to Awolowo (1982, cited in Gbenga and Augoye, 2011), insecurity is a result of malignant environment dominated by man's insensitivity to man. Many people in authority take advantage of their positions to force down policies that impoverish 'the many' in so much as it benefits them and a few others. Petroleum subsidy removal is a case in point. All Nigerians (the rich and the poor) use petrol either for generators to power electricity for household uses and factories or farms. All Nigerians travel or transport products including food with fuel powered engines. Those who must drink clean water, provide boreholes for themselves but with fuel. Even the educational institutions need power and power is more readily supplied through generators using diesel or fuel. So, fuel is a product

everybody consumes in Nigeria (directly or indirectly). Meanwhile all the refineries in Nigeria are said to be in a state of disrepair and fuel which is a by-product of crude oil (Nigeria's main product) is imported. Raising the cost of a product like fuel has impacted negatively on the welfare of all Nigerians especially the poor and yet, the government cares less about who is affected or not. High handedness or arbitrariness was associated with the military but it is now clear that the problem of Nigeria is not uniform (that is, military rule) but the psychology of Nigerians, because many Nigerians see themselves as adventurers with the business called Nigeria and so are concerned mainly with how much enters their pockets no matter how that happens. (Punch of September 14, 2011).

Achebe has summarized the problems of Nigeria in leadership when he bore his mind on the crisis of development in Nigeria. He opined in the book, *The Trouble with Nigeria* (1983:1) that:

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with Nigerian land or climate or water or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenges of personal example, which is the hallmark of true leadership.

If you observe, the problem of this country is not always from the ordinary people. They are never the problem. They live together in peace. The problem is rather from the elite, the people who think they know better how the country should be run. It is the elite who will tell you how ministers should be appointed to reflect geographical considerations. If you succeed in geographical balancing, then they bring up another distraction.

Ake, (1996) blames the inherited colonial structures on the selfishness and shallowness of the freedom fighters. The association of the nationalists who fought for our independence came together because they only saw a common enemy, the colonial masters as the only obstacles to their development, without any thought on how to galvanize efforts towards having a grasp of governance and to continue to steer the wheel of progress, once the so-called enemies are gone. It was at this point they missed it and messed it. To him, African development in generally, and particularly, Nigeria, has been constituted to prevent the pursuit of development and the emergence of relevant and effective development paradigms and programs. To Ake therefore, the nationalist movement was essentially a coalition of desperate groups united by their grievances against colonial oppression. It was typically a network of nationalities, ethnic groups, religious organization, syncretistic movements, secondary organizations, and professional interest groups. But even though they cooperated against the colonial regime, their relationship was never free from tension and conflict, right from the Lagos Youth Movement (YM) to Nigeria Youth Movement (NYM), Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) to National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), and even to date.

As the prospect for political independence improved, solidarity of the movement grew weaker and competition between its component units became more intense. Although the members of the groups fought against the colonial power, they worried so much about the enormous power they were trying to wrestle from it, power they could not entrust to any one of them or even share in a way that could reduce political anxiety. So while agitating to overthrow the colonial regime, the constituent elements of the coalition were caught at the crossfire, trying to block one another from appropriating it. Increasingly their attention turned from the colonial regime to one another, and eventually the competition among these groups came to dominate political life, while the

colonial power, now resigned to the demise of colonialism, became a referee rather than the opponent. This mistrust among our founding leaders jeopardized so many lives and our common progress. This was exactly what Chinua Achebe (1981) meant when he opined that the problems of Nigeria squarely rest with the crop of leadership that sits at helm of affairs.

Lopsided Nature of the Federal Structure

Sectional bias and structural imbalance of the pre-1966 Nigerian federation partly explain the rationale for military intervention, for the first time, in the political affairs of Nigeria. The concomitant impact of which combined to provide foundation for the crises that led to the Nigerian civil war, the war that retarded the political, economic and religious development of Nigeria but instead produced the kind of system that hates and persecutes the people who make bold to speak against this biased structure that benefits only a few, (Ogoyi, 2016). There is a hangover effects of this on the economic and political life of Nigeria today. Those who by chance benefit from the bad system perpetuate themselves while those disinherited are bent on pulling down the system and rebuilding a new one that will be all encompassing. The more alienated the people from governance the more the agitation for the restructuring of the corrupt system.

IMPACT OF INSECURITY ON NIGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT

On Education

Insecurity no doubt has been identified as anathema to education and development. Scholars have identified a strong link between security and education. As the neighbourhoods become insecure and schools are looted, destroyed and abandoned, teachers assassinated, scholars threatened, and students recruited as child soldiers, the rate of illiteracy, crime and of course violent conflicts will rise in equal proportion (Hausler, Urban and

McCorquodale, 2012) and Abdulrasheed, Onuselogu and Obioma, 2015). The 2011 World Bank Development Report found that people in fragile and conflict-affected states are more than three times as likely to be unable to send their children to school as those in other developing countries.

On Loss of Life and Property

Forty-one (41) years ago, since the dawn of civilization and the awakening and internationalization of fundamental human rights of expression as a result of growth of capitalism, Africa alone in the 20th century has witnessed estimated deaths of over 500 million people, and more than 200 estimated wars conducted in Africa (Offiong 1980). The estimations of this figure 41 years after this assertion would beat our imagination. To Kukah, (2020), successive leaders have vainly tried to rid Nigeria of this culture of deaths on wholesale. Today, our country is littered with the very sharp pieces of broken promises. Yesterday's dreams have become our worst nightmares. As we look back today and watch our country drift in a wide sea of uncertainty, we ask, from where our help come? (Kukah, 2020). There is enough blame to go around. We can blame the British, blame the politicians, and blame the military blame religion, blame the poor masses or even blame the unborn children for coming or not coming when we expected them but none of these changes anything. In spite of huge resources after 60 years, we cannot feed our people, we cannot keep our people safe, we are still in darkness; we cannot communicate with one another by roads or railways and is that nothing to you? The exploitative tendencies of the colonialists did not allow them to do much for Nigeria. Even the little we inherited, we have stolen, broken or thrown away. The nation is now a wasteland littered with white elephant projects, conceived and abandoned but all paid for. In Nigeria, governance is a criminal enterprise not a call to service.

On the Economy

Many firms in different industries have relocated away from Nigeria. Example include Michelin, Dunlop, among several others. Tagba, cited in Gbenga and Augoye, (2011) argued that an insecure environment impinges directly on development; it disenfranchises communities, contributes to poverty, distorts economies, creates instability and stunts political development. In Nigeria, apart from the millions of people who had been killed in course of one security breach or another, sources of livelihood were destroyed, families got disintegrated and social infrastructure were disrupted. Right now, Nigeria is at the brink of collapse and disintegration.

On the Political

Insecurity affect voter turnout in elections. Low voter turn in elections gives the ground for fraudulent individuals to manipulate electoral results to enable their candidates become winners of elections. Because they lack legitimacy, they are very hostile to constructive criticism. Normally, when this happens, sycophants have got job to do in the act of manipulating and duplicity. The leaders in turn become very repressive and the substance they readily distribute to the mass of the people is poverty, diseases, bad roads, defective service delivery, mismanagement, misappropriation, waste and corruption and so on. At this instance when they perform their constitutional duty the people begin to deify leaders. At this point leaders can afford to award contract to political supporters as reward and not bother to monitor the execution of such projects. Freedom of speech is restricted in the name of hate speech. These in the long run affect the democratic consolidation of Nigeria.

On Religious Development

Religion emphasizes morality. Moral education aims at promoting moral development and other character formation is the concern of religion. To Koku (2017), moral decadence is

linked to lack of commitment to the virtues of character or moral education. The once cherished virtue of contentment, dignity of labour, patience, and respect for public trust and hope of a better future are fast losing sway in Nigeria today. Negligence on the part of the leadership and the followership has propelled us into a very precarious condition where there is no more value placed on the human live. There is wanton destruction of lives and hard earned property of people without restraints. If life continues this way unchecked, in no distance time, the possibility of returning to the state of nature where life was nasty, sordid, brutish and short by Thomas Hobbes is imminent. In recent time, societies are becoming increasingly secular where religion and spirituality are losing their impact (Arthur & Carr, 2013) or are less valued. The technological ramifications are contributing to the complexity and stark changes in the societal structure where religion and spirituality are increasingly becoming marginalized. This will have an overarching effect on morals, values virtues, and society at large. Absence of morality in the system is very dangerous for the survival of the human race. It will be as though we are in the animal kingdom.

Recommendations

- In order for sustainable development to be achieved in Nigeria, it is recommended among others that, governments at all levels should ensure that rising poverty indices are reversed and realistic social security programmes are pursued and systematically implemented to ensure that the populace meets their basic needs.
- Government should enhance capacities beyond the oil sector to include value creation sectors of the economy such as agriculture, combating corruption, reducing wasteful spending by government, fostering a greater sense of national identity, engaging in national dialogue on national development and security issues, address youth unemployment and making the

nation's existing refineries functional.

- The three levels of government should ensure that the cost of administration is drastically reduced.
- Government should expedite action to provide direct and indirect employment opportunities to the restive and hopeless teeming unemployed youths in the region and the country at large in order to dissuade them from being recruited as militants, armed robbers and terrorists.
- Government should as a matter of urgency restructure the current lopsided federal character to capture overarching issues of our federal and democratic practice.
- The government must provide accessible and quality education especially for the states in the entire country.

Conclusion

The abysmal failure of successive administrations in Nigeria to address National security challenges and challenges of sustainable development such as poverty, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities, ultimately resulted to anger, agitation and violent crimes against the Nigerian state by some individuals and groups. Insecurity is a factor debilitating the development and continued corporate existence of the Nigerian state. In fact, in the last 10 years, internal conflicts have caused quantum deaths including civilians, military personnel and annihilation basic public services, state institutions and generating extensive poverty among the populace. These challenges have pushed Nigeria to brink of collapsing. The examples of Libya, Egypt, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Darfur, Congo DR and Congo Brazzaville are common place. Nigeria must not be allowed to slide to those conditions, especially, in view of its own experience between 1967 to 1970. Those who are in authority and claim to represent the people

should listen and follow the aspiration of the wider majority including deepening democratic processes and experiences.

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MORAL RE-EXAMINATION OF INDECENT DRESSING IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This paper is a moral re-examination of indecent dressing among Christian churches with a specific focus on the Anglican Church in Nigeria (Church of Nigeria, Anglican Communion). It explored a variety of indecent dressing that is typical among youths and young women in Anglican churches. As a theoretical research, the critical review of literature, historical, descriptive and phenomenological methods were utilized to achieve its aim. The findings revealed that indecent dressing erodes believers' faith, dilutes the church's image and identity, and causes the church to lose its values in the eyes of secular society. The paper concluded that dressing indecently is an affront to the Anglican Church and the Christian church in general; as well as a gross violation of African cultural values and customs. The paper recommended, therefore; that different workable strategies should be explored and employed to curb the menace of indecent dressing in the Anglican Church including encouraging priests, parents, and the church as a whole to teach and educate the youths on positive religious and societal moral values that portray decency.

Keywords: Moral, Re-Examination, Indecent Dressing, Anglican Church, Nigeria

Introduction

The problem of indecent dressing is common in modern human society. Some people especially youths (boys and girls) including young women are seen on the streets and even homes and schools dressing indecently. This unethical way of dressing in the name of fashion has gradually found its presence in the Christian churches all over the country. It is frustrating to see decency, cultures and customs fade away in societies with so many socializing agencies. Dressing in a way that offends one's parents, culture, or religion is not civilization (Nnadi, 2010). Nowadays, most people do not care whether other people appreciate the way they dress or not. As bad as it is, there is scarcely any church in Nigeria that is not being tormented with this unpleasant phenomenon. The manner in which these individuals, particularly the females dress left a lot to be desired and reasoned.

Girls are not the only ones that dress inappropriately. Boys dress indecently as well. Boys are notorious for wearing filthy and unruly hairs, as well as filthy pants with holes purposefully formed around the knees and lower regions of the trousers (Omode, 2011). Their trousers' waists are also lowered and secured tightly in the centre of the two bottoms, revealing their boxers (pants). They are strolling, dragging their legs and one of their hands, especially the left one, which is occupying their middle scrotum as if they will collapse to the ground if they are not held. The revealing aspect of these garments, especially among the youth and women in the church, exposes the lamentable state of moral degradation among most church members. Indecent dressing is frowned upon in many churches, as evidenced by the way members dress to church strategically put on the walls to show new members or guests the appropriate manner of dress in the church. These churches believe that the human body is God's temple and it should be appropriately adorned (1 Corinthians 6:19–20).

Meanwhile, some churches, particularly the 'new generation' churches, pay little or no attention to how their members dress; these churches are predominantly youth-dominated (Oyeleye, 2012). In addition, leaderships and members of the 'new generation' churches consider that attire is unimportant in comparison to other kingdom concerns (Oyeleye, 2012). They believe that, how a believer dresses has no bearing on where he or she will spend their eternity after death. They often emphasize that God looks at the intents of the heart, not the physical appearance; therefore members should come as they are (Ogunkunle & Oladokun, 2019). These dresses are not only skimpy and tight, but they are also transparent, displaying portions of the body that would normally be hidden under conventional clothing. All of this has lowered the moral and spiritual value of the Christian church to its lowest point.

Today, many young boys, girls and women in the Anglican Church in Nigeria dress indecently, as though modesty is no longer appreciated in the Anglican Communion. Although, such indecent attire is frowned upon by the leadership of the Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion), the phenomenon has developed into a serious dilemma. The purpose of this research therefore, is to morally re-examine the phenomenon of indecent dressing found among young boys, girls and women in the churches of the Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion).

Stating the Problem

Both believers and unbelievers are concerned about inappropriate dressing among members of the Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion). Despite the fact that much has been written about indecent dressing in Nigeria's higher institutions and other public places, there appears to be little or nothing written about it in the Anglican Church in Nigeria. From observation, church members who engage in indecent dressing do so for a variety of reasons, including self-esteem, public recognition, lack of good parental upbringing, peer-group

pressure, misconception of civilization and the church. Most Anglican priests have stopped preaching and teaching against indecent dressing in their churches for fear of losing their congregants.

As a result, they have failed and ceased to routinely emphasize decent dress and preach against indecent dressing as immoral, unbiblical and anti-Christian. As a result, a moral re-examination of indecent dressing in the Anglican Church in Nigeria is required in order to raise awareness of the risks associated with the problem among Anglicans in particular and Christians in general. Thus, the historical, descriptive, and phenomenological methodologies were used to achieve the stated goal.

Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion):

A Historical Overview

After the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, the Anglican Communion is the world's third-biggest Christian body with over eighty million members (Chapman, 2006; Gledhill, 2015). A primate is the archbishop of each of the thirty-eight provinces. Although all of these churches are Anglicans but their cultures are vastly different (Afatakpa, 2021). The Church of Nigeria is an autonomous Province of the Anglican Church. Its origins date back to 1906, when Bishops in Communion gathered in Lagos for a summit. The need for a West African province was recognized for the first time in that year (Church of Nigeria, Anglican Communion, 2020). Between 1951 and 1977, the two Dioceses of Nigeria (Lagos and Niger) gave birth to fourteen new ones.

The Niger Delta, Ibadan, and Ondo/Benin dioceses were all founded in 1952 (Church of Nigeria, Anglican Communion, 2020). An Episcopal Synod in Ado-Ekiti offered the chance on January 31, 1974. The Association of Anglican Dioceses in Nigeria (AADN) organized a Constitution Drafting Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Louis Mbanefo. On February 24,

1979, on St. Matthias Day, the Church of Nigeria was created. After the Church of England, the Anglican Church in Nigeria is the second-largest province in the Anglican Communion in the world in terms of baptized membership (not attendance) (Church of Nigeria, Anglican Communion, 2020). Out of a total population of approximately 190 million people in Nigeria, the Church has about 18 million adherents (Gledhill, 2015). The current research only discussed the problem of indecent dressing as it affects the Anglican Church in Nigeria in general terms (That is, not limited to a particular local Anglican church).

Conceptual Clarification

The following terms and phrase: modesty, decency, indecent and decent dressing are conceptually discussed in the light of this research.

Decency and Modesty

The terms "modesty" and "decency" are two distinct concepts from a close investigation. Modesty refers to dressing that is appropriate for a particular occasion. In this sense, what is proper varies according to culture, customs, and the scenario at hand (Anderson, 2013). What is proper is determined by social norms, which may change over time. Dressing a certain way at one time, in one environment, and in one country, for example, is not necessarily appropriate for every other period, setting, or country, even if the costume is not inherently inappropriate. "Decency," on the other hand, refers to dressing that would entice others to lust (Pius XII, 2017). In the 1960s, a school of thought known as "situational ethics" emerged, arguing that divine moral precepts can be disregarded in some circumstances (Petrovich, 2013). A committed Christian, on the other hand, realizes that God's standards can never be altered.

The exposure of elements of the body, such as skin, hair, underwear, and intimate parts, is discouraged or forbidden by

modesty standards, which differ by society. Wearing non-form-fitting clothing to obscure the shape of the body or sections of it may also be required by the requirements (Raber, Sheets & Gregory, 2019). There are other customs about changing clothing (for example, on a beach with no enclosed facilities) and closing or locking the door when changing or showering. Modesty standards differ by culture or generation, as well as by who is exposed, whose portions of the body are exposed, the duration of the exposure, the environment, and other factors. The setting could be one's own home, another family member's home, a friend's home, a semi-public location, such as a beach, swimming pool, changing rooms, or other public location. Wearing a bathing suit at the beach, for example, would not be regarded immodest, whereas it would most likely be in a street or an office. Prudishness is the term for excessive modesty (Sheila, 2021). It is also known as gymnophobia as a medical issue (Scott, 1997). According to Sheila (2021), exhibitionism is the term for excessive modesty.

Indecent and Decent Dressing

Dress, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, 2004 cited in Erhunse, 2019), refers to the wearing of a specific type of cloth or in a specific manner. The dress can also refer to formal or ceremonial apparel used in the morning or evening. As a result, when one speaks about the dress code, one is just attempting to define what constitutes appropriate and suggested clothing for specific daily tasks. Going to religious activity, for example, necessitated appropriate dress; the same may be said for social gatherings, sporting events, working, and other activities that require appropriate attire.

Since the Stone Age, humans have used clothing to protect themselves from the elements. Dress styles, on the other hand, evolve as the world changes. People nowadays dress to suit a specific occasion as well as to protect themselves from the

elements. Dressing decently simply means dressing appropriately for a certain function, culture, or belief while avoiding exposing any sensitive body areas. Simply said, it is the culture that our forefathers implanted in us. However, many people, particularly young ones, have abandoned this tradition in recent years. People purposely expose their bodies to the public in order to socialize. That is what is called indecent dressing, and it is quite upsetting.

Indecent dressing (also known as immodest dressing) is the deliberate public display of one's body. This approach is incompatible with any civilized society's acceptable norms and ideals. Indecent dressing is a major contributor to the different assaults and sexual harassment cases that have been documented in the Nigerian society over time (Adeboye, 2012). The way of dressing or appearance that is disruptive and distracting is known as indecent dressing. The following items are included in this way of dressing or appearance:

- I. Below-the-waist trousers and skirts.
- ii. Singlets, spaghetti blouses, and low-cut blouses with exposed breasts.
- ii. Skirts with an above-the-knee slit.
- iv. Transparent shirts, blouses, and dresses.
- v. Clothing having offensive or vulgar wordings printed on it.
- vi. Flaunting outfits such as miniskirts, etc.
- vii. Wearing slippers or bare feet to public places.
- viii. Clothing with sex, violence, drugs, tobacco, alcohol, death, gang or hate, slogans, or pictures, such as T-shirts.
- ix. Trousers, shirts, dresses, or skirts that are too tight.
- x. Sagging slacks.
- xi. Hair that is not naturally coloured.
- xii. Sunglasses, hats, and caps with odd signs and wrongly worn.

- xiii. Body piercing jewelry for women, except for the ears.
- xiv. Chains and wristbands that are worn inappropriately.
- xv. Tattoo with obscene wordings or images.
- xvi. Shoe heels that make a lot of noise.

The biggest difficulties related to dress decency today are strapless garments, bum shorts, short blouses, miniskirts/gowns, cleavage shirts, and sagging of pants by boys and even girls. Indecent dressing was originally unusual in Nigeria, but it is now becoming more popular, resulting in a rise in the rate of immorality in Nigeria. This conduct, often known as "dressing to kill," is quite frequent among female students in Nigeria's institutions of education, polytechnics, and universities. Instead of wearing responsibly, they dress in such a way in order to appear enticing, sensual, and attractive. As if this heinous behaviour was not bad enough, some kids additionally wear transparent clothing, exposing bodily anatomy that should not be seen in public. Because of the ever-evolving nature of fashion, there are a plethora of different wearing patterns to choose from.

Indecent dressing, on the other hand, refers to inappropriate and provocative clothing in relation to the society or culture in which it is practiced. That is to say, indecent dressing cannot be fully described without taking into account community norms. What is indecent in Nigeria, however, may be acceptable elsewhere in the globe. This brings up the claim made by some schools of thought that obscene dress is mostly the result of foreign culture (Oyeleye et al., 2012). This kind of dressing is foreign to Nigerian culture, and hence an assault on the country's very existence and identity.

Indecent dressing, according to Egwim (2010), is the attitude of someone, male or female, who dresses to show off portions of the body such as the breasts, buttocks, or even underwear,

particularly for women who need to be covered. Furthermore, some people believe that indecent clothes have a significant impact on morality, so they assign moral significance to it. This type of dressing, according to Olori (2003), is offensive, indecent, and ethically incorrect. These outfit designs are ethically repulsive and indicate our society's high rate of moral degradation. The prevalent conventions and acceptable methods of clothing in the society in which it is perpetrated might be used to understand indecent dressing. As a result, it is evident and understandable that the rationale for indecent dressing is influenced by cultural standards.

Indecent dressing, according to Oyeleye et al (2012), is merely the willful exposure of one's body to the public. This activity goes against society's recognized norms and morals. Moral degeneration, on the other hand, is a drop in the morality of a society. Indecent dressing, according to Adeboye (2012), is the wearing of the clothing that is inappropriate for a certain event or scenario. She went on to say that going naked in the bathroom, labour room, or bedroom with your partner is not indecent. Indecent attire, on the other hand, can be defined as a style of dress that is likely to shock or offend others.

Dressing that is clean, neat, and presentable is referred to as decent dressing. This comprises sleeveless dresses, shirts, and blouses, clean pants such as basic black or blue jeans with a clean T-shirt that covers the waist, skirt suits, dress or shirt with a jacket, clean Nigerian attires, and French suits, among other things. Clothing should cover regions of the body such as the stomach, belly button, back shoulders, chest, and legs below the knees. Small earrings and light make-up, low-heeled, noise-free shoes, and neat hair are all elements of good attire.

The Bible and the Church on Indecent Dressing

Most world religions have attempted to address the moral

concerns that occur in society and in human interactions as a result of people's sexuality. Each major religion has established moral codes that address concerns such as sexuality, morality, and ethics, among other things. Apart from other aspects of sexuality, these moral codes aim to control situations that may inspire sexual desire, as well as impact people's behaviour and activities that may attract such interest, or that exaggerate a person's sexuality (Thomas, 2002). These religious codes have always had a significant impact on people's attitudes toward modesty in dress, behaviour, and speech, among other things.

The church is made up of Christians who worship God; it is not a building but people who assemble in it (Fadéyi, 2021). Because they are the carriers of God whom they worship, the assembly is called a Church. God dwells within those who worship Him. The extent to which members of different churches are allowed to experiment with modesty and fashion in their attire varies. Some groups, for example, may be less likely to condemn tight dresses as long as the church's distinctive style is maintained, or to condemn popular swimwear worn in groups or in public swimming; others, on the other hand, carefully observe and embrace their church's pattern for modest, distinct dress on all non-private occasions (Graybill, 2002; Hamilton & Hawley, 1999). The Bible says that adornment should not be an external one: combing the hair, wearing gold jewelry, or dressing in good clothes. The New Testament also says that the hidden character of the heart, manifested in the imperishable beauty of a gentle and serene temperament is priceless in God's sight. Many Trinitarian Christians value modesty highly, yet there are significant variations of view about its needs and goals (Anderson, 2013).

Historically, women in Christian denominations such as Anglican, Baptist, Eastern Orthodox, Lutheran, Methodist, Oriental Orthodox, Reformed, and Roman Catholic women wore a head covering while worshipping or all the time, based on their

interpretation of 1 Corinthians 11:2–16 (Morgan, 2010; Evans, 2012; Pius XII, 2017). While this practice has faded in certain parts of Nigeria, it is still prevalent in other parts of the world, such as Eastern Europe and South Asia (Flinn, 2014). Many Christians, especially girls, ladies, and women in today's Church, like displaying their bodies and dressing provocatively. People's faith is weakened by the effect of indecency in the church, because many have concluded that they do not need to attend church again, because the church, which should serve as a place to go for salvation and spiritual uplifting, has become a place to go and be seduced, leading many to stay at home.

Even unbelievers no longer place a value on church; the reason for this is that church immorality has caused it to lose its worth. Ironically, believers who come to church with their bodies exposed due to indecent dressing do not realize that Jesus Christ who is the head of the church died so that their nakedness would be put to an end (Fadeyi, 2021). Therefore, dressing modestly is not anti-fashion in this sense; it is pro-adornment in godly ways. Believers should adorn themselves in a discrete, seemly manner. If the way we dress causes others to stumble, we are accountable to God for how we seem to others.

Although, there are other causes of sexual self-consciousness, however, following the fall in the Garden of Eden, there is sexual self-consciousness, shame, and body covering (Gen. 3:10-11). The Bible's wisdom advises against falling into the traps of feminine shamelessness. The New Testament encourages women to be modest in their appearance, and in general, Christian women should have a gentle and quiet disposition (Nnadi, 2010). Dressing and acting modestly is an essential part of being a good Christian. Clothing should, in general, conceal rather than highlight the contour of the body. The importance of Christian moms, according to Okobo (2010), in instilling a true sense of Christian modesty in their children, particularly their daughters,

from the time they are very young cannot be overstated.

Though the Bible's instruction is founded on principle and concept, it is unequivocal in its condemnation of indecent apparel. God trusts humans to make the right preparations before leaving their homes and entering public locations on a daily basis. The world has a different standard of decency, yet instead of avoiding worldliness, many young Christians will try to seem as much like people in the world as possible. If Christians do not dress differently than most other people in the world who have little respect for godliness, they are clearly not behaving in a godly manner (Romans 12:1, 2; 1 Peter 2:11, 12). As if that were not awful enough, many Christian youngsters, particularly females, dress inappropriately to church. Some churches are doing very little to stop this, which is quite disturbing. They even used a well-known Bible verse such as 1 Samuel 16:7b "The things that humans are interested in are not of interest to the Lord, people care about outward appearances, but the Lord cares about the heart" to eloquently support it.

It should be made clear that this scripture is in no way implying that people should enter into God's house in a deplorable state. While God is concerned with the inside, the outside is also important because the Bible says that the human body is Christ's temple (...). To put it another way, we should treat it as if it were Jesus Christ. According to John Wesley (cited in Akpan, 2018), anybody that aspires to serve God faithfully must be clean inside and out, including the clothes he wears to church.

Causes of Indecent Dressing in the Anglican Church

Young ladies and youths in the Anglican Church currently dress indecently to church services for a variety of reasons. Moreover, so many of them who dress indecently to the church today have their own personal reasons for doing so including recruiting life partners and garnering attention among others. Some of the

reasons and causes are discussed under the headings below.

To gain attention: Women are the largest attendants of indecent dressing not just in the Anglican Church but across other churches in Nigeria. One of the reasons they dress indecently is to be recognized and recruit life partners. One of the motivations for dressing obscenely is to attract life partners and to be noticed. Women recognize that the church is one of the areas where they are most likely to find a big number of men willing to join them in ministry. The church becomes a strong target as a result of this. They plan to dress in see-through and other alluring clothing on Sundays and at other religious gatherings in order to lure the guys. When they succeed, the guys sometimes take them home and become life partners with them. Many people have various mentalities that drive and lead them. A beautiful girl who knows she is actually lovely may try to show the congregation what she is made of, and so feel pleasure in exhibiting the congregation either her laps or heap. Instead of paying attention to the sermon being delivered in the church, her thoughts turn to how to gain the attention of those in other areas of the building. The same can be said of today's young male kids. Some male youngsters who are interested in modeling go to church dressed indecently merely to show the crowd what they can do (Kwanuba & Sababa, 2020). The level of immorality in the church is increasing on a daily basis, and one of the reasons for this is that certain church members want to be noticed.

Poor moral home upbringing and the environment: A child, whether good or horrible, has a home and parents. Many Anglican parents have turned a deaf ear to the church's legitimate moral teachings. Hence, to confront immorality in the congregations, it will be more beneficial to cultivate moral ideals in families. Proverb 22:6 says, "Train a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it". The environment has a stronger impact on a child's growth. According to Nnadi (2007),

the home is a child's first window to the outer world. What the parents do with the child at this age in terms of training and orientation has a big impact on which the child will be in the future. Because of their parents' choices, children live or die, thrive or wither (Gushee, 2004). The child learns about community values, beliefs, and other acceptable types of behaviour through his or her parents. Parents and other siblings teach the child these skills through instructions, observations, and practice. This implies that parents must be considered moral role models, as they are the most influential persons in their children's lives (Whiteburst, 2004). However, how many parents have a good moral character? How many of them give their children their undivided attention? As a result of their parents' departure from home for business and other social and spiritual obligations, children are left unattended (Omede & Omede, 2004). Many parents, particularly mothers, choose a variety of dresses for their children. To the humiliation of onlookers, mothers even go to great lengths to adorn their children with hair attachments, rosy chicks, and eye cosmetics. As the youngster grows older, it becomes increasingly difficult for her to abandon this way of life. When suitable values, ideas, and attitudes are correctly set in the childhood stage, such a child is more likely to grow and develop later in life well behaved.

Gross misunderstandings about the Church: When Christians understand that Jesus Christ came down and took on human form to die for their sins, they will toe a positive path in their dressing and the ladies and young men will turn a new leaf.

Over modernization: Young Anglicans have become ignorant of the difference between right and wrong as a result of over-modernization. The individuals assume they are following fashion in this case, but they are unaware their acts are diverting people's attention away from the church.

Peer-group pressure: One of the factors that cause young women to dress indecently in the church is peer pressure. When they see their friends dressed like that and receiving all the attention while they receive none in the church, they become dejected and have no choice but to join in. Once they join in and start receiving the attention as well, they enjoy it and never give up. A peer group is a force that brings friends together for good or harmful reasons. Many young people have been driven, sometimes against their choice, into bad or immoral behaviours by a need to belong and a fear of rejection (Oliver's Blogs, 2018). For fear of being ostracized, some of them lack the strong will to say no to evil. A youngster who has received proper home teaching, on the other hand, should be able to say no to evil and keep his integrity and the family's good name. When a youth has a solid parental upbringing and the fear of God in his or her life, peer pressure has little or no effect.

The incorrect usage of social media: Information and communication technology (ICT) has aided in bringing people together from all walks of life. While information and communication technology (ICT) is beneficial to societal advancements, the prevalence of exploitation is disturbing. A blurry snapshot of a naked figure designed to arouse sexually, according to McCabe (2000) and Kwanuba and Sababa (2020), could be pornographic. The majority of young people are exposed to some of these unethical acts through films, pornography, music, and advertising.

Non-patronage of indigenous culture: Nigeria like other African nation has a diverse culture that should be explored and celebrated. However, due to non-patronage and modernization, many of Nigeria's most valued values are rapidly vanishing. Today's youth are unable to identify these ideals. For example, the magnificent Nigeria hairstyles of weaving, plaiting, and other techniques are being swapped for hair 'roasting' in saloons

(Oliver's Blogs, 2018). Modern and dignified dress patterns are giving way to skimpy, transparent, and provocative dresses found all over the world. Many of these young people who wear immodestly may not even realize what they're doing is wrong because nothing tells them it is bad. The challenge now is how these adolescents might be different in a culture that lacks decent moral ideals to pass down to them as a legacy.

The Implication of Indecent Dressing for the Nigerian Society

Pope Pius XII (2017) alluded to the lack of feminine modesty when he stated that girls do not see anything wrong with following certain shameless styles (fashion) like so many sheep. Pope Pius XII queried that, if only Christian mothers knew the future distress, peril, and ill-restrained shame that they are preparing for their sons and daughters by imprudently accustoming them to live barely clothed, and permitting them to lose the sense of modesty, they would be ashamed of themselves and of the harm done to the little children entrusted to them by God to be reared in a Christian dignity and culture. Some people go out in public bare-chested, in very tight slacks, or in very skimpy bathing costumes. As a result, they offend the virtue of modesty. They may also be a source of sin for one's neighbour both in thought or desire.

Those who expose their nakedness to others have no idea that they will be the ones to pay the consequences in the end. Girls who dress in various ways in the name of fashion, for example, are mocked whenever they pass by. Those who defile others by their clothing, according to Onaiyekene (2004), will face double retribution both on earth and in heaven. Many things are going wrong, and Nnadi (2005, 2010) claims that society has lost its values and that people no longer appreciate or reward positive values. In general, people in society are unconcerned about decadence. As a result, appropriate clothing is seldom rewarded,

whereas obscene clothing is regarded as the standard. Nudity is not a sign of a good Christian, and it is used to publicize mothers who are sexually very weak and who want men to seek and welcome them. If their girls do not dress modestly, such mothers will find it difficult to correct them. Every outfit is a language that communicates with others and reveals who the wearer is.

Many marriages fall apart as a result of extramarital encounters on the part of husbands who leave their spouses at home to pursue young ladies dressed in revealing clothing. Women nowadays dress and expose their sensitive parts in order to entice the opposite sex to gaze at them with lust. As a result, many marriages have failed as a result of married men's lust for these women (Nnadi, 2010). The marriage eventually comes to an end as a result of the gap formed and abusive remarks exchanged by both the wife and the husband concerning extramarital activities caused by the strange woman.

Impact of Indecent Dressing on the Anglican Church in Nigeria

In today's Anglican Church, there is a lot of obscenity. Because of the high level of indecency in dress in the Anglican Church, many priests have grown tired of warning against it, while others have continued to do everything they can to see if an impression can be made on the immoral congregations (Footygist, 2021). In the Anglican Church, there are numerous causes, justifications, and harmful consequences of the indecent dress. Some members of the Church come to worship for a variety of reasons.

On the other hand, there are causes and harmful consequences of indecency, which mostly involve indecent dress among church members. As a result, indecent dressing has a number of detrimental consequences in both the church and the surrounding community. The following are some of the consequences of indecent clothes in the church: a loss of faith, a reduction in moral

habits, and a blackening of the church's image.

1. Diminishes faith: There has been a significant drop in the number of Christians who attend the church. Many people have concluded that they no longer need to attend church since the church, which was once a place to be spiritually elevated is now a place to be seduced. As a result, many people have chosen to worship their God in their homes rather than going to church on Sundays.

2. Moral habits deterioration: Because individuals attend church naked while pretending to put on clothing, many non-Christians regard obscenity as a positive notion. It has been claimed that indecent dressing in numerous churches is to be blamed for moral decay in the Nigeria (Footygist, 2021).

3. Value depreciation: It is a shame that the church's value and esteem have dwindled in recent years. Unlike in the past when people held the church in high regard. Respect is still present, but it is not as strong as it once was. Why is not the current church treated with the same reverence as it was in the past? The reason for this is that the church's immorality has caused it to lose some of its worth.

4. Distraction: Indecent dressing among members cause distractions to worshippers and even priests during worship and other church programmes.

Attempted Solutions

Although the problem of indecent dressing among church members still persists in the Anglican Church, several measures have been undertaken by the church to curb the problem in the past. Most often, the churches through their priests have been engage in instructing members about indecently dressing. Some priests have practically asked indecent dressed members to go

home and change their dressing before attending worship services. Although, some people consider this practice to be embarrassing but the priests stood their ground even though some of such members may not return to the church later.

The categories of indecently dressed young ladies they send home from the church are those wearing trousers, micro skirts, and other form-fitting clothing. Boys who dress in gangster style and wearing 'low waist' trousers are also treated the same way. This measure has helped to save the moral dignity of the Anglican Church. The Anglican Church need to provide a warm, friendly, and enjoyable environment in which young people can serve God and openly express their views and feelings without fear of being criticized by exposing the Biblical scriptures that deal with modest way of dressing. This means that from time to time, the Anglican Church and her clergy should teach and preach against dressing.

Aside from the regular preaching, the church should organize special programmes such as seminars, moral talks, and workshops from time to time to educate young people in the church about the evil consequences of indecent dressing. This also mean, that those holding positions and elders in the church including older women and men dress decently in order to have a positive impact on youngsters in the church. Every youth in the church comes from one family or the other, in this sense, parents should take responsibility in their homes to teach and educate their children about peer-group pressure and the developmental demands of adolescence, since adolescents are the most common perpetrators of indecent dressing in the Anglican Church today. Mothers should live moral life by dressing modestly so that their children might follow in their footsteps. Christian mothers, according to Ebo (2006 cited in Nnadi, 2010 cf. Okobia, 2021), play a crucial role in establishing a true sense of Christian modesty in their children, especially their daughters, from a

young age.

Following several complaints about certain young Anglicans indecently dressed and distracting worshippers during church worship in should prompt the Church authorities to issue a dress code for members. For instance, topless clothing and their kinds are now not permitted at church weddings, banquets, or services, cutesy of the Anglican Archdiocese of Enugu (Chukwuma, 2016). At Anglican churches in Enugu, veils covering topless wedding gowns are no longer permitted. The significance of this measure cannot be overstated. To sustain this novel effort, seminars and workshops should be conducted for fashion designers in the area to participate in this campaign.

To counteract indecent dressing in the Anglican Church in Nigeria, Christian literature, magazines, textbooks, tracts, pamphlets, and other items can be used. Curbing the menace of indecent dressing in the Anglican Church the crusade should not inside the church but should also be extended to outside the church. The crusade against indecent dressing should not be left to the priests alone, counselors, teachers and instructors in the church should preach, counsel, and educate members against immoral dressing.

Recommendations

The following are the recommendations made in this paper to tackle the problem of indecent dressing among members of the Anglican Church in Nigeria, all Christian churches, religious groups, and the society at-large:

1. The Anglican Church should organize programmes of enlightenment such as moral advocacy, workshops and seminars at regular intervals for young people in the church and outside the church with the aim of addressing issues of dressing and moral behaviours.

2. The evil of indecent dressing should be taught by the church on regular basis using biblical exposition to create clarity and authority.
3. Parents should instill moral education into their children and wards and help them toward finding a long-term solution to the problem of indecent dressing.
4. It is also recommended that Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion) should establish a dressing code for its members.
5. Indecent dressing by potential couples who come to the church for wedding should be discouraged.

Conclusion

From its discussion so far, the paper has established that the unethical manner of dressing among believers has infiltrated the Anglican Church and other Christian churches across Nigeria. The way these people dressed, particularly the young women, left a lot to be desired and explained. In many Anglican churches in Nigeria, indecent dressing is frowned upon unlike some churches, particularly those of the 'new generation, are unconcerned about how their members dress. People that indulge in indecent dressing do so for a variety of reasons, including boosting their self-esteem and gaining public attention. For fear of losing their congregants, several Anglican priests have stopped preaching against indecent dressing in their churches. The paper argued that biblical dress guidelines place a premium on modesty. This means, that dressing decently simply means avoiding revealing any sensitive body areas while dressing suitably for a specific function, culture, or ideology. On the other hand, the purposeful public exposure of one's body is indecent dressing. Indecent dressing is categorically condemned by the Anglican Church in Nigeria. Although some Anglican churches are doing very little to prevent this, which is really a serious issue of

concern. Indecent dressing is done for a variety of purposes by church members including attracting life partners and gaining attention, however, these reasons are not cogent enough. As a result of over-modernization, young Anglicans have lost sight of the difference between good and wrong. The way society presents itself to children and teenagers should be carefully considered too. People from all walks of life have been brought together thanks to information and communication technologies. Many of Anglican Church's most cherished values are fast fading away. Hair 'roasting' in saloons is replacing the wonderful God-given hair and traditional hairstyles of weaving, plaiting, and other beautiful techniques.

There is a lot of obscenity in today's Anglican Church as a result of indecent dressing among members. The phenomenon is having a variety of negative repercussions in Anglican churches in Nigeria. These include a loss of faith, a decrease in moral practices, and a tarnishing of the church's reputation among others. Therefore, the Anglican Church must provide a welcoming, cordial, and joyful atmosphere where the clergy can teach and preach against immoral dresses and dressing from time to time. In addition, counselors, teachers, and instructors in the church should also preach, counsel, and educate members against immoral dressing, not just only the priests. Furthermore, indecent dressing among members should also be combated through the use of Christian literature, journals, textbooks, tracts, pamphlets, and other objects that can serve the purpose.

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CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA AND HER ROLE IN THE CHALLENGES OF RELIGIOUS CRISES IN TARABA STATE

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Abstract

Christianity is a religion of peace, unity, love, care, humility, and for harmonious coexistence among the followers of Christ. The teachings of Jesus compel every believer to love one another, even their enemies because man is created in the image and likeness of God and everyone will give account to him on how they spent their life here on earth. Taraba State which is located in the northeastern part of Nigeria had recorded many crises with religious under-tone and these crises had disrupted the development of the state. This paper examined the Christian Association of Nigeria and its Role in the Challenges of Religious Crises in Taraba State. The researcher used a qualitative case study for this work. The qualitative case study is a research method that enables a complex phenomenon to be explored through the identification of different factors interacting with each other. Primary and secondary sources were also used for the work. The research finding showed that the Christian Association of Nigeria had played a major role in reducing religious crises in Taraba State. The research argued that, though there is already a parallel line between Christians and Muslims in almost everything, the CAN still maintain a biblical standard

of love, peace, and unity for all human beings. The research proffered some recommendations and conclusions.

Keywords: *Religious Crises, Challenges,
Christian Association, Role*

Introduction

A survey of religious conflicts in Taraba State shows that it is a worrisome development that is a threat to harmonious co-existence and jeopardizes the unity of the state and nation at large. Though the government seems to lack proper perspective on the handling of the reality of religion in Nigeria, the Christian Association of Nigeria may have a meaningful contribution to make. Every local government in Taraba has experienced one crisis or order since her creation. Taraba state is located in the northeast part of the country, and religions, Christians, and Muslims have an appreciable number of followers. Hausas and Fulani came into the state from Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Zamfara, and other far northern states, for commercial purposes, and are mostly from an Islamic background, and are mostly fanatics. Because of the above influx of persons, the crisis may first start as communal, Herdsmen/farmers, political, land resource, and ethno, may escalate into a religious crisis. This is in line with Yuguda(2013:149), which stated that "it is often difficult to differentiate between religious and ethnic conflict as the dividing line between the two Muslims and Christians in that region".

These crises have always resulted in the loss of lives and property, and have tremendously fractured the Christians-Muslims relationship in Taraba state. Mwaomah (2011:94) observes that, crises have hindered genuine state integration more than twenty years after the state's creation. In this vein, several committees

were set up by the state government towards resolving continuous crises facing Taraba State. However, because of the lingering crisis, the researcher wants to explore the 'role of the Christian Association of Nigeria' in reducing religious crisis in the state. Little or no attention has been paid, to the 'Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and her role in the challenges of Religious Crisis in Taraba State'. In discussing the Christian Association of Nigeria's role, the work adopted a qualitative case study for this work. A qualitative case study is a research method that enables a complex phenomenon to be explored through the identification of different factors interacting with each other. Primary and secondary sources were also used for the work. To ensure a well-organized research work, researchers have different methods that aid their research; this is generally known as Research Methodology. There are various types of research methodology; we shall use the qualitative case study approach.

Data for this research work were from two major sources- primary and secondary sources, the primary sources were obtained through oral interviews from eleven (11) selected religious leaders and some eyewitness accounts from five study areas, using a random sampling method, Bali= 2 persons, Gassol=2 persons, Ardo-Kola= 3 persons, Jalingo= 2 persons, Wukari=2 persons making the total of eleven persons in all, while the secondary sources include textbooks, unpublished works, theses, Bible, dictionaries, internet materials, and other written presentations on the topic. However, this research will focus on the "Christian Association of Nigeria and her role in the challenges of Religious Crisis in Taraba State", Nigeria. The study areas include Bali and Gassol in the Central senatorial zone, Ardo-Kola and Jalingo in the northern Senatorial zone, and Wukari in the southern senatorial zone. These local governments are selected because most crises escalate in those areas.

Clarification of Terms:

Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN),
Crisis, Religious Crisis

Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)

Christian Association of Nigeria is an Association of Christian Churches with distinct identities, recognizable church structure, and a system of worship of one God in the Trinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. This association makes Christ the centre of its entire works and shall promote the glory of God, by encouraging the growth and unity of the churches and by helping them to lead the nation and her people to partake of Christ's salvation and all its fruits.

The objectives of the Christian Association of Nigeria include the following:

- To serve as a basis of response to the unity of the church, especially as contained in our Lord's pastoral prayer: "That they all may be one" (John 17:21)
- To promote understanding, peace, and unity among the various people and strata of society in Nigeria, through the propagation of the Gospel.
- To act as a liaison committee, utilizing which its member churches can consult together and when necessary, make a common statement and take common actions.
- To act as a watch-man of the spiritual and welfare of the nation, Akinola, (2004, p.1).

The Christian Association of Nigeria was founded in 1976, and originally only contained the Catholic church and mainline protestant groups. However, it later expanded to include Pentecostal churches as well, (Wikipedia). The Christian

Association of Nigeria in Taraba State became a chapter in 1991 due to the creation of Taraba out of defunct Gongola State. As a chapter, CAN Taraba oversee every religious issue that has to do with her member churches. CAN have the power to speak out for her member churches when necessary, and react accordingly.

The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) is an umbrella organisation of churches in the state, CAN is very important as its objectives is stated above, CAN play vital roles in the reduction of religious crisis, conflicts prevention, peace-building, dialogue, and promotion of peaceful co-existence in the state. As an umbrella of the churches, all eyes are on CAN when it comes to religious issues in Taraba state.

Crisis

The crisis is generally referred to as the turning point of a disease, a deciding event in history, a time of danger, or anxious waiting. More broadly, supporting the forgoing, Tanko remarked that, "crises are part of life and are found in every part of the world" (2006:85). Where you find more than one person, there could be Crisis. Even as an individual, one can experience Crisis. In the same vein, milasinovic added that:

A crisis can also be a social situation in which at least two parties (individuals, groups, and states) are involved and who strive for a goal that is incompatible, to begin with, or strive for the same goal, which can only be reached by one party, and or want to employ incompatible means to achieve a certain goal (2008, p 172).

Religious Crisis

(Olubogu, 2015:3) defines Religious crisis as a situation in which religious adherents are involved in a serious disagreement or argument with one religious group and another. This is a situation in which there is opposition in ideas, opinions, feelings, and wishes. It is noted that in a crisis, parties perceive or treat each

other as a stumbling block. The crisis is an inevitable fact of social existence just as cooperation. Whenever there is an interaction between two or more people may be of the same or different age, sex, parentage, kinship, ethnicity, religion, race, or political interests. A crisis must exist and has to be handled with care.

Crises can be positive or negative, depending on how it is managed. Conflicts may be associated with numerous parameters of human endeavours. These include economic, social, religious, political, ethnic, communal, gender, racial, sectarian, or professional issues.

Types of crisis: towards a Review

There are different types of crises that bedevil Taraba State since its creation on 27 August 1991 till date. The researcher will discuss ethnoreligious conflict, land resource conflict, religious crisis, political crisis, and herdsmen/ farmers crises. (Goni, 2013) outlines some history of ethnoreligious conflicts in Taraba State since its creation in 1991 till date.

Records of Taraba Crises from 1991 – 2019

S/N	Year of Crisis	L.G.A.	Nature of the Crisis	Parties Involved in the Crisis
1	1991	Jalingo	Religious Crisis	Christians vs Muslims
2	1991	Wukari	Ethnic Crisis	Jukun vs Tiv
3	1991	Takum	Ethnic Crisis	Jukun vs Keteb
4	1993	Takum	Ethnic Crisis	Jukun/Chamba vs Kuteb
5	1996	K/Lamido	Ethnic Crisis	Karimjo vs Fulani
6	1999	K/Lamido	Ethnic Crisis	Wurkum vs Fulani
7	2000	Wukari	Ethnic Crisis	Tiv Vs Fulani
8	2002	Sarduana	Ethnic Crisis	Mambilla vs Fulani

Records of Taraba Crises from 1991 – 2019 continued

S/N	Year of Crisis	L.G.A.	Nature of the Crisis	Parties Involved in the Crisis
9	2006	Lau	Religious Crisis	Muslims vs Christians
10	2008	K/Lamido	Ethnic Crisis	Bandawa vs Fulani
11	2012	Ibi	Religious Crisis	Christians vs Muslims
12	2012	Takum	Ethnic Crisis	Kuteb vs Tiv
13	2012	Takum	Ethnic Crisis	Tiv vs Fulani
14	2013	Wukari	Religious Crisis	Muslims vs Christians
15	2015	Ibi	Religious Crisis	Christians vs Muslims
16	2015	Bali	Ethnic Crisis	Tiv vs Fulani
17	2015	Donga	Ethnic Crisis	Tiv vs Fulani
18	2015	Gassol	Ethnic Crisis	Tiv vs Fulani
19	2016	Takum	Ethnic Crisis	Kuteb vs Fulani
20	2017	Lau	Ethnic/ Religious Crisis	Christians/ATR vs Fulani
21	2018	Sarduana	Ethnic Crisis	Mambilla vs Fulani
22	2018	Lau	Religious Crisis	Muslims vs Christians
23	2018	Zing	Ethnic Crisis	Mumuye vs Fulani
24	2019	Jalingo	Political/Religious Crisis	Muslims vs Christians
25	2019	Jalingo	Herdsmen/Farmers/ Religious Crisis	Kona vs Fulani

Adapted from Goni, (2013 p,151).

Religious Crisis: Religious crises have claimed many lives and damaged properties worth billions of naira, which impede state and national development, Ayinelechi (2014). Ushe, (2015) sees Religious crisis as a struggle over values and claims to scarce resources, status, and power in which the opponents aim to

neutralise, inure, or eliminate their rivals. This definition very much suits, or reflects the crisis between Christians and Muslims in Taraba. The rates of killing going on in some parts of Taraba state where people have so far lost their lives can be regarded as ethnic cleansing as particular people are often the victim of these attacks (Ugwu, 2018:235). According to (Anyanwu, 2010:47) explains that a religious crisis is always often used as a tool to fasten their devilish acts; this is because any crisis that may starts in the state as a communal, land, political, and herdsmen/farmer crisis, usually end up in religious crisis. They aim to regard Taraba, as a boiling point for every kind of crisis, and misunderstanding in the state. (Abdulbarkindo, 2015) lists some churches destroyed during the religious crisis, from 2013-to 2015 as follows: nine Churches burnt down in Bali LGA, one hundred and one Churches burnt down in Gassol LGA, eight Churches burnt down in Ibi LGA, two Churches burnt down in Takum LGA, and eighty-five Churches burnt down in Wukari LGA.

(Gwamna, 2010:73) observes that, the religious crisis is still a new phenomenon in Taraba; because the different tribes that live in the state, have engaged in different crises since time immemorial, but have not burnt down religious worship centres. Therefore, what is new is religious confrontation. These crises have assumed unprecedented violent and ferocious propensities that pose serious security threats to the cooperative entity of Taraba. To him, religious crises have contributed immensely to creating IDPs in Taraba.

Political Crisis: Political crisis has reduced the freedom of movement of many Tarabans, and has caged them in one location or the other against their will. In the past, people enjoyed the freedom of moving from one local government to the other. There was open land and virgin land where they could move to settle and farm. This is no longer the case. The available land is impoverished. Violence has made some parts of the state very

dangerous to live, in. therefore; political mobilisation plays a significant role. (Agang, 2011:99) holds that, political crisis lingers in Taraba, because the Islamic jihadists claim that Taraba is one of the areas conquered by them. This is why Hausa-Fulani rulers who have enjoyed an unhindered hegemonic monopoly over those tribes, continue to stir political crises to continue to dominate the indigenous tribes. (Akah, 2018:25) views that political crisis has opened ways, for political interest and ethnic bigotry, which now allows the politicians to exhibit certain traits and characteristics that were inimical to the cohesion of the state. The governorship election of 2019, end-up with a political crisis, where many lives and properties were destroyed. (Justin 2019) explains that, the crisis which was characterised by the delay of collation and declaration of Saturdays' governorship election results in the state, resulted in a political crisis, and the governor imposed a dust-to-dawn curfew on Jalingo, the state capital. (Nnaemeka, 2019) explains that, the political crisis is not persistent in Taraba state, like other northern states that are frequently heard of.

Herdsmen/Farmer Crisis: CAN in her press briefing on 15 January 2018 revealed that, sixty (60) Christians were killed by Muslim herdsmen across several communities in Lau, Donga, Gassol, and Wukari local government areas, (Kwararafa News, 2018). herdsmen and farmers crisis in Ardo-kola and Jalingo local government have taken a new dimension, the lingering crisis in the areas which have destroyed many houses and sent many to their early graves are mostly on a revenge mission. A witness, Francis Namiri, whose father was killed said, "They were possible on a revenge mission because two days ago, two Fulani nomads were reported to have been killed by Kona people, I saw all that happened with my 'naked' eyes." He said some villagers were in the market while others were resting at home when the attack occurred, (Abdulaziz, 2019). (Silas, 2019) agrees with Abdulaziz, that the herdsmen and farmers crisis are posting a

threat to the freedom of movement in the state. He reveals that the coordinator of the Christian Association of Nigeria CAN in the Jalingo local government area of the state, Rev. Lawrence Tata, has expressed sadness over the endless killing among ethnic groups, herdsmen, and farmers in the state. And he rejected the evil motive of individuals who intend to make it a religious crisis.

(Watch Handmaids, 2019) laments that, herdsmen are grazing in the compound and on the farmland where the farmers fled for the safety of their lives. This prompted the traditional ruler of the Kona people, Augustine Njanmeng, who decried the alleged occupation of 17 villages belonging to his community by suspected herdsmen in Jalingo LGA on Wednesday 24/07/2019 that, the herdsmen were grazing on farms and in the compound of displaced people. He also alleged the herdsmen carried sophisticated weapons which he alleged they used "to shoot anyone in sight." Ihyong (2019) gives figures of the victims of the herdsmen and farmers crisis in the area. According to him, 51 persons have been feared dead in the latest clash between the herders and farmers in the state. The 51 corpses who were killed from Ardo-kola and Jalingo local government areas were all Christians, and were buried by Rev. Fr. Kama in Kona village. The names and photos of the people killed were printed on elegant billboards at the Church of Assumption Kona, where their remembrance was held.

Causes of Religious Crisis

Religious Intolerance: The religious intolerance among the adherent of Christianity and Islam is one of the causes of religious crisis, the Muslims are believed to be the righteous group to be in number one seat in the state. On the other end, the Christians hold that in most of the northern states where Muslims are in majority, they head the state in all exalted positions, and Taraba is dominated by Christians, and therefore, the number one seat is a no go area for Muslims.

This is one of the causes of religious crisis in the state. (Anyanwu 2010:34) holds that, religious intolerance mostly originated from the fundamentalists. The fundamentalists viewed the Taraba state as one of the nineteen northern states and should be governed by a Muslim. To them, sixteen out of nineteen northern states are governed by Muslims, therefore, the Taraba state must not be governed by non-Muslim. (Omeregbe, 2010: 127) explains that, religious intolerance breeds hatred, conflict, and destruction in society. Since the inception of democracy in Nigeria, Taraba State is the only state from the northeast that is always governed by a Christian governor to date, hence, the hatred of the state by other northern states that wants to operate Islamic agenda in the state. (Gwamna, 2010: 44) notes that most of the misunderstandings between Christian and Muslims in the state resulted from religious intolerance and suspicions. He further noted that, while the shadows of ethnic and religious intolerance lengthen; the shadow of understanding is growing shorter. (Adukwu, 2007:298) subscribes to the belief that religious extremism in the state centers around intolerance, aggravated by the inability of the state's leaders and the lead to accommodate others, not of the same faith.

Poverty, Unemployment, and Underdevelopment: There are several views that poverty and unemployment are ways through which crises escalate in any given society. According to (Gwamna, 2010:77) poverty and unemployment have also been identified as other factors for the continuing religious crisis in the state. It is argued that the ever-increasing level of poverty and unemployment typified by joblessness and deteriorating infrastructures creates conditions for a crisis to thrive. You may note that Taraba state depends mostly on the Federal government subvention to pay her workers. This tells the level of poverty and unemployed persons that fill the state and the repercussions are crises of various kinds.

The Fear of Domination: In Taraba's politics, Christian's anxieties about Muslims' domination of the state political space and the accompanying fear that politically, dominant Muslims would use their privileged perch to Islamise the state institutions and imposed Islamic Sharia law on non-Muslims. The fear comes as a result of the continued killing of Christians, and the rates of increase in kidnapping activities for the reason that Christians are mostly victims; whose purpose is to cripple Christians financially. And dominate them in every ramification, because they will be financially poor. (Ochonu, 2014).

Abdulkarkindo, 2015) listed some areas of dominations in the state which include:

Traditional Domination

Traditional Ruler	Christian=1	Muslim=14	Traditionalist=2	Total Seat=17
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Political Domination

Senators of the 9th Assembly	Christian=1	Muslim=2	Total Seat =3
House of Reps of the 9th Assembly	Christian=2	Muslim=4	Total Seat=6

(Abdulkarkindo, A. and Alupse, B. (2015)

Domination through attacks by Hausa- Fulani Muslim Herdsmen.

As earlier mentioned, with all the rates of kidnapping going on in the state on daily bases, you may wish to know that only two prominent Muslims were kidnapped. That was the deputy registrar of Taraba University and the chief press secretary to the governor. All the killing and kidnapping are done in Christian-dominated local governments or areas, with the view to paralysing them financially, politically, and educationally.

The Division between Native Resident and the New-Comer:

The division between native residents and the newcomer always generates crisis because the newcomers are largely Muslims, and want to take over land that is mainly inherited by the native. Micheal, (2018) list the native residents and the new-comers as follows: Chamba, Dibe, Gornun, Ichen, Karimjo, Kuteb, Jukun, Mambilla, Mumuye, Wurkum, Yanndang. While new-comer include: Fulani, Hausa, Kaka, Kambu, Tikari, Panso, Tiv, Wawa, and Vute.

(Akapar, 2012) observes that, the native residents who are mostly Christians' have settled in their ancestral land and are of one language, tribes or indigenous settlers of such place. Because of their early settlement, they occupied more land, and individuals own large hectares of land for residential and farming. The newcomers that came later also need land to meet up with global challenges. They sometimes buy land for settlement and farming. In most cases, the newcomers want to own the ancestral land of the native by force, and such acts led to a crisis between natives and newcomers.

Implications of Religious Crisis

The religious crisis has its implications; its implications can be seen in diminishing returns in the following sectors: socio-economic, Agricultural production, political stability, and social interactions of the people in the affected area. The following implications will be discussed: wanton destructions of lives and property, implications on economic stability, political implications, and social implications on the state under research. Wanton Destructions of Lives and Property: Wanton destructions of lives and properties have been the order of the day in Taraba. Religions have given rise to religious crises because of the exclusive claim by some of these religions as being the best, especially, the foreign ones like Christianity and Islam. This attitude has led to huge loss of lives and properties worth billions

of naira (Ibenwa, 2018:243). Punch News (April 2019) reported that the Chairman of Wukari LGA Daniel Adi, called for calm, and further disclosed that more than nine communities had so far been razed and people are displaced from Kente ward of the affected area. "As I'm talking to you now, several households, including Government Day Secondary School, Kente were burnt down by the attackers who are Muslims in the early hours of today" Sunday. That was why (Akpeji, 2015) lamented that "Rather than a case, the wanton destruction continues to spread and has now reached Takum, the home Council of General T.Y Danjuma (rtd), the governor-elect, Darius D. Ishaku and the Speakers of the State House of Assembly, Mark Useni.

Saharareporters, on (June, 24, 2019) reported that many people were killed and "over 50 houses" razed. According Agency Report (June 26, 2019) reported that five persons were killed on Tuesday and several houses were burnt in a fresh crisis between Tiv and Jukuns in Rafinkada village of Wukari LGA of Taraba state. Daily Trust (June 16, 2019) reported that many persons have been feared killed and houses burnt in the fresh crisis in Jalingo, and the area affected included Kasuwan Bera, Jauro Jangai, Murbai, and Subai. Punch News (June 1, 2019) confirmed that 51 persons were killed, and Remembrance Mass was held at the Church of Assumption in Kona village. According to the news, Rev. Fr. Cyriacus Kamai, disclosed that 8,494 persons were displaced across 11 villages of Murkanu, Murtia, Yaukani, Murdai, Yawai, Sompoto, Jekunhou, Sembe, Ndayaro, Kauda and Keshabro in Jalingo and Ardo-Kola local government area.

Implication on Economic Stability: The implications of the religious crisis on economic stability are too numerous that one cannot have the charisma to explain. According to (Yuguda, 2013:152) explains that religious crisis causes the Youths lots of deprivations due to weakness in social organisation, social institutions, and structural deficiencies in creating enabling

environment for the society and economy to grow and retards all economic and social progress. (Omanchi 2018:23) laments that; economically there are reductions on many things that were meant to be the sources of income for people and the state. The following markets have loosed customers, Yam, Fish, Timbers, and more to that, many markets in the royal areas have collapsed, due to the fled of many businessmen and women.

Political Implication: The incessant crisis experienced in the state right from the inception of state creation, the weak position of the political class, and its perpetual struggles for political power to accumulate wealth have continuously put the Youths at a disadvantage position and made their future in jeopardy and the sorry situation, (Goni, 2013: 152). Ngbea, (2019) observes that 88% of Federal appointments into very significant security and national administrations posts have been for Hausa-Fulani Muslims'.

The above observation is true because criminals are alleged to have carried out criminals activities in some areas; when they are caught, and handed over to security agents, most of them regain their freedom. On Tuesday (August 7, 2019) TVC news reported that soldiers killed three policemen, freed kidnapping kingpin, Alhaji Hamisu in Taraba. One may wonder why soldiers should kill three policemen, and allowed the notorious criminal of kidnapping, Alhaji Hamisu to escape. Are the armies part of the kidnapping deals, and fears exposition, or do they collude with the criminals as the former defense minister General T.Y Danjuma, on 9th April 2018 alleged army for colluding with bandits, (Erunke 2018)? These are the questions Tarabans are begging for answers.

Social Implication: The social implication on Jalingo the capital city of Taraba, 2019, governorship election post-crisis has given dangerous signals to both Christians and Muslims in the state.

The battle line drawn during the crisis had forced Christians to live in one area, while Muslims should live in one area. Christians predominantly are occupying from welcome to Jalingo, wukari road to welcome to Jalingo Yola road. The areas include: ATC, Nukkai, Road-Block, Abuja phases 1,2and 3, up to Mile six, Magami up to Nyabonkaka, etc just to mention a few. Meanwhile, the Muslims occupy Waterboard, Angwua Sarki, and Central bank up to Sabon-Gari border. However, some Christians and Muslims are still mixed up in some areas, but have no peace of mind, because of the fear of silent killings and kidnapping at night.

Christian Association of Nigeria and Her Role in Religious Crisis

Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) has several roles to play during Religious crises and other crises in Taraba State. Some of the roles include dialogue for state cohesion, collaboration with the Muslim council and government, sensitisations for peaceful coexistence, and assisting internally displaced persons (IDPs).

Dialogue for State Cohesion

Meanwhile, before the election on 4th March 2019, " the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) in Taraba State, has raised alarm over an alleged plot by some people to disrupt the governorship election and state house of assembly elections in the state", (Channels News 4th March 2019). In a dialogue mode, the leadership of the Christian Association of Nigeria and the Muslim council in Taraba on Sunday 19 February 2017 began a joint tour of the state to promote peaceful coexistence among warring communities. Addressing the people in one of the peace meetings of Taraba North senatorial zone in Zing, near Jalingo, the CAN chairman, Ben Ubeh, urged them to always shun violence and stay at peace with one another. On his part, Inuwa Musa, the chairman, of the Muslim council urged the people to rise together and fight against criminality instead of fighting

against each other. Mr. Musa urged the people to always monitor the movement of strangers in their communities to quickly detect those with criminal behaviour and report them to security agents, (Agency Report February, 19,2017).

Micah and Sufa, (personal communication 14/08/2019), explained that CAN as a peaceful organization, has been playing her role in all the crises in the state. That CAN dialogue between the United Methodist Church of Nigeria faction groups led by Bishop John Wesley and Rev. Micah Dopah, could have escalated into an ethnoreligious crisis between the Mumuye and Wurkun of northern Taraba, on March 16, 2019.

Christian Association of Nigeria also had a dialogue with the Muslim council in March 2019 over the political crisis that escalated into a religious crisis. CAN dialogue with Jukun, and Tiv over their lingering crisis. According to them, ten persons were invited from both sides to the CAN secretariat Jalingo, to coexist as brothers and sisters. Shaker, (17/08/2019), personal communication, unveiled that, CAN dialogue with the Muslim council during the March crisis 2019, the dialogue was not to take a side but to fish out any person that was found wanting during the crisis, being Christian or Muslim, will be brought to book.

Collaboration with Muslim Council and the Government

The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Taraba chapter on Monday 5th August said it would intervene in the resolution of the ongoing Juku/Tiv crisis in the state. The chairman said the warring factions must embrace dialogue for a genuine end to the lingering crisis. he said, " I will priorities a dialogue that will lead to a permanent solution to the ongoing Tiv/Jukun and other forms of crisis in the state. Since the election on Saturday, I have been making necessary contacts for immediate dialogue to ensure an end to the hostilities among Taraba residents across the religious and ethnic line" he said, (Nsikak, Daily post news 5th August

2019).

Adam and Philipians, 16/08/2019, personal communication, revealed that CAN have been collaborating with the government and the Muslim council to succeed in their effort in terms of crisis. in the same vine, CAN have urged the Federal government to declare the armed Fulani herdsmen a terrorist group,(Today's Challenge 2018: 29)

After the killing of over sixty (60) Christians' by the Muslim Fulani herdsmen, across several communities in Lau, Wukari, Donga, and Gassol local government areas, Taraba CAN in her press conference on 15 January 2018 called on the Federal government to stop the menace. "CAN Taraba State want to place it on record that Ranching is the way to go and the Federal government should stop playing politics with the lives of innocent Nigeria to please a particular group in the country? President should do needful and truly stand on his statement, "I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody". "For now, he seems to belong to the Fulani herdsmen", (Kwararafa News, 2019). The new CAN chairman said, "the association would ensure a robust relationship with the government to offer advice where necessary for a better society", (Nsikak, 2019).

Sensitizations for peaceful coexistent

One of her roles to stop the religious crisis is to sensitize the members of the Christian Association of Nigeria CAN. The scripture urges the believers to coexist together with one another for the betterment of society. "Make every effort to live in peace with everyone and to be holy, without holiness no one will see the Lord", Hebrews 12:14. In the same vine, Paul said to the Romans, "If it is possible as for as it depends on you, live at peace with everyone", Romans 12: 18. The Christian Association of Nigeria CAN, Taraba State chapter on Saturday 18th March 2019, sued for peaceful coexistent among the people of the state, following

violence that trailed the announcement of the governorship election results in the state,(Business Day News 18th Mach, 2019).

Emillia Samson,(personal communication 17/08/2019) pointed out that, as part of sensitization, CAN send women wing representatives to all the sixteen local government areas to sensitise people during the February March 2019 election, the sensitisation will input wisdom in Christian men, women, and youth to have a free and fair election. That God created everyone in his image and likeness, and if He wanted to have one religion in the world, He could have done it. Therefore, nobody should fight on religious issues. Laurence Tata, (personal communication 17/08/2019) revealed that CAN made her sensitization through the sixteen local government areas, using the following: Church grouping, local government CAN's coordinators, women wing, a youth wing, and media.

Below are the channels of CAN sensitizations:

CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA (CAN)			
Church Grouping	Local Government Coordinators	Women Wing	Youth Wing
Denomination		L.G.A.Women Wing	L.G.A.Youth Wing
Church			
National Television Authority NTA	Taraba Television Authority TTA	Taraba State Broadcasting Services TSBS	

Rev. Sufa Moses 2019

Christian Association of Nigeria CAN introduces Covenant prayers and feast on 19th August 2019, for continuous building and sensitization of the body of Christ. And that this will continue every first Monday of the month.

Assisting internally displaced Persons (IDPs)

Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) revealed that Taraba State has total displaced persons on their list as of May 2019 was 85,332 persons, (DTM, 2019). The Humanitarian Aid Relief Trust on 7th August 2019 reveals that 9,000 persons were displaced in May/June, to farmers/Fulani clashes in Jalingo, Taraba State. Philip and Titus, (personal communication 17/08/2019), explained that the Christian Association of Nigeria CAN had played her role in assisting the victims of the internally displaced persons in Taraba State. That as Christian organisation CAN order all the Churches in the state to bring relief materials to aid the displaced victims of the crisis. Items like food, clothes, mattress, mats, and drugs are provided for the IDPs at any given time. Isaac Dabon, (personal communication 16/08/2019), confirmed that CAN also mandate that businessmen and Christians, politicians, donate relief materials to the displaced victims in their camps. Meanwhile, some children who lost both parents are taken to the United Methodist Church Orphanage and Christians' homes for upbringing. Magaji, Isaiah, (personal Communication 20/08/2019), reveals that, CAN in her advocacy call, always plead with the government who is in charge of security to station security personnel in the affected areas to enable the IDPs to return to their ancestral home. And with the help of the government, many IDPs have returned home.

Development for the youth

CAN, under the new leadership will pursue unity among Christians, and Muslims to pave way for the development of the state. And will also put in place deliberate policies to enhance youths' empowerment to discourage them from being used as

thugs. The association would ensure a robust relationship with the government to have a dividend of democracy in Taraba, (Nsikak, 2019). Magaji Isaiah, (Personal communication 20/08/2019), unveiled that, the advocacy of CAN to the present government on youth empowerment is yielding fruit. That the World Bank through the youth empowerment and social support operations in collaboration with the Taraba State Government trained 1,500 youth in community development services in 2018. The skill acquisition training, executed in partnership with the National Directorate of Employment, NDE, in three years, has empowered over 6,342 beneficiaries across the state. CAN, will still plead with the government of the day to work with the youth, since they are the backbone of every society.

The Weaknesses of CAN in Response to Religious Crisis in Taraba State

Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) had contributed much in its fight to reduce the religious crisis in the state. The CAN always dialogue with the Muslim council whenever a conflict between Christian and Muslim worshiper is almost taking a religious tone, then the CAN will make sure that the conflict ended without religion being used as a tool for the crisis. And whenever the state is faced with a religious crisis, the CAN will make sure that it should not last longer than expected. Though the CAN had contributed much in her fight to reduce religious crisis, some weaknesses are beyond the reach of CAN.

The security personnel are not under the control of CAN; therefore, in times of religious crisis, they receive an order from above from their superior officers. The services chiefs who give orders in times of religious crisis are mostly Muslims, and may not listen to the CAN. The security personnel who may not be Christians may use their guns to kill some Christians, and nobody may talk to or control them since they are joining their brothers to fight jihad. Curfew may be placed by the security men, and what

is done by non-Christian security men may be against the well of CAN. Since CAN have no control over security personnel, their idea of unity, love and peaceful co-existence may be downplayed during a religious crisis.

The reaction of CAN to the religious crisis is always when the worse is done to Christians or their communities before the CAN will react. This system of late reaction to religious crisis always gives their enemies the right to kill and destroy the Christians and their properties completely. The CAN mostly preach peace and love of enemies, while the Muslim brothers preach holy war. The late reactions during religious crises always live Christians much damage that cannot be replaced.

CAN is financially handicapped in assisting its victims in terms of religious crisis. A Christian, or group of believers who loosed their belongings during a religious crisis may live without having those things replaced, examples losing houses, cars, or worship centres may not be replaced again. Muslims' council must make sure that government at all levels come to aid their victims over the losses of their properties, sometimes their victims may be richer after the crisis than before. But CAN will like God to make a way where there is no way, and many time ends up living their victims with more poverty than ever before. The financial handicap of CAN always lives their Christian victims to suffer alone.

Recommendations

To achieve peace and order in Taraba State, this paper recommends the following:

- The Federal Government should address the root cause of the crisis in Taraba State to curtail this Satanic activity
- Employment opportunities should be created for men, women, and youths to engage them actively in business and human services.

- CAN should continue with women and youth sensitisation and empowerment in sixteen local governments and in their Churches.
- CAN should also engage in continuous collaboration with the government in the interest of Taraba women and youths.
- Parents should carry out their Biblical duties of bringing up their children in a morally acceptable way.
- The state and federal governments need to take urgent steps to address the influxes of armed Fulani herdsmen and boundary adjustment between Taraba and Benue to reduce the lingering ethnoreligious crisis in the state.
- The state and the federal government should preserve and maintain the stability of the state.
- Unemployment of the youths should be addressed by the government to reduce the rate of idleness that leads them to loot during a crisis.

Conclusion

The religious crisis is a global problem that affects not Nigeria but countries all over the world from New Zealand and the Chatham Islands to many countries in Africa, Asia, and beyond. Governments are working hard to address the lingering problem of any form of crisis to bring lasting peace to the state. Though the religious crisis is not a new problem in Nigeria, however, it is one of the country's biggest challenges. The country faces many problems, including unemployment, corruption, and a low level of education. The facts discussed so far show that crises in Taraba are indeed high; thus Christian Association of Nigeria CAN Taraba chapter is called to help educate men, women, and youth through preaching and sensitisation to desist from crises. The Cultural and religious divergences between individuals, tribes, and people of the state have also contributed much to the past and

present crises in the state. Therefore, it is recommended that the Christian Association of Nigeria CAN, the Muslim council and African Traditionalists should put hands on deck to help reduce any forms of crisis that bedevil the state.

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Appendix:
Personal Communications

S/N	Name	Age	Sex	Occupation/ Rank	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
1	Micah P.Dopah	51	Male	Church Group Leader	Ardo-Kola	14/08/2019
2	Sufa Moses	46	Male	District Director	Bali	14/08/2019
3	Adam Yinmi	50	Male	Pastor	Bali	16/08/2019
4	Philippians Regnwe	40	Male	CAN Secretary	Gassol L.G.A.	16/08/2019
5	Isaac Dabon	34	Male	Evangelist	Ardo-Kola	16/08/2019
6	Emilia S. Sarki	52	Female	Women Leader	Jalingo	17/08/2019
7	Lawrence Tata	50	Male	CAN L.G.A. Coordinator	Jalingo	17/08/2019
8	Philip Jang	55	Male	PRO TEKAN Church Group	Ardo-Kola	17/08/2019
9	Titus Sunaba	55	Male	Asst. Secretary Church Group	Jalingo	17/08/2019
10	Sheka E. Bambur	54	Male	Chaplain Govt. House	Jalingo	16/08/2019
11	Magaji I. Jerapye	54	Male	State CAN Chairman	Jalingo	20/08/2019

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Philip Benjamin Karbon lectures at the Department of Christian Religious Studies, Taraba State University, Jalingo where he teaches Sociology of Religion, History and Religion of Israel, and Prophet Muhammad. He has contributed several articles in reputable journals, and has attended several conferences. Philip is currently the examination officer of the Department, and currently, he is a Ph.D. student at the Department of Religion and Cultural Studies, Nigeria University Nsukka. He can be contacted at Karbon01yahoo.com.

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PERSPECTIVES OF AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RELIGION ON ASSISTED REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES

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&

Abstract

Practical findings indicate the prevalence of infertility in Nigeria and other parts of the world. However, efforts of reproduction technologies to circumvent some natural disorder through practices such as sperm sorting for sex selection, selection of offspring with desirable traits, cloning and in vitro fertilization (IVF) and provide remedies for infertile couples meet with socio-religious challenges. This study used qualitative research method to find out the position of African Traditional Religion (ATR) in Taraba State, Nigeria regarding some of the practices of Assisted Reproductive Technologies (ART). The study interviewed twenty adherents of ATR. It also made use of extent literature and material from the internet as sources of data collection. Key findings of the research bothered on the classification of certain practices like collection of sperm and eggs for IVF as taboo among ATR adherents in the state. Relatedly also is the stigmatisation of couples that engage in ART as an alternative means of procreation. It was therefore recommended that adherents of ATR should be properly educated on the practices of ART and vice versa.

Key words: African Traditional Religion, Assisted Reproductive Technologies,

Introduction

Infertility seems to be quite common in most parts of the world. It is estimated that about 15% of couples who attempted to become pregnant worldwide fail to conceive (Tedros 2019). The rate is even higher in most developing countries. Okonofu in Purefoy and Kermeliotis (2011) explains that, "the prevalence of infertility in Nigeria is about 25% compared to 10 to 15% in the US and UK". However, Reproduction Technology has circumvented some natural disorders to provide remedies to infertile couples seeking for assistance. Regrettably, it is evident that efforts of Assisted Reproductive Technologies (ART) to mold nature to fit human needs through practices such as sperm sorting for sex selection, selection of offspring with desirable traits, cloning and In Vitro Fertilization (IVF) has generated a lot of ethical arguments.

With respect to ethical dilemma at the wake of ART practices, academics and religious leaders struggle to make their positions known. The Catholic Church has been outspoken, and voices of other denominations and religions are heard too - most of which expressed reservations about technology that goes beyond therapy to enhancement in a prideful search for human perfection, often referred to as "playing God" (Gregory, 2009). However, African Traditional Religious' position appears unnoticed, which is the lacuna this paper seeks to fill. Needless to say that this is a major aberration giving the fact that African Traditional Religion is the third largest religion in Africa, with noticeable evidences of its influence on other religions. One can argue that discourse on bioethics is trapped just within Western and Asian categories. This paper provides an analysis of the perspectives of African Traditional Religion (ATR) on Assisted Reproductive Technology here after referred to as ART. We examined some key doctrinal dispositions and values of ATR and assess how they influence or object the practices of ART.

The objectives above is borne out of the perspective that, if ART must move in time with the needs of Africans, then the sway shall likely stem from a holistic view that will accommodate Africa's cosmology. For example, child bearing is not seen in isolation from entire life of the community. Magesa (1997) contends that "The rhythms of life-force of nature and of humanity are always in communion, influencing each other for good or evil, and the delicate balance between them must be carefully preserved" (p.143). It is against this backdrop that ATR may locate a space or adjust its tenets in order to accommodate this new development; or it might resist ART, however its overt benefits. Whatever stance it shall take, there might be benefits or consequences on anyone associated with the ART, such as the infertile couples, care givers and children gotten through the Assisted Reproductive Technology. With this fact in mind, one wonders: what will be the position of ATR concerning procreation through ART with its attendant practices such as masturbation, eggs and sperm commercialization, surrogacy, and selective abortion? What is personhood in ATR in relation to leftover sperm, eggs and embryos? These questions shall also be the focus of this paper.

In other to have suitable information that would shade light to the questions above, this paper adopted phenomenological method which is a form of qualitative method in order to effectively answer the questions raised above. This method incorporates the descriptive and analytical tools in its technique. Smith (2013) argues that phenomenological method deals with object by virtue of its content or meaning deduced from experience. With this in mind, data are drawn largely from Mumuye people of Taraba State, partly because of the apparently large adherents of traditional religion among the people. To have multiple perspectives, 20 people from 18 years and above from Mumuye people that claim to be adherents of ATR were interviewed orally. Semi-structured interview is used. All interviews were tape recorded, edited and analyzed and was used in the final analysis

of this work. In view of this, literatures were consulted and questionnaires were distributed in order to have better understanding of the phenomenon under study.

Conceptual Clarification

Reproduction Technology:

Reproduction is one of the fundamental features of life. Organisms exist as a result of reproduction. An Online Etymology Dictionary states that reproduction etymologically came from French word, reproduire meaning 'make a copy' (2019). Reproduction (or procreation or breeding) is the biological process by which new individual organisms (offspring) are produced from their parents. This is done asexually (without the involvement of another organism) or sexually -involving two organisms (Sanders 2019). Technology on the other hand, is gotten from a Greek word, tekhnologia meaning systematic treatment, an art, craft, technique or method of making or doing (Thierer, 2014). "Reproduction" when combined with "technology" may give an idea of an art, a craft, a technique or method through which new individual organisms are produce from their parents. In the same vein, we shall view reproductive technology as techniques or scientific procedures which assist directly or indirectly in the act of procreation of offspring through methods such as IVF, intrauterine insemination, donor insemination and surrogate motherhood. This definition shall be adopted in this work.

In vitro fertilization (IVF)

ART in the form of in-vitro fertilization, donor insemination, surrogate motherhood, cryopreservation, pre-implantation genetic diagnosis etc. has been widely accepted in spite of socio-cultural and religious challenges especially in Europe. One of the most important methods of ART that has generated lots of debates is IVF. "In vitro" borrowed from Latin "within the glass", when

combined with fertilization, refers to a technique of performing fertilization in a controlled environment outside of a living organism. IVF involves extraction of eggs from a matured female, retrieving sperm cells often through masturbation from a matured male, and then manually combined the egg and the sperm in a laboratory dish to form embryo. The embryo is transferred to the uterus for the completion of the steps (Rae, 2000). In other words, it is a process of fertilization that does not involve sex and with a high possibility of left over sperm, eggs and zygote (union of sperm cell and egg). The process may also lead to selective abortion and practices such as surrogate motherhood.

'In vitro' is borrowed from Latin - within the glass. And 'fertilization' which is also known as insemination, pollination, fecundation, syngamy and impregnation, is the fusion of gametes to initiate the development of a new organism or offspring (Adams, 2001). When the words are combined, in other words 'in vitro' and 'fertilization' it will refer to a technique of performing fecundation in a controlled environment outside of a living organism (Purdy, 2009). The process according Rosenthal (2019), involves extraction of eggs from a mature female; retrieving of sperm cells also from a mature male and manually combine the eggs and the sperm cells in a laboratory dish to form zygotes. A zygote(s) / embryo(s) is picked and transferred to the uterus for the completion of the process. Rae (2000), also agrees that in IVF, fertilization occurs in the lab and not within the body. It can be deduced that IVF is a procedure or technique of fertilization in a controlled environment outside the body. The work shall adopt the later definition

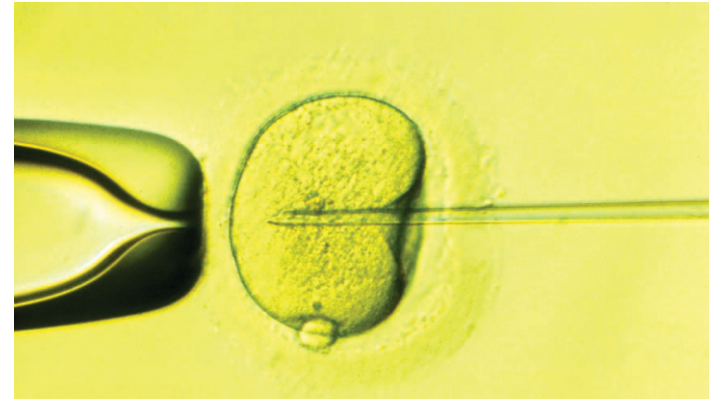


Figure 1. A human egg is injected with a micro needle containing a single sperm. A process of in vitro fertilization (Science Photo Library, 2019)



Figure 2. Louise Brow, the first healthy baby to be born through in vitro fertilization on 25 July 1978 and her parents John and Lesley Brown (Mooney 2009, p.12).

Surrogate motherhood

Surrogate motherhood arrangement is generally not a new reproduction technique. For example the Old Testament records two incidences of surrogacy: in Genesis 16:1-6 the story of Abram, Sarai the wife of Abraham used Hagar her maid as surrogate. And Rachel the wife of Jacob also used her maid Bilhah as surrogate (Genesis 30:1-3). Rae (2000), states that the use of surrogacy to circumvent female infertility was an acceptable practice in the ancient near east. What is different about the surrogacy arrangement today is the presence of brokers, contracts and lawyers in the process of procreation (2000). "Surrogate" is generally seen as one assigned to act in place of another. In other words, a surrogate is a substitute or a person deputizing for another in a specific role. Lothar (2019), sees 'surrogate mother' as a practice in which a woman (the surrogate mother) bears a child for a couple. In other words, "surrogate mother" can be seen as a woman who becomes pregnant usually by artificial insemination or surgical implantation of a fertilized egg for the purpose of carrying the fetus to term for another woman".

Rae further explains that there are two types of surrogacy in reproduction technology: Genetic surrogacy and Gestational surrogacy. Genetic surrogacy occurs when the surrogate is inseminated with sperm. She conceives, carries, and gives birth to the child and turns over her right to the child to the contracting couple. On the other hand, gestational surrogacy occurs when the surrogate has no genetic relationship to the child. She provides the womb, but not the egg. The infertile couples have eggs removed, sperm obtained, and IVF performed. The embryo is implanted into the surrogate and she carries and gives birth to the child and relinquishes all rights to the child. Surrogacy arrangement that attracts fee is called commercial surrogacy, and the one that does not attract fee is known as altruistic surrogacy

(2000:149). Perhaps it is with the above information in mind that Purdy observes thus "traditional concept of motherhood involving genetic, gestational and social relationship is been deconstructed, potentially leading to conceptual tensions" (Purdy 2009, p.183). But whatever the type of surrogacy being practiced in reproductive technology, surrogacy could mean an arrangement whereby a woman agrees to become pregnant and give birth to a child for another person.

Children in African Cosmology

To begin with, it is important to settle the question of homogeneity or multiplicity of indigenous religious belief, which might shade more light to Africans position(s) concerning their children. (Magesa, 1998) tells us that Mbiti speaks about African religions in the plural. However, Ugwu (2014) asserts that the varieties of African religions –which have more to do with expression than basic belief, cannot be denied; but their rudimental world views are similar in many respects. Magesa (1998) further contends that in the 1920s a study conference of missionaries held at Lezoute, Belgium noted that "underlined all the divergence that marks the pagan negro tribes, there is a fundamental unity of belief and outlook upon the world. Africa is a unity a unity in diversity. Nothing is lost and much is gain, by trying to look at new Africa as a whole". In the light of the latter position, we shall treat Africa's world view concerning children as a unified position, irrespective of tribes or ethnic groups.

The value of children and their wellbeing in African cosmology can hardly be fully explained. Uwandu (2018) aptly states this fact when he tells us that "African social milieu is overcharged with psychological strain as a result of childlessness, getting children and losing them through death, or getting the wrong sets of children" (p.468). This strong needs for children in Africa's underpinnings are not born out of mere biological stimulus to produce offsprings, nor just for the happiness that children bring.

To a great extent, the underlining factor is the metaphysical reality they represent. Mbiti (1969) explains that,

Unhappy is the woman who fails to get children for whatever other quality she might possess, her failure to bear children is worse than committing genocide: she has become the dead end of human life, not only for the genealogical line but also for herself. The fault may not be hers but this does not excuse her in the eyes of the society. She will suffer for this, her own relative will suffer for this and it will be an irreparable humiliation for which there is no source of comfort in traditional life (pp.110-111).

Men are not entirely immune to the ordeal that the issue of childlessness could bring. Chukueze captures in an Igbo drama *akwa nwa* in Uwandu (2018), a bit of the plight that men face. In the drama, a husband to a childless woman narrates his ordeal thus:

I have gone to Chukwu (the oracle)
I have crossed small rivers
Crossed big rivers
To make sure she bares a child
I have made several and divers sacrifices ... (P.463).

But information from literature revealed that the woman is made to carry the heaviest part of the blame.

For the Africans, one of the purposes of marriage is to bear children. Perhaps, this is why Mbiti asserts that children are the seal of marriage (Mbiti, 1969). The value Africans attached to children is reflected even on the names parents chose for their children. For example, Igbo people bear names such as Ifeyinwa (there is nothing like a child), Madukaku, (a human being is superior to wealth), Nwakaego (a child is greater than money), Nwadioto (a child is sweet), (Uwandu 2018:463). The Yoruba ethnic group also bear names such as Dunni (one who is sweet to

have), Idunnu (happiness), Kanmi (good things), Ayo (joy), Olayinka (wealth surrounds me), Abayonrunkoje (God won't allow humiliation), Abeo (bringer of happiness), Ayodele (joy has returned), Bayode (he who brings joy with himself), Folu (the one who brings the crown). Ham people of southern Kaduna, popularly known as Jaba also give names such as Wehsyaro (child is beautiful), Haro (home) etc.

From the proceedings, one can say that the primary purpose of marriage is procreation. But a child is not just enough, right sex is equally important. Chukwuma states in Uwandu (2018), that "the pressure of procreation on the female do not end with fecundity but with fecundity with the right sex aggregate..."(P.465). Magesa (1997) articulates the point above when he says that, according to African mentality, healthy children validate the relationship existing between parents, ancestors, and God himself. It is a physical indication of good moral standing of the parent to the gods and ancestors.

Suffice it to say that, infertility does not have a place in a typical African setting, largely because of the nature of symbolic representation of children especially male children in this life and in the after-life. However, civilization in the form of Christianity, Islam, and education had watered down the seemingly over bearing social pressure on infertile couples. But residual of social pressure on infertility is still a force to reckon with. Ugwu (2014, p.11) posits that, in spite of the great achievements made by Christianity and Islam, there is a paradox of overt but apparently convert existence of syncretism among African people with a weightier tilt and slant towards African indigenous religion. He further explains that the "doggedness of African religion is quite appreciable even among the educated and the so called elites". With this in mind, one might feel that there will be some form of affinity between African people and reproductive technology. Or so it may seem.

ATR and Other Religious' Positions on Personhood

Most ethical issues concerning ART, especially IVF hinge on whether the fetus, embryo or zygote is a person. However, defining personhood has proven to be elusive. The concept is slippery possibly because of its connection with philosophy, law and the concept of citizenship, equality and liberty. Personhood is crucial to ethical issues concerning ATR for the fact that it could afford fetus, embryo and zygote rights, protection, and certain privileges.

Personhood is generally viewed as the state of being a person, or sometimes as a condition of Personhood being an individual person. However, Tooley (2009) explains that the term "person" is used in two different ways. Sometimes its meaning is purely biological, and it is used to refer to individuals belonging to our own species *Homo sapiens*. It also refers not only to an individual belonging to certain species, but instead to individual who enjoys something comparable, in relevant to the type of mental life that characterized normal adult human beings. Possibly it is on this basis that a distinction is sometimes made between the fetus being a human being and the fetus being a person (Rae, 2000). But for the purpose of this work, we shall view a 'person' / 'personhood' irrespective of culture or legal position as a philosophical expression or position concerning an entity that affords the entity certain rights or privileges such as right to life which are mostly accrued to normal adult human being.

ART with its attendant methods often leave trails of moral issues in the wake of its practices. Philosophers, religious leaders and academics articulated their positions in so many quarters concerning the moral status of embryo, sperm and eggs. Most of the arguments used personhood as fulcrum on which their various positions spin. Tooley (2009), asserts that, the concept of personhood is crucial for the formulation of basic moral principles including the ones concerning rights and morality of

killings. He explains further that if something is a person, then its destruction is seriously wrong, and intrinsically so. But in addition, if one destroys a person, one does something wrong to the entity in which the person belongs. In other words, the rights and status enjoys by a person transcend even the person. As posits earlier, personhood is a philosophical expression or position which ascribes certain entitlements or privileges such as, "right to life" onto normal adult human beings. But what are the conditions necessary to guarantee this sort of moral status? Put differently, what are the border lines that will constitute personhood? He explains further that while there is a wide spread agreement that certain combination of psychological properties- such as those that one finds in normal adult of our own species suffice to make something a person, there is considerable agreement among philosophers both concerning which of those properties are morally significant ones, and concerning which properties constitutes a minimum bases for personhood. Nonetheless, Tooley asks,

Could certain clusters of properties like, consciousness, feelings, rational thoughts, memory, choice between possible actions etc. sufficient on their own to make something a person? If an entity posses less of this qualities will that make the entity less a person thus loses the right that comes with personhood? Are properties sufficient to make something a personhood? In a nutshell, is personhood an all- or- nothing matter, so that all persons have precisely the same moral status. Or on the contrary, personhood only allows certain degrees? (p.133).

Rae (2009), explains that most philosophers agreed that fetus either has personhood from the point of conception or it acquires it at some point during the process of gestation often referred to as 'decisive moment'. That is a moment at which a fetus or embryo can be said to be a person, signifying a distinction between a fetus

being a human being and a fetus being a person. The commonly proposed decisive moments are: viability, which is the point at which the fetus is said to live on its own outside the womb (about 24-26 weeks); 'Brain development' or the point at which the brain of the fetus begins to function, which is about 6-7 weeks; 'Sentience' that is the point at which the fetus is capable of experiencing sensations, particularly pain; 'Quickening' the first time the mother feels the fetus move inside her womb; the appearance of humanness has also been proposed as decisive moments; 'Implantation' the point at which the embryo establishes its presence in the womb by the hormones it produces. In some climes, personhood is stretched beyond the decisive moments mentioned above. Sperm and eggs are sometimes viewed as having status at least close to that of a person. This is partly because of the unique nature of sperm and egg. For example, Bernabo et al (2014) tells us that sperm and ova are alive before they meet or if they are not, then conception does not occur. In fact, they have been alive for years before they are fertilized. She further explains that unfertilized human ovum differs from most human cells in being haploid (24 chromosomes) rather than diploid (48 chromosomes). Whatever the position of the argument concerning personhood, it bestows or withholds certain privileges on the entity in question, thus influencing decision making for infertile couples and care givers. Most religious organizations also made their positions clear concerning ethical dilemma of ART in relation to personhood. The Roman catholic Church views human life as a continuum from the cell stage to death. They contend that at every stage, human life has dignity and merits protection. They hold that, upon conception, the biological and ontological individuality of a human being is established (Cohen 2010). This position suggests that sperms and eggs should be accorded respect as part of human body, but an embryo is elevated to the position of personhood. Little wonder Roman Catholic teaching, enunciated in a 1948 document *Donum Vitae* specifically condemned embryo research.

On the other hand, Rae 2000 states that several comments within Anglican - Episcopal tradition have developed the view that the early embryo does not have the capacity to become a distinct individual with potential to develop into a human being until about 14 days, when the precursor of the spinal cord develops and the embryo can no longer split into several individuals. In general, most Christian commentators ascribed the same status to embryo as to a new born baby, by demonstrating that God attributes the same characteristics to the unborn in the womb as to a person out of the womb. According to Rae the Anglican tradition indicates that the Greek term for baby (*briphos*), is applied to a child still in the womb in Luke 1:41-44 as well as to the new born baby Jesus in Luke 2:16. Verses like Isaiah 49:1 NIV-"Before I was born the Lord called me" (literally from the womb the lord called me); Psalms 51:5 NIV "Surely I was sinful at birth, sinful from the time my mother conceived me"; Psalms 131:16, "Your eyes saw my unformed body" support this view. Islamic scholars also lend their voices on this issue. They maintain that, human embryo takes on human life at 120 days after conception. Though there are divergent views concerning the exact point or time in which ensoulment takes place (Al-bar and Chamsi-Pasha 2017). On another twist, Judaism has a contrary view about embryo. Cohen (2010) states that Rabbi Eliah Doorf told National Bioethics Advisory Commission that,

Genetic materials outside uterus have no legal status in Jewish law, for they are not even a part of a human being until implanted in a woman's womb and even then, during the first 40 days of gestation, their status is as if they are water (p.150).

It seems, clear answer may delude us. But from different point of views concerning personhood, we may appreciate the enormity of clarifying personhood even from African perspective. Personhood in ATR is constituted by communal relationships through shared values with other members. This is manifested by

the expressions of individual potentials through active participation in the community (Segun, 2009). But first, individual, mostly youths have to be integrated into the community through series of rites and initiations before they can fully participate in the activities of the community. Mbiti (1969) that, "without being initiated, a person is not a full member of the Akamba people ... The initiation of the young is one of the key moments in the rhythm of individual life, which is also the rhythm of the corporate group of which the individual is part" (p.121).

In addition to the physical drama and impact, initiation rites have many symbolic meanings. For example, in one of the rituals, youths are made to isolate themselves and leave in the forest or specified location away from the village. During the period of withdrawal, they receive secret instructions and accomplish identified tasks before they are allowed to join their families at home. Among other things, the ritual above introduced youths to the art of communal living; it is also a symbolic experience of the process of dying, living in the spirit world and being reborn. It also prepares young people in matters of sexual life - they are henceforth allowed to plant their biological seeds for the procreation of next generation. Mbiti emphasizes that one of the most important significant of the rite is, "to introduce the candidates to adult life: they are now allowed to share in the full privileges and duties of the community... they inherit new rights" (p.121).

These rites often climaxed with festivals which symbolize metaphysical endorsements that give the rites full legitimacy. Ugwu explains that the one of the bases for festivals in Africa, lies within the vital context of the same fundamental religious orientation, which the worldview of the people engenders as the controlling insight, and meaning of life in its totality" (2003, pp.99-100). Perhaps, this position was born out of the traditional African believe that "spirit beings, cosmic and nature forces

underpin all vital aspects of life" (Ugwu 2003, p.105). To underscore the position above, significant percent of our respondents agreed that, personhood in Mumuye community of Taraba state begins sometimes after birth. The final stage is also marked with rites and festivals. When someone's action leads to miscarriage, a fine of goat is paid to the deceased family to atone for the transgression. Whereas in a case of murder or manslaughter, a more severe punishment is giving. However, there is no clear concept of abortion in the community. In a nutshell, in a typical African setting, without initiation and attendant festivals, a person is not a full member of a community and shall not enjoy certain privileges that are exclusively reserved for the members of that community.

African Traditional Religion and Reproduction via Technology

Each individual organism exists as the result of reproduction. One can say that reproduction is a fundamental feature of all known life. Nonetheless, some contend that reproduction in human is sometimes blocked by 'natural forces'. Others hold that it is 'spiritual forces' that often marred the process, which could lead to infertility or sterility. For example, Purdy (2009), explains that high rate of infertility is largely attributed to such factors as sexually transmitted disease, poor health, environmental pollution, unsafe abortion, unnecessary hysterectomies etc. On the other hand, Nnaemeka (2018) states that, "most adherents of traditional religion attribute the causes of infertility to spiritual and supernatural forces. Uwandu (2018), add credence to the latter position when he observed that, spiritual roots are looked in every event. This is why diviners are consulted in every difficult phase of life, such as, when barren African women desire children. In both cases above, everything possible is done to reverse the position. But while adherents of traditional religion see infertility and sterility as obstacles that block the channels through which the stream of life flows, therefore sever personal

immortality and threaten the perpetuation of the lineage; reproductive technology sees infertility as a challenge that requires flushing of blockages in the fallopian tube, or by - passing the fallopian tube entirely. To this end, the latter introduces methods that allow a range of new relationships between parents and children, including the birth of children who are not genetically related to the women who bare them (Kuhse and Singer, 2009).

This range of relationships is possible through the introduction of procedures such as intrauterine insemination (when the man's sperm is collected and inserted into the woman's uterus artificially), donor insemination (insemination is performed artificially using sperm of a donor), eggs donation (eggs are retrieved through minor surgery and often combined with sperm to form zygote and give to infertile couples), in vitro fertilization, surrogate motherhood and other related procedures (Rea 2000). These procedures raise ethical and existential questions that pundits, scholars, religious leaders and other stakeholders are still grappling with. For example IVF, a method that performs reproduction externally and can involve third party in the exercise and Surrogacy which extends this procedures to a level of lending/borrowing and buying of eggs /sperm have generated serious ethical questions. Notable questions that ensue from these procedures are: should any artificial means of procreation be used at all? Should sex be sidelined in the process of reproduction? In the case of sperm and egg donation, should third party contributors of eggs, sperm and womb be used in the process of procreation as well as genetic materials other than the spouse's genetic materials?

Gregory (2009) observes that many religious communities, either explicitly or impliedly identify four sources as the building blocks of their moral positions on issues such as the dilemma of reproductive technology: scripture, reason, tradition and

experience. Reason, is seen as human capacity to form concept, reflect and deliberate on it, and freely pursue it for the satisfaction of human needs. Tradition, refer both to formal position such as pronouncement during religious rituals and statement by religious functionaries as well as less formal practices and customs. Experience is seen broadly as concrete knowledge furnished through the reality of interaction with God or gods and other events that may define and redefine world views. Following this lead which complements our methodology, we are going to examine African traditional religious' position on reproductive technology from reason, tradition and experience.

One of the ways which African traditional religion directs its people is through concepts such as taboo and sacredness - the idea or belief or even communal code, that a certain thing is on the extreme side of avoidance or reverence in the value system of a social group which aim at maintaining cosmic order as noted by (Okechi, 2018), who went further to draw our attention to the fact that it may not be categorically mentioned that an object or concept is sacred or a taboo in a particular situation, but the way people view and respond to such things may suggest so. In African tradition, sexual relationship whose ultimate goal is reproduction is often attached with some degree of sacredness. In some cases, it can be classified as a taboo if some rules guiding such activities are ignored or violated. This is so partly because sexual relationship at various degrees is seen as sacrosanct factor to the image of a group. For example, Okechi (2018) told us that,

Among Igbo people of Nigeria, the female child is betrothed to a male child ... Nevertheless, this did not guaranteed the abuse of sanctity of sexual union until proper marriage is done. When any individual is caught in the act of socially unacceptable sexual activities especially, a married woman, execution was applied to heal the wound which such act may have caused the

societal dignity... In the matter of sex, while the individual has the right to know and explore it, the social groups have the right to maintain their collective conscience in what is good for the image of the society (p.88).

To lend credence to the position above, Sajo (interview 2019) explained that, "the issues of infertility are mostly handled through sacrifices and prayers directed to the family ancestors, often represented by wooden human figures (either male or female. However, significant percent of the people interviewed were against any reproductive practice go contrary to normal processes of procreation. Nyame a traditional religious practitioner of Mumuye people of Taraba State asserted that, "the practice of collection of sperm cells from a mature male, as well as eggs from a mature female is an aberration to our culture, we will regard that as a taboo" (interview 2019). In the same vein, others that were interviewed also explained that masturbation is not popular among the Mumuye people. Some went further to assert that it contravenes the moral principles of sexual pleasure or procreation of their people. For example, Numba (interview 2019) explained that "masturbation and the extraction of eggs from female ovary are alien to our culture. And since children are gifts from gods, the process would ensure children become blessing to the family should be pure and natural". On the contrary few believe that whatever the practices of ART, as long as it is performed on married couples and all the parties are in agreement, then it might be permissible. With this submission, third party involvement in the process of procreation would be seen as a taboo. Laka told us that, "polygamy is a common and acceptable practice, it would be better if surrogate mothers will be married and whatever happens will be the family affairs.

It could be deduced at this juncture that, a great percent of adherents of ATR in Mumuye community of Taraba state that

were interviewed, disapproved procreation outside sex as well as the third party involvement in procreation for the simple reason that the practice is alien to their culture. This position posits that there may be some form of stigmatization, perhaps, outright rejection of reproductive technology and children gotten through ART. To underscore this position, Abayo Ajayi, a Managing Director of Nordica Fertility Centre on an interview with an on line media admits that "there is some religious and cultural resistance in the practice of IVF in Nigeria" (2017).

Conclusion

Discussion above showed that Africans place a near unrestricted value on children. Children are the powerhouse of their physical and metaphysical reality. Because of that, ATR can be seen in pre-conception and conception, in pre-birth and birth, in different stages of growth and even in death and after life. Accompanying these steps are norms and taboos to ensure harmony in the cosmic activities which in turn influence earthly order and the afterlife.

Consequently, the alternative means of procreation that ART offers, should not be a square peg in a round hole in Africa. However, ART and its attendant procedures often leave trails of ethical dilemmas in their wake. This attracted responses from stakeholders, academics, and religious bodies. For example, some religions raised objections to procedures that separate sex from procreation. While others, have reservations to practices that exert over bearing pressure on concepts such as 'personhood' and 'motherhood'. To lend its voice to the ongoing discuss, ATR which hitherto appeared to be silent, classified practices like procreation without sex and third-party involvement as taboos. Abortion and masturbation are also abhorred. In addition, on the issue of personhood, it is the community that defines a person and confers rights to him or her through traditional rites and festivals, with an insignia of religion to give the whole process spiritual favour and fervor.

The particularity of ATR positions may supply a glimpse of African dimension to the ongoing discuss concerning the ethical issues of ART. ATR positions concerning procedures of ART might lead to stigmatization of children gotten through ART as well as the entire process. The paradox of solving stigmatization with a stigmatized solution may be reconciled if a collaborative efforts can be forged to first of all, downplay the universal validity of Western values so that other values can be accommodated in other to have a more robust practices of ART that may enjoy better acceptability. 2. To understand the cultures and values of others, in this case, the values of ART. The understanding may lead to effective communication between service providers of ART and host communities. For example, our data have shown that there is high level of ignorance among the Mumuye community in Jalingo about this novel alternative means of reproduction, hence the need to create awareness. 3. In addition, the government should provide environment that will encourage healthy corporation between ATR and ART. Academics in humanities should also be encouraged through research grants and other incentives to investigate not just the intended social effects of ART, but also the unwanted side-effects it might produce, and how to cushion the effects. It is our hope that when the various suggestions above are giving due attention by stakeholders, benefits of ART will be maximized to the advantage of ATR and Africans at large.

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ORAL INTERVIEW

S/N	Name	Sex	Status	Appr. Age	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
1	Musa Boyi	Female	Married	30-50	Danjako Jalingo	10th Sept. 2019
2	Panyata Bajama	Male	Married	30-50	Danjako Jalingo	10th Sept. 2019
3	Bonzena Nana	Male	Single	50 - above	Danjako Jalingo	10th Sept. 2019
4	Irmiya Kokwanti	Male	Married	30-50	Danjako Jalingo	10th Sept. 2019

ORAL INTERVIEW

S/N	Name	Sex	Status	Appr. Age	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
5	Nitto Korot	Female	Married	18-30	Danjako Jalingo	10th Sept. 2019
6	Babaji Kwan	Male	Married	50 - above	Danjako Jalingo	10th Sept. 2019
7	Danasa Rizga	Male	Married	30-50	Danjako Jalingo	16th Sept. 2019
8	Gambo Dodung	Male	Married	30-50	Danjako Jalingo	16th Sept. 2019
9	Bonzenna Dangana	Male	Married	18-30	Danjako Jalingo	16th Sept. 2019
10	Janaban Sarki	Male	Married	50 - above	Danjako Jalingo	16th Sept. 2019
11	Laan Lakwanri	Female	Married	18-30	Danjako Jalingo	16th Sept. 2019
12	Laapo Hakuri	Female	Married	30-50	Danjako Jalingo	16th Sept. 2019
13	Samari Monkin	Male	Single	18-30	Danjako Jalingo	16th Sept. 2019
14	Yatu Vor	Female	Married	30-50	Didonko, Zing	18th Sept. 2019
15	Yarenjo Sajo	Female	Married	18-30	Laapo, Zing	18th Sept. 2019
16	Tapu Laka	Female	Single	50 - above	Kassa, Yorro	18th Sept. 2019
17	Waka Wuru	Female	Married	18-30	Lankaviri Yorro	19th Sept. 2019
18	Banu James	Male	Married	18-30	Kakulu, Zing	19th Sept. 2019
19	Lavi Thomas	Male	Married	30-50	Yakoko, Zing	20th Sept. 2019
20	Francis Umar	Male	Single	30-50	Jimlari, Yorro	20th Sept. 2019

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THE MORAL IMPLICATION OF
COHABITATION AMONG STUDENTS OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA, NSUKKA,
SOUTH-EASTERN NIGERIA

By

CHIOMA	WILSON	CHINASA	AGHA
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ONUORAH	ANOWIA	CHUKWUEMEKA	AGHA

Abstract

Living together before marriage known as cohabitation is a phenomenon that is developing rapidly in today's society. Cohabitation and premarital sex are trending lifestyle among the youths in Nigeria. In recent times, cohabitation has become very common among students of higher institutions of learning. This study examines and analyzes the moral implication of cohabitation among students of University of Nigeria, Nsukka, South-Eastern Nigeria. The study adopted a mixed method approach. Data was generated with semi-structured interview and questionnaire respectively and the findings were analyzed based on content and SPSS. It was found that cohabitation as a phenomenon is overwhelmingly popular among undergraduates as well as one of the major contributors to moral degeneration in the country. The study is informed by the premarital sex experimentation, unwanted pregnancies, incessant cases of abortion, having unprepared family life and involvement in internet fraud. Morality culminates in campus cohabitation, participation in cultism, illegal drug use and alcohol abuse. Thus, this phenomenon is one of the major contributors to moral degeneration in the country. This study proffers some majors to curb this menace.

Keywords: Cohabitation, Nigerian society, morality, undergraduates, moral decadence, tertiary institutions

Introduction

Cohabitation is a trending phenomenon in most tertiary institutions in Nigeria today. A tertiary institution is an institution of higher learning that has a cross-fertilizing inspiration from experienced and versatile administrators and tutors. These experienced staff of the higher institutions are meant to impact the lives of the students administratively and morally. They also acquaint the students with methodologies for the understanding of their cultural heritage and social norms in line with their fields of study. Higher institution is a place students learn and upgrade themselves academically. For one to be admitted as a student in a tertiary institution is to embrace another level of life where parental guidance and teacher's monitoring is less applicable. Consequent to the above, some students are living care-free life because there is no parental guidance and classroom teacher supervision. These students consequently turn to drug addiction, sex practitioners, cohabitation and cultism, among others.

Human culture in the 21st century has been transformed by a revolution in sexual values. Cohabitation is changing the cultural landscape of our society. In cohabitation, young boys and girls live together as 'husband' and 'wife', and share everything in common, including sex. In essence, cohabitation attracts and promotes premarital sex. They are fast becoming a kind of a norm amongst undergraduates of higher learning (Mwaba and Naidoo, 2005). In an African traditional setting, cohabitating is seen as a social vice that is unacceptable and intolerable. This practice poses a challenge to the African cultural outlook towards marriage. The current social trends allow the essence of the institution of marriage within Nigerian society to slowly adulterate and give greater flexibility in establishing and maintaining relationships with others (Fakeye, 2000). The rise in cohabitation changed the perception of marriage and human relations in society and led to the redesign of the dating process. However, the fact that cohabitation is practised and common in

the society does not make it right. The three major religions in Nigerian society are undeniable against cohabitation before marriage for the obvious reason of preventing premarital sex. From the Biblical perspective, the sins of fornication (premarital sex) and adultery are condemned in the scripture (1 Corinthians 6:9). In the Islamic context, fornication and adultery are forbidden and classified as major and destructive sins. Islam has even forbidden everything that could lead to these sins, such as immoral exchange of looks between the two sexes, depraved words, seductive moves, a man and a woman being in seclusion in a room, and anything else which could lead to this awful sin. Allah the Almighty Says: "And come not near to unlawful sex. Verily, it is a great sin and an evil way that leads one to Hell unless Allah forgives him" (Quran, 17:32). In traditional Igbo society, for example, it is morally wrong for two people of the opposite sex to start living together (cohabiting) without the man first paying the necessary bride price of the woman. It is significant to note that despite the observable differences in beliefs, orientations and practices of the three major religions in Nigeria; the three seem to agree in the area of decorum, decency and sanctity attached to human sexuality.

Formerly, cohabitation was seen as shameful and immoral. In contemporary time, sexual liberation has made cohabitation socially acceptable and seen as normal way of life. This growing trend is gradually eroding the level of morality among the undergraduates of Nigerian tertiary institutions, including the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. This research has taken years to study, as cohabitation has regrettably contributed to moral degeneration and decadence among university undergraduates. Society has shifted to liberal view of morality in the sense that any activity that does not cause harm to others is seen as morally permissible. The main thrust of this study is to proffer an ethical investigation and effectively explore the rising trends of cohabitation and premarital sex among undergraduates of the

University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The study exposes the underlying factors responsible for cohabitation, the negative impact on the students' moral development, and its effect on the students' academic performance and health. The study argues that cohabitation amongst students of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka compromised the rich and cherished cultural values, the religious rites and ritual leading to marriage due to sexual freedom.

An Overview of Human Sexual Developmental Stages

Every human being passes through several stages of development from birth to old age. In these stages of life, infancy suggests helplessness and childhood suggests innocence. One must pass through these stages of infancy and childhood before getting to adulthood. Adolescence which is next to adulthood probably suffers the greatest prejudice more than any age group in human history. Adolescence is often seen as the period when reproduction is possible. For some people, it is between the ages of thirteen and nineteen (Psychology today, 2020), and for others, adolescence begins around the age of 10 and ends around the age of 21 (Study.com, 2020). Some also claim that it is between twelve and eighteen years of age. All these differences depend on the individual's body system. The period of adolescence is one of the stages from childhood to adulthood.

The change in adolescence is not only on the physical appearance, there are also changes in reasoning and thinking of that individual. The changes can be dramatic as in the case of adolescence. The problem caused by changes in thinking and behaviour is unusual because almost all adolescents go through them. Adolescence is commonly perceived as a period of exploration and self-discovery; new experiences and pushing boundaries, such as smoking, vaping, drinking alcohol, and sexual permissiveness (Vaghi, 2020). It is also observed that the urge for sex constantly manifests itself at this age, which is

associated with sexual feelings, increased sexual attraction and motivation (Onuorah, 2019). Also, during adolescence, the individual experiences an upsurge of sexual feelings following the latent sexuality of childhood. It is during adolescence that the individual learns to control and direct sexual urges (Csikszentmihalyi, 2020). The practice of cohabitation is also taken over from adolescence to adulthood in many cases.

Conceptual Clarification

Cohabitation is defined as a situation in which opposite-sex couples live together outside of marriage (Newcomb, 2019). Parry (1981, p.1) sees cohabitation as a word that is generally used to describe the relationship between unmarried couples who live together as "husband and wife." The term 'cohabitation' is not commonly used to describe people who are merely sharing living space or who call themselves 'roommates.' Cohabitation can pertain to either heterosexual or same-sex couples, but it is most commonly used about heterosexual couples (Gilles, 2020). To elaborate more, cohabitation can be defined as a non-marital co-residential union – that is, the relationship of a couple who live together in the same dwelling but who are not married to each other (Encyclopedia.com, 2018). Such relationships can also be called informal unions, since, unlike marriages, they are normally not regulated by law, nor is the occurrence of a cohabiting relationship officially registered. Cohabitation is when two people who are romantically involved choose to live together without making the formal commitment of marriage. Cohabiting couples are typically emotionally and sexually intimate.

Cohabitation that involves university undergraduates comes in various guises such as 'campus marriages,' 'campus coupling,' 'campus husband and wife' etc. The term 'Campus marriage' therefore, is a system of marriage in which an undergraduate boy and a girl live together in one room as husband and wife without formally getting married. The content of campus marriage entails

consensual premarital sex between the two and a sense of mutual responsibility. It is popularly referred to as unofficial marriage. Campus marriage is a system in which for obvious reasons a girl requests a boy to squat her until she finds accommodation. If eventually, she ends up not finding accommodation, the two may decide to move on and live together. In other words, it is an informal marriage relationship between students (boy and girl).

Morality in a layman's understanding refers to the belief of rightness or wrongness of something. Morality denotes a generally accepted code of conduct in a society or within a subgroup of society that comes to be regarded as essential to its survival and welfare (Ezekwu, 2008; p.16). This accepted code of conduct is the norm, which is the rules, principles and regulations that are considered essential or the standard rule or code of conduct within a given society. Norms are widely shared standards of conduct that control (within limits) the behaviour of group members (Segall et.al., 1999: p.31). Nche and Onah (2014, p.2232) observe that, "these accepted norms or codes of conduct in any society often appeal to the moral nature of man," as Omoregbe (1993) cited in Nche and Onah (2014) affirms that, "for the human nature is a moral nature, and the moral sphere is exclusively the human sphere" (p.2223).

Moral conduct connotes those values that are considered within the context of morality, which help to maintain the standard of behaviour that is good. Some of the moral conduct in Nigerian society include honesty, integrity and respect for human life; avoidance of premarital sex and adultery; abstaining from examination malpractice, cultism and internet fraud, etc. Morality helps in the promotion and attainment of the common good. To this end, any conduct that is not in line with the accepted norms, which the society upholds and defends, is seen as immoral and unacceptable. Not adhering to the moral principles of conduct in society by her members leads to moral degeneration

and moral lapses.

Adolescence and Morality

Adolescence represents a stage of growing autonomy and independence for the individual. The social prospects of the adolescent are expanding and the individual will be exposed to diverse values and expectations. However, such changes are perceived as important positive steps in development, yet they also produce conflicts for the individual and the family. Some of their behaviours do not conform to the standard of moral judgment as to be regarded as right. According to Titus as cited in Agha (2003, p.35), the word 'right' implies conformity to custom, law, conscience and parental expectations. Titus further postulates that an action is right if it leads to physical, intellectual and spiritual development or a more harmonious personal and social life (Agha, 2003). The changes that occur in adolescence are seen as moral development.

As a result of the increase in freedom of behaviour, the adolescence experiences are a variety of moral decisions in the area of sexual behaviour, political beliefs or ideologies and use of drugs. Developmental psychologists are interested in the study of children's and adolescents' moral judgments (Killen and Smetana, 2015 cited in Killen and Tina, 2015). Scholar like Sigmund Freud (1923) was very much interested in the feelings generated by the conflict between the powerful, pleasure-oriented motives and the need to avoid antisocial impulses from controlling the personality (Thornton, 2020). The theories of Jean Piaget (1932) and Lawrence Kohlberg (1969) (Carpendale, 2000) unlike Freudian theory have generated much argument and research on the moral development of the adolescence. Some of the scholars argue that the adolescence should be able to have conscious prior judgment concerning the rightness or wrongness of his or her specific courses of action. Cohabitation, by moral implication, is a conflict and a wrong course of action which some

adolescents in the university have adopted.

Method

The study adopted mixed method of research (quantitative and qualitative). The undergraduate students and staff of University of Nigeria Nsukka, Enugu State constituted the population for the study. For the quantitative study, a total of 100 respondents were randomly sampled from the five faculties of the university: Arts, Education, Engineering, Pharmaceutical Sciences and Social Sciences. The qualitative study encompasses 6 respondents; 2 academic staff, 2 non-academic staff and 2 students. The total respondents involved in both quantitative and qualitative study is 106. The questionnaire was divided into two sections; Section A and Section B comprising socio-demographic data and other substantial issues respectively. The instrument used was reviewed and sufficiently adjudged by a sociologist. The total number of questionnaire retrieved from the respondents was 70. Simple percentage was used to analyse the research questions whereas the qualitative study was analysed based on content.

Research Questions

At the course of the study, the following research questions were answered:

- Does excessive admission engender cohabitation?
- What are the factors that engender students' cohabitation?
- Does inadequate finance bring about students' cohabitation?
- What are the effects of cohabitation on students?
- Can mutual assistance attract cohabitation?
- What measures are suggested for alleviation of students' cohabitation?

Results

The results of the findings on the research hypothetical questions that guide the study were presented in the tables below.

Section A: The demographic data of the respondents

Table 1: Gender of Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	22	31.4	31.4	31.4
Female	48	68.6	8.6	100.0
Total	70	100.0	100.0	

Table 2: Occupation of Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Students	43	61.4	61.4	61.4
Academic Staff	17	24.3	24.3	85.7
Non-Academic Staff	10	14.3	14.3	100.0
Total	70	100.0	100.0	

Table 3: Religion of Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Christianity	64	91.4	91.4	91.4
Islamic	4	5.7	5.7	97.1
African Traditional Religion	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	70	100.0	100.0	

Table 4: Marital Status of Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Single	43	61.4	61.4	61.4
Married	24	34.3	34.3	95.7
Single	2	2.9	2.9	98.6
Married	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
Total	70	100.0	100.0	

Section B: The summary of the responses of 6 item questionnaire that sought information on reasons for cohabitation among undergraduate students.

Table 5: Responses on if excessive admission engender cohabitation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	68	97.1	97.1	97.1
No	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	70	100.0	100.0	

Field Source Survey 2022

Table 5 shows that 97.1% of the respondents agreed that excessive admission engender cohabitation among students while 2.9 % disagreed with that notion.

**Table 6: Responses on factors that engender
Students' cohabitation**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Inadequate Hostel Accommodation	58	82.9	82.9	82.9
Poor Parental Upbringing	8	11.4	11.4	94.3
Lack of Good Morals	2	2.9	2.9	97.1
Peer Pressure	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	70	100.0	100.0	

Field Source Survey 2022

Table 6 indicates that 82.9% of the respondents agreed that inadequate hostel accommodation engender student's cohabitation, 11.4% opined that poor parental upbringing is the contributing factor to cohabitation, 2.9% said it is lack of good morals while another 2.9 agreed on peer pressure as a factor that engenders students' cohabitation.

**Table 7: Responses on if inadequate finance
bring about Students' cohabitation**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	69	98.6	98.6	98.6
No	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
Total	70	100.0	100.0	

Field Source Survey 2022

Table 7 shows that 98.6% of the respondents agreed that inadequate finance could bring about students' cohabitation while 1.4% declined to that

**Table 8: Responses on the effects of cohabitation
on Students**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Poor Academic Performance	33	47.1	47.1	47.1
Miscreant Behaviour	2	2.9	2.9	50.0
Depression and Suicidal Attempt	2	2.9	2.9	52.9
Exposure to Sexual Transmitted Diseases	33	47.1	47.1	100.0
Total	70	100.0	100.0	

Field Source Survey 2022

Table 8 shows that 47.1% of the respondents affirmed poor academic performance as the effect of students' cohabitation, 2.9% respondents said miscreant behaviour is the effect, another 2.9% of respondents opined that depression and suicidal attempt is the effect while 47.1% agreed that exposure to sexually transmitted diseases is the effect of cohabitation among students

Table 7: Responses on if mutual assistance attract cohabitation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	67	95.7	95.7	95.7
No	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
Total	70	100.0	100.0	

Field Source Survey 2022

Table 9 shows that 95.7% of the respondents agreed that mutual assistance could lead to cohabitation among students whereas 4.3% disagreed with that.

Table 8: Responses on measures for alleviation of Students' cohabitation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Parental Guidance	10	14.3	14.3	14.3
Provision of Affordable Hostel Accommodation	38	54.3	54.3	68.6
Sanctions On Students Caught in the Act	6	8.6	8.6	77.1
Students' Enlightenment on the Effects of Cohabitation	16	22.9	22.9	100.0
Total	70	100.0	100.0	

Field Source Survey 2022

Table 10 shows 14.3% of the respondents opined that parental guidance could be used to alleviate student's cohabitation, 54.3% agreed that provision of affordable hostel accommodation will alleviate cohabitation, 8.6% agreed that sanctions on students caught in the act could deter students from cohabiting while 22.9% opined that students' enlightenment on the effects of cohabitation.

Discussion of the Findings

The study shows that a greater percentage of respondents comprising male and female attested that excessive admission attracts cohabitation among students. Majority of them opined that inadequate hostel accommodation could contribute to cohabitation among students. Most of the respondents affirmed that lack of finance can make students to cohabit among themselves, which subjects them to poor academic performance and sexually transmitted diseases. It was also agreed that mutual assistance could lure students into cohabitation, hence adequate provision of hostel accommodation was suggested as a remedy to student's cohabitation.

The 6 respondents interviewed elucidated many reasons as the causes of campus marriage. The following are some of the reasons offered for the research. The findings disclosed that most admissions conducted by universities (including the University of Nigeria, Nsukka) are above the approved admission quota. This quota is based on Nigeria University Commission (NUC) institutional accreditation and input of different professional bodies. Some university administrations default in this order by admitting students above the approved quota without considering whether the institutions have the facilities that will make learning conducive. The hostel accommodations and the classrooms may not be large enough to accommodate the population of the students admitted at a given period. This gives room to overcrowding and stretching the facilities above their limits.

Overpopulation in various hostels affects the sanitary condition of those hostels. As a result of overpopulation, some students may not be able to get hostel accommodation. This impels them to rent apartments outside the school premises. It was also observed that house rents are so exorbitant that most of the students cannot afford them. Those who cannot afford the rents squat with friends. In some cases, the female students will agree to squat with male students for obvious reasons. Some students adopt the system of cohabitation by sharing the house rent. Lack of accommodation is, therefore, one of the primary problems that lead students to cohabit in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. A female student added to her response that due to lack of accommodation, she had to live with her boyfriend. She saw nothing wrong with her decision without thinking about the ethical implications of such decision.

The findings also show that lack of money to pay for accommodation fee contributes significantly to students' cohabitation in the universities. In some cases, it may be the male student who bears the financial responsibility and as a result of that, both may consent to living together as husband and wife. There are students who engage in cohabitation for companionship. However, it is natural for people to have a companion but it should not lead to students' cohabitation, no matter how close their relationship may be. For instance, a partner that comes from a wealthy family will assist the other financially, while a partner that is better endowed academically may assist the other. In most cases, the girl may be well to do in terms of money, but may not be all that intelligent. The girl may end up assisting a boy financially for the purpose of sexual satisfaction and academic assistance.

Furthermore, it is revealed that peer pressure and sex experimentation contribute significantly to students' cohabitation. Freedom from parental restriction and surveillance at home has been attributed by respondents as a reason why they engage in

campus cohabitation. It is a fact that most parents restrict the movement and association of their wards at their homes. However, those young ones yearn for freedom. Being admitted into the university give them the liberty to experiment on these repressed desires for association with the opposite sex. The males among them are much likely to rent apartments and hook up with the opposite sex as to identify with the parents' fears. The fact remains that humans would always want to go above their limits, and these undergraduates go into cohabitation to prove or ascertain why they have been cut off from free association with the opposite sex.

Some students generally bring into the university behaviours that are quite different from their behaviours at home. They feel like having been freed from parental bondage and some are easily influenced by peer pressure and pick up unhealthy habits such as cigarette smoking, drinking of alcohol, use of illegal drugs, etc. Some also engage in risk behaviours like interpersonal violence, prostitution, armed robbery, cultism, etc. Engaging in these activities make them feel responsible on their own. Students may engage in cohabitation for socialization and class status - showing other students that they belong to the higher class of students. They also feel that by doing so people will believe that they are from rich families in the society.

It is discovered that mutual assistance among students contributes significantly to students' cohabitation in the universities. The inability to prepare or cook food has been observed as a good reason why most male students invite their female friends to live with them. According to some male respondents, they live with their female friends on campus to have a helpmate (a cook) who would address their stomach infrastructure problems. Most of them claimed that the only function they know how to do very well is boiling water. Therefore, staying alone and visiting restaurants on daily basis is

not good and affordable for them. From their reactions, they did not see it as anything evil as they may eventually marry the person they live with. However, they did not deny having or engaging in sexual intercourse as they live with their female counterparts. This also they see as a normal thing on campus.

Another reason offered by the respondents for cohabitation is that they started living together so that they can spend more time together. These they believe provide a good test of their compatibility. It is indeed ridiculous to think or hear that most students who engage in campus cohabitation do so to find out if they are compatible for marriage or not. A female partner may accept campus cohabitation for protection against cultism. This also enables them to be free from the risks of running after many boys or vice versa. Some feel that by cohabitation, they will be free from attack by wicked male students.

Moral Implications of Cohabitation on the Students

Cohabitation among the undergraduates is morally wrong as it is an illicit practice that has many negative consequences. The influence of cohabitation has cropped up several immoral acts that are discussed below:

Premarital Sex Experimentation, Promiscuity and Unwanted Pregnancy

In this contemporary time, sexual revolution has removed the moral stigma of premarital sex. Sex before marriage is very common among teenagers and youths. It has become a norm because our culture has moved from a culture of traditions and social conformity to a culture of individualism and personal gratification, in which the youngsters maintain that it confirms their freedom. The cohabiting students see themselves as being sexually liberated. Sex experimentation for them in this epoch is part and parcel of modernity. Premarital sex is no more a vice among the students. Sexual experimentation encourages the

increase in the level of sexual promiscuity among the students and also give rise to sexual immorality in the universities. Promiscuity encourages infidelity in marriage, as it is observed that cohabiting couples are twice more likely to experience infidelity within their relationship than married couples (Treas and Giesen, 2000).

Our investigation reveals that some of the girls that are involved in cohabitation and premarital sexual activities with their so-called partners end up with unwanted pregnancies. As Chitamun and Finchilescu (2003, p.154) observed, "there are many girls who fall pregnant unexpectedly because they engage in premarital sex." These unplanned and unwanted pregnancies in many cases, force the girls to seek illegal abortion, which is the willful termination of the pregnancy in order to avoid shame. It is also observed by Saka (2001) cited in Wahab and Ajadi (2009) that in Nigeria, 50% of maternal deaths are adolescents due to illegal abortion while abortion complications account for about 72% of all girls under the age of 19. This abominable act if not professionally done can damage the womb, cause removal of the womb and lead to barrenness and sudden death. On another instance, the majority of these pregnant girls become school dropouts and some end up committing suicide. This is in line with Musyimi assertion that a greater risk is seen among adolescent mothers, who become pregnant outside marriage and consider suicide as the solution to unresolved problem (Musyimi, 2020). The majority of the youths are exposed to sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and diseases such as syphilis, gonorrhea, herpes, HIV, AIDS, etc. because they choose to be sexually active outside marriage. According to American Academy of Pediatrics (2022, p.1), teenagers and young people have higher rates of STI than any other, one of the reasons is that they frequently engage in unprotected sex. Many youths have died because of the AIDS pandemic. The prevalence of HIV and AIDS amongst youths is on the increase. It should be noted that anyone who leads an

unprotected sex life runs the risk of contracting these dreadful diseases, which at times ends up sending the person to an early grave.

Loss of Sense of the Sacredness of Life and Abuse

Termination of pregnancy occurs due to cohabitation that results to premarital pregnancy. Sacredness of life is a theological and philosophical understanding that all human life has an inherent dignity, worth and sacredness that set it apart from all other beings with the world (Harris, 1999). Human life according to religious injunction starts from conception. Many young girls get involved in this immoral act when trying to get rid of unwanted pregnancies. The sacredness of life is a moral value and an integral part of the moral norms and values in virtually all societies.

It is observed that some of the female partners are mostly abused and molested by their male partners when they quarrel. This invariably leads to grave psychological trauma, low self-esteem and depressive mood that could affect their health and education. Some teenagers become miserable and disillusioned with life as their hopes and dreams are shattered. They end up committing suicide as a result of failure to cope with pressures related to love, heartbreak and emotional breakdown. Some of them commit suicide to wipe away the shame of unwanted pregnancies. Fear and guilt of the wrong deed could also bring about depression and lead to suicide. Indeed, it is wrong to take one's life as it is unacceptable and should be stopped because the worth of human life is unquantifiable and priceless.

Involvement in Cultism and Related Crimes

Cultism is one of the dangerous and destructive evils not only in our universities but also in Nigerian society. There is a relationship between cohabitation among the students and cultism. Our investigation shows that those boys cohabiting need

to be in charge of their girls. This pushes them to join cult because they want power, to be feared by others and to be in charge. Cultism attracts other related crimes like killing, armed robbery, kidnapping, rape, illegal use of drugs, high alcohol consumption, etc. The above crimes are perpetrated by cultists both within and outside the university. They do those things to enable them maintain and meet up with the demands of their cohabiting partners. However, most of these evils are perpetrated by male partners, while female partners are less involved.

Involvement in Cybercrime and Poor Academic Performance

Cybercrime is another dangerous and destructive evil in society. Some students who engage in this act are seen to have been involved in cohabitation. They cannot concentrate on their academics nor have adequate finance to cater for the needs of their partners. They resort to cybercrime, faking their identities and staying online all day to defraud people and dupe them of their resources. This is highly practised by the male partners in cohabitation than their female partners. They engage in cybercrime to make money to enable them take care of their female partners.

On the other hand, some students who are involved in cohabitation experience poor performance in their academic work. This is because they are distracted as they explore on sexual experimentation and trying to make ends meet in order to take care of their partners. Students who engage in cohabitation hardly do well in class-work. The study of Sabia and Rees (2009) reveal that there is relationship between students' sexual relationship and their academic performance. Poor academic performance has led some students to overstay in their area of study. Some have been forced to withdraw from the university without completing their courses of study. Some hire 'mercenaries' to write examinations for them, while some of them indulge in

examination malpractices (expo).

Recommendation

To control or curb the moral implications of cohabitation among university students of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, South-Eastern Nigeria, the subsequent are recommended:

Family as the first agent of socialization should consciously contribute to the building of a virtuously viable society by impacting in the young ones the accepted ethical and cultural values. Parents should contribute to the building of a virtuously viable Nigerian society by inculcating sturdy moral values into their children right from their homes, which is the smaller unit of the larger society, since it is aforesaid that children are the future. This will curb the level of moral degeneration within the country.

- Parents should make out time to grasp the wellbeing of their children in the university by visiting them often; this can help to guide them against immoral behaviours.
- Students should refrain from every act of immorality for the future of the country, because it is believed that youths are the leaders of tomorrow. They should also avoid the obsession of visiting some social media sites especially pornographic sites; instead they should moderately utilize the advantages which the good social media sites provide.
- Religious organizations should implant in their members the religious and ethical values, particularly the values that concern sexuality. The youths should learn to be disciplined and should not allow themselves to do things that will lead to lifetime of regret.

- Government should build more hostel accommodations for both male and female students in their institutions, as well as ensure that private owned institutions provide adequate accommodation for their students; the university administrators should provide facilities and improve the hygienic conditions of the universities and also charge moderate accommodation fees affordable for students.
- School authorities should ban cohabitation among the students of opposite-sex and conjointly add it in their rules and regulations. The university authority should create a committee that will be responsible for the welfare of the off-campus students and checkmate the activities of their students within and outside the campus.

Conclusion

This research study highlights the phenomenal nature of cohabitation among students of University of Nigerian Nsukka, South-Eastern Nigeria. Cohabitation connotes premarital sex, as the major causes include lack of hostel accommodation; lack of money to pay for accommodation; peer pressure and sex experimentation; and mutual assistance contribute significantly to students' cohabitation in the universities. Young people who came into the university to be educated for brighter future had their dreams shattered because they towed the immoral ways of campus marriage. Most of them are school dropouts, cultists, drug addicts, armed robbers, etc. During the investigation of this research study, some female students were found suffering from STIs contacted from their so-called campus husbands. The worse part of their story was that those who transmitted the diseases to them denied and abandoned them. Nevertheless, greater attention was given to the moral implication of cohabitation among the students of Nigerian universities. These included premarital sex experimentation, loss of sense of sacredness, involvement in internet fraud and cultism, etc.

However, there are still more evil consequences that those involved experienced as a result of campus marriage. It is important for everybody, especially the school authorities, parents and students themselves to fight to salvage the immoralities associated with cohabitation. As already stated, this work is just to create awareness among the parents and the general public. By this research, the authors want the Government, Nigerian Universities Commission (NUC), proprietors of private universities and the general public to know the importance of providing students' hostels for both male and female, otherwise they are exposed to various forms of hazard and challenges.

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THE VICTIMS OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CHARLATANISM IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

The victims of political and religious charlatanism in the Nigeria are not incongruous in the contemporary society. The occupants of political positions in Nigeria seize it to marginalize the poor and embezzle public fund. Many a time, they feign to be epitome of good leadership and appropriate representation of their people when they need the people's allegiance to occupy certain political office(s). As soon as they are assigned to the office, they reveal themselves to be the polar opposite of everything they claim to be. Religious leaders from various church denominations are no longer agents of moral rectitude. The quest to be rich and richer among ordained priests has made the so called house of God, business arena. Both the political and religious leaders are indeed charlatans. Using documentary analysis to approach this

problem, the researchers recommend that if these leaders are devoted to human service, the devastating condition of the nation will be on the decrease.

Key words: *victims, politics, religion, Nigeria, charlatanism*

Introduction

Political and religious leadership with emphasis on Christianity is in recent time taken to be speed means of amassing wealth and attaining recognition in the society. As such, people from time to time seek various means of becoming rich and richer today and tomorrow. Political gerrymandering and religious criminality are the order of the day in both the secular political sector and religious community (church). Leaders in the political related matters use their political offices to create social unrest in form of denial of rights, delay of payment of salaries to civil servants, embezzlement of public fund instead of creation of industries for engagement of ever increasing young people in Nigeria to mention but a few. Highlighting on the corruption in Nigeria, Nwogbo (2011) comments that the history of Nigeria is replete with cases of corruption and lack of accountability which have wasted the country's resources and dampened the prospects for overcoming the challenges of underdevelopment. The mere utterance of promises and pledges given by the political leaders during their manifestoes which always turn out to be false in the real sense, and their subsequent victimization of the masses brought to lime light that they are indeed lions in sheep clothing...charlatan nature of leadership. This equally implies that the problem with Nigeria is problem of leadership (Achebe, n.d). The high rate of marginalization of the citizenry by the leaders is becoming unbearable. This is why Agbo (2011) contends that the style of leadership since the creation of Nigeria has been bedeviled with squander-maniac principles, corruption, lack of vision, un-patriotism, and lack of courage to do the right thing.... Also tribalism, ethnicism and nepotism have become

increasingly influential in the style of political administration in Nigeria. Leadership in Nigeria has been largely based on tribalism and ethnicism. All these give a clear indication that political leaders are very cunning, hence the citizens are left to suffer the aftermath of the dishonest game.

For the purpose of this paper, religious charlatanism is discussed only in the context of Christian religion, hence the church leaders. The charlatanism found among leaders of religious sphere, the church to be précised is solely as a result of quest to be rich and richer, the desire to become influential and wealthy like the secular leaders, and unnecessary competition among church ordained leaders such as pastors, reverends, bishops, general overseers, superintendents and other denominational titles for hierarchy of priests. Ugwu (2011) supports this claim as he asserts that the craze for materialism best describes the true colour of most priests today. However, this malady has been on but its pangs are becoming harsher currently. The high level of greed and materialism exhibited by many priests is a complete departure from the main thrust of the teaching of Jesus Christ contained in the gospels. Most sermons in the church are geared towards emptying the pocket of the members of the congregation.

Some members of church denominations are used to accomplished the ulterior motives of the so called servants of God. Some are brainwashed to make for themselves riches in heaven by investing all they have in so called work of God. Another dimension of the charlatanism shown among some of the priests is the fact that some of them came into priesthood because of their failure in other works of life which they engaged in, in the time past. This truth is succinctly preserved as follows: dropout and uneducated are now becoming preachers and pastors ...whosoever hits hard luck in business sees it as a call to the ministry. God wants him to go into the ministry (Ituma, 2000). This has brought about serious confusion as to distinguish

between the genuine and fake ones because even the genuine ones are distracted and negatively influenced by the mundane activities of the unreal ones. As of today in Nigeria, running of religious houses are considered "a vastly profitable venture" where pastors are seen "moving from a live of average financial status to stupendous wealth in a matter of months" (Nairaland Forum, 2013). As a result of this, an average Nigerian, especially the young ones, go crazy in search of ways of becoming wealthy at all cost, many of them choose to achieve this through religious means by claiming to have been called upon by God for evangelism (Mustapha, 2016). This reveals how even the young members of the society become the victims of this ill practices, they desire to become like the so called men of God and finally venture into religious crime.

However, it is suggested that equality before the law and no one above the law should be held in high esteem regardless of one's social, political and religious status. Similarly, both political and religious leaders and aspiring leaders need to be dedicated and committed to human service and development with selfless interest as such will reduce the high effect of charlatanism which has put the country in an apparent devastating condition. The method of research and data collection used in this research compendium by the investigators is documentary analysis. The method is suitable for work of this nature because most materials were collected through secondary sources such as already existing relevant printed and online materials, and few materials were collected through primary sources such as semi-structured interview. These data were properly analysed and interpreted qualitatively to bring out the expectation of this paper.

The state of political leadership in Nigeria

Nigerian political situation is characterized by rancor and ethnic rivalry, and political violence as each regional party has fraction and faction. There is also inter-party rivalry which has been

fought along ethnic lines. The ethnic conflict resulted in riots and break down of law and order in some states. Nobody cares to know about the unity of one Nigeria. "I do not think that Nigeria, the largest economy in Africa and the most populous country in Africa is facing any crisis of identity. Some individual Nigerians may be facing crisis of identity, and that could be the crisis of identity as primarily an Igbo man, a Yoruba man, an Hausa man, a Fulani man or primarily a Nigeria and so on. This is due to the fact that we are still trying to form one nation out of many nations, so that individual Nigerians will see himself primarily as a Nigerian before seeing himself primarily as an "Igbo man, a Yoruba man, an Hausa, a Fulani man etc (Helper Magazine, 2019). If Nigeria political leaders are going to detect demands for change, they must use their outsight. They must stay sensitive to the external realities. They must go out and talk to their constituents, be it their group interest, market group, peer group, pressure group, vendors, bosses, or just interested parties. They must listen and stay in touch.

Political Victimization

"Rich country, poor people" is a suitable coinage to echo the political victimization of secular political leaders over the poor masses in Nigeria. Our politics, education, security situation, health, power generation, the economy, sports and infrastructure, are hurting down the steady slope of retrogression. Education is in a shamble. Public universities have been closed down from time to time on account of an avoidable strike for example include ASUU strike, June to December, 2013; 2020 long term strike by ASUU etc. Other institutions such as medical associations, National Teachers Association (NUT) etc do go on strike too as a result of the inability of the government to provide good platform for the welfare of staff. Industries are moving out of the country and relocating to other less endowed nations in the sub-region. According to Daily Sun (2009), unemployment is rife, put 14:6 percent with about nine million people out of job, according to

2007 figures from the National Bureau of statistics. Nigeria's maternal and child mortality, and children-out-of-school statistics are among the highest in the world. Daily Sun (2009) goes further to report that corruption is rife with more than \$300 billion oil proceeds reported to be lost to larceny, according to the World Bank. No lower than 33.1 percent of our population is still illiterate, as confirmed by the National commission for mass Literacy. Nigeria accumulates wealth and her citizens decay. Political marginalization shows itself in Nigeria political system as Nigerian minorities in all regions have historically complained of marginalization and domination. Claims of marginalization center on four main issues: control of or participation in government. A major component in the claims is the apparent inequity in revenue sharing. This inequity, however, is inherent in a string federal system in which a relatively small region of the country (the Niger Delta) accounts for a large proportion of the country's revenue (crude oil exports) (Kuti, 2001). It was succinctly observed that "the Niger Delta, once a breadbasket, is now a wasteland. The people live in poverty and insecurity; many villages lack clean water, electricity or basic health care. Shell has been working there in a joint venture with the government since 1956, keeping its partner happy while ignoring the local community" (James, 2007). The happiness of few is not the happiness of all, this sudden wastefulness of the land was not the expectation of the led, but the usual selfish interest of the political leaders has left them in such a sorrowful condition. This is abhorrent to the society and cannot compete with the global rating as well as clear evidence of cunning and despotic leadership experienced in Nigeria over the years.

The law makers and law breakers

The most urgent and pervasive obstacle is the weakness of some cases, decay of the rule of law. Widespread corruption undermines the legitimacy of government, alienates citizens from their leaders, and threatens the wills and inspirations of the

people, stagnates political socio-economic development of Nigerian society. The more endemic the problem of corruption, the more likely it is to be accompanied by other serious deficiency in the rule of law: smuggling, drug trafficking, criminal violence, abuse of power and human rights abuses. There are series of allegation against the Nigeria judiciary in the recent time. "The judiciary in this country is evil. From magistrate to the Supreme Court, it is full of calamity and they do not represent the hope of the masses. When there is election tribunal and you hear pronouncement from the court that one party has been cleared or one candidate has been declared winner, don't be deceived. It is a lie. We know how water passes under the bridge. We know how they exchange billions to thwart judgment. The Nigeria judiciary is nothing but a temple of Satan" (Olawale, 2013). In Rivers state, a man who did not contest an election, a man who never campaigned, or sold himself to the electorate, some few man sat down, and made him governor. Then INEC came and perfected it, organized another kangaroo election and gave him another four years. Nigeria judiciary cannot dispense justice because they collect money and other gift from politicians. There will never be justice from our courts with the corrupt men who parade themselves as judges. It is not incorrect and incongruous to observe that the tenure of the ex-governor of rivers state, witnessed more blunders. Similar experience is seen in Imo state during the tenures of Uzodinma and the former governor, Chief Ikedioha. Such experience is example of apparent injustice in the realm of judiciary. However, he was dragged to Supreme Court by one of the contestants, out of four candidates. It was the highest shock of the nation when Uzodinma who was the least amongst the four contestants, was declared as the governor of Imo state. This is obviously questionable. There is nothing good that comes out of anything that has a fraudulent foundation. In a democratic dispensation, people are expected to mandate candidate(s) based on merit.

There is no way the ill-treatment by the electorate and the judiciary will improve the national government with this despotic leadership irrational disposition of administration. The people that were forcefully mandated to pilot the affairs of the nation can never meet up the yearnings of the people. "The threat to Nigerians fragile democracy was underscored by government officials, who dropped dark hints warnings of a possible coup attempt, and said election critics were welcoming a military putsch by inciting violence. Election officials gave themselves their comments were in sharp contrast to assessments of international observers. Madeline Albright, the former secretary of state, who observed the election for the national Institute, said that in a number of place in a number of ways, the election process failed the Nigeria people the International Republic Institute said that the election fell below acceptable standards. Such observations represent a stunning turnabout for Nigeria, and reflect the deep frustrations of millions of Nigerians (Comparative Politics, 2009). As a matter of fact, the above deficiencies suggests the most disheartening example of political stagnation, democratic backsliding and state failure.

Concepts of Religion and Politics

Religion has variety of definitions and approaches. This is so because religion is defined in the context of people's culture and belief, on the other hand it is defined in the context of individuals' experience. Hence, there is no utopian definition of religion.

The etymology of religion is observed in two ways. The two root words for religion are "leg" and "lig". Whereas "leg" means "to wake up, gather, or to observe the signs of divine communication", "lig" means "to bind". It is from this that religion came to mean "a relationship", or "a communion between the human and the supernatural" (Anyacho, 2013). The second etymology traces definition of religion to come from two Latin words: Re-legere and Re-ligere. Religion was derived from Latin Relegere to read

again and again, a derivation which could imply to study or pay attention assiduously to divine things. With the acceptance of this derivation, religion signifies an attention and deeper study of matters pertaining to God and His worship thereof (Ekarika, n.d).

Politics is the science or art of government or of the administration and management of public or state affairs" (Edwards, n.d). Politics is who gets what, when and how. (Lasswells, n.d). This view is generally accepted by most political scientists across the globe. It is the shortest definition of politics ever penned. This definition found its illustration as the media usually focus on the "who" of the politics.

Religion as a money making venture

Conversion of the thrust of religious movement (church) from evangelization and proselytization to an industry where profit making is the sole aim of its emergence is a sudden experience over the years. In line of this argument, Agha (2013) avers that it is in this regard that the Christian church has been tagged a big failure. Christian religion particularly is viewed as an industry.

The interest to make profits from religious enterprise is shown from time to time in the prosperity preaching of today among preachers. The present day Christianity especially in Nigeria is cut in the web of prosperity, hence the flood of prosperity messages. This was a new dimension of preaching that has made waves in Nigeria starting from the 1980s. The proponents of this new teaching try to impress upon their followers that Christians like every other person are born to be rich. As the emphasis on prosperity began to dominate the gospel message many preachers employed a lot of strategies to get money from their members besides making people feel that it is unchristian to be poor. If the church is both inwardly and outwardly encouraging materialism, it is directly encouraging any means people are using to make money irrespective of the danger to the environment and

humanity (Onuoha and Onuoha, 1996).

The thrust of religious community during the time of nascent Christianity and the time of early church fathers was evangelism strengthened by evangelicalism. The foundation of this religion was built on selfless leadership. The interest of the then leaders was the good welfare of the souls entrusted to their care as well as their wellbeing in other aspects of life. Unfortunately, the reverse has become the case in the contemporary Christian leadership. Today, many priests jump into ministry with sole aim of acquiring material wealth. Their sermon which places more emphasis on material prosperity than prosperity of the soul and their attitude of greed and avarice towards wealth make this claim a reality (Ugwuewo, 2019).

The spiritual welfare of members of the congregation is in the recent time the less concern of the so called religious ministers. They are more interested on how to enrich themselves through organization of so called spiritual (church) programmes. Their target is an asset to possess at the end of a particular revival or crusade, hence making their office an avenue of acquiring material possession and money in larger quantity. Most often, it appears as if the intention for organizing programmes is not for the benefits of the members of the religious groups but for the benefit of the organizers and their spiritual fathers or mothers. Raheen (2016) authenticates this point thus: this is seen in the trend in which the religious leaders accumulate wealth and live bogus life at the expense of unsuspecting 'sheep'. The mode of operation of these 'religious men and women' include 'prosperity gospel', 'dreaming and seeing visions', 'organizing vigils or 'celebrations of Father Christmas' and among others.

The shift from sacredness of services and offices of Christian leaders is rampant in the 21st century. The manner in which they seek their personal gain in ministry cannot be over emphasized.

Buttressing further, Ituma, (2000) notes with frowning words by averring that the work of the clergy is presently becoming like the secular business world. In the same way, Still (1996) observes that many Christian ministers accept pastorates or ministry as a means of basic security of a living. According to Lamido (2007), these pastors are hence described as professional pastors. They are now pastors for financial gain. They are interested in what they can get from the flock. They contrive their own ease, advantage, and honour. Some of them will prophesy in order to obtain financial favours from the people. The incessant curiosity and uncontrolled appetite for money and other material property among the church leaders especially the ordained who claimed to be called by God for evangelization has eaten deep the real image of the church and left the house of God void of the presence of God and converted it to religious market, and major centre for economic business and accumulation of wealth and worldly riches.

Religious victimization and exploitation

It is now expensive if not very expensive to be a church member. Series of levies and dues to pay up within a specified period of time alongside repeated fund raising during church services, including tithes and offerings all give credence to the above assertion. Virtually nothing is given to the members of the congregation by their ordained priests without the members paying for them directly or indirectly. Taking Methodist Church for instance, family members of a deceased member are given a list which contains entertainment menu and financial purse for priests who would come to bury their own member. Sometimes when these family responded financially in proportion to their financial pocket, it would be rejected by these so called priests because the purse is below their expectation, additional money must be added before it would be accepted. The same thing applies to any member who weds in the church. Ugwuewo (2019) observes that it seems an irrevocable custom in some denominations that a priest who served in the altar on Sunday

service is entitled to a token which may be referred to as altar allowance.... Year after year church members are levied in addition to payment of tithe and offering, and incessant fund raising as well as seed sowing. In some denominations, any deceased member who, peradventure, did not complete his or her levy may not be formally paid homage to and or be buried in accordance with the church tradition and liturgy. An active member of the church is measured by his/her regular payment of dues and levies as well as financial support to so called servants of God and God's work.

The Victimization of church member becomes more obvious when ordained church leaders of various category organize programmes. As desolate and needy members of the congregation desire miracles and wonders of God, so called spiritual leaders seize the opportunity to defraud these members who are in need of one thing or the other. Anele (2014) laments over this malign attitude among so-called ordained ministers, thus: "the quest for miracles and wonders to get them solved has led many people into falling victims of fraud from the hands of many "cash-and-carry men and women of God" whose interest is not to win souls for God, but how to boost their bank account and prestige."

It is succinctly pointed out that another area of victimization in the church is non-impacting sermons. Today, many priests see sermons as activity through which they could reach out to the masses to express themselves and promote their social or spiritual status. Non-impacting sermon is like non-nutritious meals. It makes them really become easily taken away from their faith to do things that are ungodly and against the norms of the society (Ugwu, 2011). The level of marginalization of religious followers is heightened as clergy men go to any extent to siphon their members in order to make themselves richer and boost their ego. Buttressing further, Madukovich (2013) intones that some of

them have private jets, estates of building and acres of land in strategic locations, big investments, and handsome money deposit in their bank account whereas the members remain in penury condition.

Religious syncretism

Syncretism is a term used to designate the mixing of different of religions, philosophies and ideas (Hornby, 2010). Religious syncretism refers to the belief in more than one religion at a time. It is system where one becomes an adherent of a particular religious group and at same time cherish, uphold and practice the belief and teachings of another religious belief. Syncretism has found its way in Christianity for more than four decades. The worst is that even the leaders of the Christian faith including their ordained leaders are also culprits.

The quest to perform miracles, signs and wonders give clue to creeping of syncretism in the church. The jealous and envy among the so called men and women of God over working of miracles is what triggers their interest in looking for alternative in another religious faith. "Many people do not go to religious houses for the purpose of worship but to receive miracles and wonders. Thus many unemployed University and College graduates have turned founders, Pastors and General overseers of various religious organizations and churches from where they make their fortunes by working 'miracles'" (Raheen, 2016). However, the source of power to do these miracles is not authenticated to have been a natural or spiritual gift from God, but from power from a strange religious/spiritual kingdom.

Another way religious syncretism has taken a strong root in the church is not unconnected to proliferation of church and population of church members. In order to have populous number of worshippers teeming in the church, pastors and their equivalents are ready to make sacrifice to any deity as well as observe rituals in accordance to another man's religious belief.

The stories of how a founder of a denomination made human sacrifice alongside other strong rituals at the onset of ministry and church denomination as a means of pulling and retaining members in great number has element of truth. Some pastors, reverends, bishops, general overseers, general superintendents, prophets, evangelists, apostles and senior apostles and other religious titles according to church denominations are members of one occult or the other. Some of them give strong allegiance to traditional religious practitioners such as native doctors, sorcerers, seers, herbalists, prophets etc. In another vein, some claimed ordained ministers of God retain their leadership office as spiritual father of a Christian denomination and still maintain their membership in a contradicting religious faith. In a more serious manner, some so called men and women of God show high level of commitment and dedication to occultism where they belong in the secret and pay less attention and lip services to church services in the open.

It is disheartening that those innocent members of the congregation who takes these fake men and women of God as spiritual fathers and mothers are left desolate to be tortured by tormenting spirits from time to time. Sometimes, the talents of these ignorant members are sacrificed to the god/goddess of that occult, hence making these innocent and ignorant members perpetual slaves to wicked spirits and agents of darkness.

Another area of syncretism in the Christian religious sphere connects itself to imitation of liturgy and other practices from another belief system. In line with this contention, it is noted that "there is hardly any religion that has not adapted some values from its host culture or from other religions" (Igbo, 2013). When Israel settled down (between 1250 and 1130 BCE), it came into contact with the religions and culture of their neighbours. The significance of this contact is that despite these borrowings, the Israelites did not gulp-in these foreign elements without re-

evaluating and re-interpreting them in the light of Yahwism (Magesa, n.d). Chieftaincy title and other tradi-religious titles are important tenet of African Traditional Religion. These titles are marks of respect and honour to the title receivers/bearers as well as an avenue to recognize the receivers' work of philanthropic. In the recent time, this title giving is copied by the church as the church is known for various religious titles. In orthodox churches, Knighthood title is given to some members of the denomination based on the tradition of the church. Other titles such as eldership, good mother (ezinne), good sister (eziada), the faithful, deacon, deaconess etc are also invoked. Most times, the primary aim of giving such titles by the church leadership is money making from the title recipients, their family members and friends. All these show the level of charlatanism among these church leaders (the ordained).

Religious leaders and moral decadence

The moral rectitude among the contemporary church leaders is bastardising. Morality is the mother of all religion. Hence the primary aim of every religion ought to be upholding virtues and frowning at vices. However, "the church is the bearer of the moral conscience of the society. It is the bearer of moral vision and moral force by bringing into the public arena" (Uwalaka, 2008). The virtues of honesty, integrity, hardworking, modesty, humility are all beacons of morality preached by the church. If the Church is able to mould the character of the society, then a good society will emerge which is significant for achieving genuine development. To achieve this, members of the church especially the leaders must distant themselves from characters and behaviours that are scandalous and embarrassing (Kanu, 2008).

The vicious attitudes displayed by Christian leaders are pure indication of moral decadence among them. Today, it is elusive to alienate ordained church leaders from the secular leaders. The socio-political activities going on in the church show that the

Christian leaders are not advocates of moral life. They preach virtues but live against the thrust of their teachings and preaching. They are evangelists but they do not demonstrate evangelicalism which is the true evidence of being an evangelist. Christian religious leaders of our time should see themselves as the voice of the voiceless in times of when the Government seeks to silence the voice of the majority (Ejenobo, 2009). However, the reverse is the case as ordained preachers use their pulpit to hail the secular leaders in their presence while preaching against their malign activities behind them.

Hatred among the ordained Christian leaders and their equivalent strongly speaks the low level of virtuous living in Christian leadership. The senior priest makes the junior one his prey. Sometimes, they slander and lobby among themselves against the promotion of another. It is quite unfortunate that these so called men of God who preach against immorality, lure their female members into fornication and adultery. Because of their incessant desire to become wealthy and luxurious they find it almost impossible to address one on one, a church member whose source of income is obviously immoral and unacceptable in accordance with the principles of the Christian scripture and the norms of the society.

Recommendations

In order to sustain a human society where the welfare of the people will become the priority both in the religious and political sectors, the researchers hereby make the following recommendations.

- 1 Nigeria political leaders should emulate character vision involvement personality (VIP), in making policy that will be beneficial to the entire people of the nation. They must be full of positive visions for the welfare of their subjects if they must actualize this.

- 2 The Christian religious leaders should endeavour at all cost to match their pulpit preaching with their daily character. They are expected to also use their pulpit to speak out against the cruel activities of the political leaders anytime they have the opportunity to converge with them especially in church service or such related gathering(s).
- 3 Our political leaders should be very keen to listen to the cry of their subjects and work towards ameliorating their plight. This is highly necessary because it is these subjects consolidated them power (through casting of their vote) to pilot the affairs of the nation.
- 4 Both political and religious leaders (especially those at the apex of leadership) should avoid religious jingoism and political tension which may be fatal to the welfare of the masses. This can be feasible by making a legal provision for such.
5. They should avoid unnecessary prejudice irrespective of one's interest.

Conclusion

It is undoubtable that politics and religion in Nigeria have been used to victimize the members of the society in many ways in the contemporary Nigerian society. The evils associated with the selfish interest of our political and religious leaders indicate that there is urgent need to repent and adjust for good leadership. The high rate of corruption found among the leadership of these two sides of the society is very precarious because religion ought to be the veritable tool used to check and control morality in every given society whereas politics ought to be a suitable platform for good governance. However, if the political leaders would become the custodian of the constitution of the nation and the religious leaders become strict adherents of their teachings and preaching, there would be no room for charlatanism.

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HOW RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS UNDERMINE NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND UNDERDEVELOP NIGERIA

BY

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Abstract

Conflicts are a threat to peaceful coexistence and development in any human society. The persistent incidents of conflicts among religious groups in Nigeria particularly Christianity and Islam affect national integration and underdevelopment in the country. Through these conflicts, thousands of lives are lost, hundreds of thousands are internally displaced and properties worth millions of naira are destroyed. This paper examines the general concept of religious conflicts, national integration, major causes of religious conflict and how these conflicts undermine national integration and underdeveloped Nigeria. The study uses social exclusion theory to explain why religious conflicts occur in Nigeria and undermine national integration and development. It adopts historical and descriptive methods in its analysis. The paper recommends among other things that government and adherents of Christianity and Islam should address the issue of religious intolerance that undermines national integration and development in Nigeria.

Key words: *Religious Conflicts, National Integration, Underdeveloped*

Introduction

There is a plethora of religions practiced by many nations across the globe with religious differences. These differences have been the cause of conflicts throughout history. From time immemorial, God in his infinite mercy created human beings with different races, languages, cultures and religions to co-exist and integrate for development in the society. Today however, religious conflicts have become a global threat to human co-existence, integration and development. These conflicts are all over the world. In the Middle-East, conflicts continue between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Moslems. Different religious groups in Iraq fight against each other as well as against US led coalition. Conflicts continue between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland (Kunhiyop 2004). In Europe, there are conflicts among the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian Moslems in Kosovo, In Asia, there are serious conflicts in Sri-lanka between Christians and Moslems. In India among Hindus and Moslems (Kunhiyop 2004).

In Africa, particularly Nigeria, conflict exists between the Christian Beroms and Hausa/Fulani Muslims in Jos Plateau state. In April 1991, there was a religious conflict between Tafawa Balewa Christians and Hausa/Fulani Moslems in Bauchi state (Armstrong 2014). Between 1979 and 1983, two Maitatsine uprisings occurred in Kano and Yola in Adamawa state (Rowley 2014). From the 21st to 22nd February 2000, there was religious conflict between Muslims and Christians in Kaduna, over introduction of sharia law in some northern states. As if on a break, the crisis in Kaduna resurfaced from May 22nd and 23rd of the same year when the city was again brought down to its knees by adherents of the two major religions with wanton destruction of lives and property. It was the turn of Tafawa Balewa again when in the year 2001 religious crisis arose between Muslims and Christians in Tafawa Balewa local government area of Bauchi State (Alanamu 2005). Meanwhile Adamawa state was not

spared of this madness. On the 8th June 2004, religious violence erupted in Numan town, headquarters of Numan Local Government in Adamawa state (Alanamu 2005). In 2013, there was a religious conflict that erupted between Christian and Moslem community in Wukari, Taraba state (Sunday Trust 20th May 2013). Presently, there are increasing conflicts between Muslim Fulani herdsmen and the minority Christian indigenous farmers in most of the states in Nigeria, especially in the Middle belts region of Benue, Taraba Kaduna, Nasarawa Plateau, and Adamawa state. These conflicts claimed 3,642 lives between January 2016 and October 2018 (Amnesty International 2018). Religious conflicts in Nigeria continued to manifest, claimed thousands of lives, thousands of people displaced and property worth billions of naira were being destroyed because of religious intolerance, use of religious symbols and differences and doctrinal issues. The Boko Haram disturbance in Northern Nigeria has claimed many lives with over 3,000 residents already displaced. This work therefore sets out to examine how religious conflicts undermine national integration and underdevelopment in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarifications

Religious conflicts

Iwe (2003) defines religion as an institution that is characterized by belief in the supernatural being, a body of doctrines, ethical code and a system of worship that must have a definite organizational structure. For religion to be what it should be, it must have a defined structure that is responsible for regulating the entire beliefs and practices of such religion. This is not to say that religion is limited to an organized structure, but it cuts across every aspect of social structures.

Conflict is a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Oyeshola (2006) defines

religious conflict as disagreement, dispute or controversy in ideas or viewpoints held by two or more individuals, communities or religious groups. Many scholars have written on religious conflicts defining the term variously. However, one denominator that binds all of these definitions, diverse as they may be, is the connotation of disagreement between the two or more religious groups.

Religious conflict is thus the type of disagreement that occurs among two religions or between some sects within the same religious group. Religious conflict may occur over religious intolerance, doctrinal issues and the use of religious symbols.

National Integration

National integration is a major component of nation-building in nearly all society of the modern world, whether underdeveloped, developing or developed. It is simply and briefly means national unity. It is a unity in diversity. It means unifying all the forces in the country so as to give the idea of one nation. The Indian Study Channel (2010) identifies national integration as the sentiments of nationalism; the feeling of oneness; social, political, economic, linguistic and cultural unity; common ideas of life and code of behavior; the ability to subordinate sectarian and parochial loyalties to the loyalty of the nation. Indeed, citizens of Nigeria have sharp contrasts with the above ideology of national integration.

In Nigeria, national integration is the soul of national question. It is generally assumed that national integration is the answer to the national question. According to Awa (2013), national integration "is a process of creating a sense of national consciousness, uniqueness of identity and loyalty among people of different socio-cultural identities (racial, ethnic, language, religion, and so on) into a single territorial political society."

The concept of national integration connotes the process of arriving at an acceptable formula for resolving the grievances, suspicions and fears expressed by different ethno-geographical, religious and ideological groups against one another and the federal state. Talla et al (2010) observe that national integration concept is expected to bring about a union in which the different groups rather than bear grievances against each other fear and suspect one another, they cooperate, respect, appreciate, understand one another and share common loyalty to the federal, state and above all other primordial interests.

Theoretical framework

The paper adopts Social Exclusion or social marginalization theory coined by Red Lenoir, Secretary of State of Social Action. It is a term that has been used widely in Europe and was first used in France in the late 20th century. It is used across disciplines including education, psychology, politics and economics (Silver 1994). Social exclusion is the process in which individuals are blocked from or denied full access to various rights, opportunities and resources that are normally available to members of a different group, and which are fundamental to social integration and observance of human rights within that particular group. For example, housing, employment, healthcare, civic engagement, democratic participation, and due process.

Alienation or disenfranchisement resulting from social exclusion can be connected to a person's social class race, skin color, religious affiliation, ethnic origin, educational status childhood relationships, living standard and or political opinions, and appearance (The Salvation Army 2008). Such exclusionary forms of discrimination may also apply to people with disability, minorities people, drug users, institutional care leavers, the elderly and the young. Anyone who appears to deviate in any way from perceived norms of a population may thereby become subject to coarse or subtle forms of social exclusion.

The outcome of social exclusion is that affected individuals or communities are prevented from participating fully in the economic, social, and political life of the society in which they live (Young 2000). This may result in resistance in the form of demonstrations, protests or lobbying from the excluded people (Walsh 2006). Some religious traditions recommend excommunication of individuals said to deviate from religious teaching or doctrine, and in some instances shunning by family members. Other religious organizations permit the censure of critics. A study by the pew research center on international religious freedom (2009) found that 61% of countries have social hostilities that tend to target religious minorities are Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Iraq and Bangladesh Across societies in Nigeria, individuals and some communities are socially excluded on the basis of their religious beliefs. Social hostility against religious minorities resulting to communal violence occur in Nigeria because governments fail to recognise policies restricting the religious practice of minorities. This can be seen especially in Northern Nigeria and has seriously affected national integration leading to underdevelopment in Northern Nigeria.

Some major causes of religious conflicts in Nigeria

Nigeria has been inundated with a gamut of religious crises from 1980 to date resulting to the death of thousands of people, wanton destruction of property including churches, mosques, public and private property running into hundreds of millions of naira (Nwaomah, 2010).

One of the major causes of this conflict is religious intolerance, fundamentalism and extremism. These form the base upon which other sources of religious violence rest. Religious intolerance simply means hostility towards other religions, as well as the inability of religious adherents to harmonize between the theories and the practical aspect of religion (Jegede 2019). It encompasses bigotry which is the obstinate and intolerant devotion to one's

opinion and prejudices, especially the expression of intolerance and animosity towards persons of differing beliefs (Jegede 2019). Further, the use of religious symbols is another source of religious conflict in Nigeria (Jegede 2019). For instance, the use of the Hijab by Muslim women even where the regulatory regime prohibits their use. Also, following the prohibition of the use of head scarves by female law students in the Faculty of Law, Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria, a Christian lecturer, Dr. Andrew Akume, turned back a female student who was on Hijab from attending his lecture. His action provoked the Muslim Student's Society (MSS), thus, they mobilized themselves and issued a fatwa (i.e. Islamic death sentence) on the said lecturer, thereby forcing him into hiding (Jegede 2019). This act led to religious tension on the campus just as it led to stain relationship between the governments of Kaduna (ABU) and Benue State (where the man came from). Not only that, the inscription of Arabic symbols on Nigerian currency denominations has also been vehemently opposed by Christians in Nigeria, who associate it with Islam and an all embracing Islamization agenda by northern Muslims. Muslims, on the other hands, have also opposed the use of the "cross" as a symbol on public hospitals sign and bill boards and other hospital accessories (Jegede 2019).

Doctrinal issues and discrimination of people based on their religious affiliation cause religious conflict. In Nigeria there exist disagreements between adherents of the one or different religion(s) over doctrinal issues or unjust treatments carried out against member(s) of a particular religion by members of the same or another religion. To this extent, religious conflicts can be defined as any disagreement that occurs between adherents of the same or different religious group(s) over incompatible religious interests or contradictory doctrinal issues or values which is often interpreted in religious terms (Jegede 2019).

Government patronage of a particular religion

In spite of the constitutional prohibition of disqualifications of disabilities inflicted on persons on account of their religious leanings, religious patronage has been entrenched in the public realm, depending on the predominance of particular religious adherents in positions of authority (Sampson 2012). He further noted that at the federal and state government levels, public officials manifestly patronise particular religions at the expense of others. In many states of Northern Nigeria, public funds are used for the purchase and distribution of food items and other valuables for Muslim faithful during the Ramadan fast; however, government does not extend the same gesture to Christians during Christmas or traditional religious celebrations. This is also the case in some southern states of the country that are predominately Christians.

Ethnicity, Religion and Politics

The fact that the Nigerian populace is polarized along ethnic, religious and political divides has been a catalyst for religious violence in Nigeria (Uwaegbute 2013). Loyalty to ethnic and religious groups impedes true nationalism, peaceful coexistence and unity of the country. From the colonial times till date, leaders use ethnic and religious biases to win election and divide the country. The post-election violence of 2011 best describes situations whereby both religious and ethnic sentiments played out in some northern Muslims' acceptance of the fact that Goodluck Jonathan, a Southerner and a Christian, won the presidential elections against General Buhari, a Northern Muslim (Uwaegbute 2013). Most of the conflicts that take place begin from these ancient religious identities fueled by selfish political motives. Bature (2005) observes that the proponents of both Christian and Islam use their faith to justify and engage in acts of the wanton destruction of life and property. He further noted that family members, neighbors, community leaders and government officials continuously turn against one another in the name of

ethnicity, politic and religious expediency. Sharing similar view, Rotgak (2004) observed that "struggle for power and position in Nigeria has led to the manipulation of ethnicity and religion by the elites for selfish reasons." He further noted that, hardly is there an appointment especially within or from northern part of the country without ethnic and religious interference made to it. In Nigeria today, employment into public office, ministries, agencies and directorates of federal government are mostly for ethnic and religious reasons and not competence. When you raise objections it snowballs into ethnic or religious fight.

Inept system of governance

In this work, the writers also discovered bad system of governance as causes of religious conflict in Nigeria. Bad system of governance is a government that fails to provide security, employment, education, religious and political stability for the well-being of all citizens. It is important to note here that the failure of Nigerian leaders to establish good governments, forge national integration and promote what can be called real economic progress, security, employment, quality education through deliberate and articulated policies, has led to mass poverty and unemployment. This has resulted into ethnic and religious conflicts that have now characterized the Nigerian nation. Insecurity, poor standard of education, poverty and unemployment have served as nursery bed for many ethnic and religious conflicts in Northern Nigeria because the North has the reservoir of poor and uneducated people who are warmongers as mercenary fighters. What this means theoretically is that insecurity, poor standard of education, poverty and unemployment increase the number of people who are prepared to kill or be killed for a given course at a token benefit. These explain why all ethnic and religious conflicts that ever occurred in northern Nigeria have a large turnout of people (including under-aged) as fighters.

How religious conflicts undermine national integration and underdevelop Nigeria

Religious conflicts have undermined national integration and underdeveloped Nigeria as a nation socially, educationally, economically, and politically. In Nigeria, violent religious conflict, more especially between the Christians and Muslims have claimed thousands of lives and properties worth hundreds of millions have been destroyed (Jegede 2019). These conflicts have also resulted in fracturing the Christian/Muslim relationship in Nigeria (Onabanjo, 2011). The resultant effects of religious conflict on Nigerian national integration which is the focus of this paper are enormous. Socially it affects all aspects of human life, it breeds insecurity, discriminations, mutual mistrust and suspicious between individual and various religious groups. This is aside from thousands of lives that are wasted and maimed on daily basis (Apuwabi, 2018).

The crises have equally taken its toll on the educational sector, it has led to incessant closure of schools, destruction of school facilities, abduction and raping of school girls by Boko Haram insurgents. The correlation between ethno-religious Conflict and under-development is well captured by Onwumah (2014) when he posits that: In economic terms, religious and ethnicity crises damage resources and facilities which took time to be acquired. No foreign investor will like to invest funds in a country that is divided by communal religious crises.

Politically, Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious nation. As such, it needs peaceful co-existence as panacea for national integration of the country. Yet, this is not the case as the nation has continued to experience violent religious conflicts tainted with political undertone, more especially between the Christians and Muslims in the country (Jegede 2019). Further, despite the fact that Nigeria is a secular state, the interference of religion in

political affairs is second to none. Religion has continued to destabilize the peace of the nation. The Muslims, in the northern parts, with a claim to numerical advantage have severally attempted to nationalize the Islamic faith to the highest level of the nation's governance through various means like the Sharia Debate, OIC saga, and the introduction of Sharia in some Northern States by the Northern governors. Attempts by the Christians, especially those living in the North, to kick against the introduction of the sharia system of governance in view of the constitutional secularity of the country are opposed by Muslim adherents who deem it as their right to enthrone Islamic monotheism in Nigeria. Commenting on the activities of radical Boko Haram fundamentalism, one scholar observed that the sect is at the vanguard for the fight for Islamisation of the country (Lengmang 2013). The sect has increasingly become radicalised and more daring to periodically express themselves through violence, killing and destruction of lives and property for the enthronement of an Islamic theocratic state.

Recommendations

After a careful study of how religious conflicts undermine national integration and underdeveloped Nigeria, the paper observes the following recommendations.

Some of the major causes of religious conflicts in Nigeria are religious intolerance, fundamentalism and extremism. It is against this background that this paper strongly recommends for the introduction of Comparative Religious Studies in secondary schools. This should be taught as one of the general studies (GST) in colleges and universities in Nigeria. The curriculum of this subject will deal with the objective views of both religions. It will ensure mutual relationship. If this subject is introduced, it will take care of the problem of religious intolerance. Pupils should be taught from the early childhood the importance of religious tolerance. This will positively change the negative thinking

patterns of our people on religious sentiment and ensure national integration and development in Nigeria.

Nigeria is a multi-religious society. Therefore, Government should maintain neutrality in inter- religious affairs. Religious violence is escalated because some religious affairs are believed by some people to be favoured by government at the expense of others. This can be seen in the involvement of government in the Muslim and Christian pilgrimage activities in Nigeria. Furthermore, some state governors in Nigeria use state resources to execute religious activities. Government should desist in dabbling in religious affairs and leave that to the various religious faiths.

Most of the major causes of religious conflicts in Nigeria are religious intolerance, fundamentalism, extremism, doctrinal issues and ethnic and religious politics. Religious leaders in collaboration with the government should organise regular conferences and seminars on religious dialogue to enhance participants the required skills to quell religious antagonism and extremism, doctrinal issues and religious politics. Conferences on inter-religious dialogue should be organised periodically in the Nigerian Universities and should be included in primary and secondary curriculum.

African religions have good conflicts management techniques for mitigating crises issues. There is a need for government and the Nigeria Inter Religious Council (NIREC) to give equal leadership to the African religion practitioners and not just Christian and Islamic clerics to help in conflicts management and resolution for a national integration and development in Nigeria.

Conclusion

The paper examined the causes of religious conflict in Nigeria with Christianity and Islam in focus. The paper discovered that

religious intolerance, fundamentalism, extremism, use of religious symbols, doctrinal issues, government patronage of particular religion, inept governance, ethnic and religious politics as some of the causes of religious conflict in Nigeria. Further, from the findings, it is quite evident that religious conflicts in Nigeria have fueled social, educational, economic and political instability and have succeeded in driving religion into undermining national integration and under-development. Nigeria is now labeled as one of the poverty capitals of the world after India, despite its abundant human and material resources. It is the conviction of this paper that if adherents of Christianity and Islam imbibe the spirit of tolerance, respect each other's religious beliefs, forge mutual trust across religious divides, the nation will be on its way to an "Eldorado" of conscientious and purposeful development.

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