

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN NIGERIA:
A ROLE FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Hull

by

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This work is dedicated to the Glory of God,
to my mother Mrs. Abusat Akinde
and to my wife Florence Akinde
for her moral and financial support.

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GLOSSARY

G.D.P. (at factor cost): Represents the net money value of output of goods and services produced within a country.

Newswatch: This is a Nigerian weekly magazine established by a group of young journalists without any political interest. The information carried by the magazine is therefore reliable.

OPEC: Is a cartel of oil producing nations set up in order to stabilise oil prices as well as formulating consistent petroleum policies that will safeguard their interests.

Tribe: A tribal group is a distinct category of the population whose culture is different from the groups. The terms 'tribal' and 'ethnic groups' are often used interchangeably.

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

Royal Niger Company: This was a quasi-military trading organisation, established by the Colonial Office.

The Year of the Elephant: The year an Ethiopian army attempted to capture Mecca with the aid of a war elephant.

Hadith: It is a collection of doings and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad.

Sunna: Literally it means 'path or way'. In Islam, it means the custom of the Prophet Muhammad.

Talmud: A collection of Jewish ceremonial Law and Wisdom probably dating from the fifth century to the early Christian era.

Tannaim: A collection of oral interpretations and exposition of the Jewish Law given by the authoritative rabbis of the first two centuries.

Bori: An indigenous religious cult among the Hausa people of Northern Nigeria.

Christian Council of Nigeria: The Association was established in 1960. It comprises representatives from all Christian churches in Nigeria.

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INTRODUCTION

(i) Background to the Problem of Research

Modern Nigeria like most other African nations has many problems. Currently its main ones are economic and religious. With respect to the latter, before 1977, serious religious controversies occurred within particular faiths, but from 1977 Nigeria has been witnessing sporadic outbreaks of inter-religious conflict. These have involved different religious communities particularly the Muslim and Christian ones. Nigerian society has been injured by these conflicts. More than six thousand people have lost their lives and property worth 'several thousands of naira' has been destroyed. On a social level, religious controversy has polarised the existing fragile national unity. The sovereignty of the country is seriously threatened.

The efforts made by successive governments in the past to control religious intolerance have not been successful. The governmental approaches have been inappropriate. Their attention has focused on the criminal aspects of the problem. The more fundamental causes have been neglected, hence the problem has steadily worsened.

(ii) The Problem of the Research

This study aims at identifying a form of the RE curriculum which can promote dialogue and tolerance among the three religious communities of Nigeria. This will involve identifying the causal factors in the continual

religious divisions of the country. It will also require an examination of the past and present curriculum in Religious Education.

(iii) The Scope of the Study

This study confines itself to the recommendation of a curriculum proposal in Religious Education. This involves, however, a consideration of social and religious problems in contemporary Nigerian society relevant to the proposal. It does not examine the contribution of other curricular areas to the solution of these problems. It also recognises that a curricular proposal is a long-term solution.

(iv) The Method of Investigation

Two methods have been adopted in this study. These are the historical and the empirical methods. The nature of the study justifies the adoption of the two methods.

Since a vital aspect of this study is to identify the roots of the religious problems, it has been necessary to examine the history of these conflicting religions in Nigerian society.

The empirical method has been adopted in an attempt to provide further evidence which could not be obtained through the historical study.

(v) The Organisation of the Study

This thesis, which has nine chapters, is organised into four parts. The first, consisting of four chapters, examines the context of the research problem. This involves

a discussion of the Nigerian background and an historical analysis of African Traditional Religion, Islam, and Christianity, for these constitute the three major religions of Nigeria. The purpose of this section is to establish the nature of the encounter between African Traditional Religion and the two world religions.

The second part, consisting of chapters five and six, discusses the problem of religious intolerance in contemporary Nigerian society. Chapter five focuses on the social context while chapter six provides the educational context of the religious problems.

The third part is an empirical study comprising chapters seven and eight. It aims at providing additional evidence for the documentary part. Chapter seven gives the aims and methods of the empirical work while chapter eight analyses and discusses the results.

The fourth part summarises the preceding chapters and advances arguments for an Integrated Religious Education for Nigerian secondary schools.

CHAPTER ONE

THE NIGERIAN BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an analysis of those aspects of the Nigerian background relevant to this study. This is intended to illuminate subsequent discussion.

The chapter is divided into five parts. The first part focuses on the geography of Nigeria and considers its location, size, population, climate and vegetation. As Fasuyi says: "the geography of Nigeria has a significant influence on the history and development of the people".¹ The second part outlines the economic effects of the country's geography. Part three attempts to do two things. Firstly, it examines the origin of the three most prominent tribal groups in Nigeria, the Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba and the Ibo, and secondly it outlines the political developments in Nigeria before the colonial intervention. Part four continues with the political development of Nigeria from the colonial period to the present day. Part five relates the aspects of the Nigerian background discussed in parts one to four with key social problems in the contemporary life of Nigeria.

1.2 The Geography

1.2.1 Location and Size

The name 'Nigeria' was first suggested in 1898 by Flora Shaw² for all British territories between the Western Sudan and the Bight of Benin.³ This name was derived from the River Niger which constitutes the most prominent geographical feature of the country. The country is situated on the West Coast of Africa and lies between latitudes $4\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ and 14° north of the equator and between longitudes $2\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ and 14° east of the Greenwich Meridian.⁴

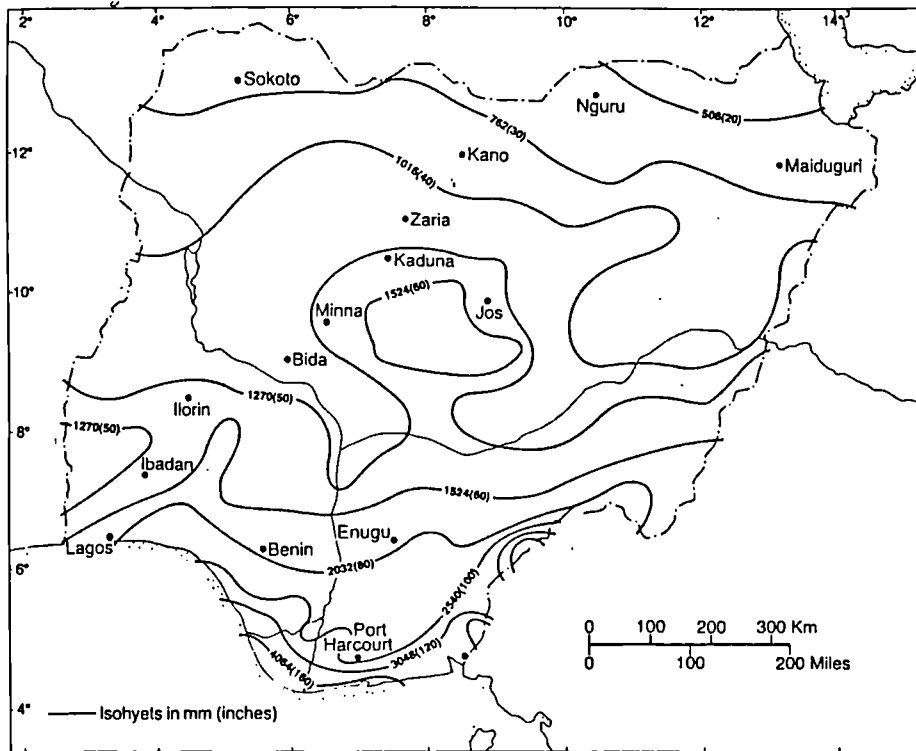
By size, Nigeria has an area of 923768 square kilometres (356669 square miles) and stretches over 650 miles along the West African coast. The country, with an estimated population of about 101 million in 1986,⁵ is the most populous and the largest single country of Africa. It is also the thirteenth largest country in the world.

1.2.2 Climate

Important for the varied climate of Nigeria are temperature and rainfall.

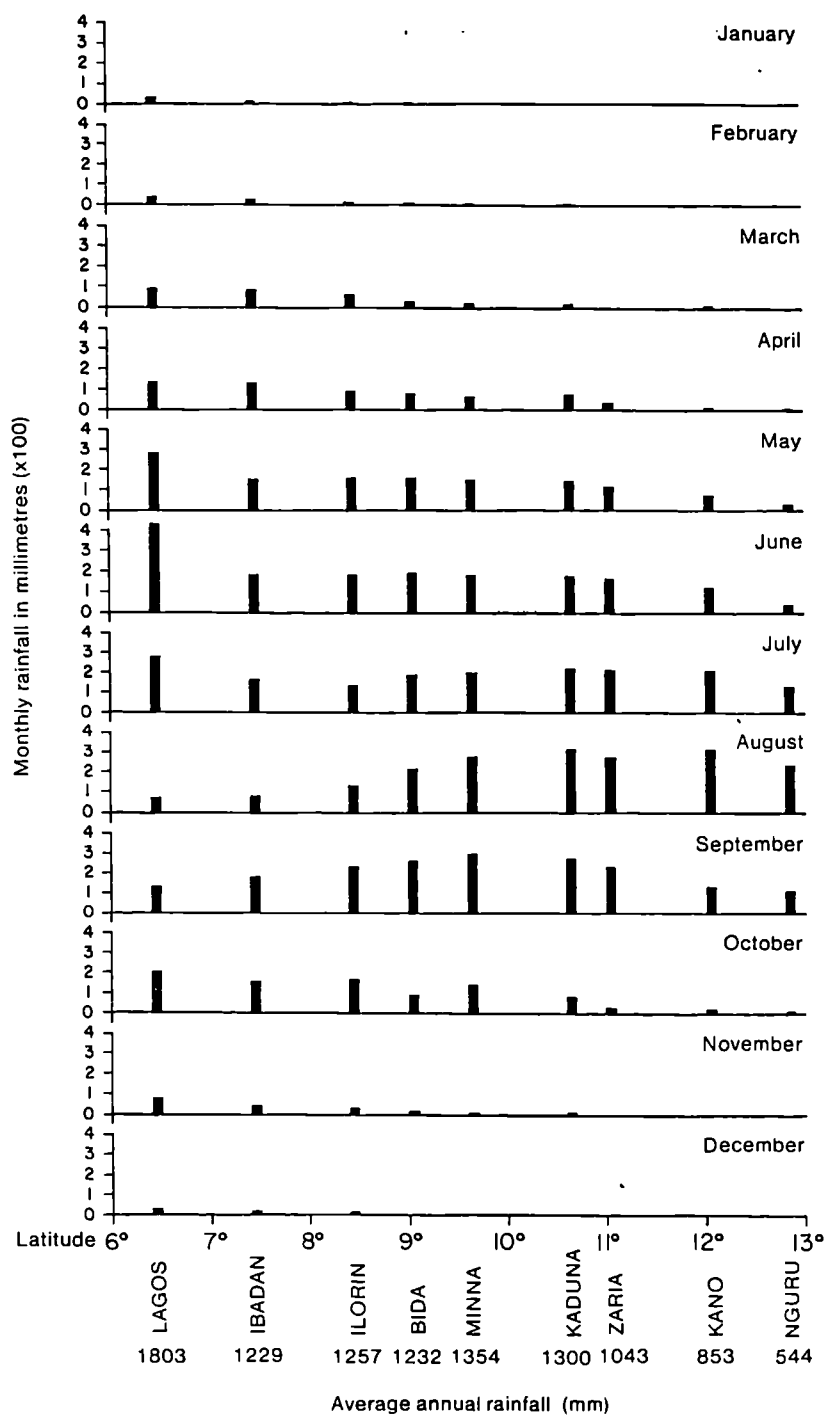
With respect to temperature, the location of Nigeria along the equator where the sun is directly overhead at noon, is responsible for the high temperature of the country. The mean maximum temperature is 30.55°C in the South and increases to 34.44°C in the North.⁶ While the South experiences its maximum temperature between the months of February and April, the North experiences the same between the months of March and June.⁷

MAP 1 MEAN ANNUAL RAINFALL OF NIGERIA



Source: Morgan, W.T.W. (1983) Nigeria
New York: Longman, p.18.

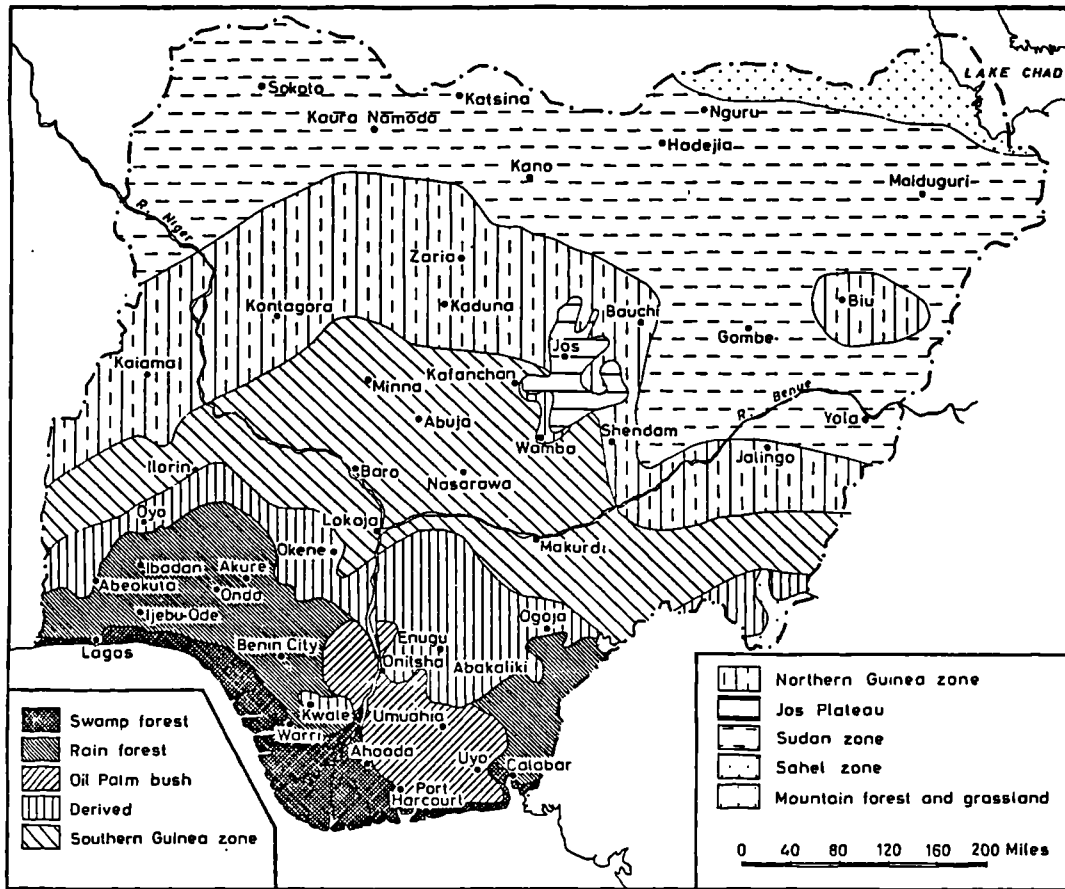
FIGURE 1 MEAN MONTHLY RAINFALL FROM LAGOS TO NGURU IN RELATION TO LATITUDE IN NIGERIA



Source: Morgan, W.T.W. (1983) Nigeria, New York: Longman, p.18.

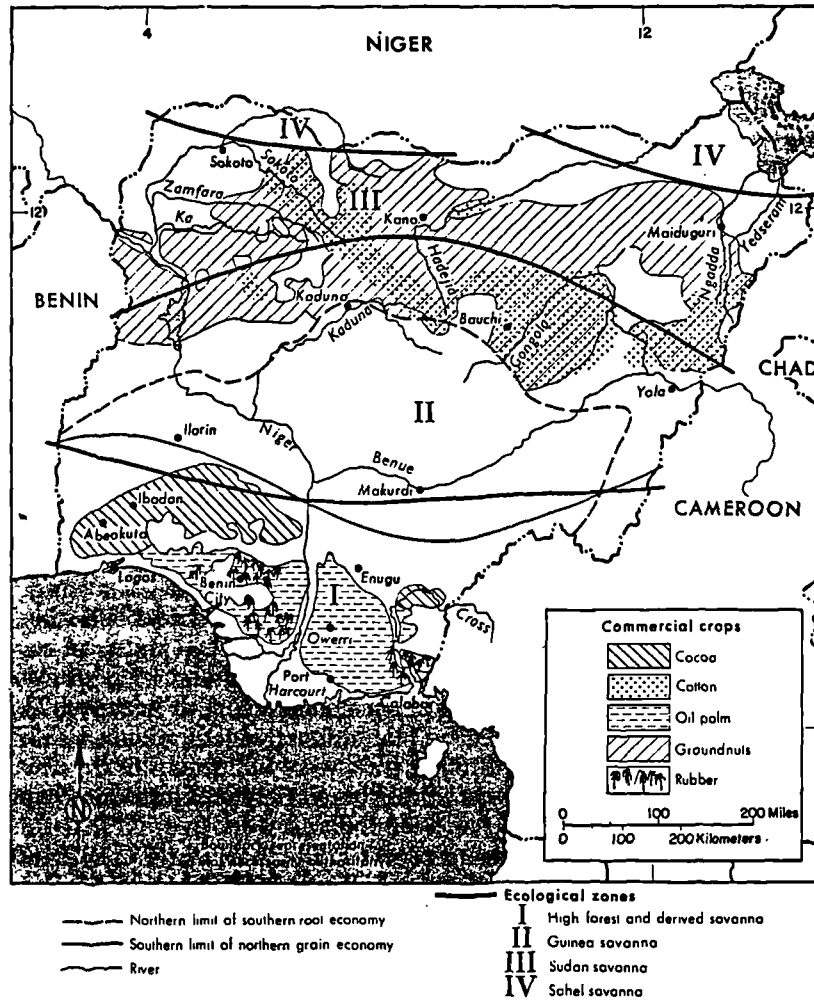
MAP 2

VEGETATIVE ZONES OF NIGERIA

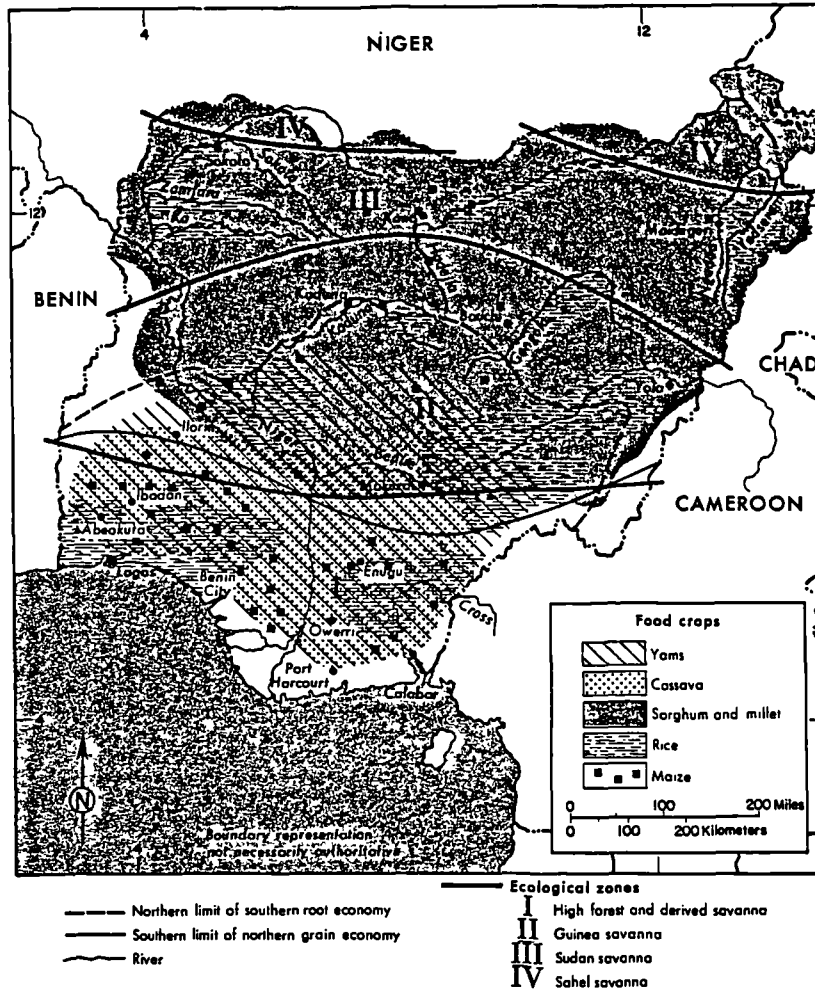


Source: Udo, R.K. (1970) Geographical Regions of Nigeria, London: Heinemann, p.4.

ECOLOGICAL ZONES AND PRINCIPAL COMMERCIAL CROPS



Source: Nelson, H.D. (1982) Nigeria A Country Study, Washington: Dept. of the Army Hdqrs. p.152.



Source: Nelson, H.D. (1982) Nigeria A Country Study, Washington: Dept. of the Army Hdqrs. p.153.

With respect to rainfall, Nigeria is influenced by two air-masses, the equatorial air and the continental air. The equatorial or South-West trade winds which come from the Atlantic ocean brings heavy rainfall to the South annually.⁸

In contrast, the Continental Air or North-East trade wind from the Sahara Desert is dry and dusty and reduces the rainfall coming from the South to the North.⁹

The South has heavy rainfall particularly between the months of May and October. This is known as the wet season.¹⁰ However, rainfall is lowest in all parts of the country from January to April and from November to December. These months are the dry season.¹¹

1.2.3 Vegetation

The climate of the country determines the nature of its vegetation. There are two major vegetative zones in Nigeria, the High Forest and the Savanna.¹²

The High Forest is made up of Swamp Forest, Rain Forest, and Oil Palm Bush. It is located in the Southern part of the country which comprises Cross River, Oyo, Ogun, Lagos, Imo, Ondo, and Anambra States.¹³ The Flora of this zone include yam, cassava, maize as food crops and cocoa, palm oil, rubber as commercial crops.¹⁴ The Savanna zones are found in the Northern part of Nigeria, comprising Guinea, Sudan and Sahel Savanna.¹⁵ These zones have extensive grassland. Therefore, grazing of livestock such as cattle, goats and sheep constitutes the major agricultural practice of their peoples.

Apart from grazing, food crops like millet and sorghum are grown while cotton and groundnuts are the dominant cash crops.¹⁶

1.3 An Overview of the Nigerian Economy (1900-1988)

This description of the Nigerian economy will focus only on two key sectors, the agricultural and the petroleum. These two sectors form the basis by which the economic effects of the Nigerian geography can be described, as well as constituting the bedrock of the Nigerian economy.

1.3.1 Agricultural Sector

Nigeria, like most other developing countries of Africa, has great potential for agriculture. The observation made by L.J. Lewis a decade ago is still applicable.

The arable land resources of the country are extensive, and the water supply is abundant but ill-distributed. The climate is so favourable to plant life that it is comparable with the best attainable anywhere in the world.¹⁷

Therefore agriculture has always been a large sector of the Nigerian economy since the colonial period. For instance, it employed over 65 per cent of the total labour force of the country in 1985.¹⁸ In 1950 the agricultural sector alone accounted for 69 per cent of the Nigerian Gross Domestic Product (GDP),¹⁹ but its share of GDP declined to 60.96 per cent in 1964 and to about 22 per cent in 1982.²⁰ The significant growth in agricultural production during the colonial era was mainly achieved through export commodities

like cocoa, groundnuts and cotton.²¹ Hence between 1955 and 1970, the wealth of Nigeria was essentially from agriculture.²² However, the economic performance of Nigerian agriculture has been declining since the middle of the 1970s. Between 1974 and 1975 the share of agriculture in total exports was less than 8 per cent.²³ There are two main reasons for this. Firstly the economic boom, prompted by the rising value of petroleum in the world market²⁴ and the over-valuation of 'naira' the Nigerian currency,²⁵ motivated the government to embark on mass importation of food items like rice, wheat, maize, fish etc.²⁶ These were sold cheaper than locally produced agricultural products. This meant a reduction of capital for the peasant farmers.²⁷

The second factor which contributed to the decline in agricultural output was the government effort to promote industrialisation. The nation's oil wealth was channelled towards the development of industry and urban construction.²⁸ This policy resulted in a huge reduction in the agricultural labour force as many young men from the rural economy were attracted to the urban industrial centres.²⁹

A concomitant factor was that cultivable land was turned into other uses. For example, out of the 91.1 million hectares of cultivable land in Nigeria, only 23.8 million hectares representing 26.2 per cent out of the total land area, were devoted to agriculture in 1980.³⁰ The cultivated land further decreased to about 8 million hectares in 1987.³¹

TABLE 1 NIGERIA: FOREIGN TRADE SECTOR - EXPORTS

Year	Total value of all		Agricultural components		Non-agricultural components	
	Exports ₦ million	Value ₦ million	Value ₦ million	Percentage of total	Value ₦ million	Percentage of total
1955	259.632	218.612	218.612	84.2	41.020	15.8
1956	264.522	227.212	227.212	85.9	37.310	14.1
1957	248.234	210.688	210.688	84.9	37.670	15.2
1958	265.582	232.718	232.718	87.6	32.864	12.4
1959	321.194	282.956	282.956	88.1	38.238	11.9
1960	331.238	282.470	282.470	85.3	48.768	14.7
1961	340.134	283.030	283.030	83.2	57.104	16.8
1962	218.026	259.990	259.990	79.3	68.036	20.7
1963	369.730	285.922	285.922	77.3	83.808	22.7
1964	420.924	303.930	303.930	72.2	116.994	27.8
1965	526.492	327.322	327.322	62.2	199.170	37.8
1966	557.394	292.468	292.468	52.5	264.926	47.5
1967	476.192	264.500	264.500	55.5	211.692	44.5
1968	413.010	263.676	263.676	63.8	149.334	36.2
1969	629.262	278.706	278.706	44.3	350.556	55.7
1970	877.060	280.504	280.504	32.0	596.556	68.0
Mean						
1961-70	493.822	284.005	284.005	62.2	209.818	37.8
Mean						
1955-70	414.289	268.419	268.419	71.1	145.878	28.9

Source: Federal Office of Statistics (1972) Annual Abstracts of Statistics, Lagos: Government Printers, p.28.

TABLE 2 SHARE OF AGRICULTURE IN
G.D.P. \$ EXPORTS: 1971-80

Year	All Sectors (₦ million)	Agricultu- ral sector (₦ million)	Percen- tage of Agricul- ture	Agriculture as percent- age of total exports
1971	5,281.1	2,576.4	48.49	20.73
1972	6,650.9	3,033.7	43.61	13.54
1973	7,187.5	3,092.7	43.03	12.67
1974	12,118.0	3,352.1	27.66	5.31
1975	16,462.8	3,940.0	23.95	5.21
1976	19,437.7	4,579.5	23.96	3.87
1977	23,826.0	4,898.3	20.56	5.74
1978	26,758.5	5,143.4	19.22	7.32
1979	23,370.2	5,389.1	19.69	4.60
1980	31,424.7	5,656.8	18.00	--

Source: Liman, M. 'Prospects and Problems of Agricultural Development in Nigeria'. Ahmadu Bello University Public Lecture Series of 29th January, 1982.

Agricultural production in Nigeria depends on land, labour and capital, therefore, a reduction in the supply of these resources inevitably means a reduction in agricultural output.

The net effect of the phenomenal decline in agricultural output is that Nigeria's dependence on food imports increased tremendously. For instance, the import bill on food items rose from 126.3 million naira in 1972 to 1,027.1 million naira in 1978. The increase was about 800 per cent in six years. Since 1978, the annual food import bill remains at about 1.5 billion naira.³²

However, in an attempt to energise the agricultural economy, successive governments have introduced various

programmes such as the Accelerated National Food Programme (1970-1975); the Operation Feed the Nation (1975-1979); the Green Revolution Programme (1979-1983), and the River Basin Development (1979-1983).³³ These projects have not made any significant impact on agricultural output.³⁴

TABLE 3 CEREAL IMPORTS (1970-83)

(Thousands of tons)

Year	Rice	Maize	Wheat
1970	2	9	267
1971	-	4	405
1972	6	2	317
1973	1	2	454
1974	5	2	325
1975	7	2	408
1976	50	17	745
1977	427	37	770
1978	761	97	1,166
1979	488	111	1,339
1980	400	168	1,176
1981	600	293	1,517
1982	651	345	1,605
1983	700	100	1,498

Source: Watts, M.J. (ed.) (1987) State Oil and Agriculture in Nigeria, California: Institute of International Studies, University of California, p.73.

1.3.2 Petroleum Sector

Exploration for crude oil in Nigeria began in 1937 but the first significant discovery was made in 1958 at Oloibiri, River State.³⁵ It was initially pioneered by a foreign oil firm known as 'Shell D Arey' which later became the Shell Petroleum Development Corporation of Nigeria. In 1958, oil production was only 5,100 barrels per day. It had jumped to 1.083 million barrels per day by 1970, and 1.300 million barrels per day by 1984.³⁶ Robert Erickson, the director of Mobil Oil Nigeria Limited described the trends in Nigerian oil production as 'unprecedented in the world'.³⁷ The phenomenal rise in oil production has yielded a corresponding increase in the foreign exchange earnings of Nigeria. In 1958 Nigeria's foreign reserves stood at 505 million dollars, of which petroleum sales accounted for only 0.74 per cent. By 1980 it had increased to 10,235 million dollars, and the percentage share attributable to petroleum was 95.62 per cent.³⁸ Hence petroleum became a money-spinner for Nigeria. The factor most prompting this dramatic rise was Nigeria's membership of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1971.³⁹ On 13th December 1974, at a conference in Vienna, Austria, OPEC directed its members to increase oil prices by 0.38 dollars per barrel with effect from 1st January 1975.⁴⁰ This price increase provided petroleum-producing developing countries like Nigeria with what Zartman described as 'undreamed of income' so vast as to prompt enormous changes in the role of oil in their economies.⁴¹ In line with the OPEC pricing

TABLE 4 CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION, (1958-70)

Year	Production (1,000 barrels)
1958	5.1
1959	11.2
1960	17.4
1961	46.0
1962	67.5
1963	76.5
1964	120.2
1965	274.2
1966	417.6
1967	319.1
1968	141.3
1969	540.3
1970	1,083.1

Source: Petroleum Economist, 10.12.77, p.256

TABLE 5 PETROLEUM PRODUCTION (1970-84)

Year	Production (million barrels per day)
1970	1.083
1971	1.531
1972	1.816
1973	2.057
1974	2.254
1975	1.786
1976	2.077
1977	2.097
1978	1.908
1979	2.301
1980	2.065
1981	1.430
1982	1.289
1983	1.235*
1984	1.300*

* OPEC-imposed quota

Source: Petroleum Economist, 1.11.79, p.258.

TABLE 6 FOREIGN RESERVES, 1950-83

Year	U.S. \$ Million
1950	110
1958	505
1960	343
1966	195
1970	202
1971	408
1972	355
1973	559
1974	5,602
1975	5,586
1976	5,180
1977	4,232
1978	1,887
1979	5,548
1980	10,235
1981	3,895
1982	1,613
1983	990

Source: International Monetary Fund (1984)
International Financial Statistics Yearbook:
 Washington, D.C., p.452.

TABLE 7 OIL EXPORTS AS PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPORTS,
 1950-83 (million naira)

Year	Total Exports	Petroleum	Percent of Total
1950	180	0	0.00
1958	271	2	0.74
1960	339	9	2.65
1965	529	131	24.76
1970	886	510	57.56
1971	1,304	964	73.93
1972	1,433	1,175	82.00
1973	2,319	1,935	83.44
1974	6,104	5,675	92.97
1975	4,791	4,592	95.85
1976	6,322	5,895	93.25
1977	7,594	7,046	92.78
1978	6,707	6,033	90.00
1979	10,676	10,035	94.00
1980	14,640	13,999	95.62
1981	11,892	11,250	94.60
1982	11,145	10,503	94.24
1983	8,427	7,786	92.39

Source: International Monetary Fund (1984)
International Financial Statistics Yearbook: Washington
 D.C., p.455.

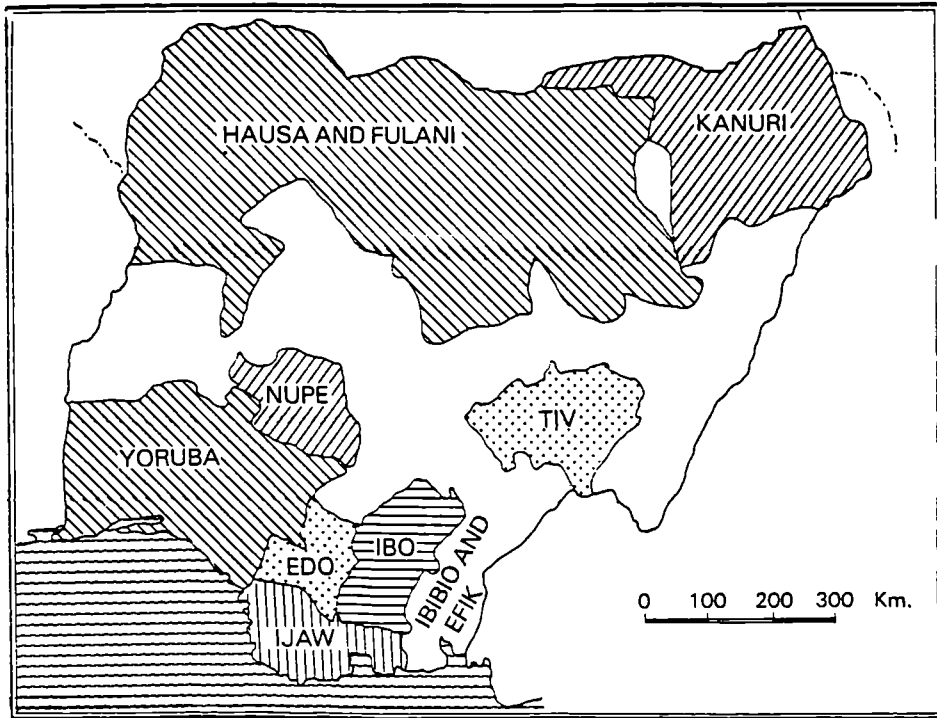
policy, Nigeria increased its oil price several times during 1979 and 1980 - the year it recorded the highest profits.⁴²

The phenomenal increase in government revenue brought about by oil helped the government plan projects. For example, the budget estimates for the First (1962-1968) and Second (1970-1974) Development Plans were 2.2 billion naira and 3.2 billion naira respectively. The Third and Fourth Development Plans, which were launched during the 'oil boom' era (1975-1980) and (1981-1985), were estimated at 43 billion naira and 82 billion naira respectively.⁴³

National projects were launched during the oil boom including the building of a new capital city, Abuja and the construction of fourteen additional airports.⁴⁴ However, since 1981 there has been a global decline in oil demand which has led to a severe drop in prices. Nigeria experienced a severe drop in prices for oil. It fell from 30 dollars a barrel in 1983 to 10 dollars a barrel in 1986.⁴⁵ The impact of this global recession was devastating to the Nigerian economy and her various development programmes. Oil revenue had dropped from 23 billion dollars in 1980 to 5.9 billion dollars in 1986.⁴⁶

1.4 Cultural History and Political Development in Pre-Colonial Days

From the beginning of the first millennium A.D., several Kingdoms and empires were established in areas now covered by Nigeria.⁴⁷ They were in two groups. The first were Sudanese Kingdoms which included Kanem, Bornu, Songhai



Source: Graf, W.D. (1988) The Nigerian State
London: Heinemann, p.14.

TABLE 8 POPULATION AMONG THE MAIN NIGERIAN ETHNIC GROUPS

Tribe	Population		% Total 1953	% Total 1963	Change 1953-63 (000s)	Change
	1953 (000s)	1963 (000s)				
Hausa	5,548	11,653	18.0	20.9	6,105	110
Yoruba	5,046	11,321	16.4	20.3	6,275	124
Ibo	5,484	9,246	17.8	16.6	3,762	69
Fulani	3,041	4,784	9.9	8.6	1,743	57
Kanuri	1,301	2,259	4.2	4.1	958	74
Ibibio	767	2,006	2.5	3.6	1,239	162
Tiv	790	1,394	2.6	2.5	604	76
Ijaw	265	1,089	.9	2.0	824	311
Edo	468	955	1.5	1.7	487	104
Annang	435	675	1.4	1.2	240	55
Urhobo	359	639	1.2	1.1	280	78
Nupe	342	656	1.1	1.2	314	92
Ogoni	156	203	.5	.4	47	30
Ekoi	121	345	.4	.6	224	185
Efik	72	166	.2	.3	94	131
Chamba	29	162	.1	.3	133	459
Andomi	38	83	.1	.1	45	118
Yala	26	54	.1	.1	28	108
Ukelle	21	26	.1	.1	5	24
Ejagham	14	17	.1	.1	3	21
Igala	--	582	--	1.0	--	--
Idoma	--	486	--	.9	--	--
Igbirra	--	426	--	.8	--	--
Gwarri	--	378	--	.7	--	--
Mumuye	--	294	--	.5	--	--
Alago	--	250	--	.4	--	--
Isoko	--	200	--	.4	--	--
Higgi	--	177	--	.3	--	--
Bura	--	172	--	.3	--	--
Shau Araba						
Shuwa	--	156	--	.3	--	--
Kaje	--	152	--	.3	--	--
Jare	--	147	--	.3	--	--
Kambari	--	143	--	.3	--	--
Eggo	--	143	--	.3	--	--
Kobchi	--	141	--	.3	--	--
Angas	--	138	--	.2	--	--
Karekare	--	129	--	.2	--	--
Birom	--	119	--	.2	--	--
Yergam	--	116	--	.2	--	--

Source: The Population Census of Nigeria 1952/53, Summary Tables, p7: North, p.26 East, pp.18-19 West, p.18; The Population Census of Nigeria, 1963, Vol. 3, p.10.

Note: The latest officially recognised census figures in Nigeria are from the 1963 census.

and the Hawa states. The second were the forest Kingdoms which comprised the Oyo, Benin and Ibo (Igbo) Kingdoms. The Sudanese and the forest Kingdoms together were comprised of three hundred and ninety four warring tribes speaking about two hundred and fifty languages in 1986.⁴⁸

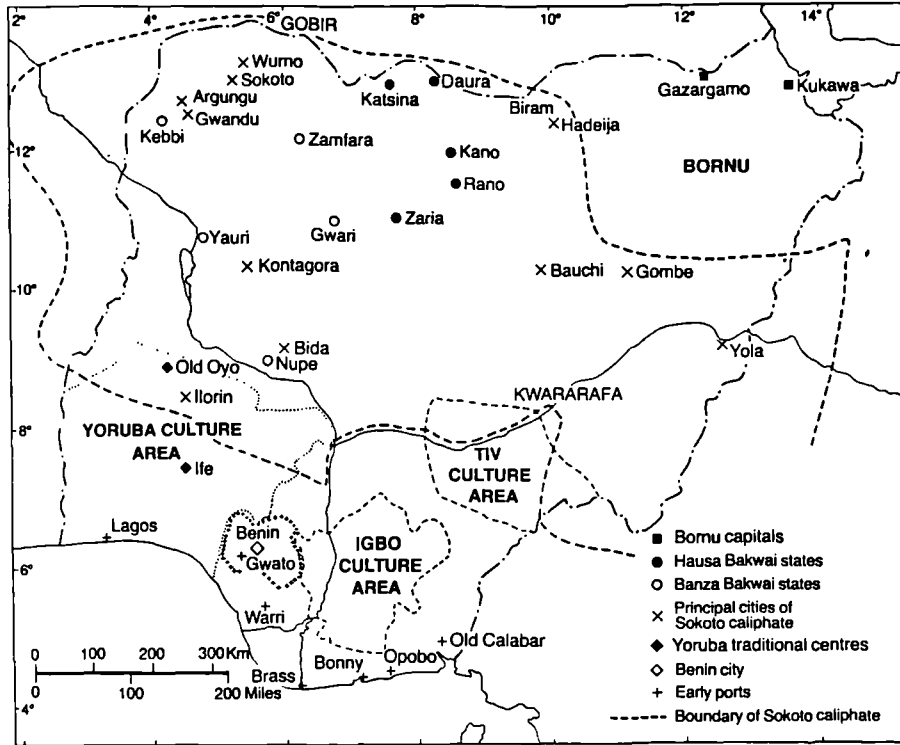
The main ethnic groups within Nigeria are Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Yoruba, Ibo, Ibibio, Tiv, Ijaw, Edo, Efik, Nupe, Itsekiri, Urhobo, Ekoi, Burgu and Jukun.⁴⁹ However, three prominent groups have emerged from these tribes. They are Hausa/Fulani,⁵⁰ Yoruba and Ibo whose prominence in Nigerian society can be attributed to population size.⁵¹

1.4.1 Origin of Hausa and Fulani Tribes

The Hausa speaking tribes occupy the present Kano, Kaduna, Sokoto, Niger, Bauchi and part of Kwara states.⁵²

The Hausa legends of origin are differently told in several works.⁵³ Yet all versions traced the origin of the Hausa tribe to the city of Daura. The foundation of Daura itself is associated with a queen named Daura whose ancestor Abdul-Dar migrated from Tripoli to the present territory of Daura, where he established his dynasty. Abdul Dar was succeeded by nine women who reigned as queens. They were: Kufunu, Gufanu, Yakunu, Yakunya, Waizamu, Waiwaina, Guidirgidir, Innagari, and Daura.⁵⁴

Legend has it that during the reign of Daura the city of Daura depended on the well at Kusugu for its water supply, which was at that time occupied by a snake. It prevented the people of Daura from drawing water until a man



Source: Morgan, W.T.W. (1983) Nigeria, New York: Longman, p.39

named Bayajida Abuyazida visited the city.⁵⁵ On entering the city, he sought water for his horse, which was difficult because of the snake. He killed the snake. In reward, the Queen of Daura married Bayajida and they had a son called Bawo whose six children founded the six Hausa states, namely: Daura, Kano, Zazzau (Zaria), Gobir, Katsina and Rano.⁵⁶ Biram⁵⁷ was later added to this list to make the seven Hausa states known as 'Hausa Bakwai' meaning the 'legitimate' Hausa states.⁵⁸ Apart from these states, there were seven other Hausa states known collectively as 'Hausa Banza' meaning 'illegitimate' or 'bastard' states. In this group were Zamfara, Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Yoruba and Koronofa.⁵⁹ According to myth, the 'bastard' states were founded by seven other children which Bayajida had with another woman, because Queen Daura, his legitimate wife was late in having children.⁶⁰

The Fulani tribe originally entered Hausa-land as nomadic herdsmen in search of grassland. Gradually some of them began to inter-marry with the Hausa populations. By A.D. 1400, the Fulanis had penetrated deeply into Hausaland.⁶¹ Initially the Fulani population were in two categories, the 'Borroroje Fulani' who continued a rural life style, and the 'Fulani Gida' who settled in cities and towns.⁶² It was the Fulani Gida who later assumed the political control of Hausaland through the Islamic revolution of 1804.⁶³

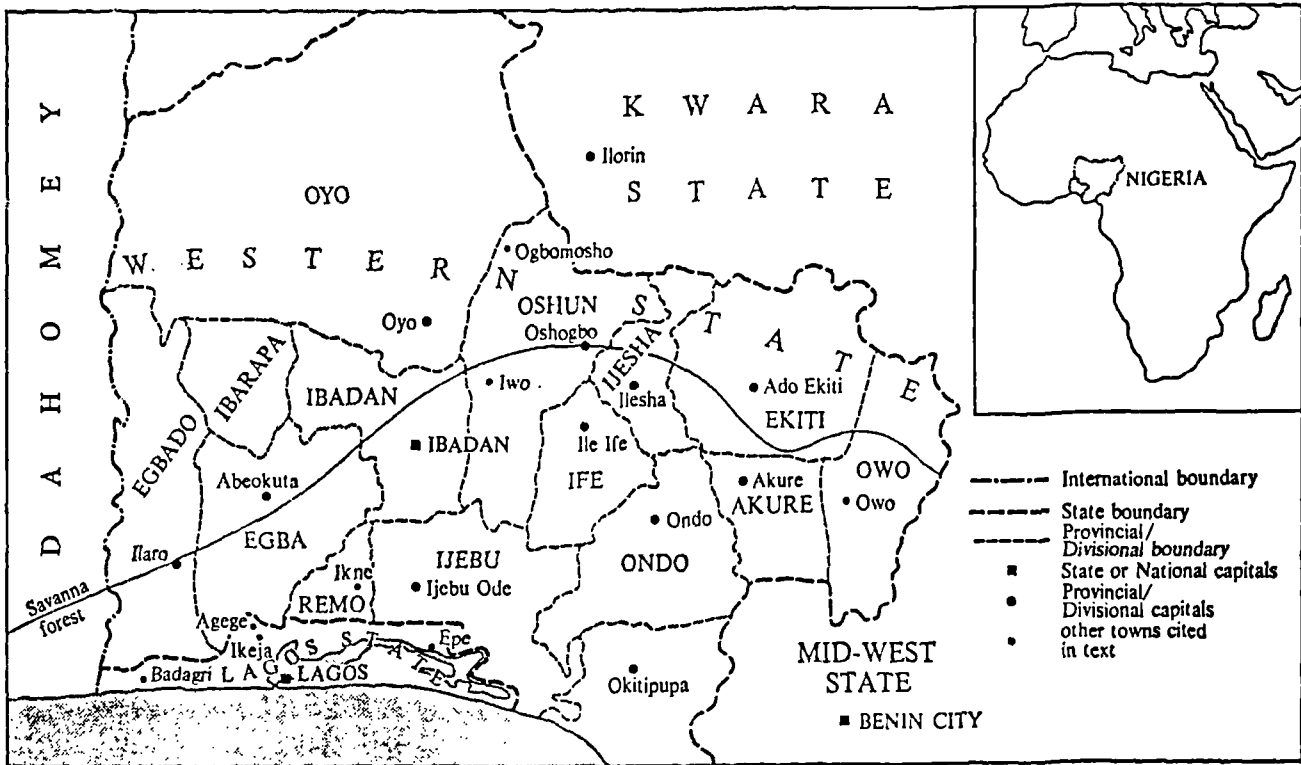
1.4.2 The Origin of Yoruba Tribe

The Yoruba belong to the present Ogun Oyo, Ondo and Lagos states of Nigeria. A substantial portion of Kwara state is also occupied by the Yorubas. The tribe is comprised of several clans which are bound together by the Yoruba language though there are variations of dialect. Among these dialects are the Aworis, Egba, Ekiti, Ijesa, Ilaje, Ondo, Owo, Oyo, Ife, Ibadan, Ijebu.⁶⁴

There are differing accounts of the origin of Yoruba tribe. They are often grouped together in two categories. The first is the creation myth of which there are several versions.⁶⁵ A prominent creation myth told that 'Oduduwa' the progenitor of the Yoruba race was the son of Olodumare.⁶⁶ Oduduwa was sent down from heaven by 'Olodumare' to create the earth which had been covered with water. The place where he first landed was Ile-Ife.⁶⁷ This myth not only points to a local origin for the Yorubas but all mankind too.

Another common way of accounting for the origin of the Yorubas were the migration legends. Again there are several versions. For example, the migration legend recorded by Rev. Samuel Johnson, suggested that the Yorubas sprang from Lamurudu, one of the Kings of Mecca. His children were, Oduduwa, the ancestor of the Yorubas, the Kings of Gogobiri (Gobir in Hausaland) as well as the King of Bornu. Oduduwa migrated to Ile-Ife from Mecca after being driven away on the charge of idolatory.⁶⁸

MAP 7 YORUBA OF SOUTH-WESTERN NIGERIA



Source: Lloyd, P.C. (1974) Power and Independence: Urban African's Perception of Social Inequality, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p.xvi.

Another version of migration legend was recorded by Archdeacon Olumide Lucas. This legend suggested that the Yoruba's origin was in Egypt. He used linguistic evidence to support this.⁶⁹

1.4.3 The Origin of Ibo Tribe

The traditional homelands of the Ibo tribe of South-eastern Nigeria, are found in the areas which lie between the east of the River Niger and west of the Cross River, although a minority population live to the west of the River Niger.⁷⁰ The Ibo tribe occupy mainly Anambra, Imo, and some parts of Cross River and Bendel states.

The origin of the Ibo people is a matter for speculation. The obscurity of their stories of origin springs from the fact that the Ibo consisted of a large number of independent communities.⁷¹ Speculation is based on the findings of archaeology, the oral traditions of the people themselves and the observations of European visitors.⁷² Each of these sources provides a different kind of information which is difficult to synthesise.

Meek suggested an Egyptian origin for the Ibo⁷³ though Cohen and Padem thought that they were one of the 'lost tribes of Judah'. Therefore they referred to the Ibo people as the 'Jews of West Africa'.⁷⁴

The Ibo people themselves trace their origin from religious myths. Although these myths take different forms, they have a central concept in common. According to one of these myths Eri and Namaka his wife were sent down from



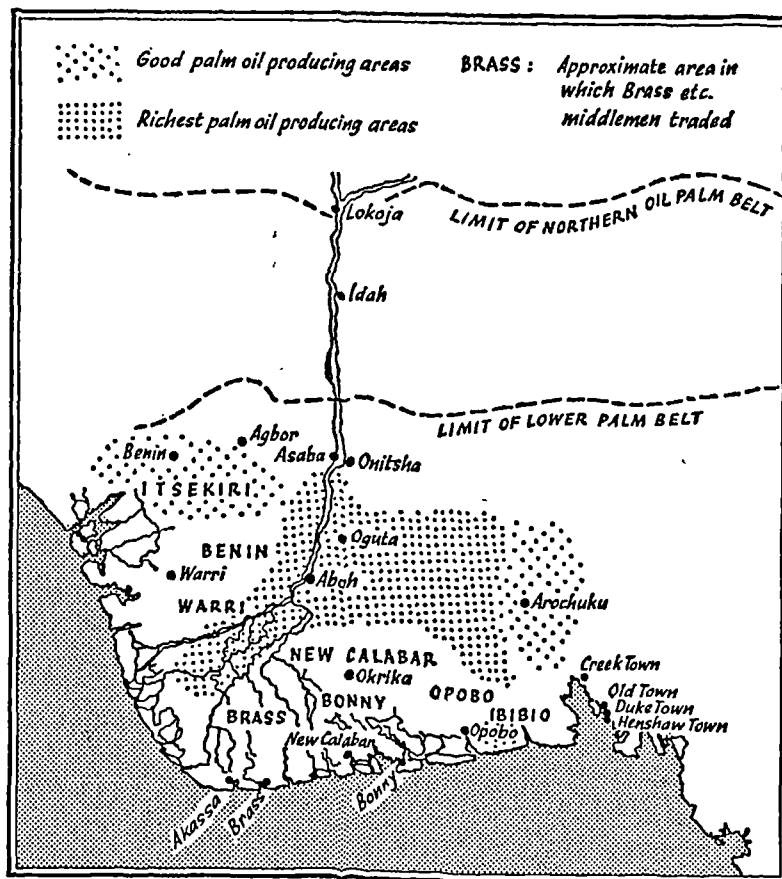
Source: Isichei, E. (1973) The Ibo People and the Europeans, London: Faber and Faber, p.16.

heaven by Chukwu⁷⁵ to live on earth which was then filled with water. When Eri complained to Chukwu about the water, a blacksmith was sent from heaven to dry up the land which was later inhabited by Eri and his family. Nri, the son of Eri founded Nri after his name.⁷⁶ Other communities in Iboland later developed from Nri. According to Rev. Perry, the people of Nri: '... were the Levites of the Ibo people'.⁷⁷

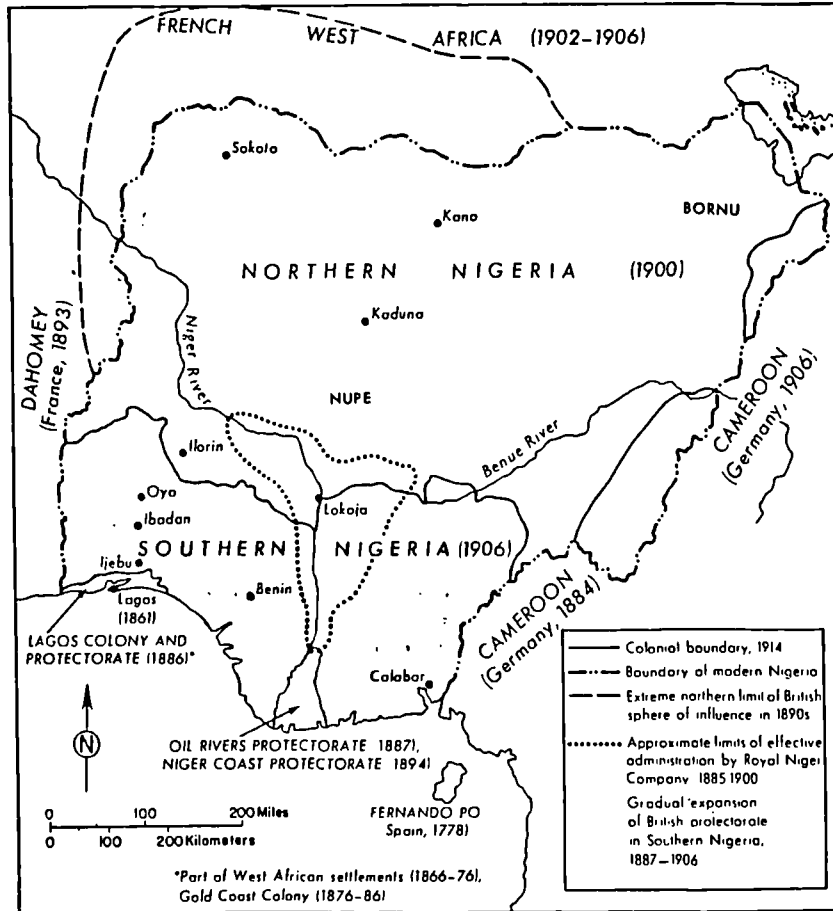
1.5 Political Development from Colonial to the present day

1.5.1 British Penetration

When the slave trade was abolished in Britain in 1807 by an Act of Parliament, a British Naval Squadron headed by Commodore Henry W. Bruce was dispatched to the West African coast, to prevent ships carrying slaves to Britain. Subsequently, three other naval expeditions were despatched to different parts of Nigeria to sign treaties of friendship with chiefs and rulers of various locations who were engaged in the slave trade.⁷⁸ All the three naval expeditions reported on the possibilities of trading with Nigeria but stated that the trade had to be at the bank of the river to ensure naval protection. This led to the formation of the Royal Niger Chartered Company⁷⁹ by the British government in 1886. This company was permitted to exercise judicial authority, impose taxes, and collect custom duties through the provision of an armed constabulary.⁸⁰ The company succeeded gradually in replacing the slave trade with more



Source: Crowder, M. (1966) The Story of Nigeria, London: Faber and Faber, p.151.



Source: Nelson, H.D. (1982) Nigeria: A Country Study
 Washington: Dept. of the Army Hdqtrs, P.27

legitimate trade in palm oil.⁸¹ However, in an attempt to forestall exploitation by the African middlemen who imposed heavy custom duties, the British traders demanded more protection from their home government. This request led to the appointment of Consuls.⁸² In 1849, Beecroft was appointed as the first consul in charge of 'Bights of Benin and Biafra'.⁸³ He captured Lagos with a British naval squadron. In 1853 Campbell was appointed consul for Lagos. He signed the 'Treaty of Cession' on 6th August, 1861 and Lagos became a British Colony under his governorship.⁸⁴

When his successor, Sir William Macgregor was appointed in July 1886, he persuaded other traditional rulers of Yorubaland, with the exception of Abeokuta in whose land there was civil war, to sign a treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce. The treaty with Abeokuta was later signed in 1893 by G.T. Carter, who was then Governor of Lagos Colony.⁸⁵

Similar treaties were signed by E.H. Hewett on the 1st July and the 19th December 1884.⁸⁶ Consul Hewett also signed a treaty of peace and friendship with the Kings, Queens, and Chiefs of Asaba.⁸⁷

In consequence of these treaties, Southern Nigeria gradually came under the control of the British government. In 1887 the Oil River Protectorate was established. It became the Niger Coast Protectorate in 1893.⁸⁸

On 1st January 1900, an 'Order-in-Council' was passed by which the Niger Coast Protectorate and the Royal Niger Company territories became the 'Protectorate of Southern

Nigeria' and the territories under British rule in Northern Nigeria became the 'Protectorate of Northern Nigeria'.⁸⁹ Similarly, Lagos and its districts became the 'Colony and Protectorate of Lagos'.⁹⁰ Although these three units were placed under the British Colonial office:

each unit followed a separate course of development with a separate government, a separate staff, and its own quite distinct theory and system of administration.⁹¹

It was this tripartite policy that later reinforced the cultural and socio-political division of Nigeria.

The domination of Nigeria by the colonial powers was yet to be completed in Northern Nigeria. When Sir Frederick (later Lord) Lugard became the commissioner of the Northern Protectorate, his first major task was to extend British rule to the rest of Northern Nigeria which was under the control of Fulani Emirs. He pursued this aim by giving formal recognition to the existing Fulani administration. This strategy later became known as a policy of 'Indirect Rule'.

The administration of the Southern Protectorate was more direct as each officer was the principal executor and managerial authority of his district.⁹²

In 1906, the administration of Lagos merged with the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and in November 1913, a Nigeria Protectorate 'Order-in-Council' was used to bring together the Southern and Northern Protectorates. On 1st January 1914, Nigeria as a geographical entity appeared on

the world map with Lagos as its capital, and Sir Frederick Lugard became the first Governor General.⁹³ He was succeeded by Sir Hugh Clifford in 1919.⁹⁴

1.5.2 The Development of Nationalism (1920-1960)

Nationalist activities in Nigeria started shortly after the first World War (1914-1918) when educated Nigerians wanted to participate in public affairs. Their agitation was strongly condemned by the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford. In his address to the Nigerian Council on 29th December 1920, he said:

It can only be described as farcical to suppose that Continental Nigeria can be represented by a handful of gentlemen drawn from a half-dozen coast towns - men born and bred in British administered towns ... who, in the safety of British protection, have peacefully pursued their studies under British teachers in British schools in order to ... become ministers of the Christian religion or learned in the laws of England, whose eyes are fixed, not upon African native history ... but upon political theories evolved by Europeans ... for the government of peoples who have arrived at a wholly different stage of civilisation.⁹⁵

The British administration in Nigeria believed in a national self-government through indigenous institutions. Therefore, in 1923 the Native Authority Ordinance was enacted which was the vehicle for the system of 'indirect rule'.

By 1925, one hundred and fourteen Principal Native Authorities⁹⁶ and hundreds of subordinate ones had been established.⁹⁷

However, in 1937 the deteriorating economic prosperity of cocoa merchants in Nigeria⁹⁸ reactivated the spirit of nationalism through a political association known as the Nigerian Youth Movement. The objectives of this Youth movement were:

- (a) to promote unity among the various tribes of Nigeria
and
- (b) to achieve political independence for Nigeria.⁹⁹

The activities of this movement were strengthened by the emergence of 'Tribal Improvement Unions' and the establishment of an indigenous newspaper, the 'West African Pilot' by Mr. Nnamdi Azikwe in 1937.¹⁰⁰ In 1938 the Nigerian Youth Movement itself began to publish the 'Daily Service'. These two newspapers criticised daily the political, economic and social programmes of the colonial administration and urged Nigerian Youth to throw off the shackles of imperialism at the earliest opportunity.

However, when the Second World War started in 1939, the Youth Movement suspended its nationalist struggle in order to give full support to the British war effort.¹⁰¹ The spirit of nationalism was rekindled after the Second World War with the formation of the 'National Council of Nigerians and the Cameroun' (N.C.N.C.) on 26th August 1944, in Lagos.¹⁰² Initially N.C.N.C. was not a political party but a united front of all political parties interested in self-government. It later became a political party due to personal rivalries and inter-tribal sentiments.¹⁰³ This

situation led to the formation of two rival political parties in 1951. These were the Action Group (A.G.) in Western Nigeria led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the Northern Peoples Congress (N.P.C.) in Northern Nigeria led by Sir Alhaji Ahmadu Bello.¹⁰⁴ The N.C.N.C. remained a political party for the Ibo tribe of Eastern Nigeria with Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe as the leader.

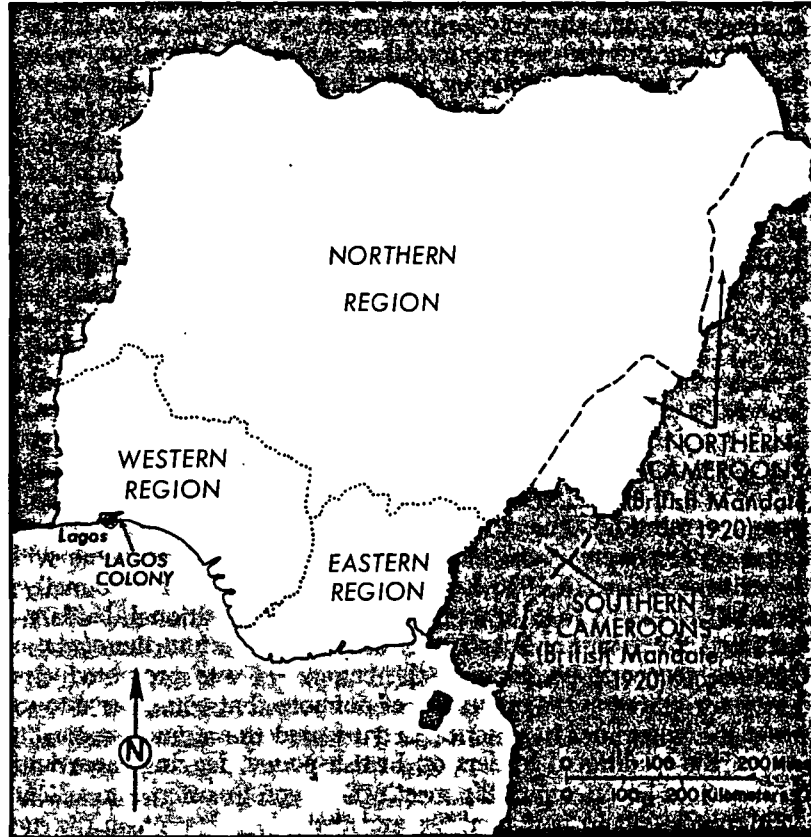
1.5.3 Constitutional Evolution (1946-1963)

In March 1945, the new Governor Sir Arthur Richards (later Lord Milverton) made some constitutional proposals to the Secretary of State for the colonies. He advocated, among other things, the creation of three regions for Nigeria.¹⁰⁵ This proposal later became the kernel of the 1946 constitution known as the 'Richard's Constitution'. The aims according to Crowther were:

... to promote the unity of Nigeria, to provide adequately within that unity for the diverse elements which make up the country and to secure greater participation by Africans in the discussion of their own affairs.¹⁰⁶

Thus, the Richard's Constitution divided Nigeria into three unequal regions. The Northern region was bigger than both the Western and the Eastern regions.¹⁰⁷

Immediately after launching the new constitution, Sir Arthur Richards retired from the governorship of Nigeria and was succeeded by Sir John Macpherson. In 1948, the new governor announced a review of the Richard's Constitution which was originally intended to be in force for nine years.



Source: Nelson, H.D. (1982) Nigeria: A Country Study, Washington: Dept. of the Army Hdqrs. p.32.

The review was a consequence of growing criticism of the 1946 regionalisation policy. As Arikpo observed:

... many young Nigerians were apprehensive of the incipient centrifugal tendencies which had been nursed by the Richard's Constitution and of the growing antagonisms which were developing between North and South, Ibo and Yoruba, nationalists and legislators. Many of them attributed these antagonisms to the constitutional arrangements which facilitated the growth of regional loyalties at the expense of national consciousness and their apprehensions were expressed in resolutions "... urging the return to unitary government".¹⁰⁸

The situation however worsened with the introduction of the 1951 Constitution in which each of the three regions became a political entity with executive and legislative powers. This provision strengthened tribal sentiments particularly among the three major tribes of Nigeria for the three ruling political parties in the regions were founded on tribal lines.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, the antagonisms between the regional political parties continued to widen.

In March 1953, the Action Group¹¹⁰ sponsored a private member's motion for the self-government of Nigeria in 1956. The motion resulted in a bitter division between the Southern and the Northern politicians. It was felt to be a step towards 'official southern domination'. This bitterness came to a head in Northern townships. For example, there was a violent riot in Kano from 16th to 19th May, 1953 between Southerners and Northerners which resulted in the loss of at least thirty-six lives and considerable damage to property.¹¹¹

A new constitution was introduced on 1st October, 1954 which further increased regional autonomy. Each region was given full legislative and executive authority within its areas of jurisdiction. As Ukeje said: "it was a creation of almost autonomous Regional Governments and a very weak Federal Government".¹¹²

This was the political situation until 1st October 1960, when Nigeria received her independence. By 1st October 1963 it became a republic within the commonwealth.¹¹³

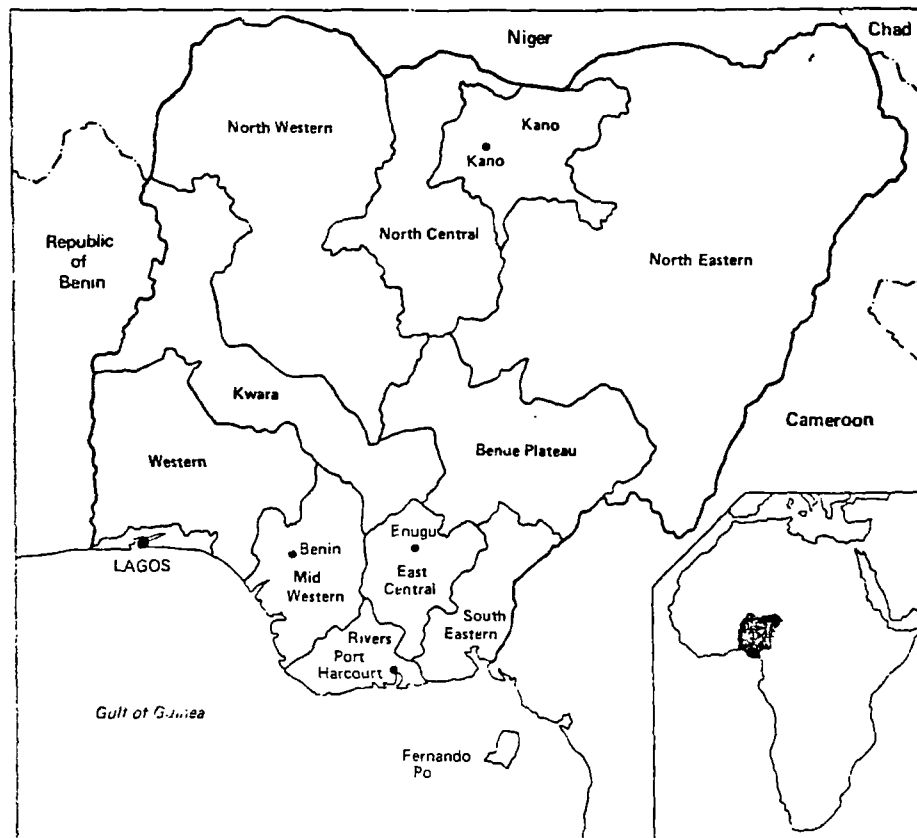
1.5.4 Post-Independent Nigeria

On 24th May 1966, a decree abolishing the regional structures of Nigeria was promulgated by the Federal Government and replaced with a provincial system in which the five public services in the country were unified. This change was vehemently opposed by Northerners.

Another violent demonstration broke out in Northern Nigeria which resulted in a loss of life and the destruction of properties of many Easterners living in Northern Nigeria. The then Head of State, General Ironsi, lost his life in a counter-coup on 29th July 1966.¹¹⁴ His successor, Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon made some frantic efforts to reconcile the political differences in the country, among which was the division of Nigeria into twelve states in 1967 in order 'to promote social unity'.¹¹⁵ However, his efforts flopped because the Governor of Eastern Region, Emeka Ojukwu refused to accept his leadership. This led to a thirty month long

MAP 12

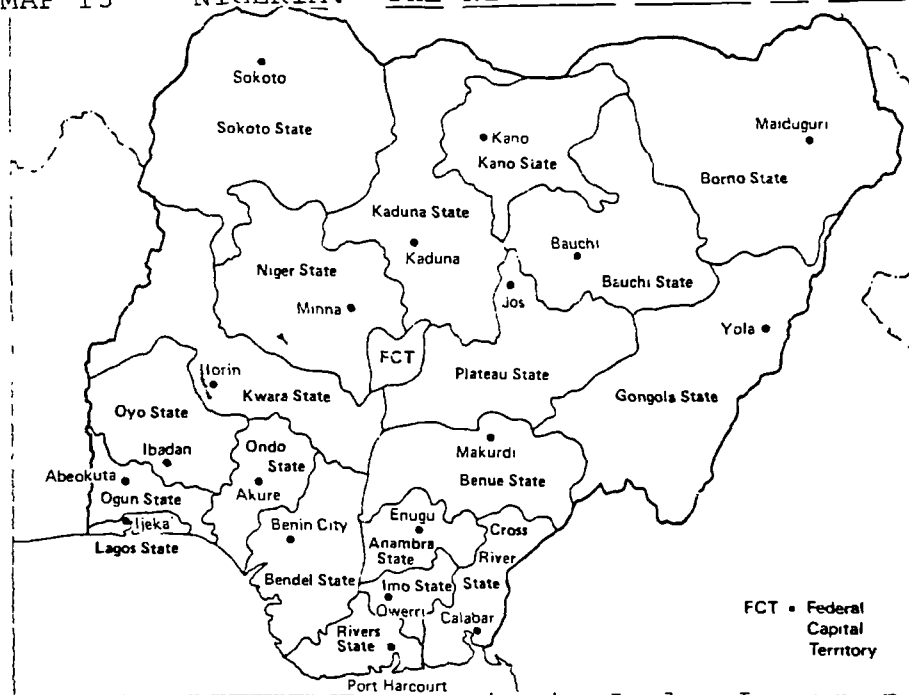
NIGERIA: THE TWELVE STATES OF 1967



Source: Arnold, G. (1977) Modern Nigeria London: Longman, p.180.

MAP 13

NIGERIA: THE NINETEEN STATES OF 1976



Source: Arnold, G. (1977) Modern Nigeria, London: Longman, p.180.

MAP 14 NIGERIA: THE TWENTY-ONE STATES OF 1987



Source: Newswatch 5th October 1987, p.52.

civil war (30th May 1967 to 12th January 1970). Gowon's administration was overthrown on 29th July 1975. The next Head of State, the late General Muritala Muhammed increased the number of states to nineteen in 1976.¹¹⁶ He was assassinated in an abortive coup on 13th February 1976, and his deputy, General Olusegun Obasanjo succeeded him. In October 1979, General Obasanjo handed over power to a civilian government headed by Alhaji Shehu Sagari. He was overthrown by the military forces on 31st December 1983, for maladministration of the Nigerian economy. Major General Buhari became the next Head of State. On 27th August 1985, Buhari's coup was replaced by the present military government under the leadership of Major-general Ibrahim Babangida.¹¹⁷ The present military administration created two additional states on 23rd September 1987, thus increasing the number to twenty-one.¹¹⁸ Despite all these structural arrangements, the socio-political problems of Nigeria continued to increase. The Political Bureau set up by the present military government has argued:

... the re-organisation into states and local government areas in the post-independence era has reinforced the exclusiveness of various ethnic groups and also promoted group parochialism, paranoia and feelings of distance from government and the nation state in various aspects of Nigerian life.¹¹⁹

1.6 Analysis and Comments

This background offers a perspective against which key contemporary problems in Nigeria can be viewed.

1.6.1 Problems of National Unity

Contemporary Nigerian society is beset by the problem of national unity. The diverse ethnic and cultural bases laying behind the creation of Nigeria are strong forces prompting political division and fragmentation. This problem has been exacerbated by several other factors.

One of the most important is the contact between indigenous Nigerian states and foreign cultures such as those of the British, Portuguese and Arabs. The nature of these foreign cultures and the differences in the timing of contact with indigenous Nigerian states are responsible for many differences at social level.

According to Coleman, the fact that the acquisition of Nigeria by the British colonial regime was piecemeal, and occurred in successive stages is partly responsible for the extreme unevenness in the degree of social change and modernisation among the various groups of Nigeria.¹²⁰

Other important factors militating against the growth of national unity were the Colonial administrative policies. Despite the achievements of the Colonial regime in eradicating the slave trade and laying the foundation for the growth and development of Nigeria, some of its policies aggravated the problem of national unity. One such policy was the establishment of a tripartite administration even after Nigeria was amalgamated in 1914. Each administrative unit pursued different policies. For example, in the field of education until 1929¹²¹ the Northern and Southern

protectorates had different Directorates of Education, and different types of schools which pursued different aims and curricula.

The colonial administration in the north prohibited Christian missionary activities and modern education in the dominant Muslim areas.¹²² This particular educational development gave the Northerners a feeling of unity among themselves. For decades afterwards, they found it difficult to regard themselves as one with the rest of Nigeria.

Apart from the colonial policy on education, two different political structures existed during the colonial regime in Nigeria. In the North the policy was 'Indirect rule', a system in which the colonial administration pledged not to interfere, but to safeguard the existing Fulani administration. In the South, a direct administrative policy was adopted, through the establishment of local government councils.¹²³ The fact of two political structures meant great difficulties in conceiving a unified Nigeria. In an attempt to safeguard the traditional culture of the North, Southern emigration to the North was controlled. The few southerners who nevertheless settled there were segregated and quartered at Sabon Gari. They were also provided with separate judicial, religious and educational institutions, similar to those in the South.¹²⁴ Thus the policy of indirect rule fostered a high degree of individual tribal unity in Nigeria.

Mallam Abubakar Iman said in London, in 1943:

We despise each other ... We call each other ignorant. The south is proud of western knowledge and culture, we are proud of eastern ... to tell you the plain truth, the common people of the north put more confidence in the white man than ... their black southern brothers...¹²⁵

A third colonial government policy which militated against national unity in Nigeria was the regionalisation policy of 1946.¹²⁶ This policy slashed Nigeria into three regions - the Northern, Eastern and Western, each with its dominant ethnic group: The Fulani-Hausa in the North, the Ibo in the East and the Yoruba in the West. This policy reinforced tribal sentiments.

These three aspects of British Colonial policy in particular tended to perpetuate the individuality and separateness of Northern Nigeria from the South.

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2. Flora Shaw was then a news correspondent for The Times (a London-based newspaper). She became the wife of Lord F. Lugard, the first Governor-General of Nigeria, in 1902. Lugard was governor from 1912 to 1919. (See West Africa, 22.12.56, p.2.)
3. Crowder, M. (1962) The Story of Nigeria, London: Faber and Faber, p.19. See also: Federal Government of Nigeria (1986) The Nigeria Year Book 1986, Lagos: Daily Times Publication, p.69.
4. Ekanem, I.I. (1972) The 1963 Nigerian Census. A Critical Appraisal, Benin City: Ethiope Publishing Corporation, p.30.
5. World Bank estimates quoted in New African Year Book 1987-1988, London: IC Magazines, p.243.
6. The Nigeria Handbook (1985) 25 Years of Progress: A Silver Jubilee Review, Lagos: Patike Communications, p.15.
7. Ibid.
8. See Map 1 on page 6 showing the mean annual rainfall in the major cities of Nigeria. All cities between the Isohyets of Lagos and Enugu represent Southern Nigeria while cities between the Isohyets of Minna and Nguru fall within Northern Nigeria.
9. The Nigeria Handbook (1985) op.cit., p.15.
10. See figure 1 on page 7.
11. See figure 1 on page 7.
12. The Nigeria Handbook (1985) op.cit., p.15.
13. See map 2 on page 8.
14. See Maps 3 and 4 on pages 9 and 10.
15. See map 2 on page 8.
16. Hans-Otto-Sano (1983) 'The Political Economy of Food in Nigeria (1960-1982)' Research Report of the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, No. 65, p.11. See also map 4 on page 10.

17. Lewis, L.J. (1978) Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria, London: Pergamon Press, p.11.
18. Academic Staff Union of Universities of Nigeria (1985) The Nigerian Economic Crisis: Causes and Solution, Zaria: Gaskya Corporation, p.16.
19. See glossary
20. Oyejide, T.A. (1986) 'The Effects of Trade and Exchange Rate Policies on Agriculture in Nigeria'. Research Report of the International Food Policy Research Institute, No. 55, p.13.
21. Watts, M.J. (ed.) (1987) State, Oil and Agriculture in Nigeria, California: Institute of International Studies, University of California, p.61.
22. See Table 1 on page 14.
23. See Table 2 on page 15.
24. For instance on 1st January 1973, a barrel of Nigerian Petroleum was sold at 3,561 US dollars. By January 1981, it had increased to 4 dollars per barrel.
25. World Bank quotation in 1979 states that Nigerian currency was over-valued by 100 per cent (See Watts, M.J. (ed.) (1987) State, Oil and Agriculture in Nigeria, California: Institute of International Studies, University of California, p.75.
26. See Table 3 on page 16.
27. Oyejide, T.A. (1986) op.cit., p.9.
28. Watts, M.J. (ed.) (1987) op.cit., p.74.
29. Eicher, C.K. and Baker, D.C. (1982) 'Research on Agricultural Development in Sub-Saharan Africa - A Critical Survey'. International Development Paper No. 1, Michigan: Michigan State University, p.28.
30. Nelson, H.D. (1982) Nigeria A Country Study, Washington: Dept. of the Army Hdqrs., p.147.
31. Newswatch, 5.10.87, p.22.
32. The Nigeria Handbook (1985) op.cit., p.34.
33. Watts, M.J. (ed.) (1987) op.cit., pp.76-78.
34. Newswatch, 5.10.87, p.24.

35. Orubuloye, I.O. and Oyeneye, O.Y. (eds.) (1983) Population and Development in Nigeria, Ibadan: Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, p.106.
36. See Tables 4 and 5 on page 18.
37. Newswatch 5.10.87, p.56.
38. See Tables 6 and 7 on page 19.
39. Zartman, I.W. (1983) The Political Economy of Nigeria, New York: Praeger Publishers, p.104. (See glossary on the aims of OPEC).
40. Ibid, p.105.
41. Ibid.
42. See Table 7 on page 19.
43. The Nigerian Handbook (1985), op.cit., p.6.
44. Ibid.
45. Zartman, L.W. (1983), op.cit., p.107.
46. Newswatch, 5.10.87, p.55.
47. Crowder, M. (1962) The Story of Nigeria, London: Faber and Faber, pp.19-23.
48. Federal Republic of Nigeria (1987) Perspectives of Nigerian Culture, External Publicity Series 3, Lagos: Dept. of Information, p.1.
49. Ibid. See also map 6 on page 24.
50. Hausa and Fulani are two distinct ethnic groups. They are often referred to as one because of the growing cultural homogeneity between them brought about by Islam. Their common language is Hausa.
51. See Table 8 on page 22.
52. See maps 5 and 14 on pages 21 and 42.
53. See Hallem, W.K.R. (1966) 'The Bayajida Legend in Hausa Folklore' Journal of African History, Vol. 7, pp.42-60. For another version see Crowder, M. (1962) The Story of Nigeria, London: Faber and Faber, pp.37-39.
54. Smith, M.G. (1978) The Affairs of Daura, California: University of California Press, p.53.

55. Ibid, p.53.
56. Ibid, p.55.
57. Biran was founded by the only child of Bayijidda before his visit to Daura city. See Map 6 on page 24
58. Crowder, M. (1962) op.cit., p.37.
59. Ibid.
60. Smith, M.G. (1978) op.cit., p.53.
61. Arikpo, O. (1967) The Development of Modern Nigeria, Middlesex: Penguin Books, p.17.
62. Federal Republic of Nigeria (1987), op.cit., p.2.
63. Ibid, p.3. (The Islamic revolution will be discussed in chapter three).
64. See Map 7 on page 27.
65. Pre-history and archaeological study is still in its infancy in Nigeria hence it has not been possible to confirm the legendary evidence. Furthermore, since the pre-literate societies of Nigeria were based on oral traditions, legends and myths, particularly those of origin, suffered distortion.
66. Olodumare is one of the local names given to the Supreme Beings by the Yoruba. (See Chapter two, p.2).
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68. Ibid, pp.2-12.
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70. See Map 8 on page 29.
71. Isichei, E. (1973) The Ibo People and the Europeans, London: Faber and Faber, p.19.
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74. Ibid.
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77. Ibid.
78. See appendix 1 on page 360 on the Treaty signed with the King and chiefs of Lagos in 1852.
79. See glossary
80. Arikpo, O. (1967) op.cit., p.29.
81. See Map 9 on page 28 for the location of oil markets in the nineteenth century.
82. See appendix 2 on page 363 showing the list of British Consuls in Nigeria from 1849 to 1900.
83. The Bights of Benin and Biafra comprised of former mid-western, Western and Eastern parts of Nigeria.
84. See appendix 3 on page 364 on the 'Treaty of Cession' signed with the King of Lagos in 1861.
85. Ibid.
86. See appendix 4 on page 366.
87. See appendix 5 on page 368.
88. See map 10 on page 32.
89. Ibid.
90. Geary, W.N.M. (1965) The Nigerian Under British Rule, London: Frank Cass, p.122.
91. Arikpo, O. (1967), op.cit., p.35.
92. Nwankwo, A.A. and Ifejika, S.U. (1969) The Making of a Nation: Biafra, London: C. Hurst Company, p.25.
93. The title of Governor General was personal to Lugard. His successors in office were designated Governor.
94. Kirk Greene, A.H.M. (1968) Lord Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, London: Frank Cass, p.31.

95. Address by the Governor, Nigerian Council, Government Records of Proceedings of Council, Lagos, 29th December 1920, p.20.
96. Arikpo, O. (1967), op.cit., p.44.
97. A Native Authority was constituted either by one person such as an Emir, King, traditional chief or by any group of person appointed by the government in accordance with the native custom of the community concerned.
98. In 1937, the European Trading firms jointly established a West African Cocoa Pool by which the firms were controlling the prices of cocoa. As a result, the West African cocoa merchants were losing their profits.
99. Coleman, J.S. (1958) Nigerian Background to Nationalism, California: University of California Press, p.224.
100. Crowder, M. (1966), op.cit., p.226.
101. Arikpo, O. (1967), op.cit., p.45.
102. Crowder, M. (1966), op.cit., p.223.
103. Ibid, pp.278-279.
104. Ibid, p.286.
105. Sessional Paper No. 4 1945: Political and Constitutional Future of Nigeria, Lagos: Government Printer, p.45.
106. Crowder, M. (1962) The Story of Nigeria, London: Faber and Faber, p.224. See also: Ezera, K. (1964) Constitutional Development of Nigeria, London: Cambridge University, pp.66-70.
107. See map 11 on page 38.
108. Arikpo, O. (1967), op.cit., p.66.
109. See pages 36-7 of this chapter.
110. 'Action Group' was the political party controlling the western region.
111. Northern Regional Government (1953) Report on the Kano Disturbances of May, 1953, Kano: Government Printers, p.1.

112. Ukeje, B.O.U. (1977) Education for Social Reconstruction, London: Macmillan, pp.13-18.
113. The Nigerian Handbook (1985), op.cit., p.10.
114. Ibid.
115. Lewis, L.J. (1978) Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria, London: Pergamon Press, p.11. See also map 12 on page 41.
116. See map 13 on page 41.
117. Afromart, September/October 1987, p.12.
118. See map 14 on page 42.
119. West Africa, 24.7.87, p.1633.
120. Coleman, J.S. (1958) op.cit., p.42.
121. Peshkin, A. 'Education and National Integration in Nigeria', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1967, p.325. See also Onuoha, N.K. 'The Role of Education in Nation-Building: A case study of Nigeria', West African Journal of Education, Vol. XIX, No. 3, October 1975, p.441.
122. See chapter three, p.153.
123. Nwankwo, A.A. and Ifejika, S.U. (1969) The Making of a Nation: Biafra, London: C. Hurst & Company, p.25.
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125. Coleman, J.S. (1958), op.cit., p.360.
126. See page 38.

CHAPTER TWO

AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RELIGION IN NIGERIA

2.1 Introduction

Religion, a signal aspect of human experience, assumes a key significance in contemporary Nigerian life.

The Nigerian Head of State, President Ibrahim Babagida, while addressing Catholic Bishops on 23rd January 1986, stated: "We recognise the dominance of religion in every thought and action of every Nigerian".¹

This situation may be partly attributed to the dominant position of African Traditional Religion² in pre-literate societies of Africa. The consensus of scholarly opinion suggested that ATR was the means by which all indigenous African societies interpreted life.³ According to Mbiti: "It is religion more than anything else which colours their understanding of the universe and their empirical participation in that universe."⁴

Similarly in the opinion of Opoku: "... religion is at the root of African culture, and is the determining principle of African culture".⁵

These scholars do not provide any evidence to support their claims. Their assumptions are probably based on personal experience, reading and observations. However, several anthropological sources may be cited to support their claims.

The use of superstitious beliefs to explain causation illustrates the overwhelming influence of religion in traditional African societies. For example the Yoruba ethnic group of Nigeria attributes the disease of smallpox to 'Sopono' - a tribal divinity.⁶ Similarly lightning - a natural phenomenon - is linked intimately to divinities such as 'Amadioha' among the Ibo ethnic group and 'Sango' in Yorubaland.⁷

Traditional religions and life in Africa seem to be inextricably interwoven, yet there does seem to be a partial erosion of the traditional role of ATR by Islam, Christianity and colonial imperialism in Nigeria.⁸ Nevertheless, it may be argued that ATR still exerts an influence in the life of many Nigerians although in varying degrees. Such influence was demonstrated recently at Igbesa in the Egbado Local Government area of Ogun State. A large number of Muslims and Christians joined in the performance of a traditional rite. The following song was sung:

Awa o soro ile wa o We shall fulfil our traditional
rites

Awa o soro ile wa o We shall fulfil our traditional
rites

Igbagbo ko pe Christianity does not prevent us

Igbagbo ko pe Christianity does not prevent us

Kawa ma soro from fulfilling our traditional
rites

Awa o soro ile wa o We shall fulfil our traditional
rites

Imale ko pe	Islam does not prevent us
Imale ko pe kawa	Islam does not prevent us
ma soro	from fulfilling our traditional
	rites
Awa yio soro ile wa o	We shall fulfil our traditional
	rites ⁹

The influence of ATR on African communities requires explanation. This will be sought within a consideration of its major beliefs and practices.

2.2 Some Misconceptions Regarding African Traditional Religion

Most earlier descriptions of ATR contained misleading ideas.¹⁰ Derogatory terms like Animism, Fetishism, Paganism, Ancestor-worship, Heathenism were common to descriptions of ATR by European anthropologists and missionaries in their work in Africa.

Archdeacon Basden frequently described the traditional religion of the Ibos as 'Animism'.¹¹ He claimed his study was an outcome of thirty-five years service among the people. There is no indication in his book which explains the usage of this term. It was probably borrowed from E.B. Tylor, an anthropologist widely claimed to be the first person to describe ATR with this word in 1866.¹² Animism is derived from the Latin word 'Anima', meaning 'breath'. Hence the word is associated with the idea of soul or spirit.¹³ The Collins English Dictionary defined Animism as

'the belief that natural objects possess souls'.¹⁴

Africans did not believe that every object possessed a soul, rather they believed that a spirit could reside temporarily in certain objects.¹⁵ Animism is quite inadequate to describe all the aspects of traditional religion of Africans.

Another anthropologist who also adopted this term was P.A. Talbot. In his study of Southern Nigeria he noted: "By far the greatest part of the population of the Southern Provinces is heathen and devoted to animism and ancestor worship".¹⁶

'Fetishism' was another derogatory term used to describe ATR. Mary Kingsley, a sociologist said: "I mean by Fetish, the religion of the natives of the Western coast of Africa..."¹⁷ She mentioned that the term was borrowed from Portuguese navigators who discovered West Africa:

These worthy voyagers, noticing the veneration paid by Africans to certain objects, trees, fish, idols, and so on very fairly compared these objects with the amulets, talismans, and charms which they used and called Feticos.¹⁸

Some European investigators disputed the use of this word in describing ATR. Basden commented:

A large and miscellaneous list might be made of objects which could be classed under the generic term of fetishes - stones, trees, waters and indeed any material substance - all are believed to be capable of housing a spirit. These are not worshipped themselves: the Ibo pagan does not 'bow down to wood and stone'. It is to the spirit dwelling within them that supplicatory and intercessory prayer is made.¹⁹

E.G. Parrinder and R.S. Rattray similarly criticised the use of this word.²⁰

These misconceptions concerning ATR can be explained in several ways.

Firstly, ATR being a body of oral traditions in different African cultures has no foundation documents that can guide a foreign investigator. Therefore, these early scholars of ATR would have faced tremendous difficulties in obtaining information from the natives. Basden described his experience in this way:

Collecting reliable information is not an easy task. It is apt to prove irksome and oftentimes disappointing. Even when one has gained the confidence of the people to the extent of being received as one of themselves, it is still a bewildering business. The ... natives ... do not understand what is wanted ... Only after much patient effort and gleaning a little information here and there is one able to build up a knowledge of ancient Ibo custom.²¹

Secondly, these foreign scholars might have been prevented from gaining a true understanding of ATR due to language difficulties. There are over eight hundred languages in Africa and some of them have dialectal variations.²² This seems to be the case with A.B. Ellis an anthropologist who wrote about the concept of the Supreme Being among the Yorubas. According to him: "Olorun is the sky god of the Yoruba; that is he is deified firmament, or personal sky ... He is merely a nature-god".²³

Ellis seems to have given a literary meaning to the word 'Olorun'. In Yoruba cosmology 'Olorun' is another name

for the Supreme Being, but its literary meaning is 'the owner of heaven'. Ellis' association of 'Olorun' with a nature-god is misleading.

Thirdly, the sight of religious symbols like stones, trees, animals, statues, and carvings could lead foreign investigators to conclude that ATR is a matter of fetishism. Presumably, this was the case with Mary Kingsley.

Another explanation made by Ryder is that since ATR is a tribal religion,²⁴ it is difficult for people who are not from a particular tribe to gain a true understanding of it.²⁵

Basden was probably making the same point when he asked:

Can the European really fathom the depths of native thought and grasp what 'spirit' means to him? The answer would be, that it is doubtful, it is too intricate and involved....²⁶

However, as pioneer studies of ATR, these early works provide the framework on which the African scholars of ATR based their works.²⁷

Scholars like Mbiti, Awolalu, Dopamu, and Opoku²⁸ have made attempts to correct some of the misrepresentations and misunderstandings of early works on ATR, but despite their efforts, several academic works still carry misleading ideas on ATR.²⁹

2.3 The Nature of ATR

The number of ethnic groups in Africa is a matter of conjecture among scholars. Mbiti estimated there were about

one thousand tribes³⁰ and Imasogie mentioned about eight hundred societies.³¹

Perhaps all that can be said at present is that Africa consists of a large number of societies. Each of these societies has its own particular form or forms of indigenous religion.

Mbiti describes ATR as 'tribal' religion: "Traditional religions are not universal: they are tribal or national. Each religion is bound and limited to the people among whom it has evolved".³²

Following these ideas, Gilliland held that: "African tribal religion is a mosaic of diverse cultures and localized idiosyncrasies".³³ Much can be explained by the fact that the religious ideas of each community developed from the life experiences of its forebears.³⁴ Hence, there is a risk of generalization in using the name ATR to describe the traditional religion of a particular society. Such generalization will ignore tribal differences in the performance of traditional rites. For example, in Iboland, God is worshipped without any intermediary divinities or ancestral spirits.³⁵ In contrast the Supreme Being is approached through his divinities in Yorubaland.³⁶

Generalization could also give misleading ideas on tribal morality. In Iboland moral sanctions are derived from God as well as a tribal divinity known as 'Ani' or 'Earth Spirit'.³⁷ However, for the Yoruba moral laws and taboos are derived only from God.³⁸

Generalization also brings the danger of obscuring the historical development of separate ideas. Generalization occurs in myths of creation and alienation between tribes.³⁹ Despite all this many of the fundamental concepts of the major forms of ATR are strikingly similar.⁴⁰

To avoid the risk of generalization, Gilliland suggests that: "When describing African religion it is the particular case which must be emphasized".⁴¹ In line with his suggestion, some African writers have set ATR in the context of a particular culture. Opoku and Amponsah⁴² both from Ghana, and Awolalu and Dopamu⁴³ from Nigeria have adopted the title 'West African Traditional Religion'. Others like Arinze,⁴⁴ Nadel,⁴⁵ and Lucas,⁴⁶ limiting the scope of their study to a particular tribe, have used the name of that tribe in the title.

However, the term ATR will be used in this study to distinguish the indigenous religions of African communities from other world religions such as Christianity and Islam. These latter are however fast becoming part of religious traditions of most African states including Nigeria.

2.4 The Main Features of ATR

There are divergent opinions on what constitutes the major belief systems of ATR. E.G. Parrinder suggests four elements. They are: belief in God; belief in divinities; belief in ancestors; and belief in charms and amulets.⁴⁷

In addition to these four, Awolalu and Dopamu identify the belief in spirits as another major element of ATR.⁴⁸

In Opoku's classification there are six fundamental elements of ATR. Apart from Parrinder's four elements, he also mentioned belief in mystical powers, and the belief in spirit as essential features.⁴⁹

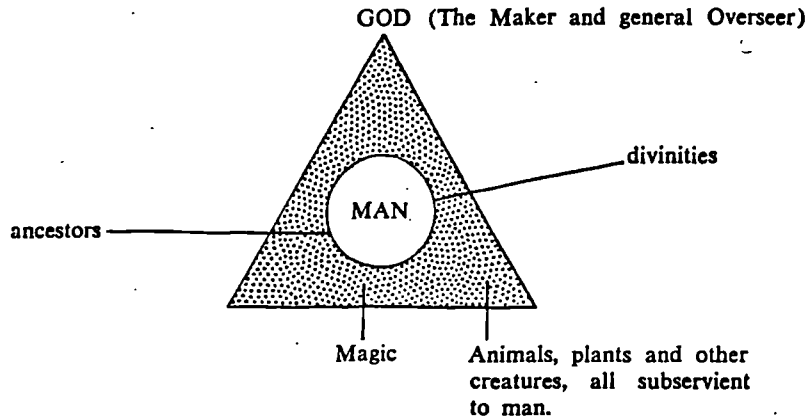
The difference between Parrinder's classification and the other two seems to be one of presentation. There is a strong link between the concepts of divinities and spirit in ATR. In fact, Awolalu and Dopamu discuss them together.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the belief in charms and amulets referred to in Parrinder's work is closely related to the belief in mystical powers mentioned separately by Opoku.⁵¹ Therefore, Parrinder's classification will be adopted in this discussion of the major elements of ATR. Examples are drawn mainly from Nigeria.

2.4.1 Belief in God

Belief in God is fundamental and widespread in ATR. After a study of about three hundred traditional communities of Africa, Mbiti observed: "In all these societies, without a single exception, people have a notion of God as the Supreme Being".⁵²

Similarly, Parrinder asserts the supremacy of God and suggests a pyramidal model for the major elements in ATR. God is at the apex, the divinities and ancestors are on the two sides, mystical forces such as magic are at the base and man is at the centre under the influence of these surrounding powers.⁵³

FIGURE 2 The major elements in ATR



Supporting the accounts of Mbiti and Parrinder, Amponsah said that a belief in the existence of a Supreme Being was common in all West African societies.⁵⁴ Despite this general agreement among scholars, Nwoga disputed the ideas of a Supreme Being among the Ibo. To him, the concept was a Christian importation.⁵⁵ He stated that the first extensive description of Iboland was written by Olaudah Equiano, an ex-slave of Ibo origin in the eighteenth century. It contained the following information on religion: "As to religion, the natives believe that there is one creator of all things and that he lives in the sun ..."⁵⁶

Nwoga held that Equiano's evidence was distorted in 1971 by Karen Kennerly, who said: "My people believed that there was one god - we called him Chukwu - who lived in the sun ..."⁵⁷ He then argued that Kennerly's misleading information influenced other scholars from Iboland to

postulate the concept of a Supreme Being in their cosmology.⁵⁸

Many Ibo scholars have countered the charge of an importation of the concept of a Supreme Being. Onwuejeogwu said:

The concept of Chukwu is not a Christian derivative. It was reported by Major Leonard who worked in that area around 1895, and by Northcote Thomas around 1910. The Rev. Basden (1910) and Fr. Duhasen (1906-1910) reported that the concept of monotheism was present among the Igbo before the arrival of the missionaries. Bishop Arinze confirms this in his book on Igbo Sacrifice".⁵⁹

It seems Nwoga's opinion is a minority one which needs more evidence to establish itself in the scholarly community.

2.4.1.1 Names of God

One of the major ways of expressing a belief in the Supreme Being is to name God. In Yorubaland, God is given several names and attributes to describe His supremacy in the universe.⁶⁰ Of all the names given to the Supreme Being in Yorubaland, 'Olodumare' is the most ancient.⁶¹ Idowu made an attempt to analyse the meaning of this name⁶² and he concluded that it carried a variety of meanings:

The name Olodumare has always carried with it the idea of One with Whom man may enter into covenant or communion, in any place and at any time, one Who is Supreme, superlatively great, incomparable and unsurpassable in majesty, excellent in attributes, stable, unchanging, constant, reliable.⁶³

TABLE 9

LOCAL NAMES OF GOD IN SOME TRIBES OF NIGERIA

TRIBE	LOCAL NAME	MEANING
1. Bini	Osanobua	Creator of the world, sky and earth, and of life and death
	Osa-Nakpame	Osa the Great Artist or the Arch Moulder
	Osa-Nudazi	Osa the Impregnable
	Osa-Neghouda	Osa the Lord
2. Edo	Osanobua	The Source Being who carries and sustains the universe
3. Ibo	Ama-ama-amasi-amasi	One known but never fully known
	Chi di n'owa	God of the world or universe
	Chineke	Creator
	Chuku	Great Spirit
	Chukwuokike	The Person who creates
	Eze bi n'igwe, ogodu ya na-akpu n'ani	King who lives in the sky and his clothes touch and roll on the ground
	Ezechitoke	The King that creates
	Eze enu	King of Heaven
	Obasi di n'enu	Lord living above
	Onye ana-akpelu	The person from whom others must beg
	Onye kelu enu Kee ani	The Person who created heaven and earth
	Onye no n'enu	The Person who is above
	Onyeokike	The Person who creates

(continued on next page)

TABLE § (continued)

TRIBE	LOCAL NAME	MEANING
	Osebuluwa	Lord who upholds the world
4. Igabo-Isoko	Oghene	Lord of All, the Creator, the Merciful Being
5. Ijaw	Egbesu	Supreme Protector
	Ayiba	Maker of Souls, Creator
6. Nupe	Tsoci	The Owner of us, Our Lord
7. Tiv	Aondo Gba Tar	God, The Carpenter
8. Urhobo	Oghene	God
	Uku	The Great One
	Osonobruwhe	God who blesses, the Father who blesses
	Oghenekowho	God it is who gives
	Ogbeneochuko	God is helper
	Orhovwara	The Fearful One
	Omanomohwo	The Creator who created (moulded) a person
	Orovwakpo vw' Eriwin	The Owner of the world and the underworld
	Ohwovotota otu nyo	One Man whom a multitude must hear when He speaks
	Obeodeotakpov- worhurhu	The Plaintain Leaf large enough to shelter the entire world
	Oywatanovwahare	The Generous and Ungener- ous One
9. Yako	Ubasi	Creator
10. Yoruba	Olodumare	Almighty, Supreme
	Olorun	Owner or Lord of Heaven

(continued on next page)

TABLE 9 (continued)

TRIBE	LOCAL NAME	MEANING
	Olorun Adakedajo	God the Silent but Active Judge
	Olorun Olore	God the Benefactor
	Olorun Alanu	The Merciful God
	Alaye	The Living One
	Elemi	The Owner of the Spirit, the Owner of Life
	Oga-ogo	The High One or the Lord of Glory
	Eleda	The Creator, the Maker
	Olorun Orun	The Supreme Sovereign Ruler who is in Heaven
	Orise	The Very Source of Being, Source-Being
	Olojo-oni	The Owner of this day
	Alewilese	He who alone can speak and accomplish his words
	Oba Airi	The King Invisible
	Oba Awamaridi	The King who cannot be found out by searching
	Oba Mimo	The Pure King
	Oba A-se-kan-ma-ku	The King whose works are done to perfection
	Atererek'aiye	He who spreads over the whole extent of the earth

Source: Adapted from Opoku, K.A. (1978) West African Traditional Religion, Accra: FEP International, pp.16-17.

However, Lucas disputed this. For him, the name 'Olodumare' was simply a title of God. He argued further that the name was also a title of 'Ifa', the oracular divinity in Yorubaland.⁶⁴ Lucas did not provide any evidence to support his claim. It is therefore difficult to accept his view. Another popular name of the Supreme Being in Yorubaland is 'Olorun'.⁶⁵

2.4.1.2 Attributes of God

Apart from the various local names, Africans express their beliefs about God through the attributes they associate with Him. For instance, the Yorubas describe Him as a Creator, a judge, and a King who is unique, transcendent, omnipotent and immortal.⁶⁶ These attributes, and the names for God, are derived from various religious myths. For instance, the Yoruba and the Edo tribes of Nigeria have myths which reveal the uniqueness of the Supreme Being.

In both tribes, it is recorded that before the creation of the universe, there was no land. Everywhere was covered with water under the supervision of 'Olokun',⁶⁷ but when the solid earth was created by the Supreme Being, 'Olokun' was offended. Therefore he challenged the Supreme Being to 'a display of splendour and majesty'.⁶⁸ On the appointed date, the Supreme Being sent His messenger. At the place for the contest, the colour of skin of the messenger of the Supreme Being miraculously turned the exact colour of Olokun's garment. When Olokun changed his dress, he found that the colour of the skin of God's messenger had also

changed to the colour of the new dress. After the seventh attempt Olokun was convinced that nobody could compete with God.⁶⁹

This story illustrates the uniqueness of God. His supremacy over all the divinities is unquestionable. He cannot be compared with any other creation.

Another illustration can be taken from the creative activity of God. Although creation myths are recorded differently from one African society to another, the idea that God is the creator of the universe is common.⁷⁰ It is from the creation myths that the Yorubas derived the name 'Eleda' meaning 'owner of creation' or 'the creator'. Similarly, names such as 'Chineke' meaning 'the spirit that creates' and 'Ezechitaoke', 'the King that creates' are derived from the Ibo myths.

From the foregoing, it is clear that Africans have developed their concept of the Supreme Being before the arrival of Islam and Christianity.

2.4.2 Belief in Divinities

Apart from the belief in God, the second important element in ATR is a belief in Divinities or lesser gods. This belief originates from two sources.

Firstly, most traditional societies equated the theocratic government of the universe with the administrative structures of their societies. In them, the head or the King of each society did not rule directly but indirectly through his 'ministers'. Therefore, traditional

African societies believed that the Supreme Being, after creating the universe, appointed divinities to the various departments of nature to carry out His purpose.⁷¹

Secondly, it originated in the 'alienation myths' from several parts of Africa. Although these myths had different forms their basic belief was that, after the creation of the universe, God was near and accessible to human beings so that man could reach, touch and feel him.⁷²

... there is no doubt that our people believe that there was a time when there were no limitations at all to communication between heaven and earth.⁷³

Parrinder also described the cordial relationship between God and Man: "... there was no need to work as God filled men's calabashes without working".⁷⁴

However, this happy relationship came to a tragic end. The reasons for the separation have several forms.

The story recorded by Idowu suggested that the cause of the separation was man's disobedience to God.⁷⁵ Explanations of the nature of this disobedience differ. One version claimed that a greedy person violated the regulation of heaven by taking more food than he needed for his family.⁷⁶ Another mentioned that a woman with a dirty hand touched the clean face of heaven.⁷⁷ A third explanation stated that a woman annoyed God by hitting the sky with her pounding stick.⁷⁸ A further story suggested that the intimacy between man and God developed into a situation

whereby God was confronted with every little problem.

As Metuh put it:

... any problem no matter how trivial, God must hear of it. A lost broom, a broken hoe, domestic quarrels, all were brought before God.⁷⁹

Consequently, God had no time to rest. Therefore, He decided to move further away from man.

This alienation of man from his creator is responsible for the appointment of divinities to mediate between man and God. Hence, worship of divinities was an important phenomenon in ATR. Idowu said:

Although it is plain that from the beginning, the divinities had been ordained to be ministers of Olodumare in the theocratic government of the world, a study of the oral traditions suggests, nevertheless, that the "Fall" of man has considerably enhanced their mediatorial status.⁸⁰

Therefore, in ATR, divinities were believed to be messengers or agents of the Supreme Being. The divinities were known by various names in different societies. The local name given to all divinities among the Yoruba was 'Orisa' while the Ibos knew them as 'Alusi ndimmuo'.⁸¹

There were three categories of divinities. First, were the Primordial Divinities who were in heaven. The Yoruba culture believed that this category of divinities was involved in the creation of the universe with the Supreme Being. A typical example is 'Obatala' the arch-divinity in Yoruba traditional belief.⁸² Second, were some deified

TABLE 10 THE MAJOR DIVINITIES IN THE YORUBA
AND IBO TRIBES OF NIGERIA

DIVINITY	NAME IN YORUBA TRIBE	NAME IN IBO TRIBE
Arch-divinity	Obatafa (He was an agent of the Supreme Being in the creation of the universe)	'Ani' or 'Ala' (A female deity) the guardian of Ibo morality
Oracle divinity	Orunmila or Ifa	Ibinokpabi (female deity)
God of Iron	Ogun	
God of Thunder and Lightning	Sango	Amadioha
God of the Seas	Olokun	
God of the River	Yemoja	Ota Miri
Evil Deity	Esu Sopo no	Ojukwu (god of smallpox)

The Table is compiled from the following sources:

- (1) Awolalu, J.O. and Dopamu, P.A. (1979) West African Traditional Religion, Ibadan: Obonaje Press, pp.75-95.
- (2) Opoku, K.A. (1978) West African Traditional Religion, Accra: FEP International, pp.57-65.

Ancestors who became divinities. In other words, they were human beings each of whom lived an exemplary and mysterious life on earth, such that when they died, they were seen as lesser-gods. 'Sango' the god of thunder and lightning in Yorubaland fell in this category. According to the historical legend Sango was the fourth King (Alafin) of Oyo. When he was King, he could kill by spurning fire from his mouth. During his reign, he imposed unbearable tyranny upon his subjects. Consequently, he was deposed and was forced to flee with his wives and a few friends into the bush where he later committed suicide by hanging himself on a tree. After his death, his enemies derided him by saying 'Oba so' meaning 'the King has hanged himself'. Therefore some of Sango's friends who remained at Oyo, obtained a magical substance which could attract lightning in an attempt to avenge his death. The lightning and thunder caused by the magic substance brought about a severe disaster to the people of Oyo who lost many lives and much property. As a result, Sango's friends persuaded the people to believe that it was Sango's handiwork. The people were advised from that time onwards to say 'Oba Koso.' meaning the King has not hanged himself. In addition, they were to make offerings of fowls, oxen, sheep, coconuts and palm-oil to appease Sango, who had become a deity. This was how the worship of Sango started at the spot where he was alleged to have hanged himself. His worship later spread to all parts of Yorubaland.⁸³

Thirdly, there were some divinities which were associated with hills, mountains, rivers, rocks, caves, trees, lakes or thick forest. An example can be taken from Ibadan, Oyo State. There is 'Oke-Ibadan' (Ibadan Hill) which is set apart for the spirit of the hill because the people believed that the spirit of the hill had helped them during the time of war to achieve victory.⁸⁴ Similar beliefs are found in Abeokuta, Ogun State, where the biggest rock known as 'Olumo Rock', is set aside for worshipping the spirits of the rock, because it offered them assistance during a war.⁸⁵ A further example can be taken from Kano in Northern Nigeria, where a tree around 'Dala' hill is worshipped by sacrificing goats, fowls and dogs.⁸⁶ Opoku⁸⁷ argued that although these divinities were given places of abode or habitats in the hills, trees or rocks, they remained 'essentially spirits' which were distinguishable from these objects of abode. Nor were the spirits confined to the objects or places of abode, they could come and go from them.

Thus, belief in divinities is only one element of ATR and they are not the main object of worship as is popularly held by many non-adherents of ATR. Hence, African beliefs in the divinities need to be understood in relation to their knowledge of God. Such connection would correct the mistake of portraying ATR as idol-worship. Divinities act as intermediaries between man and God.

2.4.3 Belief and Worship of Ancestral Spirits

Belief in the 'ancestral spirit' is a very significant element in ATR. The belief in ancestors originates from various sources.

Traditional African societies generally believed in the continuation of life after death. The dead continued to live and remained members of their families, clans and societies.⁸⁸ For example, among the Yorubas, death implied an extension of family activities of the earth into infinity. Indeed, the Yoruba community believed that the deceased did not remain in the grave after his burial but stood apart and watched all the performances of the funeral rites.⁸⁹

Belief in the ancestral spirit also originated from an African thought that the responsibility of parents towards their children did not end in death. The dead were expected to continue to protect and guard the living.⁹⁰ Oludare Olajubu mentioned that among the Yorubas, 'Egungun'⁹¹ were believed to have the power to turn away any evil or misfortune that may befall the community.⁹² Similarly during an annual 'Egungun' festival in Otta, Ogun State, a family 'Egungun' prayed for some barren women that they may have the gift of children.⁹³

The common idea among Africans about reincarnation, a belief that the deceased can return to earth to be reborn into their families, also reinforced the belief in ancestral spirits.⁹⁴ For example, a common name among the 'Akan' tribe of Ghana was 'Ababio' meaning 'the person has returned

or come again'.⁹⁵ Also common among the Yorubas were names like 'Iyabo', mother returns; 'Yetunde', mother comes a second time, and 'Babatunde', father has come again.⁹⁶

However, as Idowu showed, the concept of reincarnation among African communities could be described as a 'partial reincarnation'. It was only the dominant characteristics and the spirit of the ancestors that were reincarnated, not the soul.⁹⁷

There is also a belief in African societies that ancestors are guardians of traditional morality. The constant reminder of the good deeds of the ancestors acts as an incentive to good conduct on the part of the living. It was also believed that the dead could punish those who violate traditional norms.⁹⁸ For example, Oludare Olajubu mentioned that during the political disturbances of Western Nigeria in 1965, a fierce 'Egungun' named 'Inajogbo' was invited by the people of Esa-Odo, Oyo State of Nigeria, to expel members of the community who were causing trouble.⁹⁹

The ancestors are not worshipped in the same way as the Supreme Being. Worship in their context is intended to honour and respect them. Hence Opoku called this form of worship 'Ancestral Rites'.¹⁰⁰

In Yoruba culture, the ancestral worship is dramatised by an ancestral cult known as 'Egungun' or masquerades. An 'Egungun' is believed to be the spirit of a deceased person who has returned from heaven to visit his people.¹⁰¹ During the 'Egungun' festival which is held annually for a period lasting from seven to fourteen days, the selected members of

the cult who are exclusively men, robe themselves from head to foot, with their faces masked. The identity of the men behind the masks is a close secret. As the masquerades dance, to the sound of drums and singing, money is donated to them. The masquerades in return will offer prayers for blessing and protection. They are believed to have the power to turn away any evil misfortune or fear that may befall any member of the Yoruba tribe.¹⁰² Besides the annual festivals, 'Egungun' also features prominently at funeral ceremonies. They enter the house of the deceased where they imitate his voice, receive gifts and bless the members of his family.

Similarly, among the Ibo ethnic group, is a society known as 'Mmo' meaning 'the spirits of the dead'. This group too engages in ancestral rites. At seasonal festivals and funerals, they appear as the spirits of the Ibo ancestors in the guise of masked men. Females are not allowed to witness the rites because 'Mmo' society like the 'Egungun guilds' among the Yorubas, is a secret cult with membership restricted to males.¹⁰³

In essence, ancestral belief may be described as African eschatology.

2.4.4 Belief in Mystical Powers and Medicine

The final important element of ATR is the belief in mystical forces and medicine. The term 'mystical' is used to describe these powers because they have a mysterious nature. The powers can not be scientifically explained though they are derived from the universe.¹⁰⁴ These powers

manifest themselves in the form of witchcraft, magic, divination and sorcery.

The consensus of scholarly opinion suggested that belief in witchcraft is widespread in most African societies. Opoku said:

In the light of the facts about witchcraft found in African society ... witchcraft is accepted as a reality, it is beyond fantasy or mere imagination, and cannot be dismissed simply by a denial or a contradiction.¹⁰⁵

Similarly, Elizabeth Isichei provided evidence from missionary records on the Ibo tribe of Nigeria to support the claim that the Ibo community was permeated by fear of witches.¹⁰⁶

Talbot, in his study of the peoples of Southern Nigeria, observed that: "The fear of witchcraft is strong throughout nearly the whole of the country".¹⁰⁷

In all African societies which believe in the power of witchcraft, there is an unshaken idea that many of the sufferings of men, sickness, death, lack of property, failure of crops and other misfortunes, are attributed to witches.¹⁰⁸ However, this popular African belief has been disputed by Evans-Pritchard who argued that witchcraft was an 'imaginary offence' which was not possible because the 'witch', unlike the magician or sorcerer, did not prepare any substance to kill or injure a person. According to him: "A witch cannot do what he is supposed to do and has in fact no real existence".¹⁰⁹

Idowu attempted to correct this:

In Africa today, it is 'real' that the majority of the people believe that there are witches and there is witchcraft ... When I speak of witchcraft, I am referring to that which is very disturbingly real as to affect the lives of Africans in every walk of life ... I will assert categorically that there are witches in Africa, that they are as real as are the murderers, poisoners, and other categories of evil workers, overt and surreptitious. This, and not any imagination, is the basis of the strong belief in witchcraft.¹¹⁰

Evans-Pritchard based his conclusion on an incomplete knowledge of the concept of witchcraft in African societies. The fact that witches do not prepare any substance to kill or injure a person does not justify his conclusion that witchcraft is an 'imaginary offence'. What he failed to realise was that witchcraft is basically an activity of the mind which does not involve the preparation of any evil substance.

Ogieiriaixi was very emphatic about this: "Witches exist and the primary instrument they use in achieving their end is the MIND".¹¹¹

Idowu agreed that in witchcraft, the spirits of living human beings can leave their bodies during sleep and influence others for the worse in body or mind.¹¹²

There is also an overwhelming belief in traditional medicine in Africa. This can be attributed to two main reasons. Firstly, that ATR is embedded in African culture, and that the culture is embedded in the religion, presupposes that health problems may be linked to religion.¹¹³ Secondly, apart from the purely organic causes

of illness, which are explained by science, ATR offers its own metaphysical explanations for illness. For example, it is generally believed in African societies that a broken relationship between an individual and the powers that control the universe such as the Supreme Being, divinities and ancestors, may result in sickness or even cause the death of an individual.¹¹⁴

The practice of medicine is considered to be a gift from God, hence all herbalists acknowledge God as the Healer. However, medicines are dispensed through the agency of the divinities. For instance, the Yoruba tribe has a special deity who is recognised as the guardian of medicine. This deity is known as 'Osanyin' in the Yoruba language. Apart from divinities, the ancestors are also involved in the practice of medicine. For instance, in Ile-Ife, the spiritual home of the Yoruba, the name of the ancestral genius of medicine is usually invoked while preparing traditional medicine.¹¹⁵ One important way of preparing magical medicine in Yorubaland is through incantations implying a chanting of words believed to have magical powers. An illustration of an incantation used for preparing traditional medicine for job-seekers is given below with its English translation:

E ba mi wase	Help me look for a job
E foro mito	Tell my problem to others;
E feti keti	Whisper to every ear
E foro mi lo	And proclaim my need;

Bi alantakun ile ba tawu,	When the home-spider makes his web
A fi logi ile	He reports to the wood in the house;
E ba mi wase	Help me look for a job
E foro mi lo	Tell my problem to others;
E feti Keti	Whisper to every ear
E foro mi lo	And proclaim my need
Bi alantakun oko ba tawu	When the rural spider makes his web
A fi logi igbo	He reports to the forest-wood
E ba mi wase	Help me look for a job
E foro mi lo	Tell my need to others
E feti keti	Whisper to every ear
E foro mi lo	And proclaim my need
Enu okere lokere fi npode	With the squirrel's own squeaking he invites the hunter
Ti fi ipa a	That kills him
Enu yin m ki e fi ba mi wase	People themselves should use influences
Ti n maa se	To get me a job. ¹¹⁶

Similar beliefs in traditional medicine exist in Northern Nigeria.¹¹⁷ For example, among the rural non-Muslim Hausa called 'Maguzawa' there exists a religious cult known as 'Bori'.¹¹⁸ Members believe that spirits or 'Aljanu' are responsible for a variety of human ailments and misfortunes including leprosy and small-pox.¹¹⁹ Relief from such illnesses is obtained by medicinal preparations which are administered by members of the cult after an appropriate sacrifice to the afflicting spirit.¹²⁰

2.5 The Worship of God in ATR

In ATR, worship is the most important way by which Africans demonstrate their belief in God. This worship varies from one African society to another and from one part of each society to another. Basically, however, there are two ways of worshipping God. These are the 'direct' and 'indirect' ways. Both forms may be conducted privately by a single person in a house or shrine, or may be conducted publicly by shared words and acts.¹²¹

2.5.1 Direct Worship

Direct worship is that which is addressed directly to God without any intermediaries such as the divinities or ancestral spirits. Although direct worship of God is very rare in ATR, it does exist in some communities. For example, among the Ibo tribe of Eastern Nigeria, God is approached both directly and indirectly in worship. It is customary for an Ibo head of family, on waking up in the morning and after washing his hands, to put a Kola-nut or some snuff on the ground and say 'Obasi-idinenu'. This means 'God watch over me and my children this day'.¹²²

Another common way of conducting morning prayers among the Ibo is reported by Arinze.¹²³ Every morning, the head of each Ibo family will (before speaking to anyone) perform the following rituals. He will put his 'Ofo stick' on the ground with a basin of water in front of 'Chukwu symbol', break a Kola-nut, chew part of it and spit it on his 'Ofo'. After this ritual, he will start his prayer by first

invoking the spirit of God, the divinities and ancestors.¹²⁴
 The next prayer is confession of sin, after which he will request his needs and curse his enemies.

TABLE 11 A MODEL OF IGBO MORNING PRAYER

Invocations of God and the deities

Chineke taa Oji	Chineke eat kola
Chukwu Abiama raa Ochoma	Chukwu Abiama take sweet white chalk
Obassi di n'elu Ekene	Lord of Heaven, greeting
Anyanwu na Ezenu Ekene	Son, king of Heaven, greeting
Ala Nnewi taa oji	Earth-Deity of Nnewi eat kola!
Edo taa oji	Edo eat kola!
Nna Nnaa ha tanu Oji	Ancestors eat kola!
Onye wetara Oji, Wetara ndu	Who brings kola, brings life!
Ndu k'anyi na ario	We are asking for life!
Ndu nwoke, ndu nyanyi	Life of man, life of woman!
Ogonogo ndu na nka	Long life, and old age
Gi bu Chineke n'ata n'ogbe	You God, eat whole!
Ma anyi n'ata n'ibe	We eat in pieces!
Chineke bia nara anyi obia waa	God come break this kola for us
Makana na anyi enweghi aka	for we have no hands
Na oku agunyere nata n'aka adagh arugbu ya	But the fire given to a child, does not hurt it
<u>Confession of sins</u>	
Onu kwuru njo gbaghara	Forgive who speaks evil
Onu Kwuru mma gbaghara	Forgive who speaks good
Mnefie adighi, mgbaghara a ma adi	If there is offence, there would be no forgiveness
Ma m'egbugh kwo nne nwoke	But I did not kill any man

Nke m'ji megbu nne nwanyi	Nor did I kill any woman
Ma m'atutughi ihe mmadu	I never removed any man's thing
Nke m'ji eduru nwunye mmadu	Nor abducted another's wife.

Petitions

Ihe anyi na ario bu ndu	We ask for life
Nye anyi omumu, nye anyi ego	Give us children, give us money
Nke onye n'eme, ka ona agara ya	Whatever man does let him prosper by it

Blessings and curses

Ka ndi na-ekwurum mma	Both those who wish me good
Ka ndi na-ekwurum njo	And those who wish me evil
Ihe onye na eroru mmadu	What one plans for other
Ka Chineke na eroru ya	So God plans for him
Obiara be onye, abiagbu na ya	Let a visitor not maltreat host
Olawa mkpumpku akwana ya	Nor host poison his guest
Ochu nwa okuko nwe ada	Who pursues a fowl will fall
Egbe bere ugo bere	Let both the kite and the eagle perch
Nki si ibe ya ebela, nku kwa ya	whoever tells the other not to, let his wings break

It was this form of morning ritual which Rev. J. During observed in 1878 at Osomare, an Ibo village in Eastern Nigeria:

How they offered their prayers every morning? With their stick toothbrush. When they chewed it to their satisfaction, they took it out and slew their hand with it around their head many times and sprinkled spits as they think and said God must eat it, and he must give them cowries (money) and should any of their enemies want them

to die, such a one must die. And in front of their houses they planted a tree and pray through it; they said, when they speak to it, the stick conveyed their words to God; all broken plates, cups placed on the roots of the trees they said they gave it to god.¹²⁵

This is an example of the direct worship of God held privately in Iboland. Direct public worship is also held from time to time in Iboland. Shelton observed that in some Ibo villages, regular daily worship of God was conducted, while in others, direct public worship occurred either at an annual festival day or when an individual faced a particular problem which required a sacrifice to God.¹²⁶ Another people in Nigeria who worshipped God directly were the Urhobo tribe of Mid-Western Nigeria, and the Chawai tribe in the Plateau area of Northern Nigeria.¹²⁷

2.5.2 Indirect Worship

The Yoruba tribe believed that since God was present everywhere, there is no need to build a temple of worship for Him.¹²⁸ Therefore, indirect worship was most common among them. It included prayers, offerings and sacrifices addressed to God through the divinities or the ancestral spirits. It was the commonest form of worship in ATR. There were three explanations for this:

- (i) Most African societies believed that the unique attributes of God demanded that He should be approached through intermediaries. For instance, the Maguzawa (rural non-Muslim Hausa) affirmed that Allah was 'a distant, unapproachable Being who did not come

into direct contact with ordinary people'. Therefore, they worship Him through mediating spirits known as 'Iskoki'.¹²⁹

(ii) The socio-political system in some African societies does not allow direct contact between an overlord and his subjects. Any form of dialogue has to be channelled through the appointed aides of the overlord. This system is reflected in ATR. Hence, God has to be worshipped through His 'messengers' or 'departmental heads'.¹³⁰

(iii) There is also the pious feeling among some Africans that they are not qualified to present their requests to God. The intermediaries, who have special powers and privileges, will present the requests better.

Indirect worship may also be private or public. It is private at household level when the family head prays to the ancestors for the protection, prosperity and well-being of his family, while holding the 'Ofo' stick which represents his ancestral spirits.¹³¹ This does not involve any form of sacrifice though there may be occasions when sacrifices are made to the deities in indirect private worship.¹³² Awolalu, in his study of sacrificial practices in Yorubaland, reported that a man, while laying the foundation of his house, was advised by the oracle to carry out a sacrifice of a goat on the site of the building because he had offended a powerful spirit by building on that particular plot of land. If he failed to assuage the anger of the aggrieved spirit, he would die or lose his first

son.¹³³ These rituals were regularly carried out.

In the public worship of the divinities and ancestral spirits, each deity has its own particular form of worship. However, in many cases the rites and the liturgy are quite similar. For instance, all festival occasions of the deities are preceded by a general purification of the officiating priests. This may involve ritual discipline and prayers. The purpose is to purify themselves in body and in soul against all sins committed, so that they may be worthy and acceptable before the divinities.¹³⁴ It is after this ritual that the normal pattern of the worship can begin.

Like the direct worship of God, the first step here is invocation. The officiating priest will plead that divinity be present and listen to the prayers of his children. In doing this the priest may sound a gong and pour a libation of palm-wine. This is known as 'Ijuba' which in Yoruba means 'paying homage'. An example of this among the Yoruba is quoted below from Awolalu:¹³⁵

The Priest:	Olojo oni, mo juba	The Owner of this day, I pay my homage to you,
People:	Iba a se	May the homage be accepted
Priest:	Ila oorun mo juba	The East, I pay my homage
People:	Iba a se	May the homage be accepted
Priest:	Iwo oorun, mo juba	The West, I pay my homage
People:	Iba a se	May the homage be accepted
Priest:	Ariwa, mo juba,	The North, I pay my homage
People:	Iba a se	May the homage be accepted
Priest:	Gususu, mo juba	The South, I pay my homage

People:	Iba a se	May the homage be accepted
Priest:	Akoda, mo juba,	The first to be created, I pay my homage to you;
People:	Iba a se	May the homage be accepted
Priest:	Aseda, mo juba	The Creator of men, I pay my homage to you;
People	Iba a se	May the homage be accepted
Priest:	Ile, mo juba	The Earth, I pay my homage
People:	Iba a se	May the homage be accepted
Priest:	Esu Odara, mo juba	Esu, the trickster god, I pay my homage;
People:	Iba a se	May the homage be accepted
Priest:	X, Y, Z mo juba	X, Y, Z (names of ancestors and predecessors), my homage
People:	Iba a se	May the homage be accepted
Priest:	Bi ekolo ba juba	If the earth-worm pays homage to the earth, the earth will give it access;
	Omode ko ijuba	a little child never pays homage and be found destroyed in consequence of it.

After the invocation, the divinity is ready to listen to the prayers of the people, receive their gifts and grant their requests.

The next step after invocation is the presentation of offerings. This involves stating the purpose of the offerings, mentioning the materials of sacrifice and praying to the divinity to bless the supplicant or the community. This step is followed by immolation which is the handling of the materials and victims of sacrifice by the priest. This takes different forms in many African societies. For

instance, among the Yoruba, a dog offered to 'Ogun' (god of iron), is held on a leash or rope tied to a specially prepared cudgel which in turn is tied to the dog's neck. While two people hold the dog, pulling it taut in opposite directions, the person who is to carry out immolation raises his cutlass and with a single stroke, the dog is beheaded. If the sacrifice is a human being,¹³⁶ the ritual takes a different process. According to P.A. Talbot:

... a person about to act as a scape-goat, (sic) take upon himself the sins of the people (sic) and bring them good fortune, ... when the time came for his death, the Oluwaw, as he was called - who might be either bond or free, rich or poor and was chosen by the priest - was paraded through the streets, when many people took the opportunity of laying their hands on him - and transferring their sins to him, he was then led to the grove, and executed - the people waiting outside to hear his last song which was echoed by them ...¹³⁷

2.6 Moral Values in ATR

The moral values in traditional African societies originate from and derive their compelling power from ATR. The laws, beliefs, customs and set forms of behaviour which constitute the moral code of any African society are derived from religion. The intimate and fast bond between African culture and ATR lies behind this.¹³⁸

For the Yorubas, moral value is embedded in belief in God:

To the Yoruba, man character is of supreme importance and it is this which Olodumare judges ... Olodumare is the 'searcher of hearts' who sees and known everything and whose judgement is sure and absolutely inescapable.¹³⁹

Apart from the judgement of God, the divinities and the ancestors are believed to have power to punish those who infringe the moral code. Bascom writes:

Among the Yoruba, one who resorts to evil magic may be struck by lightning, (sic) controlled by the God Shango.¹⁴⁰

Similarly, C.K. Meek says:

Among the Ibos, religion and law are so closely interwoven that many of the most powerful legal sanctions are derived directly from the gods.¹⁴¹

Therefore, breaches of the moral law are considered to be offences against God, divinities and ancestors.

Apart from the enforcement of moral laws by the supernatural beings, there are also communal sanctions against all forms of immorality in traditional African societies. For example, in some parts of Yorubaland such as Igbesa, there is a traditional festival held every ten years in which a masked figure called 'Efe' reveals to an audience the immoral conduct and the good conduct of every family in Igbesa town. Such an occasion disgraces and shames the family with low moral standards while the family with high moral standards is praised and honoured. Communal sanctions complement the supernatural sanctions in the enforcement of morality.

What constitutes moral values in African societies differs considerably from one tribe to another. There are, however, some values or ideas which are held commonly by all

'African communities. For example, moral virtue known as

'Iwa' or character in Yorubaland, includes:

... chastity before marriage; hospitality, generosity, kindness, justice ... avoiding stealing, keeping a covenant and avoiding falsehood; protecting the poor and weak, giving honour and respect to older people and avoiding hypocrisy.¹⁴²

There are equally, certain taboos observed by devotees of different divinities. People who trade in iron like hunters, drivers, warriors, and blacksmiths, must not swear falsely with the emblem of Ogun, the god of iron. Likewise, worshippers of Orisa nla (the arch-divinity) must not drink palm wine, but devotees of other divinities can.

2.6.1 Expression of Moral Values

Traditional African societies express their moral convictions in many ways. In songs, riddles, proverbs, sayings, on drums, horns, and in artistic works, they remind themselves of their moral values. These examples from the Yoruba tribe can illustrate the traditional moral concepts embedded in ATR:

Song

A popular song in Yorubaland on truthfulness goes:

S'otito, se rere	Be truthful, do good
S'otito, se rere	Be truthful, do good
Eni s'otito	It is the truthful person
Ni imale igbe	That the divinities support

Riddle

Owo omode o to pepe	The hand of the young does not
Tagbalagba ko wo keregbe	reach a high table;
	That of the elder ones cannot
	enter the gourd (because it
	has a small mouth)

The moral message of this riddle is that in life both the young and the aged depend on each other for their existence. Much as there is a need for the young to respect the elders, elders as well must care and protect the young ones.

Proverb

(i) A Yoruba proverb on hospitality:

Iyan ogun odun a	A yam meal of twenty years ago
ma joni lowo	can still be hot to touch

The moral message of this proverb is that an act of hospitality can have its reward twenty years later.

(ii) A Yoruba proverb on kindness

Igba olore kiifo	The calabash of the kind breaks not
Awo olore kii faya	The dish of the kind splits not
T'owo, t'omo ni ya'le	Blessings of money and children
	flows into the house of the kind

The moral message is that a kind person shall not reap evil, instead he or she will always reap material blessings.

2.7 The Present State of ATR in Nigeria: An Overview

Evidence abounds that in Nigeria, ATR has consistently been declining since the nineteenth century owing to the growing influences of Islam, Christianity and western civilisation.

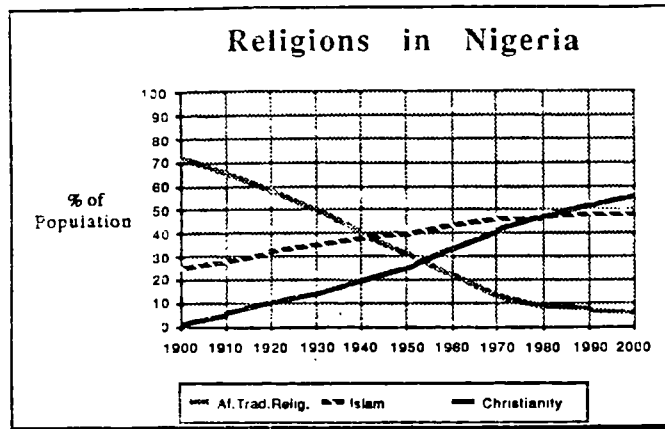
As far back as 1953, Bartlett observed:

... although the change is slow, it is unquestionable that paganism is gradually yielding in Nigeria to the influence of Islam and Christianity, partly no doubt on account of the social and political advantages of these religions.¹⁴³

In 1985, Gotom wrote: "African religion has declined considerably, and is still on the decline ..."¹⁴⁴

Similarly, Gilliland on the basis of some data obtained from the World Christian Encyclopedia, presented a graphical analysis of ATR, Islam and Christianity from 1900 to 2000.¹⁴⁵

FIGURE 3



Source: See Gilliland, D.S. (1986) African Religion Meets Islam: Religious Change in Northern Nigeria, New York: University Press of America, p.173.

From the graph, it can be seen that adherents of ATR which consisted of over 70 per cent of the Nigerian population in 1900, dropped to 10 per cent in 1980 and would be expected to decline to about 5 per cent in the year 2000.¹⁴⁶

The downward trend in the influence of ATR was not limited to Nigeria but occurred in the whole of Africa. For instance, the World Christian Encyclopedia indicated that in the year 1900, ATR accounted for about 63 million or 58 per cent of Africa's 107.9 million population. By 1984 the followers of ATR fell to 12 per cent whereas those of the Christians increased from 10 million or 9.2 per cent in 1900 to 234 million or 45 per cent in 1984.¹⁴⁷

Although it is difficult to ascertain the accuracy of these figures because of the demographical problems in Africa, yet, they add to the evidence concerning the drift of ATR to Islam and Christianity.

The factors contributing to the decline of ATR are various but they can be grouped into two. These are religious and socio-cultural, although the two are interconnected.

The religious argument is based on the nature of ATR. As tribal religion(s) which is/are meant to serve the needs of microcosmic rural communities, ATR became unsuitable with the expansion of the African world view brought about by civilisation. According to Trimmingham:

Village religion is serviceable only within the circumscribed bounds of village life. When horizons were widened, its limitations were felt, and this led many to adopt either Islam or Christianity parallel to those aspects of the old religions which are still serviceable.¹⁴⁸

Similarly, Horton has argued that the drift from ATR to Islam and Christianity should be seen as a logical response

to the expansion of African cosmology precipitated by advanced communications.¹⁴⁹

The socio-cultural factor is related to the missionary strategies of conversion. For example, western education introduced by the Christian missionaries was detrimental to ATR. The traditional forms of education such as the initiation and puberty rites, were condemned and many products of the schools refused to undergo those rites. Hence:

... the young people were not only torn from their social ethnic roots, but also from their traditional religious beliefs.¹⁵⁰

Furthermore, the direct condemnation of ATR by the European missionaries and anthropologists had negative influences on many Africans who described and treated ATR as 'barbaric, pagan and primitive'.¹⁵¹

Islamic preachers also condemned ATR. For example, Awolalu reported the encounter between some Muslims and ATR adherents in Ibadan:

... traditional religious practices, including sacrifice ... secret societies of all types ... were condemned ... The Muslim leaders disregarded curfews imposed on women during Oro festival, and they also deprecated the Ogboni cult, disregarded the divinities and all their cults, and composed songs to ridicule the 'pagan' practices. All the people who practise these traditional rites were stigmatised as Kafirs (unbelievers) by the Muslims.¹⁵²

Although ATR is declining by influence and number of adherents, yet it continued to play an important part in the

lives of many Nigerians. As Mbiti said:

... a careful scrutiny of the religious situation (in Africa) shows clearly that in their encounter with traditional religions, Christianity and Islam have made only an astonishingly shallow penetration in converting the whole man of Africa, with all his historical-cultural roots, social dimensions, self-consciousness and expectations.¹⁵³

There are numerous examples to support this view. Firstly, in the area of traditional medicine, the influence of ATR is still considerable. In many Nigerian hospitals, converted Christians have traditional medicine brought in for them, because they believe that the consecrated medicine is effective.¹⁵⁴ In the opinion of Lobim and Gana:

Very many educated Nigerians pay regular visits to the priests of African religious shrines to obtain material objects and concoctions. It is simply amazing the way intelligent Africans visit fortune tellers. It is ridiculous the extent to which people will go to assure fertility. Drivers consult priests for charms and medicines that would guarantee protection on the road. Also in the area of seeking advancement at work and in business ventures consultations with diviners are common. There are stories of horrible sacrifices made in order to get rich quickly.¹⁵⁵

Secondly, the traditional names retain their significance. Most Muslims and Christians in Yorubaland prefer to be called by their traditional first name.¹⁵⁶

Thirdly, the rise of Independent African Churches is partly attributed to the influence of ATR.¹⁵⁷ In a current move to revive ATR, several movements have been formed in Nigeria. There are the Reformed Ogboni Fraternity; Ijo

Orunmila (Church of Orunmila); Kajola Movement and Godianism. These movements in their various forms attempt to refine some features of ATR such as worship. For instance, Ijo Orunmila organise services on Sundays, with a specific liturgy.¹⁵⁸

By and large, ATR has shown remarkable versatility in its history and development, for in spite of its encounters with Islam, Christianity and modernisation, it has survived up to the present time and is currently assuming new forms.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE RELIGION OF ISLAM AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

4.1 Introduction

Islam, the youngest of the world's major religions¹ is a fast growing religion whose followers are estimated to be over 800 million.²

It originated in Mecca towards the end of the sixth century A.D., from where it spread to other parts of the world. Today it has become the dominant religion of most countries in the Middle East and Africa.³

However, the conversion of a majority of Africans to Islam has not been totally free from controversy and violence. Islamic doctrines were not accepted by the 'Hausas' of Nigeria until after a religious war (Jihad) had been fought in 1804. There are two explanations for the most difficult contact between Islam and most African nations.

Firstly, African Traditional Religions overwhelm the life of every African.⁴ Therefore for any foreign religion to penetrate Africa, or attempt to displace the values of ATR is a difficult task.

Secondly, the religion of Islam has its own distinctive set of beliefs and values in social, economic, and educational matters that demand a total commitment from its followers.⁵ Therefore, to propagate Islam does not involve a religious change only, but a cultural change as well which is a difficult and complex task.

The process of conversion often involves military struggle. This conforms to an Islamic injunction which says:

But when the forbidden months are past,⁶ then fight and slay the Pagans wherever ye find them, and lie in wait for them in every strategem (of war) ...⁷

In short, the contact between ATR and Islam has profound implications for both religions although it varies from one African society to another. Describing the contact between ATR in Northern Nigeria and Islam, Gilliland said:

The relatively steady norms of Islam interact in surprising ways with the fluid irregular patterns of traditional religion. The result is a kaleidoscope of religious change ranging from rejection to quite orthodox reception as well as totally new forms.⁸

Geertz, writing on the reaction of Morocco and Indonesia to Islam, indicated that, in Morocco the practice of Islam was rigorous, fundamentalist and perfectionist, Islam in Indonesia was:

... adaptive, absorbent, pragmatic ... a matter of partial compromises, half-way covenants and outright evasions.⁹

Thus, while Islamic doctrines and values were fully absorbed into Moroccan culture, Indonesians chose to assimilate Islamic values and to adapt them to their existing culture. Edward Blyden, however, argued that:

Local institutions were not destroyed when Arab (Islamic) influences were introduced (in Africa). They only assumed new forms and adapted themselves to the new teachings. In all thriving Mohammedan communities in West and Central Africa, it may be noticed that the Arab (i.e. Islamic) superstructure has been superimposed on a permanent indigenous substructure; so that what really took place when the Arab met the Negro in his own home was a healthy amalgamation and not an absorption or an undue repression.¹⁰

Perhaps Blyden has taken a rather simplistic view of the process of islamisation in Africa. The initial encounter between Islam and ATR resulted in violence.

This chapter examines the nature of the contact of Islam in Nigeria. It is divided into four sections. The first three describe Islam. A brief biographical study of the Prophet Muhammad, the founder of Islam is presented with some highlights of the early development of Islam. A description of major beliefs and practices of Islam is also undertaken. The fourth section focuses on the origin and growth of Islam in Nigeria.

3.2 The Prophet and Early Developments

The central figure on whom the whole concept of Islam revolves is the Prophet Muhammad, the founder of the religion. A biographical study of him is necessary in order to explain the nature, beliefs and values of Islam. According to McNeill and Waldman:

... Any study of Islam must concentrate especial attention on the Prophet himself and on the community of the Faithful that formed around him ...

3.2.1 Sources

The existing sources for the life of Muhammad are fragmentary. The Quran,¹² which is the single most reliable source of information, does not provide enough clear evidence for historical events, so Rodinson claimed that no scholar could limit himself to the text of the Quran in studying the life of Muhammad.¹³

The other source of information on the life of Muhammad is a collection of oral traditions known as 'Sira' meaning 'Biography of the Messenger of God'. This account was first collected by Ibn Ishaq who died in 767 A.D.¹⁴ An English translation of this work was undertaken by Guillaume.¹⁵ Ibn Ishaq's work is widely regarded as a standard evidence on the life of Muhammad.¹⁶ For Watt, the 'Sira' of Ishaq "... is the most considerable and has been the most influential".¹⁷

However, there were scholars who doubted the accuracy of this work. In the opinion of McNeill and Waldman, it may be invented for apologetic purposes. They agreed, however, that Ishaq was the first to gather stories about Muhammad into a coherent narrative.¹⁸

A similar claim was made by Rodinson on Ishaq's and other oral evidences from Tabari, Waqidi and Ibn Sad:

The oldest texts we have concerning the life of the Prophet go back to about 125 years after his death ... They of course quote older sources (mostly oral ones) and claim that these go back to actual eye-witnesses of the events they recount. But it has been shown ... that one can in fact have little confidence in such

'traditions' ... a great deal was forged, or at least re-written to suit the interests of a particular party, cause, family, or theory.¹⁹

Despite these speculations, McNeill and Waldman and Rodinson based their work largely on Ishaq's 'Sira' and the Quran.

This brief study on the life of the Prophet Muhammad and the early trends of development will be based on the Quran, Ishaq's account and other scholarly works.

3.2.2 The Formative Years of Muhammad

Prophet Muhammad was born to the clan of Hashim, of the tribe of Quraysh in Mecca.²⁰ Abdullah his father died shortly before he was born.²¹ Therefore, he was left to the care of his grandfather, Abdul Muttalib who named him Muhammad.²² He was also named Ahmad by Amina, his mother. The Quran addressed Muhammad by both names.²³

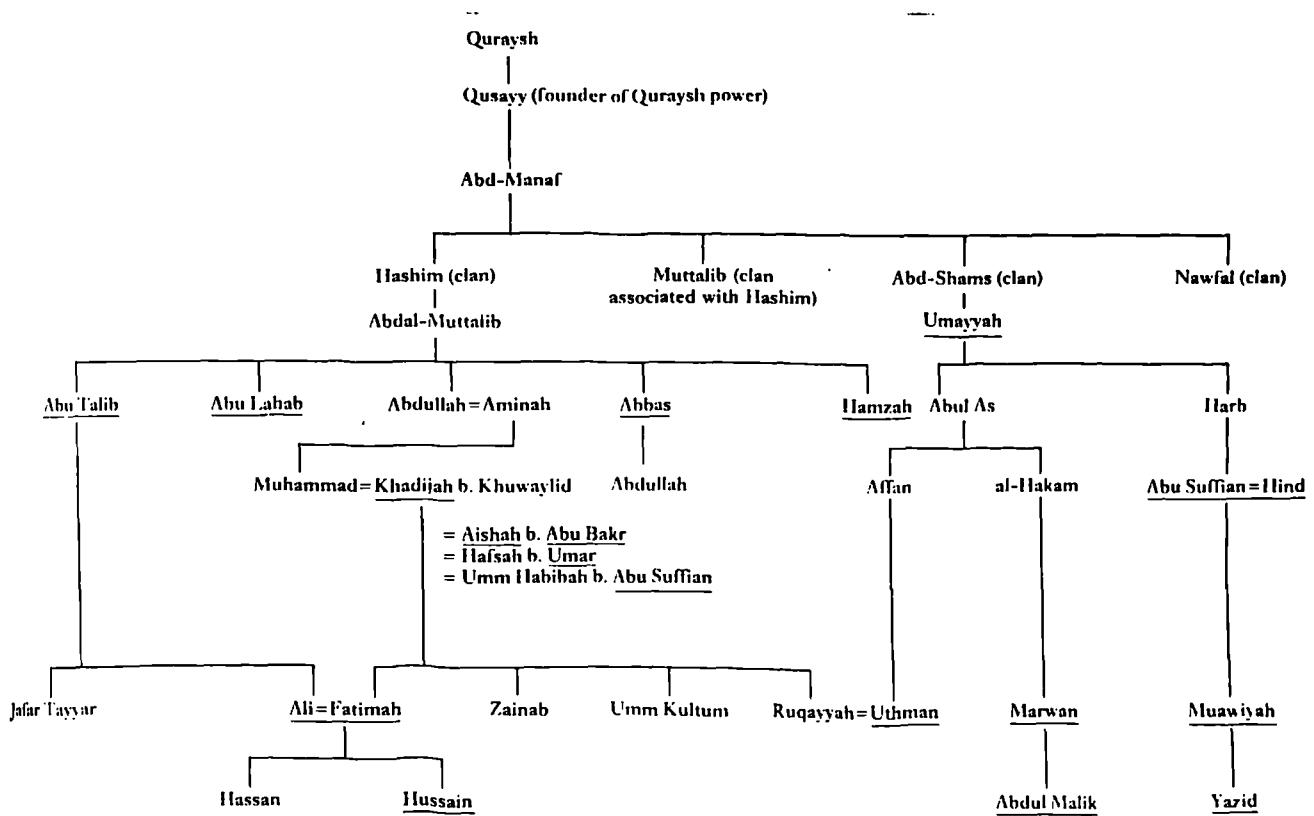
There are divergent opinions regarding his date of birth. Rasulullah suggested 17th of June, 569 C.E. ²⁴ Other scholars such as Glubb, Ata, Warren and Rahman subscribed to 570 C.E.,²⁵ commonly referred to as the 'Year of the Elephant'.²⁶ Those who mentioned 571 A.D. included El-Garh, Ali and Arshad.²⁷

The difficulty of reconciling these dates probably influenced Rodinson to say:

No one knows exactly when Mohammed was born ... It was said to have been in the Year of the Elephant ... but that is certainly untrue. The precise date, arrived at by means of some highly dubious calculations, varies between 567 and 573.²⁸

FIGURE 4

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD



Source: Von Grunebaum, G.E. (1963) Classical Islam: A History 600-1258, trans. Watson, K. (1979) London: George Allen & Unwin, p.63.

Speculation on the date of birth is difficult to resolve because the Quran does not contain information which is final.

Before the birth of Muhammad, his mother Amina was said to have received a divine message concerning the birth of Muhammad in the following words:

You are pregnant with the lord of this people and when he is born say, 'I put him in the care of the One from the evil of every envier; then call him Muhammad'.²⁹

A similar claim was made by the Prophet Muhammad himself. When some of his followers, during a conversation, asked him to tell them whom he was, he replied:

I am what Abraham my father prayed for and the good news of ... Jesus. When my mother was carrying me she saw a light proceeding from her which showed her the castles of Syria ... While I was with a brother of mine behind our tents shepherding the lambs, two men in white raiment came to me with a gold basin full of snow. Then they seized me and opened up my belly, extracted my heart and split it; then they extracted a black drop from it and threw it away; then they washed my heart and my belly with that snow until they had thoroughly cleaned them.³⁰

Before the age of six, Muhammad lost his two parents and grandfather. He was brought up by his uncle Abu Talib, for whom he became a caravan worker and travelling across the Middle East.³¹ Through the caravan trade, Muhammad met Khadija, a wealthy widow who employed and later married him when he was twenty five years old.³² Scholars are agreed that the moral qualities of Muhammad attracted Khadija to

offer herself in marriage. Michener wrote:

... Orphaned at birth, he was always particularly solicitous of the poor and the needy, the widow and the orphan, the slave and the downtrodden. At twenty he was already a successful business man, and soon became director of camel caravan for a wealthy widow. When he reached twenty five, his employer, recognizing his merit, proposed marriage.³³

Muir also expressed the virtues of Muhammad:

Our authorities all agree in ascribing to the youth of Mohammad a modesty of deportment and purity of manners rare among the people of Mecca ... Endowed with a refined mind and delicate taste, reserved and meditative ... The fair character and honourable bearing of the unobtrusive youth won the approbation of his fellow-citizens, and he received the title, by common consent, of Al-Ameen, the Trustworthy.³⁴

The caravan trade afforded Muhammad the opportunity of meeting people of different religious affiliations, Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians. The religions of these groups of people all had an eschatology which taught about the 'Judgement Day'.³⁵ The teachings of these 'foreign' religions influenced Muhammad to be concerned about the future of his Meccan people who were believers in polytheism. Consequently, he started spending solitary hours of prayers and meditation in a cave near Mount Hira.³⁶ This religious confinement was also a tradition of his tribe.

In the account of Ibn Ishaq:

The apostle would pray in seclusion on Hira, every year for a month to practice 'tahannuth' as was the custom of Quaraysh in heathen days. Tahannuth is religious devotion.³⁷

3.2.3 The Prophetic Mission

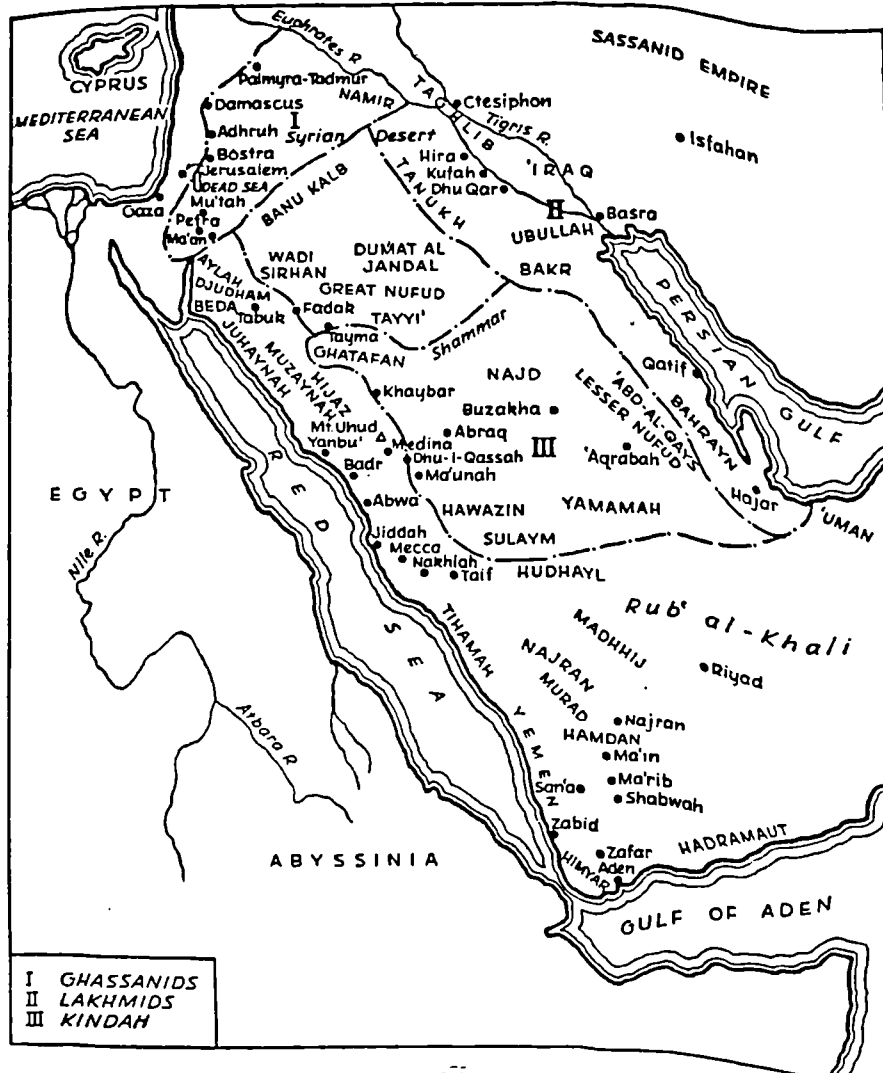
When Muhammad attained the age of forty, he went on his fifth annual religious devotion at Hira. One day during the month of Ramadan,³⁸ the Angel Gabriel brought him a divine message from God. Ibn Ishaq provides a vivid account of this experience:

"He came to me" said the apostle of God, "while I was asleep, with a coverlet of brocade whereon was some writing, and said 'Read!' I said, "What shall I read?" He pressed me with it so tightly that I thought it was death; then he let me go and said, 'Read!' I said, "What shall I read?" He pressed me with it again so that I thought it was death; then he let me go and said 'Read!' I said, "What shall I read?" He pressed me with it the third time so that I thought it was death and said 'Read!' I said "What then shall I read?" - and this I said only to deliver myself from him, lest he should do the same to me again. He said:
'Read in the name of thy Lord who created,
Who created man of blood coagulated.
Read! Thy Lord is the most beneficent,
Who taught by the pen,
Taught that which they knew not unto men'.³⁹

The last paragraph is also contained in the Quran with the exception that 'Recite' is used instead of 'Read'.⁴⁰

The Prophet Muhammad initially refused to believe this vision. Attempting to commit suicide, he heard a voice from heaven saying: "O Muhammad! thou art the apostle of God and I am Gabriel".⁴¹ Immediately after hearing this voice the Angel Gabriel appeared to him physically in the form of a man and said the same thing to him. He also received some words of encouragement from his wife and a Christian cousin, Naraqa.⁴²

MAP OF ARABIA SHOWING THE CAVE AT HIRA



Source: Brockelmann, C. (ed.) (1982) History of the Islamic Peoples, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p.29.

From this time onwards, Muhammad began to accept subsequent revelations which came to him as the truth of God. Further revelations came to him at frequent intervals for a period of twenty two years.⁴³ Apart from coming through visions when he was asleep, they also occurred as ecstatic seizures, or 'jolting experiences'.⁴⁴ On these occasions the divine messages came to him like the tolling of a bell and held him shivering and cold with his forehead covered in sweat for the period of the seizure.

After a series of revelations, Muhammad began to preach the messages he had received to the people of Mecca. His basic teachings were the belief in One unique God and the abstinence from idol worship.⁴⁵ His attacks on the religious beliefs current in Mecca resulted in open hostility from his tribe. They felt such teaching would adversely affect their livelihood by preventing pilgrims from coming to Mecca to worship idols at the Kaaba.⁴⁶ The persecution of Muhammad and his followers grew stronger. In the year 615, some of his followers took refuge in Ethiopia then called Abyssinia.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, he stayed behind and continued to face opposition which eventually culminated in the boycott of his clan.

This period of tribulation came to a climax in 619 A.D. when Muhammad lost his wife Khadija and uncle Abu Talib.⁴⁸ At this time, divine words of encouragement came to him:

By the glow of forenoon and the hush of night
your Lord has neither foresaken you nor left you
forelorn; and the Last shall be better for you
than the First. Your Lord shall give and you

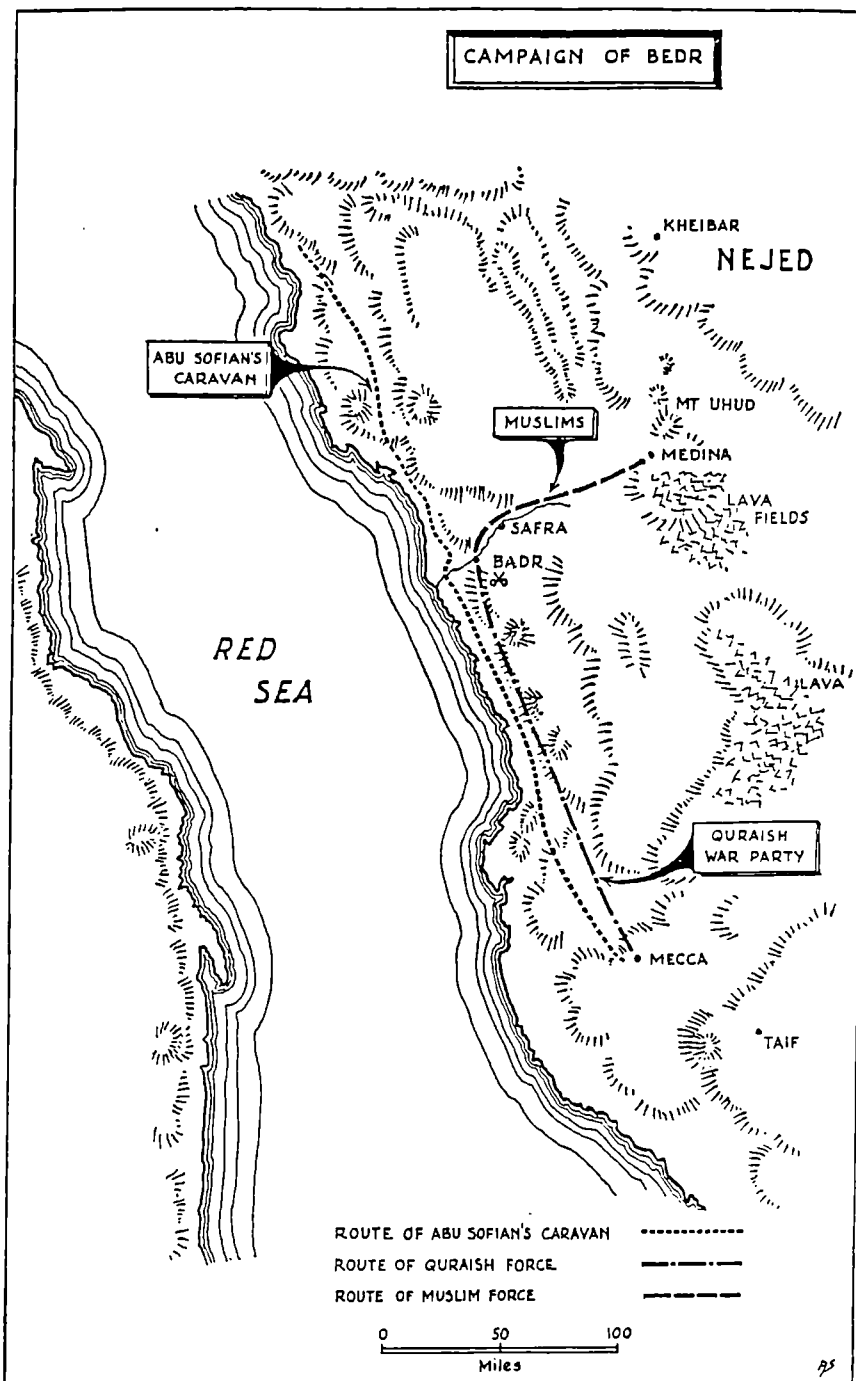
shall be satisfied. Did he not find you an orphan and shelter you? Did he not find you erring, and guide you? Did he not find you needy, and enrich you? ... and as for your Lord's blessing, declare it openly.⁴⁹

3.2.4 Muhammad in Medina

In 620 A.D., Muhammad was invited to become the leader of the inhabitants of Medina.⁵⁰ The city which was comprised of Jewish and Arabian tribes was confronted by internal strife and warfare. The community needed an important judge to arbitrate between its warring tribes.⁵¹ The people of Medina saw that Muhammad had the qualities they wanted and he was persuaded to accept the position. Muhammad arrived in Medina with his followers on 24th of September, 622.⁵² The Islamic calendar began on this date and the migration from Mecca to Medina is called the 'Hijra' in Islamic tradition.

The achievements of the Prophet Muhammad at Medina were two-fold. Firstly, he was able to establish Islam though this was not without some antagonism from the Jewish population of the city.⁵³ Secondly, he was able to lay the foundation of an Islamic state. He established a central government, a national army, national economic, judicial and education systems with himself as the leader.⁵⁴ This Islamic community was called the 'Ummah'. The 'Ummah' was involved in several military struggles in the attempt to win more converts and preserve its community. The first of the series of wars was against Mecca in March, 624. This was known as the battle of 'Badr'.⁵⁵ The Muslim success in this

THE BATTLE OF 'BADR'



Source: Glubb, J.B. (1970) The Life and Times of Muhammad, London: Hodder and Stoughton, p.180.

and subsequent battles provided the opportunity for those Muslims who had once been forced out of Mecca to enter the city freely. Therefore, when Muhammad and fifteen thousand followers came to Mecca in 627 A.D. to perform the 'little' pilgrimage (Umrah) there was no opposition.⁵⁶ After a period of peaceful negotiation, the generality of the people of Mecca finally embraced Islam. This gave Muhammad the opportunity to rule Mecca as well.⁵⁷ He was also able to destroy the idols at the Kaaba.

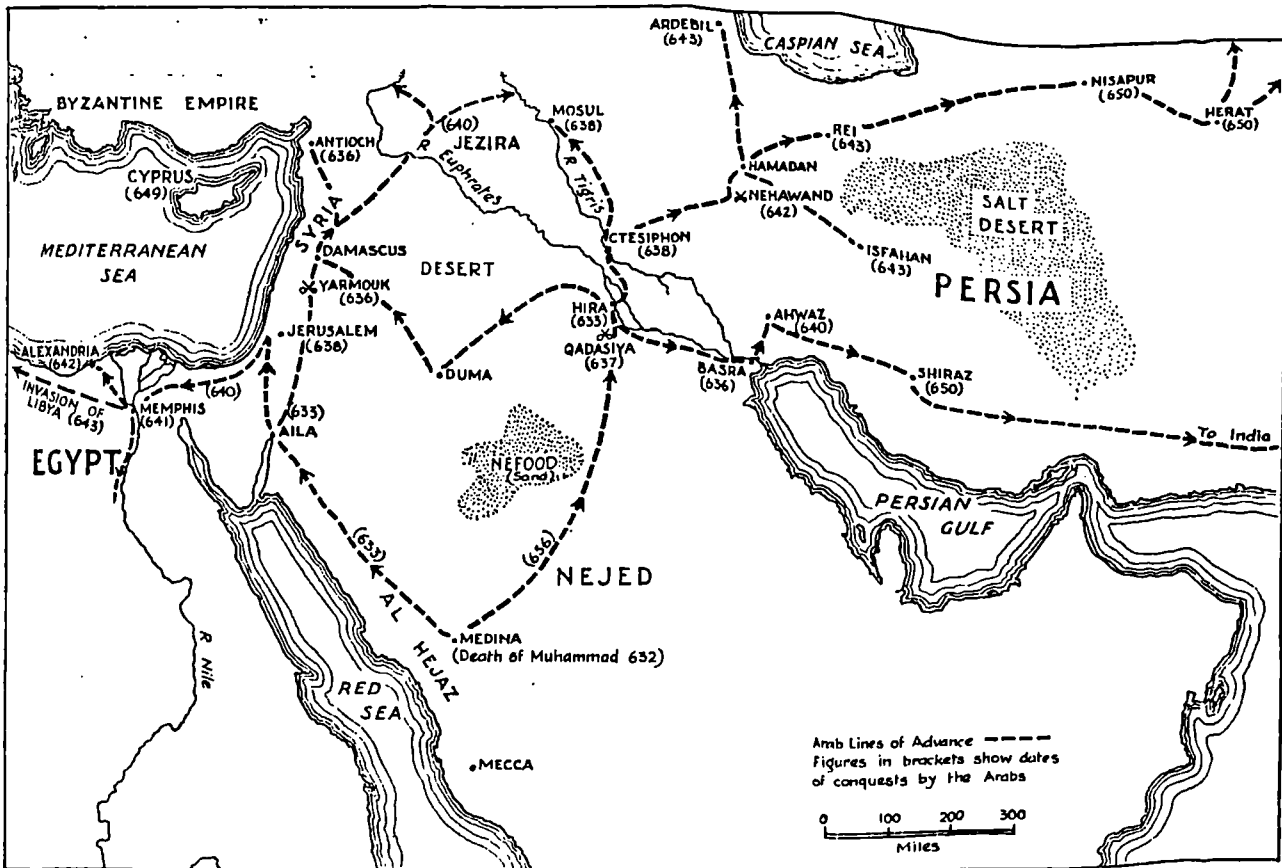
Going to the Kaaba, Mohammad stood before each of the three hundred and sixty idols, and pointed to it with his staff, saying, 'Truth is come and falsehood is fled away!', and at these words his attendants hewed them down, and all the idols and household gods of Mekka and round about were destroyed.⁵⁸

On the 8th of June, 632, after a second pilgrimage to Mecca, Muhammad died.⁵⁹

3.2.5 The Spread of Islam

A century after his death, the Muslim 'Ummah' had witnessed spectacular military achievements. Damascus was conquered in 634, Antioch in 636, Jerusalem in 638, Egypt in 640 and Alexandria in 642.⁶⁰ These conquered territories were ruled from Medina by successors of Muhammad known as Caliphs. They were successors in providing administrative and military leadership to the Muslim communities as well as the conquered territories.⁶¹

THE MUSLIM CONQUESTS IN THE TWENTY YEARS
AFTER THE DEATH OF MUHAMMAD



Source: Glubb, J.B. (1970) The Life and Times of Muhammad,
London: Hodder and Stoughton, p.369.

The first four caliphs who ruled in succession were AbuBakr, a friend and father-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad (632-4); Umar (634-44); Uthman (644-56) and Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet (656-61).⁶² These four caliphs were regarded as 'the pious' or 'orthodox' caliphs or 'model rulers' because they were chosen from the circle of friends of Muhammad and they followed the ways of Muhammad.⁶³

After the caliphate of Ali, a series of Muslim dynasties ruled the various Islamic communities. The first of them was the 'Umayyad' (661-750).⁶⁴

3.2.6 Groups Within Islam

On the death of the Prophet Muhammad, differences arose among his followers over the issues of leadership and the interpretation of the Quran. The divergent views of his followers split the Islamic community into groups. The main groups were as follows:

The Shi'ite:

This group maintained that Ali and his descendants were best suited to assume leadership of the Ummah after the death of the Prophet, because Ali was his son-in-law and cousin.⁶⁵

The Shi'ite Muslims derived their name from 'Shia' an Arabic word meaning 'party'.⁶⁶ The group was formed after the assassination of Ali in 661 A.D. by the Umayyad dynasty.⁶⁷ In their practice of Islam, the group created

the 'Imam' meaning leader. The twelfth Imam who was said to disappear in 878 A.D. led to the belief among Shi'ites that he would come back to lead Islam into a golden age.⁶⁸ Also, the group influenced the development of mystical and philosophical thoughts in Islam. For example, they developed the view that a true understanding of the Quran could not be achieved by literary interpretation alone, but also by studying its inner dimension from the Imams. Therefore they developed the science of 'tawil'.⁶⁹

Today, the Shi'ites constitute about 10 per cent of the total Muslim population and they are mostly found in Iran and Iraq.⁷⁰

The Sunnis:

The Sunnis represent the majority of Muslims. The 'Sunna' which means traditions of the Prophet Muhammad has a central significance for these Muslims. Hence, they derived the name Sunni from this source.

Thus, the life and death of Muhammad constituted a significant landmark in the history of Islam.

3.3 The Main Belief Systems of Islam

The source for Islamic doctrines and practices is the Quran. Therefore, priority and prominence will be given to evidences from the Quran although; the contributions of Islamic scholars and theologians are also used as complementary evidence.

In Islam, there is a limit to which one can speak of a common basic principle, for variations exist in contemporary beliefs and practices.

The fragmentation of the Islamic community which commenced after the assassination of Ali, the fourth Caliph in the eighth century, is responsible for these variations. For instance, the Shi'ite Muslims made some additions to their own 'Declaration of Faith'. Apart from professing belief in the Unity of God, and the prophethood of Muhammad, a Shi'ite Muslim would also say: 'Ali, the commander of the true believers is the 'Wali' (friend) of God'.⁷¹

Another reason for differences in the beliefs of Muslims stems from the fact that Islam is a 'lettered' religion, so some people are more versed in the faith than others.⁷²

There are also divided opinions among Islamic scholars on the basic beliefs of Islam. For example, in the work of Doi there are seven fundamental beliefs which he described as the 'Articles of Faith'. They are contained in an Islamic credal statement which he translated as follows:

I solemnly believe in Allah, in His angels, in His books, in His Prophets, in the Day of Judgement (the Last Day), in the destiny of good or bad, in the life after death.⁷³

In his study Sarwar enumerated the first six beliefs in Doi's list but argued that only three of them are very important. They are 'Tawhid' (oneness of God); 'Risalah' (prophethood); and Akhinah (life after death).⁷⁴

This study will discuss the six beliefs in Doi's list.

3.3.1 Belief in the 'Oneness' or 'Unity' of Allah

'Allah' is an Arabic word that is derived from 'Al-Illah' meaning 'The God, the true God', or 'the God par excellence'.⁷⁵

The translation of Allah as 'God' has been rejected by Doi on the grounds that it does not convey the full meaning of Allah. To him the word Allah is a proper noun from which one cannot obtain a plural form or a feminine derivative.

Instead, the word Allah conveys the uniqueness, perfection and attributes of 'One God'.⁷⁶

Doi is in error. He does not recognise the different meanings associated with the word 'God' and 'god'. The former is used exclusively for the Supreme Being, the latter is used occasionally for other, lesser deities.⁷⁷

Belief in the Oneness of God (Tawhid) is the basis of Islam and is what Brohi described as 'the cardinal article of faith'.⁷⁸ It overshadows other beliefs and practices of Islam. 'Tawhid' implies the acceptance of one God Who is without a partner.

The unity of God is mentioned repeatedly in the Holy Quran. Two passages important for this belief are:

- (i) Say: He is God,
The One and Only,
God, the Eternal, Absolute;
He begetteth not;
Nor is He begotten;
And there is none
Like unto Him.⁷⁹

(ii) And your God
is One God:
There is no god but He
Most Gracious
Most Merciful.⁸⁰

Although the concept of the oneness of God, like other beliefs in Islam, comes through divine revelations to the Prophet Muhammad, some Islamic scholars have attempted to link the polytheistic beliefs that were widespread in Arabia before Islam to the prominence of this concept.⁸¹

Names and Attributes of Allah:

Islam identifies ninety-nine names which equally portray the attributes of God. The Prophet Muhammad was quoted in Doi's work to have said:

Verily there are ninety-nine Names of God and whoever recites them shall enter Paradise.⁸²

Most of them are expressed in the form of epithets and adjectives. Some of these names are Al-Halim (The Clement); Al-Rahman (The Beneficent).⁸³

The role of God as Creator and Sustainer of the universe is heavily emphasized in the Quran:

Your Guardian - Lord is God who created the heavens and the earth in six Days, and is firmly Established on the Throne (of authority):
He draweth the night as a veil o'er the day,
each seeking the other in rapid succession:
He created the sun, the moon, and the stars,
(All) governed by laws under his Command.
Is it not His to create and to govern?
Blessed be God, the Cherisher
and Sustainer of the World.⁸⁴

TABLE 12

SOME NAMES OF GOD IN THE QURAN

ARABIC NAMES	MEANING
AL-Rahman	The Compassionate
AL-Halim	The Forbearing One
AL-Jalil	The Majestic
AL-Rahim	The Merciful
AL-Muhaimin	The Protector
AL-Ghaffar	The Forgiver
AL-Ghaffur	The All-forgiving
AL-Wahhab	The Bestower
AL-Razzaq	The Provider
AL-Karim	The Generous One
AL-Hafiz	The Preserver
AL-Wadud	The Loving
AL-Wali	The Guardian
AL-Muhji	The Giver of Life
AL-Barr	The Source of all Goodness
AL-Afuw	The Pardoner
AL-Rauf	The Considerate

Source: Kochler, H. (ed.) (1982) The Concept of Monotheism in Islam and Christianity, Vienna, Austria: Wilhelm Braumuller, p.62

According to Doi, God created the universe by two words of command. These two Arabic words are pronounced as 'Kun' (be) and 'fayakum' (there it was).⁸⁵

The Quran does not present clear and coherent evidence on the manner in which God created human beings. However, one verse from the Holy Quran indicates that Allah created human beings from a single soul:

O mankind! reverence
Your Guardian-Lord
Who created you
from a single person,
created of like nature

His mate, and form them twain
Scattered (like seeds)
Countless men and women ...⁸⁶

Some verses of the Holy Quran seem to suggest Adam as the
'single soul':

Behold, thy Lord said to the Angels:
'I will create a viceregent on earth'...
And He taught Adam the nature of all things...
We said: 'O Adam: dwell thou
And thy wife in the Garden;
And eat of the bountiful things therein
As (where and when) ye will; but approach
not this tree ...'⁸⁷

3.3.2 Belief in Angels

A belief in angels is one of the essential aspects of Islamic doctrine. Although the Quran does not discuss the material or elements out of which the angels were created, some writers such as Doi and Sarwar have speculated that God created them from light.⁸⁸ In Islam, it is believed the angels are messengers of God. The Quran says:

Praise be to God
Who created (out of nothing)
The heavens and the earth
Who made the angels
Messengers with rings
Two, or three, or four (pairs):
He adds to Creation
As He pleases: for God
Has power over all things.⁸⁹

The following are the activities of angels mentioned in the Quran.

(i) The communication of divine revelation to God's messengers. For example, the angel Gabriel, or Jibil in the Arabic language, was the angel who brought down the

revelations of the Quran to Muhammad.⁹⁰ The Angel Gabriel is given two other names in the Quran. They are the Holy Spirit; and the Spirit of Faith and Truth.⁹¹ Occasionally the angel Gabriel appeared to the recipients of the divine message in human form. Two instances are often cited in Islamic piety. The first was when an angel appeared physically to Muhammad during his first divine experience.⁹² The second instance is recorded in the 'Hadith'.⁹³ It stated that the angel Gabriel in the form of a man with a very white garment and very black hair, appeared to Muhammad and his friends one day. he sat with them and started asking questions of the prophet, to which the prophet gave answers. After his departure, the prophet Muhammad informed his friends that their visitor was the angel Jibil who had come to teach them about Islam.⁹⁴ Muslims also believe that the angel Gabriel was the 'Holy Spirit' who announced the birth of Jesus to the Virgin Mary.⁹⁵

(ii) In Islam angels are also believed to strengthen God's apostle during periods of distress. For example, Jesus was reported in the Holy Quran to have been strengthened with the Holy Spirit:

We gave Jesus the Son of Mary clear (signs) and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit.⁹⁶

(iii) Another significant task of the angels mentioned in the Quran is to take the lives of the righteous and receive their souls on death. Doi and Sarwar however stated that an angel named 'Izrail' is 'the angel of death' responsible for ending human life.⁹⁷

The Quran also revealed that God appointed some angels to record human actions or behaviour on earth. Angels are also to witness for or against human beings on the Day of Judgement. Three verses from the Quran described vividly how the angels record human conduct:

It was we who created man, and we know what dark suggestions his soul makes to him; for we are nearer to him than (his) jugular vein. Behold two (guardian angels) appointed to learn (his doings); learn and note them, one sitting on the right and one on the left. Not a word does he utter but there is a sentinel by him, ready (to note it).⁹⁸

3.3.3. Belief in Holy Books

Faith in all Holy Scriptures is fundamental to Islam. Other scriptures recognised in Islam apart from the Quran are 'Torah' (The Law of Moses); the 'Injil' (The Gospel of Jesus); the 'Zabur' (Psalms of David) and 'Suhof' (Testament of Abraham).

There are two reasons for the Islamic belief in these scriptures. First, the Quran acknowledges that God sent the revelations of the 'Torah' to Moses and Injil to Jesus, before sending the messages of the Quran to Muhammad. Therefore it is believed that the Quran came to confirm earlier scriptures. For example, it is claimed in the Quran that God addresses Prophet Muhammad in the following words:

It was We who revealed The Law (to Moses):
therein was guidance and light ... and in
their footsteps We sent Jesus the son of Mary,
confirming The Law that had come before him:
We sent him The Gospel: Therein was guidance

and light; To thee we sent the Scripture in truth,
confirming the Scripture that came before it, and
guarding it in safety.⁹⁹

The second explanation is that the Holy Quran alleged that adherents of other scriptures misinterpreted and wrongly translated the scriptures sent to them. Therefore the messages of the Quran came to clarify all uncertainties surrounding the scriptures. Addressing Muhammad, the Quran stated:

By God, We (also) sent (Our apostles) to Peoples
Before thee; but Satan made (to the wicked)
their own acts seem alluring ... And We sent
down the Book to thee for the express purpose
that thou ... shouldst make clear to them those
things in which they differ, and ...¹⁰⁰

The Quran cited many examples of how the old scriptures were misinterpreted and modified. One of these was the criticism levelled against the 'Torah':

They change the words
From their (right places)
And forget a good part
of the message that was sent to them ...¹⁰¹

Similarly, on the 'Injil' or Gospel of Jesus, the Quran said:

From those too, who call themselves Christians,
We did take a Covenant, But they forgot a good
part of the Message that was sent to them: so
we estranged them with enmity and hatred between
the one and the other, to the Day of Judgement.¹⁰²

In addition, Tabbarah claimed that at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. the Christian Church chose four

Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John) instead of the true Gospel sent to Jesus.¹⁰³

The Quran similarly has been criticised. Its arrangement, titles, language and style have generated many controversies.

The Quran is arranged in descending order of length. Thomas Carlyle complained that the arrangement of the chapters in order of decreasing length does not allow the earliest chapters revealed in Mecca to come first. According to him:

Mahomet's followers found the Quran lying all in fractions ... and they published it without any discoverable order as to time or otherwise; merely trying ... and this not very strictly to put the longest chapters first. The real beginning of it in that way lies almost at the end. One feels it difficult to see how any mortal ever could consider this Quran as a Book written in Heaven, too good for the Earth, as a well-written book, or indeed, as a book at all, and not a bewildered rhapsody.¹⁰⁴

Similarly, McNeill and Waldman noted that the compilers of the Quran have altered the order in which the revelations were received by Muhammad, thereby making it difficult for students to understand.¹⁰⁵ However, some scholars like Pickthall¹⁰⁶ and Maududu¹⁰⁷ claimed that it was Prophet Muhammad himself who prescribed the arrangement of the Quran. Scholars who could not accept this evidence such as Rodwell, Bell, and Dawood rearranged the Quran in a different and chronological sequence aiming to make it more intelligible to non-Muslim readers.¹⁰⁸

3.3.4 Belief in God's Messengers

It is believed in Islam that since the beginning of creation, God has sent messengers or prophets to teach and guide people to follow his ways

For We assuredly sent
Amongst every People an apostle
(with the Command) 'serve God and eschew Evil'.¹⁰⁹

It is also believed that God will recompense the acceptance or rejection of this message.

O ye children of Adam!
whenever there come to you,
Apostles from amongst you
Rehearsing My Signs unto you -
Those who are righteous and mend (their lives)
On them shall be no fear nor shall they grieve.
But those who reject our Signs and treat them
With arrogance, they are companions of the
Fire To dwell therein (for ever).¹¹⁰

Therefore Muslims are required to believe in all the prophets without distinction. The exact number of prophets of God is unknown but the Prophet Muhammad was claimed to have mentioned one hundred and twenty-four thousand.¹¹¹ The Quran mentioned twenty-five prominent prophets. Among them are Biblical figures such as Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus.¹¹² All of them including Muhammad are believed to have been sent by one God. Addressing Muhammad, the Quran said:

We have sent thee Inspiration, as We sent it to Noah and the messengers After him: We sent Inspiration to Abraham, Ismail, Job, Jonah, Aaron, and Solomon, And to David We gave The Psalms of some apostles We have already told thee The story: of others we have not...¹¹³

TABLE 13

NAMES OF PROPHETS MENTIONED IN THE QURAN
AND THEIR BIBLICAL CORRELATES

QURANIC NAMES	BIBLICAL NAME
Adam	Adam
Idris	Enoch
Nuh	Noah
Hud	-
Salih	Salih
Ibrahim	Abraham
Ismail	Ishmael
Lut	Lot
Yaqub	Jacob
Shu'ayb	-
Musa	Moses
Harun	Aaron
Dhu'l - ki	Ezekiel
Dawud	David
Sulayman	Solomon
Ilias	Elias
Al-Yasa	Elisha
Zadariyya	Zachariah
Yahya	John
Isa	Jesus
Muhammad	-

Source: Sarwar, G. (1980) Islam Beliefs and Teachings, London: The Muslim Educational Trust, p.2.

The prophetic mission which started with Adam, ended with Muhammad. The Quran referred to him as the 'seal of Prophets'. Muslims also believe that previous prophets foretold the coming of Muhammad. For instance, Jesus was mentioned as signifying the coming of Muhammad.¹¹⁴ In support of this claim, several Biblical references are located. One is John 15:26 in which Jesus Christ said:

But when the Helper comes whom I shall send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, he will testify of me.¹¹⁵

The 'Helper' and the 'Spirit of Truth' mentioned in the text is understood by Muslims as the Prophet Muhammad.¹¹⁶

Muslims disagreed with the popular opinion among Christians that the 'Helper' or the spirit of truth was the Holy Spirit which descended on the apostles of Jesus Christ on the day of Pentecost.

3.3.5 Belief in the 'Judgement Day'

The judgement of human conduct by Allah is another basic belief of Islam. It is expressed in the Quran as the 'Day of Resurrection' or 'Day of Requitall', 'Last Day' or 'Day of Judgement'.¹¹⁷

The Judgement Day is presented in several verses of the Quran as a cataclysmic event, which comes suddenly at a time known only to God.

Every man's fate We have fastened On his own neck: On the Day of Judgement We shall bring out for him a scroll, Which he will see spread open (it will be said to him): 'Read thine (own) record': Sufficient is thy soul this day make out An account against thee.¹¹⁸

It is believed that when one dies, the body returns to the earth while the soul enters a state of sleep awaiting the 'Day of Judgement'.¹¹⁹ On the 'Day of Judgement', angel 'Israfil' will blow his trumpet, the heavens shall be split asunder, and the mountains ground to dust, the grave will be

opened and the dead would take on their soul again to receive judgement from Allah.¹²⁰

The Quran goes into considerable detail to portray the nature of the punishments and rewards which God gives to every soul according to their deeds. The righteous will be rewarded with eternal Paradise while the wicked will be condemned and cast into fire otherwise called Hell. The physical bliss of Paradise is described in several Parables in the Holy Quran. One of the passages says:

(Here is) a Parable of the Garden which The righteous are promised: In it are rivers of water incorruptible, rivers of milk of which the taste never changes, rivers of wine, a joy to those who drink, and there are for them all kinds of fruits; And Grace from their Lord...¹²¹

The Quran also offers a description of Hell to which sinners will be subjected according to the proportion of evils committed. Hell is presented as a fiery ditch that will burn endlessly:

O ye who believe! Save yourselves and your families from a fire whose fuel is men. And stones, over which are (appointed) angels Stern (and) Severe...¹²²

Another verse describes the insatiable blazing flames in this manner:

One Day We Will Ask Hell, "Art thou filled to the full?" It will say, "Are there Any more (to come?)"¹²³

3.3.6 Moral Values in Islam

Morality is an important aspect of Islam. One verse in the Quran states that beliefs and practices are worthless unless they are combined with good moral virtues:

It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces
Towards East or West: But it is righteousness
To believe in God and the Last Day, And the
Angels, and the Book, And the Messengers;
To spend of your substance, Out of Love for
Him, for your kin, For orphans, for the needy,
For the wayfarer, for those who ask,
And for the ransom of slaves,
To be steadfast in prayer, And practise regular
Charity, to fulfil the contracts which ye have
made; And to be firm and patient
In pain (or suffering) And adversity And
throughout All periods of Panic, such are the
people of truth, the God fearing.¹²⁴

Faray described the Islamic stress on morality, as an obligation that is parallel to the 'five pillars of Islam'.¹²⁵

Khurran also argued that there was an indissoluble link between Islamic faith and morality. Virtues are derived from four concepts of Islamic religion, namely:

Imam (faith in One God)
Islam (surrender to God)
Taqwa (God-consciousness)
Ihisan (Godliness)¹²⁶

The Quran deals exhaustively with the moral virtues. It obliges Muslims to be beneficent towards parents, orphans and the needy:

And do good to parents, Kinsfolk, Orphans, those
in need, Neighbours who are near, Neighbours who

are strangers, The Comparison by your side, the way-farer, (ye meet) And what your right hands possess.¹²⁷

Islam also condemns any social gradation or stratification. In other words, all Muslims are equal before God.

3.4 The Fundamental Practices of Islam

In Islam, there are five basic religious duties or obligations otherwise known as the 'five pillars of Islam'. These obligations are: declaration of faith; five compulsory daily prayers; welfare contributions; fasting during the month of 'Ramadan' and Pilgrimage to Mecca. These duties can be an effective means of obeying the doctrines of Islam.

(i) Confession of Faith (Shahadah):

The first 'Pillar' is bearing testimony to the unity of God. The testimony is phrased in Arabic as 'LA ILAHA ILLALLAH, MUHAMMADUR RASULULLAH' which means 'There is no god but God, Muhammad is the prophet of God'.¹²⁸ The recitation of this testimony is the only condition for a would-be Muslim. Hence it is assumed that the reciter has understood, accepted and internalized the theological message of the testimony.¹²⁹

Other occasions when a confession of faith is made are naming ceremonies when it is whispered in the ear of the baby, at death when it is recited over the body of the deceased, and in the ritual prayers.¹³⁰

(ii) Prayer (Salah):

The second 'Pillar' enjoins all Muslims to pray five times daily. The names and period of performance are as follows:

- 'Fajr' - at dawn before sunrise;
- 'Zuhr' - after mid-day
- 'Asr' - from late afternoon but before dark
- 'Maghrib' - after sunset
- 'Isha' - before returning to bed.¹³¹

During the early years of Islam in Mecca prayers were observed only two times each day, in accordance with a Quranic injunction.¹³² It was later increased to three times by Muhammad while at Medina.¹³³ The number was increased to five after the death of Muhammad.¹³⁴

Each prayer-act starts with a 'call to prayer' often recited from a minaret. Prior to this, the Muslims purify themselves in body and soul. This involves washing their hands, mouth, nostrils and the feet to the ankles.¹³⁵

Then the leader of the prayer group, who is variously known as 'Imam' in Arab countries; 'Mullah' in Iran or 'Hodja' in Turkey, will face the direction of Mecca, with his congregation. The prayer-act consists of two to four units known as 'rakahs'. Each unit involves a set pattern of ritual movements.

Apart from the daily prayers, Muslims are enjoined to observe a special congregational worship on Friday afternoon.¹³⁶

(iii) Almsgiving (Zakat):

Zakat is a compulsory religious tax payment on all Muslims by the Quran.

So establish Prayer
And give regular Charity;
And obey the Apostle
That ye may receive mercy.¹³⁷

It was initially a free-will offering (Sadaqat) but gradually became obligatory. This payment can be made in currency or in kind such as cattle, grain, other produce or commodities. The reward for fulfilling this obligation is repeatedly stated in the Quran:

For those who give in Charity, men and women.
And loan to God a Beautiful Loan.
It shall be increased manifold (to their Credit),
And they shall have (besides) a liberal reward.¹³⁸

The Quran also specified the beneficiaries of Zakat:

Alms are for the poor and the needy and those
Employed to administer the (Funds); for those
whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to
Truth), for those in bondage and in debt; in the
cause of God; and for the wayfarer:.....¹³⁹

(iv) Fasting (Sawm):

The Quran prescribed fasting for all healthy Muslims during the month of 'Ramadan'.¹⁴⁰ The month of fast varies constantly because the calendar which the Muslims follow is based on the phases of the moon. Therefore 'Ramadan' meaning 'the scorcher' may sometimes fall in the cool season quite different from its original summer season.¹⁴¹

This explanation on the fasting period, however, contradicted the opinion of most writers who categorically stated that Ramadan falls in every ninth month of the Muslim calendar. Among such writers are Sheikh Ahmed Lemu, and Gibb.¹⁴²

The daily fasting extends from dawn to sunset. There should be complete abstinence from food, drink, sexual pleasure, use of abusive language and other acts of un-Godliness. The object of Ramadan, according to the Quran, is to develop a consciousness of God (Taqwa).¹⁴³ The end of the fasting period is celebrated with a great feast termed 'id al-fitr' meaning 'the breaking of the fast'.

(v) Pilgrimage to Mecca (Haji):

The fifth religious duty of Islam is the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime for people who are physically and financially able.¹⁴⁴ The performance of 'Haji' is in the twelfth month of the Islamic calendar known as 'Du-'l-Hijja'. Its main object is to visit the shrine named 'Kaaba' and the 'Black Stone'. 'Haji' was incorporated into the Islamic practices after Muhammad had purged the Kaaba of its idols. There is little evidence to explain the warrant for such adoption. Presumably, the reason may be derived from the Islamic legend about the shrine. The legend is linked with the Biblical revelations. According to this legend, the Kaaba was originally constructed by Adam, but it was destroyed during the great flood associated with Noah. Later it was repaired by Abraham with the support of his son Ishmael (Ismail).

Adam, Noah and Abraham are recognised prophets of God in Islam. Their alleged association with the origin of Kaaba might have motivated Muhammad's acceptance of the Pilgrimage to Mecca.

The highlights of the ceremony of 'Haji' are as follows:

- (1) A visit to the sacred Mosque where the pilgrims kiss the 'Black Stone'.
- (2) Circumambulation of the Kaaba seven times. This ceremony is called 'Tawaf'.
- (3) Ascent to Mount 'Safa' where pilgrims run to Mount 'Marwa' and 'Arafat' seven times each in remembrance of Abraham's slave wife, Hagar and her son Ismail. They were abandoned in the wilderness while they were thirsty. Hagar was alleged to have run back and forth between these hills until God answered her prayer by causing water to spring from a spot now called 'the well of Zamzam'.
- (4) Casting of seven pebbles in commemoration of Abraham's escape from temptation by Satan.
- (5) The sacrifice of a sheep or goat at Minna in remembrance of Abraham's sacrifice.
- (6) A visit to Medina to see the tomb of Prophet Muhammad marks the end of the pilgrimage.¹⁴⁶

These ceremonial obligations play a key role in drawing Muslims nearer to God.

3.5 The Origin and Development of Islam in Nigeria

3.5.1 The Origin in Northern Nigeria

Scholars are unanimous that Islam entered Northern Nigeria in the early part of the fourteenth century.¹⁴⁷ During the reign of Aliyu Yaji (1349-1385) about forty 'Wangarawa' traders (meaning immigrant clerics in Hausa) from Mali brought Islam to Kano.¹⁴⁸ Some of them took up positions as advisers to the rulers of Kano, Katsina and other commercial centres in order to facilitate the conversion of the Kings. In this process, Muhammar Koran of Katsina and Yaji of Kano were converted to Islam. According to Doi, the injunction of the Prophet Muhammad which states that: "the best man among you is one who learns the Quran and then cares to teach it" motivated the Wangarawa traders to introduce Islam in Northern Nigeria.¹⁴⁹ Ozigi and Ocho did not share this view. They argued that it was the increasing bilateral trade between the traditional rulers of Northern Nigeria and their neighbouring cities which was responsible for the conversion of the rulers and their chiefs to Islam.¹⁵⁰ There is probably truth in both of these arguments.

However, while Islam remained the religion of traders in the cities, the native villagers continued with the practice of their traditional religion. Even the rulers who were converted to Islam retained some aspects of their traditional religion. According to Hiskett, the acceptance of Islam by the Hausa Kings was limited to the adoption of Islamic names, taking part in some Islamic rituals such as

the annual festivals, and the weekly 'Jumat' services on Fridays.¹⁵¹

Sagari and Boyd offered a similar explanation for the limited acceptance of Islam. They noted that the Kings concentrated on 'prestigious aspects of Islam' such as the ceremonial obligation mentioned by Hiskett above. They neglected the observance of Islamic rules on social behaviours and justice - that is the 'Sharia' Laws.¹⁵² Because of this attitude to Islam, Doi has described the Hausa Kings as 'part-time Muslims'.¹⁵³ This situation culminated in the Fulani 'Jihad' of 1804.

3.5.2 Background to the Jihad

While the un-Islamic practices continued, the immigrant clerics from Mali were still making converts among the indigenous people. In this way the numbers of indigenous Islamic scholars were growing in the major cities of Hausaland, particularly in Kano and Katsina. Gradually these local Islamic scholars, among them Shaik Jibril Umar - the teacher of Usman Dan Fodio - became intolerant of the practice of 'mixed Islam' among the Hausa Kings and their subjects. They started to write and preach against them. For example, Shaik Jibril Umar in one of his writings criticised the refusal of some Muslim women to put on Islamic robes and the veil and the mixing of opposite sexes in public dances and celebrations.¹⁵⁴ An extract from his criticism on Hausa Kings states:

Thus abandoning the Sharia and nakedness with women. And mingling with them in the same; and depriving the orphan, and having more than four wives is similar to it; in imitation of the ahl-al-jahiliya. Thus altering the laws without an interpretation from the chief men (Ulama). Thus also following (the opinions of) the ancestors in paganism without concealment. And thus adultery, and drinking wine, and manslaughter and the selling of freedom...¹⁵⁵

Into this mounting dissatisfaction was born Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in 1754. After a deep exposure to Islam and deeply influenced by Jibril Umar's writings, he began to preach against the un-Islamic attitudes of the Hausa Kings. He also wrote several books. One of these was entitled Masail al-Muhimma which according to Sulaiman was aimed at preparing the minds of 'true' Muslims for the Jihad.¹⁵⁶

Usman Dan Fodio was very clear about the aims of the Jihad. In his manifesto 'Wathigat ahl al Sudan'¹⁵⁷ addressed to 'all the people of Sudan' he set forth the following objectives for the Jihad:

1. To fight against an unbelieving King who has never in his life declared 'There is no deity but Allah' and to take the reins of government from him.
2. To fight against an unbelieving King who declares 'there is no deity but Allah' for the mere purpose of satisfying the established custom of the country but who in reality does not profess Islam, and to take the reins of government from him.
3. To fight against an apostate King who abandons Islam and reverts to unbelief, and to take the reins of government from him.
4. To fight against an apostate King who outwardly remains within the fold of Islam but who nevertheless, syncretizes the practices of Islam with the practices of unbelief (like most of the Hausa Kings) and to take the rein of government from him.¹⁵⁸

D.M. Last seems to have misunderstood these objectives:

...the Jihad of 1804 ... was probably less concerned with the Kufr (unbelief) of pagans than with the Kufr of those Muslims who opposed the Jihad.¹⁵⁹

The manifesto clearly suggests that the Jihad was concerned with non-Muslims as well as 'partial' Muslims.

3.5.3 The Process of Jihad

The Jihad was undertaken in three successive stages. The first step taken by Shehu Usman Dan Fodio was to educate his followers known as 'tajdid' (reformers). Sulaiman shows the significance of this step when he argues that the Shehu's followers needed to know Islam and commit themselves entirely to its beliefs and practices before fighting its cause.¹⁶⁰ In a bid to arrest the increasing numbers of Shehu's followers, Yunfa the Sultan (King) of Gobir started to persecute them. Some followers were either murdered, captured or sold into slavery. King Yunfa also sent a message to Shehu asking him to move out of Degel¹⁶¹ with his family and disperse his followers or else he would be destroyed. This situation led to the second stage of the Jihad process called 'Hijra' (flight).

Abdullahi, one of the military commanders of Shehu wrote:

So we fled from their land in the year 1218 A.H. on the 10th of Dhul Qada (Tuesday, 21 February 1804) to a place outside Gobir territory. The Muslims all fled, following us. Many of them joined us with their people; some came with no following at all.

Although Abdullahi did not specify exactly the place where they moved to, other writers such as Sulaiman and Hiskett have indicated that Shehu's group emigrated to Gudu.¹⁶³ There is no evidence to show whether the people at Gudu were fellow Muslims who supported the Jihad or even whether it was inhabited.

However, two fundamental reasons were offered by Usman Dan Fodio, for undertaking the Hijra. The first reason was to separate believers from unbelievers. The second reason was to provide an opportunity that would strengthen the solidarity of Muslims.¹⁶⁴

The emigration to Gudu was made compulsory for every Muslim in the community and it led to the formation of a new Islamic state.

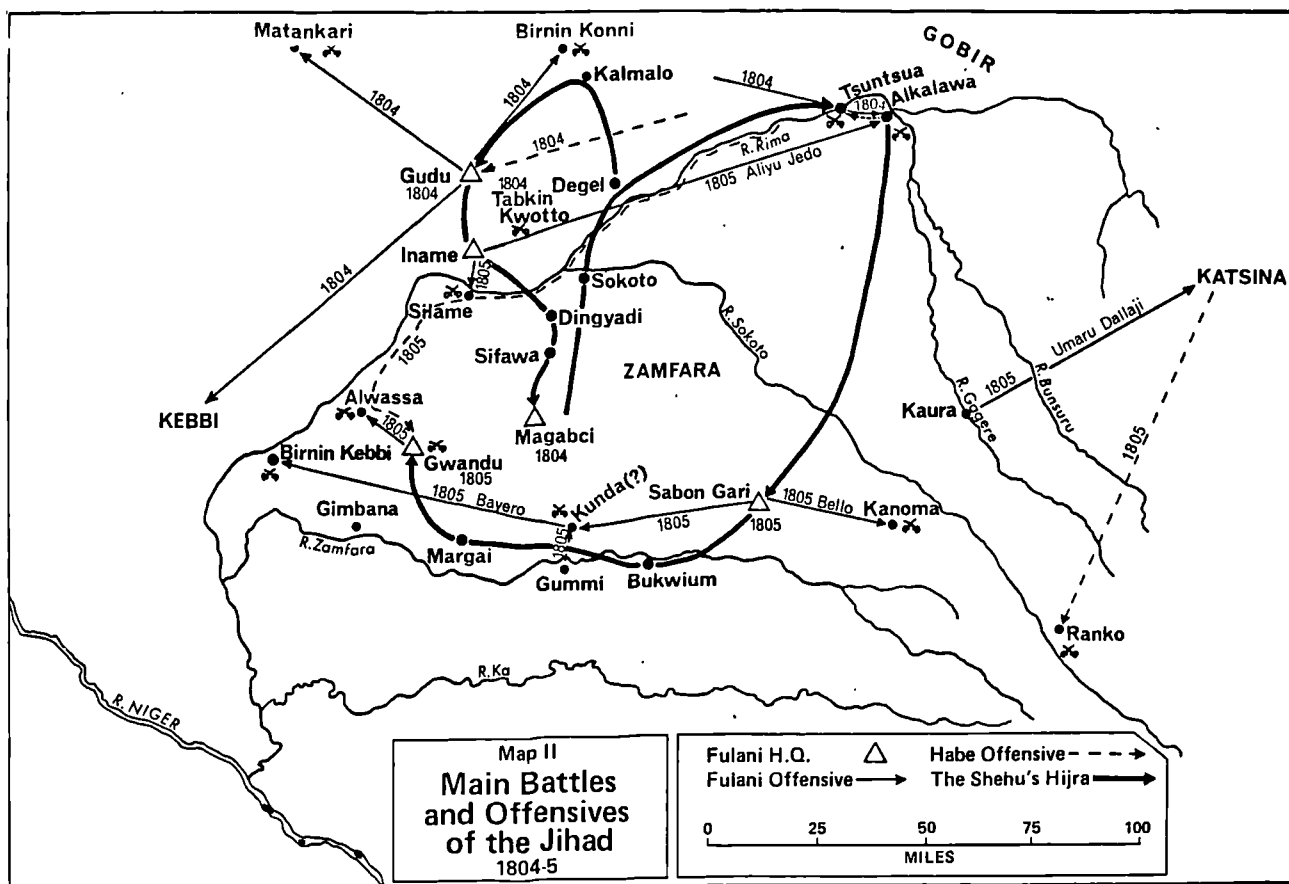
At Gudu the Muslim community formally appointed Usman Dan Fodio as leader of the new community. Therefore Hausaland became a territory with 'two rulers, two governments, two armies and two opposing orders'.¹⁶⁵

The last step in the Jihad process was the actual military struggle itself. The armed forces of Kung Yunfa fought the Muslim army for the first time at Tabkin Kwotto on 21st of June 1804. The Muslim side defeated the forces of King Yunfa otherwise known as 'the Gobirawa'.¹⁶⁶

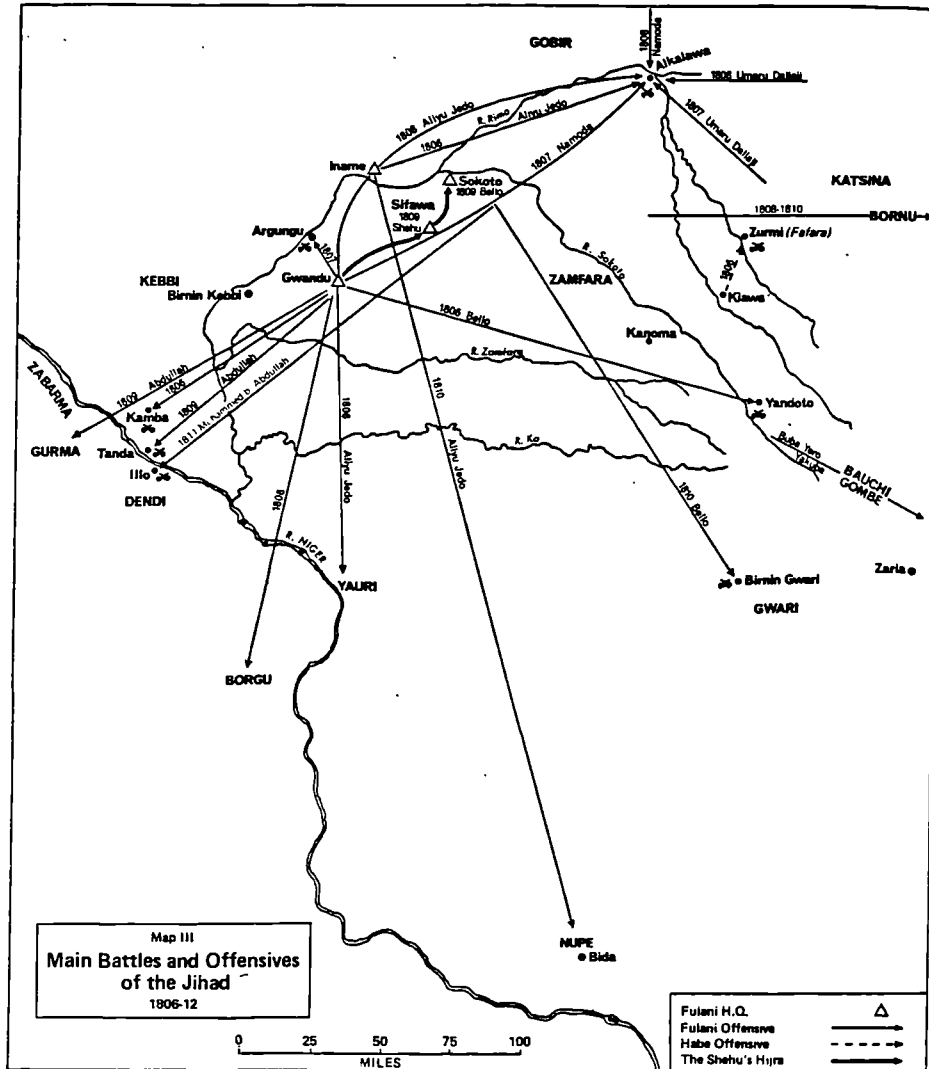
Other battles were fought at Tsuntsua, Alwassa, Matankari, Birnin, Konni and in several other places between the two forces.¹⁶⁷ In most of the battles the Gobirawa forces were defeated. The Muslim side attributed their

victory to the support of Allah whose cause they were fighting.¹⁶⁸

MAP 18 MAIN BATTLES OF THE JIHAD (1804-1805)



Source: Hiskett, M. (1973) The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, London: Oxford University Press, p.94.



Source: Hiskett, M. (1973) The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, London: Oxford University Press, p.95 .

While the followers of Shehu Dan Fodio were in the battle field, Shehu himself was persuading other Hausa Kings to support him in establishing an Islamic state. He succeeded in wresting Katsina, Daura, Kano, and Zamfara from the Hausa rulers.

Alkalawa, the capital of Gobir and the main stronghold of King Yunfa was finally defeated in September 1808 after several attempts. King Yunfa himself was slain. Thus the fall of Alkalawa marked the end of Hausa rule and ushered in the Fulani or Sokoto Caliphate.

In 1812, Shehu Usman Dan Fodio divided the newly formed Fulani Empire between his son Muhammad Bello and his brother Abdullah.¹⁶⁹

3.5.4 Growth in Northern Nigeria: Colonial Period to Independence

Islam made an appreciable growth in Nigeria during the colonial period.¹⁷⁰ However, the trends of development in Northern Nigeria are remarkably different from those in Southern Nigeria. There were greater advances in the North than in the South.

The Jihad of 1804 and the subsequent establishment of the Fulani Empire, did not lead to a complete Islamization of Northern Nigeria. Some parts of the Fulani Empire like Jos-Plateau, Ningi, Wasse, and Gwari are inhabited by adherents of traditional religion.¹⁷¹ An explanation for the presence of large numbers of non-Muslims is that the Jihad was primarily aimed at reforming Islam in the

territory rather than converting the non-Muslims.¹⁷²

Nonetheless, Islam made better progress during the colonial administration than in the period after. For example, in 1931, the Muslim population in Northern Nigeria was 66 per cent of the whole. By 1952, at the peak of colonial administration, it had increased to 73 per cent. In 1963, after independence, the Muslim population dropped to 71.8 per cent as shown in the table below:

TABLE 14

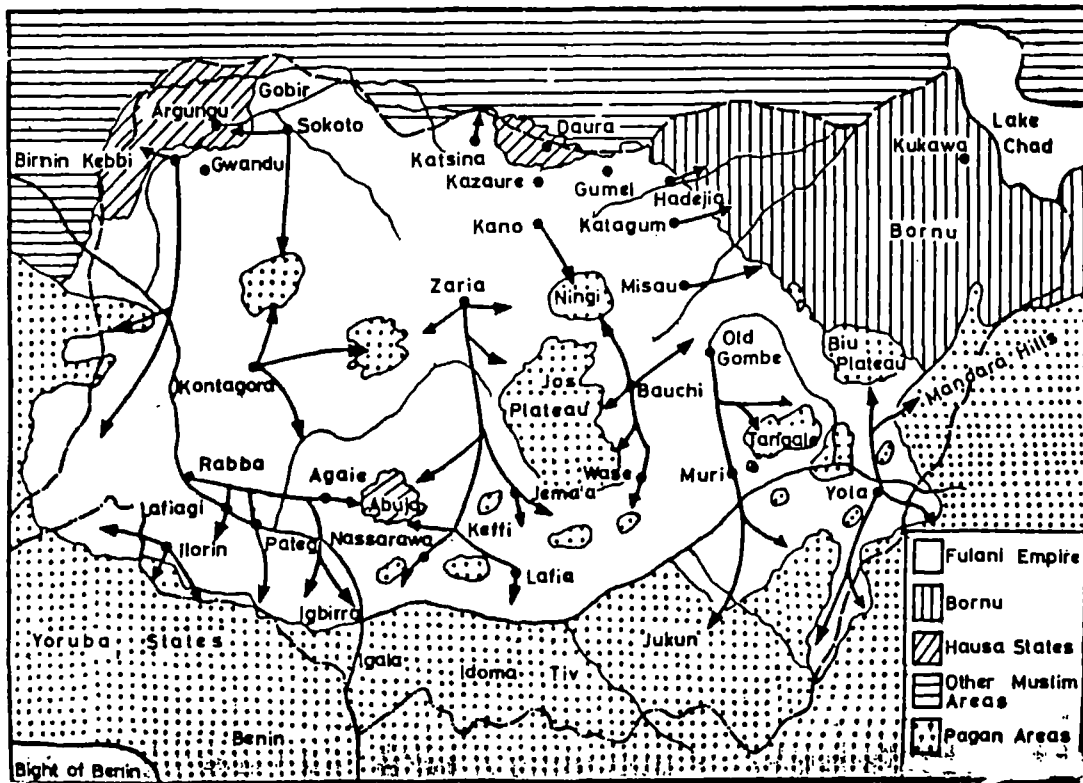
RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCES IN THE NORTHERN STATES OF NIGERIA

	Muslims	Christians	Pagans
1931	66.0	0.6	33.4
1952	73.0	2.7	24.3
1963	71.8	9.6	18.6

Crowder and Clarke and Linden identified colonial support as the major contributory factor to the success of Islam in Northern Nigeria, although they express their views differently.

Crowder gave two instances of the colonial support to the spread of Islam. First, he argued that the colonial powers made possible the conversion of the 'pagans' of Agungun who had resisted previous attempts.

A MAP OF THE FULANI EMPIRE SHOWING THE 'PAGAN' AREA



Source: Crampton, E.P. (1975) Christianity in Northern Nigeria, Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Ltd., p.11.

This argument failed to specify the actual role performed by the colonial government to facilitate the spread of Islam in 'Agungun'.

The second instance of colonial support was the restriction imposed on Christian missionaries working in Muslim territories.¹⁷⁶ This is referred to by Clarke and Linden,¹⁷⁷ yet there is want of evidence to show how the government's restriction on missionaries enhanced the progress of Islam in the area. Furthermore, there is the temptation to portray the colonial government as preferring Islam in this argument. An ordinary statement of restrictions on Christian missionaries without providing the circumstances that surround it may give a misleading picture. Lord Lugard explained the reasoning behind the government's decision to protect the Muslim territories from the interference of Christian missionaries, as a fulfilment of his pledge not to impose any religion on the Muslims:

I hold that it would be a misuse of the power and authority of the Government if that power were used to compel natives of the country to accept a mission which they resented and which they would not accept unless compelled by superior force.¹⁷⁸

In another context, he asserted:

I myself am of opinion that it is unwise and unjust to force missions upon the Mohammedan population for it must be remembered that without the moral support of the Government these missions would not be tolerated. And if they were established by order of the Government the people have some cause to disbelieve the emphatic pledges I have given that their religion shall in no way be interfered with.¹⁷⁹

Hence, this argument about the government's restrictions on Christian missionary efforts requires a great deal of supporting evidence if it is to be accepted.

In addition, Clarke and Linden argued that the colonial administration accelerated the progress of Islam in the territory by the provision of good communications and the establishment of new commercial centres:

The colonial infrastructure saw Muslim traders and clerics travelling into new areas taking their religion with them, to the Jos Plateau, Ijebu-Ode, Ibadan, Lagos, Onisha, Benin and Port Harcourt.¹⁸⁰

This is not to deny that the colonial government, through its policies, did provide opportunity for the spread of Islam. The argument is that such opportunities were not deliberately created to facilitate the spread of Islam.

3.5.5 Growth in Southern Nigeria

There is no agreement among scholars concerning the origin of Islam in Western Nigeria.

Gbadamosi and Doi¹⁸¹ suggested the seventeenth century as the date from which Islam entered Yorubaland. Other scholars such as Clarke and Linden argue a fifteenth century origin.¹⁸² These assumptions are difficult to reconcile in view of the absence of accurate information.

Islam did not achieve substantial progress in Southern Nigeria because of the strong influence of African Traditional Religion. For example, in the Mid-Western State

of Nigeria, the Muslim population was less than five per cent in 1931, 1952 and 1963.¹⁸³ In Warri - one of the major towns of the Mid-Western State - Muslims accounted for one per cent.¹⁸⁴

TABLE 15

RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCES IN MID-WESTERN STATE OF NIGERIA

(Percentages)

	Christians	Muslims	Pagans
BENIN			
1931	7.1	7.5	85.4
1952	24.5	7.1	68.4
1963	58.3	6.3	35.4
WARRI			
1931	4.5	0.1	95.4
1952	21.0	1.0	78.0
1963	50.0	1.0	49.0
TOTAL FOR MID-WESTERN STATE			
1931	5.9	4.0	90.0
1952	23.3	4.6	72.1
1963	54.9	4.2	40.9

TABLE 16

RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCES IN THE EASTERN STATES IN NIGERIA

	Muslims	Christians	Pagans
1931	0.35	16.28	83.37
1952	0.31	50.06	49.63
1963	0.30	77.20	22.50

Sources: Population Census of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, 1953, Lagos, 1954, Table C, pp.4-5.
Census Population of Nigeria, Lagos, 1963.

In the South-Eastern States of Nigeria, the situation is worse. The Muslim population was less than one per cent in 1931, 1952 and 1963.¹⁸⁵

It is only in the South-Western States of Nigeria, that Islam made substantial advances. As Table 17 shows, the Muslim population in 1952 and 1963 was 41.5 and 42.4 per cent respectively.

TABLE 17
RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCES OF THE WESTERN STATES (1963 CENSUS)
 (Percentages)

Province	1952	1963	1952	1963	1952	1963
Abeokuta	32.4	34.0	48.6	54.3	19.0	11.7
Ijebu	40.2	44.5	48.6	50.8	14.4	4.7
Ibadan	28.3	32.2	58.2	62.4	13.5	5.4
Oyo	41.7	46.6	30.5	41.8	27.8	11.6
Ondo	67.6	78.6	11.2	12.3	21.1	9.1
Colony	43.7	--	52.1	--	3.2	--
TOTAL	40.5	49.3	41.5	42.4	17.9	8.3

Source: Population Censuses of Nigeria 1952-53, Table Western State of Nigeria, Statistical Digest, Ibadan Table 11, p.13.

By 1963 much of Colony Province had been absorbed into the newly created Lagos State which covered a larger area than the former Lagos Colony.

Clarke and Linden offer an explanation for the rapid growth of Islam in the Western States. They attributed the population increases partly to the abolition of the slave

trade in which freed Muslim slaves from Brazil and Sierra Leone returned home.¹⁸⁶

It is difficult to give too much weight to this evidence in the absence of precise statistical data and in the knowledge that many of the freed slaves were Christianized before their return.¹⁸⁷

3.5.6 The Growth of Islam in Nigeria Since Independence

The numerical strength of Islam continued to grow in post-independence Nigeria. A major achievement of this period was the creation of National Organisations.

Since Independence several Islamic Organisations were created. The two most prominent are:

(i) Jam'atu Nasril Islam (J.N.I.) -
Society for the Victor of Islam

This Organisation was established in 1962 by the late Sadauna of Sokoto - Sir Ahmadu Bello. The aims of J.N.I. are recorded differently.

In the account of Doi, the setting up of J.N.I. was motivated by an increasing demand for Islamic education. The objective of J.N.I. was to provide a combination of Western and Islamic education:

Within the ranks of orthodox Muslims, a number of organisations sprang up especially to develop western derived education within a Muslim context. The two most dynamic and the largest of these Organisations are the Jamaat Nasril Islam ... and the Ansar-ud-Deen Society.¹⁸⁸

In contrast, Clarke and Linden asserted that the aim was to foster unity among Muslims in Northern Nigeria:

The base from which Ahmadu Bello worked was ... the unity of Usman Dan Fodio's Caliphate. His chosen means for forging unity were the Jama'atu Nasril Islam, ...¹⁸⁹

Both aims are correct. In an interview with the Secretary General of the Organisation, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki mentioned that the J.N.I. was established to help people understand and propagate Islam and bring various organisations under a single umbrella.¹⁹⁰

The organisation has made a tremendous impact in the development of Nigerian Islam. For example, Alhaji Dasuki said that before the government take-over of schools from voluntary bodies, no less than fifty schools in Sokoto were owned by the J.N.I.¹⁹¹ Similarly in the Islamization of Nigeria, Alhaji Dasuki disclosed that more than five hundred Ibos were converted to Islam during his 1973 tour of the area.¹⁹²

(ii) Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs

In August 1973, a Conference for the Unity of all Nigerian Muslims was held at Kaduna. It was attended by representatives of Muslim organizations from all over the country. The Conference culminated in the setting up of a Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs. The objectives of the Council are:

To cater for and protect the interest of Islam throughout the Federation; to serve as a channel of contact with the governments of Nigeria on Islamic affairs; and, to serve as the only channel of contact on Islamic matters.¹⁹³

The Council is made up of four members from each state of Nigeria and it is headed by Sir Abubakar, the Sultan of Sokoto.

Since its inception, the Council has been able to promote uniformity in certain Islamic observances. Thus, it has fixed common dates for Ramadan and 'Idal-Fitri (New Year Festival).

Overall, Islamic religion and culture is more widespread in Northern than in Southern Nigeria.

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CHAPTER FOUR

CHRISTIANITY IN NIGERIA

4.1 Introduction

The advent of Christianity in Nigeria precipitated both religious and cultural change. Archdeacon Ayandele observed that with the coming of Christian missionaries, an intrusion was made into the social and political life of Nigerians.¹ Similarly, Crowder argued:

...the Christian missionaries preached not only a new religion but a revolutionary social ethic.²

The missionaries, through their strategies of conversion, such as the 'school approach' and the 'gathered-colony' approach in which slaves were purchased and brought up in mission houses, launched a frontal attack on the traditional culture of Nigeria. The western system of education, which was introduced by the missionaries, created an elite group with values that contradicted the egalitarian principles of traditional Nigerian society.³ Yet the encounter with Christian missionaries also yielded positive results. For instance, the Christians struggled to discourage elements of human degradation in the traditional culture like the killing of twins and human sacrifice.⁴

As Awolalu rightly pointed out:

Before the advent of Christianity and Western culture, it was a dreadful, almost tragic, thing for a woman to have twins (Ibeji); such children were regarded as abnormal and one of them used to

be killed immediately. But with the advent of Christianity and Western education, this nefarious practice has stopped.⁵

Naturally, there is considerable diversity of opinion regarding the contribution of western Christianity to Nigerian culture.

Means, for instance held that 'Christianity seems to contribute only to dissolution'.⁶

The introduction of western education in Nigeria by the Christian missionaries and the colonial administration was responsible for the establishment of key European institutions of a political, legal, social and economic character. Unfortunately, these institutions are portrayed as agents of Christianity. According to Means:

... the African, Nigerian or otherwise, tends to regard all aspects of Westernism - political, economic, social, legal, religious, or cultural, racial, personal actions and patterns - as representations of Christianity.⁷

This is perhaps an imperfect judgement. European values and Christianity were closely intertwined in nineteenth century thinking. Yet there is a sharp difference between 'State' and 'religion' in Christianity.⁸

The main focus of this chapter is to trace the origin of Christianity from its inception to the period when it was introduced into Nigeria. This analysis will explain the striking differences between Christian beliefs and practices, and the European culture.

4.2 The Life and Teachings of Jesus

4.2.1 The Problem of Sources

Information about the life and teachings of Jesus are mainly available from the Gospels and a few other extra-canonical sources provided by Jewish and Roman writers. The credibility of all these sources has been widely doubted by ancient and modern scholars.

The first Jewish evidence was provided by Flavius Josephus (37-100 A.D.?) In one of his two references about Jesus, he mentioned the execution of James whom he referred to as the brother of Jesus called Christ.⁹ This passage only suggests the existence of the historical Jesus. The other passage on Jesus is more extensive:

About this time there lived Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one ought to call him a man. For he was one who wrought surprising feats and was a teacher of such people as accept the truth gladly. He won over many Jews and many of the Greeks. He was the Messiah. When Pilate, upon hearing him accused by men of the highest standing amongst us, had condemned him to be crucified, those who had in the first place come to love him did not give up their affection for him. On the third day he appeared to them restored to life, for the prophets of God had prophesied these and countless other marvellous things about him. And the tribe of the Christians, so called after him, has still to this day not disappeared.¹⁰

Most scholars regarded part of the passage as a Christian interpolation. It was asserted that the details about Christ's Messiahship and resurrection could not have come from Josephus who was not a Christian.¹¹ Feldmann, after a survey of recent studies on the passage claimed that

much of the passage was probably correct because it resembled Josephus' style of writing elsewhere.¹²

Whatever the degree of authority, Josephus' testimony provides little information about Jesus.

Another important Jewish source on Jesus is the Talmud.¹³ The aspect relating to Jesus is the Tannaim.¹⁴

Klausner, a Jewish scholar summarized the important Talmudic references to Jesus:

There are reliable statements to the effect that his name was Yeshu'a (Jesus) of Nazareth; that he 'practiced sorcery' (i.e. performed miracles, as was usual in those days) and beguiled and led Israel astray; that he mocked at the words of the Wise (the official scribes who interpreted the Law); that he expounded scripture in the same manner as the Pharisees; that he had five disciples; that he said he was not come to take aught away from the Law or to add to it; that he was hanged (crucified) as a false teacher and beguiler on the eve of Passover which happened on a sabbath; and that his disciples healed the sick in his name.¹⁵

It is agreed that the Talmudic account is a strong evidence for the existence of Jesus.¹⁶ However, it offers little information that is not contained in the gospels, which made it of little historical value.¹⁷

Information on Jesus from the Roman writers comes from Pliny the Younger (62-113 A.D.); Suetonius (75-160 A.D.); and Tacitus (60-120 A.D.)

Pliny, who was governor of Bithynia in Asia Minor around 110 A.D., wrote to emperor Trajan requesting advice on how to deal with Christians whose numbers and influence were rising in the area at that time.¹⁸ Pliny also

mentioned that these Christians met regularly and sang hymns 'to Christ as if to a god'.¹⁹

Although this account is about early Christianity in the area, yet the phrase 'as if to a god' is suggestive of Pliny's knowledge of the human nature of Jesus. Hence it adds to the evidence on the existence of Jesus.

Suetonius, another historian, mentioned that emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.) expelled the Jews from Rome as a result of a riot instigated by someone called Chrestos. The connection between this evidence and Jesus Christ is highly speculative. Duling explained that the event mentioned by Suetonius occurred around 51 A.D. Therefore the assumption that Jesus instigated the disturbance obscured the credibility of this account.²⁰ However, most scholars saw the name 'Chrestos' as a variant spelling of the Latin name 'Christus', and therefore claimed Suetonius' account was referring to Jesus Christ.²¹ Despite this reconciliation, Suetonius' evidence offers very little for a historical account of Jesus.

The evidence from Tacitus described the Christians as those who received their name from Christ who was executed by the order of Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius. Writing about the burning of Rome during the reign of emperor Nero, he stated:

Neither human help, ... could stifle scandal or dispel the belief that the fire had taken place by order, i.e. of Nero ... Nero substituted as culprits and punished with the utmost refinements of cruelty, a class of men loathed for their

vices, whom the crowd styled Christians. Christus, the founder of the name, had undergone the death penalty in the reign of Tiberius, by sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilate, and the pernicious superstition was checked for a moment, only to break out once more, not merely in Judea, the home of the disease, but in the capital itself, ...²²

Scholars are unanimous, that though Tacitus' evidence is the most vivid and solid piece of information about Jesus from a Roman writer, yet it offered no new information from the gospel.²³

All the extra-canonical accounts gave very little information on the life and teachings of Jesus. However, they were significant in providing independent testimony for the existence of Jesus, which scholars like Smith and Wells have doubted.²⁴

In the four Gospels, there are different and contradictory accounts of Jesus. Two portrayals of Jesus have emerged. One by the Synoptic Gospels (Mark, Luke and Matthew) which in themselves presented diversities of details, and the other by the Gospel of John.

Since the late eighteenth century, the issue of how to reconcile the Gospel evidence for the purpose of writing a biography of Jesus dominated the minds of theologians and New Testament scholars. These efforts later became known as 'the quest of the historical Jesus'.

Reimarus, a German Professor of Oriental Languages at Hamburg University started the efforts. In his seventh 'Fragment' published in 1778 after his death, he made a distinction between Jesus as portrayed by the Gospels and

Jesus of history.²⁵ He argued that the Gospels' description of Jesus as a spiritual messiah who died and was resurrected for the sins of human beings, were falsely interpolated by their authors. Instead, he explained that Jesus in his earthly ministry, understood himself to be a political or Kingly messiah appointed by God. But he died unexpectedly without achieving this goal.²⁶

In the early twentieth century, Schweitzer a doctor of medicine and a biblical scholar also rejected the Gospel accounts of Jesus.

The Jesus of Nazareth who came forward publicly as the Messiah, who preached the ethic of the Kingdom of God, who founded the Kingdom of heaven upon earth, and died to give his work its final consecration, never had any existence. He is a figure designed by rationalism, endowed with life by liberalism, and clothed by modern theology in an historical garb.²⁷

Wrede, another German scholar, claimed that some portions of the Gospels where Jesus advised some of his followers who were cured not to disclose his Messiahship, were a Christian fabrication.²⁸

Kasemann also criticized the Gospels for not presenting their information about Jesus in a chronological sequence. Therefore he felt it was impossible to construct a biography of Jesus in the manner in which the Gospels were organised.²⁹

Among more modern scholars who doubted the authenticity of the Gospel evidence were Riesenfeld, Baker and Knox.

According to Riesenfeld:

The picture of Jesus given in the Gospels is ... not true to reality. Rather it is the result of later correction.³⁰

Another contemporary commentator was Baker, who stated:

If it could ever be proved that the Gospels consisted throughout of completely accurate material for a biography of Jesus, the traditional Christian faith would collapse in ruins.³¹

Like his colleagues, Baker based his opinion on some differences which exist in the Gospel records. In one of his illustrations, he cited the story of the rich young man who went to Jesus to find out the 'secret of eternal life'. This story was portrayed differently in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew. In Mark's account it read:

'Good Teacher, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' So Jesus said to him, 'Why do you call me good? No one is good but one, that is God'.³²

This passage appeared in Matthew's Gospel as:

'Master what good deed must I do to have eternal life?' Jesus replied: 'Why do you ask me about what is good ...'³³

Baker pointed out that in copying from Mark, Matthew altered the story to suggest a divine portrait of Jesus. He argued:

The statement that only God is good is retained, but given a different function in the argument. Now God's goodness is not blatantly contrasted with that of Jesus, but is the justification for referring the inquirer to the Ten Commandments.³⁴

Other examples cited by Baker as Matthew's alteration of Mark's Gospel were the story of Jesus' Baptism³⁵ and Jesus' sayings on divorce.³⁶

Knox in his own criticism of the Gospels, said:

There is much in them which is more likely to have arisen out of the life and faith of the first Christians than to come directly from Jesus himself.³⁷

However, despite these criticisms of the Gospels, Dodd regarded them as valuable:

We have no right to distrust any of the Gospel statements unless there is good cause. There is no reason to doubt the essential accuracy of Jesus in the picture offered by the Gospels ...³⁸

By and large, most scholars were agreed that both biblical and non-biblical sources on Jesus do not provide accurate information.

4.2.2 An Outline of the Birth of Jesus

The infancy narratives of Jesus are contained in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

The account of Luke spoke of Jesus' birth by a virgin named Mary whom the angel Gabriel visited and told:

... The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Highest will overshadow you; therefore, also, that holy one who is to be born will be called the Son of God.³⁹

Here, the virgin conception has not occurred. By contrast, in the story of Matthew, the virgin Mary had already conceived a child when an angel appeared to Joseph, her betrothed.⁴⁰

Both Gospels claimed that Jesus was born in the city of Bethlehem in Judea, although they do so in differing ways.

There was no precise information about when Jesus was born. The Gospels of Matthew and Luke suggested he was born during the reign of Herod the Great as King of Judea.⁴¹ It was claimed Herod reigned from 37 B.C. - 4 B.C.⁴² Luke further linked Jesus' birth to a census decreed by Caesar Augustus (27 B.C. - 14 B.C.)⁴³

Apart from the evidence on birth, the Synoptic Gospels made no mention of the childhood and adolescent life of Jesus except one event recorded in Luke. Jesus, at the age of twelve went to Jerusalem with his parents for the 'feast of the Passover' during which he astonished the religious leader with his understanding of the scriptures.⁴⁴

The Synoptic Gospels presented the baptism of Jesus in the river Jordan by John the Baptist as his first public act.⁴⁵ Luke suggested that Jesus was thirty years old when he began his ministry.⁴⁶

4.2.3 The Main Teachings of Jesus

It is difficult to find one central theme in all the teachings of Jesus, because there were many aspects of his teaching concerning the relationship of God to Man; Man to

God; and Man to Man.⁴⁷ For example, a passage from the Book of Isaiah, claimed to have been read by Jesus in Luke's Gospel stated:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because He has anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.⁴⁸

Undoubtedly, this passage suggests a multi-purpose mission of Christ. However, there is a general agreement among scholars that the proclamation of the Kingdom of God was the central focus of Jesus.⁴⁹

Efforts to discover Jesus' understanding of the Kingdom of God commenced in the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ One of the issues prominently addressed in western scholarship was the timing of the Kingdom of God. The discussion sought to establish whether it was only present, or future, or both in Jesus' understanding. This concern might have been influenced by the obscurity of the Gospel records. The Synoptic Gospels presented Jesus' sayings of the Kingdom as a present reality and a future expectation.⁵¹

There are divergent opinions on the timing of the Kingdom in Jesus' teachings. Schweitzer was influential in arguing for a futuristic interpretation.⁵² He argued that Jesus eschatological teachings can only be interpreted in the Jewish apocalyptic context. He meant that Jesus' sayings about the Kingdom of God were similar to those of the Old Testament prophets. Hence he described Jesus' view

as a 'consistent eschatology'.⁵³ The basis of his argument was that Jesus' teachings about the Kingdom included an apocalyptic timetable. He cited a passage in Matthew's Gospel where Jesus sent out his disciples to warn the people against the tribulation that would come with the Kingdom.⁵⁴ But when the Kingdom failed to arrive, he said, Jesus took the final tribulation by dying on the cross.⁵⁵

He who one day shall reign over the believers as messiah now humbles himself under them and serves them by giving his life as a ransom for many in order that the Kingdom may dawn upon them.⁵⁶

Schweitzer's interpretation of the Kingdom was in line with his idea about Jesus whom he claimed was not a modern man but someone whose life and mission was only significant for his time and not for later generations.

An influential scholar who perceived Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom as a present reality was Dodd.⁵⁷ He pointed out that in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Jesus spoke of the Kingdom as having already come.⁵⁸ Therefore he sought to establish the use of the phrase 'realised eschatology' in order to free the understanding of the Kingdom of God from apocalyptic terminology.⁵⁹

Kummel also saw the Kingdom as present in Jesus' ministry:

... an unbiased critical examination of the relevant texts shows unequivocally that Jesus counted on the nearness of the future reign of God, a future confined to his own generation ... Jesus' proclamation of the near reign of God actually implies a temporally near event ...⁶⁰

The second teaching of Jesus was an ethical one. It flowed from his teaching on God's Kingdom. After teaching about the fatherhood of God in which he describes the mercy of God, Jesus enjoined his followers to emulate God's mercy by showing unconditional love to one another. His moral teachings based on love, mercy and justice contradicted the Jewish law on retaliation. For example, in the Old Testament, a passage from the book of Leviticus stated:

If a man causes disfigurement of his neighbour as he has done, so shall it be done to him - fracture for fracture, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; as he had caused disfigurement of a man, so shall it be done to him.⁶¹

Another passage from the book of Deuteronomy stated:

Your eye shall not pity; but life shall be for life; eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.⁶²

In contrast to these, Jesus said:

You have heard that it was said. 'An eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth'. But I tell you not to resist an evil person. But whoever slaps you on your right cheek, turn the other to him also.⁶³

Scholars have reacted differently to the moral teachings of Jesus. Some argued that Jesus' ethics were incomplete and contradictory. With respect to its incompleteness, Robinson argued that it did not include human values such as truth and knowledge. Also, there was no provision for social ethics apart from the discussions on divorce.⁶⁴

Similarly, in the opinion of Knox, Jesus' ethics in the Gospels did not include practical guidance necessary for communal living.⁶⁵

Cadbury also argued:

Jesus laid down no rules to be universally applied, his teaching was casual and illustrative, ad hoc and particular.⁶⁶

Those who criticized Jesus' ethics as incomplete have probably divorced ethics from his teachings on eschatology.

In Davies' explanation, Jesus did not promulgate a series of rules because he believed moral living was 'the spontaneous activity of a transformed character'. In other words, those who qualify for the Kingdom of God do not need a detailed code of conduct but will naturally live a moral life.⁶⁷

With respect to contradiction, Robinson wrote:

We cannot give material help to our neighbours because the law of piety demands improvidence and poverty. We cannot take family love very seriously because it may interfere with our devotions. Any two rules of conduct will conflict in some cases, and it seems quite clear that Jesus' first two rules must conflict very often.⁶⁸

Robinson probably misunderstood Jesus' ideas here. Firstly, it is doubtful whether Jesus' teaching on devotion to God implied poverty. His instructions to his disciples not to take more than one coat for instance,⁶⁹ implied that his disciples should not put material interest over their devotion to God. Secondly, material help is not the only

way of expressing love to one's neighbour.

Other scholars argued that Jesus' ethical teaching was only valid for his time and not for all ages.

For Schweitzer Jesus' ethical teachings were intended to prepare the people of his time for a future Kingdom of God. Hence he called Jesus' teaching an 'interim ethic'.⁷⁰

Others with similar opinions were Sanders⁷¹ and Bultmann.⁷²

In sum, these varied interpretations have not been able to remove the obscurity that surrounded Jesus' teachings.

4.3 Origin and Development of Early Christianity

4.3.1 The Beginning of Christianity

After his resurrection, Jesus appeared to different groups of disciples in Jerusalem and Galilee at different times. He enjoined his disciples to pass on his teachings to every 'creature'.⁷³

In the gospel of Luke and The Acts of the Apostles, it was further claimed that Jesus advised the disciples to wait in Jerusalem for the gift of the Holy Spirit before embarking on their missionary work.⁷⁴ This promise was made manifest during the Jewish 'festival of Shavout'.⁷⁵ The disciples were infused with different spiritual gifts such as the power of wisdom, knowledge, prophecy and the ability to teach and perform miracles. Prior to this event, Jesus' disciples had been holding prayer meetings in anticipation of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁶ This account is in contrast to

Hopfe's assumption that the disciples banded together out of fear to sharing Jesus' faith.⁷⁷ Thus the disciples, by meeting and sharing their faith in Jesus Christ gradually became a new sect within Judaism, though they continued with their normal Jewish practices such as worshipping in the temple using the Torah and following the Jewish liturgy. However temple attendance was supplemented by home gatherings to hear the Apostles and to break bread (Holy Communion).⁷⁸

The conversion of Paul⁷⁹ from Judaism to Christianity, marked a significant turning point in the life of the early Christian church at Jerusalem. Paul, who was originally a Jewish persecutor of the Christians, had a vision while on his way to persecute the Christians at Damascus. This vision affected in him a drastic conversion.⁸⁰ After his conversion, he travelled across the Roman empire preaching the gospel of Christ, first to the Jews and after to the Gentiles. Paul initiated the movement which allowed the Gentiles to become Christians without first becoming Jews. Paul believed that the proclamation of the gospel should be universal and not limited to the Jews. Therefore, with Paul, early Christianity changed dramatically from being a Jewish sect to a universal religion.

4.3.2 Persecution of Early Christian Church

The early Christian church witnesses sporadic persecutions during the period between 64 A.D. and 330 A.D.

The first official persecutions of the Christians came from Emperor Nero in 64 A.D. following a week long fire in Rome.⁸¹ Tacitus stated that Nero persecuted the Christians in an attempt to shift the blame for the great fire in Rome from himself:

In order to counteract the rumour (that blamed Nero for the fire) he brought forward as the guilty ones men hated for their crimes and called Christians by the people, and punished them with the most exquisite torments ... First a few were taken who made confessions; then on their indications an enormous throng, who were not accused directly of the crime of arson but of hatred of humanity. Their execution became a pastime; they were covered with the skins of wild beasts and then torn to pieces by dogs, or they were crucified, or prepared for burning and set on fire as soon as it was dark, to give light in the night ... Although these were criminals who deserved the severest punishments, sympathy arose for them as (sic) being sacrificed not so much for the general good but to satisfy the rage of an individual.⁸²

This description captured the severe persecution suffered by early Christians.

Following the example of Nero, other emperors who persecuted the Christians before the third century were Domitian (81-96 A.D.); and Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.)⁸³

By the third century, a widespread and severe persecution of all Christians started. Emperor Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.) passed an edict forbidding both Christians and Jews to convert any Roman citizen to their faiths.⁸⁴

After Severus, Christians were left alone until 249 A.D. when Decius (249-251 A.D.) became the Emperor. Every

citizen was ordered to declare that he worshipped the state-gods. Those who refused suffered death. These persecutions continued until 260 A.D. when Christians were left alone for forty years.⁸⁵

Diocletian (284-305 A.D.) started the greatest persecution on 23 February, 303 A.D. when he issued the first edict ordering the seizure of all church buildings, properties, and all sacred books to be burnt. The aim was to crush Christianity.⁸⁶ A second edict ordered the imprisonment of the clergy. It was prompted by a rumour that Christians were trying to overthrow the government in the district of Melitene and in Syria. The third edict was issued by Galerius in 304 A.D. It offered freedom to the clergy if they could sacrifice to the gods, otherwise they would be tortured.⁸⁷ A clear description of the tortures inflicted on Christians in Tyre, Palestine and Egypt was recorded in the work of Hyde:

... bodies were torn with sharp shards, women completely nude were fastened by one foot and swung aloft with heads downwards, and men were tied by their legs to the bent branches of trees in Persian fashion which when released tore them asunder. In Egypt as many as one hundred victims perished in a day and the slaughter was kept up intermittently for years.⁸⁸

The fourth edict was issued in the east in the spring of 304 A.D. It ordered all the people in the cities to offer sacrifices to the gods or face the death penalty.⁸⁹

Persecutions of Christians continued in the east until 311 A.D. when Galerius issued an imperial clemency which

permitted Christians to live and practise their religion.⁹⁰ In early 313 A.D. another edict known as the 'Edict of Milan' was claimed to have been jointly issued by Constantine who became emperor of the west in 312 A.D. and Licinius.⁹¹

Bayne and Hyde, however, argued that the edict of Milan, if it ever existed, would have been a rescript of the first edict issued in 311 A.D.⁹² Hyde claimed that there is no evidence for it except a letter addressed by Licinius in that year to a governor ordering him to popularise the first edict in his province.⁹³

However, the two edicts did not make Christianity the state religion. It only legislated and popularised it.⁹⁴ In 380 A.D., during the reign of Theodosius (379-395), Christianity finally became the official religion of the Roman empire. The edict stated:

It is our desire that all the various nations which are subject to our clemency and moderation, should continue in the profession of that religion which was delivered to the Romans by the divine Apostle Peter, as it hath been preserved by faithful tradition; and which is now professed by the Pontiff Damasus and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the apostolic teaching and the doctrine of the gospel, let us believe the one deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in equal majesty and in a holy Trinity. We authorize the followers of this law to assume the title of Catholic Christians; but as for the others, since, in our judgement, they are foolish madmen, we decree that they shall be branded with the ignominious name of heretics, and shall not presume to give to their conventicles the name of churches. They will suffer in the first place the chastisement of the divine condemnation, and in the second the punishment which our authority, in accordance with the will of heaven, shall decide to inflict.⁹⁵

Hence, despite the great persecutions, Christianity eventually triumphed.

Scholars seeking to identify the remote causes for the Christian persecutions have offered political, sociological and economic arguments. At the political level, Barnard and Hyde point out that the refusal of early Christians to accept the official Roman gods and join other Romans in the yearly sacrifice to the Emperor was seen as an act of rebellion and sacrilege.⁹⁶ At the sociological level, Christianity was believed to be a secret society which was opposed to the Roman law.⁹⁷ The economic argument concerned the preaching of Paul that 'there were no gods made with hands'. As a result, temples of Bithynia were deserted, the sales of metal shrines of Diana collapsed. Therefore, hostility towards the Christians was aroused from the silversmiths.⁹⁸

These are independent arguments and therefore should be regarded as speculations.

4.4 The Introduction of Christianity in Nigeria

4.4.1 The First Missionary Attempt

This discussion of the first missionary effort in Nigeria is based on several scholarly works. The most valuable ones are those of Ryder, Ajayi and Tasie.⁹⁹

Ryder's work was the product of a research project on Benin History and Culture which began in 1956.¹⁰⁰ He obtained his information from European documentary

materials, oral traditions of the people of Benin, and from anthropologists and archaeologists who worked on the project.

The other two scholars, Ajayi and Tasié used Ryder's work as one of their sources.

The first missionary endeavour in Nigeria was by Catholic priests from the diocese of Lisbon in Portugal.¹⁰¹

The exact date for the introduction of Christianity has been a matter of dispute. Isichei, Ajayi, and Ryder suggested 1515, and Umokhai mentioned a period after 1472.¹⁰² These disparities can be explained by the fact that there is a general chronological problem in dating early Benin history.¹⁰³

The author of the missionary endeavour was initially King John II of Portugal (1481-1495). He sent missionaries, along with Portuguese merchants, to trade with and evangelise the Kingdom of Benin in Nigeria. Prior to this, Portugal had the monopoly of trade and evangelism over Africa.¹⁰⁴ On arrival, trade relations were established involving pepper, ivory, gold, and slaves. But the conversion of Ozolua, King of Benin and his people, could not be achieved owing to lack of interest by Ozolua.¹⁰⁵

It was Esigie, another King of Benin who requested missionaries from King Manuel of Portugal along with firearms. An extract of the reply from King Manuel read as follows:

... Therefore, with a very good will we send you the clergy that you have asked for; ... when we see that you have embraced the teachings of Christianity like a good faithful Christian, there will be nothing in our realms with which we shall not be glad to favour you, whether it be arms or cannon and all other weapons of war for use against your enemies; of such things we have a great store, ... These things we are not sending you now, as he requested, because the law of God forbids it ...¹⁰⁶

When they arrived in Benin in August 1515, the King was on the battlefield and therefore had no time to attend to them. On his return, a year later, he requested that one of his sons and others of his chiefs be baptised and taught to read. Subsequently, he returned to the battlefield.¹⁰⁷ The intention was that, after the conversion of the King, the Kingdom would become Christian.¹⁰⁸

This idea of massive conversion through the medium of the political authority of the ruler of the state was the main missionary strategy known to the authorities in Lisbon and thus was expected to work in the Benin Kingdom.¹⁰⁹

However, this approach failed to convert the Oba of Benin and his subjects. Many factors were responsible for this. First, this King, by virtue of his royal position,¹¹⁰ assumed the leadership of all indigenous religions in his Kingdom. In other words, the responsibility placed on him by ATR would have made it impossible to convert him even if he had any interest in the new religion.¹¹¹

A high mortality rate among the missionaries due to malaria also militated against the success of Portuguese missionary efforts in Nigeria.¹¹²

4.4.2 The Second Missionary Attempt

4.4.2.1 Background

The second missionary endeavour in Nigeria was the aftermath of a complex process in Britain. A brief analysis of this process will explain the impetus for the missionary zeal in Nigeria.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century an evangelical revival of Christianity developed throughout Europe which ultimately led to the establishment of missionary societies.¹¹³ The most prominent of the British ones were:¹¹⁴

Society	Year of Foundation
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society	1813
Baptist Missionary Society	1792
London Missionary Society	1795
Presbyterian Missionary Society	1795
Church Missionary Society	1799

The prime purpose in establishing these societies was the evangelisation of Africa and Asia.¹¹⁵

Apart from the evangelical movement there were also the development of Humanitarian groups in response to the pathetic conditions of slaves. These two movements (Evangelical and Humanitarian) combined to form an anti-slavery movement which subsequently succeeded in persuading the British government to abolish the slave trade in 1807.¹¹⁶ However, despite the legal prohibition, slaves

continued to be shipped from Africa to other European countries such as Portugal, Spain, France, and America. Therefore, naval ships were sent to the Atlantic Ocean to capture ships carrying slaves and set free their slaves.¹¹⁷ Many such slaves were resettled in Freetown, Sierra Leone.¹¹⁸ The majority of these ex-slaves came from Southern Nigeria and it was to them that the message of Christianity was first preached.¹¹⁹ However, Ajayi has stated that not all of them were converted to Christianity. Some remained Muslims and others continued to adhere to traditional religions.¹²⁰

Buxton, a prominent evangelist and a leader of the anti-slavery movement suggested three things that could stop slavery from its source of supply in Africa. They were commerce, civilisation, and Christianity. He argued:

We must elevate the minds of her people and call forth the resources of her soil ... Let missionaries and schoolmasters, the plough and the spade go together and agriculture will flourish ... confidence between man and man will be inspired, whilst civilisation will advance as the natural effect and Christianity operate as the proximate cause of this happy change.¹²¹

This was the origin of Buxton's concept of 'Bible and the Plough'.¹²²

As a working strategy, he suggested that the British government should carry out pioneer expeditions through the large waterways into the interior of Africa to persuade and enter into treaties with chiefs. Such preparation would stimulate investments from industrialists and merchants.

Buxton's ideas were accepted by the British government. In 1841 the 'Niger Expedition'¹²³ was commissioned. Earlier in 1830, the mouth of the River Niger was discovered by the 'Lander Brothers' who were supported by a group of merchants anxious to trade with interior West Africa.¹²⁴ Therefore, it was not difficult for the government to harness the evangelical and commercial forces in the Niger Expedition which laid the foundation of C.M.S. work in Nigeria.

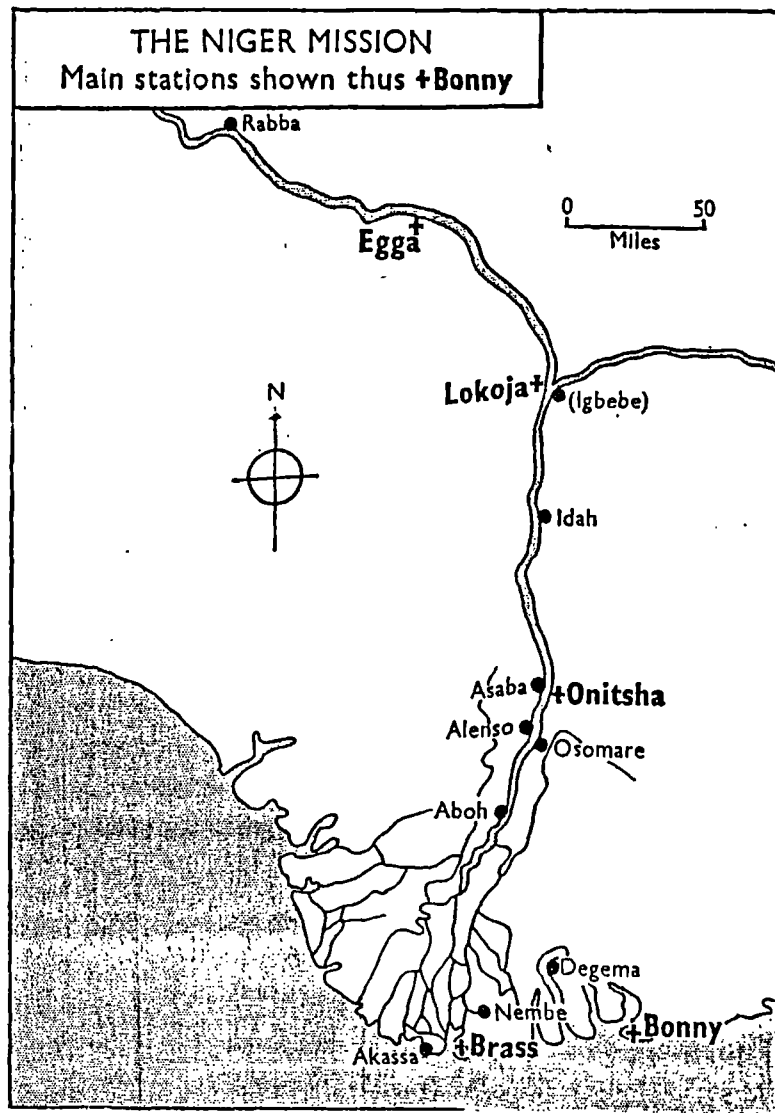
4.4.2.2. The C.M.S. on the Bank of River Niger

In August of 1841 three vessels, the 'Albert', the 'Wilberforce' and the 'Sudan' entered the Niger River. Each vessel contained a team of missionaries, commercial agents and government representatives.

In the missionary group were J.F. Schon - a German, Ajayi Crowther - a Yoruba ex-slave, and Simeon Jonas - an Ibo ex-slave, both from Sierra Leone. Within a few weeks fifty-four of the one hundred and sixty-two white men who entered the river, died of malaria.¹²⁵

However, the missionary team succeeded in preaching the gospel to the King of Aboh¹²⁶ who warmly received them and demanded that Jonas - the Ibo member of the team, be left behind to continue the work. The King declared:

You must stop with me; you must teach me and my people. The white people ... may leave you here until they return, or until other people come.¹²⁷

MAP SHOWING THE MAIN STATIONS OF NIGER MISSION¹²⁸

Ekechi argued that the warm reception accorded the missionaries by the King of Aboh was motivated not out of a genuine desire for Christianity but because of the associated material prosperity.¹²⁹ Ekechi based his argument on a conversation between Captain Trotter, the Trade Commissioner of the Expedition and the king. Trotter was quoted as saying:

Our countrymen will be happy to teach (you) our religion ... without its blessing, we should not be so prosperous as a nation as we are now.¹³⁰

In sum, there is really no evidence to show that the missionary venture made any significant impact in Nigeria.

4.4.2.3. Expeditions of 1854 and 1857

After the failure of the missionary efforts in 1841, the C.M.S. authorities carried out a suggestion made by Rev. Schon and Ajayi Crowther that future missionary work on the Niger should be left in the hands of Africans.¹³¹

African Christians from Sierra Leone were recruited as missionaries and interpreters in the expeditions of 1854 and 1857. Prominent among these African missionaries were Ajayi Crowther, mandated to establish the Niger Mission, and J.C. Taylor and Simon Jonas, both of Ibo origin.¹³²

On 26th July 1857, an expedition arrived at Onitsha where they were accorded a warm reception by King Obi Akazua of Onitsha. Dike and Ekechi have argued that political motives were behind the warm reception given to them. They claimed that the missionaries were welcomed in order to strengthen the political status of Onitsha, which was at war with her rival towns and villages.¹³² They suggested that the success of missionaries in Iboland was not attributable to a desire for the Christian message but to considerations of personal gain on the part of the natives. J.C. Taylor who pioneered the missionary effort at that time seemed to have shared this view. He stated in his letter to Venn, the C.M.S. Secretary, that most of the chiefs and influential people who came to listen to him did so 'merely for novelty

sake'.¹³⁴ The first set of converts were baptised on 23rd November 1862.¹³⁵

4.4.3 Origin of Christianity in South-Western Nigeria

While Christianity was established in South Eastern Nigeria by the C.M.S., other efforts were being made in South Western Nigeria. The impetus came from Nigerian ex-slaves who were returning home from the resettlement colony of Sierra Leone. The first voyage headed for Badagry in 1839.¹³⁶ On arrival at Badagry, James Ferguson, a Wesleyan convert wrote back to Rev. Dove in Sierra Leone, asking for a missionary in Badagry. An extract from his letter read as follows:

So I humbly beseech you by the name of Jehovah to send one of the messengers of God to teach us more about the way of salvation because I am now in a place of darkness where no light is ... So I humbly beg of you that you ... send us one of the servants of Christ to instruct us, by so doing, if we ourselves are well instructed, I will speak to them the same as I have been instructed.¹³⁷

Another letter written by an ex-slave in Abeokita to Rev. Dove contains this extract:

For Christ's sake come quick. Let nothing but sickness prevent you ... come, see God convert the heathen. Do not stop to change your clothes, to eat, to drink or sleep and salute no man by the way. Do, do for God's sake start at this moment; do not neglect me with all this burden, it is more than I can bear.¹³⁸

The above quotations captured the mood of the Christianized ex-slaves who were eager to see the Christian message preached to their people. In response to these requests, Rev. Freeman, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. DeGraft all of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, went to Badagry on 24th September, 1842.¹³⁹ The Methodist team were joined at Badagry by a C.M.S. team headed by the Rev. Townsend.¹⁴⁰ After a fruitless attempt at Badagry, the C.M.S. group went to Abeokuta in July 1846.¹⁴¹ The Methodist Society did not have any success in Yorubaland because of the difficulty in getting a sufficient number of workers from Britain.¹⁴²

Although both the C.M.S. and the Methodist missionaries were warmly received in Southern Nigeria, yet they made little impact at this period, perhaps as a result of the predominance of indigenous religion.

4.4.4 Origin of Christianity in Northern Nigeria

In 1889, a group of C.M.S. missionaries known as the 'Sudan Party' was formed at Lokoja under the leadership of Graham Brooke, a free-lance lay missionary. Other members of the party were Rev. J.A. Robinson, who was initially appointed as the Secretary of the Niger Mission in 1887, and Rev. F.N. Eden.¹⁴³

Through the efforts of the Sudan Party, a mission was established in Zaria in 1905.¹⁴⁴

Another group of missionaries workers in Northern Nigeria was the 'Sudan Interior Mission' (SIM). This group

was formed on 4th December, 1893 when three missionaries - Walter Gowans, Roland Bingham, both from Canada, and Thomas Kent from the United States of America, arrived in Lagos. Initially, their aim was to set up an African Industrial Mission. The group later changed the name to SIM with the establishment of their first mission in Pategi.¹⁴⁵

In 1902, Karl Kumm, a German, founded the Sudan Pioneer Mission which later became the Sudan United Mission (SUM). The SUM was comprised of members of different Protestant denominations, among them Methodists, Anglicans, and the Baptists. There was a strong feeling on the part of these Protestant Churches that the gospel should be preached to the 'pagan' people of Northern Nigeria whom otherwise they felt 'will go over to Islam'.¹⁴⁶ The SUM opened its first mission at Wasse in 1904.¹⁴⁷

The Roman Catholic Mission began work in Northern Nigeria in 1886 with the opening of a station at Lokoja. Other missions opened by the Roman Catholic Church were at Dekina in 1904 and Shendam in 1907.¹⁴⁸

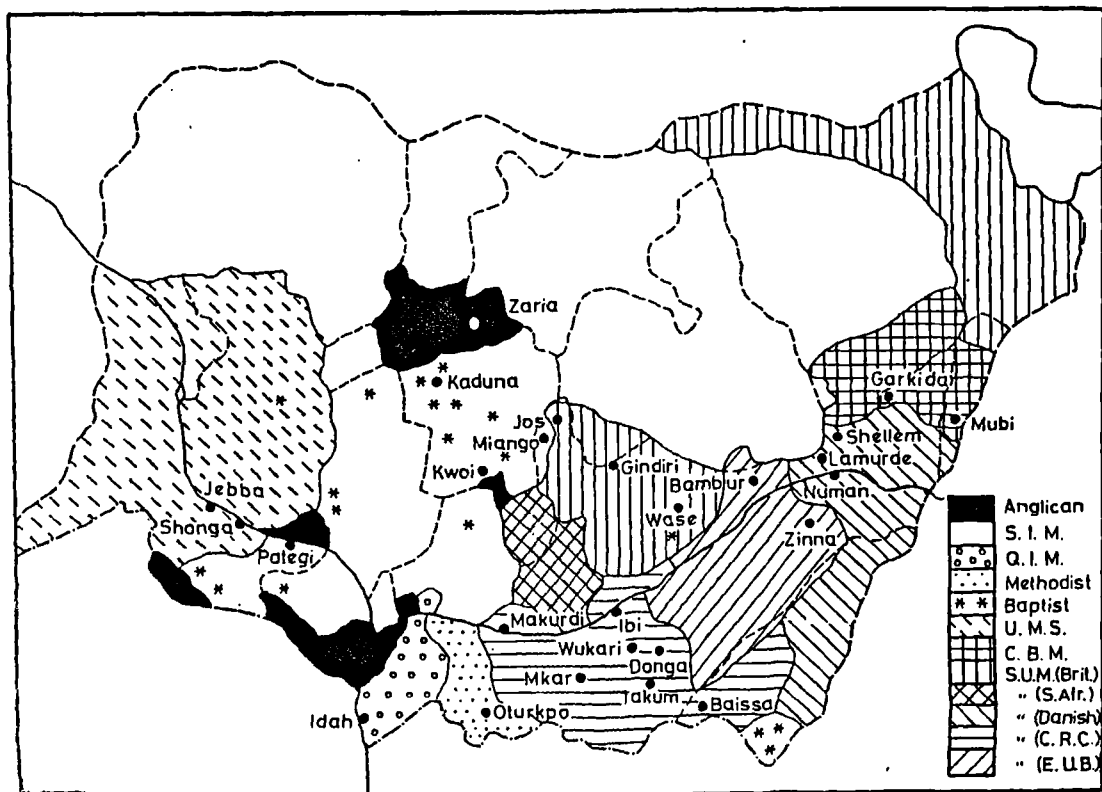
However, the Christian missions were established at the borders of northern Muslim towns because missionaries were not permitted to work in the main Islamic centres such as Kano, Sokoto, Katsina, Bauchi and Maiduguri.¹⁴⁹

Despite an initial hindrance to early missionary efforts in Northern Nigeria, Christianity made some progress towards the end of colonial occupation. In the census figures of 1931, 1952 and 1963 the percentage of Christians

in the population increased from 0.6 in 1931 to 2.7 in 1952 and 9.6 in 1963.¹⁵⁰

MAP 22

MAP OF NORTHERN NIGERIA SHOWING THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS (1905-1959)



Source: Crampton, E.P.T. (1975) Christianity in Northern Nigeria, Zaria: Gaskya Corporation, p.131.

4.5 The Rise of Independent Churches in Nigeria

Apart from the initial missionary efforts to plant Christianity in Nigeria, the most significant aspect of the development of Christianity is the rise of 'independent' churches.

Richard Gray described these as Africa's response to missionary Christianity:

It was an expression of African Christian initiative not merely in the propagation, expansion and explanation of an alien religion in black Africa, but also in the content of a global transformation of a purely Western, parochial understanding of Christianity itself.¹⁵¹

In Nigeria, there are two broad categories of independent churches. The first are mission-seceded and are known as the 'African Churches', or what James Fernandez in his classification described as 'separatist churches'.¹⁵² The second type is known as 'Aladura' (prayer-bands) or spiritual churches.

4.5.1 The African Churches

The major ones comprising this category are The United African Methodist Church (U.A.M.C.), the United Native African Church (U.N.A.), and The Native Baptist Church (N.B.C.) These churches broke away from Anglican, Methodist and Baptist missions in Lagos between 1880 and 1917.¹⁵³

The origin of the United Native African Church explains the reason behind the schism.

On 14th August 1901, nine Yoruba members of Anglican and Methodist churches in Lagos determined to establish a native and independent African church.¹⁵⁴ They passed a resolution after some discussions which read:

That this meeting, in humble dependence upon Almighty God, is of opinion that Africa is to be evangelised; and that the foreign agencies at work at the present moment, taking into account climatic and other influences cannot grasp the situation.

Resolved that a purely NATIVE AFRICAN CHURCH be founded for the evangelisation and amelioration of our race to be governed by Africans ...¹⁵⁵

Thus it seems that U.N.A., the first African Church in Nigeria, was founded to quicken the spread of Christianity in Africa through indigenous sources.

Yet Ola, Ayandele, Crowder and Sanneh have explained the formation of the African churches as a desire to cast off the white domination of the Protestant churches.¹⁵⁶ For example, Sanneh and Ola note the effects of the humiliation of Bishop Ajayi Crowther in the Niger Mission by his European colleagues:

The adverse view the C.M.S. came to take of the work of Bishop Crowther in the Niger Mission was a significant factor in generating an active reservoir of separatist sentiment from which Independency was to gush forth in bursts of quick succession.¹⁵⁷

Whatever the reasons behind the formation of the indigenous African Churches, they shared similar doctrines to the mission churches. So, the U.N.A. church is Anglican in doctrine apart from the fact that it admits polygamists as full members of the church.¹⁵⁸

Contrary to the opinion of Crowder that it permits polygamy,¹⁵⁹ Webster stated:

The African Church insisted that the clergy be monogamous and that they uphold monogamy in the pulpit as the ideal marriage ... They insisted that it was the duty of polygamous men to present their wives to the Church ...¹⁶⁰

4.5.2 The Spiritual Churches

The churches in this category include Christ Apostolic Church of Nigeria, Cherubim and Seraphim Movement, Celestial Church of Christ and The Brotherhood of the Cross and Star. These churches are sometimes described as 'Aladura' (prayer bands)¹⁶¹ and Pentecostal-type of churches.¹⁶² They originate not as a result of schism with other churches, but from the religious experiences of their founders. Most of the founders claimed to receive a 'divine call' from God. For example, in 1928, J.A. Babalola, the founder of The Christ Apostolic Church, was reported to have received a divine message from God to leave his driving work, and preach the Gospel.¹⁶³

Similarly, an extract from a divine message received by Prophet Wobo, founder of the Spiritual Healing Church of the Lord (SHCL), read:

You are a chosen vessel of God, and your work in my vineyard shall be known both in Nigeria and overseas. You are a symbol of unity and in you shall I build my universal church.¹⁶⁴

Another reason for the origin of Aladura churches was the failure of the 'Older' churches to meet the spiritual and material needs of the people.¹⁶⁵

Statistics regarding the number of spiritual churches in Nigeria are virtually non-existent. However, most observers agree that these churches have continued to expand at a fast rate since independence.¹⁶⁶ The main reason is the adaptation of these churches to the spiritual and material needs of the people. For instance, by incorporating elements of Traditional African Religion such as singing, dancing, clapping, drumming, and spirit possession, they provide fascinating spiritual experiences for their followers.

Apostle A.A. Abiola, the leader of the Cherubim and Seraphim Church said:

We Aladuras in Nigeria are a peculiar church. We want to remain peculiar. We want to remain indigenous. We represent God's own way of revealing Himself to Africa: this is why we are peculiar ... we are happy that we are an indigenous church, practising Christianity in the indigenous way and worshipping God by this means ...¹⁶⁷

Prophet Wobo's healing ministry illustrated the spiritual help offered in the Aladura churches.

In the 'Spiritual Healing Church of the Lord' founded by Wobo, spiritual healing is administered in four different ways. They are Chamber Consultancy, Institution of Divine Enquiry, Prayer Request and Spiritual Treatment.¹⁶⁸

During Chamber consultancy, members or 'clients' seek prayers and counselling services from Prophet Wobo. This functions like a doctor's surgery.

In Divine Enquiry, prophetic messages are given to clients concerning the problems or matters that confront them.

The table below shows the statistics of various types of divine enquiries brought before Prophet Wobo between 1960 and 1970.¹⁶⁹

TABLE 18

Class of Enquiry	Total	Male	%	Female	%
Marriage proposal	14,545	4,082	28.0	10,463	72.0
Marriage disputes	6,875	1,192	17.5	5,683	82.5
Health and future	12,786	10,706	98.5	2,080	1.5
Exam/career	10,422	6,039	58.0	4,383	42.0
General	11,666	9,523	82.5	2,143	17.5

The third important feature which probably contributed to the expansion of the Aladura churches was the distribution of spiritual gifts and benefits among their members.¹⁷⁰ For example, in the Celestial Church of Christ, it is not only the church leaders who can conduct services or preach the sermon. These privileges are extended to baptised male members as well.

In sum, these African churches are influential in spreading Christianity in Nigeria.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE IN NIGERIA (1977-1987)

5.1 Introduction

Religious intolerance and fanaticism have become serious problems in Nigeria. There were six major religious conflicts between 1977 and 1987 in which more than six thousand people were killed.¹ There is no accurate estimate of the value of property destroyed. However, Newswatch magazine put it at 'several million naira'.²

The seriousness of these problems has been apparent to those within and outside Nigeria.

Abbas, writing of the 1987 disturbances said:

... the involvement of school children is the most dangerous. If its effects are not felt now they will be felt in the near future. There is no way Nigeria can avoid religious war if school children are allowed to be used ...³

In the same year, President Ibrahim Babangida the Nigerian Head of State, stated that the contemporary religious intolerance constituted a serious threat to the survival and stability of the country.

It is a pity that of all things, religion in which we have so much faith should have been so mischievously used to threaten not only our peace but our corporate existence as a nation.⁴

Outside Nigeria, the climate of opinion was similar. In 1978, Ahmed referred to judgements from two British newspapers.

... I was in London two weeks ago and the Financial Times ... came out with an article grouping Nigeria as one of the countries that is bound to go into bloodshed because of religious differences.

I also read in the Observer of London that religion is bound to divide us in this country...⁵

The recurrent religious conflicts in Nigeria are essentially between Muslims and Christians. The government's efforts to control the problems were ineffective. After each of the major religious disturbances, a Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate and recommend punitive measures for the culprits.⁶ But these investigations have not been vigorous enough, and have not identified the root of the problem. They have been largely restricted to the criminal aspects of the disturbances.⁷

This chapter attempts to identify the causes of the six major instances of contemporary conflict between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria.

5.2 The Major Causes of Religious Intolerance in Nigeria (1977-1987)

5.2.1 The Sharia Controversy of 1977

Before the beginning of the second civilian administration in Nigeria (1979-1983), preparations for it were undertaken by the preceding military government. One of them was the writing of a new Constitution.

A Constitutional Drafting Committee was appointed which submitted its 'Draft' in 1976.⁸ One of its recommendations

was the establishment of a Federal Sharia Court of Appeal (FSCA) and State Sharia Courts in the states where they did not already exist.⁹

When the Draft Constitution was debated from 6th October to 16th December, 1977 the provisions on the Sharia Courts generated heated controversy among the two hundred and nine members of the Constituent Assembly.¹⁰

Laitin observed:

Of all issues debated concerning the Constitution, the question of the role of a Federal Sharia Court of Appeal (FSCA) generated the most heat.¹¹

Here was a clash of two major world religions, Christianity and Islam, in a political arena.

Several reasons were given for the bitter and acrimonious debate on the Sharia provisions.

Hickey maintained that the explosiveness of the issue was an aftermath of the disruption of Islamic tradition in Northern Nigeria. He argued that the military rule of 1966 destroyed the Muslim oligarchy of the North through the division of the Northern Region into six states and the reduction of the powers of the Emirs.¹²

Clarke and Linden put forward a similar argument but in a different context. They linked the Muslims' role in the Sharia debate to the socio-economic transformation of Nigeria produced by modernisation and the oil wealth of the late 1970s.¹³ Nigerian Muslims, they held, had suffered from this transformation. Therefore Muslim spokesmen in the

Constituent Assembly argued for Sharia provisions in an attempt to reform Islamic traditions that had been polluted.¹⁴

To a certain degree, this argument is rather speculative for it needs to be remembered that the political and socio-economic transformation affected every Nigerian regardless of religious or ethnic affiliation.

Laitin held that the socio-economic differences between the North and South were reflected in the Sharia controversy. The South, in the course of colonial experience captured the economic and administrative powers of Nigeria while the North, during the first civilian administration (1963-1966) captured the political power at the centre:

... this battle over the Sharia symbolically represented the North exerting its influence on the constitution of the state to position itself against the economic and administrative power of the South.¹⁵

It is clear that the acrimony in the Sharia issue was partly due to already existing grievances between Northerners and Southerners.

An analysis of the Sharia debate in the Constituent Assembly and comments from some members of the public will illustrate the bitterness of the issue. During the debate, those favouring¹⁶ and those opposing¹⁷ a Federal Sharia Court of Appeal (FSCA) presented a wide range of arguments.

On the protagonists side there were three arguments which had a deep significance. Firstly, it was argued that

the establishment of FSCA was a legitimate right of Nigerian Muslims and affected their ability to practise their religion freely and fully. In the words of Alhaji Mashi, a member from Kaduna:

To deny Sharia ... is like passing a Bill in Parliament ... suspending all Christians in this country from attending Sunday worship .. it is inconceivable that one should be restricted and denied the right of appeal to the highest court ... A Federal Sharia Court of Appeal is therefore necessary.¹⁸

Secondly, it was argued that this was a matter of the public good. Alhaji Sagari, a member from Sokoto, who became the second civilian President of Nigeria, said:

I cannot honestly see how or why this simple matter cannot be understood and accepted as a just and equitable concession to the Muslims of this country in the interest of national unity.¹⁹

Thirdly, it was argued that the inclusion of Sharia courts of law in the Nigerian Constitution would enhance the moral standard of the nation and give a higher level of justice than the prevailing common law.

Those opposing Sharia law had three signal points to make. Firstly, they argued that the Sharia provisions would lead to a dual system of justice which could generate confusion in the legal system.²¹ Secondly, it was claimed that since FSCA would serve only the interest of a section of the Nigerian community, it was wrong therefore to spend public money on it.²² Thirdly, it was argued that the FSCA would compromise the secular status of Nigeria.²³

During the Sharia debate, ninety-three pro-Sharia members staged a walkout. They refused to take part in further deliberations because the Constituent Assembly could not reach an accommodation on the issue. The spokesman for the ninety-three members defended their action by claiming that it represented the feelings of the entire Muslim population of Nigeria.²⁴

However, when the Head of State, General Obasanjo addressed the Assembly, the demonstrating members were reconciled with their colleagues.²⁵

While this debate was going on in the Constituent Assembly, there was a nationwide campaign for and against Sharia provisions by prominent religious leaders from different parts of the country. Dr. Adegbite, a Muslim leader from Southern Nigeria, put forward a religious argument in support of FSCA. He asserted that it was the command of Allah that the Quran and the 'Sunna'²⁶ should form the legal system for the conduct of Muslims in all facets of life. Hence he concluded that there could be no option for Muslims but to be governed by the Sharia law.²⁷

Similarly, Alhaji Gunmi, an Islamic fundamentalist from Northern Nigeria, argued that the Sharia law should be given equal weight with the common law of England which Nigeria had adopted. According to him:

Muslims can accept the leadership of a non-Muslim in a non-Islamic country but not in judicial matters.²⁸

These arguments were clear and strong expressions of a deeply held religious viewpoint. One of those who argued against the Sharia provisions was the Rev. D.N. Wambutda. He criticised the supporters of FSCA in the Constituent Assembly as fanatics engaging in 'a neo-jihad in disguise'.²⁹

The militant stance in the controversy came from the Muslim Students' Society of Ahmadu Bello University. An extract from their Press Release stated:

We whole-heartedly support the withdrawal of some of the members of the Constituent Assembly ... We stand for the total application of the Shariah ... We reject in absolute terms the elevation of the English law over the Shariah ... We are not ready to make any compromise on these issues ... The Muslim Students' Society therefore wishes to call on all Muslims in this country:

- (1) To stand firm and resist to the last man, this effort of non-Muslims to suppress the Muslims and eliminate the Shariah. Our submission to Allah demands that we lay down our lives in the defence of His Religion ...
- (2) To reject any form of compromise ... ³⁰

These inflammatory statements of a dogmatic nature elevated religious truth of a particular kind above the peace and unity of the State.

The Sharia controversy was temporarily settled by the setting up of a sub-committee to find an acceptable compromise. The panel recommended that, instead of providing a separate FSCA, a panel of three judges 'versed in Islamic law' should be provided within the Federal Court of Appeal to hear all Appeal cases from States' Sharia Courts.³¹

5.2.2 The 'Maitatsine' Religious Disturbances

The Sharia controversy was followed by three religious riots in 1980, 1982 and 1984. These riots were associated with an Islamic sect headed by Alhaji Muhammadu Maroua. He was nicknamed 'Maitatsine' which in the Hausa language means 'he who curses others'.³²

5.2.2.1 1980 Riots

There were several accounts of the 1980 riots. One account claimed that on the 18th of December, Alhaji Maroua with about three thousand followers, who were mostly from Chad, Cameroon and Niger, set out for a 'holy war' against Muslims who did not accept his teachings.³³ When the group were confronted by policemen at their Yan Awaki quarters in Kano, violence ensued. It later spread to other parts of Kano where the fanatics "injured and ... killed hundreds of innocent people ..."³⁴

Another account stated that the 1980 riots started when the then Governor of Kano State, Alhaji Rimi ordered Maitatsine and his followers to be moved out of Yan Awaki quarters. This was after a two week ultimatum. Maitatsine refused and resisted arrest. Consequently armoured cars were sent to arrest him and his followers.³⁵

Whatever the accuracy of these two reports it is clear that these riots were ignited by a clash between the Maitatsine group and the law enforcement agencies.

Although it was reported that Maitatsine lost his life in the riots, the actual number of casualties is a matter of conjecture. West Africa magazine claimed that over 4,000

people were killed.³⁶ The Official Report estimated the death toll at between 4,000 and 6,000³⁷ Hickey put the number of dead at 5,000.³⁸

There is little agreement concerning the cause of the riots. The Official Report attributed the riots to the influx of alien immigrants in Nigeria.³⁹ It claimed that Maitatsine and two hundred of his followers were immigrants from Marua in Northern Cameroon.⁴⁰

Hickey did not agree. He said:

It has been claimed that most of the fanatics came from neighbouring countries and that Maitatsine himself was a Cameroonian. It could thus be maintained that the uprisings were not symptomatic of religious fanaticism within Northern Nigeria. This would be a dangerous misreading of the situation.⁴¹

He was convinced that the causes of the riots were not outside Nigeria. He based this opinion on the following arguments. Firstly, Marua the hometown of Maitatsine, was formally within the Fulani empire. Secondly, Maitatsine had spent most of his adult life in Kano as an influential mallam (teacher). Thirdly, his followers were mainly from the poor and underprivileged Muslim population of Northern Nigeria.⁴²

Clarke and Linden ascribed the causes of the Maitatsine disturbances to: "the persistence of the millenarian tradition within Nigerian Islam."⁴³ They held that Maitatsine had presented himself as the final prophet with his own doctrines of death and paradise:

Followers who died before him, he preached, would go directly to paradise and those after him risked perdition.⁴⁴

Table 19

ANALYSIS OF MAITATSINE FOLLOWERS CAPTURED IN 1980

Nigerian States	Adults	Juveniles
Kano	196	30
Kaduna	124	59
Borno	99	13
Bauchi	71	17
Sokoto	65	20
Gongola	21	3
Niger	8	-
Plateau	4	1
Oyo	1	-
Totals	589	143
<u>Foreign Countries</u>		
Niger Republic	162	
Chad	16	
Cameroon	4	
Mali	2	
Upper Volta	1	
Total	185	
Total Nigerian & Foreign	917	

Source: Christelow, A. 'The Yan Tatsine Disturbances in Kano - A Search for Perspective'. The Muslim World Vol. LXXV, No. 2, April, 1985, p.74.

They further speculated that since Maitatsine had come to Nigeria as a Quranic teacher, he would have trained hundreds of children between the ages of ten and fourteen. Some of these may have stayed with him at the end of their studies.

They probably accepted the fundamentalist position of their teacher. Hence, rather than subscribe to an argument relating to foreign influence, Clarke and Linden maintained that it was the Quranic students of Maitatsine who "took up bows and arrows, gun and clubs in 1980".⁴⁵

The argument of Clarke and Linden is probably correct judging by the breakdown of those captured by the police. Out of the 917 people captured, only 185 came from foreign countries. The rest were Nigerians.⁴⁶

5.2.2.2 1982 Riots

After the 1980 riots, the surviving followers of Maitatsine escaped to Borno State and settled in the Buluntuku district of Maiduguri. They established Quranic schools and segregated themselves from other Muslims in Maiduguri.⁴⁷ According to Clarke and Linden, the 1982 riot followed allegations that the Maitatsine group were preaching publicly in Buluntuku district and urging people to refrain from mentioning the name of Prophet Muhammed. In an attempt to resist police intervention, the fanatics attacked the police with 'dangerous weapons' and went from house to house killing innocent occupants.⁴⁸

Hickey's account of the 1982 religious carnage was different. He stated that the riot was provoked by the police in a bid to prevent disorder. The situation degenerated into violence when the followers of Maitatsine resisted police attempts to search and interrogate their leaders.⁴⁹

These writers have not provided sources for their views. There is however a common thread that runs through them. It is that of a clash between the fanatics and law enforcement agencies.

A total of four hundred and fifty-two people were reported killed in the Maiduguri riot.⁵⁰ This riot spread to Kaduna and Kano.

At Kaduna, riots broke out when it was rumoured that two hundred followers of Maitatsine were on their way to the town. As a result, vigilante groups were organised to identify and kill suspects believed to be followers of Maitatsine. Forty-five people were reported dead.⁵¹

In an interview with Governor Rimi of Kano State, it was reported that Muslim students from Arabic and Technical Colleges in Kano, burnt down three churches and several hotels. The students were enraged at the siting of an Anglican church in close proximity to a mosque in the Fagee district of the town.⁵²

An administrative enquiry was set up by the State Government to look into the burning of churches by Muslim students. The committee could not present a unanimous report. The six Muslim members on the panel presented a 'majority report' while the two Christian members presented a 'minority report'.⁵³

One major defect of the panel was its lack of representatives from indigenous religions. The burning of Christian churches is a sign of religious extremism on the part of the Muslim students.

5.2.2.3 1984 Riots

The third outbreak of Maitatsine religious rioting was reported in Yola, Gongola State on 27th February, 1984. According to the report, the clashes were between units of the mobile police and some followers of Maitatsine. The fight started when policemen arrived at Jimeta district of Yola following complaints that the followers were attacking residents of the area.⁵⁴

Like the previous riots, there was no clear evidence on the number of casualties. The 'News Agencies of Nigeria' claimed that over one hundred people were killed including several policemen;⁵⁵ Newswatch suggested a death toll of seven hundred and sixty three.⁵⁶ West Africa estimated a number between five hundred and one thousand.⁵⁷

From these descriptions, it is clear there were religious as well as socio-economic bases to the Maitatsine riots.

5.2.3 Controversy over the Nigerian Membership of Organisation of Islamic Conference (O.I.C.)

The news media of Nigeria provided the available information on this issue. All the reports⁵⁸ traced the source of the controversy to the announcement made by Mr. Sharifuddin Pirzada, the Secretary-General of the Organisation of Islamic Conference at Jeddah, Saudi Arabia that Nigeria had applied for membership of the O.I.C.

This information got to Nigeria through a French news medium, 'The Agence France Presse' (AFP), on the 8th of January, 1986.⁵⁹ When the announcement was published on the 12th of January, 1986 by the Nigerian Guardian there was a widespread reaction from the general public particularly the Christian leaders. Dr. Okogie, the Catholic Archbishop of Lagos, cautioned that such a move would amount to a contravention of Section Ten of the Nigerian Constitution which stated that:

The Government of the Federation or a State shall not adopt any religion as a State Religion.⁶⁰

He argued that the government would involve itself with the propagation of Islam by joining the O.I.C.⁶¹

Obemeata expressed a similar argument, saying:

Nigeria cannot claim to be a secular state and at the same time belong to an organisation whose members are recognised and accepted as Moslem states.⁶²

The aims of the O.I.C. offered support for these arguments. For example, two of its seven aims are:

To promote Islamic solidarity among member states;
To strengthen the struggle of all Muslim people with a view to safeguarding their dignity, independence and national rights ...⁶³

The government could not pursue these aims without undermining the interests of other religious groups in Nigeria.

Another Christian leader, the Reverend Adetiloye, the Anglican Bishop of Lagos, warned the government against an involvement in religious issues. He said:

I'm sure the government will not want to take anybody for granted and just go and apply for membership ... a religious war if it's fought will tear the country into pieces with serious consequences ...⁶⁴

Similarly, the Reverend Williams, the Chairman of Christian Council of Nigeria, cautioned the government about the consequences of undue interference in religious matters. He pointed to the situation in the Lebanon where an inability to handle religious differences in a peaceable manner became a major factor in the strife which plunged that country into political and economic chaos.⁶⁵

The Islamic Council of Nigeria responded by issuing its own statements. The Council warned that it would

... rebuff any threat or blackmail with the toughness that is historically characteristic of Muslims, if Nigeria fails to join O.I.C.⁶⁶

On the 15th of January, 1986 it was reported that Nigeria had been fully admitted into O.I.C.⁶⁷ The atmosphere became tense. Provocative press statements were issued by Christian and Muslim Associations.

In a 'Press Release' sponsored by the United Christian Association of Oyo State, Nigeria's membership of O.I.C. was described as 'subjugating' the Christian population of Nigeria.⁶⁸ Therefore the Association warned:

The Christians shall be undaunted in the defence of their legitimate rights as citizens of this beloved country. No decrees or intimidations from government and/or Muslims shall deter us until Nigeria withdraws from the O.I.C. After all the blood of the martyr has always been the seed of faith.⁶⁹

A group known as the 'Islamic Welfare Foundation' (IWF) reacted in this way:

... the recent Christian comments on the OIC amount to tantrums and effusive emotional (sic) outburst, reflecting crass ignorance of basic facts ... Nigeria is still no less than a Euro-Christian enterprise ...⁷⁰

There were also student demonstrations in Lagos. The students of the Nigerian Institute of Oceanography and Marine Research, Lagos, carried placards to the office of the Nigerian Union of Journalists. One of the placards read 'Secular Nigerianism'.⁷¹ Similarly the Muslim students of Lagos State carried placards, some of which read:

"No East, No West, but Islam"

"Close Nigerian Embassy in Vatican City"

"To hell with anti-Islamic newspapers"⁷²

The disagreement generated by the OIC issue led to the setting up of a twenty member panel by President Ibrahim Babangida.⁷³ The committee was mandated to examine the implications of Nigeria's full membership of OIC. There was a divergence of opinion in the report. While the Christian members were against the Nigerian membership of O.I.C., the Muslim members were in support.⁷⁴

President Babangida in a nation-wide broadcast on 27th of June 1986, announced the establishment of a 'National Council on Religious Affairs' to regulate religious activities in the country.⁷⁵ In the broadcast, he pledged:

... this country has no religion but will continue to provide an umbrella under which all religions can thrive.⁷⁶

The government's move was rejected by two Christian bodies in Nigeria. The first was the 'Christian Council of Nigeria'⁷⁷ who held that the Holy Bible is the only recognised 'regulator' in such a matter.⁷⁸ The second was a group known as 'Christian United Front'⁷⁹ representing the views of 'Christian Association of Nigeria'. This group felt that the establishment of a religious Council would be a hindrance to the freedom of worship in Nigeria. Hence it stated:

... we Christians wish to state categorically that we will have nothing to do with the National Council on Religious Affairs. Any Christian who accepts to serve on this Council is an Anti-Christ and should realise from the beginning that he is representing himself and not the Nigerian Christians.⁸⁰

By and large, it seems the Federal government has contravened the secular status of Nigeria. In a plural religious society, the ruling government should adopt a neutral position on religious matters. Before the application was made the government should have sought the opinion of the Christian community that constitutes a half of the Nigerian population.

5.2.4 Students' Religious Disturbances of 1987

The various news media in Nigeria carried uniform reports on the students' religious disturbances.⁸¹ All the reports traced the beginning of the violence to an annual Christian programme, organised by the Fellowship of Christian Students (FCS) of the College of Education, Kafanchan in Kaduna State.⁸² The Christian programme, tagged 'Mission '87' was to be held from 5th to 8th of March 1987.

On the 6th of March, trouble began when the Christian activities entered their second day. A guest speaker, the Reverend Abubakar Bako, a one-time Muslim from Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, was delivering an address. It was alleged that some Muslim students present at the occasion, accused Reverend Abubakar of extolling his new faith to the detriment of Islam. He was also accused of misinterpreting the Holy Quran and therefore denigrating Islam and the name of Prophet Mohammed.⁸³

It is not clear from the reports how the Reverend Abubakar was held to have done these things. However, the arguments which ensued between the Christian and Muslim students resulted into serious violence during which ten students were injured, six Muslims, four Christians.⁸⁴ In one of the reports it was recorded that:

The Christians, who were in the majority, chased the Moslems out of the campus. The Moslems, too, pitched their defence across the railway line that runs on the other side of the college gate. They used the stone by the rail line embankment as defensive missiles to ward off the Christian students' attack.⁸⁵

On Saturday, the 7th of March, 1987, it was reported that the Muslim students went to mobilise fellow Muslims in the town to carry out further violence on their way:

... they exchanged stones, sticks and bottles with the predominantly Christian population in Kafanchan ...⁸⁶

One report states that every passer-by was forced to give his religious allegiance. Those identified as Christians were beaten, while those who claimed to be Muslims were asked to prove it by reciting a verse of the Holy Quran which says 'There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet'.⁸⁷

There was no indication of the number of casualties in the disturbances of 7th March.

On Sunday, the 8th of March 1987, the religious riots had extended to all parts of Kafanchan including the suburbs of Garage, Agban, Aduan, and Kafanchan Kurmin.⁸⁸ It started after news went round to churches in the town that some Muslims had attacked members of the Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA). This news angered the Christians and they took bows and arrows, daggers and cudgels to attack the Muslims.⁸⁹ At the end of the carnage, nine people were reported to be dead and sixteen were wounded.⁹⁰

On Monday the 9th of March, there was a repeated radio announcement, that Christians were killing Muslims and burning mosques and copies of the Holy Quran. This announcement precipitated further rioting in other parts of Kaduna State like Zaria, Kaduna, Katsina, Kano and Funtua.⁹¹

On Tuesday, 10th March 1987, it was reported that Muslim youths in Kaduna gathered to burn churches and properties of Christians.

The first participants of the mob attack were children between the ages of six and twelve. These were the 'almajiris' - pupils of Koranic schools imbued with unquestioning faith in their teachers. It was these pupils, in their scores, who were in the forefront of the mobs, led by some men in their twenties and thirties who were armed with daggers, charms (sic) and talisman, bows and arrows and short swords.⁹²

Twelve churches were recorded as burned down in Kaduna that day. No information on the number of people dead or wounded was available.

By Wednesday 11th March 1987, in Zaria,

... virtually all the hotels, all the churches and chapels, all pastors' residences have been either burnt down or smashed to pieces.⁹³

The State Governor, Abubakar Umar made a second broadcast to the people of the state urging them to refrain from further violence.⁹⁴ He was convinced that the violence was perpetrated largely by the Muslims. He said:

I feel ashamed to associate myself with Moslems (sic) who perpetuate this havoc ...⁹⁵

Similarly, at Katsina he told the Muslims that their violence towards Christians and strangers 'was a display of injustice, inhospitality and cowardice'.⁹⁶

The Governor's reaction to the role of Muslims in the religious riots was different from that of Sheikh Abubakar

Gunmi - a Muslim leader in Northern Nigeria, who said:

It was not a surprise to hear that the Christians started it by provoking the Moslems. The Christians were annoyed because many of their members were being converted to Islam. Islam ... supports conversion by appeal to reason. But it is different with Christianity ...⁹⁷

Gunmi's statement seemed biased and a misrepresentation of the facts. These riots had nothing to do with the conversion of Christians to Islam.

At the conclusion of the riots a total of twenty-five people were reported to have been killed. The property which was destroyed comprised forty churches, forty-six houses, nineteen vehicles, and thirty hotels.⁹⁸

The causes of the 1987 riots were given in several ways.

The Nigerian news media believed that the violence was clearly a religious matter. In the Newswatch, it was stated that:

Though the fall-out may not be entirely religious, the original conflict in Kafanchan was played out on the altar of the world's two great religions, Islam and Christianity.⁹⁹

In contrast, the Federal Government of Nigeria held that the disturbance was fundamentally political. In a nation-wide broadcast, President Ibrahim Babangida - the Nigerian Head of State, stated:

What we are dealing with, is not just a religious crisis but rather a civilian equivalent of an attempted coup d'état organised against the federal military government and the Nigerian nation.¹⁰⁰

Similarly, Governor Abubakar Umar of Kaduna State was convinced that the riots had 'a political and economic undertone'.¹⁰¹

Apart from the government, the Academic Staff Union of Universities and Allied Institutions of Nigeria (ASUU) did not share the religious explanation on the riots. The Union held that the Kaduna disturbances were associated with the prevailing socio-economic problems of Nigeria such as poverty, ignorance, starvation and degradation.¹⁰²

Table 20

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING INVOLVED
IN 1987 RELIGIOUS DISTURBANCES OF NIGERIA

Institution	State	Date	Casualties/ Properties Destroyed
College of Education, Kafanchan	Kaduna	6/6/87	10 students injured, school mosque burnt, nearby church damaged
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria	Kaduna	11/3/87	University chapel set on fire
Ahmadu Bello University (Tundu Inada Campus)		10/3/87	University chapel set on fire
Bayero University, Kano	Kano	10/3/87	20 students wounded

Sources: The Table was compiled from the following magazines:

- (a) The African Guardian, 26.3.87, pp.14-15.
- (b) Newswatch, 30.3.87, p.25.

It is difficult to accept these political and socio-economic arguments as put forward by the government and ASUU. It is clear from information available about the riots that religious differences between Christians and Muslims at Kafanchan College of Education spread to other parts of the State. Political and economic factors may have been secondary or contributory causes, but they do not seem to have been the primary, precipitating causes of the 1987 riots.

In attempts to deal with the disturbances the government set up a tribunal to try 512 people who were arrested during the disorders. The tribunal was headed by Justice A.G. Karibi-Whyte. Other members were Canon H.O. Mohammed, Alhaji Abdullahi Ibrahim, Magistrate Muhammadu S. Coomaisie, and Major R.S. Bello Fadile.¹⁰³ This tribunal was set up to deal with the 'criminal aspect' of the riots. An administrative board of enquiry was also set up by the Kaduna State Government to provide assistance to people who were injured by the disturbances.¹⁰⁴

A further important measure taken by the Federal Government was a ban on all religious associations and institutions of higher learning which included universities, colleges of arts and science, polytechnics, and advanced teachers' colleges.¹⁰⁵

The President explained that:

... security reports have made it abundantly clear that many of these religious associations on campuses were often of an extreme and intolerant disposition threatening rather than

consolidating the stability and harmony in the society.¹⁰⁶

Dr. Abogunrin, head of department of religious studies at the University of Ibadan wondered why religious associations in the higher institutions of learning were banned since the Federal Government said it did not regard the disturbances as a religious matter.¹⁰⁷

While the government was striving to control religious intolerance in the institutions of higher learning, fresh religious clashes broke out in some secondary schools of Northern Nigeria.

On the 15th of May, 1987, it was reported that Muslim students of a government secondary school at Nigi in Bauchi state attacked Christian students. Thirteen students were wounded.¹⁰⁸ On the same day, Muslim students of Government Science Secondary School, Azare, Bauchi State, were reported to have descended on a group of Christian students having a prayer meeting. The Christian students were attacked with knives, sticks and stones.¹⁰⁹ However, there were no explanations of the causes of the two clashes. Presumably, they were connected with the religious tensions generated by recent disturbances in Kaduna State.

On the 14th of June 1987, there was a clash between Muslim and Christian female students belonging to Queen Amina Girls' College, Kakuri in Kaduna State. The cause of disagreement revolved around the issue of school uniforms. Following persistent requests from Muslim students and their parents, the State Ministry of Education gave permission for

Muslim students in the college to wear a different uniform from the Christian students.¹¹⁰

Table 21

SECONDARY SCHOOLS INVOLVED IN RELIGIOUS DISTURBANCES OF 1987

Institution	State	Date	Casualties
Government Secondary School, Nigi	Bauchi	15/5/87	13 students wounded
Government Secondary School, Azare	Bauchi	15/5/87	
Queen Amina College, Kakuri	Kaduna	7/7/87	

Sources: West Africa, 27.7.87, p.1458
Newswatch, 30.3.87, p.25

The Christians were opposed to the idea of students of the same school wearing different uniforms. As a result:

... the girls had allocated hostels to themselves according to their faiths ... the Christians shouting victory songs and the Muslims countering with Islamic songs and slogans ... Armed with stones, sticks, iron rods and cutlasses, the students chased themselves around the school premises ...¹¹¹

It was reported that the Principal, and eight students received serious injuries.¹¹²

The 1987 students' religious riots clearly demonstrated the growing apprehension between Muslims and Christians. It seemed strange that controversy over the interpretation of a portion of the Holy Quran could explode to such proportions.

5.3 Religious Intolerance in Nigeria: An Explanation

Perhaps the contemporary problems of religious intolerance may be explained in two ways. Firstly, as the manifestations of the nature of Islam. Secondly, as the Muslim reactions to the disruption of Islamic structures by western influences which diffused through Christianity and colonial rule.

5.3.1 The Nature of Islam

There is a universal agreement that Islam is not just a religion but a complete way of life. It combines religious, economic, social and political dimensions of life.¹¹³ There is no distinction between the sacred and the secular. They are inextricably intermingled. In the opinion of Gellner:

Islam is, more perhaps than other religions, a blueprint of a social order.¹¹⁴

This pattern is derived from two sources. One is the Islamic belief in the oneness of God (Tawhid) which also forms the most important creed of Islam:

There is no god but God, Muhammad is the prophet of God.¹¹⁵

The creed is the basis of Islamic political thought. It emphasizes God's absolute sovereignty over man and therefore the primacy of his law in the conduct of human affairs.

As Deiranieh said:

The practical consequence of this belief in one Supreme God, is the spiritual liberation of man from subjection to any earthly authority.¹¹⁶

Gibb seemed to hold a similar opinion:

For most Muslims, the basis of identity was Islam and it was Islam, not the state or nation, that constituted the main claim of their loyalty.¹¹⁷

Undoubtedly, Islamic political thought posed a challenge to the Nigerian nation-state which is secular, independent and sovereign. Probably this will explain the sensitiveness of the Sharia issue in Nigerian politics. It may also account for the rejection of the political sovereignty of the Nigerian nation-state. For example, the Muslim Students' Societies of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and Bayero University, Kano issued a statement during the Kano riot as follows:

The MSS branches in the North have no belief in the Nigerian Constitution, do not recognise the existence of the Federal Government ...¹¹⁸

The differences in the interpretation of monotheism between Islam and Christianity was another factor for conflict. This factor was exacerbated by the Islamic belief in the superiority of the Quran over other scriptures. For example, one of the Christian doctrines about Jesus which Muslims found most offensive was the divinity of Jesus Christ.¹¹⁹ The Quran clearly denies this belief.¹²⁰

Nazir-Ali therefore argued that the Quranic denial of the sonship of Christ, "... inculcated a prejudice in the Muslim mind".¹²¹

Another verse of the Quran frowned seriously against it:

The Jews call Uzair a son of God, and the Christians call Christ the Son of God. That is a saying from their mouth; ... God's curse be on them: how they are deluded away from the Truth.¹²²

For many Nigerian Muslims this difference is fundamental and identified as the sole divisible doctrine.

5.3.2 Disruption of the Islamic Structures

The aftermath of the 1804 Jihad was the establishment of an Islamic state, known as the Sokoto Caliphate in Northern Nigeria.¹²³ It was similar to the first Islamic state at Medina. However, with the arrival of western culture informed by Christianity and colonization, a contrasting way of life emerged.

The Reverend Frederick Pilkington noted the contradiction:

Islam ... in Nigeria ... is today offered as a way of life often in conflict with other ways of life and philosophies of living. Progressive Nigerians will be impelled to examine Islam in relation to Western culture encroaching on every aspect of Nigerian life, and apart from religious issues the two ways of life can easily clash to the disadvantage of the people. Westernism means industrialism, while Islam is of the desert, and with this industrialism a commercial concept of trade relationship and a democratic principle of politics in government ... Westernism inevitably involves (in this 20th century) the total emancipation of women from feudalism and lack of privilege, a liberation that has no appeal to Islam ... The problem therefore is how the Moslem of Nigeria will adapt himself to Westernism ...¹²⁴

The Reverend Pilkington's predictions were later proved correct. For with the demise of colonialism and the

subsequent Nigerian independence under a democratic system of government, changes became inevitable. The traditional Muslim oligarchy in Northern Nigeria was disrupted by the new political system.¹²⁵ Consequently, the erosion of the powers of the Muslim Emirs brought about a sense of indignation among the conservative Muslims of Northern Nigeria.¹²⁶ Therefore, in attempts to restore the lost image of Islam, reformist groups such as the Fundamentalist Movement, Millenarianism, and the Mahdish traditions emerged. The basic aim of all these groups was a restoration of the traditional Islamic situation.

In the opinion of Clarke:

All social change and reform, or evolution, is measured against the central Muslim historical project of restoring the early community ...¹²⁷

Gargan also wrote:

Here in the northern heartland of Nigeria, agitated demands for the gradual Islamisation of the country are impassioned and growing louder.¹²⁸

An example of the fundamentalist movement was the 'Izala' group established by Alhaji Gunmi, who once said:

... I have advocated Islamic state for Nigeria. Once you accept to be a Muslem, and you understand Islam you have to practice the religion ...¹²⁹

With branches in all the Northern Universities, the Izala group played an active role in the six recent religious conflicts in Nigeria.

NOTES AND REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

1. Newswatch, 30.3.87, p.25.
2. Ibid.
3. Nigerian National Concord, 20.3.87, p.3.
4. Newswatch, 31.10.87, p.23.
5. See Laitin, D. 'The Sharia Debate and the Origins of Nigeria's Second Republic', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1982, p.417.
6. Nigerian National Concord, 20.3.87, p.3.
7. Newswatch, 30.3.87, p.15.
8. Federal Republic of Nigeria (1976), Reports of the Constitutional Drafting Committee, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information.
9. Ibid, Vol. II, p.36.
10. The members of the Constituent Assembly were drawn by a democratic process from all of the nineteen states of the Federation. A few members were nominated by the government.
11. Laitin, D., op.cit., p.411.
12. Hickey, R. 'The 1982 Maitatsine Uprisings in Nigeria: A note', African Affairs Vol. 83, No. 331, April 1984, pp.251-252.
13. See chapter one pages 17-20.
14. Clarke, P.B. and Linden, I. (1984), Islam in Modern Nigeria. A Study of a Muslim Country in a Post Independence State (1960-1983), Grumewald Kaiser, pp.81-92.
15. Laitin, D., op.cit., p.413.
16. The protagonists were mostly Muslims with a small minority of non-Muslims who were Christians and adherents of African Traditional Religion.
17. The opponents were largely Christians with a small number of Muslims from Southern Nigeria.

18. Federal Republic of Nigeria (1977), Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly Official Report, Vol. 1, Lagos: Government Press, Column 49.
19. Ibid, column 1121.
20. Laitin, D., op.cit., p.419.
21. Federal Republic of Nigeria (1977), op.cit., column 481.
22. Laitin, D., op.cit., p.419.
23. Federal Republic of Nigeria (1977), op.cit., column 1212-13.
24. Ibid.
25. Nigerian Daily Times, 20.4.78, p.1.
26. See glossary.
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CHAPTER SIX

AN EDUCATION PERSPECTIVE OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

5.1 Introduction

An examination of the six major instances of religious tension in Nigeria shows that the conflicts were between educated Muslims and Christians.¹

The past and present educational systems in Nigeria probably influenced the educated class towards religious polemics.

From the time of the colonial occupation, western education existed on parallel lines with Islamic education.² The products of the two systems of education emerged with different religious orientations. While some received a fundamentalist evangelical Christian education, others had an exclusive and dogmatic Islamic education.

An attempt to integrate western and Islamic education in the present new educational system has produced negative results. For example, the dual programmes on Religious Education in secondary schools produced rivalry between Muslims and Christians.

6.2 The Origin and Development of Islamic Education in Nigeria

Islamic education originated from Arabia after the death of Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D.

Chamberlin gave two reasons for the evolution of Islamic education. Firstly, there was a need to pass the

revelations of the Quran to new Islamic communities. Secondly, the Muslims were concerned to preserve the revelations of the Quran in its pure form.³ This concern arose from two Quranic revelations on the modifications of previous scriptures such as the 'Torah' and the 'Injil' of Jesus.⁴

These circumstances, according to him, motivated the four Caliphs who ruled in succession after Prophet Muhammad⁵ to play active roles in the preservation and teaching of the Quran.⁶

So, Tibawi mentioned that Caliph Umar (634-44 A.D.) appointed teachers to impart knowledge of the Quran to new Islamic territories and Caliph Uthman (644-56 A.D.) formed a committee of scholars to compile an authoritative text of the Quran.⁷

Further, El-Garh explained that after the death of Prophet Muhammad,

... a succession of his four immediate disciples, took effective measures to educate people about the ideology of the new religion and clear their minds from pagan beliefs and undesirable pre-Islamic notions.⁸

Since then, the teaching of the Quran became an important complement of Islam. Doi said:

It is important to note that whenever Islam spread, the rudimentary knowledge of the Qur'an, the Hadith and the Shariah (canon law of Islam) also began to be taught to the followers of that religion.⁹

Therefore, Islamic Education was introduced along with Islam in the fourteenth century in Northern Nigeria.¹⁰

In Northern Nigeria, Islamic education is organised in two stages. The first stage is the 'Kuttab' or elementary level and the second stage is the 'Madrassa' or higher level.¹¹

Elementary education is provided by 'Mallams' who run Quranic schools, otherwise called 'Makaranta Allo' which means Tablet schools.¹²

The main objective of these schools is to train the pupils to recite as many chapters of the Quran as possible to enable the children to participate in prayers and other Islamic ceremonies. At this level, there is no understanding of the Quran. Chamberlin saw the emphasis on recitation as an important way of maintaining the purity of the Quran.¹³

In the opinion of Tibawi, memorization of the Quran was inherited from the Prophet Muhammad, who recited the revelations for his followers to memorise or write down.¹⁴ In some Quranic schools, the students also joined their teachers in the performance of religious duties such as open-air preaching in and outside the neighbourhood.¹⁵

In the higher school known as 'ilm', each school specialises in certain areas of studies. For example, in Kano, Islamic law is taught, in Sokoto, mysticism, in Zaria and Katsina Arabic grammar, and in Borno exegesis is taught.¹⁶

The Quranic and 'ilm' schools also taught moral lessons. In the opinion of Kani:

... it is within the school environment that the Quranic students pick up habits and modes of behaviour.¹⁷

Hence he described the school as the 'second home' of the children.

6.3 Origin of Western Education in Nigeria

There is abundant evidence to show that the Christian missionaries were the pioneers of western education in Nigeria. Scholars such as Nduka, Fajana, Fafunwa, Taiwo and Ikejiani have produced extensive documentations on the pioneering efforts of the missionaries.¹⁸

In the opinion of Nduka:

It is to the eternal credit of the Christian missionaries that western system of education was introduced to Nigeria.¹⁹

Fajana, in his assessment of educational development in the period 1842-1882, said:

... missionary bodies alone were actively engaged in the planning and imparting of literary education.²⁰

6.3.1 Southern Nigeria

Most scholars are agreed that the first school in Nigeria was opened by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission at Badagry in 1842 through the efforts of the Rev. Birch Freeman and William de Graft. They were followed by the

Church Missionary Society in 1845 when the Rev. Henry Townsend also opened a school in Badagry.²¹

Anowi, however, asserted that there was no school before 1845 when C.M.S. started.²² This is probably wrong and is without support of evidence. The Wesleyan Missionary Society in England confirmed the establishment of a school by Rev. Birch Freeman.²³

Other missionaries who opened schools on arrival were Lady Bowen of the Southern Baptist Convention, at Abeokuta in 1854,²⁴ Father Pierre Bouche of the Roman Catholic Mission at Lagos in 1868,²⁵ and Rev. Hope Waddel of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland at Calabar in 1895.²⁶

The main motive for the establishment of schools was the conversion of the people to Christianity. For example, Marion Bresilles the founder of the Catholic Mission Society in Africa, said in 1859 that schools would be indispensable to the success of their missionary work.²⁷

Similarly, Rev. Bowen, pioneer of the Baptist Mission said:

To establish the Gospel among any people, ...
They must read the Bible and this implies
instruction.²⁸

The evangelical aim of the mission schools was also reflected in a statement made by Rev. Ajayi Crowther of the C.M.S. to a Nupe King who visited his school at Onitsha in 1856.

We are Anasare (i.e. Nasarenes - or Christians).
there (pointing to the schoolroom) we teach the
Christian religion...²⁹

Therefore, the missionaries put strong emphasis on the teaching of the Christian religion. For most schools, the syllabus in religious instruction consisted of the recitation of the catechism, reading passages from the Bible and singing hymns.³⁰

An account provided by Anna Hinderer illustrated the dominant position of the scriptures in the C.M.S. school:

The first bell rings at half past eight: from then till a few minutes before nine, when the second bell rings, we can look out and see our people coming with their nice English bags of coloured prints ... containing their books. Some with only the primer, others more advanced in the art of reading with various portions of the word of God; St. Luke, the Psalms, Proverbs and Genesis being among the great favourites ... We have about eight or nine classes of different states; and a very interesting assembly, at the bottom of the church of those who cannot learn to read. We gather these together, and first tell them a short and simple bible story, and let them tell it to us again to see that they remember it, and take it in. Then we teach them a text, or a verse of a hymn, and the last quarter of an hour is always given in all the classes to teaching by repeating some catechism, and sometimes ... the creed, the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments ...³¹

Apart from religious instruction, the curriculum of the C.M.S. primary schools consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic.³²

In the Methodist mission schools, the curriculum was similar. For instance, the time-table sent out by Rev. Birch Freeman in 1848 to headmasters of schools under him, had:

9.00 a.m. - Singing, Rehearsals of Scripture passages;
Reading one chapter of Scripture, Prayers.

9.15 - 12 noon - Grammar, Reading, Spelling, Writing, Geography, Tables.³³

Furthermore, scholarly opinion has shown that moral lessons were regarded as 'extremely important' in all the mission schools.³⁴ Also Fafunwa pointed out that caning and manual labour were usually used by missionaries to control moral lapses, laziness, truancy and disobedience.³⁵

Fajana described the missionaries' approach to moral growth of the children in the following words:

From the day the child came to school, his behaviour was watched carefully and he was frequently corrected. The Catholics for example, drew up strict rules discouraging traditional amusements particularly dancing ...³⁶

Further evidence on discipline is given in the correspondence between Rev. Allen and Rev. Bemmla - both of the C.M.S. in 1867:

I am very very sorry to mention that I have dismissed one of the students this night who was found to steal a dollar belonging to one of his fellow students.³⁷

Yet, it would be a misrepresentation of the facts to suggest that the educational practices of all mission schools were completely similar. As Fafunwa said:

There was no common curriculum among the missions; each mission and indeed each school within certain missions followed its own devices, based solely on the teacher in charge. Nevertheless the basic curriculum in all of the schools consisted of the four Rs.³⁸

Thus their differences were not in the policies or aims on education but in the practices.

Ayandele probably puts too much emphasis on these differences that he failed to recognise any common lines in their policies:

... opinion varied from mission to mission as to the form and quality of elementary education that should be imparted to their Nigerian converts.³⁹

6.3.2 Northern Nigeria

The restriction of Christian missionaries to work only in the non-Muslim areas of Northern Nigeria implied that western education would be confined to these areas.⁴⁰ As far back as 1865, the Niger Mission group of the C.M.S. had established a school at Lokoja,⁴¹ and by 1912 the Sudan United Mission (S.U.M.) was said to have conducted 229 sessions of schools at Ibi, Wukari, Donga, Langtang, Du and Salatu, all in the southern borders of Northern Nigeria.⁴²

In 1899 the C.M.S. attempted to enter the Muslim area. A team which was comprised of Dr. W.R.S. Miller, Revs. S.A. Richardson, J.C.D. Ryder and J.K. Burgin under the leadership of Bishop Tugwell left England on the 16th of December with an intention of going to Kano or any other part of the Muslim area.⁴³ With the permission of Lord Lugard the High Commissioner, the team finally settled at Girku near Zaria. Every attempt to establish a mission was met with firm refusal.

For instance, in a letter sent to Lord Lugard in 1902 the Sultan of Sokoto made it clear that they would not want the Christian missionaries in the Muslim emirates. A portion of the letter read:

I do not consent that anyone from you should ever dwell with us. I will never agree with you. I will have nothing ever to do with you. Between us and you there are no dwellings except as between Moslems and Unbelievers - WAR as God Almighty has enjoined on us. There is no power or strength save in God on High.⁴⁴

Table 22

<u>S.U.M. school statistics 1912</u>		
Station	Sessions of Schools	Total Attendance
Ibi	151	1227
Wukari	220	3012
Donga	119	3446
Langtang	176	2058
Du	94	541
Salatu	229	2459
	Total	12,743
	989	12,743

There are several explanations given for the restrictions imposed on the missionaries.

Adesina says that since Islamic education was well established in the Muslim territories such as Kano, Sokoto, Katsina and Zaria, it would be natural for the Muslims to show little interest in a western education identified with another religion.⁴⁵

Fajana felt that if the missionaries were allowed in they would convert the Muslims.⁴⁶

The C.M.S. Synod of the Diocese of Lagos offered a political explanation. The colonial government felt missionary activities in Muslim areas would weaken the Indirect rule policy since the native rulers (the Emirs) derived their authority from Islam.⁴⁷

These opinions are probably all correct, and Clarke, in a historical survey of Muslim attitudes in Northern Nigeria to western education, mentioned a similar point to Adesina's.

... over many centuries there has been developed in Northern Nigeria an educational system and an ideology which is considered by many Muslims to be by and large acceptable. As a consequence, therefore, the establishment of a western system of education does not go unchallenged.⁴⁸

The evidence of a fear of conversion found support in the outcome of an opinion poll conducted by Clarke at Bauchi. His respondents associated western education with the Christian missionary work.⁴⁹

In sum, the restriction on the activities of Christian missions and western educators, resulted in an educational gap between Southern and Northern Nigeria, particularly since the colonial administration was not involved in the provision of western education at this period. It was not a matter with high priority. Governor Freeman of Lagos outlined the government's priorities in 1893 as follows:

Roads must be made, swamps filled up, the river bank properly staked and supported; ... A good prison must be built ... A hospital must be erected and a powder magazine built and

eventually we shall need some barracks for the police. Nothing has yet been undertaken by Government in the way of education owing to the want of necessary funds.⁵⁰

So, while western education was expanding in the South, Quranic education remained the only kind of formal education in the North.⁵¹

After 1900, Christian missionaries gradually did succeed in spreading western education mainly to the 'pagan' areas and some parts of Muslim emirates of Northern Nigeria such as Zaria, Sokoto, Katsina and Kano.

However, the late start had a far-reaching implication for the educational development of Northern Nigeria. It created a wide disparity between the educational development of the South and the North. Table 23 illustrates this point.

In 1926, the North had 125 primary schools and no secondary schools, while the south had 3,828 primary schools and 18 secondary schools. The picture was not equal. In 1957, when there were 13,473 primary schools and 176 secondary schools in the South, the North had only 2,208 primary schools and 18 secondary schools.⁵²

It was generally felt that the backward educational position of Northern Nigeria resulted in a feeling of suspicion between the Northerners and the Southerners. In the opinion of Adesina:

The overall effect of the sharp North-South disparities in the development of western education is the basic suspicion it generated between Northerners and Southerners of Nigeria.⁵³

TABLE 23

Differential Development of Western Education in Southern and Northern Nigeria

Year	SOUTHERN NIGERIA				NORTHERN NIGERIA			
	Schools		Pupils in Attendance		Schools		Pupils in Attendance	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
1906	126	1	11,872	20	1	0	nk	0
1912	150	10	35,716	67	34	0	954	0
1926	3,828	18	138,249	518	125	0	5,210	0
1937	3,533	26	218,610	4,285	539	1	20,269	65
1947	4,984	43	538,391	9,657	1,110	3	70,962	251
1957	13,473	176	2,343,317	28,208	2,208	18	185,484	3,643

nk = Figures not known

Sources: Adesina, S. (1982) Planning and Educational Development in Nigeria, Lagos: Board Publications, p.18.

Diamond explained that the Southerners had a greater proportion than Northerners in the private and public sectors of the Nigerian economy due to the existence of the educational gap. This imbalance created a fear of domination in the Northerners.

... the predominance of Southern Nigerians in promotions stirred Northern apprehension that Southerners would come to dominate the Civil Service even in their region.⁵⁴

Some policies of the colonial administration contributed to the educational differences between the North and the South. The early government schools were exclusively for Muslim children. One of such was established in 1899 at Lagos.⁵⁵

In 1914, the government created separate departments of education for Northern and Southern Nigeria despite the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates.⁵⁶ Schools established by the two departments of education were remarkably different in their aims and their curricula. For example, at the beginning of 1914, the Northern departments of education established four primary schools - two at Nassarawa and the other two at Katsina and Sokoto. These schools admitted only Muslim children.⁵⁷ Children from the non-Muslim communities of Yola, Muri, and Kabba were provided with separate schools. In contrast, primary schools in the South were open to all children irrespective of religion or tribe.⁵⁸

Another example was the Katsina College established in 1922. In his opening address, the then Governor of Nigeria, Sir Hugh Clifford, mentioned the aim of the school:

This College is designed to serve all the Muhammadan Emirates in Nigeria ... while living in this College the ordinary lives of young Muhammadan men of birth and standing, they (the students) should be subjected to no influence which might tend to make them careless about the observances of their religious duties, ... it will fall to them to teach ... the way that good Muhammadans would live ...⁵⁹

From this the Governor seemed to argue that the primary aim of the college was to mould the children according to the Islamic culture.

Presumably, the creation of separate Muslim schools was intended to fulfil the 'indirect rule policy'⁶⁰ of the colonial administration. It could also be an attempt to bridge the educational gap between the North and the South. Whatever the motives, these colonial educational policies aggravated the problem of social unity in Nigeria and, more importantly, reinforced the religious differences between the predominant Christian communities of Southern Nigeria and the largely Muslim communities of Northern Nigeria.

It was probably in realisation of these implications that Sir Ahmadu Bello - the late Sadauna of Sokoto and Premier of Northern Nigeria regretted the Muslim composition of Katsina College:

There were no people from non-Muslim areas among us ... I see now that this was perhaps a fault; it might have been better to have more varieties of men in the College.⁶¹

6.4 The Old Educational System

6.4.1 The Islamic Education Reforms

After Nigerian independence, the western and Islamic forms of education still existed separately, though significant efforts had been made since 1947 to organise Islamic education on western lines.

The Emir of Kano, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero led the reform of Islamic education in Nigeria when he set up the 'Northern Provinces Law School' in 1947 in which Islamic and secular subjects like English and Arithmetic were taught.⁶² Similar steps were taken at Zaria and Sokoto where secular and Islamic subjects were combined to form the school curriculum.⁶³ This innovation was inspired by a realisation of the benefits of western education. For example, western education was assisting the young people of Southern Nigeria to meet the technological and scientific needs of the country. In contrast, Islamic education was only producing Quranic teachers:

When these pupils leave their Qur'anic or Arabic schools, the only career open to them is to teach in one of the Qur'anic schools. But all the school leavers do not get this opportunity ...⁶⁴ they have to face the problem of unemployment ...⁶⁴

Hence, there was a concerted effort to produce Muslim lawyers, doctors, engineers and educationists.⁶⁵

Many Islamic secondary schools were established by various Islamic societies such as Ansar-ud-Deen Society; Ahmadiyya Movement, Nawair-ud-Deen Society and Zumratul Islamiyya Society in the sixties.⁶⁶ In all these schools, Arabic and Islamic Religious Knowledge were offered.⁶⁷

TABLE 24

MUSLIM SECONDARY GRAMMAR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES
IN THE SOUTHERN STATES OF NIGERIA

Name of Institution	Name of the Organisation that founded the school	Year founded	Male or Female	Provision for Arabic & Islamic Studies
Ansar-ud-Deen College Isolo, Mushim	Ansar-ud-Deen Society	1953	Male	Yes
Ansar-ud-Deen Grammar High School, Agapa, Lagos	Ansar-ud-Deen Society	1960	Female	Yes
Ansar-ud-Deen Commercial School, Surulere, Lagos	Ansar-ud-Deen Society	1961	Male	Yes
Ansar-ud-Deen Girls' High School, Aiyeye	Ansar-ud-Deen Society	1961	Female	Yes
Ansar-ud-Deen High School, Ikole-Ekiti	Ansar-ud-Deen Society	1959	Male	Yes
Ansar-ud-Deen Grammar School, Ikare	Ansar-ud-Deen Society	1962	Mixed	Yes
Muslim College, Ijebu-Ode	Muslim Mission Ijebu-Ode	1960	Mixed	Yes
Muslim Girls High School, Ijebu-Ode	Muslim Mission Ijebu-Ode	1960	Female	Yes
Ahmadiyya College Agege	Ahmadiyya Movement	1948	Male	Yes
Ahmadiyya Girls High School, Yaba	Ahmadiyya Movement	1948	Female	Yes
Ahmadiyya Grammar School, Ibadan	Ahmadiyya Movement	1948	Mixed	Yes
Ahmadiyya Grammar School, Iwo	Ahmadiyya Movement	1963	Mixed	Yes
Zumratul Islamiyyah Grammar School Yaba-Lagos	Zumratul Islamiyya Society	1960	Male	Yes
Nawair-ud-Deen Grammar School, Abeokuta	Nawair-ud-Deen Society	1962	Mixed	Yes
Isabat-ud-Deen Girls Grammar School, Ibadan	Muslim Mission Ibadan	1964	Female	Yes
Islamic High School, Ibadan	Muslim Mission Ibadan	1957	Male	Yes
Muslim High School, Shagamu	The Proprietor chief Sotubo, who is a Christian	1957	Mixed	Yes until 1969
Ifesha Muslim Grammar School, Ilesha	Ifesha Muslim Congress	1971	Mixed	Yes
Alasalatu Grammar School, Abeokuta	Muslim Women's Assoc. Abeokuta	1971	Mixed	Yes

Source: Doi, A.R. (1983) 'Islamic Education in Nigeria 11th century - 20th century. Muslim Education Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp.79-80

Callaway explained that the environment of the schools remained Islamic so that:

Muslim children could gain a western education without parents being concerned about Christian proselytizing.⁶⁸

Departments of Arabic and Islamic studies were established for Muslims in the universities of Ibadan, Ahmadu Bello, and Ife.

However, El-Garh felt that this change in Islamic education was not peculiar to Nigeria, rather it was a common reform in most contemporary Islamic societies particularly the Afro-Arab countries like Egypt and Morocco.⁶⁹

The Islamic educational reforms in Nigeria may be seen as a curriculum modification rather than an integration of the western and Islamic forms of education.

6.4.2 The Religious Education Curriculum in the Old Educational System (1960-1980)

The consensus of scholarly opinion held that religious education in secondary schools during the previous educational system was confused.⁷⁰ In the assessment of Akinpelu:

An examination of the current status of religion as a curricular subject in our schools will reveal distorted aims of religious education, obsolete content, out-moded method of teaching, dearth of professionally qualified, competent and interested personnel, and a wrong-headed system of evaluation - all of which tend to make religion an anachronistic discipline, at best tolerated in most schools.⁷¹

He explained that the aim of religious education was to teach the knowledge of the Bible or the Quran.⁷² A corollary of this aim was that syllabuses were directed towards academic achievement:

... the knowledge that is sought from the texts is often mere informational knowledge or the minutiae of what happened or did not happen. Thus the knowledge and understanding that lies behind the information, and the meaning that the events symbolize are often lost and totally omitted.⁷³

The acquisition of such knowledge was to enable the students to pass the West African School Certificate (WASC) or the General Certificate of Education (GCE) examinations.⁷⁴

Wynne agreed. Although his work concerned 'Religious Education in West African Schools' his treatment was appropriate for Nigerian schools.⁷⁵ He described as 'unsatisfactory' the organisation and teaching of religion in schools:

... in Nigeria ... A child may go to a school and be given a Christian Religious Education or a Muslim Religious Education or none at all, depending on the school's foundation. A Christian child may go to a Christian school and have a course (sic) in a Christian religious education which differs from the denomination to which he belongs. This is clearly unsatisfactory, especially when a Muslim child goes to a school and is only offered Christian Religious Education.⁷⁶

On the question of aims, he observed that there were differences among Christian mission schools, and between the schools established by different Muslim groups.⁷⁷ However,

he does not explain the nature of these differences. He also mentioned that the syllabus in Christian religious knowledge was 'Bible-centred' and according to the English Biblical syllabus.⁷⁸

He concluded that the problems facing religious education derived from a particular historical inheritance. The traditional practice of teaching religions for the purpose of conversion had not changed.⁷⁹

There is a good deal of truth in both assessments. Perhaps the priority accorded the external examinations in religion and other subjects was responsible for the widespread examination abuse and malpractice of this period. Cases of cheating, copywork, and leakages in Bible Knowledge and other curriculum subjects were reported after the conduct of the 1972 School Certificate/G.C.E. (O level) examinations. The results of most of the candidates caught were cancelled.⁸⁰ The Acting Senior Deputy Registrar of West African Examination Council, Mr. F.A. Longe circulated letters to all Principals of secondary schools inviting them, teachers and the parents to cooperate with the Council in a bid to eliminate the problem.⁸¹

The excessive academic treatment of religion in schools was probably the root cause of the high rate of failures in the School Certificate examinations. For instance, in 1978 and 1979, the numbers of candidates who failed in Bible Knowledge were 54.3% and 66% respectively.⁸² The results of Islamic Religious Knowledge examinations were less disturbing. The percentage failures in 1978 and 1979 were

TABLE 25

CASES OF IRREGULARITY ON BIBLE KNOWLEDGE (FROM THE NOV/DEC/ 1972
SCHOOL CERTIFICATE/G.C.E. '0' LEVEL) EXAMINATIONS IN NIGERIA

Centre	Subject/Paper	Nature of Irregularity	Decision of Final Award Committee
05104	Bible Knowledge 2	Candidates 110, 135 and 136 suspected of copying from material found in script of candidate 135	Cancel entire results of candidate 135 and release results for candidate 136
05308	Bible Knowledge 1	Candidate 045 was caught copying from a book	Cancel entire results
05326	Bible Knowledge 1	Candidates 023 and 028 smuggled in scripts written from outside	Cancel entire results
05337	Bible Knowledge 2	Candidates 021 and 078 were caught copying from notes	Cancel entire results
05468	Bible Knowledge 1	Candidate 069 submitted a script written by 032	Cancel entire results for both 069 and 032
09601	Bible Knowledge 1	Candidate 012 was caught with pages torn from a book	Cancel entire results
09608	Bible Knowledge 1	Candidates 009, 014, 019, 025, 026, 027, 028 were caught with books	Cancel entire results
05107	Bible Knowledge 2	Candidates 051 and 052 colluded in answering question 17. Leakage centre	Cancel entire results
15282	Bible Knowledge 1 & 2	The Chief Examiner suspected that the script of candidate 021 was written by someone else	Release results

Compiled from: The West African Examination Council (1974) The Challenge of Examination Irregularities, Lagos: Public Relations

24.4 and 47.3 respectively.⁸³ The claim that a scarcity of qualified teachers of Religious Education was partly responsible for this was probably also correct.

In 1974, a survey of Religious Education teachers was conducted in 18 schools in Ibadan, Oyo State. Out of the 381 teachers in these schools, only 47 were teachers of Religious Education. Of this number, 17 graduates and 5 non-graduates were qualified to teach Religious Education.⁸⁴

However, these problems were not peculiar to Religious Education, but were common throughout the whole educational system. The Chief Federal Adviser on Education, Dr. S.J. Cookey expressed his opinion about the excessive academic nature of the previous educational system:

Right from the start, the pupils work with an eye on the syllabus for the First School-leaving Certificate or the West African School Certificate. Past question papers are religiously plodded through and model answers memorized ... the children got hold of large chunks of unrelated knowledge which they cannot digest.⁸⁵

These problems in the old educational system generated an atmosphere of discontent. there was a persistent public outcry about falling standards of education.⁸⁶ For instance, the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria suggested that:

The almost exclusive academic university preparatory orientation of the secondary school curriculum should be re-examined.⁸⁷

This was the basis for introducing the new educational system.⁸⁸

TABLE 26

RESULTS OF WEST AFRICAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS (MAY/JUNE 1978)

Number of Candidates Obtaining Grades

Subject	Total Entry	Total Sat	Credit							Total	Pass	Fail	Absent as % of Entry	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7					8
English Language	123,583	119,079	72	238	1,881	1,773	2,175	6,833	12,972	14,107	20,332	34,439	71,668	4,564
English Oral	6,276	5,472	0.1	0.2	1.6	1.5	1.8	5.7	10.9	11.8	17.1	28.9	60.2	3.64
Latin	35	33	0.03	0.03	0.8	0.6	1.4	5.5	8.4	5.5	7.3	12.8	4,309	804
Arabic	203	185	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	1	1	30	12.0
0-Arabic	83	77	10	3	10	7	3	6.1	6.1	-	3	3	90.9	5.71
French	2,549	2,254	5.4	1.6	5.4	1.8	1.6	10.3	28.1	4.9	9.2	14.1	57.8	8.9
Hik	769	701	15	1	6	3	2	-	27	9	8	17	33	6
Hausa	6,054	5,599	19.5	1.3	7.8	3.9	2.6	-	35.1	11.7	10.4	22.1	42.9	7.2
Igbo	17,076	16,087	22	47	228	112	126	282	817	244	224	468	969	295
Yoruba	30,538	28,742	1	2.1	10.1	5	5.6	12.5	36.2	10.8	9.9	20.8	43	11.6
Lit. in English	66,055	61,479	9	11	58	20	24	69	191	144	154	298	212	68
Bible Knowledge	91,451	86,164	1.3	1.6	8.2	2.9	3.4	9.8	27.3	20.5	22	42.5	30.2	8.8
Islamic Rel. Know.	9,697	9,202	0.02	0.3	5.6	5	7	17.8	35.7	17.6	14.3	32	1,812	455
History I	51,729	51,302	0.1	0.2	1.6	1.1	2	7.2	12.3	4,691	5,816	10,507	3,600	8.1
History II	351	306	24	82	1,108	1,350	1,600	4,883	9,047	5,331	5,000	10,338	22.4	5.8
History III	32	29	0.1	0.3	3.9	4.7	5.6	17	31.5	18.5	17.5	36	32.6	5.9
			0.6	0.8	6.1	4.1	5.7	15.4	32.8	5,538	9,692	15,250	26,043	4,576
			246	602	3,877	2,585	3,614	8,098	19,022	8,412	11,953	20,365	46,777	5,287
			0.3	0.7	4.5	3	4.2	9.4	22.1	9.8	13.9	23.7	54.3	5.8
			524	475	1,376	769	632	1,282	5,058	1,130	767	1,897	2,247	495
			5.7	5.2	1.5	8.3	6.9	13.9	5.5	23.3	8.3	20.6	24.4	5.1
			2.9	3.2	10.7	3,011	2,944	6,710	2,130	5,404	5,389	10,793	19,199	3,427
			14	11	43	25	14	56	163	46	20	66	77	75
			4.6	3.6	14.1	8.2	4.6	18.3	52.3	15	6.5	21.5	25.2	12.2
			1	1	10	5	-	7	24	2	-	5	3	13
			3.4	3.4	34.5	17.3	-	24.1	82.8	6.9	-	6.9	10.3	9.4

Source: West African Examination Council, 1979 Report, p.60.

TABLE 27

RESULTS OF WEST AFRICAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS (MAY/JUNE 1979)

(d) NIGERIA

Subject	Total Sat	Number and % Obtaining										Total	Pass	Fail	Absent & % of Entry
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9					
Agricultural Sci.	7,447	27	56	408	212	369	939	2,011	892	1,089	1,981	3,455	716		
Art	2,028	0.3	0.7	5.5	2.8	4.9	12.6	27.0	11.9	14.6	26.6	46.4	87		
Bible Knowledge	51,350	0.4	1.3	96	50	94	348	609	446	396	842	577	317		
Biology	42,763	18	42	692	404	980	3,571	5,707	4,918	6,827	11,745	33,898	13.5		
Business Methods	10,662	0.3	0.8	1.6	0.8	1.9	6.9	11.1	9.5	13.3	22.8	66.0	126		
Chemistry	18,629	154	355	2,568	2,042	2,066	5,970	13,155	3,732	4,517	8,249	21,359	6,175		
Commerce	42,479	0.3	0.8	6.0	4.7	4.8	13.9	30.7	8.7	10.5	19.3	49.9	12.6		
Economics	87,734	1.2	1.9	9.0	7.4	7.1	21.9	27.8	31.9	67.5	99.4	9,390	973		
English Lang.	128,880	0.1	0.1	1.8	2.2	4.0	13.7	21.8	18.3	19.2	37.6	40.5	8.3		
French	302	16	11	31	11	17	39	125	34	24	58	119	64		
General Science	130	5.3	3.6	10.2	3.6	5.6	12.9	41.4	11.2	7.9	19.2	39.4	17.5		
Geography	24,262	25	46	330	321	404	1,313	2,439	3.8	13.8	17.6	76.1	55		
Government	26,705	0.1	0.2	1.3	1.3	1.6	5.4	10.0	2,571	3,952	6,523	15,300	29.7		
Health Science	9,237	486	400	2,053	955	943	3,614	8,451	10.6	16.3	26.9	63.0	13.9		
History I	26,932	1.8	1.5	7.7	3.6	3.5	13.5	31.6	2,699	2,227	4,926	13,328	4,506		
History II	227	-	17	112	91	150	558	928	10.1	8.3	18.4	49.9	14.4		
History III	306	469	418	1,438	1,265	944	2,480	7,014	943	1,404	2,347	5,962	1,165		
Islamic R.K.	1,860	1.7	1.5	5.3	4.7	3.5	9.2	26.0	3,721	3,813	7,534	12,384	11.2		
		5	6	15	10	10	18	64	13.8	14.1	27.9	46.0	15.6		
		2.2	2.6	6.6	4.4	4.4	7.9	28.2	26	22	48	115	68		
		6	13	34	31	19	33	136	11.4	9.7	21.1	50.6	23.0		
		1.9	4.2	11.1	10.1	6.2	10.8	44.4	53	42	95	75	69		
		1	3	61	43	47	225	380	17.3	13.7	31.0	24.5	18.4		
		0.05	0.1	3.3	2.3	2.5	12.1	20.4	327	272	599	881	487		
									17.6	14.6	32.1	47.3	20.7		

Source: West African Examination Council, 1980 Report, p.74.

TABLE 28

STATISTICS SHOWING TEACHERS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
IN SOME SCHOOLS IN IBADAN AREA IN MAY, 1974

School	No. of all teachers	Total	No. of Graduates		Total	No. of Non-Graduates	
			Qualified teachers of B.K. & I.R.K.	Unqualified teachers of B.K. & I.R.K.		Qualified teachers of B.K. & I.R.K.	Unqualified teachers of B.K. & I.R.K.
1	21	10	1 (10%)	(0%)	11	(0%)	2 (18.2%)
2	50	38	3 (7.9%)	(0%)	12	2 (16.7%)	(0%)
3	21	14	1 (7.1%)	(0%)	7	1 (14.3%)	1 (14.3%)
4	19	10	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	9	(0%)	(0%)
5	21	23	(0%)	1 (4.3%)	9	1 (11.1%)	1 (11.1%)
6	27	21	1 (4.8%)	2 (9.5%)	6	(0%)	1 (16.7%)
7	15	8	(0%)	1 (12.5%)	7	(0%)	1 (14.3%)
8	15	10	(0%)	2 (20%)	5	(0%)	1 (20%)
9	16	8	1 (12.5%)	2 (25%)	8	(0%)	1 (12.5%)
10	14	7	1 (14.3%)	1 (14.3%)	7	(0%)	(0%)
11	13	9	1 (11.1%)	1 (11.1%)	4	(0%)	(0%)
12	22	11	2 (18.2%)	(0%)	11	(0%)	1 (9.1%)
13	19	8	(0%)	(0%)	11	1 (9.1%)	1 (9.1%)
14	22	11	1 (9.1%)	(0%)	11	(0%)	(0%)
15	23	12	(1 (8.3%)	(0%)	11	(0%)	(0%)
16	20	10	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	10	(0%)	(0%)
17	16	7	1 (14.3%)	2 (28.6%)	9	(0%)	1 (11.1%)
18	16	11	1 (9.1%)	(0%)	5	(0%)	(0%)
Total	381	228	17 (7.5%)	14 (6.1)	153	5 (3.3%)	11 (7.3%)

* Unqualified teachers means graduates in subjects other than Religious Knowledge

Source: Orebajo, M.A. 'The Relationship between Religious and Moral Education', West African Journal of Education, Vol. XVII, No. 3, October 1974, p.436.

6.5 The New Educational System

6.5.1 The Background

A brief analysis of the origin of the new National Policy on Education is necessary for an understanding of its provisions in Religious Education.

Arrangements for designing the new policy document on education started in 1964, but the first significant effort was made in 1969.⁸⁹ Between 8th and 12th September, 1969 a National Curriculum Conference was held in Lagos under the auspices of the Nigerian Educational Research Council (N.E.R.C.)⁹⁰

The major purpose of the conference was to identify and clarify the national philosophy, goals, purposes and objectives of education.⁹¹ At the end of the conference, sixty-five recommendations were made.⁹²

The recommendations were considered at a National Seminar organised in Lagos by the Federal Ministry of Education between 4th and 8th of June, 1973. The aim of the seminar was to formulate the education policy, in accordance with the objectives of the Second National Development Plan (1970-1974).⁹³ These objectives included the building of:

... a self-reliant nation; free and democratic society with a dynamic economy and equality of opportunity for all citizens.⁹⁴

At the end of the Seminar, a report titled: A National Policy on Education was submitted to the government who ratified it as the National Policy on Education. It was released officially in 1977⁹⁵ and revised in 1981. Many

details of this document fall outside the scope of this writing. Therefore, only its provisions for Religious Education in the secondary school are discussed.

6.5.2 General Provisions

The policy document has three regulations on the teaching of religion in schools. Firstly:

- (i) Opportunity will continue to be made available for religious instruction. No child will be forced to accept any religious instruction which is contrary to the wishes of his parents.⁹⁶

This statement seems to be an adoption of a clause in the Education Ordinance introduced in 1887 by the colonial administration:

- ...that, by the rules of the school no child shall receive any religious instruction to which the parent or guardian of such child objects.⁹⁷

The regulation was also included in the Nigerian Constitution:

No person attending any place of education shall be required to receive religious instruction or to take part in or attend any religious ceremony or observance if such instruction, ceremony or observance relates to a religion not approved by his parent or guardian.⁹⁸

The provision was intended to guarantee religious freedom. The assumption that parents should determine the form of religious education of their children, may contradict the development of autonomy and self-reliance of the individuals mentioned in the education policy.⁹⁹

The other two regulations are:

- (ii) for improving the teaching of moral and religious education. Government will ensure, through the various State Ministries of Education, the production of a suitable curriculum and the training of teachers for the subjects.¹⁰⁰
- (iii) Moral and religious instruction will be taught in schools through:
 - (a) the study of biographies of great people, Nigerian as well as non-Nigerian;
 - (b) studies and practices of religion. The mere memorising of creeds and facts from the holy books is not enough;
 - (c) the discipline of games and other activities involving team work;
 - (d) encouraging students to participate in those activities which will foster personal discipline and character training.¹⁰¹

The National Policy on Education also provides for the teaching of moral education through religion. Hence, in the junior secondary school, Religious and Moral Instruction is combined as a core-curriculum subject.¹⁰²

This issue of teaching moral education through religion in schools has been a matter of dispute between prominent religious leaders and educationists. For example, at a National Conference on Moral Education held in Port Harcourt from 1st to 5th February, 1982, despite a general agreement among participants that religion has a role to play in moral education, opinion was divided on the validity of a religiously-based moral education.

In the opinion of Chukunta,

... teaching morality through a particular religion in publicly supported educational institutions is unconstitutional ...¹⁰³

Similarly, Nduka argued that the leaders whose lack of moral standards brought about the collapse of the first civilian administration in Nigeria were:

... mainly those who had received a high dose of religious indoctrination and the attendant religiously-based moral instruction in either mission schools or in the parallel Muslim educational institutions.¹⁰⁴

On the other hand, Lemu and Okere argued that morality without God has no authority.¹⁰⁵

In a Communique issued at the end of the conference, both secular and religious moral education were prescribed for secondary schools.

The 'Bible Teachers Association of Nigeria' accepted the idea of teaching morals through religious education. At its Annual Conference held in Calabar, Cross River State, from 13th to 16th April, 1983, the Association resolved that the government could not achieve its goal of ethical revolution without religion.¹⁰⁶ Hence, the association suggested:

The Bible teacher to serve as the vanguard in the schools as fighting fronts against all forms of corruption and immorality ... Christian Religious Education be the base for all moral education of Christian students.¹⁰⁷

Those who supported moral education through religion were probably influenced by the traditional practices of early mission and Islamic schools where moral values were taught through Christianity and Islam.

6.5.3 Curriculum Designs for Religious Education in the Secondary Schools

In the process of implementing the provisions of the 1981 Education document on religious education, the Federal Government published two types of curriculum. These are Islamic Religious Knowledge (I.R.K.) for Muslim students, and Christian Religious Knowledge (C.R.K.) for Christian students.¹⁰⁸ The two curricula aimed at inculcating the knowledge of Islam and Christianity.

The IRK curriculum put considerable emphasis on the teaching of the Quran, the beliefs and the practices of Islam.¹⁰⁹ To facilitate this Islamic orientation, certain recommendations were made for the adoption of the IRK curriculum. They include, the provision of a mosque or a recognised place of prayers for Muslim students; meeting the needs of Muslim students during the 'Ramadan' fast; and non-involvement of the Muslim students in activities such as mixed dancing, drinking, nude bathing, the wearing of immodest dresses, etc. which are against the moral teachings of Islam.¹¹⁰

Also, the CRK curriculum is Bible-centred. The contents were selected from the Old and the New Testaments.¹¹¹

6.6 Education: A Source of Christian-Muslim Tension

The preceding sections of this chapter discussed the history, development and organisation of Nigerian education.

This section is concerned with how the structure of education, particularly the present provisions on Religious Education for secondary schools, have contributed to the conflicts between Christians and Muslims.

The non-integration of the two major forms of education - Western and Islamic - was probably responsible for the condemnation of Western education by educated Muslims. For example, the resolutions passed at an International Seminar on Islamic Education held at Bayero University College, Kano in 1977, carried dangerous implications for the religious harmony of Nigeria.

An extract from the Communique read:

The Seminar accepted in absolute and unconditional terms, the superiority of the Islamic system of education over all systems of education ... That all Muslim communities adopt ... the Islamic system of education and reject in particular the Western system of education which has not only failed to produce people of good character ... but has ... accelerated the development of corruption and the spread of vices. That the Quran, as the only authentic (sic) universal divine Book ... should alone form the basis of a universal system of education. The Seminar rejects completely the equation of Islam with any religion.¹¹²

These statements were the expressions of a deeply held religious viewpoint.

Another factor affecting religious conflicts is the educational gap between the predominantly Muslim North and the Christian South. One significant approach to bridge this gap by the government has been the lowering of the pass mark for children of Northern origin aspiring to enter Federal Government schools.

In the 1988 admission exercise for Federal Government colleges, the cut-off marks for boys and girls from Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto was 194 and 151; 270 and 233; and 299 and 166 respectively.¹¹³ In contrast, the marks for boys and girls from Anambra, Bendel and Oyo states were: 305 and 298; 313 and 303; and 305 and 300 respectively.¹¹⁴

This strategy is clearly discriminatory. It would probably be difficult for these colleges to achieve ethnic integration among the pupils. As Akaraogun said:

... instead of strengthening our yet fragile sense of common nationhood, the so-called 'unity schools' in practice have been promoting a sense of competitive and aggressive statism.¹¹⁵

TABLE 29

CUT-OFF POINTS FOR ADMISSION
INTO FEDERAL GOVT. COLLEGES, 1988

States	Boys	Girls
Abuja	176	152
Anambra	305	298
Bauchi	287	272
Bendel	313	303
Benue	249	229
Borno	271	252
Cross River	259	255
Gongola	266	247
Imo	300	295
Kaduna	270	233
Kwara	283	277
Lagos	299	293
Niger	288	232
Ogun	302	296
Ondo	293	281
Oyo	305	300
Plateau	214	200
Rivers	239	237
Sokoto	299	166

Source: Nigerian Sunday Times 22.1.89, p.5.

The organisation of a religious education curriculum into Islamic Religious Knowledge and Christian Religious Knowledge has produced several disputes between Muslim elites and some state governments since 1980. For example, in Oyo State, the 'League of Imams and Alfas' complained to Governor Bola Ige on 11th January 1980, that the authorities of most secondary schools in the state refused to teach Islamic Religious Knowledge. Instead, they forced the Muslim children to receive instruction in Christian Religious Knowledge, thereby depriving them of their fundamental rights to freedom of worship.¹¹⁶ Among the secondary schools allegedly involved were, Abadina College; St. Teresa's Grammar School, Ibadan; Peoples' Girls' Grammar School, Ibadan; Baptist Grammar School, Ilora, and Loyola College, Ibadan.¹¹⁷ The letter added:

We also note with indignation that Muslim children in primary and secondary schools and teachers' training colleges are unjustly subjected to Christian religious indoctrination by being made to participate in morning devotional services, closing assemblies and meal prayers conducted in accordance with the tenets of the Christian religion. We take very strong objection to this practice which we consider not only unjust but also illegal.¹¹⁸

Therefore the Muslim leaders advised the government to ensure that Christian Religious Knowledge is not taught, 'under no circumstances', to Muslim children. Also they should no longer participate in services conducted according to Christian tenets. Instead, separate devotional services should be organised for Muslim and Christian pupils or the

government should replace devotional services with the 'National Pledge' or 'National Anthem'.¹¹⁹

A follow-up letter¹²⁰ was written by a group called 'The Joint Action Committee on Religious Freedom for Muslim Children'.¹²¹

A second reminder was sent to the governor on the 31st March, 1982 by the 'Council of Muslim Youth Organisations of Oyo State'.¹²²

In Kaduna State, the Muslim Students' Society of Bayero University, Kano sent a letter of complaint to the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education. It was alleged that administrators of some secondary schools in the state such as Government Secondary School, Funtua, and Government Girls' Secondary Schools in Kankiya and Kwoi were converting Muslim pupils to Christianity. They mentioned other parts of the country with similar experiences:

Plateau government is bent on converting all Muslims to Christianity ... and in Oyo, Governor Bola Ige will stop at nothing to impose Christianity on the Muslim youth ... The trend is similar in some other states.¹²³

The statement added:

We wish to warn all concerned not to take Muslims for fools ... If these misguided trouble shooters do not take their time and toe the right line and path of decency, we shall be forced to demonstrate that we are not fools.¹²⁴

The problem resurfaced in 1985 when a prominent Muslim from the South, Chief Mikio Abiola, alerted the government

to what he described as 'religious apartheid' in schools. He alleged that teachers of Islamic studies were deliberately not employed to teach Muslim pupils in Oyo, Ogun, Ondo and Lagos states because they had not received a sufficient amount of western education.¹²⁵ Therefore, he warned:

The majority of the primary and secondary school pupils in Oyo, Ogun, and Lagos States are Muslims and to trick them out of their religious education will not augur well for a society that wants to live harmoniously.¹²⁶

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CHAPTER SEVEN

INTRODUCTION TO THE FIELDWORK

7.1 The Purpose and the Justification of the Fieldwork

7.1.1 The aims of the empirical section are as follows:

- (i) To carry out a reassessment of the current state of Religious Education in the secondary school.

In chapter seven, scholarly evidence points to the fact that RE in Nigerian schools was confused both in its aim, method, and organisation. For instance, the aim was described as evangelical, hence the learning-teaching process was confessional. There was also a lack of professionally qualified teachers. Most RE teachers have their training in other disciplines. The syllabuses were examination-based, therefore examination abuse and malpractice was widespread.

But, since this assessment is based on evidence from the previous educational system (1960-1980), it is necessary to re-assess the present state under the new educational system.

- (ii) To test the effects of dual RE programmes on the social and educational development of the pupils.

In chapter seven, the evolution of a new educational policy in Nigeria was highlighted. It provided two curricula for the teaching of RE in the secondary schools:

IRK for Muslim children, and CRK for Christian children. By this policy the government intendsto guarantee the religious freedom of the children. Yet, paradoxically, there have been several reports of religious conflicts between IRK and CRK pupils of some secondary schools. Therefore, there is a need to ascertain whether or not the dual approach encouraged religious conflicts in the school.

(iii) To provide additional evidence for the documentary part.

The reason for seeking supportive evidence is that this study deals with a contemporary problem, which lacks at present scholarly attention. For instance, reports of the six recent religious cases of religious persecution discussed in chapter six were largely obtained from newspapers and magazines. They could give distorted information. Therefore it is necessary to re-assess the information obtained from this source. The fieldwork gives first-hand information.

7.1.2 The hypotheses examined here are as follows:

- (i) That the contemporary problems of religious intolerance in Nigeria were precipitated by a few educated Muslims and Christians.
- (ii) That the nature of the past and present RE contributed significantly to these problems.
- (iii) That a multi-faith RE has a vital role to play in the amelioration of these problems.

7.2 Area of Study

The location for the fieldwork was Ogun State. It is situated in the South-Western part of Nigeria with an estimated population of 3,236,689 in 1988.¹ The choice of this state was determined by three considerations:

Firstly, the researcher had long established relationships within the state. Since 1981, he had been a Curriculum Development Officer in the Ministry of Education which had granted him leave to undertake this study. It was hoped that this contact would yield fruitful cooperation.

In the opinion of Burgess:

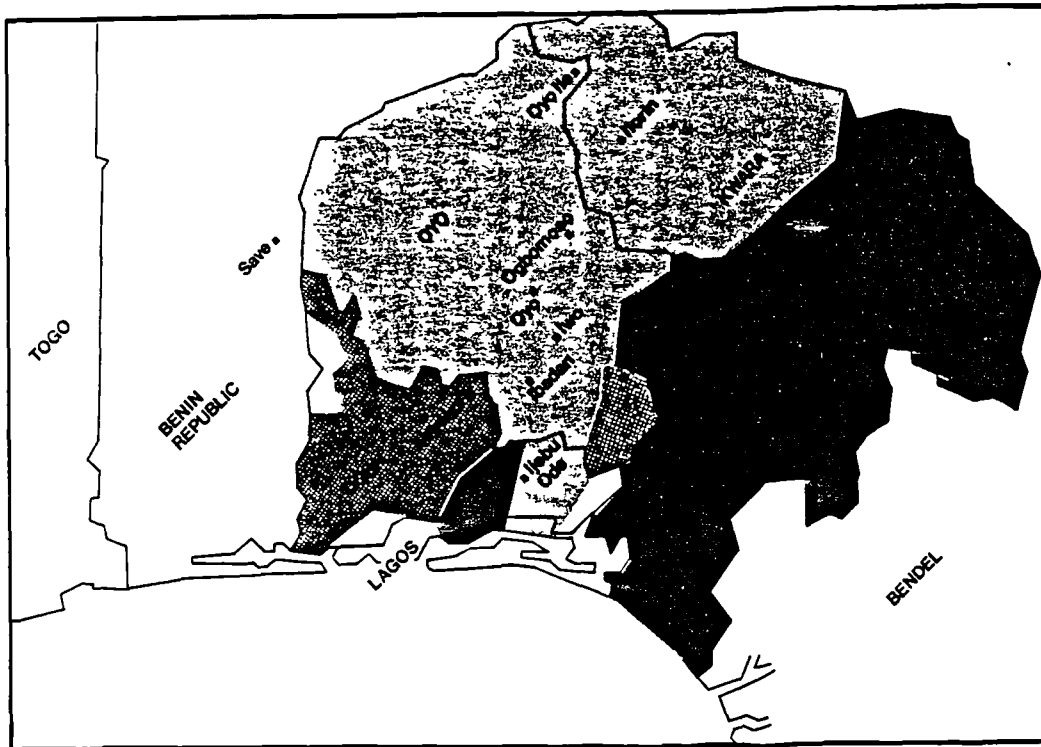
Research sites may be selected where individuals are willing to cooperate, where the situation is convenient for the researcher and where the researcher has some contacts already established.²

Secondly, Ogun is one of the States with a mixed population of Muslims and Christians.³ Such a location was considered suitable because it was representative.

Thirdly, it seemed less personally dangerous to undertake research on religious controversy in any part of Yorubaland where there is religious intolerance. As Laitin said:

Yorubaland was a remarkable field site for a 'natural experiment' comparing the differential impact of Christianity and Islam on political values and behavior. The existential situation was ideal; viable subcommunities of Christians and Muslims; conversion at about the same time for the same reasons; and converts coming from the same social groups.⁴

MAP OF SOUTH-WESTERN NIGERIA SHOWING OGUN STATE
AS A MIXED RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY



Owo Names of Yoruba ancestral cities
KWARA Names of Nigerian States

- Muslim predominance
- Christian predominance
- ▨ Balanced Muslim and Christian

Source: Laitin, D. (1986) Hegemony and Culture, Politics and Religious Change Among the Yoruba. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.18.

7.3 Population of the Study

The population used in the study was obtained from three groups: the students', the teachers', and the religious leaders' groups.

The method used in selecting the population for each group was 'quota sampling'.

Quotas of desired numbers of sample cases are computed proportionally to the population subclasses.⁵

Hence, the aim of adopting this method is to make the population representative since the data from this sample will be used to draw many generalised conclusions. As Fox said:

No data are sounder than the representativeness of the sample from which they were obtained no matter how large the sample.⁶

There were 300 secondary schools in the ten Local Government areas of the State from which thirty schools were selected for administration of questionnaires.

The selections were based on two principles: Firstly, it was carried out proportionately in the ratio of three schools to one Local Government area.⁷ Secondly, the ratio was based on the three types of schools in the state. The first type is established by Christian voluntary bodies where only Christian Religious Knowledge is taught. The second type is established by the Muslim bodies where only Islamic Religious Knowledge is taught. The third type is established by either a Community or the Government where both Christian and Islamic Religious Knowledge are taught.⁸

TABLE 30

SELECTED SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR THE
ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

1. ABEOKUTA LOCAL GOVT. AREA

- a. Catholic Comprehensive High Schl; Abeokuta - CRK only
- b. African Church Grammar Schl; Abeokuta - IRK & CRK
- c. Nawarudeen High Schl; Oke-Ijeun, Beokuta - IRK only

2. IFO/OTA LOCAL GOVT. AREA

- a. Iganmode Grammar Schl; Ota - CRK only
- b. Anglican Grammar Schl; Ota - IRK & CRK
- c. Ansarudeen Grammar Schl; Ota - IRK only

3. EGBADO-SOUTH LOCAL GOVT. AREA

- a. Anglican Grammar Schl; Ilaro - CRK only
- b. Male Comprehensive High Schl; Igbesa - CRK & IRK
- c. Muslim Progressive High Schl; Oke-Odan - IRK only

4. EGBADO-NORTH LOCAL GOVT. AREA

- a. Nazareth High Schl; Imeko - CRK only
- b. Comprehensive High Schl; Ayetoro - IRK & CRK
- c. Ketu College, Igan-Alade - IRK only

5. IJEBU-ODE LOCAL GOVT. AREA

- a. Anglican Comprehensive High Schl; Ijebu-Ode - CRK only
- b. Ijebu-Ode Grammar Schl; Ijebu-ode - IRK & CRK
- c. Muslim College, Ijebu-Ode - IRK only

6. IJEBU-EAST LOCAL GOVT. AREA

- a. St. Anthony's Grammar Schl; Ijebu-Imushin - CRK only
- b. Comprehensive High Schl; Ijebu-Ife - IRK & CRK
- c. Ahmadiyya High Schl; Oni - IRK only

7. IJEBU-NORTH LOCAL GOVT. AREA

- a. Methodist High Schl; Ago-Iwoye - CRK only
- b. Molusi College, Ijebu-Igbo - CRK & IRK
- c. Muslim High Schl; Ago-Iwoye - IRK only

8. IJE-REMO LOCAL GOVT. AREA

- a. St. John's Anglican Grammar Schl; Ode Remo - CRK only
- b. Remo Divisional High Schl; Sagamu - IRK & CRK
- c. Muslim High School, Sagamu - IRK only

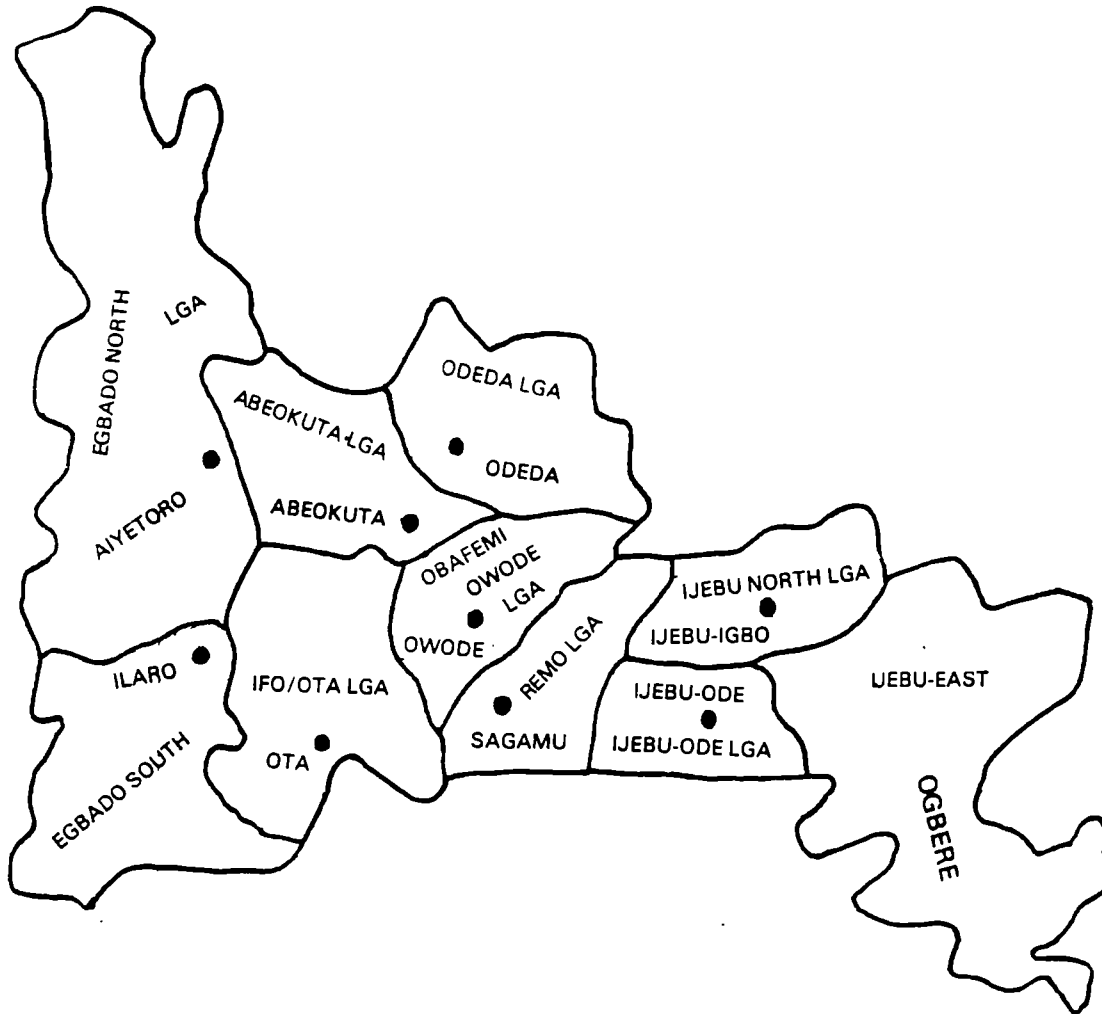
9. ODEDA LOCAL GOVT. AREA

- a. Egba-Odeda High Schl; - CRK only
- b. Salawu Abiola Comprehensive High Schl; Osiele - IRK & CRK
- c. Muslim High Schl; Isolu - IRK only

10. OBAFEMI-OWODE LOCAL GOVT. AREA

- a. Owode Secondary School, Owode - CRK only
- b. Egba Owode Grammar Schl; Owode - IRK & CRK
- c. Muslim High Schl; Owode - IRK only

MAP OF OGUN STATE SHOWING THE TEN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS



Source: Government Press, Abeokuta, Ogun State.

For the Students' Questionnaire, 300 Religious Education students were used: 150 CRK and 150 IRK.

A questionnaire survey was administered to 60 Religious Education teachers: 30 CRK and 30 IRK.

The population for the Oral Interview consisted of six religious leaders: two Muslims, two Christians and two Traditional Religionists.

7.4 Method of Investigation

Questionnaire and Interview methods were used to collect data. The justification for using more than one method of investigation is given by Calder:

Every data gathering class - interviews, questionnaires, observation, performance records ... is potentially biased and has specific to it validity threats. It is better to converge data from several different data classes as well as converge with multiple variants within a single class.⁹

Burgess also mentioned the need to collect data from more than one class of informant:

... it is better for researchers to select a range of informants in order to avoid superficial accounts of a situation.¹⁰

Other scholars who supported the use of several methods to collect data from different classes of people were Elliot and Adelman and Wax.¹¹

The diagram below illustrates the research methods and procedures:

Empirical Studies

Questionnaire Survey

Interview

300 RE Pupils

60 RE Teachers

6 Religious Leaders

7.5 The Design of Questionnaire and Interview Formats

The construction of the questionnaires went through many stages. Reliability checks were carried out on the draft questionnaires first by Dr. D.H. Webster and later by Mr. Allan Reese of the Computer Centre, Hull University, who also checked them for technical defects.

In Nigeria, Dr. M.A. Kuti, the Chief Inspector on Curriculum Development in the Ministry of Education, Abeokuta, further checked the accuracy of the questionnaires.

Many researchers have indicated the importance of seeking assistance from several quarters. In the opinion of Kidder:

Every questionnaire will benefit from forthright criticism by persons with different values and a different social outlook.¹²

Similarly, Wiersma mentioned that reliability checks are necessary when self-developed tests are to be used.¹³

The first page of the teachers' questionnaire¹⁴ was a covering letter in which the aims of the study and the information being sought from the teachers were specified.¹⁵

Moser and Kalton described the cover letter as a good substitute for the informal discussion which normally precedes an interview.¹⁶

Similarly, Calder stated that it was a good 'rapport establishing device'.¹⁷

The letter also carried the signature of my Supervisor. It has been said that response may be improved if the letter was signed by a superior person.¹⁸

The teachers' questionnaire consisted of twenty-seven questions and statements which were organised into three sections.

Section A was on Personal Details. The purpose of asking for details, such as sex, age, religious denomination, etc. was that these variables were likely to influence the responses to other questions.

In Section B, there were five questions aiming to find the teachers' opinions about the existing curricula on Islamic and Christian Religious Knowledge, and what social implications they have.

Section C consisted of ten statements designed to ascertain their views on the prospects of multi-faith Religious Education programmes in the secondary schools.¹⁹

The students' questionnaire started also with an introductory paragraph. It provided an explanation of the purpose of the study. Confidentiality was assured. There were three sections in the students' questionnaire. Section A contained six questions about personal details. In

section B, there were four questions designed to find what factors influenced the students to offer Islamic or Christian Religious Knowledge, and section C asked four questions about the effects of religious education on their moral behaviour and interpersonal relationships.²⁰

Each of the two questionnaires consisted of open and closed questions.

In the opinion of Smith:

An open-ended question is a question that leaves the respondent free to respond in a relatively unrestricted manner. By contrast, a close-ended question restricts choice of response by forcing the respondent to respond in terms of present categories or alternatives.²¹

The combination of both question formats was based on two factors: Firstly, due to the intellectual capacity of the students, close-ended or objective type questions which required less psychological effort were frequently used.²² Secondly, in an attempt to allow greater flexibility in the responses of teachers, an open-ended format was widely used.

In the opinion of Cannell and Kahn:

... few good questionnaires or schedules use simply open or closed ended question format. Various combinations of each type will normally be present since usually the researcher is interested in a number of different variables or stimuli each of which may call for varying question formats.²³

7.5 Administration of Questionnaire and Interview

The questionnaires were personally administered by the researcher face-to-face with the samples, in order to provide opportunity for clarification and cross-checking of information.

From 5th to 25th September, 1988, the selected thirty schools in the study were visited after obtaining permission from Mr. A.O. Oyekanmi, the Chief Inspector, Educational Services, in the Ministry of Education, Abeokuta.

Similarly, interviews for the six religious leaders were conducted as follows:

Name	Religion	Status	Date
Chief A. Adigboluja	ATR	Prominent Traditional Religionist in Lagos	22.10.88
His Highness, O. Banuso	ATR	The Oloja of Igbesaland	10.10.88
Rev. Pastor A.A. Bada	C*	Head of Celestial Church of Christ Worldwide, Mission House, Ketu, Lagos	24.09.88
Rev. S.O. Jiboku	C	Vicar, Ebenezer Anglican Church, Abeokuta	19.09.88
Alhaji H. Adesola	I**	Secretary, National Sharia Committee, Mushin, Lagos	3.10.88
Alhaji A. Hassan	I	Chief Imam, Igbesa Central Mosque	17.10.88

* = Christianity
** = Islam

Prior to these interviews, letters of introduction were sent to the six interviewees to seek their approval as well as to inform them about the aim of the interview.²⁴

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CHAPTER EIGHT

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS OF THE FIELDWORK

8.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to tabulate and discuss the questionnaires and the oral interviews. Some aspects of the two questionnaires were not specifically relevant to the objectives of the study. However, they were included to help the respondents and to facilitate the analysis of the surveys.

The Students' questionnaire was analysed through the computer system of the University of Hull. The Teachers' questionnaire and the Oral interviews were analysed manually. The nature of the surveys suggests the use of different procedures. For example, the relatively large size and simplicity of the students' questionnaire made it more suitable for computer analysis. By contrast, the teachers' questionnaire consisted of many open-ended questions. Each required an individual treatment to prevent any loss of valuable information which may result from the coding process of the computer. Another consideration was the small sample used in the teachers' and the oral interviews.

8.2 Analysis and Results of the Students' Questionnaire

TABLE 31 SEX

Sex	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Female	125	41.5	41.5
Male	175	58.5	100.0
	300	100.0	

Comments: 41.5% of the student population were females, while 58.5% were males

TABLE 32 AGE

Years	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
13	1	.3	.3
14	1	.3	.6
15	22	7.3	7.9
16	94	31.4	39.3
17	100	33.3	72.6
18	74	24.7	97.3
19	8	2.7	100.0
	300	100.0	

Comments: Less than 1% of the population was below the age of 15. The majority of the students (96.4%) were between the ages of 15 and 18. Studies in the psychology of religion have shown that adolescence is the most appropriate time for internalising religion and developing a religious identity.¹ Perhaps the way religious education is organised could have more impact on children of this age range than those below or above.

TABLE 33 WHAT IS YOUR RELIGION?

Religion	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Christianity	157	52.5	52.5
Islam	143	47.5	100.0
	300	100.0	

Comments: The religious beliefs of the students fell almost equally between Christianity and Islam - 52.5% and 47.5% respectively. Despite the fact that one-third of the student population was selected from non-denominational schools, nobody claimed to be a follower of African Traditional Religion. This result is a confirmation of the documentary evidence concerning the numerical decline of Traditional Religion.

TABLE 34 FAMILY BACKGROUND

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Mother & Father	246	81.7	81.7
Mother only	29	9.8	91.5
Father only	17	5.8	97.3
No parents	8	2.7	100.0
	300	100.0	

Comments: A majority of the students (81.7%) have both parents. A total of 15.6% have single parents while 2.7% have no parents. In Nigerian, like other African societies, the psychological and socio-economic problems which children with one parent can face are minimized by the extended family system.

TABLE 35

WHAT IS THE JOB OF YOUR PARENTS OR GUARDIAN?

Value	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
1	154	51.2	51.2
2	44	14.7	65.9
3	98	32.7	98.6
9	4	1.4	100.0
	300	100.0	

Key to Value

1. Accounting; Banking, Teaching; Nursing (Literate)
2. Tailoring; Driving (Semi-literate)
3. Farming; Petty Trading (Illiterate)
9. No answer

Comments: 51.2% claimed to have highly educated parents who were engaged in professional jobs. Another 14.7% had semi-literate parents, thus a cumulative percentage of 65.9% of students came from educated homes. 32.7% have parents with no formal education. The remaining 1.4% did not answer the question.

TABLE 36

WHO INFLUENCED YOUR CHOICE OF RELIGION?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Nobody	86	28.8	28.8
Parents/family	204	67.8	96.6
Friends	5	1.7	98.3
	300	100.0	

Comments: 67.8% indicated that they were influenced by parents or relations. 28.8% claimed their choices were based on personal interest. The rest were influenced by friends and teachers. Perhaps the parental influence may be explained by the fact that traditional African communities regarded religion as a group endeavour. The African principle of communalism was applied to all facets of life, particularly religions.

TABLE 37

DO YOU INTEND TO CHANGE YOUR RELIGION
WHEN YOU BECOME AN ADULT?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Yes	24	8.0	8.9
No	243	81.0	89.0
Maybe	33	11.0	100.0
	300	100.0	

Comments: Only 8% answered in the affirmative. 81% claimed they would not, while 11% were not sure.

Explanations:

- (i) Those who answered 'Yes' mentioned that they have an interest in Christianity. Prominent responses were 'I like Christianity' and 'I prefer Christianity to Islam'.
- (ii) There were two distinctive explanations from the 'No' respondents.
198 of the 243 who said 'No' indicated that they cannot change from the religion of their parents. Common answers were as follows: 'Because my mother would not allow me to leave it'; 'Because the rest of my family will abuse me'; 'Because I don't want to let my father, who introduced Christianity to me, down'.
The remaining 45 mentioned they will not change because they are satisfied with their forms of religion. Prominent responses were: 'Because I like my religion very well'; 'Because I have witnessed the power of God in life and I have decided to follow the Christian doctrines'; 'Because I love Islam as a religion'.
- (iii) 33 who answered 'Maybe' were females. They gave marital reasons: 'Because I'm not very sure of whom I may marry'; 'Because I am a lady I may marry Muslim in future'; 'No one knows tomorrow'. These females were probably influenced by their traditional culture (Yoruba) where husbands have the final decisions on matters concerning their families including religious membership.

TABLE 38 DO YOU ENJOY STUDYING ISLAMIC OR CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Yes	255	85.0	85.0
No	42	14.0	99.0
Maybe	3	1.0	100.0
	300	100.0	

Comments: 85% claimed to enjoy Religious Education. Another 14% did not, and 1% were uncertain. The fact that the majority of students enjoy Religious Education pre-supposes that the denominational RE meets their spiritual needs as it prepares them to become good Muslims and Christians. But it does not meet their educational needs in a multi-religious society. The result is significant in so far as it represents a departure from the traditional position where students regarded RE as a 'soft option' which made up their passes in the School Certificate Examinations.²

TABLE 39 WHY ARE YOU STUDYING IT?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Compulsory for me	70	23.3	23.3
My interest	40	13.3	36.6
Parents forced me	179	59.7	96.3
Teacher advised me	10	3.7	100.0

Comments: A large percentage (59.7%) indicated that they were forced by their parents to study religious education. RE was a compulsory subject for 23.3% of the population because they were attending schools established by religious organisations. Only 13.3% took RE out of personal interest. The remaining 3.7% claimed they were influenced by their teachers.

The parental influence on children's choice of RE may be explained in two ways. Firstly, it may

be a consequence of the growing competition between Muslims and Christians. In chapter seven it was mentioned that the school was a vital arena for religious rivalry.³ Secondly, the Nigerian Constitution provided that no child should be given religious instruction contrary to the wishes of his or her parents.⁴ This provision might have motivated the parents to be concerned with their children's choice of RE. Those who claimed that a particular RE was compulsory for them were attending a religious school where either IRK or CRK was taught.

TABLE 40 WOULD YOU HAVE PREFERRED NOT TO OFFER IT?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Yes	209	67.8	67.8
No	75	25.0	92.8
Maybe	19	6.5	99.2
No answer	2	.7	100.0
	300	100.0	

Comments: 67.8% preferred not to offer their form of RE. 25% claimed to be alright with their chosen RE. 6.5% were undecided and the remaining 0.7% did not answer the question. This result suggests that the majority of the children were denied their freedom of conscience.

TABLE 41 DO YOU ENJOY SCHOOL IN GENERAL?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Yes	291	97.0	97.0
No	7	2.3	99.3
Maybe	2	0.7	100.0
	300	100.0	

Comments: A total of 97% of the students said they did, while 2.3% did not. The remaining 0.7% were not sure. Perhaps the majority of students who claimed to enjoy school life may have been influenced by the attitudes of their middle-class parents.⁵

TABLE 42 HOW MUCH DOES THE RELIGION YOU STUDY INFLUENCE YOU TOWARDS GOOD BEHAVIOUR?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Very well	221	73.7	73.7
Moderately	66	22.0	95.7
Not at all	13	4.3	100.0
	300	100.0	

Comments: 73.7% answered 'very well', 22% rated the moral effect which IRK and CRK have on them as moderate. The remaining 4.3% claimed that their religious studies do not have any moral effect on them.

TABLE 43 HOW MANY CLOSE FRIENDS AMONG YOUR CLASS MATES WHO ARE NOT OF THE SAME RELIGION AS YOURSELF DO YOU HAVE?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
11-20 (many)	58	19.3	19.3
1-10 (few)	171	57.0	76.3
0 (none)	71	23.7	100.0
	300	100.0	

Comments: Only 19.3% claimed to have many friends from another religion. A large percentage (57%) had few, and 23.7% said they had none. This result shows that the present denominational RE does not encourage social integration. The establishment of religious societies such as the Muslim Students Society and the Students' Christian Unions in Nigerian secondary schools could be another factor.

TABLE 44 WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING FACTORS IS THE MAJOR INFLUENCE ON YOUR CHOICE OF FRIENDS AT SCHOOL?

Variables	Value	Frequency	Per Cent	Valid Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Religion	1	119	39.7	39.7	39.7
Tribe	2	4	1.3	1.3	41.0
Sex	3	23	7.7	7.7	48.7
Age	4	19	6.3	6.3	55.0
Academic brilliance	5	114	38.0	38.0	93.0
Occupation of parents	6	2	.7	.7	93.7
Similar interest in co-curricular activities	7	19	6.3	6.3	100.0
		300	100.0	100.0	

Comments: The two most common factors influencing friendship patterns at school were religion which accounted for 39.7% of the sample, and academic ability accounting for 38%. Other factors in descending order of influence were sex 7.7%; common interest in co-curricular activities 6.3%; age 6.3%; tribe 1.3%; and parental occupation 0.7%.

Perhaps the prominent position of the religious factor may be seen as a consequence of the denominational schools and their curriculum. It also reflects the dominant position of religion in society. Furthermore, the high frequency of academic brilliance, may be explained by the fact that most of the children came from middle class families (see Table 35). This assumption is based on two factors. Firstly, studies in Nigeria have shown that the higher the socio-economic status of a pupil's family, the higher is the academic achievement.⁶ Secondly, academic achievement is closely associated with peer formation at school.⁷

TABLE 45 WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING FACTORS IS THE MAJOR INFLUENCE ON YOUR CHOICE OF FRIENDS IN THE COMMUNITY?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Religion	180	60.0	60.0
Tribe	13	4.3	64.3
Sex	25	8.3	72.7
Age	33	11.0	83.7
Academic brilliance	41	13.7	97.3
Occupation of parents	3	1.0	98.3
Similar interest in co-curricular activities	5	1.7	100.0
	300	100.0	

Comments: The largest percentage of the sample (60%) indicated that religion was a decisive factor in making friends outside the school. Presumably, the rapid growth of religious associations is responsible for this result. Several Islamic and Christian Associations are formed in most Nigerian cities and these seem to vie with each other.⁸

TABLE 46 DOES THE STUDY OF IRK OR CRK AT SCHOOL HELP YOU TO ATTEND CHURCH SERVICES OR OBSERVE ISLAMIC PRAYERS (SALAT) REGULARLY?

Variables	IRK Students		CRK Students	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Quite well	125	83.3	110	73.3
Moderately	24	16.0	30	20.0
Not at all	1	0.7	10	6.7
	150	100.0	150	100.0

Comments: Both Muslim and Christian students indicated that IRK and CRK strongly influenced them to participate in religious worship. This result demonstrates the evangelical nature of RE.

8.3 General Comments on the Analysis of the Students' Questionnaire

Two basic points emerge from the analysis of the Students' Questionnaire.

8.3.1 Indoctrination

In Tables 36 and 39, there are strong indications that most parents influenced their children's choices of religion and religious education. Probably the aim was to unify each family religiously.

In another survey conducted by Laitin, the result was similar:

For both Christian and Muslim respondents in my survey, the degree to which immediate family members share religious affiliation is extremely high ... Yoruba families in the aggregate are religiously homogeneous.⁹

The parents' attitude suggests that religion is understood to be a group phenomenon. But religion is also an individual matter that concerns personal emotions and thoughts. Therefore, individuals should be given the opportunity to choose for themselves.

This desire by many parents to implant their own beliefs in the children amounts to indoctrination.

According to Hare:

Indoctrination begins when we are trying to stop the growth in our children of the capacity to think for themselves.¹⁰

This definition of indoctrination rests on the intention argument though the concept is also defineable from the stand point of method and content.¹¹

To indoctrinate the children is wrong for several reasons:

Firstly, it contradicts one of the provisions of the Nigerian educational policy. One of the objectives of secondary school education is to 'raise a generation of people who can think for themselves, respect the views and feelings of others ...'¹²

In the present situation, when parents influence the decisions of their children it would be difficult to nurture a generation of autonomous thinkers.

Secondly, indoctrination is undemocratic since it does not respect the rights of the children as rationally independent beings. Nigerian parents need to realise that each child is an organic whole.

Thirdly, indoctrination is against the principle of education.

8.3.2 Changes in the Moral Effects of RE

Another inference from the Students' Questionnaire is the improvement in the moral effects of RE.

The documentary evidence in chapter seven suggests that in spite of the moral knowledge taught through RE in the past, there were serious moral lapses. For instance, examination malpractices such as cheating and copying were common among RE students.¹³ But most RE students now claim that the subject influences them towards good behaviour.¹⁴

8.4 Analysis and Result of the Teachers' Questionnaire

TABLE 47 SEX

Variables	CRK Teachers		IRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Male	18	60.0	29	96.6
Female	12	40.0	1	3.4
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: The majority of the CRK and IRK teachers were males: 60% and 96.6% respectively. Also in the Table, there was only one female IRK teacher compared to twelve in the CRK group. Perhaps this is a result of an early marriage which is characteristic of Islamic culture.¹⁵ The only female IRK teacher possibly attended a college of education where there was no sex discrimination.

Apart from the religious factor, there is also a social factor. Despite the fact that the Nigerian population consists of more women than men, there are more men than women in the labour force. The reason is that, traditionally, women in Africa are home keepers. They remain at home while their husbands go to work. To some extent, this custom is changing in Nigeria due to modern civilisation. However, the impact of this factor is still high, particularly in skilled work such as teaching and management.

TABLE 48 AGE

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Below 31	2	3.3	3.3
31-40	34	56.7	60.0
41-50	18	30.0	90.0
51 and above	6	10.0	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: The majority of RE teachers fall within the age range of 31 and 40.

TABLE 49 WHAT IS YOUR RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION?

Variables	IRK Teachers		CRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Islam	22	73.4	-	-
Christianity	8	26.6	30	100.0
ATR	-	-	-	-
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: Although a large percentage of the IRK teachers were Muslims (73.4%) some of them were Christians. However, the CRK teachers were 100% Christian. Probably, these Christians were those who attended secular institutions or those who, for personal reasons such as admission problems, had no preference for a particular course of study. None of the teachers claimed to be an adherent of ATR.

TABLE 50 WHAT RELIGIOUS TITLE(S) DO YOU HAVE?

Variables	CRK Teachers		IRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Alhaji/Alhaji; Alfa	24	80.0	-	-
Rev; Pastor	-	-	9	30.0
None	6	20.0	21	70.0
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: 80% of IRK teachers possessed religious titles while 20% did not have them. This result seems to suggest that most Islamic teachers were primarily religious leaders who took up teaching as a subsidiary engagement. Such teachers would not see other aims of RE apart from evangelism.

TABLE 51 ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS OF CRK AND IRK TEACHERS

Value	CRK Teachers		IRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
1	2	6.7	21	70.0
2	28	93.3	8	26.6
3	-	-	1	3.4
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Key to Value:

1. Certificates, Diplomas and Degrees in Christian Theology or Arabic and Islamic Studies.
2. National Certificate of Education (N.C.E.) in IRK or CRK; Degrees in Education with Christian or Islamic Religious Studies.
3. Others, e.g. H.N.D.

Comments: In the CRK group, 93.3% attended secular institutions where they received teaching qualifications in Religious Education. Only 6.7% possessed Diplomas in Theology. In the IRK group, 70% had their qualifications purely in Arabic and Islamic studies from Islamic institutions. Only 26.6% of them obtained teaching qualifications in IRK. By attending secular institutions with a broad curriculum, the CRK teachers are likely to be more liberal in approach than those IRK teachers who received exclusive and dogmatic Islamic education. In other words, while CRK teachers would be more inclined towards neutrality in the classroom, most IRK teachers would not.

TABLE 52 HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN TEACHING CHRISTIAN OR ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE IN YOUR PRESENT AND PREVIOUS SCHOOLS?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Below 5 years	38	64.3	64.3
5-10 years	16	26.7	90.0
11-15 years	6	10.0	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: A majority of the teachers (64.3%) have less than five years teaching experience. 26.7% have between five and ten years, while the rest (10%) claimed eleven to fifteen years teaching experience. Perhaps the small percentage of people with long teaching experience is an indication of the scarcity of qualified RE teachers in the previous educational system. Many of those teaching RE then obtained qualifications in other disciplines. Hence, they were only teaching RE on a temporary and unqualified basis.¹⁶

TABLE 53 WHAT RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES DO YOU PERFORM OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL?

Value	CRK Teachers		IRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
1	-	-	18	60.0
2	-	-	6	20.0
3	3	10.0	6	16.6
4	27	90.0	1	3.4
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Key to Value:

1. Mallam (teacher) in a Quranic school.
2. Public Preaching.
3. Leading a Community Mosque or Church.
4. None

Comments: Only 10% of the CRK teachers claimed to be vicars. By contrast, 60% of IRK teachers were at the same time, teachers in Quranic schools. Another 20% were engaged in public preaching and 16.6% were also leaders of community mosques. Thus a total of 96.6% of IRK teachers were also engaged in Islamic activities outside the school. This result correlates strongly with that of Table 50. Both results point to a confessional approach to teaching and perhaps even indicate the occurrence of indoctrination.

TABLE 54 HOW DO OTHER SUBJECT TEACHERS IN YOUR SCHOOL PERCEIVE RE IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Very important	18	30.0	30.0
Important	27	45.0	75.0
Not important	15	25.0	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: An aggregate of 75% indicated that RE was regarded as an important subject of the curriculum. 25% said RE is still regarded as 'not important' by other subject teachers. This result suggests a significant change in the opinion of most educated Nigerians about RE.¹⁷ Presumably this change was a result of the growing influence of religion in Nigerian society.

TABLE 55 WOULD YOU RATHER NOT TEACH RE?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Yes	9	15.0	15.0
No	45	75.0	90.0
Maybe	6	10.0	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: A large percentage (75%) of the population answered 'No' indicating that they were happy to be RE teachers. 15% preferred not to teach RE, and 6% were uncertain. The majority who claimed to be happy as RE teachers were probably influenced by the improvement in the status of RE. This change of attitude could also be explained by the fact that most of the current teachers of RE had their training in Religion or Religious Education.¹⁸

TABLE 56 ARE YOU PREPARED TO DISCUSS WITH A MEMBER OF ANOTHER FAITH HIS DOCTRINES?

Variables	CRK Teachers		IRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Yes	27	90.0	11	36.6
No	2	6.6	18	60.0
Maybe	1	3.4	1	3.4
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: 90% of the CRK teachers indicated their willingness for dialogue with members of another faith in comparison with 36.6% of IRK teachers. It seems the IRK teachers who rejected dialogue have taken a dogmatic stance. They have perhaps been influenced by their Islamic training. In this respect it is worth noting that some sections of the Quran do not encourage dialogue with other faiths.¹⁹

TABLE 57 ARE YOU PREPARED TO HELP PEOPLE OF OTHER FAITHS WHO MAY NEED YOUR HELP?

Variables	CRK Teachers		IRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Yes	30	100.0	22	73.4
No	-	-	-	-
Maybe	-	-	8	26.6
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: All the CRK teachers were prepared to help members of other faiths. In the IRK group 73.4% were prepared to help and 26.6% were uncertain. Although there is a general openness to people of other faiths, it is the Christian teachers who were more enthusiastic than the Islamic teachers. Perhaps this desire to assist members of other faiths may be attributed to the tribal solidarity which cuts across religious affiliations in southern Nigeria. It may also be the result of the openness of Christianity towards other faiths. The liberal education received by the majority of CRK teachers may also be a factor here.

TABLE 58 TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THE SYLLABUS YOU ARE USING MEET THE EDUCATIONAL AND SPIRITUAL NEEDS OF THE STUDENTS?

Variables	IRK Teachers		CRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Completely	4	13.3	16	53.4
Quite well	19	63.3	4	13.3
Moderately	6	20.0	8	26.6
Poorly	1	3.4	-	-
Not at all	-	-	2	6.7
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: The majority of the IRK and CRK teachers were satisfied that their current syllabuses met the educational and spiritual needs of the pupils. These results suggest that the RE teachers still hold rigidly to the confessional aim of RE. The aims stated in the two curricula centred on the teaching of Islam and Christianity.²⁰ However, the uniformity in the opinion of IRK and CRK teachers on this question is strange. The fact that most IRK teachers did not recognise the inadequacies of the present confessional RE syllabuses is understandable and is due to their academic and religious background. But the CRK teachers, a majority of whom attended non-religious colleges and universities, might have been expected to respond differently.

TABLE 59 TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THE SYLLABUS MEET THE NEEDS OF CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN SOCIETY?

Variables	IRK Teachers		CRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Completely	10	33.3	21	70.0
Quite well	14	46.7	-	-
Moderately	2	6.7	-	-
Poorly	4	13.3	8	26.6
Not at all	-	-	1	3.4
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: This table demonstrates overwhelmingly that the present dual curriculum in RE satisfies the needs of contemporary Nigeria. An aggregate of 80% of

IRK teachers rates the curriculum 'quite well' and 'completely'. Similarly in the CRK group, 70% saw the curriculum as 'completely' meeting the needs of Nigeria. The remaining CRK teachers could not agree with such ratings.

TABLE 60 PLEASE DESCRIBE IN ABOUT 20 WORDS YOUR WORST PROBLEM IN TEACHING RE

Variables	IRK Teachers		CRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Insufficient textbooks	10	33.3	18	60.0
Students' poor attitudes	4	13.3	-	-
Understanding Arabic	15	50.0	-	-
No problem at all	1	3.4	12	40.0
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: 50% of IRK teachers stated that their worst problem in RE was how to get the students to understand the Arabic language. Another 33.3% mentioned a lack of relevant textbooks, while 13.3% indicated that their students' inability to practise the tenets of Islam was their major problem. The remaining 3.4% had no problem.

On the CRK side, those who mentioned lack of sufficient textbooks were in the majority (60%). The rest had no problems.

Perhaps, the acute shortage of relevant textbooks can be attributed to the following factors: Firstly, the existing RE curricula were introduced in 1985 which is fairly recent. Hence it will take time before books are widely available. Secondly, since the RE teachers were not adequately involved in the preparation of the syllabus,²¹ it would take a longer time before the authors among these RE teachers could familiarise themselves with the demands of the syllabus. Thirdly, the poor state of the Nigerian economy may also have implications for the production of textbooks. There is a scarcity of finance and manufacturing materials. The other two problems identified by some IRK teachers show the predominance of the confessional aim of RE.

TABLE 61 HOW FREQUENTLY DO YOU RECEIVE REPORTS ABOUT CONFLICTS BETWEEN RE STUDENTS IN YOUR SCHOOL ON THE BASIS OF RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Frequently	27	45.0	45.0
Occasionally	11	18.3	63.3
Very rare	4	6.7	70.0
No complaints	18	30.0	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: 45% of CRK and IRK teachers indicated that they received frequent reports, and 18.3% mentioned occasional ones, giving a total of 63.3%. By contrast, 30% claimed not to have received any complaints. The remaining 6.7% mentioned that reports of religious conflicts from the school were very rare. Despite the general religious toleration in southern Nigeria among whom this survey was conducted, there were reports of religious differences involving RE students. This result demonstrates the fragmentary impact of the present dual RE programme.

TABLE 62 HOW FREQUENTLY DO YOU RECEIVE REPORTS ABOUT CONFLICTS BETWEEN RE STUDENTS FROM THE COMMUNITY ON THE BASIS OF RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Frequently	17	28.3	28.3
Occasionally	7	11.7	40.0
Very rare	6	10.0	50.0
No complaints	30	50.0	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: A total of 40% indicated that they did receive reports of religious conflict involving their students from the community. Another 10% said they received such reports only on very rare

occasions. Perhaps most RE teachers did not receive reports of religious conflicts from the community because all the students were day students. Therefore, it is assumed that any conflicts would have been dealt with by parents. Possibly the few teachers who claimed to receive reports may be teaching in the villages where they would be in close contact with their students during and after the school day.

TABLE 63 HOW FREQUENTLY DO PARENTS OR GUARDIANS TELL YOU ABOUT THE FORM OF RE THEY WANT THEIR CHILDREN TO RECEIVE?

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Frequently	8	13.3	13.3
Occasionally	18	30.0	43.3
Very rare	-	-	-
No complaints	34	56.7	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: Only 13.3% answered frequently. 30% answered occasionally, while the largest percentage of the population (56.7%) claimed that parents did not complain to them about their children's choice of RE.

The majority of RE teachers probably claimed that parents did not complain because there was no need for any such complaint.

Many parents might have influenced their children's choice of RE from home by registering them in the schools where a particular form of RE was taught.

TABLE 64 INTEGRATED RE PROGRAMME WHICH WILL TEACH THE THREE RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF NIGERIA (I.E. AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RELIGION, ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY) IS MORE APPROPRIATE TO CONTEMPORARY YOUNG PEOPLE.

Variables	CRK Teachers		IRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Strongly agree	12	40.0	4	13.3
Agree	7	23.3	4	13.3
Undecided	3	10.0	1	3.4
Disagree	6	20.0	9	30.0
Strongly disagree	2	6.7	12	40.0
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: A total of 63.3% CRK teachers answered 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. By contrast, only 26.6% of IRK teachers demonstrated their support. Of those who disagreed or strongly disagreed 26.7% were from the CRK population and 70% were from the IRK population. The rest were undecided - 10% from the CRK group and 3.4% from the IRK group.

These results demonstrate the liberal training of most CRK teachers as compared to the dogmatic Islamic education received by the majority of IRK teachers.

Explanations: Those who rejected integrated RE offered various explanations.

The eight CRK and nine of the twenty one IRK teachers who disagreed, did so on grounds that the programme would lead to confusion. This seemed an imperfect judgement which may be regarded as biased. The integrated approach is not new in the organisation of school curricula in Nigeria. Most other related subjects have been integrated. For example, there is 'Integrated Science' comprising Chemistry,

Biology, and Physics in the Junior Secondary School Curriculum. The intention is to facilitate coherence in the learning experiences of children in those subjects.²² Here there was no problem of confusion. Indeed it was the success of Integrated Science which motivated Ogun State Ministry of Education to introduce 'Integrated Business' in its secondary school curriculum.

Furthermore, in the case of Integrated Religious Education, a phenomenological approach in teaching would eliminate the problem of confusion and indoctrination.

Another seven IRK teachers who rejected Integrated RE felt that the approach carried polytheistic implications. A common response was 'God should not be associated with anything'. This statement reflects the theological understanding of Religious Education. For these teachers the aim of IRK is to make their pupils better Muslims. The statement could also be linked to the erroneous view which many Muslims and Christians hold about African Traditional Religion. This group do not understand that ATR shares a common belief about God with Islam and Christianity.

Three other IRK teachers stated that the Integrated RE would not allow specialisation. Again, this is a reflection of the confessional view of RE.

The last two IRK teachers claimed that the integrated approach would lead to an unhealthy rivalry between the IRK and the CRK students. Against this, those who supported integration were optimistic that it would stimulate a dialogue between the three religious communities of Nigeria.

TABLE 65 THE INTEGRATED RE CANNOT PROMOTE
RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AMONG PUPILS

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Strongly agree	10	16.7	16.7
Agree	15	25.0	41.7
Undecided	3	5.0	46.7
Disagree	21	35.0	81.7
Strongly disagree	11	18.3	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: A total of 41.7% accepted the statement, while 53.3% rejected it. The remaining 5% were uncertain of their position.

Explanations: Those who accepted the statement, gave three explanations:

(a) Integrated RE can cause conflicts among students.

A few of such responses read:

"It is capable of generating sharp and heated criticisms among members of these religions who are exposed to different doctrines particularly if they detect the weak points of each religion."

"Pupils may take sides at the end and react negatively to others."

"They will not even have any regard for any religion, instead they will argue unnecessarily with one another."

(b) The RE teacher would jeopardise the intended aim of integrated RE. For example, one IRK teacher said:

"From my experience, the RE will be turned to Christian RE by trick."

Another said:

"The teachers themselves don't have religious tolerance, therefore they will not encourage it no matter what the approach."

- (c) The integrated approach will lead to a superficial treatment of the three religions.

One respondent said:

"Integration may not give room for deep knowledge in the various religions."

Those who supported integration by rejecting the statement offered two explanations: ~

- (a) Integrated RE would protect religious freedom of the students.
- (b) It would clear possible misconception of other religions. For instance, some teachers wrote:

"Knowing about other religions will prevent biased judgements, and therefore promote tolerance."

"It makes the students understand all the religions and so promotes tolerance."

Comments: All the arguments put forward by those who rejected the integrated approach centred on the method of teaching. The assumption that the integrated RE would generate conflicts between students or between RE teachers shows that the majority of RE teachers have little idea about the organisation of the proposed curriculum. Therefore, the re-training of teachers is a necessary step in the introduction of the new curriculum.

TABLE 66 INTEGRATED RE CANNOT HELP PUPILS IN THEIR SEARCH FOR A RELIGIOUS FAITH

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Strongly agree	12	20.0	20.0
Agree	12	20.0	40.0
Undecided	2	3.3	43.3
Disagree	21	35.0	78.3
Strongly disagree	13	21.7	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: 40% of the population agreed with the statement, while a larger percentage (56.7%) disagreed. The former explained that the students may be confused about which religion to choose. The latter argued that the integrated approach provided insight into the real truth of each religion, thus helping each student to discover the religion of his interest.

TABLE 67 EDUCATION IS NOT A SOURCE OF THE PRESENT MUSLIM/CHRISTIAN TENSION IN NIGERIA

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Strongly agree	5	8.3	8.3
Agree	16	26.7	35.0
Undecided	-	-	-
Disagree	20	33.3	68.3
Strongly disagree	19	31.7	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: A total of 65% of the population claimed that education was a source of the conflicts between Muslims and Christians of Nigeria, but 35% disagreed. The former gave three main explanations:

- (1) Those who fight do so as a result of being cheated educationally.
- (2) The contemporary religious conflicts were mainly perpetrated by the educated class.

- (3) Many students of secondary schools, colleges and universities were involved in the religious disturbances.

The latter also gave three reasons:

- (1) The conflicts between Muslims and Christians resulted from an Islamic doctrine which forbids compromise with other religions.

One IRK teacher wrote:

"Since the advent of Islam, it had been well rooted that there must never be compromise in religion."

- (2) Religious conflicts in Nigeria were caused by some foreign countries intending to destabilise Nigeria through religion.
- (3) Education cannot be blamed for the present religious tension because "It is those who are not educated or (sic) half-baked that cause trouble."

Comments: The opinions of those who identified education as one of the causes of religious intolerance correlated strongly with the documentary evidence.²³ However, both sides seem to have obtained their information from the mass media.

TABLE 68 IT IS NOT PART OF THE SCHOOLS' ROLE TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO ANY SOCIETAL PROBLEM.

Variables	IRK Teachers		CRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Strongly agree	2	6.6	1	3.4
Agree	3	10.0	2	6.6
Undecided	1	3.4	-	-
Disagree	15	50.0	11	36.6
Strongly disagree	9	30.0	16	53.4
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: The responses of IRK teachers to the above statement correlates with those of the CRK teachers. The majority of IRK and CRK teachers perceived the instrumental end of education by rejecting the statement.

TABLE 69 LIKE IRK AND CRK A SEPARATE CURRICULUM PROGRAMME SHOULD BE DESIGNED FOR STUDENTS WHOSE PARENTS ARE NEITHER MUSLIMS NOR CHRISTIANS

Variables	IRK Teachers		CRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Strongly agree	-	-	3	10.0
Agree	2	6.7	1	3.4
Undecided	-	-	2	6.6
Disagree	3	10.0	18	60.0
Strongly disagree	25	83.3	6	20.0
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: The majority of RE teachers (93.3% in IRK and 80% in CRK) did not support a separate curriculum for students whose parents were neither Muslims nor Christians. Although no reason was given for their disapproval, their responses may be explained by the inherent prejudice which educated Muslims and Christians of Nigeria hold concerning ATR and its followers.²⁴ The few RE teachers who accepted the statement were probably those who believed in equal opportunity principles.

TABLE 70 IN ORDER TO CONTROL THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE IN NIGERIA, IT IS BETTER TO AVOID ANY DIALOGUE BETWEEN ADHERENTS OF THE THREE RELIGIONS, PARTICULARLY ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY

Variables	IRK Teachers		CRK Teachers	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Strongly agree	23	76.6	-	-
Agree	2	6.7	4	13.3
Undecided	1	3.4	-	-
Disagree	4	13.3	10	33.3
Strongly disagree	-	-	16	53.4
	30	100.0	30	100.0

Comments: The opinion of IRK teachers on the statement contrasted vividly with those of the CRK teachers. While the majority of IRK teachers (83.3%) were in support of the statement, most CRK teachers (86.7%) were not. They saw dialogue as a means of resolving religious intolerance. This result correlates strongly with that of Table 56.

TABLE 71 A CHILD MUST FOLLOW THE RELIGION OF HIS OR HER PARENTS

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Strongly agree	7	11.7	11.7
Agree	11	18.3	30.0
Undecided	7	11.7	41.7
Disagree	16	26.6	68.3
Strongly disagree	19	31.7	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: 30% of the population agreed with the statement, 58.4% were against it, and 11.7% were undecided. Some of those who agreed explained that the statement conformed to a provision of the Nigerian Constitution. Others based their opinions on the need to maintain harmony within each family.

In contrast, a majority of those who disagreed claimed that such an idea was undemocratic, and argued that a child is an autonomous being whose freedom of expression must be respected. Others emphasized that the nature of religion demands that every individual must be free to make his or her own choice.

"Religion is not by compulsion, it is a matter of personal conviction. No one should be forced."

One IRK teacher who was not certain about the statement said "It depends on which religion."

TABLE 72

AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RELIGION
SHOULD NOT BE TAUGHT

Variables	Frequency	Per Cent	Cum. Per Cent
Strongly agree	3	5.0	5.0
Agree	9	15.0	20.0
Undecided	3	5.0	25.0
Disagree	25	41.7	66.7
Strongly disagree	20	33.3	100.0
	60	100.0	

Comments: A large percentage (75%) felt African Traditional Religion should be taught, 20% were against it while 5% were undecided.

Those in support of ATR based their opinion on the need to provide equal opportunities for the three major religions of Nigeria. For example, CRK teachers said:

"What makes IRK and CRK have room in the school curriculum, the same should give ATR room, as it is also a religion."

"It is deprivation of right on the part of those who are traditionalists."

Other respondents gave no explanation for their opinions.

8.5 Analysis of the Oral Interview

8.5.1 Causes of Religious Intolerance

Question 1: What in your opinion are the causes of religious conflicts in Nigeria?

Four of the six religious leaders asserted that the main cause of tension was an atmosphere of suspicion and indignation that existed between Muslims and Christians. This opinion was expressed differently.

Rev. Jiboku, the Vicar of Ebenezer Anglican Church, Abeokuta, and Alhaji Adesola, the National Secretary of Sharia Committee, Lagos, attributed religious tensions in Nigeria to 'fear of domination'.

According to Jiboku, there are numerous examples of Muslim efforts to take over the control of Nigeria for the ultimate Islamization of the country. He cited in particular the agitation for a Federal Sharia Court of Appeal (F.S.C.A.), and the alleged registration of Nigeria in the Organisation of Islamic Conference (O.I.C.) as evidence of Muslim domination.

Alhaji Adesola mentioned that Nigerian Muslims were dissatisfied with the adoption of European structures, such as the legal, economic, and educational systems which were historically rooted in Christianity. He felt that Nigerian Muslims could no longer tolerate such domination.

In the opinion of Rev. Bada, it was the increasing competitive spirit and rivalry between Christians and Muslims that resulted in several religious conflicts.

Alhaji Hassan who had lived in Northern Nigeria, saw the religious problems as a consequence of the displacement of Islamic values by the diffusion of western values.

He cited the Maitatsine disturbances as a protest against the transformation of traditional Islamic structures by the oil boom era (1974-81). One of the values affected, was the peripatetic Quranic School, destroyed by modern capitalism. According to him, the peripatetic system was the network for a redistribution of wealth from the affluent urban dwellers to the commoners. On the basis of rules for Islamic charity, Muslims were obliged to give alms to wandering Quranic students who in return would render prayer of blessings to every household they visited. The system was widespread throughout the Caliphate era, but with the introduction of capitalist production, these Quranic students became factory workers. Gradually, the practice declined.

The other two leaders representing ATR, asserted that the tensions between Muslims and Christians of Nigeria arose because political and social problems were approached from a religious perspective. Chief Adigboluja explained that the Sharia issue was entirely a political one.

Comments:

It seems both Rev. Jiboku and Alhaji Adesola approached this question with biased minds. Each of them was trying to justify the actions of his religious group by blaming the other.

Question 2: Would you attribute part of the blame for religious conflicts to religious fundamentalism in Nigeria?

The two Muslim leaders in the group did not believe that religious fundamentalism had any share in the conflicts. In the opinion of Alhaji Adesola, "Islam preaches tolerance to non-Muslims. The attitude of suspicion and hostility between Muslims and Christians developed for socio-economic and political reasons."

Similarly, Alhaji Hassan explained that those who were erroneously labelled 'fundamentalist' were the Muslim spokesmen. "Muslims were only demanding their rights", he said.

The other four leaders accepted in varying degrees that fundamentalism contributed to the contemporary religious discords.

According to Rev. Jiboku, many advocates of the Sharia law and courts in 1977 took fundamentalist postures in advancing their arguments. He also described the Maitatsine group as fundamentalists, reacting against the Muslim rulers in the north, who must be fought and killed for failing to implement fully the Sharia law.

Oba Banuso was not fully convinced about the role of religious fundamentalists in causing conflicts. He said: "I would not rule out the possibility of religious fundamentalism going by the utterances and actions of some religious leaders in the country."

Rev. Bada, and Chief Adigboluja explained that the pursuit of religious orthodoxy by a few Muslim and Christian elites led to many of the religious disturbances. Chief Adigboluja added that from the information he gathered, the three Maitatsine riots were part of the Islamic fundamentalism which started with the Jihad of Uthman dan Fodio in 1804. Like Fodio, Maitatsine aimed at purifying and reforming the Muslim society.

Question 3: Would you say there had been an upsurge of religious fundamentalism in Nigeria during the last few years? If yes, what factor(s) do you think has/have contributed to the rise?

All the four leaders who accepted the fundamentalist argument in Question 2 unanimously agreed on the rise of religious fundamentalism. Only Rev. Jiboku buttressed his view with an evidence, the other three leaders simply answered 'Yes'. He said religious fundamentalism has taken a new dimension in Nigeria. In the past, fundamentalists confined their activities and grievances to their faiths. He mentioned as an illustration the Jihad of Uthman dan Fodio in 1804 which aimed at reforming the Muslim community in Northern Nigeria. Today, the anger of Muslim reformists is directed towards the adherents of Christianity and African Traditional Religion. He also regarded the growing agitations by some educated elites for a return to African values and religious systems as a new fundamentalist posture.

Question 4: How do you think the government can approach this problem effectively?

There was a general agreement among the six interviewees that religious conflicts cannot be wiped out completely while Nigeria remains a multi-religious society. However, they believed that they can be reduced through the joint efforts of the government and the people.

The two Christian leaders emphasized the need for the federal government to observe the secular provisions of the Nigerian Constitution as a necessary step towards the amelioration of the religious problems. Rev. Jiboku mentioned that the OIC controversy would have been avoided if the federal government had not involved itself in a religious matter that is purely denominational. He therefore suggested that the State and Federal governments should show positively that they accept all religions and that they are determined to guarantee the religious freedom of every Nigerian.

The two Muslim leaders gave different answers. Alhaji Hassan suggested that both State and Federal governments should ban the use of state television and radio stations for the propagation of religious beliefs. Alhaji Adesola's solution was in the area of education. He said if state governments can provide equal opportunities for the teaching of IRK and CRK to Muslim and Christian children, the level of religious tension would be greatly reduced. He saw the cases of Oyo and Kaduna States where many Muslim children

were forced to offer CRK instead of IRK as a denial of freedom of conscience.

Chief Adigboluja suggested that the government must set up a representative council of all religious leaders to discuss the problems and settle their differences apart from the theological ones. He criticised the panel set up by the Federal government as unrepresentative, since it did not include members of ATR. In a plural religious community, he maintained, the government necessarily needed to treat all religions equally. Oba Banuso suggested that the government monitor the activities of religious associations because the majority of them aided religious fanaticism.

Question 5: Do you see religious dialogue, i.e. discussing and reasoning together, as a condition for religious tolerance?

Five of the six leaders supported dialogue between the competing faiths as a means of enhancing tolerance. Alhaji Adesola and Rev. Jiboku were of the opinion that an informed dialogue can generate better understanding, which will ultimately wipe out fears and distrust among Muslims and Christians. Chief Adigboluja also mentioned that dialogue can help members of one faith to understand the characters of others as formed by their religions. Rev. Bada suggested the establishment of a forum for inter-religious worship in order to promote social interaction rooted in peace and harmony among the Nigerian Christians and Muslims. Oba

Banuso simply answered 'Yes' to the question. The sixth person who did not support dialogue was Alhaji Hassan.

When asked whether he would prefer a monologue of each religion in order to avert future disturbances, he said 'Yes'. According to him, Islam does not encourage dialogue with other religions.

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CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter links the important themes of the preceding chapters. It then advances arguments for an Integrated Religious Education in Nigerian secondary schools.

9.1 Nigeria: A Conglomerate Society

One of the crucial problems facing modern Nigeria is how to cultivate a common national identity.

Since the attainment of independence, different political systems - parliamentary, unitary, and federalism, were adopted by successive governments to stimulate social harmony.¹ Despite these efforts, Nigerian society remained divided by ethnic and religious rivalries.

Tribal differences precipitated a bloody civil war between 1967 and 1970. As Graf said:

Most adult Nigerians have directly and poignantly experienced protests, riots, even massacres, civil war and coercive military rule, and thus know at first hand the result of faulty integration.²

Three interrelated factors were responsible for this lack of social harmony.

§.1.1 The Political Factor

Among the major obstacles to the development of Nigerian unity has been the diversity of tribes that make up the country.

Before the arrival of the colonialists, the area now known as Nigeria consisted of 394 tribes which have existed as autonomous political entities. Their social relationship was characterised by rivalry and competition. With the arrival of the colonial powers, tribes, who for centuries had dealt with each other only through war and commerce were forced to cooperate. Their background militated against national integration.³

A second political factor was the diversity of colonial administrative policies in different parts of the country.⁴

Many interpreters seemed to have based their analysis of the problem of unity entirely on the colonial policies. According to Chief Awolowo:

... the British not only made Nigeria, but also handed it to us whole and united on their surrender of power. But the united Nigeria, which they handed to us, had in it the forces - British-made forces they were - of its own disintegration.⁵

Similarly, in the opinion of Ejimofor:

The political system that Britain bequeathed to Nigeria at her independence in 1960 was full of too many conflicts and contradictions to be able to stand the rigours and demands of post-colonial centrifugal pressures.⁶

Clearly, these assessments have ignored the pre- and post-colonial political obstacles to national unity.

After three decades of self-rule, it would be wrong to tie rigidly contemporary problems to the colonial period. The educated elites who took over government from the colonial administration were to a large extent responsible for the lack of social integration. To them:

The struggle for independence amounted to a struggle for succession to colonial power and privilege, the right to replace one elite with another, rather than, say, a struggle for socio-economic transformation.⁷

It was in their struggle for power and privileges that ethnic rivalry and antagonism assumed key significance. Barongo explained:

What is usually regarded as 'tribalism' by Western writers is no more than a reflection of the underlying conflicts among groups over the allocation and possession of material resources. In competing for resources, ethnic or 'tribal' identity and solidarity are merely used by the elite members of ethnic groups as means of mobilizing groups for corporate action against other groups, usually for the purpose of achieving personal interests of the elites such as political power, jobs and other material rewards.⁸

Commenting on the Nigerian civil war, General Yakubu Gowon, a former Head of State remarked:

The experience of Federal troops in the East-Central State so far shows that the ordinary Ibo man ... was not responsible in any way for planning secession and its equally tragic aftermath. Secession and rebellion were planned and executed by the elites comprising some ex-politicians, university intellectuals, senior civil servants and, I regret to say, military officers ...⁹

Thus, the political obstacles to national unity should also be seen in relation to post-independence centrifugal inclinations of the educated elites.

9.1.2 The Religious Factor

Another divisive factor in Nigerian society was religion.

Christianity entered Nigeria through the southern coast and found little resistance from the Yoruba and Ibo tribes. It later became the predominant religion in this area.¹⁰ In contrast, Islam entered through Northern Nigeria and also became the dominant religion and culture of the Northerners.¹¹ The colonial rule, by its restrictions on Christian missionaries, prevented an early intercourse of the two religions. But with the termination of colonial rule, deep interaction of the two religions was inevitable, particularly with the development of modern communication links. This encounter between Islam and Christianity precipitated rivalry and competition. It eventually culminated in six major religious conflicts with a death toll of over six thousand people within the last decade.¹²

9.1.3 The Educational Factor

The third contributory factor to the problem of national unity was the organisation of Nigerian education. Since the creation of Nigeria, Islamic and Western systems of education have existed uncoordinated.

The aim of Islamic education was to produce good Muslims. The Christian missionaries, who were the pioneers and purveyors of western education, were more interested in proselytization. Early efforts made by Christian missionaries to introduce western education in Northern Nigeria were frustrated by the Northern religious hierarchy out of fears of conversion.¹³ On the other hand, western education was widespread in Southern Nigeria because of its openness to the Christian missionaries.

This educational imbalance between Northern and Southern states of Nigeria gave the Northerners a feeling of fundamental difference from the Southerners. This was particularly evident when the civil service posts in the North were filled with educated Southerners.¹⁴

Consequently, Muslim secondary schools were established to provide Islamic education on western lines by Muslim organisations for the purpose of competing with the schools established by Christian missionaries.¹⁵ Thus parochialism dominated Nigerian education. So, when the National Policy on Education was introduced in 1977, separate curriculum on Religious Education was recommended for Muslim and Christian children in order to guarantee their religious freedom. This dual R.E. curriculum fragmented the unity among students. For instance, in the fieldwork, only a few students (19.3%) claimed to have many friends from other religions.¹⁶ Furthermore, the dual R.E. programmes resulted in confrontations from Muslim parents and some state governments.¹⁷

From this it is clear that the educated elites were at the centre of the problem of unity. They were active in influencing the development of tribal rivalry in the first two decades after independence. Also, they contributed significantly to the present religious tensions in Nigeria.

In a survey conducted by Dada, the 'influential' members of Nigerian society which invariably are the educated elite, were found to be the cause of religious intolerance.¹⁸

It is also clear that the dominant status of religion in Nigeria has not changed. Today it is the basic divisive element of Nigerian society.

9.2 Recommendations

9.2.1 Need for Religious Dialogue

In order to ameliorate the contemporary problem of religious intolerance, this study recommends the establishment of dialogue between adherents of Islam, Christianity and African Traditional Religion. Such a dialogue could ultimately enhance the unity of the people of Nigeria. This assumption is based on two premises. Firstly, religion has both a unitive and a divisive influence depending on how it is approached. The religious conflicts in Nigeria have illustrated its divisive influence.

Emile Durkheim showed its unitive role. He held that religion could bring people together, re-affirm their bonds

and enhance their social solidarity.¹⁹ Durkheim derived his idea from a study of small aboriginal tribes of Australia which had one central religious tradition.²⁰ However, religion can still play an integrating role in multi-religious societies like Nigeria through dialogue.

Secondly, religion is a key factor in Nigerian society and it is widely recognised as the basis for national unity.

In the results of the Teachers' Questionnaire and Oral Interview, there was a general opinion that the problem of religious intolerance in Nigeria can be tackled through an appropriate dialogue between Muslims and Christians.²¹ President Babangida expressed such an opinion:

We recognise the dominance of religion in every thought and action of every Nigerian ... Religion should be given the opportunity to assist in our development effort in all spheres since it is a potent weapon of social mobilisation.²²

Furthermore, in a survey conducted by Abbas, 90 per cent of his population drawn from various parts of Nigeria claimed that religion forms the core of Nigerian culture, and therefore should remain its organizational basis.²³ So, religious dialogue would be a potent weapon in seeking national solidarity.

Efforts were made in the past to establish dialogue between Muslims and Christians. In November 1974, the Catholic Church of Nigeria organised a Conference of Muslims and Christians at Ibadan for the purpose of dialogue. At the Conference, discussions were based on the areas of

agreement and the formation of a common approach towards societal problems such as materialism, secularisation of education, bribery and corruption, abortion, and nepotism.²⁴ This form of inter-faith encounter was both secular and cooperative.²⁵ It was secular in the sense that it focused more on joint action to relieve human suffering and to meet human needs. It was cooperative in that it involved meeting, listening and discussing religious issues on the basis of the intellectual competence of participants. But dialogue means more than this. It does not concern religions as such, but persons holding living faiths.

Dialogue was not a mere talking about religion; that is very often pure babble, vanity, self-glorification. Nor was dialogue the 'comparative religion' of experts... The real dialogue takes place in a ultimate, personal depth; ...²⁶

Also, effective dialogue between Muslims and Christians cannot develop within the short period of a conference. Rather it would require a long period of mutual co-existence. Furthermore, the 1974 dialogue was confined to a group of religious experts.²⁷ Looking at the extent of religious intolerance in Nigeria, it is necessary to establish a wider forum for dialogue.

9.2.2 Dialogue Through Integrated Religious Education

It seems that one of the most appropriate methods of achieving religious dialogue is to introduce a multi-faith Religious Education curriculum in the secondary schools.

This will teach a basic knowledge of Islam, Christianity, and African Traditional Religion to every pupil irrespective of their religious background.

Both documentary and empirical evidence in this study have indicated that the non-integration of Islamic and Western (Christian) education, was a major cause of religious intolerance.

In chapter six, it was argued that the separateness of the two systems created rivalry, suspicion and prejudice between the predominantly Muslim North and the Christian South.²⁸

Similarly, in the fieldwork, it was discovered that the two systems had a differential impact on the R.E. teachers. IRK teachers were less enthusiastic about entering into dialogue with people of other faiths as a result of their educational background. Contrastingly, CRK teachers had a mind open to dialogue due in part to their liberal education.²⁹

Therefore, the replacement of the present dual curricula in R.E. with a common curriculum in R.E. could do much to unify the two educational systems by eliminating competition and rivalry. Also, an integrated R.E. curriculum will generate a better understanding among children by giving a knowledge of the three religions. Ignorance of one another's religion was a contributory factor to the problem of religious intolerance. For example, the vast majority of Muslim elites derive their

knowledge of Christianity from the Quran.³⁰ This has generated an attitude of hostility. Similarly, many Muslims and Christians hold misconceived ideas about African Traditional Religion. Derogatory names such as 'paganism' and 'fetishism' were still common among Christians. Muslims too, described adherents of traditional religion as 'Kafir' meaning 'unbelievers'. These misconceptions were partly an index of religious dogma as well as ignorance. Hence, in the fieldwork Muslims were unequivocal in rejecting the teaching of African Traditional Religion.³¹

Therefore, an integrated R.E. curriculum would spread the correct knowledge by which new relations could be formed. As Doi said:

... learning about each other will not only help to remove many misunderstandings and misconceptions which we hold about each other but also bring about a happy dialogue between Muslims and Christians.³²

In sum, integrated R.E. can not only lead to an understanding of each other's religion, but an understanding of each other's character as formed by a religion.

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APPENDIX 1

TREATY WITH LAGOS, 1852

Treaty with the King and Chiefs of Lagos,
signed January 1, 1852.

Commodore William Henry Bruce, Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's ships and vessels on the West Coast of Africa, and John Beecroft, Esquire, Her Majesty's Consul in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, on the part of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and the King and Chiefs of Lagos of the neighbourhood, on the part of themselves and of their country, have agreed upon the following articles and conditions:-

ARTICLE I

The export of slaves to foreign countries is forever abolished in the territories of the King and Chiefs of Lagos; and the King and Chiefs of Lagos engage to make and proclaim a law prohibiting any of their subjects, or any person within their jurisdiction, from selling or assisting in the sale of any slave for transportation to a foreign country; and the King and Chiefs of Lagos promise to inflict a severe punishment on any person who shall break this law.

ARTICLE II

No European or other person whatever shall be permitted to reside within the territory of the King or Chiefs of Lagos for the purpose of carrying on in any way the traffic in slaves; and no houses, or stores, or buildings of any kind whatever shall be erected for the purpose of Slave Trade within the territory of the King or Chiefs of Lagos; and if any such houses, stores, or buildings shall at any future time be erected, and the King and Chiefs of Lagos shall fail or be unable to destroy them, they may be destroyed by any British Officers employed for the suppression of Slave Trade.

ARTICLE III

If at any time it appears that Slave Trade has been carried on through or from the territory of the King and Chiefs of Lagos, the Slave Trade may be put down by Great Britain by force upon that territory, and British Officers may seize the boats of Lagos found anywhere carrying on the Slave Trade; and the King and Chiefs of Lagos will be subject to a severe act of displeasure on the part of the Queen of England.

ARTICLE IV

The slaves now held for exportation shall be delivered to any British Officer duly authorised to receive them, for the purpose of being carried to a British colony, and there liberated; and all the implements of Slave Trade, and the barracoons or buildings exclusively used in the Slave Trade, shall be forthwith destroyed.

ARTICLE V

Europeans or other persons now engaged in the Slave Trade are to be expelled from the country; the houses, stores, or buildings hitherto employed as slave-factories, if not converted to lawful purposes within three months of the conclusion of this engagement, are to be destroyed.

Article VI

The subjects of the Queen of England may always trade freely with the people of Lagos in every article they wish to buy and sell in all the places, and ports, and rivers within the territories of the King and Chiefs of Lagos, and throughout the whole of their dominions; and the King and Chiefs of Lagos pledge themselves to show no favour and give no privilege to the ships and traders of other countries which they do not show to those of England.

ARTICLE VII

The King and Chiefs of Lagos declare that no human being shall at any time be sacrificed within their territories on account of religious or other ceremonies; and that they will prevent the barbarous practice of murdering prisoners captured in war.

ARTICLE VIII

Complete protection shall be afforded to Missionaries or Ministers of the Gospel, of whatever nation or country, following their vocation of spreading the knowledges and doctrines of Christianity, and extending the benefits of civilization within the territories of the King and Chiefs of Lagos.

Encouragement shall be given to such Missionaries or Ministers in the pursuits of industry, in building houses for their residence, and schools and chapels. they shall not be hindered or molested in their endeavours to teach the doctrines of Christianity to all persons willing and desirous to be taught; nor shall any subject of the King and Chiefs of Lagos who may embrace the Christian faith be, on that account, or on account of the teaching or exercise thereof, be molested or troubled in any manner whatsoever.

The King and Chiefs of Lagos further agree to set aside a piece of land, within a convenient distance of the principal towns, to be used as a burial ground for Christian persons. and the funerals and sepulchres of the dead shall not be disturbed in any way or upon any account.

ARTICLE IX

Power is hereby expressly reserved to the government of France to become a party to this treaty, if it shall think fit, agreeably with the provisions contained in Article V of the convention between Her Majesty and the King of the French for the suppression of the Traffic in slaves, signed at London, May 22, 1845.

In faith of which we have hereunto set our hands and seals, at Lagos, on board Her Britannic Majesty's ship Fenelope, January 1, 1852.

(L.S.)	H. W. BRUCE
(L.S.)	JOHN BEECROFT
(L.S.)	KING AKITOYE
(L.S.)	ATCHOBOO
(L.S.)	KOSAE

APPENDIX 2

BRITISH CONSULS IN NIGERIA

1849-1900

Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra (Territories lying between Cape St. Paul and Cape St. John).

1849 J. Beecroft.

Consuls for the Bight of Benin (Lagos):

Consuls for the Bight of Biafra (Fernando Po):

1853 B. Campbell
1859 G. Brand
1860 H. G. Foote
1861 H. S. Freeman

1853 J. Beecroft
1855 T. J. Hutchinson
1861 Capt. R. F. Burton
1864 C. Livingstone

(After Lagos became a Colony, the Governor was also for a few years Consul for the Bight of Benin).

Consuls for the Bights of Benin and Biafra (Fernando Po):

1867 C. Livingstone
1873 G. Hartley
1878 D. Hopkins
1880 E. H. Hewett

(Headquarters transferred to Old Calabar in 1873, back to Fernando Po in 1875, and finally to Old Calabar in 1882).

Commissioners and Consuls-General for the Oil Rivers and Niger Coast Protectorate (and Consuls for Fernando Po):

1891 Major C. M. MacDonald
1896 R. D. R. Moor

Consul at Lokoja
1866 J. L. McLeod
(Consulate closed in 1869)T

Source:

Crowder, M. (1966): The Story of Nigeria; London, Faber and Faber, p. 362

APPENDIX 3

TREATY WITH LAGOS, 1861

Treaty between Norman B. Bedingfield, Commander of Her Majesty's ship Prometheus, and Senior Officer of the Rights Division, and William McCoskry, Esquire, Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Consul, on the part of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and Docemo, King of Lagos, on the part of himself and Chiefs.

ARTICLE I

In order that the Queen of England may be the better enable to assist, defend, and protect the inhabitants of Lagos, and to put an end to the Slave Trade in this and the neighbouring countries, and to prevent the destructive wars so frequently undertaken by Dahomey and others for the capture of slaves, I, Docemo, do, with the consent and advice of my Council, give, transfer, and by these presents grant and confirm unto the Queen of Great Britain, her heirs and successors for ever, the port and island of Lagos, with all rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging, and as well the profits and revenue as the direct, full, and absolute dominion and sovereignty of the said port, island, and premises, with all the royalties thereof, freely, fully, entirely, and absolutely. I do also covenant and grant that the quiet and peaceable possession thereof shall, with all possible speed, be freely and effectually delivered to the Queen of Great Britain, or such person as Her Majesty shall thereunto appoint for her use in the performance of this grant; the inhabitants of the said island and territories, as the Queen's subjects, and under her sovereignty, Crown, jurisdiction, and government, being still suffered to live there.

ARTICLE II

Docemo will be allowed the use of the title of King in its usual African signification, and will be permitted to decide disputes between natives of Lagos with their consent, subject to appeal to British laws.

ARTICLE III

In the transfer of lands, the stamp of Docemo affixed to the document will be proof that there are no other native claims upon it, and for this purpose he will be permitted to use it as hitherto.

In consideration of the cession as before-mentioned of the port and island and territories of Lagos, the Representatives of the Queen of Great Britain do promise, subject to the approval of Her Majesty, that Docemo shall

receive an annual pension from the Queen of Great Britain equal to the net revenue hitherto annually received by him, such pension to be paid at such periods and in such mode as may hereafter be determined.

Lagos, August 6, 1861.

(Signed) DOCEMO	his X mark.
TELAKE	his X mark.
ROCAMENA	his X mark.
OBALEKOW	his X mark.
ACHEBONG	his X mark.

NORMAN B. BEDINGFIELD,
Her Majesty's ship Pro-
metheus, Senior Officer,
Rights Division.

W. MCCOSKRY,
Acting Consul.

APPENDIX 4

TREATY WITH ABEOKUTA, 1893

Treaty of Friendship and Commerce made at Abeokuta in the Egba country, this 18th (eighteenth) day of January, in the year 1893.

Between His Excellency Gilbert Thomas Carter, Esquire, Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of Lagos, for and on behalf of India, etc., Her Heirs and Successors, on the one part, and the undersigned King (Alake) and Authorities of Abeokuta representing the Egba Kingdom, for and on behalf of their Heirs and Successors, on the other part.

We, the undersigned King and Authorities do, in the presence of the Elders, Headmen, and people assembled at this place hereby promise:—

1st. That there shall be peace and friendship between the subjects of the Queen and Egba subjects, and should any difference or dispute accidentally arise between us and the said subjects of the Queen, it shall be referred to the Governor of Lagos for settlement as may be deemed expedient.

2nd. That there shall be complete freedom of Trade between the Egba country and Lagos, and in view of the injury to commerce arising from the arbitrary closing of roads, we the said King and Authorities hereby declare that no roads shall in future be closed without the consent and approval of the Government of Lagos.

3rd. That we the said King and Authorities pledge ourselves to use every means in our power to foster and promote with the countries adjoining Egba and with Lagos.

4th. That we the said King and Authorities will as theretofore afford complete protection, and every assistance and encouragement to all Ministers of the Christian Religion.

5th. It is further agreed and stipulated by the said Gilbert Thomas Carter on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of England, that so long as the provisions of this Treaty are strictly kept, no annexation of any portion of the Egba country shall be made by Her Majesty's Government without the consent of the lawful Authorities of the Country, no aggressive action shall be taken against the said Country, and its independence shall be fully recognized.

6th. The said King and Authorities having promised that the practice of offering sacrifices shall be abolished in the one township where it at present exists, and having explained that British subjects have already freedom to occupy land, build houses, and carry on trade and manufacture in any part of the Egba country, and likewise

that there is no possibility of a cession of any portion of the Egba Country to a Foreign Power without the consent of Her Majesty's Government, it is desired that no special provision be made in regard to these subjects in this Treaty.

Done at Abeokuta this eighteenth day of January, 1893.

OSOKALU	his X mark	KING ALAKE.
OSUNDARE ONLADO	his X mark.	
SORUNKE JAGUNA	his X mark.	Representatives of King Alake and Egba United Kingdom.
OGUNDEYI MAGAJI	his X mark.	

G.T. CARTER, Governor and Commander-in-Chief,
Colony of Lagos.

Witnessed at Abeokuta this eighteenth day of
January, 1893.

G.B. HADDON-SMITH Political Officer.
R.L. BOWER, Captain, Asst. Inspector, Lagos
Constabulary.
J.B. WOOD, Missionary of the Church Missionary
Society.
A.L. HETHERSETT, Clerk and Interpreter, Governor's
Office.
E.R. BICKERSTETH, Trader.
W.F. TINNEY SOMOYE, Clerk to the Egba Authorities.

I the undersigned do swear that I have truly and
honestly interpreted the terms of the foregoing treaty to
the contracting parties in the Yoruba language.

A.L. HETHERSETT.
Witness to the signature,
E.R. Bickersteth, Trader.

APPENDIX 5

TREATY WITH OPOBO, 1884

Preliminary Treaty with the king and Chiefs of Opobo.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., and the King and Chiefs of Opobo, being desirous of maintaining and strengthening the relations of peace and friendship which have so long between them:

Her Britannic Majesty has named and appointed E.H. Hewett, Esq., Her Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, to conclude a Treaty for this purpose.

The said E.H. Hewett, Esq., and the said King and Chiefs of Opobo have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:-

ARTICLE I

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, etc., in compliance with the request of the King, Chiefs, and People of Opobo, hereby undertakes to extend to them and to the territory under their authority and jurisdiction Her Gracious favour and protection.

ARTICLE II

The King and Chiefs of Opobo agree and promise to refrain from entering into any correspondence, agreement, or Treaty with any foreign nation or Power except with the knowledge and sanction of Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

ARTICLE III

This Preliminary Treaty shall come into operation from the date of its signature.

Done in Duplicate the first day of July, 1884, on board her Britannic Majesty's Ship Flirt, anchored in Opobo River.

(signed) EDWARD HYDE HEWETT.
KING JA JA.
COOKEY.

Seal of the British
Consul for the
Bights of Benin and Biafra.

SECOND TREATY WITH OPOBO, 1884

Treaty with the King and Chiefs of Opobo, signed at Opobo.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., and the King and Chiefs of Opobo, being desirous of maintaining and strengthening the relations of peace and friendship which have so long existed between them:

Her Britannic Majesty has named and appointed E.H. Hewett, Esq., her Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, to conclude a Treaty for this purpose.

The said E.H. Hewett, Esq., and the said Chiefs of Opobo have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:—

ARTICLE I

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, etc., in compliance with the request of the King, Chiefs, and People of Opobo, hereby undertakes to extend to them and to the Territory under their authority and jurisdiction Her Gracious favour and protection.

ARTICLE II

The King and Chiefs of Opobo agree and promise to refrain from entering into correspondence, agreement, or treaty with any foreign nation or Power except with the knowledge and sanction of Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

ARTICLE III

It is agreed that free and exclusive jurisdiction Civil and Criminal over British Subjects and their property in the territory of Opobo is reserved to Her Majesty to be exercised by such Consular or other Officer as Her Majesty shall appoint for that purpose.

The same jurisdiction is likewise reserved to Her Majesty in the said territory of Opobo over Foreign Subjects enjoying British protection who shall be deemed to be included in the expression 'British Subjects' throughout this Treaty

ARTICLE IV

All disputes between the King and Chiefs of Opobo, or between them or British Traders, or between the aforesaid King and Chiefs and neighbouring tribes, which cannot be settled amicably between the two parties, shall be submitted to the British Consular or other Officers, appointed by Her Britannic Majesty to exercise

Jurisdiction in Opobo territories, for arbitration and decision or for arrangement.

ARTICLE V

The King and Chiefs of Opobo hereby engage to assist the British Consular or other officers in the execution of such duties as may be assigned to them, and further to act upon their advice in matters relating to the administration of Justice, the development of the resources of the country, the interests of commerce, or in any matter in relation to peace, order, and Government and the general progress of civilization.

ARTICLE VI

(As printed in the treaty being expunged).

ARTICLE VII

All white Ministers of the Christian Religion shall be permitted to exercise their calling within the territories of the aforesaid King and Chiefs, who hereby guarantee to them full protection.

ARTICLE VIII

If any vessels should be wrecked within the Opobo territories, the King and Chiefs will give them all the assistance in their power, will secure them ~~from~~ plunder, and also recover ~~and~~ deliver to the Owners or Agents all the Property which can be saved. If there shall be delivered to the British Consular or other officer.

The King and Chiefs further engage to do all in their power to protect the persons and property of the officers, crew and others on board such wrecked vessels. All claims for salvage due in such cases shall, if dispute, be referred to the British Consular.

ARTICLE IX

This treaty shall come into operation so far as practicable from the date of its signature.

done in duplicate at Opobo, this nineteenth day December in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four.

(Signed) EDWARD HYDE HEWETT.
JA JA.
COOKEY GAM.
PRINCE SATURDAY JA JA.
FINEBOURNE, his X mark.

JOHN AFRICA.	X	
HOW STRONGFACE.	X	
OGOLO.	X	Witnesses to the above
WILLIAM OBANNEY.	X	marks.
BLACK FOUBRAH.	X	
SHOO PETERSIDE.	X	
SAM ANNIE PEPPLE.	X	(Signed)
THOMAS JA JA.	X	HAROLD E. WHITE,
SAM OKO EPELLA.	X	H.M. Vice-Consul.
DUKE OF NORFOLK.	X	
WILLIAM TOBY.	X	R.D. BOLER,
JUNGI.	X	Chairman of the
CAPT. URANTA.	X	Court of Equity.
WARISOE.	X	
SAMUEL GEORGE TOBY.	X	

TREATY WITH ASABA, 1884

Treaty with Kings, Queen, and Chiefs of Asaba, signed at Asaba.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., and the Kings, Queen, and Chiefs of Asaba, being desirous of maintaining and strengthening the relations of peace and friendship which have for so long existed between them:

Her Britannic Majesty has named and appointed E.H. Hewett, Esq., her Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, to conclude a Treaty for this purpose.

The said E.H. Hewett, Esq., and the said Kings, Queen, and Chiefs of Asaba have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:-

ARTICLE I

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, etc., in compliance with the request of the Kings, Queen, Chiefs, and people of Asaba, hereby undertakes to extend to them, and to the territory under their authority and jurisdiction, her gracious favour and protection.

ARTICLE II

The Kings, Queen, and Chiefs of Asaba agree and promise to refrain from entering into any correspondence, Agreement, or Treaty with any foreign nation or Power, except with the knowledge and sanction of Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

ARTICLE III

It is agreed that full and exclusive jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over British subjects and their property in the territory of Asaba is reserved to Her Britannic Majesty, to be exercised by such Consular or other officers as Her Majesty shall appoint for that purpose.

The same jurisdiction is likewise reserved to Her Majesty in the said territory of Asaba over foreign subjects enjoying British protection, who shall be deemed to be included in the expression 'British subject' throughout this Treaty.

ARTICLE IV

All disputes between the Kings, Queen, and Chiefs of Asaba, or between them and British or foreign traders or between the aforesaid Kings, Queen, and Chiefs and neighbouring tribes, which cannot be settled amicably between the two parties, shall be submitted to the British Consular or other officers appointed by Her Britannic Majesty to exercise jurisdiction in Asaba territories for arbitration and decision, or for arrangement.

ARTICLE V

The Kings, Queen, and Chiefs of Asaba hereby engage to assist the British Consular or other officers in the execution of such duties as may be assigned to them; and, further, to act upon their advice in matters relating to the administration of justice, the development of the resources of the country, the interests of commerce, or in any other matter in relation to peace, order and good government, and the general progress of civilization.

ARTICLE VI

The subjects and citizens of all countries may freely carry on trade in every part of the territories of the Kings, Queen, and Chiefs parties hereto, and may have houses and factories therein, subject to the Agreement made on the 28th August, 1884, between the Kings, Queen, and Chiefs and the National African Company (Limited), of London.

ARTICLE VII

All ministers of the Christian religion shall be permitted to reside and exercise their calling within the territories of the aforesaid Kings, Queen, and Chiefs, who hereby guarantee to them full protection.

All forms of religious worship and religious ordinances may be exercised within the territories of the aforesaid Kings, Queen, and Chiefs, and no hindrance shall be offered thereto.

ARTICLE VIII

If any vessels should be wrecked within the Asaba territories, the Kings, Queen, and Chiefs will give them all the assistance in their power, will secure them from plunder, and also recover and deliver to the owners or agents all the property which can be saved.

If there are no such owners or agents on the spot, then the said property shall be delivered to the British Consular or other officer.

The Kings, Queen, and Chiefs further engage to do all in their power to protect the persons and property of the officers, crew, and others on board such wrecked vessels.

All claims for salvage dues in such cases shall, if disputed, be referred to the British Consular or other officer for arbitration and decision.

ARTICLE IX

This Treaty shall come into operation, so far as may be practicable, from the date of its signature.

Done in duplicate at Asaba, this 1st. day of November, 1884.

(Signed)

EDWARD HYDE HEWETT.
KING OBI AKATA, his X mark.
KING OBI NEZA OMKRORU, his X mark.
KING OBI WABUNI, his X mark.
KING OBI OSUDEBE, his X mark.
KING OBI RAPU OKOSA, his X mark.
KING OBI NTEE, his X mark.
KING OBI MEMEKA, his X mark.
KING OBI OGASIE, his X mark.
KING OBI CHEGEA, his X mark.
KING OBI NEYA, his X mark.
KING OBI AUBA, his X mark.
QUEEN OMU WANUKA, her X mark.
KING OBI ONACHIA, his X mark.
KING OBI EHBUAKA, his X mark.
CHIEF OSADEBE, his X mark.
CHIEF ITOR OMORDIE, his X mark.
CHIEF AFEHNAZA OMORDIE, his X mark.
CHIEF BALLIE OMORDIE, his X mark.
CHIEF MBA ODIE, his X mark.
CHIEF AWUNOR ODIE, his X mark.

Witness to the mark-signatures of the above thirteen Kings, of the Queen, and of the six Chiefs:

(Signed) REGINALD GOUGH PAYNTER.

(Signature in Arabic of 'Mohamedu Shitta', a merchant of Lagos where he is also known as William Shitta).

THE SHARI'AH DEBATE

PRESS RELEASE

MUSLIM STUDENTS SOCIETY OF NIGERIA,
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA

In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

In view of the latest developments in the Constituent Assembly, we of the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria wish to send the following message to the whole Nation.

We whole-heartedly support the withdrawal of some of the members of the Constituent Assembly from its proceedings because of the cavalier manner in which the issue of the Shariah had been handled by the Chairman in collaboration with the enemies of Islam in the Assembly. We sincerely commend the heroic stand of these members and would urge them not to submit to any pressure to compromise on this issue.

We condemn in the most absolute terms the dubious and hypocritical role played by the Chairman of the Assembly and his obvious connivance with his fellow opponents of Islam and the Shariah. We wish to inform the Nation that we have no confidence in the Chairman, Justice Udo Udoma, nor do we consider him worthy of the distinguished responsibility he has been given. In the light of this, we therefore, call on him to resign his office. We see the entire activities of the Constituent Assembly so far, spear headed by ambitious villains and extreme enemies of Islam, as just determined efforts to frustrate the Shariah and eliminate Islam and humiliate the Muslims in this Country.

Further, we are absolutely convinced that the latest developments so far show a total disregard for the rights and interest of all the Muslims in the Country, and a sheer dismissal of Muslims as a non-existent or at best, a dormant and irrelevant group of people who are neither conscious of their rights nor mindful of the importance of their way of life.

The Muslim Students Society of Ahmadu Bello University would re-emphasize its stand for the benefit of the whole Nation.

(i) We stand for the total application of the Shariah, both as a legal system and as a way of life. The Shariah is not reducible, nor can it be compartmentalised. Therefore, the Muslims would require not less than a total application of the Shariah, and its full entrenchment in the Constitution.

(ii) We reject in absolute terms the elevation of the English Common Law over the Shariah. The English Law is relevant only to agents of imperialism and people who have neither culture nor way of life and who are therefore forced to submit to colonialists and imperialists.

(iii) We see the establishment of the Shariah Court of Appeal whose decisions on all Shariah cases is final as a question of right. We totally reject any arrangement to make the Shariah Court a division of either the Federal Court of Appeal or the Supreme Court, for that precise means subjecting the Shariah to the English Law, and also putting the fate of Muslims in the hands of pagans, atheists and Christians.

(iv) We are not ready to make any compromise on these issues. The Shariah is our way of life; it controls the totality of our life; it is therefore our very life itself. We cannot, and we will never compromise on our life.

The Muslims Students Society therefore wishes to call on all Muslims in this Country:

- (1) To stand firm and resist to the last man, this effort of non-Muslims to suppress the Muslims and eliminate the Shariah. Our submission to Allah demands that we lay down our lives in the defence of His Religion, and to oppose all opponents of Allah.
- (2) To reject any form of compromise whether it is the making of the Shariah Court of Appeal as simply a division of the Federal Court of Appeal, or the limiting of the powers of jurisdiction of the Shariah Court of Appeal to Personal Law.

We finally call on all members of the Constituent Assembly to stop all opposition to the Shariah or take full responsibility for putting the entire nation in chaos.

(Sgd) IBRAHIM YA'QUB, Secretary-General, Muslim Students Society of Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
Spelling as in original.

THE AIMS AND MEMBERSHIP OF OIC**AIMS**

The Organization's aims, as set out in the Charter adopted in 1972 are:

1. To promote Islamic solidarity among member states;
2. To consolidate co-operation among member states in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and other vital fields, and to arrange consultations among member states belonging to international organizations;
3. To endeavour to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination and to eradicate colonialism in all its forms;
4. To take necessary measures to support international peace and security founded on justice;
5. To co-ordinate all efforts for the safeguard of the Holy Places and support of the struggle of the people of Palestine, and help them to regain their rights and liberate their land;
6. To strengthen the struggle of all Muslim people with a view to safeguarding their dignity, independence and national rights; and
7. To create a suitable atmosphere for the promotion of co-operation and understanding among member states and other countries.

MEMBERS

Afghanistan*	Indonesia	Palestine Liberation Organization
Algeria	Iran	Qatar
Bahrain	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Bangladesh	Jordan	Senegal
Benin	Kuwait	Sierra Leone
Brunei	Lebanon	Somalia
Cameroon	Libya	Sudan
Chad	Malaysia	Syria
The Comoros	Maldives	Tunisia
Djibouti	Mali	Turkey
Egypt*	Mauritania	Uganda
Gabon	Morocco	United Arab Emirates
The Gambia	Niger	Upper Volta
Guinea	Oman	Yemen Arab Republic
Guinea-Bissau	Pakistan	Yemen People's Democratic Republic

* Egypt's membership was suspended in May 1979 and restored in March 1984. Afghanistan's membership was suspended in January 1980.

Source: Nigerian Guardian, 24.1.86, p.6.

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE OIC

ADVERTISER'S ANNOUNCEMENT (i.e. ORGANISATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE)

DO YOU KNOW

- (i) That OIC's first main objectives is "to promote Islamic solidarity among member-states" (article II Section A (i)?
- (ii) That Article VI section 5 states that "The headquarters or Secretariat-General shall be in Jeddah pending the liberation of "Biat Ul Maqdis" (Jerusalem)? It is therefore setsto fight Israel by any means. Nigeria is therefore being made an enemy of Israel by its membership of OIC. Is this why we are yet to renew diplomatic relations with her?
- (iii) That the OIC by Article VIII of this charter on memoership presumes that all member-states are Moslem States (Islamic States)?
- (iv) That the Islamic summit conference i.e. conference of Kings and Heads of State apart from its periodic meetingsare ".....also held whenever the interest of Moslem Nations warrants it to consider issues of vital concern to the Moslem and to co-ordinate the policy of the organisation accordingly" (Article. IV). It is therefore basically religious and discriminatory. Nigeria as a secular state cannot be party to such discriminatory policies?
- (v) That by virtue of Article IV all future Nigerian Heads of State and Ministers for External Affairs can only be Muslims if we maintain our membership of the OIC, thereby mortgaging our future and subjugating the learning Christian masses perpetually.
- (vi) That Articles VII (i) States that "All expenses on the administration and activities of the secretariat shall be borne by member-states according to their national incomes"?
- (vii) That activities of the OIC through its Islamic solidarity funds include helping in establishing Islamic Universities as has been done in Niger, Uganda and Malaysia, building of mosques, organising seminars on various aspects of Islam and giving support to publications of Islam both in Muslim and other countries?
- (viii) That the above i.e. (vii) implies that Nigeria s resources belonging to all and sundry will be used to propagate the course of Islam?
- (ix) That the decision to join the OIC was not done by the AFRC or the Executive Council, but possibly by a faceless Moslem Mafia.
- (x) That the observer status of Nigeria on the OIC was not filled until 1981 for the first time.
- (xi) That the recurrent statistics on the population of various religious groups in Nigeria is as follows:

	Christians	Muslims	Others
1952/53	22%	44%	34%
1963	34.5%	47.2%	18.3%
1981/82	44.9%	45.5%	9.6%

(Ref. Nigeria Fertility Survey 1981/82 (Vol. 1. pp 8.55 & 57 National Population Bureau).

Using simple statistical projections based on above data the situation as per 1986 is as follows:

1986	51%	45%	4%
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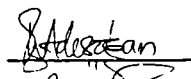

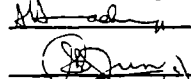

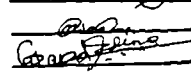
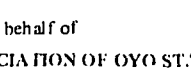

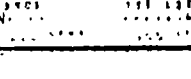
- (xii) That a conference of World Islamic Organisation took place in Mecca in 1974, and that the following measures were outlined to be pursued vigorously as the operation-win-the-world-for-Islam.
 - (a) Muslim Organisations should set up centres to resist christian missionary activities.
 - (b) Islamic Radio and Television stations should be established.
 - (c) All christian activities no matter the secular expression should be stopped.
 - (d) Christian Hospitals, orphanages, schools and universities should be taken over.
 - (e) Muslim organisations should set up intelligence centres about christian activities.
 - (f) All christian literature should be banned in Moslem countries.
- (xii) That the above measures, that is. (xii) (a-e) are being systematically carried out in Nigeria to the letters using the Vehicle of Government machinery in most instances? viz:
 - (a) In some states, deletion of the names given to christian schools by their previous founders and sometimes the substitution of muslim names for christian names.
 - (b) Taking over of christian schools and hospitals.
 - (c) Arabic inscriptions and emblems on Nigeria's currency notes and some items of the Nigerian Armed forces.
 - (d) Refusal to grant certificate of occupancy for church buildings in some parts of the Northern States.

- (e) Unprovoked attacks launched by Moslems against Christian groups with burning and destruction of churches in the North.
- (f) Large sums of Arab money unlawfully enter into this country to propagate Islami and to make Moslem proselytes. (We smell a rat with the coincidence of the large Arab money that is now ready and the new interim dispensation about the domiciliary accounts. Let the authorities be informed that we are watching and monitoring!)
- (g) Setting up Islamic Affairs Department in the office of the President during the Shagari regime.
- (h) In almost all regimes, Moslem ministers have always been put at sensitive positions that are crucial to economic distribution of the country while the christian ones are put only where brain-work is needed.
- (i) Relegation or retirement of christians in places of authority in the Public Service during Shagari and Buhari regimes with the substitution or supercession by lesser experienced and lesser qualified. Moslems even in economically vital areas of the administrations.
- (j) Various edicts in states banning public preaching and the registration of churches and organisations.
- (k) Importation of very large quantities of the Koran into the country and the contrasting difficulty in importing the Bible and christian religious materials by Christians.
- (l) Substitution in some hotels, of the Koran for Bible in each of their rooms.
- (m) The plan for the introduction of Sharia legal system in the Southern states of Nigeria.
- (n) Appointment of the Grand Khadi (ascustodian of Islamic law) for Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory belonging to all and sundry and not Muslim only.
- (o) Grand Khadis, Khadis and Alkhalis who are custodians of Islamic law are given the status of Government representatives and officials and maintained at Government expenses while there are no Ecclesiastical courts for christians.
- (p) Training of Moslem revolutionaries in Libya and ither Arab countries either directly or indirectly as University and College Students.
- (q) Granting of tacit ambassadorial status to the Palestinian Liberation

Organization (PLO) while such legitimate right to Israel has been unjustifiably denied.

(r) THE SMUGGLING OF NIGERIA INTO THE OIC THROUGH A RELIGIOUS PALACE COUP D'ETAT?

The christians shall be undaunted in the defence of their legitimate rights as citizens of this beloved country. No decrees or intimidations from government and/or Moslems shall deter us until Nigeria withdraws from the OIC. Afterall the blood of the matyr has always been the seed of faith. JESUS, STILL LEAD ON TILL OUR REST BE WON"

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|----|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Prof. E. K. Adesogen
(PATRON) |  |
| 2. | (Engr.) S. L. Pakolade
(Chairman) |  |
| 3. | Evangelist L. Fadeyi
(Secretary) |  |
| 4. | Flv. (Dr.) Samson Ogundeji |  |
| 5. | Rev. N. D. Osenoyan |  |
| 6. | Dr. O. G. Oguntoyinbo |  |
| 7. | Dr. A.M. Adesina |  |
| 8. | Dr. A. N. O. Edema |  |

For and on behalf of

UNITED CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF OYO STATE.

Produced by:
THE UNITED CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF OYO STATE
(An Affiliate of C.A.N.)
c/o P. O. BOX 4011, Ibadan.

ISLAMIC WELFARE FOUNDATION (IWF) BEYOND OIC ISSUE

The Islamic Welfare Foundation has noted with keen interest and deep concern the recent pronouncements by Christian leaders on the issue of OIC.

As usual, both in tone and in contents, the press statements, advertisements and sponsored news items have gone beyond the issue at stake to arouse old fears and prejudices against Muslims. This exercise is aimed at putting the record straight to the general public and the authors of those jaundiced press statements.

- (i) That Nigeria's membership of the OIC is a political decision taken by the government. And no one has been able to show how the interest of any religious group has been furthered by that decision to the detriment of other religions.
- (ii) That the recent Christian comments on the OIC amount to tantrums and effusive emotional outburst, reflecting crass ignorance of basic facts. This is regrettable.
- (iii) That an appeal is made to well meaning Nigerians to call for moderation and decency, to avoid a situation in which the nation may be divided into a sharp line of Muslims versus Christians.
- (iv) And finally, that contrary to the erroneous impression in those statements, Nigeria is still no less than a Euro-Christian enterprise;
- (v) All our national institutions — the educational systems, the judiciary and others are arranged to suit the convenience of the Christians; That the use of the Gregorian Calendar, the workfree Saturdays and Sundays, the application of the English Common Law, the use of Christian symbols — (Red Cross) in hospitals, the yearly state Christmas parties show clearly that all Nigerians irrespective of their faiths are at the mercy of the Christians.
- (vi) That all synthetic orchestration of protests are just a hollow pretext for sustaining the status-quo and the maintenance of Euro-Christian culture in Nigeria.

(SGD) >
< Abdu-Salaam Tunde Abbas >
< Secretary >

(SGD)
El-Hadj Saka Fagbo
Co-ordinator

Source: Nigerian Sunday Concord, 20.7.86, p.18

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF NIGERIA

CHURCH LEADERS' VIEWS ON PRESIDENT IBRAHIM BABANGIDA'S BROADCAST PRONOUNCEMENT ON OIC



From President Babangida's pronouncement on OIC, as contained in his broadcast to the nation on 27th June, 1986, it is evident that Nigeria has still not been withdrawn from the OIC, contrary to the legitimate expectations of majority of Nigerians.

We warmly embrace the idea of establishing a forum where the adherents of the different faiths, especially Christians and Muslims, can interact and promote peace and understanding among the peoples of this nation. We however, oppose the establishment of a Council for Religious Affairs, which will regulate religious activities. As far as the Church is concerned, the Holy Bible is the only recognised 'regulator' in such a matter.

If Sudan, an African country with strong Islamic elements, can withdraw from the OIC, we see no reason why Nigeria should find it difficult to pull out of the Organisation. We therefore, reiterate the demand, already made by the overwhelming majority of Nigerians, that Nigeria should withdraw totally and unconditionally from the OIC. Further deliberations will be made at a Heads of Churches' Meeting, scheduled to take place in Kaduna, on the 15th instant.

The Churches in Nigeria shall continue to pray for the peace, stability and prosperity of this 'nation.' She will also pray that those who govern may always look for DIVINE DIRECTION, before they take decisions especially on delicate and sensitive issues.

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P.O.Box 4020,
Ibadan.

Dated this 3rd day of July, 1986.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Rt. Rev. F.O. Segun
(Sgd.) | 8. Rev. Dr. James U. Ukaegbu
(Sgd.) |
| 2. Ven. E.O. Alayande
(Sgd.) | 9. Rt. Rev. Dr. E.A.A. Adegbola
(Sgd.) |
| 3. Rev. Dr. Ishaya Hudu
(Sgd.) | 10. Rev. Dr. Musa Gotom
(Sgd.) |
| 4. Rev. Dr. J.A Adegbite
(Sgd.) | 11. Col. J.O. Fadayomi
(Sgd.) |
| 5. Chief Ade Akomolafe
(Sgd.) | 12. S.I.S. Salifu
(Sgd.) |
| 6. Rev. Victor Musa
(Sgd.) | 13. Rev. J.P. Mambula
(Sgd.) |
| 7. Dr. D.N. Ohaka | 14. Rt. Rev. J.A. Adetiloye
(Sgd.) |

CHRISTIAN UNITED FRONT

(A Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) Task Force)

PRESS RELEASE

1. We, the teeming millions of Nigerian Christians, wish to express our dismay at the attempt by the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and his AFRC to prolong Nigeria's membership of the Organisation of Islamic Conference by the imposition of a National Council on Religious Affairs.
2. We recall that this so-called National Council on Religious Affairs was first proposed by the Ex-President Shehu Shagari during the civilian era, but was rejected by the National Assembly on the grounds that Nigeria is a Secular State. Could it then be that the President now wants to impose this Council on Nigerians?
3. If this be the case, we submit that the religious life of the people should not be regulated by Government because religion can and has become "explosive and sensitive" in Nigeria following the O.I.C. This is more so because if and when the body is tormented, it will become the greatest enemy of Nigeria's Freedom of worship.
4. It was out of love for our fatherland, respect to the presidency and above all in consideration of the christian love which at all times seeks peace, and understanding that the Nigerian christians who were not consulted before joining the OIC agreed afterwards to serve in the Shagaya — OIC panel. We expected that this show of understanding should have been fully appreciated and reciprocated by a withdrawal from the Islamic body.
5. It is noteworthy that before the O.I.C., there was no conflict between Christians and Muslims. The O.I.C. is the messenger of conflict and disharmony, and will continue to remain. The only way to eradicate this religious conflict and disharmony in our dear country is for those who got Nigeria into the O.I.C. to get her right out of it.
It is not a "National Council for Religious Affairs" that is needed, but a withdrawal from the O.I.C.!
6. On the basis of the foregoing, we christians wish to state categorically that we will have nothing to do with the National Council on Religious Affairs. Any Christian who accepts to serve on this Council is an Anti-Christ and should realise from the beginning that he is representing himself, and not the Nigerian Christians.
The Christian United Front therefore demands that all those things that have been presenting us as an Islamic State, which God has now opened our eyes to see through the imposition of the O.I.C. should be removed as a matter of urgency in order to preserve the secularity and peace of Nigeria.
In consequence therefore, we demand:-
 1. An immediate withdrawal of Nigeria from the Organisation of Islamic Conference.
 2. A cancellation of the idea of a National Council on Religious Affairs. The Federal Government and the State Governments should hands off religious affairs in this country.
 3. That the Arabic inscription and the sign of the Mosque on our National Currency Notes, the Naira, be deleted.
 4. That the Presidential Lodge at Abuja be reconstructed to include a Chapel, if there must be a Mosque because a Christian has the right to be a President of this country.
 5. That the proposed building of a Mosque at the Murtala Mohammed International Airport be halted, failing which a piece of land should be made available to Christians to build a Church side by with the Mosque to indicate the Secularity of Nigeria.
 6. That the imposition of Islamic Teachings in public schools in some States should be stopped forthwith.
 7. That the Federal Government should stop running religious pilgrimages for both Christians and Muslims. Anyone wishing to undertake a pilgrimage should do so at his own expense and should receive the same B.T.A. for all citizens.
 8. That the Federal Government should, without further delay, restore full diplomatic relations with Israel in the same way Nigeria maintains full diplomatic relations with Saudi-Arabia.
 9. Finally, we wish to state that the Christian love for peace should not be misconstrued for weakness. Christians have a God-given right to defend their faith and life.

(Sgd)
1. Engr. E. Izuogu (Secretary)

(Sgd)
2. Rev. N.I. Erimujor (Vice Chairman)

(Sgd)
3. C. Emekoma (Chairman)

(Sgd)
4. Dr. C. Ngochindo (Asst. Secretary)

(Sgd)
5. Rev. Dr. A. Asonye

(Sgd)
6. Mr. C. Enwere

(Sgd)
7. Rev. J. Nworie

(Sgd)
8. Pastor P. Dioha

(Sgd)
9. Rev. S. Obih

For and on behalf of the Christian United Front (A Christian Association of Nigeria Task Force).

Source: Nigerian Guardian, 9.7.86, p.10.

WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL
PRIVATE MAIL BAG 1022
YABA, LAGOS

L/FR/27

28th May, 1974

Dear Sir/Madam,

Examination Irregularities

The West African Examinations Council hereby invites you to join in the campaign to eliminate cases of irregularities in our examinations. The Council realises that it cannot tackle the problem in isolation.

The Council calls on teachers, principals of secondary schools, churches and parents to help in preaching against and eliminating this problem. A section of the enclosed pamphlet contains specific cases of irregularities in the 1972 November/December examinations and the decisions taken in each case by the Final Awards Committee - an international Committee of the Council comprising representatives from The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Liberia.

This is a general appeal to every teacher and school principal. The Council does not in the least imply that your institution has been found guilty in any case of irregularity.

Yours faithfully,



F. A. LONGE
AG. SENIOR DEPUTY REGISTRAR.

ISN/FAL/Sea.

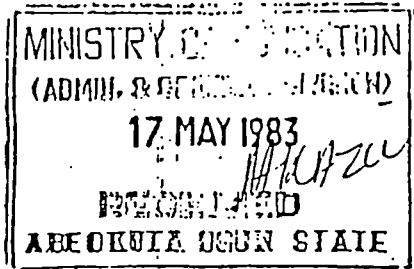
Distribution:

To all Principals of Secondary Schools.

CURRICULUM SUBJECTS OF THE JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

Core Subjects	Pre-Vocational Subjects	Non-Vocational Subjects
Mathematics	Woodwork	Arabic Studies
English	Metal Work	French
Nigerian Languages (2)	Electronics	
Science	Mechanics	
Social Studies	Local Crafts	
Art and Music	Home Economics	
Practical Agriculture	Business Studies	
Religious and Moral Instructions		
Physical Education		
Pre-Vocational Subjects (2)		

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BIBLE KNOWLEDGE TEACHERS OF NIGERIA



38/83/Min, Ed.

P.O. Box 132, Kaduna

April 28th, 1983

Permanent Secretary

Ministry of Education

Ogun State

Sir,

RESOLUTIONS FROM NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Attached please find a copy of the resolutions from the national conference of this association (National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, N.A.B.K.T.N.), held at Calabar April 13-16th, 1983.

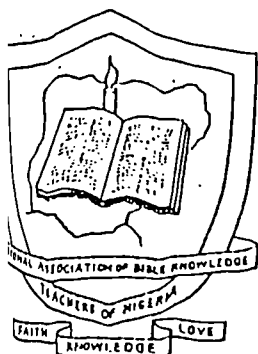
Your positive consideration of the resolutions will be highly appreciated.

Respectfully,

E. Vingborg

Elisabeth Vingborg,

National Secretary.

Copy: State Chairmen of NABKTN¹⁵ ranches.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BIBLE KNOWLEDGE

TEACHERS OF NIGERIA (N.A.B.K.T.N.)

ANNUAL CONFERENCE, CALABAR 1983

RESOLUTIONS:

Whereas the National Educational System aims at:

- (a) The inculcation of National consciousness and National Unity,
- (b) the inculcation of the right type of values and attitudes for the survival of the individual and the Nigerian Society;
- (c) the acquisition of proper skills, abilities and competencies both mental and physical and equipment for the individual to live and contribute to the development of his society;

and whereas the relationship between religion and society can be based on the following facts:

- (a) promotion of agreement about nature and content of social obligations;
- (b) provision of systems of basic values by which socialization of the members of the society is facilitated;
- (c) developing a true spirit of nationhood where differences of religion, ethnic and culture are de-emphasized, and where all forms of molestation and abuse of power are expunged from body politics;
- (d) directing individual members of the society to develop integrated personalities;

The National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (NABKTN) in its 13th Annual Conference, held at Calabar, Cross River State, from 13th to 16th April, 1983, is obligated to support the Governments of the Federation and the various Ministries of Education to achieve our educational and national objectives; be it resolved and it is hereby resolved that

1. Time has come for Nigerian leaders to realize that this nation cannot achieve the goal of ethical revolution without a strong religious base, and that the school should participate in such a move;

p.t.o.

2. The Bible teacher to serve as the vanguard in the schools as fighting fronts against all forms of corruption and immorality in close co-operation with the school staff, the church, the home and the State;
3. Christian Religious Education be the base for all moral education of christian students;
4. All Bible Knowledge teachers should ensure that both the teacher and the taught appreciate the basic fact that Christian Religion is a way of life to be actively lived and not simply a discipline for the acquisition of a certificate.
5. The National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (N.A.B.K.T.N.) strongly deplores the molestation of people of opposing religious views in some parts of the country as this negates the freedom of worship entrenched in the Nigerian Constitution.

~~National Secretary~~

~~J.A. Ilori~~

Dr. J.A. Ilori,
National President

Junior Secondary School Islamic Studies Curriculum

1. INTRODUCTION

The survival and welfare of a nation depend largely on the way of life of its individual members, their mental and moral orientation, and their cohesion as a society. This fact has been recognized in Islam, which therefore addresses itself to the whole way of life of individuals and society so as to achieve a balanced result.

This Islamic Studies Curriculum has been prepared to reflect this broad concern, so as to inculcate true and balanced values in the young Nigerian at an age when his mental and moral development is at a formative stage. The inner stability so obtained and the guiding principles so learned will help him or her to stand firm in the midst of the cross-currents of ideas and rapid social change which are a feature of our age.

Islamic Studies can be defined as the totality of learning experiences which centre on the relationship between man and his Creator and between man and his fellow-men.

Islamic Studies therefore aims at the following:

- (a) recognition of Allah as the Creator and Sustainer of the universe and the sole Source of values;
- (b) cultivation of the sense of gratitude to Allah and submission to His guidance and moral law, both in our worship of Him and in our behaviour towards our fellow-man;
- (c) awakening of the faculty of intellect and reasoning in accordance with the Qur'anic injunctions: "Will you not use your reason?" and "Will you not ponder and reflect?"
- (d) encouragement of the pursuit of useful knowledge in accordance with the saying of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him): "The search for knowledge is a duty for every Muslim, male or female," and the application of such knowledge for the benefit of humanity in the fields of science, technology, medicine etc;
- (e) attainment of balanced development of the individual and community by giving due weight to the physical, social, intellectual, moral and spiritual needs of man;
- (f) realization of human rights, equality and brotherhood, with emphasis on practical means of achieving social solidarity and ethnic harmony in place of greed and selfishness;
- (g) awakening in the heart the consciousness of the presence of Allah as a witness of all our actions, thoughts and behaviour, acting as a restraint on wrong doing, whether public or private, and as an incentive to good behaviour.

Education in the Islamic sense produces a cultured, well-behaved, considerate, reasonable and God-fearing man or woman — in other words, a disciplined person.

Every branch of Islamic Studies, as will be seen, has specific contributions to make to the emergence of disciplined persons, which is why moral education cannot be detached from Islamic Education. It will be observed that the aims of the Islamic Studies Curriculum and the National Policy on Education are substantially the same.*

2. FEATURES OF THE ISLAMIC STUDIES CURRICULUM

Islamic Studies falls naturally into various interconnected sub-divisions or branches. Those branches which have been incorporated in the Junior Secondary School Curriculum are six: The *Qur'ān*, *Ḥadīth*, *Tawḥīd*, *Fiqh*, *Sīrah* and *Tahdīb*. The meaning of each of these, their subject matter and significance may be summarized as follows:

(a) THE QUR'ĀN

The Qur'ān is the revealed word of Allah, and is therefore the first source-book of guidance for a Muslim. It guides and governs Muslims in their belief, world-view, modes of worship, law and morality, including social, economic and political affairs. It also inspires and guides their spiritual development. In addition, its recitation in the original Arabic text forms the greatest part of the liturgy in prayer and on solemn occasion.

Some parts of the Qur'ān to be used in prayer therefore need to be memorized in Arabic by every Muslim, together with their meaning so that he may understand and take heed of what he is reciting.

In the present Junior Secondary School Curriculum this need for memorization and meaning is met, together with essential information about the revelation and compilation of the Qur'ān.

* See *National Policy on Education*, (1981), p. 7.

(b) THE ḤADĪTH

The *Ḥadīth* are the recorded sayings and actions of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). Their function is to give further explanation or elaboration of the basic principles of the Qur'ān, and to show in some detail how the Prophet himself practised Islam. A large number of *ahādīth* also convey specific moral teachings by the Prophet to his followers. The *Ḥadīth* therefore constitutes, together with the Qur'ān, the true source of values and morality for Muslims.

In this Junior Secondary School Curriculum, students will study a number of *ahādīth* from the famous collection of An-Nawawī, and learn how the *ahādīth*

were reported and collected, as well as the moral values contained in each of them and how to achieve the values.

(c) TAWHĪD

Tawhīd means literally the "Unity" (of Allah) but may be understood by the English term "theology" or "belief". It is the teaching of the fundamental beliefs of Islam as stated in the Qur'ān, i.e. belief in the unity of God (Allah); His angels; His revelations to mankind through His Prophets, including the revealed books; the accountability of man for his deeds on the Day of Judgement, and Allah's ultimate control over His Creation.

Understanding of *Tawhīd* therefore guards a Muslim against false beliefs and superstitions. It also helps a Muslim to understand his purpose in life and imbues him with a sense of responsibility and accountability to Allah for his actions. The moral guidance and laws of the Qur'ān are conscientiously and willingly followed and obeyed by a true Muslim because of his belief in their divine source through revelation, and because of his belief in his accountability to his Creator. *Tawhīd* is therefore an essential component of the Islamic moral/legal system.

(d) FIQH

The word *Fiqh* has no proper English equivalent, since it covers a very wide field including the modes of formal worship in Islam and also legal matters.

The term "Jurisprudence" sometimes used as a translation of *Fiqh* is therefore inadequate.

As far as the Curriculum for Junior Secondary School is concerned, those aspects of *Fiqh* to be covered are mainly those relating to worship, in the form of the remaining four Pillars of Islam (*Tawhīd* (belief) being the first of the five), i.e. Prayer, Fasting, *Zakāt* (welfare tax) and Pilgrimage.

Prayer, Fasting, *Zakāt* (welfare tax) and Pilgrimage have spiritual, moral and social dimensions too numerous to be detailed here, but which may be summarized as follows:

- (i) they help to unite the community;
- (ii) they foster mutual love and brotherhood;
- (iii) they stress and exemplify human equality and dignity;
- (iv) they instil sympathy and command care for the weak and needy;
- (v) they arouse God — consciousness in the individual and in the community.

The curriculum also covers the Islamic law of marriage and divorce, so that students may know their future responsibilities and rights in this respect. The curriculum also deals with Islamic principles of business transactions in respect of avoidance of fraud, cheating and usury.

(e) SĪRAH

Sīrah means "biography", and refers in the first instance to the biography of the

Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him). His life-story is studied partly for its historical information and partly for the moral lessons to be learned to emulate the Prophet's exemplary behaviour at various stages of his life as an orphan, a youth, a worker, a husband, father, friend, refugee, head of state, judge, soldier, statesman and so on, in all the vicissitudes and astonishing achievements of his life.

The curriculum deals similarly with some of the major Prophets of earlier times and with the four Righteous Caliphs and other famous Muslims, men and women. It also covers some great Islamic figures in the history of Nigeria.

(f) TAHDHĪB

Tahdhīb puts special emphasis on the field of moral and social teachings derived from the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*. In the Junior School Secondary Curriculum this includes personal cleanliness and clean habits, greetings, good manners, honesty and truthfulness, keeping promises, goodness and obedience to parents, respect for elders, kindness to juniors, to orphans, to the poor and needy and to neighbours, forgiveness, justice and fair play, patience and endurance, obedience to constituted authority, visiting the sick and the bereaved, modesty of dress and behaviour, duties of parents to their children and the importance of seeking knowledge for a Muslim.

It also includes warnings against the evils of bribery and corruption, stealing, abusing and back-biting, gambling, tribalism, drinking alcohol, smoking, taking drugs, adultery and fornication.

3. THE UNITY OF ISLAMIC STUDIES

It will be observed from the description of the six branches of Islamic Studies taught at Junior Secondary School level that they are all inter-dependent, and that *Tahdhīb* (Moral and Social Education) in particular is derived from and inter-related with each of the others. The Qur'ān, and *Ḥadīth* provide its source, *Tawhīd* (Belief) emphasizes its authority and sanction, *Fiqh* demonstrates and inculcates its practical expression, while *Sīrah* exemplifies it in the lives of the Prophet and of the other great Muslim men and women.

Any attempt to separate moral education from Islamic Studies for Muslim is therefore retrogressive and bound to weaken or nullify its effectiveness.

4. THE COMBINING OF SUBJECT BRANCHES

In view of the need to teach 6 branches of Islamic Studies in an anticipated 3 periods per week at Junior Secondary level, the subjects have been grouped in pairs in accordance with their most natural connections, i.e.

- (a) Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*
- (b) *Tawhīd* and *Fiqh*
- (c) *Sīrah* and *Tahdhīb*.

The first part of each term is given to the first of each pair,

and the second part of each term is devoted to the second of each pair. The weighting is however not equal, depending on the content of the subject matter.

5. TERMINOLOGY

(a) ISLAMIC STUDIES

The title "Islamic Studies" is chosen in preference to any previous titles, since it is more comprehensive and therefore appropriate to the subject matter in the curriculum.

(b) ALLAH

In Islam only the word Allah is used for the Supreme Being, God. This is because it is the word the Supreme being uses for Himself in the Qur'an. It is also because the word is unique and does not have any dual, plural or feminine form and therefore does not connote any idea of gods and goddesses. It is unlike the word "God" in the English Language which means different things depending on whether it begins with a capital G or a small g. Allah is god with capital G.

(c) ARABIC TERMS

Certain Arabic terms have no accurate or acceptable English equivalent. In such cases the Arabic words should be used — e.g. *fiqh*, *tawhid*, *sumnah*, *salat* and explanation given.

Where a good English equivalent exists it should be used, but the Arabic term may be taught as well, as means of broadening the students' Islamic/Arabic Vocabulary.

6. IMPLICATIONS OF THE CURRICULUM

(a) NUMBER OF PERIODS PER WEEK

A minimum of 3 periods per week are required for the effective teaching of the subject and the curriculum has been prepared on that expectation (see section 4 above).

(b) METHODOLOGY

The new curriculum is based where appropriate on a participative and exploratory method of teaching. This approach is a departure from the traditional system of religious instruction and is expected to be much more interesting and effective in influencing the attitudes and understanding of the students.

(c) TEACHER TRAINING AND RE-TRAINING

Due to the new approach adopted in this syllabus, the Federal Ministry of Education and various State Ministries of Education need to organize refresher courses for teachers of Islamic Studies; and existing Teachers' Colleges should, for their part, be asked to prepare their students for the effective handling of the syllabus.

(d) TEXTBOOKS

There are at present very few textbooks on the market that are relevant to Junior Secondary level. The new curriculum and its methodology moreover need a new approach. This is a challenge to all Muslims who have the ability to meet this need in the shortest possible time.

The Federal Ministry of Education may have a role to play in encouraging competent writers and artists in the preparation of textbooks, reference books and audio-visual aids, the latter being at present almost entirely home made, where they exist at all. Wall charts would be of great use for Islamic Studies.

(e) SUPPORTIVE MEASURES AND FACILITIES

The effective teaching of Islamic Studies requires facilities for its practical application, and support from school authorities for Muslim Students so that they can apply what they have learned.

This has many aspects, of which a few will be mentioned here:

- (i) there is need for provision of a mosque or recognised place of prayer for Muslims, so that the prayer is given its due importance;
 - (ii) facilities need to be provided for Muslim students during the *Ramadan* fast so as not to place undue strain on them;
 - (iii) encouragement should be given in the schools for a well-run Islamic Society guided by keen, competent and reliable teachers or interested outsiders;
 - (iv) Ministries and Principals need to ensure that the social, moral and spiritual well-being of Muslim students are looked after. Muslim Students should not be encouraged to participate in activities that are contrary to the moral and social teachings of Islam, such as mixed dancing, drinking, nude bathing, the wearing of immodest dress etc.
- The principal is *in Loco parentis* and as such must give due respect to the wishes of Muslim parents that their children should grow up with their Islamic identity and Islamic moral and social standards. This is an area of great importance that is widely ignored. The new Islamic Studies Curriculum can hardly be a success for 3 periods a week if the school for the rest of the week is pulling the child in an opposite direction.

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The Nigeria Junior Secondary Education Christian Religious Knowledge Curriculum: rationale, structure and implications

Introduction

Since late 1960s, the Nigerian Educational system has consistently undergone far-reaching and meaningful innovations. These changes are manifested not only in the expansion of educational facilities such as the introduction of the Universal Primary Education (U.P.E.) and the establishment of new supporting agencies, but in structural rearrangements such as the new 6-3-3-4 system and the production of appropriate new curricula on various subject areas. The present attempt to develop a Christian Religious Knowledge (C.R.K.) curriculum for Junior Secondary Schools is a very significant aspect of these changes. Because of the adoption of the 6-3-3-4 system, the CRK curriculum attempts to meet the challenge of providing formal CRK which is both terminal for those whose secondary schooling ends at the end of three years, and continuous for those who will complete the CRK programme in the senior years. Besides, it is also an attempt to provide a joint curriculum on Christian Religious Knowledge acceptable on a national basis to all Christian groups.

Philosophy and approach of the CRK Curriculum

The term CRK underscores the modern conception of the subject in a broader perspective. Bible Knowledge as a course title was somewhat misleading and there were varying interpretations ranging from a narrow literary, factual and an examination-oriented approach, to a limited Bible-to-life application approach. CRK is an attempt not only to emphasize an understanding of the religious content but its educational and experiential implications for the learner.

* The CRK curriculum maintains the emphasis that religion and morality are not synonymous but are related. Whereas morality deals with knowledge and a code of conduct of good and bad in a society, religion is wider. It deals with the ultimate basis of one's faith revealed by the divine as well as how this mandates believers to live in harmonious relationship with God and fellow human beings. Religion thus provides the motivational and enduring basis for morality. God reveals Himself to mankind in the Bible. And since the Living God has remained the same throughout time, and the basic nature, needs and consequent problems of human beings have also not changed, the Bible is still the authoritative source of information, inspiration and guidance for Christians in their relationship with God and man in the human context. This basic philosophy has led to an approach which uses the

Bible as the main source material for instruction and inspiration for Christian living.

Aims and Objectives

It is believed that a study of the Bible and its relevance to life can have profound effects on the understanding and behaviour of young adolescents. Therefore, the general objectives which have guided the formulation of the CRK curriculum are:

- (a) to provide opportunity for the students to learn about God and grow in their faith in God;
- (b) to enable students to accept Christ as the founder and sustainer of the Christian Church;
- (c) to help students apply the teaching and examples of Christ in their lives with the help of the Holy Spirit;
- (d) to develop and foster in the lives of the students Christian attitudes and values such as respect for life, respect for all men, selfless service to God and humanity;

Content and Arrangement

The content of the curriculum is an attempt to reflect the philosophy and objectives of CRK. The Bible passages were selected to provide essential information relevant to Junior secondary students on Christianity, the relationship of human beings with their Maker and others and how to conduct themselves as Christians in the society.

An order has been maintained in line with that in the Bible in that, Year One deals with the Old Testament (OT), Year Two studies the New Testament (NT) and Year Three, the Acts of the Apostles. However, the actual selection of passages is more thematic than strictly chronological. Thus, some incidents were omitted which perhaps would have been included if a strict chronological narrative and order had been followed.

A brief description of the selection on a yearly basis is included here to give a flavour of the development of the themes.

THE OLD TESTAMENT

Topics and contents have been selected to expose students to Bible facts and help them relate this knowledge to real life situations. The content includes some life themes with their corresponding Bible passages from the Old Testament and some references made to the New Testament wherever applicable. For example, the topic 'The need for Reconciliation' taken from two Bible stories of 'Esau' and 'The Prodigal Son' is used to encourage peaceful relationships in the lives of the students and those of others through discussion and drama.

Year 2

THE NEW TESTAMENT

Selections from the New Testament are presented to young students in their second year of Junior Secondary School to introduce them to the fulfilment of God's promise sent through Christ, the Saviour. The mission of Christ, which continues into our present times is executed, through His exemplary life and sacrifice, teachings and continuous concern for human beings. The selections, hopefully, will help the students to learn about the importance of relationship with God and with fellow human beings, the qualities and values which both give meaning and sustenance in the journey through life. To this end, the importance of events, attributes and lessons from the life and teachings of Christ are emphasized and related to the lives of the youth in the Nigerian context. For instance, the student is made aware of the importance of honesty and dedicated preparation for his future career if he is to succeed in life just like Jesus prepared conscientiously for His ministry. He is urged to consider the miracles narrated in the Bible not merely as events of those days but as examples of what God did and is doing today in this country and the world at large.

Attempts are made to concretize the material so that the youth can understand some of the more difficult teachings at their level while at the same time, room is left for discussion at a higher level, if necessary. The Beatitudes are thus classified into common and higher order values as a challenge to their intellectual ability. Sometimes, too, accounts of a particular event from two different gospels are deliberately included to enable the students to compare the different emphasis in treatment.

Year 3

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Using the Acts of the Apostles as source, there is a hope that the students will understand that the Christian Church, now worldwide, had a historical beginning in the first early Christian communities; that these communities were characterized

by their faith in Christ and the practice of that faith, by their love of fellowship and oneness; that whilst emphasizing these qualities he will also be made aware that community, a common experience of mankind growing may experience great difficulties of dissension, confusion and division. He will realize from the early activities of the first Christian communities that the church is by its very nature *missionary*: that the community does not keep Christ's message to itself but shares, without prejudice, with all those who seek Christ in goodwill. This special missionary quality is best epitomized in the conversion and life of Paul who took the message through the Roman Empire. He displayed qualities of courage, truth, justice and honesty that should characterize all Christians but which may lead them to much suffering, rejection and even persecution. Christ promised His Holy Spirit to give comfort in times of sadness and hopelessness. Paul showed great trust in God's spirit.

So, *all in all*: belief and trust in God, obedience to His will, commitment to His word, openness to all, readiness to suffer in Christ's name, participation in the Christian community which continues to involve itself with the needs and hope of people throughout the world today.

Structure of the Curriculum

The distinguishing feature of the new curriculum is the need to develop joint denominational approaches, and more slowly and steadily widening the curriculum based on the Bible, towards greater discussion of local and contemporary moral issues, while local beliefs and customs are no longer excluded or contrasted with Christian beliefs.

The CRK curriculum has given detailed objectives, methods and materials for instruction. But, these are to be considered as suggestions rather than prescriptions and should in no way strangle the initiative, creativity and personality of the teacher. The guide therefore should be moderated to suit the teacher and the students.

A variety of methods have been suggested as samples to show that CRK can be taught in an imaginative relevant and stimulating manner. So, the selections show that there is room for role playing, choral reading, problem solving, projects, small group work, etc. in CRK. Also a variety of materials have been suggested. It is intended that teachers should use locally available materials and resource persons as well as ready made, improvised, student-made materials to bring home the lessons of the CRK curriculum to students. Where materials are not available, efforts should be made to secure some from Teacher Resource Centres or textbook publishers.

Implications

A newly fashioned programme/curriculum always has wide implications for the consumer, the implementer, etc. The CRK curriculum is no exception. The designers are fully aware that the CRK curriculum will not succeed in achieving its aims if certain steps and precautions are not taken.

Text Writers

The CRK curriculum is a rough stone which needs to be polished, interpreted and perhaps put into texts which will be more easily digestible for teachers and students. It thus means that teachers' manuals, teaching materials as well as class texts and student workbooks need to be provided. Some of the methods involve problem-solving or projects and it is envisaged that some teachers in the rural areas might have problems in obtaining the materials. The text writers should, therefore, endeavour to design teaching aids that could be published along with the texts. The content should draw attention to relevant situations in this country.

Teacher Education

The CRK curriculum for Junior Secondary Schools is the first attempt to produce

a comprehensive nationwide curriculum rather than a syllabus in CRK. There are some other innovations some of which involve content, continuous assessment and observation as evaluation techniques and more imaginative approaches to teaching. These innovative additions to the curriculum presuppose appropriate and adequate preparation of teachers. Not only new entrants to the field should be exposed to the new thinking, but in-service courses and workshops should be arranged for serving-teachers. These serving-teachers would bring their wealth of experience to bear on aspects which emphasize life experiences of their students, among other things. It is important to emphasize the need for teacher-made materials. Also, available sources for procuring teaching aids should be publicized.

Appreciation

The Council would like to place on record, its profound appreciation of, and gratitude for the patience, hardwork dedication and devotion to this project of all the participants as well as all the internal and external assessors, whose objective comments helped tremendously in getting the curriculum to its present form.

The Council's special thanks go to the Federal Ministry of Education for the moral support they have given to the development of this curriculum.

Nigeria Educational Research Council, Lagos
April 8, 1983

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COMMUNIQUE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC SEMINAR ON EDUCATION
HELD AT BAYERO UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, KANO, JANUARY 1977

Between 27th December 1976 and 2nd January 1977 an international Islamic Seminar on Education was organised by a group of Muslim scholars drawn from various parts of Nigeria and other Muslim countries. According to the communique issued the seminar set out to achieve the following aims and objectives:

1. To analyse the problems facing Muslim education in Africa and suggest solutions to them.
2. To discuss the ways and means of making Islamic education the basis of Islamic revival in Muslim Africa.
3. To review contemporary Muslim thoughts on education and the extent to which such thoughts comply with the principles of Islam.
4. To seek for a permanent platform through which the problems of Muslim education in Africa could be solved.

After its deliberations, the seminar came out with the following resolutions:

1. The seminar accepted in absolute and unconditional terms, the superiority of the Islamic system of education over all systems of education and it therefore recommended as follows:
 - (a) That all Muslim communities adopt as a matter of urgency and necessity, the Islamic system of education, and reject in particular the western system of education which has not only failed to produce people of good character with sense of commitment to the welfare of mankind but has in actual fact accelerated the development of corruption and the spread of vices.
 - (b) That the Quran, as the only authentic universal divine book for the guidance of mankind, and the Sunnah of Mohammad, as the most practical beneficial and noble system of training should alone form the basis of a universal system of education.
2. The seminar accepted in absolute terms also the Islamic principle of the universality of knowledge, and that knowledge is the property of mankind in general. For that reason, the seminar rejects the regionalisation (e.g. into Western or Eastern) and racialisation of knowledge.
3. The seminar emphasized the fact that Islam is a way of life.

Consequently:

- (a) It rejects completely the equation of Islam with any other system of life or its identification with any religion.
 - (b) It condemns all attempts to treat Islam as simply a religion and calls on all Muslims to resist all such attempts.
 - (c) It rejects any division between secular and religious education.
4. The seminar was absolutely convinced that the aims of Islamic education are most realistic and suitable for the progress of upliftment of man and guiding him in the Path of Allah Most High, as well as giving him the true concept of right and wrong. It enjoins on man to use the world's resources and scientific achievement for the development of human society as a whole so that it enjoys peace, happiness and universal brotherhood. The seminar therefore recommended as follows:
- (a) That Muslim societies reject the western system of education which is basically destructive, irresponsible, power-oriented and selfish, whose ability was limited only to producing individualistic materialists.
 - (b) That Muslim societies strive to exploit their natural resources through the application of science and technology and use them for the promotion of the welfare and general good of mankind.
 - (c) That Muslim societies strive towards self-reliance in science and technology which could only be achieved through extensive research in all sciences.
5. The seminar put great stress on the seeking for knowledge as an obligation which every Muslim, male or female owes to Allah Most High; and which is indispensable for proper understanding of Islam, the seminar therefore recommended as follows:
- (a) That all children, irrespective of their sex be given proper and adequate education and are in accordance with the directives of Allah Most High.
 - (b) That education be made a continuing process in accordance with the directive of the Prophet to the effect that knowledge should be sought from the cradle to the grave.
 - (c) That all adults be given proper education through the mass media and adult education programmes.
 - (d) That education be made the basis of Islamic revival in the contemporary Muslim world.

PROTEST AGAINST UNJUST TREATMENT OF MUSLIM CHILDREN
IN PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN OYO STATE

To H.E. Mr. Bola Ige, Governor of Oyo State,
State Secretariat, Ibadan.

League of Imams and Alfas, c/o Chief Imam, The Central Mosque,
Ojo-Oba, Ibadan. 11th Jan. 1980

Your Excellency,

We Muslim leaders throughout Oyo State, on whose behalf the Chief Imam of Ibadan, Alhaji Muili Abdulah has been mandated to sign this document for the various Muslim organisations and communities in the state, wish to protest against the unjust treatment given to muslims in this state in respect of the religious education of muslim children in public educational institutions in the state, by the authorities of such institutions and some individuals in government. We have resorted to this measure because, despite all our efforts and representations in the past, the authorities of the institutions and some arms of Government connected with education in the state have refused to give the cooperation expected of them.

It is needless to say that muslims and their children are citizens of this state and, like all other citizens, are entitled to follow the religion of their choice, and the Government owes them a duty to make conditions conducive for them to pursue their religious aspirations. Freedom of worship is one of the fundamental rights of the individual, and the right is also entrenched in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

In this regard, we wish to draw your attention to the following provisions of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1963 (Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, Lagos), the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979 (Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, Lagos), and the Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Policy on Education, 1977 (Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, Lagos), which we consider relevant to this protest:

(1) Chapter III, Section 24, subsection (2) of the 1963 Constitution states:

No person attending any place of education shall be required to receive religious instruction or to take part in or attend any religious ceremony or observances if such instruction, ceremony or observances relate to a religion other than his own.

(2) Chapter IV, Section 35, subsection (2) of the 1979 Constitution states:

No person attending any place of education shall be required

to receive religious instruction or to take part in or attend any religious ceremony or observance if such instruction, ceremony or observance relates to a religion other than his own, or a religion not approved by his parents or guardian.

(3) Section 1, subsection 7 (ii), page 5 of the National Policy on Education states:

Opportunity will continue to be made available for religious instruction. No child will be forced to accept any religious instruction which is contrary to the wishes of his parents.

(4) Section 3, subsection 15 (2), page 7 of the Policy states: Government prescribes the following curricular activities for the primary school: ... moral and religious education, ...

And to make it easier to carry out these curricular activities

...
(v) For improving the teaching of moral and religious education, Government will ensure, through the various Ministries of Education, the provision of a suitable curricula and the training of teachers for the subjects.

(5) Section 9, subsection 64, page 26 of the Policy states: For the primary level the General Studies component in the primary school teachers' training programme will be made up of the following subjects:

...
(vii) Religious and Moral Education.

(6) Section 3, subsection 15 (ii) (b), page 9 of the Policy states:

as a means of accelerating development in primary education in certain areas, the state governments are already considering measures by which suitable Korani schools and Islamiyyah schools, with necessary adjustment of curricula, could be absorbed into the primary school system.

(7) Section 4, subsection 26 (i), page 12 of the Policy states:

Moral and religious instruction will be taught in school through:

...
(b) studies and practices of religion. The mere memorising of creeds and facts from the holy books is not enough;

...
(d) encouraging students to participate in those activities which will foster personal discipline and character training;

(8) Section 4, subsection 26 (3), page 13 of the Policy states:

Youth clubs and organisations and school societies are important instruments of character training and will be positively encouraged. In this respect the Citizenship and Leadership Training Centre will be considerably strengthened so that there is at least one branch in each State, and the mobile training units will be increased.

It is clear from the above that the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria recognises:

- (i) the principle of freedom of religion;
- (ii) the need to take practical steps towards ensuring that this freedom is enhanced, or is not infringed upon in the process of implementing our educational policy;

- (iii) that religious and moral instruction constitutes an integral part of good education which we desire for our children;
- (iv) that Government has the responsibility to encourage and provide such religious and moral instruction all over the Federation.

All this, to our mind, is in recognition of the fact that we cannot build a strong, virile and upright society if our educational system is devoid of those spiritual values which give meaning to human existence. Government is also conscious of the value of the practice of religion, as distinct from the mere learning of facts and creeds.

It is evident, therefore, that any attempt to deprive children in primary and secondary schools of the right to instruction in and practice of their religion will be contrary to, and a defeat of, the good intentions of the Government.

However, we have every reason to believe that the actions of the authorities of most primary and secondary schools, teacher's training colleges and the arms of Government connected with educational administration are flagrantly contrary to the spirit and letter of the intentions of the Government. Reports reaching us from various parts of the state show conclusively that these authorities are bent not only on depriving muslim children in primary and secondary schools of Islamic religious instruction, but also, worse still, on compelling them to receive instruction in the Christian religion. These authorities go further by compelling the children to attend church services while, conversely, they are prevented from attending mosque services. We give hereunder instances of such actions, supported with documentary evidence:

1. Islamic religious instruction is denied muslim pupils in most of the primary schools in the State, particularly those that bear names of Christian denominational groups. Furthermore, such muslim children are compelled to receive instruction in Bible Knowledge. Whenever a muslim teacher on the staff attempts to give muslim children Islamic religious instruction, he is either intimidated or persecuted, even with the collusion of some government officials. The case of a muslim headmaster of the Cherubim and Seraphim School II, Oje-Olokun, Oke-Offa Atipe, Ibadan, is a typical example of such intimidation (Attachment I). Please note that the headmaster in question has since been removed from that school.

Some school authorities even go to the extent of sending away mallams (Arabic teachers) who are sent to their schools to teach Islamic Religious Knowledge. Examples of such schools are Baptist School, Iwo, Baptist School, Shaki, and Baptist Day School, Igboho. At the Ahmadiyya Primary School Eleiyele, Ibadan, all pupils, irrespective of their religion, are taught Bible Knowledge and are required to offer it in the School Leaving Certificate Examination.

(2) The government of the former Western State, realising the need to correct these injustices, decided to resuscitate the Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers' examination, giving the

following reasons:

The reason for the resuscitation of the examination ... is necessitated by the large number of Muslim pupils in primary schools and the complaints of the Muslim parents that their children were not given religious education in primary schools as the Christian children (Attachment II, page 1).

We wish to point out with utter disappointment that the decision of the former Western State government to resuscitate the Arab teachers' examination referred to above was not implemented.

While all teachers' training colleges in the State provide instruction in Bible Knowledge, most of them do not provide instruction in Islamic Religious Knowledge. Efforts made by Muslim organisations and communities to correct the disparity have met with resistance, e.g. at Wesley College, L.A.T.T.C. (Attachment III), and St. Luke's, all in Ibadan. At D.T.T.C., Eruwa, the authorities of the school attempted, but eventually failed, to compel muslim students to offer Bible Knowledge instead of Islamic Religious Knowledge in their certificate examination (Attachment IV). Our thinking is that if muslim teachers-in-training are taught Islamic Religious Knowledge they will in turn be able to teach the subject, along with others, to their own muslim pupils in the primary school, as Christian teachers do teach Bible Knowledge, thus reducing Government expenditure on the employment of special Arabic teachers (mallams).

It is pertinent to point out, in this connection, the non-continuation of the one-year programme at the University of Ibadan, in the teaching of Islamic Studies, designed for holders of Grade II teachers' certificate. The graduates of this programme were intended for the teachers' training colleges. Had the programme been continued, the present shortage of teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge in teachers' training colleges would have been considerably reduced. The programme was sponsored by the former Western State Government (Attachment V).

3. We are fully convinced that muslim children, irrespective of the religious organisation after which their schools are named, are statutorily entitled to Islamic religious education in schools. But muslim children in most of the secondary schools in the State are denied the right to Islamic religious instruction. An example is Abadina College, where muslim children are not taught Islamic Religious Knowledge and are compelled to do Bible Knowledge, in spite of protest by parents (Attachments VI and VII: All muslim children have always been required to write examinations in Bible Knowledge, and to buy books used for Bible Knowledge). Other examples are St. Teresa's and Peoples' Girls' Grammar School, both in Ibadan. Others are Ilora Baptist Grammar School, Christ Apostolic Grammar School, Oniyere, Ibadan, Mount Olivet Grammar School, Ibadan, Ilobu Secondary Commercial Grammar School, Baptist Grammar School, Shaki, Ode-Omu Community Grammar School, Baptist Grammar School, Ire and Loyola College, Ibadan.

It is disheartening to note that while muslims contributed substantially, financially and in kind, to the establishment

of a number of community schools in this state, muslim children are not only denied instruction in Islamic Religious Knowledge in such schools but are in fact compelled to take Bible Knowledge. A good example of such schools is Ilobu Secondary Commercial Grammar School in the Irepodun Local Government Area of the State, which was built from funds about 95% of which was contributed by muslims. All students of the school, including muslims who are in the majority, are required to take Bible Knowledge. The muslim students are not taught Islamic Religious Knowledge, and there is no teacher of Islamic Religious Knowledge in the school. A Board official held the view that the school, not being a muslim school, does not require teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge. Other examples of such schools are Oranmiyan Grammar School, Oyo, Awe High School, Fiditi Grammar School, Iseyin Grammar School, Ibadan Grammar School, Lagelu Grammar School, Okebadan High School and many others.

The excuse usually given by the school authorities for not teaching Islamic Religious Knowledge is the dearth of teachers of the subject. While we appreciate the fact that Islamic Religious Knowledge is one of the subjects for which the number of teachers available is inadequate, nevertheless we are convinced that the Central Schools Board and the authorities of certain schools seem to have colluded to worsen the situation. For example, too many qualified teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge are often deployed to some schools where some of them are made to teach subjects other than Islamic Religious Knowledge. Examples of such deployment are found in the following schools:

- (1) At Ahmadiyya Grammar School, Iwo, there were four qualified teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge in the 1977/78 session, two of whom were made to teach subjects other than Islamic Religious Knowledge.
- (2) At Ahmadiyya Grammar School, Eleiyele, Ibadan, there were four qualified teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge in the 1978/79 session; three of them are graduates. One or two more graduates have now been deployed to the same school for the 1979/80 session.
- (3) At Isabatudden Girls' Grammar School, Ibadan, in the 1978/79 session, Islamic Religious Knowledge was taught to only some of the classes because the two graduate teachers of the subject were made to teach some other subjects along with Islamic Religious Knowledge. The proper thing would have been to make these teachers to teach Islamic Religious Knowledge to all the classes in the school, rather than make them teach other subjects to the detriment of Islamic Religious Knowledge in some of the classes.

It is erroneous, in our view, to assume that teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge are required only in schools that bear muslim names. After all, Bible Knowledge is taught even in such schools that bear Muslim names, e.g. Islamic High School, Ibadan and many others. What really matters, in our opinion, is the population of muslim students in a school, and not the name of the religious organisation or community after

which the school is named. It follows, therefore, that muslim students in schools named after Christian denominational groups or communities also deserve to be given instruction in Islamic Religious Knowledge.

A number of muslim communities have been disallowed to establish new secondary schools under muslim names. Such communities are normally advised to give the schools community names. The following are examples of such cases: Iragbiji Community Commercial Secondary School (Attachment VIII), Erin-Osun Community School and Ode-Omu Commercial Grammar School. However, the composition of the boards of governors of such schools is normally weighted against the muslims. Examples are Aiyepe High School and Obaseku High School, both in Ibarapa Local Government Council Area. They were founded by muslims but the composition of the board of governors in each case is 2 to 7 against muslims. Another example is Ilobu Community Commercial Secondary Grammar School originally founded by Muslims. The composition of the Board is 8 to 1 against the muslims.

Contrary to the good intentions of the Government regarding the encouragement of religious practice, the authorities of some schools disallow muslim students of such schools to organise group-worship and build mosques. For example, in Iree Baptist Grammar School the muslims in the area are not allowed to complete a mosque under construction on the school premises. In Ogbomoso the authorities of the Ogbomoso Grammar School, Ogbomoso High School and Ogbomoso Girls' High School have refused to give the muslims permission to erect mosques on the school premises. (Yet these are schools built jointly by both the Christians and the muslims alike. Moreover, the role played by muslims in these schools is indeed commendable; a muslim has just donated the sum of N 10,000.00 to the Ogbomoso Grammar School towards its development). Similarly, at St. Anne's, People's Girls', Yejide Girls' Grammar, St. Teresa's, all in Ibadan, muslim students are not allowed to attend Friday service, whether in or outside the school compound, whereas they are compelled to attend church services.

We also note with indignation that muslim children in primary and secondary schools and teachers' training colleges are unjustly subjected to Christian religious indoctrination by being made to participate in morning devotional services, closing assemblies and meal prayers conducted in accordance with the tenets of the Christian religion. WE take very strong objection to this practice which we consider not only unjust but also illegal.

Again, contrary to the good intentions of the Government regarding the encouragement of character-training through the establishment of youth organisations, some school authorities disallow their muslim students to form branches of the Muslim Students' Society in their schools. Examples are Christ Apostolic Church Grammar School, Aperin-Oniyere, St. Teresa's and Wesley College, all in Ibadan. Furthermore, they are not allowed to organise Islamic enlightenment classes on Sundays.

4. We wish to note with disappointment that Islamic Religious

Knowledge is not taught at the Oyo State College of Arts and Science, Ile-Ife and the Polytechnic Ibadan, whereas Bible Knowledge is taught in both places. We take a serious view of the situation and strongly feel that the anomaly should be corrected without delay.

We also note that while Bible Knowledge is one of the subjects taught in the remedial course arranged by the State Government for West Africa School Certificate Examination failures, Islamic Religious Knowledge and Arabic are not taught. All efforts to make the Ministry of Education include these subjects in the course were in vain (Attachment IX). It is pertinent to draw attention to the historical fact that educational institutions were used in the past as instrument for converting people (including muslims) to Christianity. It will be recalled that muslim parents in Lagos in the late 19th century reacted to the situation by withdrawing their children from such schools. This led to the establishment by Government of Government Muslim Schools in Lagos, Badagry and Epe. Unfortunately, the proselytizing functions of schools continue even now that schools have become a public concern. We wish to state emphatically that we muslims are no longer prepared to tolerate the use of public funds to which we substantially contribute in converting our children to Christianity.

In view of the contradictions pointed out above between the provisions of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the National Policy on Education on the one hand, and the actions of the authorities of our educational institutions on the other, with regard to the teaching and practice of the Islamic religion in schools, we wish to offer the following suggestions aimed at correcting the injustices:

1. In accordance with the relevant provisions of the Constitution and the National Policy on Education, Government should ensure, immediately and as a matter of policy, that Islamic Religious Knowledge is taught to muslim children in all primary and secondary schools and teachers' training colleges throughout the State, irrespective of the names which such institutions bear; and that on no account should muslim children be taught Bible Knowledge.

2. Government should also ensure that under no circumstances should muslim children be made to participate in morning devotional service, closing assemblies, meal prayers and/or any other school service, conducted in accordance with the tenets of the Christian religion. In this regard, we recommend the following alternatives:

- (i) Either that separate devotional services be organised for muslim and christian pupils or students respectively, in accordance with the tenets of their religions, or
- (ii) where (i) above is not practicable, the national pledge and national anthem should replace religious devotional services.

3. As a solution to the dearth of teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge, we wish to make the following suggestions:

- (i) That all muslim teachers in primary schools be made to

teach Islamic Religious Knowledge to their muslim pupils. To bring such teachers up to date, Government should, in conjunction with the University of Ibadan, organise refresher courses in the teaching of Islamic Religious Knowledge for such teachers during the vacations.

- (ii) That all muslim teachers-in-training be required to study Islamic Religious Knowledge instead of Bible Knowledge, and offer it in their certificate examination.
- (iii) That the Arabic teachers' examination organised by the Ministry of Education (referred to above) be resuscitated, and the recommendations of the Ministry's committee on the scheme be implemented as a matter of urgency.
- (iv) That the one-year programme for the training of teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge (referred to above) be revived and conducted by the Oyo State College of Education, in conjunction with the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan. This programme will be a regular source of Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers in teachers' training colleges.
- (v) That the Central Schools Board redeploy its Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers in secondary schools in such a way that those available are evenly distributed and required to teach only Islamic Religious Knowledge (and Arabic wherever taught). The present practice of posting many teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge to a few schools and making them teach other subjects should be discontinued forthwith.
- (vi) That muslim teachers in secondary schools whose teaching subjects may not include Islamic Religious Knowledge, but who feel able to teach it, be encouraged to do so, at least in lower classes. Refresher courses similar to those suggested in (i) above may be arranged for such teachers.
- (vii) That at both campuses of the Oyo State College of Education, Islamic Religious Knowledge as a teaching subject be encouraged and the quota of students of the subject increased. This will ensure a regular supply of teachers of the subject for secondary schools.
- (viii) That Islamic Religious Knowledge, like Bible Knowledge, be introduced at the Oyo State College of Arts and Science, Ile-Ife, and at the Polytechnic, Ibadan, forthwith. As a matter of policy, youth corpers who are graduates of Arabic/Islamic Studies may be deployed to these institutions in the event of non-availability of teaching staff for the subject. Use can also be made of part-time lecturers from the University of Ibadan. Products of these institutions may go in for degree courses in Arabic and Islamic Studies.

4. Under no circumstances should muslim children in any school be compelled or even required to attend church services on Sundays or any other day or occasion for that matter. The

excuse often given by some school authorities for compelling muslim children to attend Sunday church service, namely, that they do mischief while their mates are in church, is obviously untenable. Moreover, if allowed by the school authorities, Islamic enlightenment classes sponsored by the Muslim Association of Nigeria and organised by the Muslim Students' Society of Nigeria will not only keep such students busy, but will also educate them. Furthermore, muslim students should be encouraged to organise muslim group-worship at school; at any rate, they should not be discouraged or prevented from doing so. The practice of preventing individuals or communities from building mosques on school premises should be stopped forthwith in the interest of peace.

5. The Muslim Students' Society of Nigeria should be accorded due recognition and allowed to function by the school authorities, like all other school societies.

6. In the interest of peace and mutual trust between the religious groups in the state, Government should stop immediately the clandestine practice by some school authorities and teachers of making muslim children drop their muslim names in the school records. Muslim parents throughout the States have reported incidents of this practice; the sinister motive behind the practice is too obvious to require being stated here.

7. We are unhappy about the inadequacy of muslim representation on boards and committees connected with educational administration in the state such as the Central Schools Board and the Committee for the Implementation of the Free Education Programme of your Government. For example, since each of the various Christian organizations such as the Anglican, Catholic, Methodist, Baptist, etc. are duly represented on the above-named committee because of their interest in education, each of the muslim organizations such as the Ansar-Ud-Deen, Nawar-Ud-Deen, Anwarul Islam, Nurud-Deen Society, etc. should have been given representation on the said Committee.

We are convinced that if the above suggestions are accepted and implemented the injustices stated above will be corrected. We will be available for detailed discussion concerning the implementation of the above suggestions.

Yours faithfully,

ALHAJI MUILI ABDULLAHI
Chief Imam of Ibadan
For and on behalf of all Muslim
Organizations and Communities
throughout Oyo State.

THE JOINT ACTION COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
FOR MUSLIM CHILDREN IN OYO STATE SCHOOLS AND VO COLLEGES

RELEASE NO. 7

AN OPEN LETTER TO GOVERNOR BOLA IGE

His Excellency, Chief Bola Ige,
Oyo State Governor,
Governor's Office,
The Secretariat,
Ibadan.

Your Excellency,

The Unsettled issue of denial of religious freedom
to Muslim Children in Oyo State Schools and Colleges

The above-named Committee hereby welcomes you back to the State as you resume duty after your annual leave. We hope that you had a peaceful time abroad.

2. The Committee wishes to take this opportunity to remind you of the unsettled problem of Christian religious indoctrination of Muslim children in Oyo State Schools and Colleges. You will recall that on several occasions delegations of Muslim organizations and communities have met you in connection with this problem and have made feelings of the Muslims known to you. That your Government has been unwilling to put a stop to the Christian indoctrination of Muslim children in public Schools to guarantee Muslim religious education for the children is too glaring to require proof. Muslims are also aware of the fact that you have tried by various strategies, thou in vain, to diverting public attention from our legitimate demands in this regard.

3. The latest of these strategies is the announcement you made at the Central Mosque, Oja Oba, in Ibadan that you would set up a Consultative Committee on Muslim affairs with yourself as Chairman. According to you, it is that Committee that will liaise between the Muslims and your government. What an irony! Besides, the generality of Muslims see no need for it. You do not have to set up a Committee before you can treat Muslim children equally with their Christian counterparts in Schools. That gimmick will be ineffective and a waste of public funds. So please set it aside.

4. Your Commissioner for Local Government, Alhaji Busari Adelakun and your Lagos State counterpart joined you in condemning this Committee and the Council of Muslim Youth Organizations (COMYO) as fanatics because we inform the public

about the various ways in which your Government and its agents have been trampling persistently upon the constitutional religious rights of Muslim children in Oyo State Schools and Colleges.

Your Deputy, Chief Sunday Michael Afolabi had made a similar statement during a tour. You know very well that contrary to that claim, neither this Committee nor COMYO is a group of fanatics. Rather, this Committee is a body of representatives of Muslims drawn from all over the State and mandated to continue to express the grievances and yearnings of Muslims in the State regarding the religious education of their children in Oyo State Schools and Colleges.

5. With due respect, the Committee hereby challenges you and all those associates of your mentioned above to disprove publicly even one out of the many accusations levelled against your administration in our various releases and hand-bills. "If you cannot do so - and you will never be able to do so" then stop calling us bad names and do what is right and just.

6. Take some instances. On two occasions - 5/3/80 and 13/1/81 - you blamed the shortage of teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge on the Muslims. You were then, as before, reminded that it was the duty of Government to provide training in Islamic Religious Knowledge as you provide training for them in Bible Knowledge and other subjects. Your Government's refusal to include Islamic Religious Knowledge on the curriculum of the Oyo, Ibadan and Iwo campuses of the Oyo State College of Education where Christian Religious Knowledge is taught to teachers in training was mentioned to you, but you refused to correct the anomaly. Similarly, your Government has refused to send tutors of Islamic Religious Knowledge to teacher training Colleges that bear Christian names, e.g. Wesley College Ibadan and St. Andrews College, Oyo whereas you ensure that Bible Knowledge is taught in these colleges run with public money. Same is true of Secondary Schools in most of which Bible Knowledge is taught but Islamic Knowledge is denied to Muslim children.

7. Of all the State Governments in the Federation, yours is the only one that has had the discredit of banning the Muslim Students' Society (M.S.S.) in schools in the state. All appeals to make you lift the ban on the Society you have treated with scorn. You have refused bluntly to honour the several pledges that you made to respectable Muslim leaders on the matter.

8. The actions of this Committee and of COMYO are not at all fanatical if compared with the attempts made by your Deputy, Chief Sunday Michael Afolabi to incite Christians against the Federal Government and Muslims over the N 10 million Federal Government contribution to the Abuja Mosque Project Fund. It was as if your Deputy was not aware that a similar grant was simultaneously given to the Christian Association of Nigeria towards an Abuja Cathedral.

9. Please be informed that the generality of Muslims in the state have been disappointed by those otherwise powerful members of your Executive, who, despite adequate briefing all along, you have refused to persuade you to do justice on this matter and who, have turned round and condemned fellow Muslims for striving to make you fulfil your pledge to protect the Constitutional rights of the citizens of the state.

10. Please do not entertain the impression that all is well on this matter, an impression which you may have got from your Lagos State counterpart said on the occasion of an installation ceremony in Ibadan recently. This Committee and indeed the generality of Muslims expected Governor Lateef Jakande to set aside party solidarity on this matter and to tell you the home truth instead of joining in the unjustified condemnation of the actions of this Committee and of COMYO. The Muslims expected him to have advised you to follow his own examples in Lagos State by providing religious education for Muslims and Christians children respectively without fear or favour. As a Muslim, Governor Lateef Jakahde should have heeded the admonition of the Holy Prophet Muhammad that a Muslim should either tell the truth or be silent!

11. Once again, this Committee wishes to assure you, your associates mentioned above and the general public that the Muslims in this state can no longer be deceived and are not going to relent in their struggle until the religious rights of their children are fully restored to them in educational institutions in Oyo State.

12. Therefore, this Committee, in the name of all Muslims in the State hereby calls on you as you resume duty, to set aside all those delaying and deceitful tactics and give Muslim children their religious rights. It is only by doing so that you have re-assure the Muslims of the State that the confidence they have reposed in you and your administration has not been misplaced.

(Spelling as in original.)

ABDUL WAHEED AMOO
SECRETARY

COUNCIL OF MUSLIM YOUTH ORGANISATIONS (COMYO) OYO STATE

31st March, 1982

OPEN LETTER

The Honourable Alhaji Lasisi Olatubosun,
 Commissioner for Local Government,
 Oyo State Ministry of Local Government,
 Ibadan.

Dear Honourable Commissioner,

The attention of COMYO has been drawn to a statement reportedly made by you recently to the effect that the Oyo State Government was making arrangements to distribute books on Islamic Religious Knowledge to Muslim children in schools in the state and to teach them the subject.

2. While COMYO welcomes this move, if in fact such a move is being made, we note with regret that it is rather belated coming at a time when the school year is running to an end. Moreover, the Governor has made several of such promises in the past two years but has failed to fulfil them. In fact, the Governor once said that Islamic Religious Knowledge was already being taught to all muslim children in the state schools, which was not true.

3. However, since that promise is made this time by you, we cherish the hope that it will be fulfilled.

4. COMYO therefore calls on you to ensure that from the beginning of the next term (April, 1982) Islamic Religious Knowledge is taught to all muslim children in all primary schools and in at least forms I to III of all secondary schools just as Bible Knowledge is taught in all the schools.

5. Similarly we call on your Government to put an effective stop to the forced teaching of Bible Knowledge to Muslim children in Oyo State schools with effect from the beginning of the next term. Your Government knows that the practice is a contravention of Section 35 (2) of the Constitution of Nigeria.

6. We also call on your Government to ensure that, with effect from the next term no muslim child is required to participate in christian religious devotion at school as is the practice at present in nearly all the schools in the state.

7. These are some of the basic demands of COMYO which relate to your reported announcement. You will recall that these and others are contained in the letter of protest handed to Governor Bola Ige on March 5, 1980, a copy of which was handed to you a few days later. Since you have acted this time as the spokesman of government, we are calling on you to fulfil those demands in accordance with your reported promises.

We wish you Allah's assistance,
 Yours faithfully,
 Abdul Waheed Amoo

The Permanent Secretary
 Ministry of Education
 Kaduna State
 Kaduna.
 Muslim Students' Society of Nigeria Bayero University Branch
 P.O. Box 10216 Kano 12/5/1401 (18/3/1981)

Sir

CONVERSION OF MUSLIMS TO CHRISTIANITY
 BY SOME SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS IN KADUNA STATE

Our attention has been drawn to the issue of conversion of our youth to christianity in some schools in Kaduna State. Most notorious among such schools are G.G.S.S. Kankiya, G.G.S.S. Kwoi, G.S.S. Funtua (and others).

In G.G.S.S. Kankiya, for example, the Principal is behind the scene. She is bent on christianising the school even when muslims constitute majority of the school!

We are now in an era when some individuals feel they have to impose their own religion on others - for example, the Plateau government is bent on converting all muslims to Christianity (most especially the Fulanis under all sorts of pretext and tricks) and in Oyo, Governor Bola Ige will stop at nothing to impose Christianity on the muslim youth and also denies them their freedom of worship. The trend is similar in some other states. We wish to warn all concerned not to take Muslims for fools. They are taking our love for peace and stability for weakness and ignorance. If these misguided trouble shooters do not take their time and toe the right line and path of decency, we shall be forced to demonstrate that we are not fools.

No one has a monopoly of causing troubles we only avoid it because Islam cherishes peace and mutual co-existence but of course Muslims will be the last people to appear like cowards when the situation calls for open demonstration of ability to defend one's Cause. It is unfortunate that Muslim students are converted and denied freedom of worship in schools where majority of students are muslims. We warn administrators of these schools and in fact officials of ministry of education to take immediate steps to arrest the situation if they want peace in the society.

The ministry of education should also employ enough teachers to teach Arabic and Islamic studies in all schools. These teachers should not be so discriminated against. All necessary books and materials should also be made available for their use.

We call on all peace lovers to prevail on all those who are bent on causing confusion in the society.

Yours faithfully
 Siraj Abdul Kareem

CC:

1. The Principals of the above mentioned schools
2. Inspector for Arabic and Islamic Studies, Kaduna State.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS OF
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN OGUN STATE OF NIGERIA

Please read carefully and feel free to give your opinion. Your responses will be treated as strictly confidential.

SECTION A - Personal Details

Please supply the following information:

1. Sex _____
2. Age _____
3. What is your religious denomination? _____
4. What religious title(s) do you have? (e.g. Rev; Pastor; Alhaji/Alhaja; Alfa, etc. _____
5. Please state your academic qualification(s)

6. In what discipline did you receive your qualification(s)?

7. How long have you been teaching Christian Religious Knowledge or Islamic Religious Knowledge in this school and elsewhere?

8. What religious activities do you perform outside the school? (e.g. whether you are also a Vicar of a Church or a Mallam in a Quranic School? _____
9. If none, how often do you attend church services or observe 'Salat' if you are a Muslim? _____
10. How do other subject teachers in your school perceive RE in the school curriculum?
(a) very important
(b) important
(c) not important
11. Would you rather not teach RE? (Please ring one)

YES/NO/MAYBE

12. Are you prepared to discuss with a member of another faith his doctrines? YES/NO/MAYBE
13. Are you prepared to help people of other faiths who may need your help? YES/NO/MAYBE

SECTION B

This section consists of questions designed to find out what implications the existing denomination curricula in RE have on the contemporary bad relations between Christians and Muslims of Nigeria.

1. Who designed the syllabus you are using in CRK or IRK (Please ring ONE)
- (a) You yourself
 - (b) Former RE teacher
 - (c) The State Ministry of Education
 - (d) Nigerian Educational Research Council
 - (e) West African School Certificate Examination Council
 - (f) Don't know
2. To what extent does the syllabus meet (i) the educational need of the students?
- (a) Completely
 - (b) Quite well
 - (c) Moderately
 - (d) Poorly
 - (e) Not at all
- (ii) meet the needs of Contemporary Nigerian Society?
- (a) Completely
 - (b) Quite well
 - (c) Moderately
 - (d) Poorly
 - (e) Not at all
3. Please describe in about 20 words your worst problem in teaching RE _____
- _____
- _____

4. How often do you receive reports about conflicts between RE students in your school on the basis of religious differences?

(a) From the school

- i frequently
- ii occasionally
- iii very rarely
- iv I have never received any complaint

(b) From the community

- i frequently
- ii occasionally
- iii very rarely
- iv I have never received any complaint

5. How frequently do parents or guardians tell you about the form of RE they want their children to receive?

- (a) very frequently
- (b) occasionally
- (c) very rarely
- (d) no complaint at all

SECTION C

This section consists of statements designed to test your views on the proposed curriculum improvement in Religious Education. You may strongly Agree, Agree, Be Undecided, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree. Please ring ONE and state briefly the reason for your choices where necessary.

1. Integrated RE programme which will teach the three religious traditions of Nigeria (i.e. African Traditional Religion, Islam and Christianity) is more appropriate

- (a) strongly agree
- (b) agree
- (c) undecided
- (d) disagree
- (e) strongly disagree

because: _____

2. The integrated approach cannot promote religious tolerance among pupils:

- (a) strongly agree
- (b) agree
- (c) undecided
- (d) disagree
- (e) strongly disagree

because: _____

3. Similarly, this approach cannot help pupils in their search for a religious faith:

- (a) strongly agree
- (b) agree
- (c) undecided
- (d) disagree
- (e) strongly disagree

because: _____

4. Education is not a source of the present Muslim/Christian tension or conflict in Nigeria:

- (a) strongly agree
- (b) agree
- (c) undecided
- (d) disagree
- (e) strongly disagree

because: _____

5. It is not part of the schools' role to find solution to any societal problem:

- (a) strongly agree
- (b) agree
- (c) undecided
- (d) disagree
- (e) strongly disagree

because: _____

6. Like IRK and CRK a separate curriculum programme should be designed for students whose parents are neither Muslims nor Christians:

- (a) strongly agree
- (b) agree
- (c) undecided
- (d) disagree
- (e) strongly disagree

because: _____

7. In order to control the problem of religious intolerance in Nigeria, it is better to avoid any dialogue between adherents of the three religions particularly Islam and Christianity:

- (a) strongly agree
- (b) agree
- (c) undecided
- (d) disagree
- (e) strongly disagree

because: _____

8. A child must follow the religion of his/her parents:

- (a) strongly agree
- (b) agree
- (c) undecided
- (d) disagree
- (e) strongly disagree

because: _____

9. African Traditional Religion should not be taught:

- (a) strongly agree
- (b) agree
- (c) undecided
- (d) disagree
- (e) strongly disagree

because: _____



THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES AND INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

Tel: 0482 465406

173, Cottingham Road, Hull, HU5 2EH.

25th July, 1988

Dean: Professor V. A. McClelland M.A., Ph.D. (Tel. 465988)

Secretary to Education: R. K. Gaydon, B.A. (Tel. 465989)

Administrative Assistant: I. D. Marriott, C.Biol. M.I.Biol. (Tel. 465031)

Dear Colleague,

Opinion Survey of Religious Education
Teachers in Ogun State Secondary Schools

I am carrying out a survey of the existing curriculum provisions on Religious Education in the Secondary Schools.

This survey is an important aspect of my research which aims at identifying a more appropriate R.E. Curriculum for a multi-religious society of Nigeria. The purpose of my study therefore is curriculum improvement in Religious Education.

This survey is intended to sample your opinion on the existing and the proposed curriculum in Religious Education.

I shall be grateful for your co-operation in this regard.

Yours sincerely,

Adebisi Akinde
Research Student



DH Webster (MA. M.Ed. Ph.D.)

Dr. D.H. Webster
Supervisor

STUDENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Student,

This questionnaire is designed to find out your opinions on IRK/CRK. Please be free to answer these questions. They are not designed to assess you in any way. None of your answers will be disclosed to anybody - parents, teachers or friends. Therefore, you do not need to put your name.

SECTION A - Personal Details

1. Sex: _____
2. Age: _____
3. What is your religion? _____
4. Family Background:
 - (a) I have
 1. Mother and father
 2. Mother only
 3. Father only
 4. No parents
 - (b) What is the job of your parents or guardian?
 1. Father _____
 2. Mother _____
 3. Guardian _____
5. Who influences your choice of religion?
 - (a) nobody
 - (b) parents or family members
 - (c) friends
 - (d) teachers
6. (a) Do you intend to change your religion when you become an adult? YES/NO/MAYBE
- (b) Why? _____

SECTION B

1. Do you enjoy studying IRK or CRK? YES/NO/MAYBE
2. Why are you studying it?
 - (a) It is a compulsory subject for me
 - (b) It is from my personal interest
 - (c) My parents forced me to it
 - (d) My teacher advised me to study it
 - (e) Others (Please state your reason) _____

3. Would you have preferred not to offer it? YES/NO/MAYBE
4. Do you enjoy school in general YES/NO/MAYBE

SECTION C

1. How much does the religion you study influence you toward good behaviour?
 - (a) Very well
 - (b) Moderately
 - (c) Not at all
2. How many close friends among your classmates who are not of the same religion as yourself do you have? Please underline one
 - (a) 11 - 20
 - (b) 1 - 10
 - (c) 0
3. Which of the following factors is the major influence on your choice of friends (a) at school?
 - (a) religion
 - (b) tribe
 - (c) sex
 - (d) age
 - (e) academic brilliance
 - (f) occupation of parents
 - (g) similar interest in co-curricular activities

(b) in the community?

- (a) religion
- (b) tribe
- (c) sex
- (d) age
- (e) academic brilliance
- (f) occupation of parents
- (g) similar interest in co-curricular activities

4. (a) Does the study of IRK or CRK at school help you to attend church services regularly?

- either
- (a) Quite well
 - (b) Moderately
 - (c) Not at all

(b) Observe Islamic prayers (salat) regularly?

- or
- (a) Quite well
 - (b) Moderately
 - (c) Not at all



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Dear Sir,

Oral Interview on Avenue for Religious Dialogue in Nigeria

I am a student researching for an appropriate secondary school curriculum in Religious Education that will stimulate religious dialogue between the three major religions of Nigeria - Islam, Christianity and African Traditional Religion.

It has been arranged as part of my research to seek the opinion of prominent religious leaders in Nigeria on various aspects of this study.

I shall be glad to have an appointment with you any time between 5th and 30th of September, 1988.

If you will grant this interview, please reply through the slip provided below. A stamped self-addressed envelope has been provided.

Yours sincerely,

Adebisi Akinde
Research Student



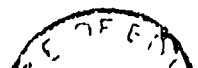
Dr D.H. Webster
Supervisor

Name:

Date of Appointment:

Time:

Place:



THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL



INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

Director: Professor V. A. McClelland M.A., Ph.D.
Secretary to Education: K. K. Gaydon, B.A.
Administrative Assistant: I. D. Marriott, C.Biol. M.I. Biol.

173 Cottingham Road
Hull HU5 2EH
Telephone: Hull 46311

25th July, 1988

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir or Madam,

Mr. Adebisi Akinde

This is to introduce Mr. Akinde who is currently registered as a full-time student of this University on a course of study leading to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

His field of research is "Interfaith dialogue in the Religious Education Curriculum in Contemporary Nigeria" and any assistance which you may give him in the collection of information will be greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

I. D. Marriott

I. D. Marriott
Administrative Assistant



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