NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

COURSE CODE: CRS872

**COURSE TITLE: RELIGION, POWER AND POLITICS IN
CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN SOCIETY**

COURSE CODE: CRS872

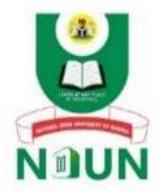**COURSE TITLE: RELIGION, POWER AND POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN SOCIETY**

CREDIT UNIT: 3

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COURSE GUIDE

Contents   **Pages**

Introduction

CRS872: Religion, Power and Politics in Contemporary Nigerian Society is a one semester, three credit foundation level course. It will be available to all students to take towards the core module of a certificate in Christian Theology. This course is suitable for any foundation level student in the School of Arts and Social Sciences. The course which consists of twenty-one study units which examines the concept of religion, Islam, theories and perspectives of religion, major religions in Nigeria, new Religious Movements, religion and Nigerian Society, theories on functions of religion in Nigerian society, forms of religious organizations, religion and culture, religion and secularization, religion and politics, religion and science, religion and stratification and religion and democracy.

Others include: the concept of politics, the nature and scope of politics, the development of politics, colonialism and nationalism, contending explanatory models of instability, neo-colonialism and Nigerian economy, religious politics in Nigeria and state politics and citizenship. The course guide tells you briefly what the course is about, what you are expected to know in each unit, what course materials you will be using and how you can work your way through these materials. It emphasizes the need for tutor-marked assignments. Detailed information on tutor- marked assignments is found in the separate file, which will be sent to you later. There are periodic tutorial classes that are linked to the course.

What you will learn in this course

The overall aim of CRS872: Religion, Power and Politics in Contemporary Nigerian Society is to introduce you to the concept of religion, Islam, theories and perspectives of religion, major religions in Nigeria, new Religious Movements, religion and Nigerian Society, theories on functions of religion in Nigerian society, the concept of power, sources of power, religious leadership, political leadership and social change, religion and politics, religion and stratification and religion and democracy.

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Others include: the concept of politics, the nature and scope of politics, the development of politics, colonialism and nationalism, contending explanatory models of instability, neo-colonialism and Nigerian economy, religious politics in Nigeria and state politics and citizenship. The material has been developed for the African and Nigerian context.

The course guide tells you briefly what the course is about, what you are expected to know in each unit, what course materials you will be using and how you can work your way through these materials. It emphasizes the need for tutor-marked assignments. Detailed information on tutor- marked assignments is found in the separate file, which will be sent to you later. There are periodic tutorial classes that are linked to the course.

Course Aims

The aim of the course can be summarized as follows: this course aims at introducing you to the concept of religion, Islam, theories and perspectives of religion, major religions in Nigeria, new Religious Movements, religion and Nigerian Society, theories on functions of religion in Nigerian society, the concept of power, sources of power, religious leadership, political leadership and social change, religion and politics, religion and stratification and religion and democracy. The concept of politics, the nature and scope of politics, the development of politics, colonialism and nationalism, contending explanatory models of instability, neo-colonialism and Nigerian economy, religious politics in Nigeria and state politics and citizenship.

Course Objectives

To achieve the aims set above, there are set overall objectives. In addition, each unit also has specific objectives. The unit objects are always included at the beginning of a unit; you should read them before you start working through the unit. You may want to refer to them during your study of the unit to check on your progress. You should always look at the unit objectives after completing a unit. In this way, definitely, you can be sure that you have done what was required

of you by the unit. The wider objectives of this course are stated below. By meeting these objectives, you should definitely know that you have achieved the aims of the course as a whole.

On successful completion of the course, you should be able to:

- Define religion with reference to its sociological, theological, psychological, phenomenological, anthropological, and philosophical definitions.
- Does religion have any function(s) in human society? Explain.
- What is African traditional religion?
- What are the sources for African traditional religion?
- What is Sharia? Discuss the sources division and the importance of Sharia in the Muslim Community.
- The five pillars of Islam are the essential ingredient of faith in Islam-Discuss.
- What is Jihad? Why it is necessary for a Muslim t be involved in jihad?
- Discuss the theories of the origin of African religious mythology
- Mention and discuss the different perspectives which scholars have used in analyzing religion.
- Does citizenship imply duties and responsibilities? Why?
- Evaluate the practice of citizenship in a concrete political system like Nigeria.

Working through this Course

To complete this course, you are required to read the study units, and read other materials provided by the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN). Each unit contains some self-assessment exercises, and at points in the course, you are required to submit assignments for assessment purposes. There is a final examination at the end of this course. The components of the course and what you have to do are stated below.

Course Materials

Major components of the course are:

1. Course Guide

2. Study Units

3. Textbooks

4. Assignment File

5. Presentation

Study Units

There are three modules and fourteen study units in this course as follows:

Module 1

Unit 1: Concept of Religion

Unit 2: Islam

Unit 3: Theories and Perspectives of Religion

Unit 4: Major Religions in Nigeria

Unit 5: New Religious Movements

Unit 6: Religion and Nigerian Society

Unit 7: Theories on Functions of Religion in Nigerian Society

Module 2

Unit 1: The Concept of Power

Unit 2: Sources of Power

Unit 3: Religious Leadership

Unit 4: Political Leadership and social Change

Unit 5: Religion and Politics, Religion

Unit 6: Religion and Stratification

Unit 7: Religion and Democracy

Module 3

Unit 1: The Concept of Politics

Unit 2: The Nature and Scope of Politics

Unit 3: The Development of Politics

Unit 4: Colonialism and Nationalism

Unit 5: Contending Explanatory Models of Instability

Unit 6: Neo-Colonialism and Nigerian Economy

Unit 7: State Politics and Citizenship

Each unit contains a number of self-tests. In general, these self-tests question you on the materials you have just covered or require you to apply it in some ways and, thereby, help you to gauge your progress and to reinforce your understanding of the material. Together with tutor-marked assignments, these exercises will assist you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units and of the course.

References / Further Readings

Mascionis, J. J. (1999). Sociology. 7th edition New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Omoregbe, J. I. (1993). A Philosophical Look at Religion. Lagos: J.E.R.P

Ahmad (ed) Lancaster: Islamic Foundation.

Ginllaume, A (1955). The Life of Muhammad Oxford University Press

Hughes, Thomas P. (1988). Dictionary of Islam London: Asia Publishing House.

Kenny Joe Rev. Fr op (1997). Early Islam, Ibadan Dominican

Assignment File

The Assignment file will be posted to you in due course. In this file, you will find all the details of the work you must submit to your tutor for marking. The marks you obtain for these assignments will count towards the final mark you obtain for this course. Further information on assignment will be found in the Assignment File, itself and later in this Course Guide in the section on assignment. There are more than thirty Assignments for this course. Each unit is loaded with a minimum of two Assignments. In any way, there are many Assignments for this course and they cover every unit.

Assessment

There are two aspects to the assessment of the course. First are the tutor- marked assignments; second, there is a written examination. In tackling these assignments, you are expected to apply information, knowledge and experience gathered during the course. The assignments must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the Assignment File. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will count for 30% of your total course mark. At the end of the course; you will need to sit for a final written examination of two hours' duration. This examination will also count for 70% of your total course mark.

Tutor-Marked Assignments (TMAs)

There are fourteen tutor-marked assignments in this course. You will need to submit all the assignments. The best three (i.e. the highest three of the fifteen marks) will be counted. Each assignment counts 10 marks but on the average when the three assignments are put together then each assignment will be 30% of your total course mark. Assignment questions for the units in this course are contained in the Assignment File. You will be able to complete your assignments from the information and materials contained in your set books, reading and study units. However, it is desirable in all degree level-education to demonstrate that you have read and researched more widely than the required minimum. Using other references will give you a broader viewpoint and may provide a deeper understanding of the subject.

When each assignment is completed, send it, together with a TMA (Tutor-Marked Assignment) form, to your tutor. Make sure that each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline given in the Assignment File. If, for any reason, you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor before the assignment is due to discuss the possibility of an extension. Extensions will not be granted after the due date unless these are exceptional circumstances.

Final Examination and Grading

The final examination of CRS872 will be three hours' duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions, which reflect the type of self-testing, practice exercises, and tutor-marked problems you have come across. All areas of the course will be assessed. You are advised to revise the entire course after studying the last unit before you sit for the examination. You will find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments and the comments of your tutor on them before the final examination.

Assessment	
Assessments 1-4	Four assignments, best three marks of the four counts at 30% of course marks.
Final Examination	70% of overall course marks
Total	100% of course marks

Course Overview

This table brings together the units, the number of weeks you should take to complete them, and the assignments that follow them.

Table1: Course Overview

Module 1	Title of Work	Week's Activity	Assessment (end of Unit)

Unit			
1	Concept of Religion	1	Assignment 1
2	Islam	2	Assignment 2
3	Theories and Perspectives of Religion	3	Assignment 3
4	Major Religions in Nigeria	4	Assignment 4
5	New Religious Movements	5	Assignment 5
6	Religion and Nigerian Society	6	Assignment 6
7	Theories on Functions of Religion in Nigerian Society	7	Assignment 7
Module 2			
Unit			
1	The Concept of Power,	8	Assignment 8
2	Sources of power,	9	Assignment 9
3	Religious Leadership,	10	Assignment 10
4	Political Leadership and social Change	11	Assignment 11
5	Religion and Politics, Religion	12	Assignment 12
6	Religion and Stratification	13	Assignment 13
7	Religion and Democracy.	14	Assignment 14
Module 3			
Unit			
1	The Concept of Politics	15	Assignment 15
2	The Nature and Scope of Politics	16	Assignment 16
3	The Development of Politics	17	Assignment 17
4	Colonialism and Nationalism	18	Assignment 18
5	Contending Explanatory Models of Instability	19	Assignment 19
6	Neo-Colonialism and Nigerian Economy	20	Assignment 20
7	State Politics and Citizenship	21	Assignment 21

How to get the most from this course

In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through especially designed study materials at your own place, and at a time and place, that suit you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to a lecturer. In the same way that a lecturer might set you some reading to do, the study units tell you when to read your set books or other material. Just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise, your study units provide exercises for you to do at appropriate points.

Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units and the course as a whole. Next is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. You should use these objectives to guide your study. When you have finished the units, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If you make a habit of doing this, you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course.

Reading Section

Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need help, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

1. Read this Course Guide thoroughly

2. Organize a study schedule. Refer to the 'Course Overview' for more details. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. Whatever method you chose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates for working on each unit.

3. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything you can to stick to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please let your tutor know before it is too late for help.

4. Turn to Unit 1 and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.

5. Assemble the study materials, information about what you need for a unit is given in the 'Overview' at the beginning of each unit. You will usually need both the study unit you are working on and one of your set books on your desk at the same time.

6. Work through the unit. The content of the unit itself has been arranged to provide a sequence for you to follow. As you work through the unit, you will be instructed to read sections from your set books or other articles. Use the unit to guide your reading.

7. Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study material or consult you tutor.

8. When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can then start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.

9. When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule. When the assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor-marked assignment form and on what is written on the assignment. Consult your tutor as soon as possible if you have any questions or problems.

10. After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in this Course Guide).

Facilitators/Tutor and Tutorial

There are 8 hours of tutorial provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, time, and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor,

as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and assist you during the course. You must mail your tutor-marked assignments to your tutor well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible. Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone, e-mail, or discussion board if you need help. The following might be circumstances in which you would find help necessary. Contact your tutor if:

- You do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings,
- You have difficulty with the self-tests or exercises,
- You have a question or problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.
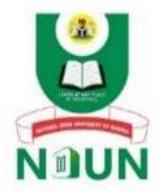
You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face-to-face contact with your tutorial and to ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefit from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn a lot from participating in discussions actively.

Summary

CRS872 intends to introduce you to basics of the Religion and Social Change in Africa. Upon completing this course, you will be able to answer questions such as:

- Compare and contrast Weber and Marx opinion of the role of religion in social change.
- What is the difference between the profane and the sacred according to Durkheim?
- List any five structures of African traditional religion.
- Explain the liturgy of African traditional religion
- Distinguish between latent and manifest function of religion.
- Compare and contrast Weber and Marx opinion of the role of religion in social change.
- Define integration. In what way has religion performed integrative function in Nigeria?

- What are the effects of secularism?

- Identify and discuss the major features of African politics

- Discuss with illustrations the sit-tight syndrome in African politics.

- Discuss what you understand by the term politics.

- Describe the development of political science over the years.

- Explain the factors responsible for the imposition of neo-colonial structures on African States after their independence

- Identify and explain the major features of a neo-colonial society in Africa.

- Who is a citizen?

MAIN COURSE

Module 1: INTRODUCTION TO RELIGION

Module 2: Religion and Modernity

Module 3: History of Politics

Module 1: INTRODUCTION TO RELIGION

UNIT 1: CONCEPT OF RELIGION

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    3.5 Functions of Religion in the Society

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Summary

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7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The need to understand religion in the context of African beliefs system requires critical examination of African Traditional Religious mythology and cosmology. This is because man from its origin is born with culture and belief system that enabled him to worship his creator God in the way that his conscience and ability direct him to do. The study of religion is aimed at understanding the similarities and differences in religion, the religious mythologies and

cosmologies and their relevant to the human society. African with diverse culture has religion as unifying factor that helps people to appreciate the corporate development of the environment in which people live in harmony. Therefore, an understanding of African Traditional Religion will create room for a clear understanding of the African people contextually within the framework of their belief system.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Define religion from different perspectives
- Give the characteristic features in the definition of religion
- Explain the different types of world religions
- Discuss the purpose for the study of religion
- Give the functions of religion in Nigerian society
- Highlight the importance of religion in Nigerian society
- State the roles of religion in Nigerian society

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Definition of Religion

There is no universally accepted definition of religion. This is simply because religion means different things to different people. It may mean a thing to a philosopher and another to a theologian and another to a sociologist. Religion is diverse in historical development, so either culturally varied that definitions developed from our African or western experience often fail to encompass it adequately. A.C. Bouquet argued in his book, Comparative Religion that the word 'religion' is of European origin and that it acquired many meanings in Europe. He however observed that scholars in the ancient world did not agree on the etymological connotation of the word. Some scholars connected religio with other Latin terms relegere which means to re- read; relinquere which is to relinquish; or religare which means to relegate, to unite, to bind together.

Bouquet examined the two of the various views: The Roman Cicero and Roman writer Servius Cicero took the word from relegere, to gather things together, or to pass over the same ground repeatedly.

Another possible meaning, according to Cicero, was 'to count or observe.' Cicero focused on the term 'observe' to be appropriate in understanding the term 'religion'. Using the word 'observe' would have religion interpreted as "to observe the signs of divine communication." For Servius and most others, religion was to be associated with the Latin religare, to bind things together. The possibility of accepting this root origin is obvious in that this notion expresses the most important feature of religion. That is, "religion binds people together in common practices and beliefs, drawing them together in a common enterprise of life" (Bowker 1997: xvi). This notion shows religion as pointing to relationship. Bouquet strongly felt that both roots could be combined to give the sense of the meaning of religion: "a communion between the human and the superhuman.

Thus, he interpreted religion to mean "a fixed relationship between the human self and some non-human entity, the Sacred, the Supernatural, the Self- existent, the Absolute, or simply 'God'. Religion therefore implies a relationship between human beings and some spiritual beings. As we shall see in our study of religion, religion involves relationships both in essence and functions. John Ferguson listed seventeen definitions of religion, which can be organized into the following categories; theological, moral, philosophical, psychological and sociological.

Theological Definition of Religion

The theological definition of religion include religion is the believing in God, religion is belief in spiritual beings, religion is life of God in the soul of man, and religion is a mystery, at once awesome and attractive. The above are the theological definitions of religion because they centred on the ideas that religion has to do with God or super natural spiritual powers. E.B. Taylor asserts that religion being a belief in God and spiritual being involved a belief in a hierarchy of spirits from the lower to the most powerful beings. It is said to be the life of God in the soul of man; an idea which comes from Newton Clarke, who stressed the two realities of God and the soul as necessary for religion to exist. Further still, the definition that related religion to something mysterious is that, religion is a mystery: awesome and attractive. Rudolf Otto, who

found the essence of religion in the idea of the holy, which he claimed, attracts people, owning to its mystery and its power, created this ideology.

Moral Definition of Religion

The moral definition of religion are: religion is leading a good life, religion is morality tinged with emotion, religion is the recognition of all our duties and demand commands and religion is sum of scruples which impede the free use of our faculties. Morality deals with the provision of rules, norms, and directives of how people should live their lives in an acceptable manner. According to moral theory, religion is defined as lading a good life. Mathew Arnold expanded the moral definition of religion by insisting that human emotions or feelings must be added to morality before religion can become real. It is said to be the recognition of all our duties as divine commands, a theory of Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative. Thus, the moral definition of religion makes the central criterion of religion a code of correct behaviour affirmed by believers as having its source in an unquestioned and unquestionable authority.

Philosophical Definition of Religion

The philosophical definition of religion view religion in terms of an abstract or impersonal concept. Religion is what a man does with his solitariness. Alfred North Whitehead described it as the relation of man to his own being, but as a being outside himself. It is a relationship, which according to Paul; people hold with that which concerns them ultimately. Psychological definition of religion stressed that religion has to do with the emotions, feelings, or psychological states of the human in relation to the religious object. Ferguson defines religion as the result of seeking comfort in the world, which, dispassionately considered, is a terrifying wilderness.

Bertrand Russell stresses that because of the misfortunes and sufferings people experience in the world, they seek comfort or consolation in religion. Friedrich Schleiermarcher further described religion as "a feeling of absolute dependence". These definitions of religion, which fall within the viewpoint of psychoanalyptic school of Sigmund Freud defined religion as "a universal obsessive neurosis" and "psychological disturbance" which must be overcome if humanity is to attain psychological health.

Psychological Definition of Religion

The psychological definition of religion makes the central criterion of religion feelings or emotions within people, which cause them to appeal to force greater than themselves to satisfy those feelings. The sociological definition of religion emphasizes on religion as a group consciousness embodying cultural norms or as a product of society in general. Ferguson listed the following definitions, which falls within this category. Religion is the "opium of the people". Karl Marx posits that religion results from the oppression of the masses by those in positions of social or economic power who use the message of religion to keep the oppressed content with their lot in this life in the hope of a just order in the next one. Religion thus, plans a sociological function for both the oppressor and the oppressed.

Herald Hoffding defined religion as the conservation of values. Though this definition reflects a widely had view of traditional sociologists such as Emile Durkhein or Bronislaw Malinoski, Hoffding maintained that religion is a conservation force within society which defines the fundamental values of the group and then enforces those values by an appeal to supernatural powers. It is co-operative quest after a completely satisfying life". The emphasis of this definition seems to group it within the psychological; however, it falls within the cooperative quest in sociological category. Martin Frozesky who laces this definition in contemporary scholarship said that religion is "a quest for ultimate well-being". William Lessa and Evon Vogth described religion as a system of beliefs and practices directed toward the "ultimate concern" of a society.

Sociological Definition of Religion

The sociological definition makes the central criterion of religion the existence of a community of people, which is identified, bound together, and maintained by its beliefs in power or forces greater than the community itself maintain.

3.2 Characteristic Features in the Definition of Religion

It is important to mention that each person who defines religion focuses on some particular aspects of human life and experience, or on what religion does, positive or negative. We shall now examine the characteristic emphases in their various definitions. Radoslav A. Tsanoff, in his Religious Crossroads, classifies the definitions of religion into the following ways: (1) theistic and other beliefs, (2) practices, (3) mystical feelings, (4) worship of the holy, and (5) conviction of the conservation of values. For our own, we shall identify the definitions of religion and consider them under the following categories.

Feeling

Friedrich Schleiermacher, an important 19th century German theologian and philosopher, has defined religion as "the feeling of absolute dependence, of pure and entire passiveness" and that "true religion is sense and taste for the Infinite." He asserts that religion should include emotions. Schleiermacher bases his definition on human's feeling and intuition. It anchors on dependence on one Infinite, or the Eternal, which in some religions may be termed God. The definition does not reflect human participation in religious scheme as in knowing or doing something in the name of religion.

Ritual Activity

This definition emphasises the performance of specific acts that are established by the religious community. Anthony Wallace, an anthropologist defines religion as "a set of rituals, rationalized by myth, which mobilizes supernatural powers for the purpose of achieving or preventing transformations of state in humans or nature." The definition holds that religion is only situated within the realm of humanity and society. There is no reference to the divine as some religion may hold.

Belief

It is very common to both young and old when asked about the definition of religion to define it as belief in God or the supernatural. Most theo-centric religions like Christianity and Islam will define religion in terms of 'belief', particularly belief in a supernatural power or entity.

Monotheism

Monotheistic religions like Judaism, Christianity and Islam emphasizes that religion is a relationship with one omnipresent, omnipotent, omniscient divine being who manifests in and superintends on the affairs of humanity and the whole universe. The essential relationship is differently captured in definite terms in different religions. An example in Judaism is the Shema in Judaism as contained in the Old Testament (Deut. 6:4-6); in Christianity as revealed in the belief in Jesus Christ who is regarded as the Way, the Truth, and the Life (John 14:6); and in Islam as contained in the Shahadah, the Testimony to the oneness of Allah (Qur'an 112).

The Solitary Individual

Alfred North Whitehead, a prominent English-American philosopher, defines religion as "what the individual does with his own solitariness; and if you were never solitary, you were never religious." This emphasises the involvement of the individual in an intimate personal dialogue with himself or herself. It does not refer to either the supernatural or a group or the society in which a person lives.

Social Valuation

William Lessa and Evon Vogt, (two anthropologists) define religion as "a system of beliefs and practices directed toward the 'ultimate concern' of a society." To them, religion is human-centred. Here, society provides the centre for religious valuation. Religious beliefs, practices, and attitudes are directed toward the expression of what a society of people holds to be of central importance.

Illusion

Karl Marx, a 19th century social philosopher, and the father of communism, defines religion this way: "Religion is the heart of the heartless, sigh of the oppressed creature … It is the opium of the people." Religion is only the illusory sun, which revolves around humans as long as he does not revolve around himself. Marx sees religion as something that misinterprets reality. This portrays human being's response to the universe as essentially immature and distorted.

Ultimate Reality and Value

John B. Magee says, "Religion is the realm of the ultimately real and ultimately valuable." Religion is seen as the true and ultimate measure of people's existence, the final test of life is meaning.

3.3 Aims for the Study of Religion

The study of religion is not new. Many centuries ago, western scholars have conducted studies on religion. What there is was being expressed orally in myths, legends, proverbs, wise sayings and in practical ways like rituals, dances, art, and symbols. The systematic and critical studies of the religious beliefs of the peoples did not begin until recent years, precisely between and after the two world wars. The growth of the science of anthropology and the comparative study of religion aroused the interest of scholars in religion. Despite the pioneering role of Europeans involved in this study, the outcome of their production was still clouded with racial prejudices.

Thus, one of the aims of the study of religion is to make a comparative survey and to indicate an approach to the understanding of the religion. It is now evident that God is one, the God of the whole universe that has revealed Him to various people in various ways throughout the ages. It is the aim of the study to show the world that religion is part of culture and of all history of humankind. A study of religion allow us to understand the differences and to see the similarities between nations and culture; psychologically, philosophically, theologically,

sociologically and morally. It will also help us to appreciate our own beliefs by seeing them alongside those of others. Furthermore, it will help us to work for ecumenism via a meaningful exchange of ideas between religious group in dialogue, seminar and open discussions.

Another aim for the study of African Religion is to discover what the adherents actually know, believe, and think about the God and the super sensible world. In the study of religion, we are not out to seek legitimate ways of discovering what the people actually know about their beliefs system and heritage. Religion allows the adherents to how the beliefs of people have influenced their worldviews and moulded their scholars who had studied religion. There is no doubt that a great diversity of religion exist in the world and common political system. As such, to a distant observer, the homogeneity of other religions is much less real than apparent in the world. Our aim, therefore, is to prove to the world that the spiritual world is so real and near that its forces do inspire their visible world.

The study of religion is also to show the relationship of religions in the world with one another. The real cohesive factor of religion in the world is the living supernatural being or God. The study of religion is to better the ways of evangelizing and acculturating peoples. Evangelization and acculturation of the world would help in cultural evolution and refinement of people's culture, especially those practices that are pagan oriented into Christian ones.

3.4 Taxonomy of World Religion Traditions

There are many types of world religious traditions. These include Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Shintoism, African Traditional Religion, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Three of these living world religious traditions are monotheistic religion. They include Christianity, Islam, and African traditional Religion.

Taoism

Taoism also known as Daoism is a tradition of Chinese philosophy and Chinese religion, first arising in about the 4th century BC. Among native Chinese schools of thought, the influence of Daoism has been second only to that of Confucianism. Daoism as now understood consists of two separate streams, a school of philosophical thought originating in the classical age of Zhou dynasty China, and a system of religious belief arising some 500 years later in the Han dynasty. These two are normally termed philosophical and religious Daoism and the Daoist basis of the latter lies in the revelation from the sage Laozi that a Daoist called Zhang Daoling claimed to have received in AD 142 in the Sichuan Mountains. Philosophical Daoism has therefore been preserved beneath a mass of religious accretions derived from native Chinese paganism, shamanism, divination, and superstition; while religious Daoism is now a thriving creed interwoven with Chinese popular culture.

Philosophical Daoism arose out of the intellectual ferment of the Zhou dynasty, in which various philosophical schools competed to advise rulers and others on the correct way to live and govern in a world racked by political and social change. It's likely origins are in the so-called Yangist school, despised by Mencius, who caricatured its doctrines by declaring that Yangists would not pluck a hair from their own heads to benefit the whole world. In fact, it apparently preached self-cultivation and withdrawal to private life, drawing on a native Chinese tradition of mysticism and contemplative exercises resembling yoga.

This tradition was developed in the late 4th century BC by the philosopher Zhuangzi (Chuang-tzu), who began as a Yangist. Soon after, an anonymous thinker, perhaps a minor official, produced a book of related reflections under the name of the semi-mythical figure Laozi (Lao-tzu), who had allegedly instructed Confucius. Evidence suggests that while Zhuangzi saw his beliefs as purely for private use, Laozi presented his as an explicit manual of government.

Islam

The Arabic word islam literally means "surrender" or "submission". As the name of the religion, it is understood to mean "surrender or submission to God". One who has thus surrendered is a Muslim. In theory, all that is necessary for one to become a Muslim is to recite sincerely the short statement of faith known as the shahadah: I witness that there is no god but God (Allah) and that Muhammad is the Messenger of God. Although in an historical sense

Muslims regard their religion as dating from the time of Muhammad in the early 7th century AD, in a religious sense they see it as identical with the true monotheism which prophets before Muhammad, such as Abraham (Ibrahim), Moses (Musa), and Jesus (Isa), had taught. In the Koran, Abraham is referred to as a Muslim. The followers of these and other prophets are held to have corrupted their teachings, but God in His mercy sent Muhammad to call humanity yet again to the truth.

Islam has five duties, which traditionally are seen as obligatory for all Muslims, although some mystics (Sufis) have allegorized them, and many Muslims observe them only partially. These duties are called five pillars of Islam: bearing witness to the unity and uniqueness of God and to the prophethood of Muhammad (shahadah); prayer at the prescribed times each day (salat); fasting during the month of Ramadan (sawm); pilgrimage to Mecca, and the performance of certain prescribed rituals in and around Mecca at a specified time of the year (hajj); and paying a certain amount out of one's wealth as alms for the poor and some other categories of Muslims (zakat). The first of these pillars balances external action (the recitation of the shahadah) with internal conviction (although different groups within Islam have held different views about the relative importance of recitation and belief in the shahadah); the other four, although they take belief for granted, consist predominantly of external acts.

There are other duties and practices regarded as obligatory. As in Judaism, the eating of pork is prohibited and male circumcision is the norm (the latter is not mentioned in the Koran). Consumption of alcohol is forbidden. Meat must be slaughtered according to an approved ritual or else it is not halal. In some Muslim communities, practices, which are essentially local customs, have come to be identified as Islamic: the wearing of a sari, for example. There are variant practices concerning the covering of the head or face of a woman in public. Koranic texts that address the issue are interpreted by some to mean that the entire head and face of a woman should be covered, by others as indicating that some sort of veil or headscarf should be worn. Others argue that the Koran does not require any such covering.

Judaism

Judaism is the religious culture of the Jews (also known as the people of Israel); one of the worlds is oldest continuing religious traditions. Judaism originated in the land of Israel (also known as Palestine) in the Middle East in c. 1800 BC. Due to invasions and migration, today's Jewish communities are found all around the world. In mid-1993, the total world Jewish population was some 14.5 million, of whom about 6.8 million lived in North America, more than 3.6 million in Israel, and more than 1.9 million in the countries of the former Soviet Union, the three largest centres of Jewish settlement. Just fewer than 1 million Jews lived in the rest of Europe, most of them in France and Great Britain, and 600,000 in the rest of Asia. Around 1.1 million Jews lived in Central and South America, and about 200,000 in Africa.

As a rich and complex religious tradition, Judaism has never been monolithic. Its various historical forms nonetheless have shared certain characteristic features. The most essential of these is a radical monotheism, that is, the belief that a single, transcendent God created the universe and continues providentially to govern it. Underpinning this monotheism is the teleological conviction that the world is both intelligible and purposive, because a single divine intelligence stands behind it. There is nothing that humanity experience that is capricious; everything ultimately has meaning. The mind of God is manifest to the traditional Jew in both the natural order, through creation, and the social-historical order, through revelation. The same God who created the world revealed Himself to the Israelites at Mount Sinai.

The content of that revelation is the Torah revealed instruction, the core of the Hebrew Bible), God's will for humankind expressed in commandments (mizvoth) by which individuals are to regulate their lives in interacting with one another and with God. By living in accordance with God's laws and submitting to the divine will, humanity can become a harmonious part of the cosmos. A second major concept in Judaism is that of the covenant (berith), or contractual agreement, between God and the Jewish people. According to tradition, the God of creation entered into a special relationship with the Jewish people at Sinai. They would acknowledge God as their sole ultimate king and legislator, agreeing to obey His laws; God, in turn, would acknowledge Israel as His particular people, and be especially mindful of them.

Both biblical authors and later Jewish tradition view this covenant in a universal context. Only after successive failures to establish a covenant with rebellious humanity did God turn to a particular segment of it. Israel is to be a "kingdom of priests", and the ideal social order that it establishes in accordance with the divine laws is to be a model for the human race. Israel thus

stands between God and humanity, representing each to the other. The idea of the covenant also determines the way in which both nature and history traditionally have been viewed in Judaism. Israel's well- being is seen to depend on obedience to God's commandments. Both natural and historical events that befall Israel are interpreted as emanating from God and as influenced by Israel's religious behaviour.

A direct causal connection is thus made between human behaviour and human destiny. This perspective intensifies the problem of theodicy (God's justice) in Judaism, because the historical experience of both individuals and the Jewish people has frequently been interpreted as being one of suffering. Much Jewish religious thought, from the biblical Book of Job onward, has been preoccupied with the problem of affirming justice and meaning in the face of apparent injustice. In time, the problem was mitigated by the belief that virtue and obedience ultimately would be rewarded and sin punished by divine judgment after death, thereby redressing inequities in this world. The indignities of foreign domination and forced exile from the land of Israel suffered by the Jewish people would be redressed at the end of time, when God will send His Messiah (mashiah, from the royal house of David, to redeem the Jews and restore them to sovereignty in their land.

Although all forms of Judaism have been rooted in the Hebrew Bible (referred to by Jews as the Tanach, an acronym for its three sections: Torah, the Pentateuch; Naviim, the prophetic literature; and Ketubi the other writings, it would be an error to think of Judaism as simply the "religion of The Book". Contemporary Judaism is ultimately derived from the rabbinic movement of the first centuries of the Christian era in Palestine and Babylonia and is therefore called rabbinic Judaism. A rabbi (rabbi meaning "my teacher" in Aramaic and Hebrew) is a Jewish sage adept in studying the Scriptures. Jewish tradition maintains that God revealed to Moses on Sinai a twofold Torah. In addition to the written Torah (Scripture), God revealed an oral Torah, faithfully transmitted by word of mouth in an unbroken chain from Moses to successive generations, from master to disciple, and preserved now among the rabbis themselves.

The oral Torah was encapsulated in the Mishnah (that which is learnt or memorized), the earliest document of rabbinic literature, edited in Palestine at the turn of the 3rd century. Subsequent rabbinic study of the Mishnah in Palestine and Babylonia generated the Talmud (that which is studied), a wide-ranging commentary on the Mishnah. It later became known as the Gemara (Aramaic for learning or completion), and today the term "Talmud" is often used to refer

to the Mishnah and Gemara together. Two Talmuds were produced: the Palestinian or Yerushalmi (of Jerusalem) Talmud, completed around 450 CE, and the Babylonian Talmud, completed around 550 CE, which is larger and considered to be more authoritative. The Talmud is the foundation document of rabbinic Judaism. Early rabbinic writings also include exegetical and homiletical commentaries on Scripture like the Midrashim and the Midrash and several Aramaic translations of the Pentateuch and other scriptural books like the Targums.

Christianity

Christianity is a major world religion, having substantial representation in all the populated continents of the globe. Its total membership may exceed 1.7 billion people. Like any system of beliefs and values, Christianity is in many ways comprehensible only from the inside to those who share the beliefs and strive to live by the values; and a description that would ignore these "inside" aspects of it would not be historically faithful. To a degree that those on the inside often fail to recognize, however, such a system of beliefs and values can also be described in a way that makes sense to an interested observer who even cannot share their outlook.

Creeds are authoritative summaries of the principal articles of faith of various Churches or bodies of believers. As religions develop, originally simple doctrines are subject to elaboration and interpretation that cause differences of opinion. Detailed creeds become necessary to emphasize the differences between the tenets of schismatic branches and to serve as formulations of belief when liturgical usage, as in the administration of baptism, requires a profession of faith. In the Christian Church, the Apostles' Creed was the earliest summation of doctrine; it has been used with only minor variations since the 2nd century. In addition to the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed are in common use in the Roman Catholic liturgy. In the Orthodox Church, the only creed formally adopted was the Nicene Creed, without the insertion of filioque in connection with the source of the Holy Spirit.

With the Reformation, the establishment of the various Protestant Churches necessitated the formulation of new creeds, which, because of the many differences in theology and doctrine, were much longer than the creeds of the ancient Church. The Augsburg Confession is accepted by Lutherans throughout the world, as is the Smaller Catechism of Martin Luther. The Formula of Concord, accepted by most early Lutherans, is now more limited in acceptance. The doctrines

of the Church of England are summarized in the Thirty-Nine Articles, and those of the Presbyterians, in the Westminster Confession. Most Reformed Churches of Europe subscribe to the Helvetica Posterior, or Second Helvetic Confession, of the Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger, and most Calvinists accept the Heidelberg Catechism.

African Traditional Religion

As mentioned above, the three religions of Nigeria are ATR, Islam, and Christianity. Their co-existence has been relatively peaceful until fairly recently. The problem between these religions is relatively recent, though for ATR and Islam, their contact with each other is about a thousand years. Religious pluralism in the world today characterized by mutual suspicion, intolerance, exclusivism and uncompromising attitude, has made itself felt today in Nigeria in all these manifestations. We shall see more of this when we treat the relationship between the three below. Here lies the root of the problem of religious pluralism. Here lie the claim and counter-claim of uniqueness and possession of the entire religious truth. This claim of possessing the truth either between the religious or between different sects within one religion has led to a lot of bloodshed. Hans King writes:

> No question in the history of the Churches and of religions has led to so many disputes and bloody conflicts, indeed, "religious wars" as the question about the truth. Blind zeal for truth in all periods and in all Churches and religions, has ruthlessly injured, burned, destroyed and murdered. Conversely, a weary forgetfulness of truth has had consequently a loss of orientation and norms, so that many no longer believed in anything.

It is this situation that has given religion a very "bad name" and has caused in many, an attitude of "practical indifference. Many historians of comparative religion have adopted the attitude that all religions are equal and bring all equally to salvation. Mahatma Ghandi writes that all religions are likes "rivers that meet in the same ocean…if we look to the aim, there is no difference among religions. Again, over this problem, Sergio Bocchini asks: "Una religion vale l'altra?" (Is one religion as good as another is?) to this question, one ought to affirm the

undeniable fact that all religions contain some truth which must respected but equally clear is the fact that all cannot be equal, even from the point of view of their origin and from the fact as to whether they are revealed or natural; grace is always higher than nature. Again, with regard to their differences, for example, concept of God and of salvation, some are so basic and contradictory that not all can be equally correct. Thus, all non-Christian religions contain some truths even if not the whole truth. Vatican Council II says:

> Men look to the various religions for answers to…profound mysteries of the human conditions…other religions…found everywhere strive variously to answer the restless searching's of the human heart by proposing "ways" which consist of teaching, rules of life, and sacred ceremonies…The Catholic Church rejects nothing which is true and holy in these religions.

As to the position of the Church among these various religions, we shall go into that as we discuss Christian response through dialogue. What this section wishes to affirm is that religious truth is found in all religions though the degree differs. Not all religions are equal but they agree on this one point, that religion is man's search for God or the ultimate reality.

Hinduism

Hinduism is a religious tradition of Indian origin, comprising the beliefs and practices of Hindus. The word Hindu is derived from the River Sindhu, or Indus. The geographical term was Al-Hind, and the people of the land east of the Indus were therefore called Hindus. This was not initially a religious label. The word Hinduism is an English word of more recent origin. Hinduism entered the English language in the early 19th century to describe the beliefs and practices of those residents of India who had not converted to Islam or Christianity and did not practise Judaism or Zoroastrianism. Hindus themselves prefer to use the Sanskrit term, sanatana dharma for their religious tradition. Sanatana dharma is often translated into English as "eternal tradition" or "eternal religion" but the translation of dharma as "tradition" or "religion" gives an extremely limited, even mistaken, sense of the word.

Dharma has many meanings in Sanskrit, the language of some of the Hindu scriptures, including "moral order", "duty", and "right action". The Hindu community today is found primarily in India, Nepal, and Bali in the Indonesian archipelago. Substantial Hindu communities are present in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Mauritius, Fiji, the Caribbean, East Africa, and South Africa. Scattered Hindu communities are found in most parts of the Western world. Hindus today number nearly 900 million, including about 20 million who live outside India, making them the third largest religious community in the world, after Christians and Muslims. Three other religions that originated in India branched off from Hinduism: Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism.

Belief in Brahman: The Ultimate Reality Various schools have contributed to Hindu thought, each school with a different emphasis. The school known as Vedanta has been the standard form of intellectual Hinduism. According to Vedanta, the highest aim of existence is the realization of the identity or union of the individual's innermost self (atman) with the ultimate reality. Although Vedanta states that this ultimate reality is beyond having a name, the word Brahman is used to refer to it. Reincarnation in Hinduism is referred to as Samsara. According to Hinduism, this current life is merely one link in a chain of lives that extends far into the past and projects far into the future.

The point of origin of this chain cannot be determined. The process of involvement in the universe-the chain of births and deaths-is called samsara. Samsara is caused by a lack of knowledge of the true self and resultant desire for fulfilment outside self. We continue to embody ourselves, or be reborn, in this infinite and eternal universe because of these unfulfilled desires. The chain of births lets us resume the pursuit. The law that governs samsara is called karma. Each birth and death we undergo is determined by the balance sheet of our karma-that is, in accordance with the actions performed and the dispositions acquired in the past. The belief in Karma is a crucial Hindu concept. According to the doctrine of karma, our present condition in life is the consequence of the actions of our previous lives. The choices we have made in the past directly affect our condition in this life, and the choices we make today and thereafter will have consequences for our future lives in samsara.

An understanding of this interconnection, according to Hindu teachings, can lead an individual towards right choices, deeds, thoughts, and desires, without the need for an external set of commandments. The principle of karma provides the basic framework for Hindu ethics. The word karma is sometimes translated into English as "destiny", but karma does not imply the

absence of free will or freedom of action that destiny does. Under the doctrine of karma, the ability to make choices remains with the individual. When we cause pain or injury, we add to the karmic debt we carry into our future lives. When we give to others in a genuine way, we lighten our karmic load. In the Bhagavad-Gita, an important Hindu text, Krishna states that the best way to be free of debt is by selfless action, or by dedicating every action as an offering to Krishna himself.

In addition, human beings can purify themselves of karmic debt through different yogas (disciplines), kriyas (purification processes), and bhakti (devotions). Hindu thought takes the personality of the seeker as the starting point. It divides human personalities into types dominated by physicality, activity, emotionality, or intellectuality. The composition of our personality intuitively predisposes us to a type of yoga—that is, a path we might follow to achieve union with Brahman. Although many people associate the word yoga with a physical discipline, in its original Hindu meaning yoga refers to any technique that unites the seeker with the ultimate reality.

While physical fitness buffs may seek such a union by practising Hatha yoga, people with different personality traits have other choices. For the action-oriented person there is Karma yoga, the yoga of action, which calls for a life of selfless deeds and actions appropriate to the person's station in life. For the person of feeling, Bhakti yoga, the yoga of devotion, calls for unconditional love for a personal divinity. For the person of thought, Jnana yoga, the yoga of knowledge, calls for spiritual and physical discipline intended to bring direct insight into ultimate reality. The yogas do not represent tightly sealed compartments, merely convenient classifications. A well-balanced personality might well employ all four. These yogas are sometimes called margas (paths), suggesting that the same destination can be approached by more than one route, and indeed by more than one mode of travel.

Buddhism

Buddhism, a major world religion, founded in northeastern India and based on the teachings of Siddhartha Gautama, who is known as the Buddha, or the Enlightened One. Though Buddhism originated as a monastic movement within the dominant Brahman tradition of the day, it quickly developed in a distinctive direction. The Buddha not only rejected significant aspects

of Brahmanic philosophy, but also challenged the authority of the priesthood, denied the validity of the Vedic scriptures, and rejected the sacrificial cult based on them. Moreover, he opened his movement to members of all castes, denying that a person's spiritual worth is a matter of birth. Gautama was born around 560 BC in Northern India.

His father was a king from the Sakya clan and by all standards; he was from a background of opulence and luxury. At the age of 16, he got married to a princess called Yasodara who bore him a son named Rahula. On his 29th birthday, he came face to face with some of the harsh realities of life when for the first time he saw a sick man, an old man, and a dead man. This made him to realize the subjectivity of all human beings to birth, disease, and death. This marked a turning point in his life as he turned to seek a panacea to the problem. Seeing all his possessions as impediments, he renounced them and went in search of peace. He went through much unsuccessful self-denial until under the Bo tree; he attained the state called 'nirvana'.

The major feature of Buddhism is the concept of the Four Noble Truths. Four Noble Truths, which in Sanskrit is called Catvari-Arya-Satyani, is the four fundamental principles of Buddhism, expounded by the Buddha first sermon in the deer park at Benares after the enlightment. They are as follows: (1) The Holy Truth of Suffering: all existence is suffering (dukkha); (2) The Holy Truth of the Cause of Suffering: the cause (samudaya) of suffering is ignorant craving (tanha) for pleasure, for perpetuating life, and an inclination to assume that everything ends at death; (3) The Holy Truth of the Suppression of Suffering: suffering can be suppressed (nirodha) by withdrawal from and renunciation of craving; (4) The Holy Truth of the Way to the Suppression of Suffering. The path (magga) that leads to the suppression of suffering is the Noble Eightfold Path.

Although interpreted in various ways, these precepts are accepted by all schools of Buddhism, and essentially summarize the religion. They are held to provide the key to attainment of nirvana. The Buddhist sacred texts called the tipitaka comprise of 31 books that are organized into three collections called the Vinaya Pitaka (basket of discipline), the Sutta Pitaka (basket of discourses), and the Abhidhama Pitaka (basket of ultimate doctrines). Presently, Buddhism has large population of followers especially in countries like Thailand, China, Mongolia, and Sri-Lanka. Some of the states in America have Buddhist temples, which attest to the emergence of Buddhism in the United States.

Confucianism

Confucius, which in Chinese is called Kongfuzi, was a Chinese philosopher, founder of Confucianism and one of the most influential figures in Chinese history. According to tradition, Confucius was born in the state of Lu of the noble Kong clan. His original name was Kong Qiu. Accounts of his life record that his father, commander of a district in Lu, died three years after Confucius was born, leaving the family in poverty; but Confucius nevertheless received a fine education, for Lu was famous for preserving the state traditions of the Zhou dynasty. He was married at the age of 19 and had one son and two daughters.

During the four years immediately after his marriage, poverty reportedly compelled him to perform menial labours for the chief of the district in which he lived. His mother died in 527 BC, and after a period of mourning, he began his career as a teacher, usually travelling about and instructing the small body of disciples that had gathered around him. His fame as a man of learning and character with great reverence for traditional ideals and customs soon spread through the municipality of Lu. Living as he did in the second half of the Zhou dynasty, when central government had degenerated in China and intrigue and vice were rampant, Confucius deplored the contemporary disorder and lack of moral standards.

He came to believe that the only remedy was to convert people once more to the principles and precepts of the sages of antiquity. He therefore lectured to his pupils on the ancient classics of Chinese literature. He also stressed the importance of music, for the Chinese music of this time had ceremonial and religious functions important in state functions and worship. He taught the great value of the power of example. Rulers, he said, can be great only if they themselves lead exemplary lives, and were they willing to be guided by moral principles, their states would inevitably attract citizens and become prosperous and happy.

One popular tradition about Confucius's life states that at the age of 50 he was appointed magistrate of Zhongdu, and the next year minister of crime of the state of Lu. His administration was successful; reforms were introduced, justice was fairly dispensed, and crime was almost eliminated. So powerful did Lu become that the ruler of a neighbouring state manoeuvred to secure the minister's dismissal. It is more likely, however, that he was only a minor official in Lu. In any case, Confucius left his office in 496 BC, travelling about and teaching, vainly hoping that some other prince would allow him to undertake measures of reform. In 484 BC, after a

fruitless search for an ideal ruler, he returned for the last time to Lu. He spent the remaining years of his life in retirement, writing commentaries on the classics. He died in Lu and was buried in a tomb at Qufu, Shandong.

The entire teaching of Confucius was practical and ethical, rather than religious. He claimed to be a restorer of ancient morality and held that proper outward acts based on the five virtues of kindness, uprightness, decorum, wisdom, and faithfulness constitute the whole of human duty. Reverence for parents, living and dead, was one of his key concepts. His view of government was paternalistic, and he enjoined all individuals to observe carefully their duties towards the state. In subsequent centuries, his teachings exerted a powerful influence on Chinese philosophy and the history of China. The principles of Confucianism are contained in the nine ancient Chinese works handed down by Confucius and his followers. These writings can be divided into two groups: the Five Classics and the Four Books. The Wujing (Five Classics), which originated before the time of Confucius, consist of the Yijing or I Ching (Book of Changes), Shujing (Book of Documents), Shijing (Book of Poetry), Liji (Book of Rites), and Chunqiu (Spring and Autumn Annals).

The Yijing is a manual of divination probably first compiled under the Shang dynasty before the 11th century BC; its supplementary philosophical portion, contained in a series of appendices, may have been written later by Confucius and his disciples. The Shujing is a collection of ancient historical documents, and the Shijing, an anthology of ancient poems. The Liji deals with the principles of conduct, including those for public and private ceremonies; it was destroyed in the 3rd century BC, but presumably, much of its material was preserved in the present compilation, which dates from the Han dynasty. The Chunqiu, the only work reputedly compiled by Confucius himself, is a chronicle of major historical events in Confucius's home state of Lu and elsewhere in feudal China from the 8th century BC to Confucius's death early in the 5th century BC.

The Sishu (Four Books); compilations of the sayings of Confucius and Mencius and of commentaries by followers on their teachings, are the Lunyu (Analects), a collection of maxims by Confucius that form the basis of his moral and political philosophy; Daxue (The Great Learning) and Zhongyong (The Doctrine of the Mean), containing some of Confucius's philosophical utterances arranged systematically with comments and expositions by his disciples; and the Mengzi (Book of Mencius), containing the teachings of one of Confucius's great

followers. Confucius's own teachings were passed on as oral traditions and collated in the Lunyu. They show him as a self-confessed moral conservative in a turbulent age, appalled at the political chaos and social changes, which followed the disintegration of the Zhou kingdom into warring feudal states.

This turbulence had forced Confucius and others to start thinking about the lost "Way of the Ancient Kings" of Zhou, and how to restore it, obliging them to become philosophical innovators despite themselves. For Confucius, social and political order was the same, and the personal virtue of rulers and people ensured the health of the state. His keys to good order were rites (li) and music, for Chinese music of the period was central to religious and official rites, and Confucius valued both its ritual function and its power to move men's hearts. He also valued the poems of ancient Chinese literature (most of which were sung to music) as civilizing and edifying influences. Allied to this was his emphasis on the rectification of names, ensuring that the correct social and other distinctions were maintained by using only the appropriate words for them.

A state provided with the most befitting rites and music, selected from the various available traditions, would automatically produce virtuous and happy citizens; laws would be almost unnecessary because disputes would never arise. Confucius roamed China seeking in vain for a sympathetic ruler to adopt his scheme. The keynote of Confucian ethics is ren, variously translated as "love", "goodness", "humanity", and "human-heartedness". Ren is a supreme virtue representing human qualities at their best; in Confucius's time, it apparently was associated with the ruling class and had a meaning more like "nobility", but its usage soon broadened. In human relations, construed as those between one person and another, ren is manifested in zhong, or faithfulness to oneself and others, and shu, or altruism, best expressed in the Confucian golden rule, "Do not do to others what you do not want done to yourself".

Other important Confucian virtues include righteousness (yi), propriety (li), integrity (xin), and filial piety (xiao). One who possesses all these virtues becomes a junzi (perfect man). Politically, Confucius advocated a paternalistic government in which the sovereign is benevolent and honourable and the subjects are respectful and obedient. A ruler should cultivate moral perfection in order to set a good example to the people, and to attract subjects to swell his realm. In education, Confucius upheld a theory, which was remarkable for the feudal period, in which he lived, that "in education, there is no class distinction".

3.5 The Functions of Religion

Anything can easily be discarded once it is discovered to be of no value. Often, the value of something will also depend on its importance and usefulness. Hence, one may ask, that, bearing in mind the above objections to religion, can it be waved aside as an insignificant aspect of human existence? Why is the religious dimension of human life so important? Emile Durkheim pointed out three major functions of religion

Social Cohesion

The shared symbols, value and norms of religion unite people. Religious doctrine and ritual establish rules of "fair play" that makes organized social life possible. Religion also involves love and commitment, which underscore both our moral and emotion ties to others (Wright & D'Atonio, 1980:48).

Social Control

Every society uses religious imagery and rhetoric to promote conformity. Societies give many cultural norms - especially those that deal with marriage and reproduction are given religions justification and control. Religion even legitimizes the political system. In medieval Europe, in fact monarchs claimed to rule by divine right Few of today's political leaders invoke religion so explicitly, but many publicly ask for God's blessing, implying to audiences that their effort are just and right.

Providing Meaning and Purpose

Religious beliefs offer the comforting sense that the vulnerable human condition serves some greater purpose. Strengthened by such conviction, people are less likely to despair when confronted by life's calamities. For this reason, major life – course transitions – including birth, marriage, and death – are usually marked by religious observances that enhance our spiritual awareness (Mascionis 1999; 483).

3.6 Religion in Human Society

"Society", says Peter Berger (1967:3) "is a human product and nothing but a human product that yet continuously acts back upon its producer". In other words, from a symbolic – interaction point of\view, religion, (like all of society) is socially constructed (although perhaps with divine inspiration). Through various rituals – from daily prayers to annual religious observances like Easter or Passover individuals sharpen the distinction between the sacred and profane. Further, Berger explains; by placing everyday events within a "cosmic frame of reference" people give their fallible, transitory creations "the semblance of ultimate security and permanence".

Scholars have also stressed the fact that religion support social hierarchy. Religion, claimed Karl Marx, serves ruling elites by legitimizing the status quo and diverting people's attention from social inequalities. Religion and social inequality are also linked through gender. Virtually all the world's major religions reflect and encourage male dominance in social life. We also need to emphasize how religion has promoted changes and equality. Nineteenth-century religious in the United States, for example, were at the forefront of the movement to abolish slavery.

3.7 The Importance of Religion in the Society

Mbiti asserted that Africans are notoriously religious, and each person has its own religious systems with a set of beliefs and practices. Religion permeates all the departments of life so much that it is not easy or possible to separate it from the society. From this assertion, and from what we have discussed so far, we cannot deny the fact that religion occupies a key position in any given society, Nigeria inclusive. Religion helps people relate harmoniously with one another, and with their creator. This relationship promotes peace and avoids conflicts.

Comte and Freud Marx, Martin observed that religion was dismissed as a meaningless subject; however, the situation has changed over time; the importance of religion in society is now accepted in Britain. Martin refers to religion as a social reality so pervasive and powerful. After all, faith and ritual persist. Religion permeates culture and mediates in social structures. Studies in sociology and political science have revealed that it is quite impossible to ignore a religious factor in party affiliation, voting behaviour and pressure group formation.

3.8 The Role of Religion in the Society

The functionalist theory sees religion as a system of interrelated systems that constitute the whole social system. Each unit or sub-system is interdependent on the other institutions of the whole social system. Changes in any part or sub-system affect the others as well as the total condition of the whole social system. This argument of the functionalist theory is that anything that has no function ceases to exist. However, since religion has continued to exist, it probably must have a function within the social system. The functionalist school of thought views the contribution of religion to human societies and cultures based on its general characteristics of contingency, powerlessness, and scarcity.

The functionalists assert that since human beings live in conditions of uncertainty and insecurity, all things are contingent and so devoid of any security. According to functionalists, human beings are incapable of controlling and affecting situations within their environment such as suffering, decay, death, and so on. This exposes their weakness or powerlessness. Lastly, that human beings have to grapple with scarce resources to satisfy unlimited wants or needs, there is relative socio-economic deprivation. Based on these three characteristics of human existence, which have been described by Weber as "breaking points in human existence," religion plays positive roles in society. Some of the positive roles or functions of religion will be discussed here.

Religion introduces a new life style. A new outlook, thinking and conduct or behaviour is introduced to adherent's knowledge to shape their reflections, decisions, choices, tastes, opinions, habits, feelings and freedom of action. Such a particular lifestyle is created, maintained and sustained through religious doctrines, laws and ethics. These serve as safeguards, checkpoints, or racetracks against a deviation from the laid down lifestyle. New relationships are

also established. Religion creates several fellowship levels – women, adult, males, and the youth. Out of these groups, friendship, marriages, godparents, godchildren, and fraternal brotherhoods emerge. Thus, religion opens a new horizon in the life of the adherent as he is given an opportunity to interact socially and religiously.

The Introduction of New Institutions

Religion introduces new institutions to its adherents. For example, the Christian missionaries introduced such new institutions like hospitals, schools, a new legal system, a new form of marriage (monogamy), and so on. Similarly, Islam introduced Islamic education and the Sharia legal system. All these institutions were alien to the African prior to the coming of these religions on the land of Africa. Religion enhances the establishment and maintenance of new social groups among various communities. The Christian missionaries, for example, introduced in Nigeria such groups as Boys' Brigade, Girls' Brigade, Boys' Scout, Fellowship of Christian Students, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, and so on. In these social groups, members learn both religious and social values, which help them to be faithful Christians and patriotic citizens.

Dissemination of Ideas and Information

Religion introduces new ideas and aids the dissemination of such ideas and information to every nook and cranny of the community. Christian missionaries brought new ideas and information about education, medicine, business enterprises, agriculture, roads, pipe-borne water, rural electrification, games, bridges, architecture, organization and administration. All these ideas and information were disseminated to mission stations in rural communities. The Islamic religion did the same thing, having introduced Islamic education, laws, Arabic language, Arabic writing, mode of dressing, architecture, marriage and pariah system, and so on. These religions and others alike have established communication channels such as newspapers, television, radio, pulpits, revivals and religious literature to enlighten members of the public about their activities, and current issues in the mass media.

Religion transforms the society

Every newly introduced religion changes a people's culture. It does this by introducing new cultural elements such as religious doctrines, dogma, laws, organizations, pressure groups, buildings, patterns of marriage, kinship; training of children, death and burial rites among other elements of culture. For instance, Christianity came and eliminated some traditional and cultural practices like the killing of twins, slavery; female circumcision among some communities. From all these we can see the positive role of religion in the society. However, we must note that religion plays negative roles or functions in the society too. For instance, religion serves as a source of conflict between individuals and communities. Religious intolerance and fanaticism often mars peaceful co-existence among families, communities and nations. Wrong religious orientation could lead to deviant behaviour and deficient personality maladjustment and integration. Occasionally, religion prevents its adherents from attending to their social needs, and action that could have improved their condition in society.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit provides a general introduction of religion with emphasis on the definition of religion, characteristics emphases in the definition of religion, typology of religious beliefs, aim for the study of religion and functions of religion in the Society. Religion is seen as an indispensable institution in the society despite of its positive and negative influences.

5.0 SUMMARY

The following are the major points of this unit:

- Religion can be defined from various perspectives.
- Most functions of religion are sociological.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Define religion with reference to its sociological, theological, psychological, phenomenological, anthropological, and philosophical definitions.
2. Does religion have any function(s) in human society? Explain.
3. State briefly the sociological and theological definitions of religion.
1. Briefly explain the various types of religions that are regarded as world religions.
2. What are the functions of religion in Nigerian society?

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UNIT 2: ISLAM

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The need to understand the origin, spread and development of Islam cannot be over emphasized. Nigeria, a multi-religious society calls for an understanding of the origin, teachings and practices of their faiths. The need for the understanding the faith of others enhances cooperation, development and peaceful coexistence. The Nigeria society is full of challenges of people trying to propagate or proclaim their faith. Many a times, when such is done without a clear understanding of the tenets of faith of other religions, things often degenerate to Chaos. But an understanding of Islam will help people to be more conscious of what they will say and do in the promotion of their individual faith. With the above stated scenario, the study of Islam becomes very necessary.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to:
- Define Islam
- Describe history of Prophet Mohammed
- Explain the spread of Islam in African and Nigeria

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Definition of Islam

Islam, the religion of the followers of the Prophet Mohammed, is the most recent of the three religions regarded as celestial (based on revelation). The other two are Judaism and Christianity. However, more than this two and also any other religion of Western Asia, it is regarded as the most earth-bound. H.A.R Gibb gives reasons:

> Of all the great religions of Western Asia, Islam has generally been regarded as the most worldly and least ascetic. Several reasons may be adduced for this judgment, such as the condemnation of celibacy, the absence of priesthood with spiritual functions and above all that preliminary compromise with exigencies of political life which…was reached in Islam during the lifetime of its founders.

Islam is also the last to arrive in Africa but its numerical gains have been astronomical. It is a religion of surrender and submission. T.W. Anold writes that the word 'Islam' "means 'submission,' resignation, (to God) and occurs eight times in the Kur'an". Again on this, S.G.F. Brandon says "the root from which it comes, means to surrender, fundamentally it means submitting oneself to God which naturally includes the idea of renouncing any other object of worship." Islam, according to Sayyid Ahmed Khan, is a 'religion of reason and nature.' Like every other religion, Islam sets out to answer the basic problem of life and its mystery: "what is life and how it to be lived is?" It is this problem that Mohammed set out to deal with-to offer to humanity the best approach to life in conformity with the divine will. His Islamic vision of life is nothing but 'the adaption of the Abramic vision to the thought world of the Meccans and the social life of the Arabians of Mohammed's time with wide social and economic gap between the rich and the poor, the overbearing domination of the rich and the unstable political scene as well as the religious polytheism made Mohammed's message urgent-God's supreme ruler-ship.

Life has a meaning only when this is recognized and accepted by man through submission. With its origin in Arabia in the 7th century, it spread through the Arab world and Africa like wild fire and the estimate is that today in Africa its has a larger following than any of the other religions and in second only to Christianity or Catholicism in the world. Xavier de Planhol feels that similar geographical and climatic conditions in the areas it covers, favours its growth. They are "areas with pronounced dry season." As every ordinary Christian in Nigeria is more acquainted with Christianity and African traditional religion, more attention to detail would be given to Islam. Our detail however will still have to be limited by our space and time. Islam needs all the attention that could be given it, for, as R. Antoun & M.E. Hegland say "the consensus is that Islam does remain as a force in the temporal world" of today.

History of the Birth of Prophet Mohammed, the Founder of Islam

He was born in 570 A.D. at Mecca and died in Medina in 632, at the age of 62. His father, Abd Alah died before he was born and his mother Aminah bin Wahb 10 years after that. He was brought up by his paternal grandfather and by an uncle, Aba Talib. His business was caravan trade. G. Parrinder writes that "no great religious leader has been so maligned and

misrepresented outside his religion" as Mohammed. At 25, he married a woman of 40 years-Khadija, who had been widowed twice. He only married again when she died after 25 years and he himself was 50 years. At death, he had 14 wives and concubines all contracted in the last twelve years of his life. He sons and daughters died young. Only one daughter-Fatima survived her father by one year.

He received his first revelation in 610 at the age of 40 years. It was at this time that he began to gather disciples. Till 622, when he was 52 years he lived with them in Mecca preaching his new faith and attacking idol-worship of the Arabians. The immediate result was opposition from the rulers who took coercive measures against him. The situation became so charged he had to send away his converts in 615 to take refuge in Abyssinia. This fight (Hijira) is actually the first but it is not given as much importance as the one of 622 when he fled Mecca for Medina and lived there till his death in 632- a period of 10 years. It was really in Medina that he laid the foundation of Islam as a force to reckon with, both politically and religiously.

Early Beginning

Mohammed's effort to establish his new religion did not go unchallenged. We already noted that this social and religious reform he embarked upon brought him into conflict with the authorities. He was not unprepared to match force with force in order to ensure the triumph of his new ideas or rather of Allah (God). His fight in 622 to Medina set the stage for military conquest and expansion as John A. Hardon writes: "the fight to Medina changed not only the scene but the actor and drama in Islamic history. In Mecca the Prophet had been simply a religious leader… at Medina he suddenly became a political and military figure…" From this base he fought three successful wars in 624 at Badr, in 627 at Ditch and in 639 at Mecca routing the armed resistance of the Arabians. He set up Mecca as the religious centre and Medina as the political. He instituted the pilgrimage to Mecca and in 632, shortly before his death, with an estimated forty thousand people; he made the pilgrimage himself for the first and last time from Medina to Mecca.

After his death in 632, his followers continued where he stopped and "by conversion, commerce and conquest, the new faith spread quickly in all directions soon after its founding." Today the religion is fast claiming one-fifth of the world population. Africa has been associated

with Islam from its very early days. Mohammed himself had contact with Africans and Africa: It was an African-Barakah Um Ayam (died 637) who nursed the young Mohammed till manhood and whom Mohammed regards as a second mother. His early African converts include Bidah Ibn Rabah (died 648) who was the first Mu'azzin (one who calls the faithful to prayer) and treasurer of the Muslim community. Mohammed sent some of his converts in 615 to take refuge in Abyssinia. Barely eight years after the death of Mohammed, Muslims conquered Egypt and by 670 AD a lot of Northern Africa was under Muslim influence. However, its downward movement so Sub-Sahara was through "the agency of Islamized Berber traders" and by the 8th century "West Africa was considered by many as a major centre of Islamic learning".

The first known contact of Islam with Nigeria was in the 11th century-barely 200 years after the foundation of the Hausa people in the 9th century as we saw in chapter one. E. Isichei's account says that in the middle of that century, a Mai of Kanem-Umme Jilmi, was converted to Islam through the missionary effort of a Fezzani scholar-Mohammed b. Mani. Earlier private contact through Berber traders was not impossible. This dynasty migrated to Bornu, bringing the religion along. By 1349-1385, Kano also was Islamized and Katsina in 1492-1520. Other places like Zaria, Zamfara, Gobir and Yauri followed suit. J.O. Kayode and E.D. Adelowo write:

> Islam gained access to Nigeria from two directions: from the north into Kanem-Bornu…and from the west into Hausa country, parts of the present Sokoto, Kaduna and Kano states of Nigeria. In both directions, Islam followed the caravan trade routes that came from North Africa through the Sahara into the western and central Sudam.

Thus, trade more than any other method accounts for its arrival in Nigeria. Its spread however, is quite another matter as we shall shortly see.

3.2 The Spread of Islam

Islam is the predominant religion of Northern Nigeria. It covers also a good part of the West. It is only in the East that its figure tapers into insignificance. It is estimated today that Islam accounts for about 45 percent of Nigerian population lagging behind the Christian population by a narrow margin. Its rapid growth can be seen from these census figures of 1953 in some cities: Kano (North), 98 percent; Katsina (North) 95,5 percent; Ibadan (West), 58 percent; Abeaokwute (West) 48 percent. Even in the East, where it was virtually non-existent, it is now making a lot of in-roads, building mosques and Muslim communities in various cities and towns. One need not stay too long in Nigeria to notice its self-evident presence in politics, business, education and general life. Trade is an importance tool of Muslim conversion and expansion. Trade brought the Berbers in contact with the Hausas. Islam through this, made its way into Nigeria. It is equally trade that the Hausa employed in spreading Islam in the North and other parts of Nigeria.

By the 18th century, Kano, Sokoto, Bornu was great commercial centers. These Muslim traders moved into local communities, lived with them, intermarried and practiced their religion openly, thus, won converts. Again, due to their economic influence, they brought many people to turn to Islam as they would not help anyone unless he turned to Islam. Writing about this tactics with regard to Dadiya people of Bauchi emirate, P.B. Clarke & I. Linden note in their case study: "There was…an element of pressure. The Hausa people would not allow them to be trading partners unless they become moslems…" Again the contribution of Muslim clerics-Imans, Mallam, and other community leaders-religious and political, was enormous. Whether as itinerant preachers or sedentary community political or religious leaders, these clerics versed in Muslim theology and practice, "initiated the process of Islamization in…many areas of the North. Their strategy included conversion of rulers who in turn, brought over their subjects to Islam. They also took up positions as advisers and clerks of the Mallam rulers while the village Mallams exerted their influence at that grass-root level.

Usman Dan Fodio and his Military Conquest

Military conquest was a tool employed by muslims of Nigeria with maximum benefit. In this connection is Usman Dan Fodio a name never to be forgotten in the Islamic history of Nigeria. He was a Fulani and was born on 15th December 1754 at Marratta in Gobir. He had a serious Islamic education consisting of traditional Islamic sciences of Grammar, Law, Exegesis, Theology, Rhetoric and Prosody. He first studied under his uncle, Binduri and later under a famous Muslim expert-Mallam Jibril, from whom he imbibed some of his reactionary ideas based on purity of Islamic Law and practice without compromises with pagan customs. It was also in line with African Muslims of the 11th century: Ibn Yasin and Al-Maghili.

The military conquest of Usman Dan Fodio was in the main, responsible for the spread of Islam in Northern Nigeria. From its advent till the 19th century, it merely struggled against ATR to gain a foothold. Fodio's jihad not only placed Islam squarely on the religious map of Nigeria but made it almost a "state religion" in the North. After his studies, Fodio was employed at the court of the King of Gobir from which vantage point; he gained a lot of influence. Incensed by his revolutionary ideas and obsessed by the spirit of the purity of Islam in law and practice,he soon took to itinerant preaching to drive home his points, attacking what he saw as adulteration of Islam through compromises with pagan religion in Gobir and other places. Soon the king died and was replaced by his son, Yunfa. Fodio's revolutionary activities did not meet with the approval of the new king who expelled him from the service and "took drastic measures against the future conversion of his people to Islam". With the King's persecution, Fodio and his converts fled (Hijra) Gobir for Degel and later to Dugu.

Yunfa attacked Fodio and his followers at Gambara. This was the beginning of the Jihad. Fodio decided that Jihad was the answer. He built a strong army supported by his fellow Fulani. He took Yunfa (Gobir) in 1804. This success gave him courage to and he faced all other Hausa Kingdoms. By 1808 most of Hausa land was under him. Borno Empire was also attacked in 1808 with success. By 1830, the Fulani were masters of what was then the Northern Region of Nigeria. Only Borno (town), parts of Kebbi and the hill areas of the Jos Plateau and the Tiv and Idoma did not come under their control. Military conquest was followed by Islamization of the conquered area. In short, the Hausa-Fulani jihas produced a multi-ethnic state known as the Sokoto Caliphate, in which Islamic culture and the Sharia were the binding force and the legal code of the state. Sokoto Caliphate, which covered quasi the whole of the North and extended into the west, was flourishing with Islamic religion by the arrival of the British.

Colonial Government and Ethnic Politics

Colonial government very much helped in the spread of Islam through their policies. Christian missionaries were not allowed into the various emirates except with the permission of the emir which hardly ever was given. By the system of Indirect Rule, Muslim chiefs were put in- charge of Hausa political communities which helped the course of Islam. "Islam was seen by colonial administration as the cement of the society and was therefore, protected; non Muslims were kept in "Sabon Geris", foreigners 'quarters outside the city walls of the Muslim towns. For Christian missionaries, it was an uphill task to gain admission into emirates to build schools. In administration particularly in the North, Muslims seized important posts and offered employment to only to those willing to convert to Islam. Ethnic politics after the independence also helped Islam of Nigeria. The political parties which were ethnic in composition became so powerful that people were forced to identify with them. Thus, parties like N.P,C and N.E.P.U championed not only the cause of northern tribes but also of Islam. The parties were controlled by Muslims.

3.3 Effort at Total Islamization of Nigeria

Muslim efforts to Islamize the whole of Nigeria are an open secret today. Their strategies have been multi-dimensional. Post-independence Islam in Nigeria has been very out spoken, vigorous and belligerent. Their massive and all –embracing plans include politics, education, economy and internal re-organization. Ibrahim Yaro, discussing Islamic secret plans to turn Nigeria over to Islam, has this to say:

> Decision has been taken in Saudi Arabia that Islam must be imposed on the whole of Africa…Nigeria must go Islamic on or before 1992. Christianity has only two strong arms Catholic and C.M.S…if these can be subdued, other Christian denominations will not constitute problem…No Christian should again be allowed to assume any top post in Nigeria. in places where they are now, plans and efforts should be made to remove them.

Talking about Islamic build-up and the strengthening and extension of its frontiers of influence, P.B Clarke & I. Linden observe:

> It has not only enlarged its strength and scope nationally but has significantly changed its profile and appearance…New nationwide organizations have widened the range of the social, economic, cultural, legal and political contexts within which Islamic beliefs are given performance.

Its many national organizations include Muslim Student Society (M.S.S) formed in 1954 with centre in Lagos, later transferred to Ibadan in 1956 and presently it has Sokoto as its headquarters; Muslim Association of Nigeria (MAN) was formed at the same time to cater for Muslims who are not in schools; the Jama'tu Nadril Islam (JNI) formed in 1961 by Ahmadu Bello to unite all Muslims of the north; Muslim Youth Organization formed in 1963, its name has been changed several times and it is today called "Society of the Overflowing Islam" with branches in all important towns of Nigeria; in 1968 was formed the Conference of Muslim Lecturers and Administrative Staff of Nigerian Universities-in order to give scholarship to Muslims for higher education. The most important of these national organizations and a clear sign of Muslim unity was the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs formed in 1973 which acts as a bridge between the entire body of Muslims and the Federal Government. Presently all these organizations are leaving no stone unturned to achieve the same purpose-Islamic unity and the spread of Islam in Nigeria.

Koran

The Koran (Qur'an is the Sacred Book of the Muslims which contains the revelations said to have been received by the Prophet Mohammed. "Etymologically the term simply means 'reading', theologically it means the word of God incarnate. It is eternal and in created." The Koran contains 114 chapters of 6,236 verses of 77934 words and of 323, 621 letters. The difference between the Bibles is inspired, the Koran is dictated. It is so sacred that "none but the most purified shall touch it" (56:78). Thus, writing further on the Koran, its sacredness and content, P. Hitti carefully explains:

An old-fashioned Moslem goes through the legal ablution before he opens the book. He never puts it beneath another book, never reads it except in a reverential tone and posture…Not only is it the basis of the religion, the canon of ethical and moral life but also the text book in which the moslem begins his study of language, science, theology and jurisprudence.

3.4 Doctrine and Worship of Islam

Absolute Monotheism

Muslim profession of faith is "La ilaha illa llan (there is no go but Allah). It is an absolute monotheism that admits neither filiations nor the personification of the love between the Father and the Son that is the Spirit. Islam does not talk of unity in God but unicity which is strict "Tawheed', the doctrine that God is just one in an absolute sense. Islam makes the doctrine of God's oneness very central in its doctrine and practice.

> Polytheism…has been the commonest and most grievous failing of mankind and it is precisely for this reason that the Qur'an has given so much importance to the doctrine of TAWHEED… A most simple forthright and comprehensive enunciation of the concept of TAWHEED is that God is just one and no one aside of Him is worthy of obedience and worship.

The believer is called upon again and again to believe in nothing else except that God is one and that Mohammed is his Prophet:

> Not only is (God) the first article of faith but it is in relation to the oneness of God that all articles….are defined… This radical theocentrism of moslem faith rise to a kind of 'theocrntism' of Muslim faith rise to a kind of 'theotroism 'in believer' soul. It turns the social towards God andmakes Him the unique object of his thoughts and aspiration.

His attributes include: All knowing; omnipresent; omnipotent; creator; preserver and master of the universe; most kind and merciful. In short the Koran has as many as ninety-nine names reflecting these attributes. Allah is the most import proper name of God. With regard to His omnipotence "enough can never b said… while with it everything is said."

The Five Pillars

As a matter of fact, belief in God is the first pillar which represents faith while action is spelt out in the other four pillars. The five pillars in Islam, equivalent to the "Ten Commandments of God" in Christianity are: 1) Belief in God (Iman); 2) Prayer (Salat); 3) Fasting (Sawn); 4) Charity or Alms (Zakat); 5) Pilgrimage (Hajj).

> In order to be a true 'Muslim' three things are necessary: Faith, Action and Realization. Faith in Allah and His Prophets, action in accordance with the faith, and the realization of one's relation to God as a result of action and obedience.

Part of the first Pillar requires the believer to recite every day, as often as possible that "there is no God but Allah and Mohammed is His Prophet." By the Second Pillar, Prayer (Salat) a Muslim is expected to pray five times a day: before sunrise, between mid day and mid afternoon, in the afternoon, immediately after sunset, at night. Friday common prayer at the mosque is also highly recommended. Third women and the sick (Sawn) expects a Muslim, except children, pregnant women and the sick to fast for one lunar month every year from dawn till dusk in the month of Ramadan.

> Physically he does not eat, drink or smoke or have sexual intercourse. Spiritually he abstains from all evil thoughts, actions and sayings. In other words he tries to realize his true self by striving to realize other words he tries to realize his true self by striving to realize within himself some aspects of the divine character.

The Fourth Pillar, Alms (Zakat) enjoins every Muslim to alms (Zakat) which is "a prescribed rate on his net worth or specified income." This is a very important obligation for Islamic welfare state. Being mindful of the poor through Zakat is dear to every Muslim. The Fifth Pillar, pilgrimage (Hajj) makes it mandatory for every Muslim who can afford it to make a pilgrimage to Mecca-the birthplace of Mohammed and the religion at least once in his lifetime. In a sense:

> Pilgrimage is the most important of all duties. If one does not cherish true love of God, how would he be ready to part with friends and relatives, stop his own occupation… To intend to perform pilgrimage, therefore, of itself shows the love and sincerity of the pilgrim for God.

Jesus in the Koran

The Koran makes copious reference to Jesus affirming some of the things Christians hold and denying others. Jesus is mentioned in 15 chapters and 93 verses of the Koran. For example, in 4:170, it is written "The Messiah. Jesus, Son of Mary is the only messenger of God…" Geoffrey Parrinder writes:

> The Qur'an gives a greater number of honorable titles to Jesus than to any other figure of the past. He is a 'sign', a 'mercy', a 'witness' and an 'example'. He is called by his proper name, Jesus, by the titles Messiah (Christ) and Son of Mary and by the names, Messenger, Prophet, Servant, Word and Spirit of God. The Qur'an gives two accounts of the annunciation and birth of Jesus and refers to his teaching and healings and his death and exaltation.

However, a major difference is that Christ is not God and can never be God. He is only a prophet, a messenger like Mohammed himself and inferior to him. It is unthinkable for God to have a child. Sura or chapter 112 of Koran reads: He is God, one God, the eternal, he brought not forth nor had he been brought forth; coequal with him there has never been any one". Christ is only an apostle, messenger: "the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary was no more than Allah's

apostle" (4:169) and in 3:84, it is said "…Allah forbid that He should have a son!". They believe that Christ did not die on the cross, for no prophet ever dies a violent death. It was Judas that was crucified in his stead. Christ is often called "Son of Mary" to emphasize his humanity.

Mary in Islam

Mary is again important to Muslims not because she is the mother of God but because She is the Jesus- the prophet. G.Parrinder notes that the name of Mary is used most often in the Koran (34 times) than in the Bible (19 times) though twenty-three times were in connection with the title 'Son of Mary'. With regard to Mary's purity, later tradition holds the doctrine. G. Parrinder continues:

Down the ages, the purity of Mary has been cherished. Already Ibn Isq spoke of "Mary the Virgin, the good, the pure". The female Sufi Rabia was called 'a second spotless Mary'. Later Islam regarded Mary as sinless; in company with all the prophets…no child of Adam is born without a demon touching him… There have been no exceptions but Mary and her son.

Jihad

Islamic war doctrine is very clear. Koran has this to say:

Fight for the sake of Allah those that fight against you but do not attack them first. Allah does not love the aggressor. Kill them wherever you find them…Idolatry is worse than carnage… Fight against them until idolatry is no more and Allah's religion reigns supreme (2:190-192).

In another passage, it is written "Fighting is obligatory for you, much as you dislike it" (2:216). From these injunctions and from the wars Mohammed himself fought to establish Islam, brute force fighting and religious war (Jihad) have come to be part and parcel of Islamic life and method of spread. Etymologically, the word 'Jihad' means 'striving' but has come to mean war

undertaken for the cause of Islam and Allah. Though Koran talks of defensive war, this aspect is all too often ignored as opposition can be interpreted to mean physical or moral. Defensive war thus comes to mean either attacking first or repelling an attack.

> It is incumbent in general on all Muslims who are adults, male and free to answer any legally valid summons to war against infidels; and he who dies in a Jihad is a martyr and assured of paradise.

And as Rashid Rida puts it, "… all the jurisprudents have declared that holy war is a duty incumbent on all individuals…" The simple fact in Islam is therefore: either you are a Muslim or an infidel and so an enemy. Daniel Pipes, talking about this dualism and its consequent aggressive mentality, says:

> This dualistic mentality is not aberrant but fundamental to Islam, with roots going back to the Qur'an: "No student of Islam can but be struck by the violent contrast the Qur'an presents between the believers and their opponents… Perhaps in no other religious system has the power of antagonism towards adversaries been so successfully harnessed in the cause of communal solidarity as in Islam.

It is this dualism between believer and infidel that makes it difficult for Islam to accept in principle, freedom of religion.

Islam's Vision of Earthly Realities

The strict or absolute monotheism of Islam has tended to create a religion that is totalitarian in mentality. There is no golden mean but a polarization between two extremes-one is either a believer or an infidel and must be destroyed. Intolerance is the result. There is no freedom. Allah is more God of justice than of love. God's justice is such that man cannot merit anything except through God's mercy. Between God and man there cannot be any other relationship except service. Man and the entire earthly reality is subordinate to the rule of Allah and to religion.

Sharia

This is another important aspect of Islamic life. With regard to etymology and meaning of Sharia W.A Graham writes:

> Sha re a… lit "watering place" then "a way or path to water" "to (make) enter and drink water… Comprehensive term used to designate the proper mode and norm of life in Islam, the moral "path" or "way" that God has willed and ordained … the term "sharia" was not much used in early Islam… This apparently because at least until the speculative thought of the nineth century AD, the term had not yet received its common later sense of "religious (i.e revealed) law as opposed to theological (i.e reasoned) speculation let alone its most recent usage of traditional Muslim law as opposed to modern "secular law" derived from European models.

Thus in Sharia is found the life, culture and politics of Islamic religion. After Koran, Sharia which is also based on Koran, receives the greatest attention in Islam. It is a complete manual of Islamic life and conduct. D.S Robert writes: "There has been no more far-reaching effort to lay out a complete pattern of human conduct than the Islamic Sharia." In Sharia there there is no clear separation between worship, ethnics, law, in the western style of classification. The Islamic State which Muslims always hanker after whenever they are means the rule of Sharia in which God's ruler-ship is acknowledged. "In the Sharia, there is an explicit emphasis on the fact Allah is the Lawgiver and the whole Ummah, the nation of Islam, is merely His trustee. In connection with Sharia must be mentioned the "Ulema" who "have been pre-eminently guardians and interpreters of the sacred texts." The Ulema are therefore the Islamic law experts who interpret the Koran for practical Islamic life, faith and practice. It is said that Koran contains no less than 500 legal injunctions.

3.5 Sects and Mysticism in Islam

The major sects in Islam are: The Sunnis, the Sheites, the Kharijites and the Mutazila, while Sufism its greatest mystic school. It is from these major ones that the husband and one

group of Islamic sects and brother hood organizations branch out. The reasons for the break-ups are both political and religious. Islamic fundamentalism, most recent on the scene, seems to be weeping across today's Islamic world like a huge tornado, dragging along its path, death, destruction, revivalism and fanaticism. Politically, when Mohammed died in 632, he left his politico-religious community no explicit "line of succession". This formed the reason for the break up into factions: The Sunnis and the Shiahs.

The *Sunnis* supported accession to leadership by election of one of the first four Caliphs who had been Mohammed's closest companions while the *Sheite* held that the next Caliph should be through blood line, thus, should be Mohammed's cousin, Ali. Sunni and Shia are the biggest sects. Stoddard writes: "The Shiah and the Sunni are two major branches of Muslim with the Sunni comprising about 85% of the total. The difference between… (They) are not so much in belief or law… as in practice and political theory." The *Kharijites* are the next important sect. they broke away from the Shia because "they preferred the leadership and guidance of a freely elected qualified Muslim irrespective of their ethnic origin" instead of the male descendants of Calif Ali as held by the Shea. The next group, the *Mutazila* broke away for religious reasons. They "dissented from the traditional views and applied the solvent of reason to the dogmas of the Qur'an.

They held that there was an intermediate state between belief and infidelity." Important to be mentioned here are the four Sunni theological schools of thought: *Hanifa, Maliki, Sha'afi and Hanbelli* who differ from one another in their interpretations both in law and in theology. Finally cutting across the various sects is the *Sufi* order which is "a mystical tradition that is Qur'anic and Muhammadan." It is a group bent on spiritual deepening of the Koranic message and on the imitation of the life of Mohammed. The *Fundamentalists* have entirely a different view. They feel that Islam has been betrayed down through the ages and are bent on restoring it to its pristine status. They are "convinced of the Sharia's eternal validity and (they) attempt to live it to the letter. For them it is unimportant that law was developed one thousand years ago: can the truth become outdated, does God change His mind?" In pursuance of this objective they become violent against fellow Muslims whom thry regard as even worse than infidels; the foundations of this movement were laid by Sheikh Muhammed bin Abdul-Wahab in Arabia in the 18th century but its livewire today is Ayatollah Khomeini (died, 1989) of Iran whose religious radicalism is of concern to the majority in Islamic world today.

In Nigeria, the following are the major groups: qadariyya, Tijaniyya, Ahmadiyya, the Jama'at Nasir Islam (JNI) and the Izala. *Qadariyya* is a sect founded by Abd al Qadir (1077-1166 AD) in Bagdad and it reached West Africa in the 15th century. It has fairly orthodox doctrine. *Tijaniyya,* on the other hand, was founded by an Africa, Ahmed al Tijani (1737-1815 AD) in Fex (Algeria) in 1780. "They allow worldly comforts and these, with philosophical liberalism; provide an attraction for modern educated people." As a matter of fact, though both Qadariyya and Tijaniyya remain separate sects, in Nigeria they form the mainstream of the Muslims known as Darika and are led by such leaders as Sheikh Dahiru Usman Bauchi of Darika, Sheikh Nasiru Kabara of Kano and Sheikh Ibrahim Saleh of Maiduguri. The *Ahmadiya* is the next group in size. It is founded by Ghulum Ahma (1839-1908) in Punjab, Northern India. Ahmad "claims to be the Mahdi, the promised Messiah, and to be an avatar of the Hindu God, Krishna as well as being a re-appearance of the Prophet Mohammed."

Because of these bogus claims and its other unorthodox teachings like the fact that Christ was actually crucified but was taken down from the cross alive, three Ahmadis were stoned to death in 1924 in Afghanistan and in 1974, Pakistani Government outlawed this sect, declaring adherents to be non-Muslims. The Nigerian branch numbering about 7000 in 1969, in order to remain orthodox, repudiated the Prophet Ghum Ahmad and changed its name to Anwar-ul Islam. As for the *Izala,* it is a "latter-day radical movement whose mission is the purification of Islam and a return to the state in which the Prophet left it at his death in 632 AD." In other words, it is a fundamentalist movement. It is led by Alhaji Abubakar Mahmud Gummi, former Grand Khadi of Northern Nigeria and its origin is traceable to the Fundamentalist cause of the 18th century Abdulwahahab.

More pernicious and vibrant fundamentalist groups however, are the one led by the late Mohammed Marwa (Maitatsine) whose activities led to the massacre of 4177 lives in 1980, 400 in 1982 and 760 in 1984, and the 'Islamic Movement', whose leader, Ibrahim El-Zak-Zaky, is serving a jail term in the aftermath of the 1987 religious riot in Kaduna State. Fundamentalist are therefore very active in Nigeria of today. Finally, there is the *Jama't Nasir Islam* (JNI) which is a movement formed by late Ahmadu Bello in 1962 to unite all of the North, irrespective of their different denominations or "brotherhoods." Despite the multiplicity of these sects and movements with differing ideologies, Nigerian Muslims have an uncanny way of getting united in the face of an external foe.

3.6 Islamic Culture and Syncretism

Islamic culture is so strong that today it has assumed defines character. It has a way of overshadowing and overtaking opposing cultures where Muslims are in the majority. Its homogeneity despite the wide range of countries to which Islam has spread baffles the by-stander.

> The uniformity of Islamic culture represents one of the most fascinating problems associated with the development of Islam from its modest beginnings in Mecca into a world religion today.

Though one can mention Islam uncompromising monotheistic stand and its being more earth-bound than Christianity as contributory factors of Islamic culture and syncretism the attraction to and tenacity of Islamic culture remain unique. Cultural syncretism therefore, is a trait of Islamic culture exploited with optimum benefit. The religion itself is syncretistic. Thus, Islamic culture cannot but tow the same line. It both adapts to and borrows easily from local cultures. P.B. Clarke & I. Linden writes "Adaptations to local conditions was the order of the day… Mallams vied with 'Babalawo', traditional diviners in the arts of charm making, amulets and divinations." Talking of the same trait, Patrick Ryan writes:

> Although some modern Moslem reforms frown on the custom of reciting the Qur'an for the benefit of traditional rulers, the practice,,, is long established in West Africa… To pray for rain and in the process convert at least the ruler to Islam can hardly be called by itself a major example of Muslim willingness to conform a little to heathen fashion.

Syncretism has therefore in no small way helped Islam in its spread and ability to retain its converts for it is said that once a Muslim, always a Muslim. Apostacy is rare:

3.7 Women, Marriage and Divorce in Islam

Women in Islam definitely occupy a lower place than men. They have fewer legal rights and duties. In marriage and divorce, it is worse. In inheritance, their right is half that of men. Their place is principally in the home. Religiously, however, they have to attend Friday prayers at the mosque except young women in order not to constitute any problem or distraction to men. With regard to education, the married women have a right, at least, to Koranic instruction. *Pudah,* the physical seclusion of women at home is practiced in some Muslim countries. Nigeria is one of them. Arguments have raged among Muslims as to the orthodoxy of the practice and its propriety at this time and age. Those who support its point to Koran 33; 32-33 where Mohammed's wives were advised: "Stay in your homes and do not display your finery as women used to do in the days of ignorance." Those who are against it say the advice is specific to Mohammad's wives alone because of their unique place in Islam as the Prophet's wives. All said and done, the lot of women in Islam leaves much to be desired. J. Carmony observes:

> Muslim institutions of Pudah and the harem… along with virtual abandonment of woman's education (either secular or religious) and the sanctioning of child marriage, meant that Muslim females often had a very had lot.

As in other cultures, marriage has a large body of laws covering it. The Koran allows polygamy, a fact very much alien to Christianity and western culture. Sura IV Verse 3 states:

> If you cannot do justice between orphans, then marry such women as seen good to you, two or three or four, and if you fear that you cannot be equitable, then only one or what your right hand possesses (meaning slaves).

Thus, one can have four wives and as many concubines as one can maintain. It must be remarked that polygamy was borrowed from Arabian culture. Monogamy also exists and is encouraged by the Koran (IV:3). In Nigeria, H.A. Adamu notes that early and ostentatious marriage, marriage of [parent's choice, necessity, gift marriage are responsible for the many Islamic polygamous marriage. With regard to divorce, the law favours men more than women. A woman is never allowed to divorce the husband at will. She can only obtain dissolution of her

marriage by recourse to Alkali's court pleading desertion, sexual impotence, leprosy, neglect or cruelty. On the part of men, Meek notes:

> According to Muslim canon law, there are four recognized methods of obtaining divorce a) by repudiation (talaq); b) by mutual consent (khul); c) by imprecation (Li'an); d) by faskh, whereby marriage is annulled by the magistrates for a variety of special reasons).

3.8 Islamic Solidarity and Socialism

As noted already, in spite of so much internal disunity, sometimes causing bloodshed, Islam presents a solid formidable block to the external world. Its solidarity, sense of brotherhood and mutual help are very outstanding and still to be surpassed by any group as large it is. With its 7000 million strong in the world, stretching across the globe, it is able to wield together its much fragmented community into a dynamic force difficult to ignore. This sense of unity and oneness is epitomized and symbolized by Zakat (alms). By this, a Muslim is not only expected to pay his tithes so that the organization will be able to take care of it's less fortune members but also he is expected to care for the indigent to care for the indigent members around him.

Every normal Muslim keeps an open house for fellow Muslims and the rich make it a point of duty to provide for "extra mouths" at each meal. The bond is Islam, the religious 'brotherhood'... It is this that constitutes the most powerful factor leading to clemency, sympathy and cooperation... The believers are a band of brothers (Qur'an 49:10) and the Prophet said 'Muslim is a brother to Muslim'. Moreover, Islam has raised this religious brotherhood over and above the blood relationship.

3.9 Islamic Theory of State

For Islam, the State is religion and religion is State. All authority comes from who has the supreme dominion. Thus, the State is recognized only in so far as it furthers the cause of God, religion .NB. Ngwoke very lucidly analyses this doctrine:

> The traditional Islamic understanding of the relationship between government and religion is that the State and Religion are one; the State exists for the main purpose of enforcing and propagating the religion (Islam). The Sharia precedes the State in time and prevails over it in authority. The primary function of the Government is therefore to protect and defend the religion not the State. The Sharia is the sole criterion of truth.

There is "instinctive Muslim conviction that independence (of a State) must be Islamic." Islam sees the State also in terms of socialism or welfareism where the State provides "a respectable standard of living for every individual who is unable to take care of his own needs." Thus:

> The Islamic State, like the whole of what one might call Islamic political psychology, views Dar-al-Islam (Abode of Islam) as one vast homogeneous commonwealth of people who have a common goal and a common destiny and who are guided by a common ideology in all matters both spiritual and temporal.

Turkey is the one example of an Islamic State in which "secular impulse has overridden the religious to create a novel situation." Thus, the Islamic idea of State is one where God is the ruler (theocratic State) and where social welfareism is the political system. Executive function is carried out by whomever Sharia, as represented by a council of jurists (the Umana), finds worthy and competent.

3.10 Nigerian Muslims and the Wider Muslim World

The integration of the Nigerian Muslims with the wider Muslim world has been in ascendency in recent times. During the colonial rule, though Government policy helped Islam to spread internally, its association with the Muslim world was closely watched as many Muslim itinerant preachers and marabous travelled from country to country spreading revolutionary ideas. Thus "…colonial administrators at the least, discouraged and at the most, actively impeded contact between West African Muslim and North African or Middle East." Since independence, this has changed very much. There is an upsurge among Nigerian Muslims of enthusiasm and pressure for this integration. The number of pilgrims to Mecca is an example. It rose from 2483 in 1956 to 49, 000 in 1973 and to the staggering figure of 106, 000 in 1977 till the Government because of economic reasons, put an upper limit of 50, 000 in 1978. Today Nigerian Muslims are represented in the Arab League-a world-wide Islamic organization.

Fundamentalism in Nigeria can be traced to the Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran and the Islamic University of al-Azhar in Egypt. The secret registration of Nigeria into the Organization of Islamic Conference (O.I.C) is part of this fever. The induction of Islamic Development Bank (IDB) serves the same purpose. This Bank, ostensibly a mere economic ties but in reality a "petro-dollar" strategy for strengthening Arab/Islamic ties in Africa, has recently been established in Nigeria. Thus, the Nigerian Muslims are fully integrated into the wider Muslim world. By way of conclusion, one can say that the dramatic entry of Islam into the religious scene of the world took many people by surprise. Before many in the West could understand what it was all about, it had gathered millions of people (willingly or unwillingly), into its fold. This march of success has never been halted and it is not likely to be so in the near future. From the way things are, it leaves nobody in doubt as to its intentions. Though the future of Islam, like the rest of the world religions, remains open, one thing ought to be clear-the challenge of Islam both to Christianity and the Western civil society in which today it is making a lot of in-roads. The sooner this challenge is realized and accepted by all concerned, the better. Christianity in particular "needs to accept the challenge of Islam as a specifically religious challenge-I short, Christians need to practice what they preach.

3.11 Christianity

According to Geoffrey Parrinder Christianity has the longest history of the great living religions of Africa… Christianity entered African in the first century of our era and it had a continuous history in Egypt and Ethiopia, so that it is truly a traditional religion of Africa. There is a vast literature on the ancient Egyptian, Ethiopian and North African Churches, and though the latter disappeared, the influence of the writings of their leaders remained important. As noted by Parrinder, therefore, Christianity is for long associated with Africa. Even from the biblical Infancy Narrative of the Flight into Egypt, one sees that Christianity is as much at home in Africa as in Europe. The Ethiopian eunuch converted by Philip (Acts 8:27, 37) shows how early Africa received the faith. Ethiopian Coptic Church is older than Churches of Europe. Though "North African Christianity of the patristic period had collapsed under the weight of Islam (and) Christianity in Nubia had succumbed to Islam," the works of St. Cyprian (of Tunisia) 200-258 AD and St. Augustine of Hippo, 354-430 AD remain great contributions to the theological wealth of the Church. The first recorded appearance of the Church in Sub-Saharan Africa was in 1470 in La Mina (Ghana), Benin (Nigeria) 1472 and along Congo River in 1481.

The Catholic Church was the first to arrive in Nigeria, that is, before any Protestant group The Portuguese Mission was the first under the auspices of the Kings of Portugal and the way was paved for this by the Papal Bull of 1454, ceding Africa to Portugal.

> After about 1472, Portuguese priests from the Diocese of Lisbon who technically speaking, were not missionaries, were sent by the Kings of Portugal along with Portuguese merchants to evangelize and trade with the Benin kingdom.

This effort lasted between 1473-1622 and eventually collapsed due to dwindling trade between Portugal and Benin Kingdom. The Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (Propaganda Fide) took over (1622-1717) and handed the mission over to Spanish Capuchin Mission. It also failed because of the impetuous action of the leader of the missionary group who tried "to stop a ritual human sacrifice" at the very first moment of arrival. The King of Benin got angry and sent the Mission packing. Next was the Italian Mission which also failed. The next sustained effort was in the 19th century by the French "Society of African Mission (SMA). It was founded by Bishop Melchior de Marion Bresillac in Lyons, France on December, 8, for evangelization of Africa.

To assist this group, on 1ˢᵗ Oct. 1859 Fr Augustine Planque, the first Superior General founded group of Sisters, Our Lady of Apostle (OLA). The SMA requested and got a section of West Africa from the Holy Ghost Fathers or the Congregation of Holy Spirit (C.S.S.p), another Missionary body under whose control was, at this time, the entire West-coast. As to the exact date f entry into Lagos, while Imokhai noted it was in 1861, M.P. Macloughlin recorded September 8, 1863. Fr. Borghero was the leader of the first group of Missionaries who set foot in Lagos and celebrated the first Mass. The other two were: Fr. Louis Eddie and Fr. Francisco Fernandez. From this humble beginning, the Congregation began a serious task of evangelization and expansion. The Province of Lagos today has 9 dioceses. The split is as follows:

Name	Prefecture/Vicariate	Diocese
Lagos Archdiocese	1884	1950
Benin	1884	1950
Ondo	1943	1950
Ibadan	1954	1958
Oyo	1949	1963
Warri	_	1964
Ijebu Ode	_	1969
Ekiti	_	1972
Issele-Uku	_	1973

Today, the Province boasts of millions of Catholics, many indigenous priests and religious. All the bishops are indigenous. As for the Protestants, though they were preceded by Catholics in the Province (Benin), they were the first to set foot in Lagos (Badagry) itself in 1942. The Methodist Church was the first to arrive. J.F. Ade Ajayi describing how it all happened, noted that when Nigerian ex-slaves who had been settled in Free Town, Sierra Leone eventually left it for Nigeria, they re-settled in Lagos/Badagry. From here they requested their Christian bodies in Sierra Leone to open up missions for them in Nigeria.

The Methodists acted first. The Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman… was asked to occupy Badagri as an out-station of Cape Coast. His arrival on 24th September 1842 marked the effective beginning of missionary enterprise in Nigeria.

The next group was the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) which arrived the same year in December led by Henry Townshend.

The Local Committee of the CMS in Sierra Leone, not wishing to be outdone by their Methodist friends decided to send a missionary to look after the interests of their own members… They picked on Henry Townshend.

With this, other Protestant bodies began to arrive. As we shall later see, Nigeria today has not many of these Missionary bodies whose foundations are outside Nigeria but also many indigenously founded ones. Here the initiative was due to the Holy Ghost Fathers. The area was assigned to the Irish Province. Like the SMA, though it predates it, Holy Ghost Fathers is a French body founded in 1703 by Francois-Claude Poullart des Places which later merged with another Missionary Congregation-The Holy Heart of Mary founded by Francis Liberman in 1841 "who became the Superior General of this new merged Congregation." C. Obi, giving the account of the arrival of the Irish Holy Ghost Fathers on 5th December 1885 at Onitsha, in this Province which comprises all the diocese of the Eastern Nigeria, writes: "On Saturday December 4, Fathers Lutz and Horne arrived at Onitsha wharf. Thus, they became the first Catholic Missionary team to come to Onitsha and begin to settle in Igboland on the eastern side of the Nigeria." setting out from France via England on September 19, 1885, Frs. Lutz and Horne together with two Brothers, Hermes and Gallo, according to the Congregation's decision, headed for Lokoja, the confluence of Niger and Benue River. Due to some setback in their plan, they settled at Onitsha which had been occupied by CMS mission for the thirty years. They immediately settled down to work. As V.A. Nwosu noted:

The pioneer Catholic Missionaries did not take long to make an impact on the people. They used many methods to win converts. These included redemption of

slaves, care of the sick and destitute, distribution of charities and establishing of schools.

Beset with difficulties of no mean magnitude like deaths in the rank and file of their members, paucity of numbers, inadequate funds, opposition and rivalry from existing Protestant Missions, these pioneer Catholic missionaries, undaunted by obstacles made their way slowly but steadily. Many more missionaries joined the first batch as time went on. Of these great missionaries, special mention should be made of Bishop Shanahan (1905-1932) who became its first bishop when the Prefecture of the Lower Niger (Onitsha) was raised to a metropolitan Archbishop. Under the competent hands and with their flaming missionary zeal, the Church penetrated the length and beneath of the area and beyond (part of the North & Cameroun). From the time of Heerey the territories began to be split up. Thus, Heerey had other bishops with him.

Name	Prefecture/Vicariate	Diocese
Onitsha Archdiocese	1889/1920	1950
Calabar	1934	1950
Owerri	1948	1950
Ogoja	_	1955
Umuahia	_	1958
Port Harcourt	_	1961
Enugu	_	1963
Ikot Ekpene	_	1963
Abakaliki	_	1973
Awka	_	1977
Orlu	_	1980
Okigwe	_	1981
Mbaise	_	1987
Uyo	_	1989

Today, of the thirteen diocese of the Province twelve have indigenous bishops while Port Harcourt, due to historical reasons has an expatriate Apostolic Administrator. With regard to the Protestants, they preceded the Catholic Church-the Presbyterians at Calabar and the C.M.S. at Onitsha by as many as nearly forty years.

> With the aid of hindisht, 1846 could now be regarded as a turning-point in the life of the communities which ultimately can to be called Eastern Nigeria. in April 1846, a group of missionaries called Presbyterian Church of Scotland headed by Hope Waddel arrived at Duke Town, old Calabar… In 1875 another Mission, this time sponsored by Church Missionary Socety (C.M.S.), led by a Nigerian ex-slave, the Rev. Samuel Ajai Crowther… arrived at Onitsha…Towards the end of the century two other Protestant Mission bodies… Primitive Methodists (18930 based at Oron… the Qua Ibos mission 1887.

The Protestant Missions also exerted tremendous missionary effort such that today it is the only area of Nigeria where Christianity has its supreme domain. We shall later see the amount of rivalry and respective successes in this effort between the various Christian groups in the drama for converts and evangelization. This province comprises of all diocese of Northern Nigeria. Just as happened in the West or Lagos Ecclesiastical Province, the arrival of the Church was earlier than the 19th effort but did make much impact. The earliest recorded attempt of Christian Mission was in 1688. It was by "…a Franciscan Brother, Peter Foede, OFM, from Belgium. He was captured at sea and made a slave to a Muslim master in Agadez, north of Kano. At the end of his two years there, he succeeded in converting his master and his household to Christianity." Another effort was also made by Propaganda Fide to send a mission into Bornu with however, some result. E.A. Ayandele writes: "by 1708, it is recorded there were no fewer than 100, 000 Christian adherents in the Kingdom of Korofa and a sixty-bed hospital had been built by the Roman Catholic priests.

About this time too, Rome attempted to introduce Christianity into Bornu and one Father Carlo de Geneva was appointed Prefect of the projected Mission." Another missionary effort is reported around Bornu by an Italian priest who visited relatives and used the opportunity to do some conversions. All these bore little or no fruit. The serious effort to evangelize the North

started in 1884. It was a combined missionary effort of many Catholic missionary bodies-the SMA from Lagos, the C.S.S.p. from Onitsha and the later the Augustinian Fathers (OSA) and the Missionary Father of St. Patrick. The onus of establishing the Church in the North was a matter of fact born by the South especially at the beginning.

> …in 1884, the first Catholic mission station in Northern Nigeria was… established at Lokoja… These first Catholic missionaries in Lokoja belonged to the society of African Missions (SMA)… Mention must be made of an… attempt to establish a mission at Ibi… (by) the Congregation of the Holy Spirit (CSSp)… These first attempts to establish the Catholic Church in what became known as Northern Nigeria were in what became known as Northern Nigeria were in reality an extension of the work of evangelization in Southern Nigeria.

A mission was established in Shendan (near Jos) in 1906 by the SMA. In 1911, Shendan Mission was detached from Upper Niger Prefecture (Asaba) and improperly named 'Prefecture of Eastern Nigeria.' With this, serious expansion and evangelization began. Later in 1922 the seat of the Prefecture was transferred from Shendan to Kano were. In 1934 Jos and Kaduna Prefectures were established. In 1940 it was the arrival of the Augustinian Fathers from Ireland and in 1964 that of Missionary Fathers of St. Patrick. In 1954, both Jos and Kaduna became dioceses. Due to the political position of Kaduna as the capital of the then Northern Religion, the metropolitan See was transferred to Kaduna. Special mention must be made of Monsignor Waller-the first Prefect Apostolic today regarded as the "great pioneer missionary of the Catholic Church in Northern Nigeria. Today the entire North has 9 dioceses and one Ecclesiastical Territory:

Name	Prefecture/Vicariate	Diocese
Kaduna	1934	1953
Jos	1934	1954
Yola	1950	1962

Sokoto	1953	1964
Lokoja	1955	1964
Maiduguri	1953	1966
Ilorin	1960	1967
Minn	1964	1973
Idah	1968	1978
Abuja	1970	1989

All but three are now being manned by indigenous ordinaries. The Protestant Missions in the North have equally difficult beginning due to Muslim opposition. Their presence was first recorded in 19880 and the pioneer mission was the Wesley Mission Society in Nupe led by W. A. Allakura Sharpe, "an ex-slave of Kanuri origin: however, better known figure in the history of Protestant Mission Abeaokute his headquarters. Crowther joined the many expeditions (CMS) and commercial interests, all taking part." The contribution of the Protestants in evangelizing the North is significant but the over-all Christian result remains minimal in the face of battalions of Muslim adherents.

3.12 The Spread of Christianity

Today Christianity remains the single largest religion in Nigeria comprising some 47 percent of the population by 1980 census approximation, with the Catholic forming 12.1 percent of the Christians. It is estimated that by the year 2000, Christians would be about 51.2 percent of the population. The Christians are found in the East, West and North in order of density, especially in the East and Middle Belt. In the West, there seems to be parity in number between the Christians, Muslims and followers of ATR. The Protestants in Nigeria have very many sects. The proliferation of the independent African Churches continues to add to the number. Today we have as many as 960 separate Protestant sects (1980 statistics), about half of the number of USA (2050) in the same period.

Methods of Spread

Schools

Schools became the greatest implement or tool in the hands of the missionaries in their work of evangelization. Because Western education provided the means of economic and social progress both personal and communal, it held great attraction for the people of the South. "Thus as soon as a missionary station was established, one of the facilities to be provided was a school to which they tried to recruit young children who, it is believed, would be more easily attracted." A.B. Fafunwa puts it this way: "The primary objectives of the early Christian missionaries were to convert the 'heathen'… via education." The importance attached to schools both as an apostolate on the part of the missionaries and as a gate-way to social mobility on the part of the people can be seen from the rapid growth in number of schools within a relatively short period of time.

Social Services

Another important wing of the apostolate and story of success of the spread of Christianity is social services. Amuacheazi remarks: "by and large, what ultimately accounted for the success of the Church was the Christian missions' contribution in the fields of education, health and social services…' Social services include health services, distribution of charities, gifts and general humanitarian attitude and services. As a matter of fact, no words were more eloquent in convincing the people as these, for, people believe more what they see than what they hear. Even in some cases, it was gifts that disposed chiefs to allow missionaries into their towns in the first instance.

> For the missionaries, a journey without ample presents for the local chiefs was bound to produce little result. On one occasion when Taylor's stock of presents for the chiefs ran out, he had to retrace his steps.

Catholics tried the "Christian Village" whereby converts were collected in an area. It failed. What countered most in social service was health care?

Cooperation and Rivalry

The story of the Missionary effort cannot be told without a word or two on the relations between Christian groups. Initially there was cooperation as can be seen, for example by the ceding to the Catholic Church by the C.M.S. (Bishop Crowther), a part of the land it had acquired at Onitsha for its mission. Crowther was reported as saying "I acquired this land for God's cause, take it." However, rivalry soon took the upper hand in the effort of the various bodies to get members. The rivalry was so much that Protestants had to call a conference among them in South Eastern zone to assign areas of respective influence. Part of what embittered the Protestants against the Catholic Church was the Church's overwhelming success. At one point, one community wrote to the Church:

> We no longer want the Protestants… they are only liars who have come to this country in order to make money. As for you, we have seen that you love us, that your welfare, that you are determined… to lead us to the good God.

Many authors on this topic affirm that the success story of the Church lies in "the personal touch of the Catholic priests"; and concentration of the Church on evangelization alone. The Protestants came in with British traders and explorers and were often confused with them.

3.13 Basic Christian Doctrines

Trinity

The Christian God is Trinitarian. By this we mean that in one God, unique and undivided, we have three Persons: Father, Son and Holy Spirit who are equal in all respects. It is a mystery very much expressed in a popular English hymn: "Firmly I believe and truly, God is Three and God is one…" This doctrine is opposed to African tradition religions diffused monotheism and Islam's absolute and strict Oneness of God or monotheism. That there are three Persons in God do not mean three Gods. It is no doubt a difficult doctrine which was not revealed in the Old Testament but only in the New Testament but only in the New Testament and which in the

history of the Church produced many heretics. New Testament contains many references to this "… and the clearest instance… is found in 2 Cor, 13:13." The 4th Lateran Council in 1215 under Pope Innocent III declared One True God to be incomprehensible, Three Persons but one substance. The Trinity is the foundation of the entire Christian faith and practice.

Christ is God (the divine nature of Jesus)

Christian faith teaches that Christ is God. He is the second Person of the Blessed Trinity and equal to the Father and the Spirit in all respects. He also became fully man. Though sinless, He suffered and died for man, thus winning salvation for man incapacitated of attaining it through original sin. Thus, Christ is fully God and fully man. He is a Prophet but more than a Prophet. His divinity was confessed at many instances, one of which is Peter's confession at Caesarea Philipi, "You are the Christ, Son of the living God" (Mt. 16:16). Here again is a bone contention between Christianity and Islam which holds Christ to be mere Prophet. Christ also established His Church as a Sacrament of Salvation for all men and women and wished all people to belong to that in order to form one flock and one shepherd (Jn. 10:10). He is the fullness of God's revelation (Heb. 1:1).

Mary is the Mother of God

The place of Mary in God's economy of salvation is undisputed. As the Mother of the Man Jesus who is also God, Mary is the Mother of God by divine election. By virtue of this vocation though she is a creature, she occupies a position loftier than that of angels and saints. Mary is also sinless. Again here, the Church parts company with Islam, which denying the divinity of Christ holds Mary in high regard and esteem but denies that she is the Mother of God.

Judgment after Death

The doctrine of reward and punishment after death is common to many religions. Christianity obviously has it's also. Christianity teaches that after death there will be judgment. The just will receive their just recompense. This judgment is both private and communal (last judgment, Mt. 25). There is no chance of coming back to earth to make amends. Here Christianity agrees with Islam and disagrees with African traditional religion which holds the doctrine of re-incarnation whereby unjust souls come back to earth for purification. Christianity teaches also that God does not punish anybody. Deuteronomy writes: "I set before you life or death… chooses…," (30, 19).

Christian Vision of Earthly Realities

Arising from the belief in a Trinitarian God is a vision of the world that strikes a balance between making man "the centre of gravity" as in African traditional religion or emphasizing God's absoluteness and de-emphasizing man's dignity to the point of dehumanization as in Islam. Christian view is a happy balances these two extremes. In God, there is a possibility of filiations both natural in Christ and adopted in the followers of Christ. God's love is given more attention than God's justice. God so loved the world that He sent His only son to die for the world (Jn. 3: 16). Equally for the Christian, love is the supreme virtue to the extent that one, who delivers his body to the burnt for God without love, acts in futility (I Cor. 13:1-11). The world is redeemed by Christ in love; the Christian loves God and loves the world in Christ. The Christian "sees (the world) as created and sustained by its Maker's love, fallen indeed into bondage of sin, yet emancipated now by Christ. He was crucified and rose again… so that this world might be fashioned a new according to God's design and reach its fulfillment."

Equally, there is a "close link between earthly affairs and those aspects of man's condition which transcends this world." Both the Church and Christians therefore, make use of things of the world not as end in themselves but as means to the end-God Himself. Thus, Christianity views the entire humanity as children of the same Father-God and the rest of earthly reality as redeemed, as meant to help man achieve the purpose of his creation. God is love seen in the Trinity of the Divine Persons. For the Christian, love is more important than law. This makes Christianity more demanding, more difficult than any other religion because love has no limit and all is embraced in God's love. Temporal affairs are autonomous but if this autonomy "is

taken to mean that created things do not depend on God and that man can use them without any reference to their Creator, anyone who acknowledges God will see how false such a meaning is." The Christian world-view therefore is such that to God accorded supremacy of position and man's dignity is recognized and other realities seen as redeemed and destined for service.

3.14 Christianity and Nigerian Culture

Culture is one of the distinguish marks that makes a people different from others. It is a God-given a way of life. C.H. Kraft says that God is the author of culture "for he created human beings in such a way that they are culture-producing beings." The Church has always shown a lot of deference to people's culture. A document in 1659 by Propaganda Fide requests missionaries:

> Put no obstacles in their way, as for no reason whatever should you persuade those people to change their rites, customs and ways of life, unless these are obviously opposed to religion and good morals. For what is more absurd than to bring France or Spain or Italy or any part of Europe into China? It is not these that you should bring but the faith which does not spurn or reject any people's rites and customs, unless they are depraved, but on the contrary tries to keep them.

The meeting of Christianity with Nigerian culture was a clash of giants who rumbling echo remains till today. The double task of Christianizing Nigerian culture and "nigerianizing" Christianity has never been an easy one, especially for the early missionaries, some of whom did not achieve "the best results in the planting of Christianity amidst our people. Many of our customs were not understood and so were condemned." In general, however, though the best result has not been achieved, a lot has been done. Christianity first "challenged" traditional beliefs and culture, carried out "a surgical operation", Christianizing the good elements and rejecting the bad ones. Today inculturation and acculturation between Christianity ad Nigerian cultures remain a challenge and an urgent task for the Church.

3.15 The Church's Political Theory

The political theory of the Church has been a lot of evolution. From the emancipation of the Church in 330 AD by the Edict of Milan till the French Revolution of 1789, Caesaropapism was the order of the day. Church and State vied for political supremacy. After the French Revolution in 1789 which enthroned secularism there was a break between Church and the State. However, the Magisterium still held that though politics was an autonomous sphere of human life, it remained subordinate to religion which made it legitimate. Discussing Leo XIII's political theory, J. De la Torre notes that according to him (Leo XIII), politics is inseparable from religion. Religious cult is a public responsibility of the State. It was from Pius XII that clearer thinking emerged which led to the accepting of democratic principles as the Church's political theory. Vatican II declares:

> It is in full accord with human nature that juridical-political structures, should with ever better success and without any discrimination, afford all their citizens the chance to participate freely and active in establishing the constitutional basis of a political community, governing the State, determining the scope and purpose of various institutions and choosing leaders… The role of the Church being what it is, she must in no way be confused with the political community, nor bound to any political system.

Thus, as opposed to Islamic theory, the Church's position is that the Church and State are autonomous from each other. Cooperation's rather than assimilation or subordinate should exist. It does not identify with particular political systems but insists that democratic principles should prevail.

3.16 Relationship between the Religions is Nigeria

The interacting inputs of Islam, Christianity and Nationalism (African Traditional Religion) have often been studied in isolation and understood merely in terms of mutual competition. Christians note the triumphal progress of Islam. Muslims oppose the growth of Christian ways of life. Nationalists see in Islam and Christianity the seeds of a nation divided. This relationship between ATR, Islam and Christianity has been a relationship of suspicion and distrust,

intolerance and clashes-verbal and physical, rivalries and uncompromising attitudes. Escalations of religious problem have been so many in recent times that one wonders where the country is heading to. It is even muted in some quarters that these are a result of manipulations which unscrupulous politicians, civil or military, use as smoke-screens to divert attention from more serious problems of the country and their own personal inadequacies and corruption.

3.17 Factors that Hinders Cordial Relationship between Religions in Nigeria

1. Exclusivism

Exclusivism has very much marked the relationship between the various Nigerian religions. This exclusivism is not only ideological and doctrinal as each religion considers itself the unique and only way of salvation, but also physical as each lives in a physio-religious world of its own. Islam for example predominates in Northern Nigeria while in the South Christianity holds sway. It becomes a sort of physical ghetto with little or no inter-mingling. No doubt, exclusivism is part and parcel of all religions: in Christianity, Scripture says: "And there is no other name under heaven given among men by whom we much are saved (Acts 4:12); in Koran, 109:1-6: "Say unbelievers, I do not serve what you worship nor do you serve what I worship… you have your religion and I have mine". Much has also been made of the Church's doctrine of "outside the Church no salvation."

It however, must be noted that a rigorist interpretation of this has never been adopted by the Church" and Pope Pius IX was the first to state precisely and officially that ignorance of the gospel does not place a person outside the divine gifts of grace." In Nigeria, this doctrinal separation turned into physical, psychological and mental wall of separation such that even in some northern cities, non-Muslims were forced to live in what is known as "Sabon Geri" (strangers' quarters) outside the city walls.

2. Intolerance

Introduce with regard to other religions is another notable characteristics of the relationship between these three religions. This is seen from verbal attacks, cold war, various forms of discrimination and aggression-physical and psychological, attitude of superiority complex and quai total lack of consideration for other religious opinions and doctrines which erupt from time and even at the least provocation. Speaking about how religious intolerance leads to violence, Arazu writes:

> Any religious sect or group that spends so much time and energy at condemning the teachings and practices of other religious bodies and goes out of its way to bombard the ears of unwilling listener in their homes, public transport, markets and squares, is fanning the embers of religious violence in the type of society we have in Nigeria.

Noting that intolerance is more on the Muslim side, even at the very beginning of Christian-Muslim encounter in Nigeria, Crampton says this:

> Tolerance meant something different to the Muslim than it did to the Christian missionaries. To the latter it meant freedom to practice and propagate one's faith. To the Muslims tolerance meant that non-Muslims had the freedom to practice their religion without interference, but it did not mean they had the freedom to proselytize Muslims.

3. Clashes

The tension between the three religions of Nigeria does sometimes break out into open conflicts some of which are bloody. The civil war (Nigeria-Biafara war) is one of such situations. In chapter one we noted that the war was in the main the result of ethnic and political reasons. Another important subtle but real cause was the religious difference between the Muslim North and the Christian South with its stronghold in the East. Opinions strongly differ as to what part religion played in the civil war. Crampton wrote: "… contrary to the vast amount of propaganda

put out by the rebel government formed in Iboland, the struggle… was not a religious one." Arguing for the religious over-tone or under of the civil war, Frederick Forsyth wrote:

> Screaming the blood curses of a Moslem Holy War, the Hausa (moslem) troops turned the airport into shambles, bayoneting Ibo workers in the bars, gunning them down in the corridor… carrying "Heathen" and "Allah", the mob… invaded Sabon Geri (strangers quarters) ransacking looting and burning Ibo homes and stores.

What one can say is that if religion is not the primary and apparent cause, it is certainly an important secondary cause of the civil war and added to the bitterness on the part of the Muslims. No religious issues have roused so much bitterness and whipped up sentiments as those of Sharia Court in Nigeria, and, as we shall see later on, Nigeria's entry into the Organization of Islamic Conference. Here our concern is with the Sharia court. Above we noted the place of Sharia in Muslim life. while Muslims are hell-bent on introducing Sharia into Nigerian legal system, Christians, followers of ATR and others are Sharia as a purely religious law no different from, for example, Canon Law of the Church which thus has no place in the Nation's Constitution and system. Sharia made its first appearance on the Nigerian scene during the colonia era when Muslims pressured for the inclusion of Sharia in the law of the law.

> The British did not directly recognize Sharia as a law for the emirates… Lugard promised the emirs that the British Government would not interfere with their "religion". The emirs, in their turn, naturally and usually successfully tried to press this promise to the fullest possible limits so as to include all the ramifications of the Islamic law.

It was through this that Sharia came into Nigeria's legal system in 1912 under "Native Ordinance Law" which the British recognized. It came to be practiced in Northern Nigeria and "Alkali and Mazalin Courts of Emirs were allowed to treat both civil and criminal cases in Northern Nigeria. During the drawing up of the 1979 Constitution, the Muslims saw it as a chance to introduce Sharia into the rest of the country by establishing s Federal Sharia Appeal

Court and by instituting it in all the States. Heated and long drawn-out arguments on both religious and legal grounds among the general public and Constituent Assembly members issued. Muslims argued in this vein: "since half the population of Nigeria was subject to Islamic… law, it was necessary…for this basic diversity to be fully acknowledged", Lateef Adegbite, a Southern prominent Muslim, says that "No true Moslem… could legitimately reject the command of Allah; Allahji Ciroma said "I as a Muslim will not feel that I am practicing my religion… without subjecting myself to the provisions of the Sharia," Muslim students were more emphatic-"We stand for the total application of Sharia both as legal system and as a way of life… Sharia is not reducible… Sharia is our way of life, therefore it is our life itself."

On the opposing side, mainly Christians, we have: Mr. Adewunmi who says: "… what the supporters of the Sharia are after, is a dual society along Sharia laws", an Iman from the South, siding with the Christians said, "Nigeria is not a Muslim country… it is not law for us… it is not for Nigerian law, it is Arabic law; a Christian group called on all Christians "to fight for God against an international conspiracy from the Arab world." A combined force of Christians, and other Nigerians from all walks of life, at least for the moment, nipped the provision in the bud and it remained as it was during and later the colonial days i.e operative in some Northern States that are interested. The matter however continued to surface again and again in some religions Conferences, Lecturers, Newspaper articles etc. with the setting up of a Constitution Review Committee (CRC) by the present Military Government in 1988 to review the Constitution to readiness for 1992 hand-over to civilian Government, the matter came up again with the all the old arguments and bitterness, to the extent that it paralyzed the activity of the Committee. In one of the debates, Adigwe, after giving reasons why Sharia is a purely religious law and after comparing Canon-Law vis-avis Sharia, asked question:

> Finally I would like our Muslim brothers to know that we need to be told why, despite our obvious fears, the Sharia Court which in itself is discriminatory, both in content, scope and operation must be enshrined in the constitutions.

The stalemate became so paralyzing and the debate to heated, that the Federal Government had to withdraw Sharia matter from the C.R.C. The Military Government eventually decided to leave the matter as it was in the 1979 Constitution, only for the States that want it. It is further

restricted strictly to Muslims. As noted above, this is one of the issues that are rocking the boat of relationship between Christianity and Islam. This is the most recent and most devastating issue and has led to bloody conflicts with loss of lives, burning of Churches and mosques and destruction of property worth millions of dollars. At the moment it is difficult to predict what the future holds for Nigeria in this regard. OIC is an Association of Arabic theocracies founded in 1965 led by the King of Saudi Arabia with the primary objective of furthering Islamic cause. It came to include many countries where Islam is a dominant religion or at least where there is Muslim population. The key figures important for its meeting are the Heads of States and the Foreign Ministers of member countries who must be Muslim. Part of its charter approved at a meeting in 1972 by the then 30 member countries reads:

> …to preserve Islamic spiritual, ethical, social and economic values… to consolidate the bonds of the prevailing brotherly and spiritual friendship among their people… to consolidate co-operation among member states in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and other vital fields of activities… to strengthen the struggle of all Muslim people with a view to safeguarding their dignity, independence and natural right.

The member countries today have reached 46 nations with Nigeria as the 46th member. The Conference is the political arm of the Islamic religion. It is in this Conference that the Federal Military Government of Major General Ibrahim Babangida secretly in a meeting of the conference at Fez (Morocco) between 6-10 January 1986, without prior consultation with all interested parties and individuals, registered Nigeria. The event was only leaked to Nigerians by a French News Agency. Prior to this, urged by the Muslims of the country, some previous Governments made secret moves to do this but were deterred by possible consequences. With the news of Nigeria's entry into the OIC, consternation reigned among Christians. Among Muslims, there was a smile of triumph and among the Nigerian general public it was uproar. Tension again ran high and arguments raged and the pitch was so high and tense that Muslims and Christians were at the brink of a religious war. The Muslims in support argued:

What are the facts of the furor unduly whipped up on the question of OIC?... We cannot see any disadvantage that Nigeria will suffer as a result of joining OIC. OIC has not denied Christian's freedom of worship neither has it any way made Islam the official religion of Nigeria.

From Alhaji Lateef Owoyeme, we have:

… the leaders of our Christian brothers have jumped the gun and cried wolf where it is obvious there has been not even a cat let alone a lamb… our Christian brothers… have had more than their share of Nigerian privileges and conveniences, yet rise up in battle without the least provocation.

From Fermi Abbas and Liad Tella we have: "A dispassionate look at the charter and activities of the IOC would reveal that it is neither reasonable nor desirable for a country like Nigeria to be a mere observer. On the Christian side, the Catholic Bishops of Nigeria issued a Press Release after their meeting:

The fact that secrecy and rumor eventually gave way to belated official admission that Nigeria has joined the OIC cannot but disappoint us… Now that the fact is clear, after mature deliberation and having listened to the pleas of numerous representations from Christians, non Christians and some Muslims, we have come to this inevitable conclusion: we do not and shall not agree to Nigeria's membership of the OIC.

Enugu Diocesan Catholic Laity Council saw the entry as "/... illegal, unconstitutional, incompatible with the longstanding status of the country as a secular nation." The Government immediately set up a Commission to study "the implications of Nigeria's full membership of the … IOC." The body was later converted into a permanent one known as Advisory Council on Religious Affairs (ACRA) with twelve members each from Islam and Christianity. This Commission met in 3-5 Feb. 1986. Among other things, it resolved that "nothing should be done to infringe section 10 of the Constitution. They could not agree on a categorical statement of

withdrawal as each side stuck to its point: withdrawal or non-withdrawal. Till today the Government is yet to make a definite statement to this effect. Over this silence, the Anglican Bishop of Lagos warned that "Silence on OIC (is) Ominous."

This issue was responsible for the religious bloody riot between Muslims and Christians from March 6-15, 1987 with this toll: 25 lives lost; 600 peoples injured, 40 Churches burnt, 3 mosques destroyed and property worth of millions of naira destroyed. Over OIC issue, Nigeria is merely sitting on a keg of gun-powder. It is a time bomb whose destructive effective will be incalculable is not well handled. To be mentioned here are also occasional bloody clashes between Christianity and ATR or between ATR and Islam especially at the very beginning when Churches and ATR shrines were burnt and people killed on both sides. In chapter one we noted the same situation between ATR and Islam.

4. Co-operation

The above not-withstanding, there is some measure of cooperation between the religions. This is in the area of dialogue (which form the subject matter of chapter 5), peaceful co-habilitation and common social, political and economic life in Nigeria. Except for the recent history when there has been bloodshed both among Muslims themselves and between Muslims and Christians, the greater part of the history of relationship is relatively calm. Archbishop S.N. Ezeanya writes "… the Nigerian experience of religious interaction has so far been to a large extent peaceful with only a few and far-between incidents of open clashes between mis-guided members of different religions. Suffice it to mention here that the present measure of cooperation can be built up to replace the former attitude of cold war, suspicion and occasional open clashes.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Man is a religious being, a fact well-proven by experience down the ages of history. Religion is a vital force in man. This vitality leads to various expressions we know as religious pluralism. The three religions of Africa and also of Nigeria are great living religious which form part of the general pool of world religions. Each of these religions differs significantly from the rest in dogma, liturgy and general mode of life but they agree in being man's search for God, for

the ultimate. As they share the geographical entity, known as Nigeria, their differences become friction and tension, sometimes mild at other times grave. Islam seems to be the worst offender in militancy and forcefulness. ATR is the most accommodating of the three but has an inner subtle and strong pull on individuals, for "behind the veneer of new beliefs of most educated people lie older ideas that will not disappear for a long time yet." Christianity is mid-way between the two, though it carries no gun; it wages warfare of a different order, peaceful and persuasive words that turn spiritual weaklings into apostles, martyrs and crusaders. All in all, the three religions have a long way to go to build up a peaceful meaningful co-existence in Nigeria.

The Islamic culture and practices provide the summary requirements, which a Muslim should believe and follow in order to fulfill the God's ordained challenges for humanity. This unit discusses more of the core teachings of Islam. The essence of this unit is therefore aimed at helping the students to have a well- balanced understanding of Islamic culture and practices. Nigeria is a multi-religious country; therefore, the study of other faiths by scholars is very important. This will enable the society to avoid religious riots or chaos among adherents of various faiths in the country.

5.0 SUMMARY

African traditional religion is the indigenous religion practiced by the Africans from time immemorial and it is passing on from one generation to another. Islam is an eternal religion bestowed upon mankind by Allah. Al-Quran is the greatest gifts of Allah to mankind. It was revealed directly to Prophet Mohammad by Allah as the guide for human behaviour. While Christianity is the religion came to Africa in the 19th centuries by the European missionaries. These religions are reviewed religions and they are dominant religions in Africa and Nigeria.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1. What is African traditional religion?
2. What are the sources for African traditional religion?
3. Describe the factors responsible for un-cordial relationship between religions in Nigeria

4. Discuss the methods of used by Muslims and Christians missionaries for the geographical spread of Islam and Christianity in Nigeria

5. How can religious chaos be checked among adherents of various religions in Nigeria?

6. From Muhammad to Uthman ibn Affan, Discuss the origin, revelation and the collation of the Quran.

7. Hadith literatures are very important document for clarification, guidance and spirituality-Discuss

8. What is Sharia? Discuss the sources division and the importance of Sharia in the Muslim Community.

9. The five pillars of Islam are the essential ingredient of faith in Islam-Discuss.

10. What is Jihad? Why it is necessary for a Muslim t be involved in jihad?

11. Briefly explain the doctrine of Islam and Christianity

12. Enumerate Islamic and Christian theory of states

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UNIT 3: THEORIES AND PERSPECTIVES OF RELIGION

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Many theories account for the origin of religion in human society. These theories help in understanding the significant role religion play in the lives of people all over the world. In this unit, our focus will be on the different theories that explain the origin of religion in Nigerian society.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the euhemerism theory of religion
- Explain allegory theory of religion
- Identify myth-ritual theory of religion
- State the pre-modern theories of religion
- Evaluate the 19th-century theories of religion
- Highlight the 20th-century theories of religion

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

There are many theories of the origin of religion. These theories include:

3.1 Theories of the Origin of Religion

There are many theories of the origin of religion. These include:

Anthropological Theory of Religion

Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach based his anthropological theories of religion on his discoveries about human nature. In his book, "The essence of Christianity", he believes that religion is nothing other than the worship of human nature. When man thinks he is worshipping God he is only worshipping himself, that is, his own nature which he projects outside himself as God. To him, the God that the religious man worships is nothing other than the projected image of human nature. Man alienates himself of his best virtues goodness, justice, power, wisdom, mercy etc, and projects them outside himself into an imaginary being, called God. But in order to successfully project these human qualities into the concept of God, man removes from them human limitations and therefore sees them as limitless – infinite goodness, infinite justice, infinite wisdom, etc.

Thus, all the divine attributes are in fact human attributes removed from man and projected into the idea of God. God becomes everything that is good while man become nothing. After reducing himself to nothing by stripping, man later comes to realize that he has been worshipping himself and praying to himself, and that the divine essence is nothing but the idealized and projected essence of man. Having come to realize this fact, man overcomes his self-alienation. He comes to know himself better and then reconcile himself with himself, then, he will stop practicing religion the moment he discovers the true meaning of what he has been doing, therefore religion have a terminal date. Our objection to this theory is that, if as Feuerbach says, man's knowledge is limited by his nature, he would not be able to even conceive the idealized collective human nature since that transcends his individual nature.

Sociological Theory of Religion

Emile Durkheim, in his book, "The elementary forms of religions" gives a sociological interpretation of religion, as a creation of the society. It is the society which created and uses religion as an instrument of control. It is, according to Durkheim (1965, orig. 1915), people that engage in religious life to celebrate the awesome power of their society. The society uses religion as the instrument of control and means of molding their minds so that it may be able to direct their thinking. The society exercises such a powerful influence on its member that the latter personifies its force into divine entity. The almighty God is simply a symbol of the might of the society. What religious people also call the commandments of God is nothing other than the moral demands of the society.

The idea of mystery or transcendence in religion is explained by the fact that the members of the society do not quite understand the source of society's remote control and pervading influence over them. But if society is the ultimate source of the idea of God and of morality, how is it possible for some moral reformers to criticize the society, denounce it and go against its demands by appealing to a force beyond the society itself? Socrates and Jesus Christ did precisely that. They went beyond the demands of their societies and brought in new dimension to the life of the society. In doing this, they appealed to a force beyond the society, which shows that the society is not the ultimate source of religious and moral consciousness.

Psychological Theory of Religion

Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, gives a psychological explanation of religion in his books, Totem and Taboo, and Future of Illusion. Religion, according to him is a continuation into adulthood a child's attitude towards his father. Realizing his weakness, a child naturally seeks the protection of his father whom he sees as very powerful, and able to protect him. He therefore frequently turns to his father for help and protection in times of difficulty. Religion is nothing other than this childhood mentally extended into adult hood.

Faced with the odds of life – the forces of nature, death, disease, etc. man realizes his weakness and helplessness. Like a child he spontaneously seeks the protection of a father, and finding none he imagines one for himself. Thus, God according to Freud, is an imaginary being;

an imaginary father. It must be given to this theory that, the paternalism pervades the idea of God in most religions, and that most religious people turn to God mostly in times of need and difficulty. But the very essence of religion clearly surpasses the fearful longing of a child for his father's protection. This sense of lack of security cannot explain why many are willing to die for their faith or belief.

Marxist Theory

Karl Marx attributed the origin and continuing existence of religion to the economic exploitation of the masses in the capitalist system. He agreed with Feuerbach that God is nothing other than the projection of the best qualities in man and that religion is man's self alienation. But he accused Feuerbach of indulging in metaphysical abstraction in his conception of the human essence. Karl Marx tries to explain the driving force behind man's reclining into religion. The answer, according to Marx is simple; it is exploitation, the economic exploitation and oppression of the masses in the capitalist system. The masses who are suffering under the oppressive and exploitative capitalist system look up to the sky for an imaginary saviour who will come and deliver them from the hands of their capitalist exploiters.

They then invent the idea of God to whom they pray and look forward to for deliverance. Thus, religion is the product of exploitation, oppression and suffering. It is the sign of the exploited; the cry of the oppressed in the capitalist system, this explains why religion is generally practiced by the poor, the oppressed, the suffering masses, for it is the cry of the oppressed creature in the heartless capitalist world. The rich exploiters encourage religion and use it as opium, a sedative, with which they calm down the exploited masses and prevent them from revolting against them.

The Weberian Theory

For Karl Marx, the relationship between religion and social change was clear: religion impeded change by encouraging oppressed people to focus on other worldly concerns rather than on their immediate poverty or exploitation. However, Max Weber was unconvinced by Marx's argument and carefully examined the connection between religious allegiance and capitalist

development. His findings appeared in his pioneering work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, first published in 1904. Weber noted that in European nations with Protestant and Catholic citizens, an overwhelming number of business leaders, owners of capital, and skilled workers were protestant. In his view, this was no mere coincidence. Weber pointed out that the followers of John Calvin (1509-1564), a leader of the Protestant Reformation, emphasized a disciplined work ethic, this-worldly concern, and rational orientation to life that have become known as the protestant ethic. One by-product of the protestant ethic was a drive to accumulate savings that could be used for future investment.

This spirit of capitalism, to use Weber's phrase, contrasted with "the moderate work hours", "leisurely work habits", and lack of ambition that he saw as typical of the times. Few books on the sociology of religion have aroused as much commentary and criticism as the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. It has been hailed as one of the most important theoretical works in the field and as an excellent example of macro-level analysis. Like Durkheim, Weber demonstrated that religion is not solely a matter of intimate personal beliefs. He stressed that the collective nature of religion has social consequences for society as a whole. Conflict theorists caution that Weber's theory even if it is accepted- should not be regarded as an analysis of mature capitalism as reflected in the rise of large corporations, which transcend national boundaries.

The primary disagreement between Kari Marx and Max Weber concerned not the origins of capitalism, but rather its future. Unlike Marx, Weber believed that capitalism could endure indefinitely as an economic system. He added, however, that the decline of religion as an overriding force in society opened the way for workers to express their discontent more vocally. We can conclude that, although Weber provides a convincing description of the origins of European capitalism, this economic system has subsequently been adopted by non-Calvinists in many parts of the world. Contemporary studies in the United States show little or no difference in achievement orientation between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Apparently, the "spirit of capitalism" has become a generalized cultural trait rather than a specific religious tenet.

Durkheimian Theory

Emile Durkheim was perhaps the first sociologist to recognize the critical importance of religion in human societies. He saw its appeal for the individual, but – more important- he stressed the social impact of religion. In Durkheim's view, religion is a collective act and includes many forms of behaviour in which people interact with others. As in his work on suicide, Durkheim was not so interested in the personalities of religious believers as he was in understanding religious behavior within a social context. Durkheim initiated sociological analysis of religion by defining religion as a "unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things". In his formulation, religion involves a set of beliefs and practices that are uniquely the property of religion- as opposed to other social institutions and ways of thinking. Durkheim argued that religious faiths distinguish between the everyday world and certain events that transcend the ordinary. He referred to these realms as the sacred and the profane.

The sacred encompasses elements beyond everyday life which inspire awe, respect, and even fear. People become a part of the sacred realm only by completing some ritual, such as prayer or sacrifice. Believers have faith in the sacred; this faith allows them to accept what they cannot understand. By contrast, the profane includes the ordinary and commonplace. Interestingly, the same object can be either sacred or profane depending on how it is viewed. A normal dining room table is profane, but it becomes sacred to Christians if it bears the elements of a communion. For Confucians and Taoists, incense sticks are not mere decorative items; they are highly valued offerings to the gods in religious ceremonies marking new and full moons. Following the direction established by Durkheim almost a century ago, contemporary sociologist view religious in two different ways.

The norms and values of religious faiths can be studied through examination of their substantive religious beliefs. For example, we can compare the degree to which Christian faiths literally interpret the Bible, or Muslim groups follow the Qur'an (or Koran), the sacred book of Islam. At the same time, religions can be examined in terms of the social functions they fulfill, such as providing social support or reinforcing the social norms. By exploring both the beliefs and the functions of religious, we can better understand its impact on the individual, on groups, and on society as a whole.

Theological Theory of Religion

The Italian theologian, P. Rosario, traces the origin of religion to human nature itself, which according to him has a religious dimension. The human spirit is constantly and continuously searching for its source, i.e., the intimate spirit. This search of the finite spirit for the infinite spirit its source is what constitutes religion. This can be traced to the submission of St Augustine as the restlessness of the human spirit for its source; the infinite spirit or, in other words, God. That is why man experiences uneasiness, dissatisfaction and insecurity. He experience an emptiness or a vacuum within him and nothing finite can satisfy his most basic desire which he often does not quite understanding himself.

3.2 Perspectives in the Study of Religion

We shall list some perspectives from the scholars who have attempted to explain and study religion. We shall discuss these fully in another unit. The following are some of the perspectives that we have noted in the explanation and study of religion:

(a) **Anthropological Perspectives** focus on religion as the bedrock of the relationship of the human beings to their cultural environments.

(b) **Sociological Perspectives** examine the impact of religion and social institutions. They focus on religious groups.

(c) **Psychological Perspectives** centre on the role of emotions and feeling in the practice of religion.

(d) **Historical Perspectives** deal with the development of religions in time and space.

(e) **Theological Perspectives** focus on the different levels of relationship of God to human beings, which emphasize among others the attitudes, faith, and assumptions of human beings about God.

(f) **Ethical Perspectives** emphasis human being's interpersonal relationships.

(g) **Philosophical Perspectives** focus on rational explanation of religious behaviours and ideas. It asks questions about the universe and the place of human beings in it. It seeks intellectual

explanations to human religiousness and religiosity and thus allows no role for faith or revelation.

(h) **Phenomenology Perspectives** describe religious ideas as one observes them, and as they appear to the practitioners.

4.0 CONCLUSION

You have learnt in this unit that theories of religion help in Nigerians understanding of the different religions practiced in their societies. They also help in the understanding of their history of their environment, social organizations, geography, and religious ideas that are essentially revealed in mythologies. Myths as historical records of people, provides the basis for the scriptures of religion in Nigerian society.

5.0 SUMMARY

- Theories of religion Nigerian society were developed over thousands of years and they reflect belief systems and values in the society.
- There are many theories of the origin of religion. Some of these theories include Euhemerism, allegory, personification, and myth-ritual theory, among others.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Discuss the theories of the origin of African religious mythology
2. Mention and discuss the different perspectives which scholars have used in analyzing religion.
3. Compare and contrast Weber and Marx opinion of the role of religion in social change.
4. What is the difference between the profane and the sacred according to Durkheim?

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UNIT 4: MAJOR RELIGIONS IN NIGERIA

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4.0 Conclusion

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7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a pluralistic society that practices three major religions, namely, African traditional religion, referred to as ATR, Christianity and Islam. These religions are the living religions of Africa. In this unit, we will discuss the basic tenets and structures that characterized them and their basic differences with one another.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the nature and sources of African traditional religion
- State the history of Islam in Nigeria
- Explain the origin of Christianity in Nigeria

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 African Traditional Religion

African traditional religion is one of the many forms of natural religion. Like many of its counterparts, it is coeval with man and bound up with culture. Because of the local nature of these natural religions, as opposed to revealed ones, they are often personal to people with little or no external influence. The most basic problem of African traditional religion is lack of any written previous records. This in part explains why some early anthropologists think Africans "have no religion." Only recently did literature begin to abound, written by African students and scholars who are able to work as it were from "within".

African traditional religion has been grossly misunderstood and branded all sorts of names such as Animism, primitive religion, paganism, fetishism, polytheism etc. Because of the inadequacies of these names, African authors especially have been making the effort to find a name that would do justice to the reality and also retain the unique character of the religion and it's Africanness. Thus the term "African traditional religion" has become widely used and accepted. The term "traditional religions" is being increasingly used to denote what former writers called 'animism...Both Islam and Christianity are 'traditional religions' in Africa, in the sense that they have long traditions in the continent. African traditional religion is therefore, defined as:

> Institutionalized patterns of beliefs and worship practised by various African societies from time immemorial in response to the 'supernatural' as manifested in their environment and experience.

The Godian study Group defines it as "the system of \worshipping God without human intermediary". In his own definition, Anselme Tiziana, bishop of Bobodoulaso in Burkina Faso defines it as "a plurality of beliefs and practices often localized, lacking any universal denominator." From these definitions emerge these essential characteristics: belief in God, expressed through local cultural patterns, without a founder, collectively plural. African

traditional religion is therefore, as all other natural religions, man's response to God's invitation in the way he understands it in his particular circumstances (Africans).

In Nigeria, due to the missionary effort of Islam and Christianity, there is an exodus from traditional religion to these other two. However, J.S. Trimingham explains it rather differently. He attributes it to collapse in culture which led to its limitations being exposed. He writes:

> 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 serviceable.

Due to lack of official and correct census figures in Nigeria, it is difficult to be precise with regard to number. D.B. Barret in mid-1980 estimated it at 5.6 percent, and by the year 2000, it would come to 3 percent. Followers of this religion are distributed all over Nigeria but more in the Middle Belt and Southern parts. Today there is no part of Nigeria that is predominantly inhabited by followers of African traditional religion.

3.2 Structure of African Traditional Religion

The structure of African traditional religion consists of the following:

Belief in God

God is the African religion has been the topic of much discussion and controversy-whether the African believes in God and the concept of this God, whether it is monotheism or polytheism or paganism. From the names which early anthropologists and historians of religion gave to African traditional religion as we saw above, it is obvious they hardly thought that Africans believed in God. However now, no such studies hang on to those early notions. The Africans believes in God, and the names he gives to Him are indigenous and the concept is not borrowed from Christianity as some authors affirm. His names include Chukwu, (Igbo); Olodumare (Yoruba); Ubangiji (Hausa-Katsina); Abasi Ibom (Efik), etc. As Mbiti puts it, "African concepts

of God are strongly coloured and influenced by the historical, geographical, social and cultural background or environment of each people". African traditional religion is a monotheistic religion though it has to be qualified:

> I do not know of any place in Africa where the intimacy is not accorded to God. That is why...I conclude that the religion can only be adequately described as monotheistic. I modify this 'monotheism' by the adjective 'diffused' because here we have a monotheism in which there exist other powers which derive from Deity.

God's attributes include intrinsic ones such as omniscience, omnipotence, immanence, transcendence; extrinsic ones as self-existence, pre-eminence and greatness, infinity etc; and moral ones as love, mercy, anger, justice, holiness. He is not distant, uninterested and withdrawn (Deus Otiosus or Absconditus). The withdrawal of God as referred to in the myths must not be taken too literally. They only try to explain the universal human experience of divine transcendence.

Belief in Deities and Spirits

Directly below the Supreme Being and created by Him are the minor deities and spirits which are local. It is actually these that give African traditional religion its local orientation. They represent, for instance, the spirit of the tribes, divinized heroes and founders of towns or tribes, and natural forces like thunder and include gods' harvest, of rain, of fertility and good luck. Writing about the spirits, E.I Metuh notes:

> They are numbered in hundreds and find their abode in mysterious rocks, caves, mountains, lakes, rivers, forests, and animals. They are endowed with supernatural powers which may sometimes benefit the lucky ones and those initiated into the secret of their cult. But generally they are ferocious and ruthless and inspire great fear and extreme caution.

Both the deities and the spirits are all worshipped. In African traditional religion there exist also evil spirits which are not worshipped but placated in order to escape the evil they can cause.

Belief in Ancestor Cult

Another important feature of the African traditional religion is strong communion with the spirits of dead ancestors. It is believed that dead ancestors play a great role in the welfare or fortune of the family. The tie is such that the ancestors have an altar in the family where they are worshipped. Every morning and at other occasions they also are invoked in prayers fro their patronage. Cult of the dead is however not peculiar to African traditional religion as all religions has it. C.U.M. Ezekwugo writes:

> The cult of the dead has been part of every known theistic religion and this element was never found absent in African religion even from earliest times. It has ever been the firm belief of the African that man lives after death and can in some way influence the life of his still living relatives.

There are two major ignitions rites connected with the spirit world and the dead. At birth a child is received from the spirit world and introduced into the human family and the death the funeral rite introduces him into the human family and at death the funeral rites introduces him into the ancestral. This is why funeral rites are important in African traditional religion as one cannot join the forefathers until the rites are properly performed. The immediate consequence of African traditional religions creedal content in relation to man and the world is a vision that is essentially pluralistic and accommodating.

Diffused monotheism with its multiplicity of minor deities and a host of spirits including ancestral ones which, though created by the Supreme Being, are all worshipped along with Him, makes African traditional religion see the world as a scene where beings, supernatural and temporal, interact in a harmonious co-existence, its world-view is anthropocentric. Though God is Supreme, man is at the centre of both the hierarchy of beings and of creation. God is at the service of man:

Both the beings above man and those below him are appreciated to the degree they help man to achieve his self-fulfilment...God exists for man and not man for God...the aim of worship is to attract God's gift and blessing... The glory of God is not the primary object of worship.

In spite of this hierarchy, the world remains an orchestra in which each part plays its distinctive and independent role yet subordinate to the rest for general order. If one part fails to perform, the equilibrium is affected. If one deity is angry, the must be modified and made cooperative. This unity in plurality is responsible for the fact that African traditional religion is very tolerant, open and receptive.

Belief in Priest and Other Cultic Men

As in other religions, the place of priests and other cultic men in African traditional religion cannot be over-emphasized since it belongs to them to act as intermediaries between men and the gods, to make known to the people the minds of the gods in certain difficult circumstances through oracular pronouncements and the like, and to offer sacrifices and perform other cultic ceremonies as homage and worship and as appeasement to the gods in the name of the people. Four cultic persons can be distinguished: the priest, the witch doctor, the herbalist or medicine man, the diviner. Often the last three are combined in one person. The priest, however, differs from the last three in that his is a public function exercised in the name of a group and with reference to a particular deity while the others are vocations of personal choice and charisma, exercised privately. Making the distinction, E.I. Metuh writes:

A priest... is a public functionary. He is usually attached to a cultic centre, a shrine or a temple where he performs certain prescribed forms of rituals on behalf of the people... whereas a medicine man is self employed and offers his services to individuals or groups who may request and pay for the service, a priest regardless of whether his office is hereditary or personal... is an employer or organ operating in the interest of the organization members.

Part of the duties or functions of the priest includes: "He announces liturgical seasons. He has a special duty to supervise the moral conduct of all in his locality. He consults good or other spirits about the sacrifices necessary to atone for faults". The priest's most important function is sacrifice and God is regarded as the "ultimate recipient" of all sacrifices including those to the gods and other spirits. The priest's most important symbol of authority is Ofo stick (Igbo Religion) or its equivalent. "Basically the symbol has a referential character, indirectly mediating the relationship between man and the supernatural. It is a vehicle of divine power". The witch-doctor detects and deals with witches; the medicine man is a traditional doctor while the diviner is concerned with oracles.

3.3 Liturgy of African Traditional Religion

Ritual ceremonies are a prominent part of African traditional religion. They are either formal or informal and include: sacrifices, prayer, music, dancing and feasts. Writing about worship, sin and sacrifices, O. Imasogie notes:

> Worship is generally defined as man's response to... the revelation or presence of the divine... Like any other religion, Nigerian traditional religion makes provision for this phenomenon of religion... Hymn singing accompanied by various instruments or hand clapping may be a part of the worship... Sacrifice is the soul of religion... and the Nigerian traditional religion is no exception.

Thus, in worship in African traditional religion, sacrifice occupies a central place. Sacrifice can be communal when a whole town is involved, family when it touches families, nucleic or large and personal, when it is just an individual. The purpose includes expiation, warding off molestation from an unknown evil spirit, petition, and thanksgiving.

Characteristics of African Traditional Religion

Religion according to Mbiti (1965:10) can be seen in five parts. No part by itself constitutes the entire meaning of religion. All these parts must be seen as working together to

give a complete picture. They are beliefs, practices, ceremonies and festivals, religious objects and places, values and morals, religious officials or leaders. Beliefs are an essential part of any religion. They show the way people think about the world and their attitude to life. African religious beliefs centre on God, spirits, human life, magic, death and the hereafter. Religious practices, ceremonies and festivals are also essential to any religion. Religious practices show how people express their beliefs practically. They include prayers, rituals, sacrifices and offerings, and so on. Festivals are joyful occasions where people sing, dance, eat and celebrate a particular occasion or event. Religious objects and places cover the things and places, which people have set apart as being holy or sacred.

They are seldom used except for a particular religious purpose. There are many such religious objects and places. Some are man-made while others are taken in their natural form and set aside for religious purposes. Values and morals are the aspects of religion, which deal with such ideas that safeguard or uphold the life of the people in their relationship with one another and the world around them. Values and morals cover issues like truth, justice, love, right and wrong, good and evil, beauty, decency, respect for people and property, the keeping of promises and agreements, praise and blame, crime and punishment, and so on. Religious officials or leaders are the people who conduct religious matters such as ceremonies, sacrifices, divinations, prayers, etc. These are trained men and women. They have vast knowledge about religious affairs more than other people, and are respected by their community. They hold offices as priests, ritual elders, rainmakers, diviners, medicine men, etc. These are the five essential parts, which make up a religion. They have to be considered together, because religion is complex.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In African traditional society, religion and culture are the hubs around which human personality, movements and institutions are organized and pursued. The traditions of the people are rooted in religion and culture and the corporate life of the people is determined by religion. Social and political relations, unity and solidarity are regulated by divinities or spirits on grounds of appeasement, expiation, propitiation, adoration, prayers and sacrifice. Religion dominates the people's worldview in cultural, social, economic and political spheres.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have discussed the: Structure of African traditional religion, which are belief in God, belief divinities and spirits, belief in ancestral cult, belief in priests and other secret persons, among others. Importance of religion in any given society which is that, religion helps a people to relate very well with one another, and with God. Role of religion in the society, as a functional system, religion performs the following functions or roles: importance and significance of culture.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. List any five structures of African traditional religion.
2. Explain the liturgy of African traditional religion
3. What are the characteristics features of African Traditional Religion?

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UNIT 5: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

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3.0 Main Contents

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    3.2 Nigerian Indigenous Churches

    3.3 Nigerian Pentecostalism

    3.4 Reasons for the Presence and Expansion of Nigerian Churches

    3.5 Challenges Confronting the Growth of Nigerian Churches

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Summary

6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment

7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we treated the major religions in Nigeria and, their geographical spread. We also discussed the relationship between the three religions, their doctrines as well as the factors that hinders peaceful co-existence among adherents of these religions. In this unit, we shall examine new religious movements in Nigeria. There is a significant amount of diversities in what is called "New Religious Movements". However, we shall categorize the new religious movements into three groups. This include: Missionary Christianity, Nigerian Indigenous Christianity and Nigerian Pentecostalism.

3.1 Missionary Churches

Missionary Churches represents the mainline Churches established by Christian missionary agencies from Europe and America in Africa, during the 18th and 19th centuries (Ryder, 1961). These Churches came with the advent of European colonialism, although there are some

exceptions, for example, in Nigeria, where the first contacts between the indigenous peoples and European missionaries was in the 16th century, when Portuguese Catholic priests visited the kingdom of Bini (1585-1707), and Warri (1574-1807). Although the type of Chrurches planted in these areas later died out because of so many reasons, cultural traces still existed till this day as a result of this early encounter (Ryder, 1961). The Portuguese missionaries resorted to "a Church state" model of planting Christianity by targeting local chiefs and hoping that once these chiefs have converted, their people will follow suit (Ryder, 1960).

Because the new faith did not issue from the people's religious conviction, and the Portuguese were more concerned with commerce than missionary works, Churches did not take deep roots (Isichei, 1995). The Portuguese were the first Europeans to take away slaves from the West Coast of Africa to Europe. They popularized the shameful slave trade (Ryder, 1960). And this was the strongest reason why the Christian message they brought was scorned and therefore ineffective. The first contact between European missionaries and what is today Ghana in the 15th century, when Portuguese Catholics visited the coast. But interest in trade superseded the evangelical imperative, and also the harsh climate conditions made European survival immensely difficult, especially as quinine, the anti-malarial drug, was yet to be discovered about this time (Hugh, 1997).

In Nigeria, many attempts were made by the European missionaries to introduce Churches. In 1733, for example, the local chief in Warri reverted to indigenous religion and with him his people because the new religion failed to end a spell of drought; they smashed a statue of Jesus to display the failure of Churches to be of practical benefits to them in their search for a meaningful and reciprocal relationship with the divine (Isichei, 1995). The second attempt to introduce Christianity in Nigeria came in September, 1842 where ex-slaves from Sierra-Leone, led by the Methodist missionary, Thomas Birch Freeman, reached Badagary near Lagos (Isichei, 1995). In South Africa, by the 1820s, missionary Christianity has been introduced in some remote areas by the Congregationalist of the London society (CLM).

Missionary Churches, exemplified by such organizations as the Catholic, the Anglican, the Presbyterian Churches, the Methodists, the Baptists, among others, expanded slowly but steadily, making itself attractive not just by preaching the gospel but more importantly, by bearing other valued goods, technical skills and the superiority of their guns over spears, bows and arrows (Commaroff and Comaroff, 1986, Peel, 2000). African belonging to this strand of mainstream

Churches constitutes more than one half of the total Christian population. For example, Nigerian Catholics alone make up 17% of the Christian population of the continent (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1986). There are features of missionary Churches in Africa that varied in denominational incarnations and carried with them, Euro-American formalized theology, liturgy and method. Because of their long historical traditions of theological articulation and systematization, doctrines and ways of worship came last in thought categories alien to the people.

This formalized structure of dogma increasingly alienated the indigenous peoples to whom it was directed (Nwokeji, 2005). What further accentuated this feeling of religious alienation were the use of foreign language in the transmission of teachings, and the feeling of superiority by the missionaries, because missionary Churches came with the baggage of European culture. This causes them to demonize indigenous cultures and everything Nigeria (Helgesson, 2006). The European missionaries viewed Nigerians as "savage", "primitive", "pagan" and "heathen", who needed western/missionary intervention in overcoming their "barbaric stage" of development and access civilized stage" which the missionaries represented (Mbiti, 1969). While there were some exceptions to this practice such as was evident in the works of Bishop Calenso, the Anglican Bishop of South Africa, who was pro-zulu culture and suffered great persecution for it, many of the agenda of missionary Churches was to eradicate Nigerian cultures and replace them with Euro-American ways of living (Draper, 2003).

This is not just true with material and non-material aspects of culture such as: names, drinks, organizational systems, dress codes, among others. Missionary Churches was properly engaged with the totality of African ways of life, a reason that caused schisms in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in these Churches in Nigeria. Because Nigerians were conceived of as "uncivilized", one important defining social structure of missionary Christianity was, and still is, its immersion in social services: education and hospital works (Falola, 2005). In some places like Nigeria, missionary Churches had a leadership structure that was dominated by non-Nigerians. The Church of Scotland in Calabar established the first printing press in 1846. Rev. Henry Townsend, a Church missionary society missionary Churches in Abeokuta, published the first newspaper in Nigeria, *Iwe Irohim,* on 3rd December, 1959 (Falola, 2005).

Missionary Churches provide significant strategies of social transformation through the construction of schools and health care facilities in many Nigerian cities and towns, thus,

creating a new cadre of educated Nigerian elites necessary to man the new bureaucracy of colonialism. These projects introduced new forms of learning and knowledge, as well as further demonized and discredited Nigerian indigenous knowledge and medical traditions and systems. The most important image of missionary Churches was, and still is, its identification with colonialism. It was perceived as a religion "the Whiteman", which came with the "Whiteman ideas" and cultural baggage of the Euro-Americans who did not separate the gospel message from western cultural practices and idiosyncrasies.

Colonialism was associated with the obnoxious trade in Nigerians as slaves. It was also seen as unjust oppressive and repressive. Churches were a well perceived as an ally or collaborator in a system of unwarranted economic, cultural and political exploitation. This was a basic contradiction in the integrity and sincerity of the gospel message the group of Whiteman and women claimed to bring. According to Isichei (1995), there was a basic contradiction between converting Nigerians and purchasing them as slaves. Colonialism actually produced racism and discrimination based on the colour of one's skin. Many of the missionary Churches also had a policy that looked down on the Nigerians as inferior and incapable of self-management. These above listed features of missionary Churches fuelled the emergence of new strand of Churches which aimed at rectifying the social, political and religious ills in Nigeria.

3.2 Nigerian Indigenous Churches

Nigerian indigenous Churches or Nigerian independent Churches (AICS) refers to those Churches that at the beginning of the 20th century either broke away from mission Churches or missionary/mainline Churches or were founded independently of European missionary activities and are handled by Nigerians (Asonzeh, 2007). Some people referred to them as "Nigerian Initiater/Instituted Churches" (Venter, 2004). It is generally argued that Nigerian indigenous Churches started in South African in 1884 (Venter, 2004). There are so many reasons for the establishment of these Churches. First, the mission Churches expanded and took roots, the Bible was translated into indigenous languages and African appropriated the message of the gospel according to their local worldviews, often breeding conflicts and disagreements. The Nigerian worldview is intensely charismatic and alive; the gospel was interpreted in a lively manner and infused with many culturally relevant events.

Second, there have been debates about finding an appropriate nomenclature for Nigerian Independent Churches. Sometimes, they have called "Separatist Churches", a derogatory term that is only used by outsiders to signify the "Otherness" of the new Churches (Ayagboyin, 1997). But since not all of the Nigerian Independent Churches "Separated" from mission Churches, the term rarely does justice to the complexity of the phenomenon. Some of the Nigerian Independent Churches, especially in South and West Africa, seceded from the mission Churches for political and economic reasons. According to Sundkler (1961) who first adopted this class of Ethiopian Churches in 1948 posits that those who broke away from the mission Churches did primarily on racial ground or as a result of the struggle for prestige and power. Internalizing the imperative of psalm 68: 31 which reads: "Let Ethiopia hasten to raise its hands to God", the pioneers of the protests against Euro-American domination in the "colonial Churches" soon constructed "the self-government of the Nigerian Church under Nigerian leaders (Turner, 1979).

The first Nigerian Church to break away from a mission Church in Nigeria was in 1888 and the reason was to protest against Nigerian treatment of a local leader (Turner, 1979). There are many such Churches in different parts of Africa. As a result, these Churches that broke away from mission Churches for political reasons are now called "Ethiopian Churches", signifying that they are indigenous initiatives without foreign financial or doctrinal support designed to recover indigenous leadership roles and traditions (Sundkler, 1961). They are also African in ecclesiology, emphasizing autonomous Christian life and administration. Thus, Ethiopianism is a movement of religious and cultural protest against mistreatment of Africans in some mission Churches (Turner, 1979). In Nigeria, a large group of the Nigerian Indigenous Churches (AICS) is called "Aladura" (praying movement, while in South Africa, a similar group is known as "Zionist Churches" (Peel, 1968). Aladura movement in West Africa has its roots in the 1918 outbreak of influenza in Yorubaland in Nigeria (Mitchell, 1970).

This small group within the Nigerian Church resorted to prayers alone to tackle the problem posed by the influenza but soon ran into doctrinal and ritual difficulties with the authorities of the Church which kicked them out by 1925 (Peel, 1968). The Aladura group emphasized prayer, healing and visionary guidance and grew rapidly in the 1920s and 1930s (Turner, 1979). The Eternal Sacred Order of the Cherubim and Seraphim Movement (C&S) was founded in 1925 by Moses Orimolade and Christianah Abiodum Akinsowon (Mitchell, 1970); the Church of Lord Aladura was founded in 1930s by Josiah Oshitelu (Peel, 1968); the Celestial

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Church of Christ (CCC) was established in 1947 by Samuel Oschoffa (1909-1985); the Brotherhood of the Cross and Star (BCS) was founded by Olumba Olumba Obu (born Ca 1909) in 1958 after a vision (Mitchell, 1970).

In South Africa, the "Zionist" Churches emerged primarily against political and social discrimination against Nigerians. Because Nigerians were restricted in terms of residence, labour, association and movement, the adherents of these Churches nursed the ambition to construct "Zion", a land of freedom, and a home free from oppression and subjugation. Many of these Churches had "Zion" as part of their official names. Sundkler (1961), a Bantu Prophet in South Africa asserts that Zionist Churches historically have their roots in Zion city, Illinois, the United States. Ideologically, they claim to emanate from the mount of Zion in Jerusalem. A popular example of Zionist Church is Zion Christian Church (ZCC). There are over seven thousand Zionist Churches in South Africa alone. According to Anderson (2005), over 30% of the South African population is made of members of Nigerian Zionist and Apostolic Churches. Both Aladura and Zionist Churches have three important characteristics. These includes: self-financing, self-governance and self-supporting (Anderson, 2005).

In addition to these are: the emphasis on cultural appropriation of significant themes and practices such as the use of indigenous music and language, emphasis on the activities of evil spirits such as witches and demons, the claim by the leaders to have the power to deliver people from the influences of these baneful spirits and the active role given to women as some even became Church founders (Mitchell, 1970). These Churches were initially regarded with great disdain by those who ridiculed them by calling them "Schismatic Movements" and regarding them as syncretistic, and therefore, impure Churches (Turner, 1970). The colonial administrators also looked at them with great suspicion and perceived them as threat to their colonial agenda, especially as these Churches engineered mass revivals in many parts of colonial Nigeria. In some cases, the leaders of these Churches, such as Garrick Sokari Braide and Joseph Babalola were arrested and imprisoned by the colonial authority (Isichei, 1995). The leadership of the mission Churches also disregarded them with ridiculous names such "white garment Churches", or "Mushroom Churches" (Enang, 2000).

The spread of the Nigerian Independent Churches has been phenomenal not only in Nigeria where they constitute more than 10% of the Christian population but in Europe and North America where they are attractive to a large segment of disaporan Africans (Kalu, 2005, Harris,

2006). As Nigerian migrant to distant locations in search of work, education and better life, they carry their religious traditions with them. But as they face forms of life crisis generated by modernity and its anxieties, these indigenous forms of Churches become more appealing to many Nigerians whether in Nigeria or in Europe (Harris, 2006). This however, shows that Nigerian indigenous movements represent attempts at Nigerianise Churches, to make it relevant to the cultural needs to the Nigerian people. They were part of incipient efforts to decolonize the continent from external religious, social and cultural influences.

3.3 Nigerian Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism represents the fast expanding sector of Churches in Nigeria. It emerged through many pathways and in different forms. Three district stands are noticeable, namely: classical/mission Pentecostal Churches, Indigenous/Independent Pentecostal Churches and New Pentecostals/Charismatic Churches/Ministries (Anderson, 2002).

Classical Pentecostalism

In Nigeria, classical Pentecostalism made its first appearance in 1930-1931, when the leaders of the Aladura revival made contact with the Apostolic Church, a "British Pentecostal Body" to provide guidance (Peel 2000). This was the first external encounter between indigenous religious groups and foreign Pentecostal Church. Other foreign Pentecostal missions that soon came to Nigeria include: the Assemblies of God, which came in 1939 at the instance of an indigenous Church in eastern Nigeria; the Four Square Church was established in 1941, followed soon after by the Apostolic Faith Church (Harris, 2006). The activity of Karrick Braide, which started within the Anglican Church also, had all the hallmarks of Pentecostalism such as faith healing, prophecy, exorcism, speaking in tongues, spontaneous prayer, exuberant liturgical expression, stress on dreams and visions (Ojo, 1996).

In South Africa, Pentecostalism made its debut in 1908, soon after the 1906 Azusa street event (Anderson, 2000). Three of the largest classical Pentecostal Churches are: the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM), established through the direct missionary activities of Azusa street missionaries; the South African Assemblies of God, and the Full Gospel Church of God

(Akinsanya, 2000). While classical Pentecostal Churches in Nigeria are not North American impositions on Nigerians, but products of North American experiences and missionary impulse.

Indigenous Pentecostalism

Indigenous or independent Pentecostal Churches refers to those Pentecostal Churches established by the Nigerians between 1920s and 1960s without any relationship with mission Pentecostal Churches (Anderson, 2005). These Churches, though did not achieve social visibility, were significant in appropriating the Christian message in a distinctive way that attempts to provide locally meaningful answers to local questions and problems based on the perspective of the Bible as they understood it. Thus, the Christ Apostolic Church was established in 1940 as a fusion between the Aladura revival of the 1930s, and the British Apostolic Church (Olukayode, 2000).

The Apostolic Faith mission in Nigeria was established by Timothy Gbadebo Oshokoya, an Evangelist from CAC, in 1944 and the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), a Nigerian Church founded in 1952 as an Aladura Movement, soon became Pentecostalised through appropriating the prevailing Pentecostal spirit of the time (Peel, 2000). It went into affiliation with the South African Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) in 1956 through to 1960. Today, this Church is at the forefront of Pentecostal expansion in Africa (Asonzeh, 2006).

New Pentecostalism

New Pentecostal Churches refers to the group of new Churches which emerged since the 1970s in Nigeria. Most Nigerians, this period is marked by increased insertion into liberal marked ideology and globalization processes characterized by rapid travels and mass communication. Anderson (2000) posits that this new form of Christianity is fast becoming one of the most important expressions of Churches on the African continent, especially in African's cities. In Nigeria, for example, this was a period characterized by post-civil war deprivations and increased spiritual quest for salvation and solutions to the social problems. The expansion of education also provided an important infrastructure which facilitated the emergence of an educated elite eager to appropriate the goods of modernity. These and other factors fuelled the

quest for spiritual solution to people's questions. Consequently, a new class of religious elite with university education and strong appetite for foreign ideas and taste emerged, bearing a new religious message.

The new Pentecostalism espouses doctrines that mark them out among other groups of Christians. They believe that they constitute a special people of God, who alone are saved and the rest of humanity is doom to perdition. Theologically, a person is saved who is "born again" and is regenerated or sanctified by an inward feeling of holiness. Sanctification purifies a believer from sin and all forms of pollution. One of the most important doctrines of new Pentecostalism is their teaching on baptism of the Holy Spirit and external manifestation of speaking in tongues. This new gospel message which promises individuals a comprehensive solution to all their worries, on condition that they become born again, and given generously to the religious leaders in exchange for material and spiritual blessings in the form of healing, wealth, abundant life, success and earthly promotion, is known by a variety of names. These include: prosperity Churches, health and wealth Gospel, the Faith movement, Name-it-and claim it, among others.

New Churches were founded by individuals in the late 1970s and 1980s. They consolidated in the turbulent 1990 and are now witnessing a runaway expansion as they are opening branches in many different countries of the world. Thus, in Johannesburg alone, there are over hundred Nigerian founded new Pentecostal Churches existing in March, 2007 (Laurent, Andre and Rene. In these and other African countries, a new form of Churches has flowered, rapidly changing the social, religious, economic and political landscape. There are certain important social characteristics of the new Churches, espousing the theology of prosperity and abundance which has been widely regarded by scholars as an "American export".

Many of the founders of these Churches claim divine authorization for establishing an economic empire than a religious organization. They unabashedly look to principal preachers and televangelist in North America as their mentors, coping what they think to be responsible of the "success" of these American god/fathers. They attempt to understand the new religious landscape of Africa without critically assessing the influence of American preachers and the roots of the message they propagate to Africa is impossible. Gifford is unequivocal about the American roots of prosperity message in African even as Ojo insists the prosperity gospel has an African roots.

Ojo is not correct in this respect because many African proponents of prosperity gospel such as Oyedepo of Winner's Chapel, Idahosa, and E.A Adebayo of the RCCG clearly state their indebtedness to their American mentors. Although indigenous religions in Nigeria are inherently materialistic, that is, their adherents seek material benefits from the worship of the gods, the prosperity gospel as preached and practiced by its principal African exponents does not spring from this feature of indigenous Nigerian cosmology. What accounts for the appeal of the prosperity doctrine is the cultural resonance which indigenous ideas offer, and this certainly does not account for its origin.

Characteristic Features of Nigerian Churches

The basic features of Nigerian Churches are the unhittable "American Heritage" of the prosperity message and the emphasis on faith healing and deliverance. In Nigerian cultural worldview, religion and healing are inextricably linked. An important function of religion is therefore, to bring restoration in the face of brokenness to man's body, established relationships between different religions of the world, and to create social and spiritual networks in the society. Healing is not restricted to diseases alone but to other situations of morbidity or disability-physical, material, financial or spiritual. It is conceived as a comprehensive restoration of a believer to superabundant health or statue accruing to him or her as a result of what Jesus Christ has wrought on the cross. The ministers of new Pentecostals Churches believes that they have been endowed by God to bring physical healing and deliverance to their followers as a proof of the validity of their preaching as maintains by Oyakhilome, one of Nigerian foremost Pentecostal faith healers thus:

> I have a message that certainly heals people. You cannot hear that message and remain sick, poor or dejected. It would bring you hope and life…of a necessity; there will be healing and miracles. Miracles of healing are like your credentials. If you preach Jesus Christ and he sent you, he will back up your claims.

While some of these Churches claim to heal all diseases without exception, others make a claim to a particular set of diseases. Christ Embassy, for example, claims to heal all diseases, including economic and financial failures, which are interpreted as forms of "barrenness". The Liberty Gospel Church, another Nigerian new Church founded by Helen Ukpabio, a confessed former witch, specializes in delivering people who are under the possession of witchcraft spirit. The Laughter Foundation, a Church in Lagos, claims only to provide barren women with what is calls "fruits of the womb", T.B Joshua's Synagogue Church of all Nations heals only those suffering from HIV/AIDS, Mountain of Fire and Miracles specializes in casting out demons of all specifications. Because of the proliferation of new Churches, competition among them is life and each thus makes efforts to carve out a niche that it will serve through a well-defined or streamlined set of product.

Wendl posits that healing and deliverance Churches form a special strand of Pentecostalism that has endeared itself to a large segment of the African population. These features of Pentecostalism Churches partly account for "widespread conversion to Pentecostalism. The third feature of new Churches is their firm-like structural organization. As a carryover of the American influence, these Churches are organized as firms or commercial enterprises engaged in the production, distribution and pricing of religious and non-religious commodities with primary motives of making satisfactory profit and maintaining a market share. They are founded and owned by one person who claims a special divine authorization with a specific mandate with global ramification. He is a "bank of grace", a repository of Charismata, and a special bridge between his followers and God. He controls both Charisma and cash; even though there is a Board of Trustees (BOTs) appointed by the founder and registered with the appropriate government agency.

As the chairman of the Board of Trustees (BOTs), the control of the founder doubles as president and chief executive officer (CEO). He is an oracular instrument and initiator of doctrines and orientation. He alone holds a special privilege of interpreting the will of God to his followers. In Nigeria, the three wealthiest religious organizations are Pentecostal mega Churches: the Christ Embassy owned by Chris Oyakhilome, Winner's Chapel of Ayodepo and the RCCG of Enoch Adeboye. The fourth feature of these Churches is that the role of women in the new Churches is both interesting and intriguing. It is nothing close to what obtains in the mission Churches although it is closer to how women functioned in the Nigerian indigenous

Churches. In the new Churches, women receive a great deal of visibility. They are integrated in the decision making processes and exercise a certain degree of power and authority. Some Church founders are women and there are cases those wives of deceased Church founder and owners have successes their late husbands.

The spouses of Church founders are usually the second-in-command in the hierarchy of power and authority. Knowing the power of women to attract men into religious organizations, some Churches exploit this in giving women into the fold. Pastor's wives also serve another purpose in the Church; they protect the family's estate and control most financial dealings in the Church. There are now Churches with "Department of family affairs", which cater to the needs of family members, particularly women. Related to the firm structure is another feature which reveals their economic character. Their leaders are media savvy individuals who, with the university education background, have introduced commercial practices into their organization and in the production of religion and other goods.

It is now a common feature, particularly among the mega-Churches, but also medium-sized Pentecostal groups, that they produce a huge array of videos, magazines, CDs, DVDs, books, booklets, and pamphlets, stickers, key holders and other religious memorabilia (handkerchief, Olive oil). The sixth social feature of the new Churches is the increasing use of marketing strategies, particularly advertising. Religious advertising, which constitute a specific form of religious communication, has increased since the emergence of the new Churches in the late 1970s. Different methods of advertisement are used, the most popular of which is the poster and hand bills, bill boards, branded vest, caps, pens, among others. Some mega-Churches own television and radio broadcasting stations. Others place advertisement on these electronic media as well as in print media of newspapers and magazines.

Pentecostal advertisement serves multiple functions of creating and managing positive social visibility and image for Church owners as well as creating public awareness for Church events. They also create product differentiation and shorten the searching time for religious seekers. The seventh feature of Nigerian New Pentecostalism is the tendency to reconstruct religious geography through the construction of religious camps. In Nigeria and Ghana, these Churches buy up large expenses of land and construct s large facilities such as schools, auditoriums, guesthouses, banks, gas station, hospitals, dormitories and presidential villas, for VIP guests such as politicians.

These camps, which often constitute an "alternative city", provide the physical venues for commercial companies to patronize the Churches by sponsoring some of the religious programmes in exchange for marketing their products and services during the events. These camps are a veritable structure of Pentecostal sub-politics, attempting by Pentecostal ministers and their followers to influence the dynamics of national politicking and to achieve mutually beneficial ends for both pastors and politicians.

3.4 Reasons for the Presence and Expansion of Nigerian Churches

There are valances of reasons responsible for the presence and expansion of Nigerian Churches. These include:

Distinctive Doctrines

The doctrines of a religion are very important factor in attracting people, and those of Nigerian Churches have undoubtedly been so attractive for large numbers of people. Nigerian Churches, particularly new Pentecostalism believes its doctrines are not new but a commitment to the full gospel, that is to say, they are re-emphasizing the old doctrines as found in the Bible. Akoko outlines the old doctrines as:

(i)   The Biblical emphasis on salvation and justification by faith
(ii)   The doctrine of the second coming of Christ
(iii)   The stress on divine healing
(iv)   The doctrine of the Holy Spirit that empowers a Christian to live victoriously and to witness effectively and whose gifts enable a believer to perform the supernatural.

These Churches believe strongly in the baptism of the Holy Spirit that occurred on the day of Pentecost among the early disciples. They believe that the out pouring of the Holy Spirit on the disciples that made them speak in tongues on the day of Pentecost was not only for the day and only to the early disciples. However, they hold that *glosso lalia* is not the individual's final goal in his/her religious experience but rather a beginning of a new kind of Christian living that

is empowered and graced by one of the nine gifts of the spirit: discernment of error, power over satanic influences, healing and miracle-working abilities, wisdom, among other (Gifford, 1990). Nigerian Churches, particularly Pentecostals believe that physical illness should be treated through spiritual means. A good number of them prefer praying to physical ill persons, rather than taking them to the hospital. They believe every one can have this spiritual ability to treat illness.

This is accomplished by the laying on of hands on the head of the patient and praying. This faith healing doctrine provides a strong solution to the problem of ill health, thereby attracting many people. These Churches vehemently condemn the baptism of children as a public profession of faith after conversion. They are expected to be pragmatic and charismatic in their preaching and move with their Bibles ready for evangelism. They manifest holiness of life they give up smoking, alcohol, secular dancing and going to theaters, which are considered demonic. Another reason that accounts for the growth of Nigerian Churches in the whole range of economic opportunities that have been opened up by these groups during this period of economic crisis affecting Sub-Saharan Africa.

These Churches need a team of pastors and other workers to work in their establishments. Many unemployed people have enrolled in Pentecostal Bible Colleges, not because of the pastoral call to serve but to earn a living. Some of the Churches have enormous projects and establishments such as schools, hospitals and banks. Employment opportunities are offered only to members of the Church and, as such, many people have joined in order to be employed. Given all of such conditions that have paved the way for African Christianities to flourish, the rate is much higher than expected but several problems have been acting as barriers to its growth.

3.5 Challenges Confronting the Growth of Nigerian Churches

There are many challenges confronting Nigerian Churches. These challenges include: First, the mainline Churches, older Pentecostal groups and other religious bodies have in protection of their own interests prevented or discouraged the entry of new religious bodies into their stronghold because they very much understand the consequences of such innovations on their own membership. Thus, if a new group does succeed in entering, everything is done to frustrate its activities or block the members of pre-existing Churches from crossing over. Second,

financial difficulty has also been of the reasons hindering the growth of the faith. A good number of the converts are from the lower social class and with low financial status, and as such they contribute only small sums of money that can be used in the running of the Church and evangelization.

Third, internal wrangling with some Nigerian Christian Churches and the blocking of the entry of new ones by the already existing ones is a serious problem hindering the growth of the faith. Fourth, governments or institutions have sometimes banned the activities of the Churches in the name of peace. Fifth, the attitude and beliefs of some non-Pentecostals towards the Pentecostals is so disturbing that some people would not feel comfortable associating with the faith. Thus, it is gradually believed (rightly or wrongly) that only frustrated people join the faith. Some call them "social misfits" because of their bars, whatever their popularity with other people. Some people capitalize on the questionable behaviour of some of the Nigerian Churches, particularly Pentecostals as a reason for not joining.

Sixth, mainline doctrinal conservatism has been another of the factors hindering the successful implantation of Nigerian Churches, especially in the rural areas, and extending into realm of marriage. Parents have prevented their children from getting married to partners from other Churches because it would entail changing faith. In a bid to stop the further defection of members to the new Pentecostal Churches, the mainline Churches have introduced liturgical changes and incorporated some Pentecostal beliefs and practices into their worship. Singing accompanied by clapping and dancing is a good example of a practice little used earlier by the mainline Churches, but it has been incorporated in their own mode of worships to make them equally lively and attractive. The mainline Churches are dominated by the older generation and the leadership is monopolized by this generation in a bid to keep the young people in their place, while the new Nigerian Churches are dominated by young people, mostly, university, secondary school students, and the unemployed.

Seventh, the verdict on Nigerian Churches, especially how best Lutherans view Pentecostals until now has been a mixed one. Most Pentecostals have accepted the fact that in keeping with the motif of restoration the emergence of Pentecostalism signalled the soon return of the Lord. The earliest Pentecostals embrace this view experience as an eschatological sign that the Lord would return at any movement. From their perspective, this suggests a challenge to the

whole Church. As a result, these earliest Pentecostals emphasized the power of the Holy Spirit to enable them to live their lives of holiness while emerging in evangelism and missionary work.

Eight, the inability of some Pentecostals to embrace strictly restorationist approach makes historiography ambivalent, embracing restorationism on the one hand, but also recognizing the movement's continuity with the larger Church on the other. The restorationist perspective has dominated in the popular apologetic, and it has contributed to a second important concern. In some respects, it has contributed both to judgmental Pentecostal attitudes regarding most historic Churches, and it has provided them with an explanation for why many denominations viewed them as ranging from aberrant to demonic. Thirdly, the connection between the rejections that Pentecostals experienced at the hands of the historic Churches left many of them with unforgiving attitudes and mistrust toward these Churches. When that is placed adjacent to the Pentecostal conviction that they had been brought into existence as an eschatological sign, they began to read contemporary events in the light of the warning that they believed were meant in biblical prophecy. This opposition from other faiths as a result of religious pluralism makes it difficult for Pentecostalism to contend in the midst of African Christianities.

Finally, Christian Ethics and Church strategy are other challenges faced by Nigerian Churches. A number of the internal ambiguities of Nigerian Churches are subsumed under this heading. These include: the issue of conversion, the issue of the pitfalls inherent in the faith gospel, especially its emphasis on materialism, the issue of how to maintain their distance from the world system, which is considered corrupt, and at the same time utilize its technology to proselytize, the challenge of political participation and public involvement, the challenge of trans-nationalism, and the challenge of Christian unity (Oyedekpo, 1997). These challenges which are by no means exhaustive represent some of the core issues facing African Christianities in Sub-Saharan Africa.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Nigerian Churches is complex in its history, structure, doctrines and practices. Religion increasingly asserts itself in the multiple ways in which Nigerians engage with the world and with the management of change. The vitality and diversity of Nigerian Churches in Africa hold great promise for global Churches as a whole as already some Nigerians have engaged in what is

now characterized as "reversed mission" or the sending of missionaries from Africa to proselytize the frontiers of western societies. However, the permeation of liberal market practices and strategies into certain strands of these Christianities, especially the increasing use of business strategies, excessive recruitment of funds, display of scandalous wealth by the leaders and increase in instances of clergy malfeasance, indicate troubling future for many individuals and groups of Christians both in Nigeria and outside.

It is a result of these latter features of the latest strand of Churches that prompts many scholars to maintain that the Pentecostal charismatic Church is the only legally and politically accepted movement in world that is fully and completely based upon systematic fraud, deception and cheating. The merchandising of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ is the primary source of all the problems, enervating the spiritual life of the Church. This however, vitiates the transforming power of an otherwise socially and economically visible strong religion.

5.0 SUMMARY

The Unit has carefully examined the major political ideas and movements. We have conceived ideology as a coherent body of idea which explains and justify a preferred social order which is either existing or is envisaged. Ideology guides and directs the action of political leaders in the state. We have identified the functions and characteristics of ideology. It is evident from our analysis that ideology plays important role in any political system. We have equally examined the doctrine of liberalism, and we attempted to relate it with democracy and capitalism. Socialism and capitalism are treated distinctively, while other political movements such as fascism, Nazism, totalitarianism are captioned as dictatorial ideologies that share similar attributes.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Identify five distinguishing features of an ideology?
2. Discuss the relevance of ideology in any political system?
3. Describe briefly the major tenants of capitalism?

4. Are there any relationship between the doctrine of liberalism and democracy?

5. Critically analyse major characteristics of dictatorship.

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UNIT 6: RELIGION AND NIGERIAN SOCIETY

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Understanding the connection between religion and society is the main focus in this unit. The functional interpretation has been the dominant one. It asserts that every society has a number of necessary conditions that it must successfully meet in order to survive and one of these is the cohesion or solidarity of its members. Religion, it is asserted provides this function for society. This unit will put you through these roles of religion in our society.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

It is hoped that by the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the connectivity between religion and society
- Express how religion serve in achieving social cohesion

- Describe the role of religion in social control
- Demonstrate how religion can be used for psychotherapy
- Specify the role of religion as social support
- Explain the role of religion in social change.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Religion in Nigerian Society

How to explain or even define religion has probably yielded less scholarly agreement than almost any other matter studied. Religion is so diverse in historical development, so culturally varied that definitions developed from either our African or Western experience often fail to encompass it adequately. What comes out of these scholarly efforts, however, is the recognition that religion emerges from common experience in society and offers explanations that transcend whatever mundane, factual knowledge is available. These are explanations expressed in symbolic forms and acts which relate a people to the ultimate conditions of their existence. As human societies have evolved over long periods of time, so also have religions. Each of the world's religion, in its own distinctive way, has conferred a sacred meaning upon the circumstances of a people's existence.

Some religions, such as Christianity and Islam, have grown far beyond their social origins, now counting their believers in the hundreds of millions. Though Christianity may not claim the largest number of adherents, Christians nonetheless are not less than 40 percent of all religious believers in the world. We have no historical or archeological reason to believe that religion began full-blown. Instead, it developed slowly with the evolution of human society, and in its more primitive forms-itself an evolutionary development beyond the earliest pre-religious people – possessed no organization or special roles (no church or clergy), only a communal sharing in rituals that gave _expression to religious symbols.

As religion and society evolve, a sense of sacredness takes concrete form in objects and images that become sacred, whether these are persons, animals or natural objects, human artifacts or symbolic expressions. The sacred also becomes conveyed and expressed for the

living in ritual, where behavior gives objective form to mood and feeling. A division among the sacred and the profane eventually marks off religious from nonreligious activity.

3.2 Religion and Social Cohesion

According to the functionalist perspective, sharing the same religious interpretation of the meaning of life unites a people in a cohesive and binding moral order. This was what Emile Durkheim meant when he defined religion as:

> . . . a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them.

But these members of the moral community also share a common social life. The religious community and the society have the same members. When that occurs, religion, by providing a moral unity then provides a society with powerful social "cement" to hold it together. When the moral community of believers is identical with the social community, as is common in more traditional societies, then the symbolism of the sacred supports the more ordinary aspects of social life. Religion then legitimizes society; it provides sacred sanction for the social order and for its basic values and meanings. Furthermore, the commitment of individuals to these shared beliefs is renewed and refreshed each time the members come together to worship, when, that is, they become a congregation. Such a sense of renewal is even stronger when they come together on ceremonial occasions of great sacred meaning such as, for example Id-el fitr or Id-el kabr for Muslims, on Easter and Christmas for Christians.

But the unifying rituals of faith are also called upon by individuals on the most significant occasion for family and for the individual; at birth, at marriage, and at death. In traditional societies the religious and the nonreligious spheres of life are not sharply differentiated. But in modern, industrial societies, religion and society are not the same. The emergence of different modes of life experience leads to different meanings about life, producing a religious differentiation. The all –encompassing church gives way to competing religious group. Religion may still provide cohesion, but now only for subgroups of society.

3.3 Religion and Social Control

Liberation theology is a relatively recent phenomenon and marks a break with the traditional role of churches. It was this role that Karl Marx opposed. In his view, religion impeded social change by encouraging oppressed people to focus on other-worldly concerns rather than on their immediate poverty or exploitation. Marx acknowledged that religion plays an important role in propping up the existing social structure. According to Marx, religion reinforces the interests of those in power, grants a certain religious legitimacy to social inequality, and contemporary Christianity, like the Hindu faith, reinforces traditional patterns of behaviour that call for the subordination of the powerless. The role of women in the church and in Islam is another example of uneven distribution of power.

Assumptions about gender roles leave women in a subservient position both within Christian churches in Islam and at home. In fact, women find it as difficult to achieve leadership positions in many churches as they do in large corporations. Like Marx, conflict theorists argue that to whatever extent religion actually does influence social behaviour; it reinforces existing patterns of dominance and inequality. From a Marxist perspective, religion functions as an "agent of de-politicization". In simpler terms religion keeps people from seeing their lives and societal conditions in political terms- for example, by obscuring the overriding significance of conflicting economic interests. Marxists suggest that by inducing a "consciousness among the disadvantaged, religion lessens the possibility of collective political action that can end capitalist oppression and transform society".

3.4 Religion and Social Support

Most of us find it difficult to accept the stressful events of life- death of a loved one, serious injury, bankruptcy, divorce, and so forth. This is especially true when something "senseless" happens. How can family and friends come to terms with the death of talented college student, not even 20 years old, from a terminal disease? Through its emphasis on the divine and the supernatural, religion allows us to "do something" about the calamities we face. In some faiths, adherents can offer sacrifices or pray to a deity in the belief that such acts will change their earthly condition. At a more basic level, religion encourages us to view our personal

misfortunes as relatively unimportant in the broader perspective of human history or even as part of undisclosed divine purpose.

Friends and relatives of the deceased college student may see this death as being "God's will" and as having some ultimate benefit that we cannot understand. This perspective may be much more comforting than the terrifying feeling that any of us can die senselessly at any moment- and that there is no divine "answer" as to why one person lives a long and full life, while another dies tragically at a relatively early age. Faith-based community organizations have taken on more and more responsibilities in the area of social assistance. In fact, as part of an effort to cut back on government funded welfare programmes, government leaders have advocated shifting the social "safety net" to private organizations in general and to churches and religious charities in particular.

3.5 Religion and Social Change

Many religious activists, epicyclically in Latin America, support liberation theology, which refers to use of a church in a political effort to eliminate poverty, discrimination, and other forms of injustice evident in secular society. Advocates of this religious movement sometimes display sympathy for Marxism. Many believe that radical liberation, rather than economic development in itself, is the only acceptable solution to the desperation of the masses in impoverished developing countries. Indeed, the deteriorating social conditions of the last two decades have nurtured this ideology of change. A significant portion of worshippers are unaffected by this radical mood, but religious leaders are well aware of liberation theology. The official position of Pope John Paul II and others in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church is that clergy should adhere to traditional pastoral duties and keep a distance from radical politics.

However, activists associated with liberation theology believe that organized religion has a moral responsibility to take a strong public stand against the oppression of the poor, racial and ethnic minorities, and women. The term liberation theology has a recent origin, dating back to the 1973 publication of the English translation of A Theology of Liberation. This book is written by a Peruvian priest, Gustavo Gutierrez, who lived in a slum area of Lima during the early 1960s. After years of exposure to the vast poverty around him, Gutierrez concluded: "The poverty was a destructive thing, something to be fought against and destroyed…. It became

crystal clear that in order to serve the poor, one had to move into political action". Gutierrez's discoveries took place during a time of increasing radicalization among Latin American intellectuals and students. An important element in their radicalization was the theory of dependencia, developed by Brazilian and Chilean social scientists.

According to this theory, the reason for Latin America's continued underdevelopment was its dependence on industrialized nations (first Spain, then Great Britain, and, most recently, the United States). A related approach shared by most social scientists in Latin America was a Marxist- influenced class analysis that viewed the domination of capitalism and multinational corporations as central to be problems of the hemisphere. As these perspectives became more influential, a social network emerged among politically committed Latin American theologians who shared experiences and insights. One result was a new approach to theology, which rejected the models developed in Europe and the United State and instead built on the cultural and religious traditions of Latin America.

In the 1970s, many advocates of liberation theology expressed strong Marxist views and saw revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism as essential to ending the suffering of Latin America's poor. More recently, liberation theology seems to have moved away from orthodox Marxism and endorsement of armed struggle. As an example, Gutierrez (1990:214, 222) has written that one does not need to accept Marxism as an "all-embracing view of life and thus exclude the Christian faith and its requirements". Gutierrez adds that the proper concerns of a theology of liberation are not simply the world's "exploited against," "despised cultures," and the "condition of women, especially in those sectors of society where women are doubly oppressed and marginalized".

3.6 Religions and Psychotherapy

In Africa, particularly in Nigeria there is another way in which religion sustains people; it becomes a supporting psychology, a form of psychotherapy. Religion is viewed in upbeat terms, and God is conceived of as a humane and considerate God; such a hopeful perspective turns away from the older Christian conception of a stern and demanding God.

Psychologizing Religion

This "psychologizing" of religion has created an "Americanized religion" (as sociologists Louis Schneider and Sanford M. Dombusch have called it) for which someone like Norman Vincent Peal, a prominent Protestant clergyman, with his " power of positive thinking" serves as a typical example. It provides peace of mind, promises prosperity and successes in life, as well as effective and happy human relations. It is thus a source of security and confidence, of happiness and success in this world. But it does not stop there; Pastoral counseling- for which clergymen get psychological training- is apparently a more significant function of American clergy than it is European or African clergy. According to one careful observer:

> The more routine but flourishing engagement of religion in the affairs of a very large proportion of Americans consist in their submitting hurts and hopes to the care and help of pastors. Gauged by both consumer demand and by clergymen's self-emulation, the chief business of religion in the United States is now- as it has probably long been-the cure of souls.

The religious practitioner has now moved into a relevant place in the mental health field as a helping professional. Consequently, pastoral counseling has become so much a specialty that a national organization – the American Association of Pastoral Counselors- has been formed, to set professional standards, regulate practice, and certify practitioners.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The connectivity between religion and society became evident when the functional interpretation of religion by scholars became dominant. You must have through this study understood that religion plays vital role in social cohesion, social control, social change and social support and even as psychotherapy in many societies.

5.0 SUMMARY

Religion gives expression to the sense of sacredness in human life; a division between the sacred and the profane marks off religious from nonreligious activity. A functional interpretation of religion stresses how sharing in religious beliefs creates moral cohesion and thus makes society morally legitimate. But religion also provides a mechanism for social control and a source of psychic and emotional support for individuals.

6.0 TUTOR- MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Give a scholarly definition to the term social cohesion
2. What role has religion played in the achievement of cohesion in Nigeria?
3. What is social control?
4. In what ways has religion been used as a tool for social control?
5. Explain how religion evolved in human society?
6. Explain social support. How has religion influenced the social support system in your community?
7. What social change has religion introduced into the Nigerian society?
8. Discuss the role of religion as psychotherapy in the Nigerian society.

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UNIT 7: THEORIES ON FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION IN NIGERIAN SOCIETY

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit will focus on theories on the function of religion in society as postulated by some prominent sociologist. It will begin with a brief overview of the approaches of the sociologist. Emile Durkheim introduced the first approach while other sociologists used other approaches in studying religion. Particular attention will be given to the insights of Karl Marx and Max Weber.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of a thorough study of this unit you should be able to:

- Explain the position of Emile Durkheim on the role of religion in society.
- Express the stand of Max Weber on the role religion could play in a society.
- Identify the position of Karl Marx on the function of religion in society.
- Compare the sociological positions of each scholar.

- Explain the integrative function of religion.

3.0 MAIN CONTENTS

3.1 Overview of Functions of Religion

Sociologists are interested in the social impact of religion on individuals and institutions. Consequently, if a group believes that it is being directed by a "vision from God," a sociologist will not attempt to prove or disprove this "revelation." Instead, he or she will assess the effects of the religious experience on the group. Since religion is a cultural universal, it is not surprising that it plays a basic role in human societies. In sociological terms, these include both manifest and latent functions. Among its manifest (open and stated) functions, religion defines the spiritual world and gives meaning to the divine. Religion provides an explanation for events that seem difficult to understand, such as our relationship to what lies beyond the grave. The latent functions of religion are unintended, covert, or bidden.

Even though the manifest function of church services is to offer a forum for religious worship, they might at the same time fulfill a latent function as a meeting ground for unmarried members. Functionalists and conflict theorists both evaluate religion's impact as a social institution on human societies. We will consider a functionalist view of religion's role in integrating society, in social support, and in promoting social change, and then look at religion as a means of social control from the conflict perspective. Note that, for the most part, religion's impact is best understood from a macro-level viewpoint, oriented toward the larger society. The social support function is an exception: it is best viewed on the micro level, directed toward the individual.

3.2 Durkheimian Theory

Emile Durkheim was perhaps the first sociologist to recognize the critical importance of religion in human societies. He saw its appeal for the individual, but – more important- he stressed the social impact of religion. In Durkheim's view, religion is a collective act and includes many forms of behavior in which people interact with others. As in his work on suicide,

Durkheim was not so interested in the personalities of religious believers as he was in understanding religious behavior within a social context. Durkheim initiated sociological analysis of religion by defining religion as a "unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things".

In his formulation, religion involves a set of beliefs and practices that are uniquely the property of religion- as opposed to other social institutions and ways of thinking. Durkheim argued that religious faiths distinguish between the everyday world and certain events that transcend the ordinary. He referred to these realms as the sacred and the profane. The sacred encompasses elements beyond everyday life which inspire awe, respect, and even fear. People become a part of the sacred realm only by completing some ritual, such as prayer or sacrifice. Believers have faith in the sacred; this faith allows them to accept what they cannot understand. By contrast, the profane includes the ordinary and commonplace.

Interestingly, the same object can be either sacred or profane depending on how it is viewed. A normal dining room table is profane, but it becomes sacred to Christians if it bears the elements of a communion. For Confucians and Taoists, incense sticks are not mere decorative items; they are highly valued offerings to the gods in religious ceremonies marking new and full moons; following the direction established by Durkheim almost a century ago, contemporary sociologist view religious in two different ways. The norms and values of religious faiths can be studied through examination of their substantive religious beliefs, example, we can compare the degree to which Christian faiths literally interpret the Bible, or Muslim groups follow the Qur'an (or Koran), the sacred book of Islam. At the same time, religions can be examined in terms of the social functions they fulfill, such as providing social support or reinforcing the social norms. By exploring both the beliefs and the functions of religious, we can better understand its impact on the individual, on groups, and on society as a whole.

3.3 The Weberian Theory

For Karl Marx, the relationship between religion and social change was clear: religion impeded change by encouraging oppressed people to focus on other worldly concerns rather than on their immediate poverty or exploitation. However, Max Weber was unconvinced by Marx's argument and carefully examined the connection between religious allegiance and capitalist

development. His findings appeared in his pioneering work, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, first published in 1904. Weber noted that in European nations with Protestant and Catholic citizens, an overwhelming number of business leaders, owners of capital, and skilled workers were protestant.

In his view, this was no mere coincidence. Weber pointed out that the followers of John Calvin (1509-1564), a leader of the Protestant Reformation, emphasized a disciplined work ethic, this-worldly concern, and rational orientation to life that have become known as the protestant ethic. One by-product of the protestant ethic was a drive to accumulate savings that could be used for future investment. This spirit of capitalism, to use Weber's phrase, contrasted with "the moderate work hours", "leisurely work habits", and lack of ambition that he saw as typical of the times. Few books on the sociology of religion have aroused as much commentary and criticism as the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. It has been hailed as one of the most important theoretical works in the field and as an excellent example of macro-level analysis.

Like Durkheim, Weber demonstrated that religion is not solely a matter of intimate personal beliefs. He stressed that the collective nature of religion has social consequences for society as a whole. Conflict theorists caution that Weber's theory even if it is accepted- should not be regarded as an analysis of mature capitalism as reflected in the rise of large corporations, which transcend national boundaries. The primary disagreement between Kari Marx and Max Weber concerned not the origins of capitalism, but rather its future. Unlike Marx, Weber believed that capitalism could endure indefinitely as an economic system. He added, however, that the decline of religion as an overriding force in society opened the way for workers to express their discontent more vocally.

We can conclude that, although Weber provides a convincing description of the origins of European capitalism, this economic system has subsequently been adopted by non-Calvinists in many parts of the world. Contemporary studies in the United States show little or no difference in achievement orientation between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Apparently, the "spirit of capitalism" has become a generalized cultural trait rather than a specific religious tenet.

3.4 The Marxist Critique

Karl Marx described religion as an "opiate" particularly harmful to oppressed peoples. In his view religion often drugged the masses into submission by offering a consolation for their harsh live on earth: the hope of salvation in an ideal after life. For example, during the period of slavery in the United States during the period of slavery in the united state, white masters forbade blacks to practice native African religion, while encouraging them to adopt the Christian religion. Through Christianity slaves were prodded to obey their masters; they were told that obedience would lead to salvation and eternal happiness in the hereafter. Viewed from a conflict perspective, Christianity may have pacified certain slaves and blunted the rage that often fuel rebellion. Marx acknowledged that religion plays an important role in legitimating the existing social structure.

The values of religion, as already noted, reinforce other social institution and the social order as a whole. From Marx perspectives, religion promotes stability within society and therefore helps to perpetuate patterns of social inequality. In a society with several religious faiths, the dominant religion will represent the ruling economic and political class. Marx concurred with Durkheim's emphasis on the collective and socially shared nature of religious behavior. At the same time, he was concerned that religion would reinforce social control within an oppressive society. Marx argued that religion's focus on otherworldly concerns diverted attention from earth problems and from needless suffering created by unequal distribution of valued resources. Religion reinforces the interests of those in power.

For example, India's traditional caste system defined the social structure of that society, at least among the Hindu majority. The caste system was almost certainly the creation of the priesthood, but it also served the interests of India's political rulers by granting a certain religious intimacy to social inequality. In the view of Karl Marx and later conflict theorists, religion is not necessarily a beneficial or admirable force for social control. For example, contemporary Christianity, like the Hindu faith, reinforces traditional patterns of behavior that call for the subordination of the powerless. Assumptions about gender roles to leave women in the subservient position both within Christian churches and at home are usually upheld in the church. In fact, women find it as difficult to achieve leadership position in many churches as they do in large corporations.

In 1993, 89 percent of all clergy in the united state were males compare to 99 percent in 1983. While women play a significant role as volunteers in community churches men continue to make the major theological and financial judgment for nationwide church organization. Conflict theorists argue that to whatever extent religion actually does influence social behaviors. It however reinforces existing patterns of dominance and inequality. From a Marxist perspective, religion function as an "agent of de-politicizing" In simpler terms, religion keeps people from seeing their lives and societal condition in political terms –for example by obscuring the overriding significance of conflicting economic interest Marxists suggest that by inducing a "false consciousness" among the disadvantaged religion lessens the possibility of collective political action that can end capitalist oppression and transform society. It should be noted, however, that religious leaders have sometimes been in the forefront of movements for social change.

During the 1960s, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. supported be numerous ministers, priests, and rabbis, fought for civil rights for Blacks. In the 1980s, the sanctuary movement of loosely connected organizations began offering asylum, often in churches, to those who seek refugee status but are regarded by the Immigration and Naturalization Service as illegal aliens. By giving shelter in homes, offices, or places of worship to those refused asylum, participants in the sanctuary movement are violating the law and become subject to stiff fines and jail sentences. Nevertheless, movement activities (including many members of the clergy) believe that such humanitarian assistance is fully justified. The efforts of religious groups to promote social change are noticed all over the world today.

3.5 The Integrative Function of Religion

Emile Durkheim viewed religion as an integrative power in human society a perspective reflected in functionalist thought today. Durkheim sought to answer a perplexing question: "How can human societies be held together when they are generally composed of individuals and social groups with diverse interests and aspirations." In his view, religious bonds often transcend these personal and divisive forces. Durkheim acknowledges that religion is not the only integrative force- nationalism or patriotism may serve the same end. Why should religion provide this "societal glue"? Religion, whether it is Buddhism, Christianity, or Judaism, offers people

meaning and purpose for their lives. It gives them certain ultimate values and ends to hold in common.

Although subjective and not always fully accepted, these values and ends help a society to function as integrated social system. For example, the Christian ritual of communion not only celebrates a historical event in the life of Jesus (the last supper) but also represents collective participation in a ceremony with sacred social significance. Similarly, funerals, weddings, bar and bar mitzvahs and confirmations serve to integrate people into large communities by providing shared beliefs and values about the ultimate question of life. Although the integrative impact of religion has been emphasized here, it should be noted that religion is not the dominant force maintaining social cohesion in contemporary industrial societies. People are also bound together by patterns of consumption, laws, nationalistic feelings, and other forces. Moreover, in some instances religious loyalties are dysfunctional; they contribute to tension and even conflict between groups or nations.

During the Second World War, the Nazis attempted to exterminate the Jewish people, and approximately 6 million European Jews were killed. In modern times, nations such as Lebanon (Muslims versus Christians), Northern Ireland (Roman Catholics versus Protestants), and India (Hindus versus Muslims and, more recently, Sikhs) have been torn by clashes that are in part based on religion. In the 1990s, the bloody conflict in the former Yugoslavia has been exacerbated by related religious and ethnic tensions. Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro are dominated by the Orthodox Church, and Croatia and Slovenia by the Catholic Church; the embattled republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has a 40 percent Islamic plurality. In many of these areas, the dominant political party is tied into the most influential church. Religious conflict has been increasingly evident in the Sudan and in Nigeria as well as exemplified in the clashes in Northern Nigeria between Christians and Muslims.

4.0 CONCLUSION

We have taken time to study the critical and scholarly position of some sociologist on the role of religion in the society in this unit. The position of Durkheim who was the first to approach religion from the functional perspective was highlighted. Other scholars whose critical work were studied include Karl Marx and Max Weber.

5.0 SUMMARY

Religion is found throughout the world because it offers answers to such ultimate questions as why we exist, why we succeed or fail, and why we die. Emile Durkheim stressed the social aspect of religion and attempted to understand individual religious behaviour within the context of the larger society. From a Marxist point of view, religion lessens the possibility of collective political action that can end capitalist oppression and transform society. Max Weber held that Calvinism (and, to lesser extent, other branches of Protestantism) produced a type of person more likely to engage in capitalistic behaviour.

6.0 TUTOR- MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. Explain manifest and latent function of religion
2. What is the Durkheimian position on the place of religion in society?
3. Give an account of the Marxist ideology in relation to the role of religion in society.
4. Distinguish between latent and manifest function of religion.
5. Compare and contrast Weber and Marx opinion of the role of religion in social change.
6. Define integration. In what way has religion performed integrative function in Nigeria?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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MODULE 2: RELIGION AND MODERNITY

UNIT 1: FORMS OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The collective nature of religion has led to many forms of religious association. In modern societies, religion has become increasingly formalized. Specific structures such as churches, mosques and synagogues are constructed for religious worship; individuals are trained for

occupational roles within various fields. These developments make it possible to distinguish between the sacred and secular parts of one's life- a distinction that could not be made in earlier societies in which religion was largely a family activity carried out in the home. Sociologists find it useful to distinguish between four basic forms of organization: the ecclesia, the denomination, the sect, and the cult. As is the case with other typologies used by social scientists, this system of classification can help us to appreciate the variety of organizational forms found among religious faiths. Distinctions are made between these types of organizations on the basis of such factors as size, power, degree of commitment expected from members, and historical ties to other faiths.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At is hoped that at the end of this study unit, you should be able to:

- Define ecclesiae
- Explain denomination and their forms
- Differentiate between the sects
- Explain what cult is and the types
- Compare the different forms of religious organization

3.0 MAIN CONTENTS

3.1 Ecclesia

An ecclesia (plural, ecclesiae) is a religious organization that claims to include most or all of the members of a society and is recognized as the national or official religion. Since virtually everyone belongs to the faith, membership is by birth rather than conscious decision. Examples of ecclesiae include the Lutheran church in Sweden, the Catholic Church in Spain, Islam in Saudi Arabia, and Buddhism in Thailand. However, there can be significant differences even within the category of ecclesia. In Saudi Arabia's Islamic regime, leaders of the ecclesia hold vast power over actions of the state. By contrast, the Lutheran church in contemporary Sweden has no such power over the Riksdag (parliament) or the prime minister. Generally, ecclesiae are

conservative in that they do not challenge the leaders or polices of a secular government. In a society with an ecclesia, the political and religious institutions often act in harmony and mutually reinforce each other's power over their relative spheres of influence. Within the modern world, ecclesiae tend to be declining in power.

3.2 Denominations

A denomination is a large, organized religion that is not officially linked with the state or government. Like an ecclesia, it tends to have an explicit set of beliefs, a defined system of authority, and a generally respected position in society. Denominations count among their members large segments of a population. Generally, children accept the denomination of their parents and give little thought to membership in other faiths. Denominations also resemble ecclesiae in that few demands are made on members. However, there is a critical difference between these two forms of religious organization. Although the denomination is considered respectable and is not viewed as a challenge to the secular government, it lacks the official recognition and power held by an ecclesia. No nation of the world has more denominations than the United States. In good measures it is a result of the nation's immigrant heritage. Many settlers in the "new world" brought with them the religious commitments native to their homelands.

Denominations of Christianity found in the United States, such as those of the Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, and Lutherans, were the outgrowth of ecclesiae established in Europe. In addition, new Christian denominations emerged, including new Mormons and Christian Scientist. Although by far the largest single denomination in the United States is Roman Catholicism, at least 20 other Christian faiths have 1 million or more members. Protestants collectively accounted for about 56 percent of the nation's adult population in 1993, compared with 26 percent for Roman Catholics and almost 3 percent for Jews. There are also 5 million Muslims in United States while a smaller number of people adhere to such eastern faiths as Hinduism, Confucianism, and Taosim.

3.3 Sects

In contrast to the denomination is the sect, which Max Weber termed a "believer's church", because affiliation is based on conscious acceptance of a specific religious dogma. A sect can be defined as a relatively small religious group that has broken away from some other religious organization to renew what it views as the original vision of the faith. Sects are fundamentally at odds with society and do not seek to become established national religions. Unlike ecclesiae, sects require intensive commitments and demonstrations of belief by members. Partly owing to their "outsider" status in society, sects frequently exhibit a higher degree of religious fervor and loyalty than more established religious groups do.

Recruitment is focused mainly on adults; as a result, acceptance comes through conversion. Among current-day sects in the United States and other countries are movements within the Roman Catholic Church that favor a return to use of Latin in the mass. Sects are often short-lived; however, if able to survive, they may become less antagonistic to society and begin to resemble denominations. In a few instances, sects have been able to endure over several generations while remaining fairly separate from society. Sociologist Milton Yinger uses the term established sect to describe a religious group that is the outgrowth of a sect, yet remains isolated from society. The Hutterites, Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh-Day Adventists, and Amish are contemporary examples of established sects in the United States.

3.4 Cults

The cult accepts the legitimacy of other religious groups. Like the denomination, the cult does not lay claim to the truth, but unlike the denomination it tends to be critical of society. The cult lacks many of the features of a traditional religious; sees the source of unhappiness and injustice as incorporated within each person; holds the promise of finding truth and contentment by following its tenets; believes it possesses the means for people to unlock a hidden or potential strength within themselves without necessarily withdrawing from the world; and holds a relatively individualized, universalized, and secularized view of the Divine. The cult does not require its members to pass strict doctrinal tests, but instead invites all to join its ranks. It usually lacks the tight discipline of sects whose rank-and-file members hold one another "up to the

mark". And unlike a sect, it usually lacks prior ties with an established religion: it is instead a new and independent religious tradition.

The cult frequently focuses on the problems of its members, especially loneliness, fear, inferiority, tension, and kindred troubles. Some cults are built around a single function, such as spiritual healing or spiritualism. Others, like various "New Thought" and "New Age" cults, seek to combine elements of conventional religion with ideas and practices that are essentially nonreligious. Still others direct their attention toward the pursuit of "self-awareness," "self-realization" wisdom, or insight, such as Vedanta, Soto Zen, the Human Potential Movement and Transcendental Meditation. International attention focused on religious cults in 1993 as a result of the violence at the Branch Davidians' compound near Waco, Texas. The Davidains' began as a sect of the Seventh-day Adventists church in 1934 and based their beliefs largely on the biblical book of Revelation and its dooms day prophecies.

In 1984, the Davidians' sect split, with one group emerging as a cult under the leadership of David Koresh. After a 51-day standoff against federal authorities in early 1993, Koresh and 85 of his followers died when the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) attempted to seize control the Davidians' compound. In 1995, religious cults again received international attention when members of the Japanese religious group Aum Shinrikyo were accused of a poison gas attack on the Tokyo subway system that killed a dozen people and injured 5500. As psychotherapist Irvin Doress and sociologist Jack Nusan Porter have suggested, the word cult has taken on a negative meaning in the United States and is used more as a means of discrediting religious minorities than as a way of categorizing them. They note that some groups, such as the Hare Krishnas, are labeled as "cults" because they seem to come from foreign (often nonwestern) lands and have customs perceived as "strange".

This reflects people's ethnocentric evaluations of that which differs from the commonplace. James Richardson, a sociologist of religion, does not like the term cult and prefers to call such groups new, minority, or exotic religions. It is difficult to distinguish sects from cults. A cult is a generally small, secretive religious group that represents either a new religion or a majorinnovation of an existing faith. Cults are similar to sects in that they tend to be small and are often viewed as less respectable than more established ecclesiae or denominations. Some cults, such as contemporary cults focused on UFO sightings or expectations of colonizing outer space, may be totally unrelated to the existing faiths in a culture. Even when a cult does not

accept certain fundamental tenets of a dominant faith, such as belief in the divinity of Jesus or Muhammad, it will offer new revelations or new insights to justify its claim to be a more advanced religion. As is true of sects, cults may undergo transformation over time into other types of religious organizations. An example is the Christian Science church, which began as a cult under the leadership of Mary Baker Eddy. Today, this church exhibits the characteristics of a denomination.

3.5 Comparing Forms of Religious Organization

Clearly, it is no simple matter to determine whether a particular religious group falls into the sociological category of ecclesia, denomination, sect, or cult. Yet as we have seen, these ideal types of religious organizations have somewhat different relationships to society. Ecclesiae are recognized as national churches; denominations, although not officially approved, are generally respected. By contrast, sects as well as cults are much more likely to be at odds with the larger culture. Ecclesiae, denominations, and sects are best viewed as ideal types along a continuum rather than as mutually exclusive categories. Since the United States has no ecclesia, sociologists studying this nation's religions have naturally focused on the denomination and the sect. These religious forms have been pictured on either end of a continuum, with denominations accommodating to the secular world and sects making a protest against established religions.

Advances in electronic communications have led to still another form of religious organization; the electronic church. Facilitated by cable television and satellite transmission, televangelists (as they are called) direct their message to more people than are served by all but the largest denominations. While some televangelists are affiliated with religious denominations, must give viewers the impression that they are disassociated from established faiths. The programming of the electronic church is not solely religious. There is particular focus on issues concerning marriage and the family, death and dying, and education; yet more overtly political topics such as foreign and military policy are also discussed.

Although many television ministries avoid political positions, others have been quite outspoken. Mostnoteworthy in this regard is Pentecostal minister Pat Robertson, a strong conservative. Robertson founded the Christian Broadcasting Network in 1961, served for many years as host of CBN's syndicated religious talk show. The 700 club, and took leave of his

television posts in 1986 to seek the 1988 Republican nomination for president in US. He has continued his political activism through his leadership of the Christian coalition.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Norms, beliefs and rituals provide the cultural fabric of religion, but there is more to a religion than its cultural heritage. As with other institutions, there is also a structural organization in which people are bound together within networks of relatively stable relationship. This unit has examined the ways in which people organize themselves in fashioning religious life.

5.0 SUMMARY

Distinctions are made between the varieties of organization forms found among religious faith. This were made based on factors such as size, power, degree of commitment expected from members and historical ties to the faith. The organization so studied included ecclesia, denominations, sects and cults. Comparisons of these forms of organizations were also examined in the unit.

6.0 TUTOR- MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What is meant by Ecclesia?
2. between an ecclesia and a denomination.
3. Explain the term cult
4. How will you differentiate a cult from a sect?

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UNIT 2: RELIGION AND CULTURE

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit, you have studied the relationship between religion and stratification, especially religion and radical politics, the relationship between religion and the oppressed. You have also studied the comparison between radical and conservative religion. In this unit, you will be studying the relationship between religion and culture. You will be exploring the elements and aspects of culture as well as how religion and culture interrelate.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this lesson you should be able to:

- Define culture
- Enumerate and discuss the various elements of culture
- Enumerate and analyze the relationship between the various aspects of culture
- Analyze the relationship between religion and culture

3.0 COURSE CONTENT

3.1 The Idea of Culture

Culture is one of the common words that are so often used that we think we know what they mean but they are pretty difficult to define. The word culture has varied meanings from agriculture to medicine to sociology and anthropology. The multiplicity of meaning attached to the word makes it very difficult to define. You will now explore some of the many meanings of the word culture. In agriculture culture has been used to designate the process of nursing or cultivating plants or crops. In scientific and medical sciences it is used for the growing of biological materials. Knowledge and sophistication acquired through education and exposure to the arts is also termed culture.

The development and use of artifacts and symbols in the advancement of the society is also termed culture. Odetola and Ademola defined culture as "configuration of learned and shared patterns of behavior and of understanding concerning the meaning and value of things, ideas, emotions and actions". Culture refers to the total way of life of a society. It is made up of its members' custom, traditions and beliefs, their behavior, dress, language, their work, their way of living, relationship network and their attitudes to life, the focus of group loyalties and the way they all perceive the world. As far as this course is concerned, we shall see culture from the above perspective – which which makes a people what they are as distinct from other groups of people. The following are the concepts that grew out of the idea of culture.

Culture Traits

Traits are the smallest elements by which a culture can be described. It is thus a distinguishing or peculiar feature or characteristic of a given culture. Culture complex is derived from a number of culture traits that fit together and from culture complex culture patterns are derived.

Subculture

A subculture is a distinctive culture that is shared by a particular group within a culture, because that group exists as a smaller part of the total culture.

Culture Change

Culture is dynamic in nature and therefore does experience changes. Culture change can occur accidentally. For example, if there is a severe, outbreak of epidemic that claimed a lot of lives, there are certain adjustment a society may make that will result in culture change. Culture change can also occur as a result of technological innovation. For example, many homes in Africa no longer use their hands to eat because of the introduction of spoons, forks and knives. Culture can also change when two groups with differing culture come to live together. There would be what is called cultural diffusion as the two cultures would intermingle and the people of one group will adopt the traits of the other group and vice versa.

Culture Lag

W. F. Ogburn in his book titled Cultural Lag as Theory, defines culture lag as follows: "culture lag occurs when two or three parts of culture which are correlated changes before or in a greater degree than the other part does, thereby causing less adjustment between the two parts than existed previously".

Culture Shock

Culture shock occurs when there is a sharp contrast between two different cultures and one group suffers a serious emotional reaction to the other group's behavior. Most Africans suffer from culture shock when they find themselves in Europe where a child can tell the parents "don't be stupid". Such a statement is considered as an insult in Africa where respect for the elders is not taken lightly.

Discuss the implication of the concepts that grow out of culture and their impact on humanity.

3.2 Elements of Culture

The following are the elements that you can point to and say "that is there to show and as sustain this culture".

Artifacts

Artifacts are the physical things that are found that have particular symbolism for a culture. They may even be endowed with mystical properties. Artifacts can also be more everyday objects, such as the bunch of flowers in reception. The main thing is that they have special meaning, at the very least for the people in the culture. There may well be stories told about them. The purposes of artifacts are as reminders and triggers. When people in the culture see them, they think about their meaning and hence are reminded of their identity as a member of the culture, and, by association, of the rules of the culture. Artifacts may also be used in specific rituals. Churches do this, of course. But so also do organizations.

Stories, histories, myths, legends, jokes

Culture is often embedded and transmitted through stories, whether they are deep and obviously intended as learning devices, or whether they appear more subtly, for example in humor and jokes. Sometimes there stories are true. Sometimes nobody knows. Sometimes they are elaborations on a relatively simple truth. The powers of the stories are in when and how they are told, and the effect they have on their recipients.

Rituals, rites, ceremonies and celebrations

Rituals are processes or sets of actions which are repeated in specific circumstances and with specific meaning. They may be used in such as rites of passage, such as when someone is promoted or retires. They may be associated with company events such as the release of a new

event. They may also be associated with everyday events such as Christmas. Whatever the circumstance, the predictability of the rituals and the seriousness of them earning all combine to sustain the culture.

Heroes

Heroes in a culture are named people who act as prototypes, or idealized examples, by which cultural members learn of the correct or "perfect" behavior. The classic heroes are the founders of the society or organization, who are often portrayed as much whiter and perfect than they actually are or were. In such stories they symbolize and teach people the ideal behaviors and norms of the culture.

Symbols and symbolic action

Symbols, like artifacts, are things which act as triggers to remind people in the culture of its rules and beliefs among others. They act as a shorthand way to keep people aligned. Symbols can also be used to indicate status within a culture. This includes clothing, office decor and so on. Status symbols signal to others to help them use the correct behavior with others in the hierarchy. They also lock in the users of the symbols into prescribed behaviors that are appropriate for their status and position. There may be many symbols around an organization, from pictures of products on the walls to the words and handshakes used in greeting cultural members from around the world.

Beliefs, assumptions and mental models

An organization and culture will often share beliefs and ways of understanding the world. This helps smooth communication and agreement, but can also become fatal blinkers that blind everyone to impending dangers.

Attitudes

Attitudes are the external displays of underlying beliefs that people use to signal to other people of their membership. Attitudes also can be used to give warning, such as when a street gang member eyes up a member of the public. By using a long hard stare, they are using national cultural symbolism to indicate their threat.

Rules, norms, ethical codes, values

The norms and values of a culture are effectively the rules by which its members must abide, or risk rejection from the culture (which is one of the most feared sanctions known). They are embedded in the artifacts, symbols, stories, attitudes, and so on.

3.3 Aspects of Culture

The following are the important aspects of culture:

Value

Values are relatively general beliefs that either define what is right and what is wrong or specify general preferences. A belief that homicide is wrong and a preference for modem art are both values.

Norms

Norms, on the other hand, are relatively precise rules specifying which behaviors are permitted and which prohibited for group members. When a member of a group breaks a group norm by engaging in a prohibited behavior, the other group members will typically sanction the deviant member. To sanction is to communicate disapproval in some way to the deviant member. When asked to give examples of a norm in our society, most students tend to think of laws, especially, for instance, laws against murder and physical assault. Most laws in a society are

indeed social norms. The more important point, however, is that your life is governed by many norms that are not laws.

Culture Variation

If we take an overview of the hundreds of societies that exist or have existed in the world, the first thing that strikes our attention is that there is tremendous variation with regard to the cultural traits found in these societies. Many societies have values and norms that are directly opposite to those that we might take for granted in this society. In most societies many individuals believe that there exists one God, responsible for all of creation, and they describe this God using imagery that is undeniably "male". Swanson (1960) found that about half the pre-industrial societies in the world also believe in a single God, responsible for creation, although that God is not always seen as a male. Among the Iroquois Indians, for instance, God was female, while among some South American Indians called the Lengua, God is a beetle. But the remaining societies in the world either believe in many gods, no one of which is responsible for all creation, or do not believe in personalized gods of any sort.

Cultural Universals

Despite all the diversity that exists in the world there are cultural universals. That is, there are elements of culture found in every single known society. Every society, for instance, has some rules limiting sexual behavior, though the content of these rules varies greatly from society to society. In every known society there is a division of labor by sex, with certain tasks being assigned to females and other tasks to males. The task-assignments to either men or women, however, vary among societies. One of the most important of all cultural universals has to do with the relative status of men and women. There are many societies in which men, on the average, have more political power and more social prestige than women. These societies are usually called patriarchies. Then there are a fair number of known societies in which men and women are roughly equal in social status, either because one group does not on the average, have more power and prestige than the other, or because greater male power and prestige in certain areas of social life is balanced by greater female power and prestige in other areas of social life.

Yet in all the societies of the world, there has never existed a true matriarchy, that is, a society in which women have more political power and more social prestige than men. The most important point to make in connection with cultural universals, however, is that the number of such universals is relatively small, at least as compared to the ways in which cultures vary.

Cultural Integration

Before closing this section it is necessary to point out that many of the elements of a given culture are interrelated, so that a change in one such element can produce changes in other elements.

3.4 Religion as Culture

Religion is undoubtedly one of the most important aspects of culture. A culture's religious beliefs, passed down from one generation to the next, tell us much about the members' values, interests, and ideals, as well as explain customs and everyday activities. This is particularly true of the African society. E. W. Smith confirms this in his book African Ideas of God (1950:14) when he says that, "any full explication of religion involves complete exploration of social and political, material, culture, law and custom as well as the physical environment". Odetola and Ademola (1985:84) also concur by admitting that "specific religious beliefs, as well as denominational membership, are associated with cultural surroundings". It has to be noted that as an aspect of culture, religion can be regarded as cultural universal in that from time immemorial; religion has been in existence among different groups of people all over the world. The variation of religious object notwithstanding, there is the existence of religion among all the societies in the world.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, you have learnt about the various usages of the world culture as well as the definition that would be adopted in this module. You have also been exposed to the various

elements and aspects of culture and the fact that religion as an aspect of culture is a cultural universal.

5.0 SUMMARY

The following are the major items you have studied in this unit: Culture has different meanings to different professionals. Culture in thus module would be seen as the totality of the way of life of a particular group of people Religion as an aspect of culture is a cultural universal

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. Enumerate and discuss the elements of culture.
2. Discuss the aspects of culture.
3. How is denomination different from an ecclesia?
4. Explain how sects originate. Identify their major characteristic
5. Explain the term cult. Identify and explain the operation of any cult in Nigeria.
6. Compare the characteristics and operations of sect with that of a cult.
7. Discuss the aspects of culture

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UNIT 3: RELIGION AND SECULARIZATION

CONTENTS

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    3.2 Islam and the Secular World

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7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit you have focused on the issue of religion and culture and you have seen that religion is an aspect of culture and it is a cultural universal. You have also seen the different theories that rise out of the concept of culture like culture lag, culture trait, culture shock and subculture. In this unit however, you will be studying a more volatile issue: religion and its relationship with secularization. First, you will have to know what secularization is and the sources of secularization as well as the relationship between religion and the secular world as well Islam as a religious entity on its own and the secular world.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this course, you should be able to:

- Define secularization
- List the sources of secularization.

- Discuss how religion should relate to the secular world.
- Analyze the response of Islam to the secular world.

3.0 MAIN CONTENTS

3.1 Secularization

Secularization is a way of life and thought that is pursued without reference to God or religion. It comes from the Latin word saeculum which referred to a generation or an age. "Secular" thus came to mean "belonging to this age or worldly." In general terms, secularism involves an affirmation of immanent, this-worldly realities, along with a denial or exclusion of transcendent, other-worldly realities. It is a world view and life style oriented to the profane rather than the sacred, the natural rather than the supernatural. Secularism is a nonreligious approach to individual and social life. Historically, "secularization" first referred to the process of transferring property from ecclesiastical jurisdiction to that of the state or other non ecclesiastical authority.

In this institutional sense, "secularization" still means the reduction of formal religious authority as in education as an example. Institutional secularization has been fueled by the breakdown of a unified Christendom since the Reformation, on the one hand, and by the increasing rationalization of society and culture from the Enlightenment to modern technological society, on the other. A second sense in which secularization is to be understood has to do with a shift in ways of thinking and living, away from God and toward this world. Renaissance humanism, Enlightenment rationalism, the rising power and influence of science, the breakdown of traditional structures such as, the family, the church and the neighborhood, the over-technicization of society, and the competition offered by nationalism, evolutionism, and Marxism have all contributed to what Max Weber termed the "disenchantment" of the modern world. Fujio also describes secularization thus: "secularization might be explained more accurately as being a process of the functional differentiation of other social elements, such as politics, law, economics, and education, from religion, as the result of social changes in the society where religion was once the dominant norm". Having got an idea of what secularization is you can now proceed to the sources of secularization.

The Emergence of Higher Criticism

Though biblical criticism has started long before the Enlightenment, it was not until the Enlightenment in the 17th and 18th centuries that the Bible came to be examined in a truly critical fashion. The Protestant Reformation had reintroduced serious study of the Bible after centuries of neglect, and the new critical methods that developed in historical and literary scholarship during this period were soon applied to biblical texts. Among the first biblical critics were the 17th-century English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, the 17th-century Dutch Jewish philosopher Baruch Spinoza, and the French scholar Richard Simon. This radical criticism soon gave birth to the Tubigen School with its lots of anti-faith assertions. The anti-faith assertions led to the erosion in the authority of the Bible, thereby preparing the ground for secularism.

18th Century Darwinism

Cornish Paul was quite right when he says that in Europe and North America, secularism can be traced to the 18th-century Age of Enlightenment or Age of Reason. Enlightenment thinkers attacked classical traditions and religious authority. In particular, they argued that the separation of Church and State would enable the free exercise of human intellectual capacities and imagination, and would bring about government by reason rather than by tradition and dogma. The 1787 Constitution of the United States is the outstanding example of 18th-century secularist thinking and practice.

The Medieval Church

It sounds ridiculous to say that one of the sources of secularization is the church. But it is the truth because the relationship of the church towards what is political and even knowledge at that time was unwholesome. This is an objective appraisal of the period: Christianity in medieval Europe, it is argued, was responsible for the emergence and success of secularism in the West. It recognized the division of life into what belonged to God and what belonged to Caesar, it lacked

a system for legislation and regulation of mundane affairs, and it had for many centuries been associated with despotic regimes and with oppressive theocracies.

Furthermore, Medieval Christianity entertained the existence of a special class of people, the priests, who claimed to be God's representatives on earth, interpreting what they alleged was His words and using their religious powers to deprive members of the community of their basic rights. In other words, the Christian theocratic establishment constituted a major obstacle hindering progress and development, and consequently hindering democracy. The need to challenge the overbearing attitude of the church in those periods actually paved the way for the Enlightenment.

Renaissance Humanism

Renaissance Humanism is a term that is used to describe a literary and cultural movement focusing on the dignity and worth of the individual that spread through Western Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries. This Renaissance revival of Greek and Roman studies emphasized the value of the Classics for their own sake, rather than for their relevance to Christianity. The movement was further stimulated by the influx of Byzantine scholars who came to Italy after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 and also by the establishment of the Platonic Academy in Florence. The academy, whose leading thinker was Marsilio Ficino, was founded by the 15th-century Florentine statesman and patron of the arts Cosimo de' Medici.

The institution sought to revive Platonism and had particular influence on the literature, painting, and architecture of the times. The collection and translation of Classical manuscripts became widespread, especially among the higher clergy and nobility. The invention of printing with movable type, around the mid-15th century, gave a further impetus to humanism through the dissemination of editions of the Classics. Although in Italy humanism developed principally in the fields of literature and art, in Central Europe, where it was introduced chiefly by the German scholars Johann Reuchlin and Melanchthon, the movement extended into the fields of theology and education, and was a major underlying cause of the Reformation.

Rationalism

Rationalism is derived from the Latin word ratio, which actually means "reason". In philosophy, it is a system of thought that emphasizes the role of reason in obtaining knowledge, in contrast to empiricism, which emphasizes the role of experience, especially sense perception. Rationalism has appeared in some form in nearly every stage of Western philosophy, but it is primarily identified with the tradition stemming from the 17th-century French philosopher, mathematician, and scientist René Descartes. Descartes believed that geometry represented the ideal for all sciences and philosophy. He held that by means of reason alone, certain universal, self-evident truths could be discovered, from which much of the remaining content of philosophy and the sciences could be deductively derived. He assumed that these self-evident truths were innate, not derived from sense experience.

The rationalists were keenly interested in science and played an important part in its development; not so much by any discoveries they made as by their willingness to press the importance of the mathematical and geometrical approach in going beyond, and helping to explain, sensory appearances. Epistemological rationalism has been applied to other fields of philosophical inquiry. Rationalism in ethics is the claim that certain primary moral ideas are innate in humankind and that such first moral principles are self-evident to the rational faculty. Rationalism in the philosophy of religion is the claim that the fundamental principles of religion are innate or self-evident and that revelation is not necessary, as in deism. Since the end of the 1800s, however, rationalism has chiefly played an anti-religious role in theology.

3.2 Islam and the Secular World

It is generally believed in the Islamic society that secularization is bequeathed to the world by the Christian movements of the 18th century. This has somehow given a basis of rejection of the movement because an average Muslim would repudiate anything Christian. Until early 19th century, it is claimed that the entire Arab region was Islamic in norms, laws, values and traditions. Secularism is alien to Islam whose values provide guidance and direction for both spiritual and mundane affairs. To the conservative Muslim therefore secularism is a new cultural model being introduced quietly by enthusiasts and admirers of the West or imposed by the

authorities of colonialism that are putting forward a new set of standards that are claimed to be alien to Islamic standards. Institute of Islamic Political Thought holds that the leaders of the Islamic trend believed that modernization and progress should be sought but without relinquishing the accomplishments of the Islamic civilization.

This position is stated in strong clear terms by the Arabic world and it is strengthened in the words of R. Ghannouchi, in paper presented at Pretoria University, South Africa, August 1994 titled "al-harakah al-islamiyah wal-mujtama` al-madani" (The Islamic Movement and Civil Society) as follows: Arab secularism has been a declaration of war against Islam, a religion that, unlike any other, shapes and influences the lives of Muslims, a religion whose values and principles are aimed at liberating mankind, establishing justice and equality, encouraging research and innovation and guaranteeing the freedoms of thought, expression and worship. Therefore, secularism is entirely unnecessary in the Muslim world; for Muslims can achieve progress and development without having to erect a wall between their religious values and their livelihood.

3.3 Religion and the Secular World

In this section you will be concerned with studying the relationship between religion and the secular world. This relationship has been one of suspect, wherein religion suspects the secular world of being demonic and of being an instrument in the hands of the devil to destroy people's faith. Consequently, the majority of the reaction of religion to the secular world is that urgent steps needed to be taken in order to salvage the world from the grips of secularism. D. W. Gill in the Elwell Evangelical Dictionary says that "in no sense, of course, is the distinction between the sacred and the secular an unbridgeable gap. In the same way that God speaks and acts in the saeculum, Christians must speak and act creatively and receptively. This means that the secular world must not be abandoned to secularism". In his analysis of the effects of secularism on the world, John Stott, one of the leading British evangelical writers in his book The Contemporary Christian notes three major effects. These will be discussed below.

The Quest for Transcendence

Stott says that the increase in the world's quest for transcendence is one major fall out of the secularization of the world. He opines that the quest for transcendence as witnessed in the world today is not just the search for ultimate reality but also a protest against the attempt to eliminate God from our world. This quest for transcendence is lived out in four major areas:

a. The recent collapse of Euro-Marxism (the classical Marxism that has been presented as a substitute for religious faith).
b. The disillusionment with secularism as epitomized in the rejection of materialism either in the capitalistic or the communistic guise.
c. The epidemic of drug abuse which can be seen as a genuine search for a higher consciousness.
d. The proliferation of religious cults alongside the resurgence of New Religious Movements (especially the ancient religions of Oriental world).

The Quest for Significance

One of the after-effects of secularism is the fact that most human beings have been diminished in the value or worth. The followings are the agents of dehumanization:

a. Technology: despite the fact that technology can be liberating it is also dreadfully dehumanizing. For example, in the United States today human beings are no longer identified by their proper names but by numbers.
b. Scientific Reductionism: in most scientific teachings today, human beings are seen as animals.

The Quest for Community

One of the effects of secularism is social disintegration. This is felt more in Africa as there is social tension between those embracing the secularizing tendencies of the West and those struggling to remain African. In the face of all these devastating effects, what should be the response of religion?

1. The people of faith must live their lives in this secular world under the Lordship of the God and in obedience to his will rather than the will of the word.
2. The people of faith must work to ensure that religion is given a voice among the many other voices struggling to choke it out. To fail to articulate the Word of God in the saeculum, however, is to acquiesce in a secularism which, by excluding the Creator, can lead only to death.

We will end this section by quoting Stott who though is writing for Christians have summarized what will happen if religion leaves our world completely to secularism: At the same time, unless we listen attentively to the voices of secular society, struggle to understand them, and feel with people in their frustration, anger, bewilderment and despair, weeping with those who weep, we will lack authenticity as the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth. Instead we will run the risk (as has often been said) of answering questions nobody is asking, scratching where nobody is itching, supplying goods for which there is no demand – in order words, of being totally irrelevant, which in its long history the church has often been.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, you have studied the concept of secularization which is a very interesting concept. Secularization has been defined as an attempt to take God away from the world. The sources of secularism have been identified as the emergence of higher criticism, 18th century Darwinism, humanism, rationalism and the church herself. You have also seen the position that Islam has taken on the issue as well as the effects of secularization and what the response of the church should be to it.

5.0 SUMMARY

The following are the major points that you have learnt in this unit: Secularization has been defined as a way of life and thought that is pursued without reference to God or religion. The sources for secularism are: the emergence of higher criticism, 18th century Darwinism,

humanism, rationalism and the church herself. Secularism is alien to Islam whose values provide guidance and direction for both spiritual and mundane affairs. To the conservative Muslim secularism is a new cultural model being introduced quietly by enthusiasts and admirers of the West? The effects of secularism includes: the quest for transcendence, the quest for significance and the quest for community. People of faith must struggle to see that the word of God remains a force to be reckoned with in the world.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. What are the effects of secularism?
2. Discuss how religion should respond to the devastating effects of secularization.
3. What are the factors that prepare the way for secularism?
4. Evaluate the Islamic position on secularism.

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UNIT 4: RELIGION AND POLITICS

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction

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3.0 Main Contents

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    3.2 Islam as a Political Movement

    3.3 Concept of Political Religion

    3.4 Liberation Theology as an Aspect of Religious Politics

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Summary

6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment

7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit, you have studied the relationship between religion and secularism. In that section you have seen what secularism is and the factors that led to the rise of secularism. You have also seen the contributions of the church to the rise of secularism. You have seen the reaction of Islam to secularism as a concept bequeathed to the world by the church and the Western civilization. In this unit, you will also be examining another volatile concept: religion and politics. You will examine all the concept of political religion, the concept of Islamic as a political movement as well as the rise of what is called state religion.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Define state religion
- Describe types of state churches

- List the countries with state religion in both Christianity as well as Islam

- Discuss the development of the political character of Islam.

- Discuss Liberation Theology as an aspect of Religious Politics

3.0 MAIN CONTENTS

3.1 Definition of State Religion

A state religion is also called an official religion or established church or state church. It is a religious body or creed officially endorsed by the state. The term state church is associated with Christianity, and is sometimes used to denote a specific national branch of Christianity. State religions are examples of the official or government-sanctioned establishment of religion, as distinct from theocracy. It is also possible for a national church to become established without being under state control.

Types of State Church

Mono State Church

The degree and nature of state backing for denomination or creed designated as a state religion can vary. It can range from mere endorsement and financial support, with freedom for other faiths to practice, to prohibiting any competing religious body from operating and to persecuting the followers of other sects. In Europe, competition between Catholic and Protestant denominations for state sponsorship in the 16th century evolved the principle cuius regio eius religio ("states follow the religion of the ruler") embodied in the text of the treaty that marked the Peace of Augsburg, 1555. In England the monarch imposed Protestantism, with himself taking the place of the Pope, while in Scotland the Church of Scotland became the established Kirk in opposition to the religion of the ruler.

Poly State Church

In some cases, a state may have a set of state-sponsored religious denominations that it funds; such is the case in Alsace-Moselle in France.

Authoritarian State Church

In some communist states, notably the People's Republic of China, the state sponsors religious organizations, and activities outside those state sponsored religious organizations are met with various degrees of official disapproval. In these cases, state religions are widely seen as efforts by the state to prevent alternate sources of authority. Countries with state religions include the following:

Roman Catholic

Jurisdictions which recognize Catholicism as their official religion are Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Haiti, Malta, Monaco and Vatican City.

Eastern Orthodox

Jurisdictions which recognize one of the Eastern Orthodox Churches as their official religion are Cyprus and Greece.

Lutheran

Jurisdictions which recognize the Lutheran church as their official religion are Denmark, Iceland and Norway.

Anglican

Only England with the Church of England recognizes the Anglican Church as her state religion.

Islamic countries

Countries which recognize Islam as their official religion are Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Brunei, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates and Yemen. Sunni Islam is found in Algeria, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and Somalia. Shi'a Islam is the statesanctioned religion in Iran.

Buddhist countries

Countries which recognize Buddhism as their official religion are Bhutan, Cambodia, Sri Lanka and Thailand.

3.2 The Concept of Political Religion

Political religion is actually a sociological terminology that is used to describe a political ideology with cultural and political power equivalent to those of a religion and often having many sociological and ideological similarities with religion. Examples of this case have been Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy.

3.4 Aspects of Political Religion

There are many aspects of political religion. These include:

Suppression of Religious Beliefs

In political religion, loyalty to any other entity such as religion is not acceptable because it will interfere with loyalty to the concept of political religion. The authority of potential religious leaders is a threat to the authority of the political religion. In such cases, religious sects are either suppressed or banned altogether.

Absolute Loyalty

Loyalty to the state or political party and acceptance of the government or party ideology is supreme. Those that express dissenting voices may be expelled, ostracized, imprisoned, re-orientated or even exterminated. It is common to see people taking loyalty oaths before being employed especially into government offices.

Fear

The political religion often maintains its power base by instilling some kind of fear into the populace. To uphold this, there are frequent displays of the powers of the military in the face of the people.

Personality Cult

The leader of the party in political religion is often elevated to a neargodlike status. The people may be required to carry his posters at home as well as in the offices.

Propaganda

The state usually in doing this will through its control of the media feed the people with all sorts of propaganda.

3.5 Liberation Theology as an aspect of Religious Politics

Discussions on Religion and Politics cannot be said to have been exhausted without discussing liberation theology. In this section, we will .look briefly into what liberation theology is and why it has a political character. Liberation theology is an important, sometimes controversial, school of theological thought. At its inception, it was predominantly found in the Roman Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council, although some suggest that it was first articulated by Dietrich Bonhoeffer during the late 1930s. It is often cited as a form of Christian socialism, and it has had particularly widespread influence in Latin America and among the Jesuits, although its influence has diminished within Catholicism in the past decade. Though most elements of liberation theology were rejected by the Vatican, and liberation theologians harshly admonished by Pope John Paul II, curtailing its growth, within Protestant circles it is recognized as an important school of thought, of equal standing with neo-Orthodoxy, feminist theology and process theology, among others.

In essence, liberation theology explores the relationship between Christian, specifically Roman Catholic, theology and political activism, particularly in areas of social justice, poverty, and human rights. The main methodological innovation of liberation theology is to do theology (i.e. speak of God) from the viewpoint of the economically poor and oppressed of the human community. According to Jon Sobrino, S.J., the poor are a privileged channel of God's grace. According to Phillip Berryman, liberation theology is "an interpretation of Christian faith through the poor's suffering, their struggle and hope, and a critique of society and the Catholic faith and Christianity through the eyes of the poor." Liberation theology focuses on Jesus Christ as not only Savior but also as Liberator of the Oppressed. Emphasis is placed on those parts of the Bible where Jesus' mission is described in terms of liberation, and as a bringer of justice. This is interpreted as a call to arms to carry out this mission of justice -- literally by some.

A number of liberation theologians, though not all, also add certain Marxist concepts such as the doctrine of perpetual class struggle. Liberation theology also emphasizes individual self-actualization as part of God's divine purpose for humankind. In other words, we are given life so that we may pursue it to its full potential. Obstacles, or oppressions, put in our path must therefore be resisted and abolished. In addition to teaching at some Roman Catholic universities and seminaries, liberation theologians can often be found in Protestant-oriented schools. They

tend to have much contact with the poor, and interpret sacred scripture partly based on their experiences in this context -- what they label praxis.

4.0 CONCLUSION

As you are going through this unit, you would have realized the fact that religion is essentially political in nature and that hardly can the two be separated. You have learnt about the state religion where the state dictates what religion should be followed either by way of sponsorship or suppression of other religions. You have also been exposed to the development of the political character of Islam. You were finally exposed to liberation theology as an example of the political side of Christian theology.

5.0 SUMMARY

The following are the major points that you have studied in this unit: State religion is the religious body officially endorsed by the State. Countries that have state religions in Christianity, Islam and Buddhism have been listed. Islam as a political movement has incorporated the elements of political movements and has also adopted Islamic fundamentalism as a religious view. The origin of Islam as a political development has to do with the invitation of Prophet Muhammad to rule the city of Medina in 622 CE. After Prophet's Muhammad's death the political development in Islam brought out two sects: the Sunni and the Shi'ite Muslims. Political religion is a political ideology with cultural and political power equivalent to that of a religion. Liberation theology explores the relationship between Christian theology and political activism.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. What is the relationship of political religion to religion itself?
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of state religion?
3. Define State Religion.
4. Discuss the implications of state religion.

5. Discuss the development of the political character of Islam

6. Discuss the aspects of political religion.

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UNIT 5: RELIGION AND SCIENCE

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit you have studied about the relationship between religion and politics. In this unit, you will be faced by the age-long relationship between religion and science. We believe that one way or the other you have been drawn into the argument whether religion is anti-science and vice versa. In fact we feel you might have even taken a position according to your exposure. In this unit however, you will be exposed to some information that will lead you to build a more informed thinking on the issue. You will have to study the historical overview of the conflict between the two concepts and the sources of the conflict as well as what can be done to remove the seemingly conflict between science and religion.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Define science

- Analyze the methods of science and religion in arriving at the truth

- Discuss the historical overview of the conflict between science and religion

3.0 MAIN CONTENTS

3.1 Religion and Science

It would be very important to say that from the very beginning, there had been no conflict between science and religion. Keith Ward, a professor of Divinity of the University of Oxford and Dapo Asaju, a professor of New Testament in his inaugural lecture at the Lagos State University had said that in the13th century Europe, Christian theology was regarded as the queen of the sciences. This is because "Science", in the Aristotelian sense, was a systematic exposition of an area of knowledge which was ideally founded on self-evident or certain first principles. The first principles of Christian theology, it was thought, provide the most certain of all principles, since they were revealed by God.

Thus theology becomes the paradigm of science. It has to be noted however that since that time, the word "science" has changed its meaning, so that now most people would regard a science as an experimental investigation into a physical phenomenon, where precise observations can be made and measurements taken, where experiments are repeatable and publicly testable, and where hypotheses need to be constantly tested and re-assessed. In such a context, theology is no longer seen as a science at all. There are no precise measurements in religious faith, no repeatable experiments, no public testing, and no equations which might help one to predict events accurately. This is the beginning of the contemporary conflict between science and religion. Historically, science has had a close and complex relationship with religion; religious doctrines and motivations have often been central to scientific development, while scientific knowledge has had profound effects on religious beliefs.

A common modern view, described by Stephen Jay Gould as "non-overlapping magisteria" (NOMA), is that science and religion deal with fundamentally separate aspects of human experience and so, when each stays within its own domain, they co-exist peacefully. Another view known as the conflict thesis-popularized in the 19th century by John William Draper and

Andrew Dickson White, but now largely rejected by historians of science-holds that science and religion inevitably compete for authority over the nature of reality, so that religion has been gradually losing a war with science as scientific explanations become more powerful and widespread. However, neither of these views adequately accounts for the variety of interactions between science and religion (both historically and today), ranging from antagonism, to separation and to close collaboration.

3.2 Methodology in Science and Religion

Generally speaking, religion and science use different methods in their effort to ascertain truth. The scientific method relies on an objective approach to measure, calculate, and describe the natural/physical/material universe. Religious methods are typically more subjective (or inter subjective in community), relying on varying notions of authority, through any combination of: revelation, intuition, belief in the supernatural, individual experience, or a combination of these to understand the universe. Science attempts to answer the "how" and "what" questions of observable and verifiable phenomena; religion attempts to answer the "why" questions of value and morals. However, some science also attempts to explain such "why" questions, and some religious authority also extends to "how" and "what" questions regarding the natural world, creating the potential for conflict.

3.3 The Attitude of Religion to Science

Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all developed many centuries prior to the modern era; their classical works show an appreciation of the natural world, but most of them express little or no interest in any systematic investigation of the natural world for its own sake. However some religion, for example Buddhism, contains a systematic investigation of the truth. Some early historical scientific texts have been preserved by the practitioners of religion. Islam, for example, collected scientific texts originating from China to Africa and from Iberia to India.

Proponents of Hinduism claim that Hinduism is not afraid of scientific explorations, or of the technological progress of mankind. According to them, there is a comprehensive scope and

opportunity for Hinduism to mold itself according to the demands and aspirations of the modern world; it has the ability to align itself with both science and spiritualism. This religion uses some modern examples to explain its ancient theories and reinforce its own beliefs. For example, some Hindu thinkers have used the terminology of quantum physics to explain some basic concepts of Hinduism such as the Maya or the illusory and impermanent nature of our existence. In the Medieval era some leading thinkers in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, undertook a project of synthesis between religion, philosophy, and natural sciences. For example, the Jewish philosopher Maimonides, like the

Christian philosopher Augustine of Hippo, held that if religious teachings were found to contradict certain direct observations about the natural world, then it would be obligatory to reinterpret religious texts to match the known facts. The best knowledge of the cosmos was seen as an important part of arriving at a better understanding of the Bible. This approach has continued down to the present day; Henry Drummond, for example, was a 19th century Scot who wrote many articles, some of which drew on scientific knowledge to tease out and illustrate Christian ideas. However, by the 1400s tension was keenly felt under the pressures of humanistic learning, as these methods were brought to bear on scripture and sacred tradition, more directly and critically. In Christianity, for instance, to bolster the authority of religion over philosophy and science, which had been eroded by the autonomy of the monasteries, and the rivalry of the universities, the Church reacted against the conflict between scholarship and religious certainty, by giving more explicit sanction to officially correct views of nature and scripture. Similar developments occurred in other religions.

This approach, while it tended to temporarily stabilize doctrine, was also inclined toward making philosophical and scientific orthodoxy less open to correction, when accepted philosophy became the religiously sanctioned science. Observation and theory became subordinate to dogma. This was especially true for Islam, which canonized medieval science and effectively brought an end to further scientific advance in the Muslim world. Somewhat differently in the West, early modern science was forged in this environment, in the 16th and 17th centuries: a tumultuous era, prone to favor certainty over probability, and disinclined toward compromise. In reaction to this religious rigidity, and rebelling against the interference of religious dogma, the skeptical left-wing of the Enlightenment increasingly gained the upper hand in the sciences, especially in Europe. The phenomenon of religious fundamentalism, especially Protestant,

Christian fundamentalism which has arisen predominantly in the United States, has been characterized by some historians as originating in the reaction of the conservative Enlightenment against the liberal Enlightenment.

In these terms, the scientific community is entirely committed to the skeptical Enlightenment, and has incorporated, into its understanding of the scientific method, an antipathy toward all interference of religion at any point of the scientific enterprise, and especially in the development of theory. While many popularizes of science rely heavily on religious allusions and metaphors in their books and articles, there is absolutely no orthodoxy in such matters, other than the literary value of eclecticism, and the dictates of the marketplace. But fundamentalism, in part because it is an undertaking primarily directed by scientific amateurs, tends to be inclined toward maximal interference of dogma with theory. Typically, fundamentalists are considerably less open to compromise and harmonization schemes than their forebears. They are far more inclined to make strict identification between religiously sanctioned science, and religious orthodoxy; and yet, they share with their early Enlightenment forebears the same optimism that religion is ultimately in harmony with "true" science. They typically favor a cautious empiricism over imaginative and probabilistic theories.

This is reflected also in their historical grammatical approach to scripture and tradition, which is increasingly viewed as a source of scientific, as well as religious, certainty. Most significantly, they are openly hostile to the scientific community as a whole, and to scientific materialism. The fundamentalist approach to modernity has also been adopted by the Islamic movements among Sunni and Shi'a Muslims across the world, and by some Orthodox Jews. For example, an Enlightenment view of the cosmos is accepted as fact, and read back into ancient texts and traditions, as though they were originally intended to be read this way. Fundamentalists often make claims that issues of modern interest, such as psychology, nutrition, genetics, physics and space travel, are spoken to directly by their ancient traditions, "foretold", in a sense, by their religion's sacred texts. For example, some Muslims claim that quantum mechanics and relativity were predicted in the Qur'an, long before they were formulated by modern scientists; and some Jewish fundamentalists make the same claim in regard to the Torah.

In response to the free-thought encouraged by Enlightenment thinkers over the last two centuries, many people have left organized religion altogether. Many people became atheists and agnostics, with no formal affiliation with any religious organization. Many others joined Secular

Humanism or the Society for Ethical Culture: non-religious organizations that have a social role similar to that which religion often plays; others joined non-creedal religious organizations, such as Unitarian Universalism. People in these groups no longer accept any religious doctrine or perspective which rests solely on dogmatic authority. In between these extreme positions lies the position of non-fundamentalist religious believers. A great many Christians and Jews still accept some or many traditional religious beliefs taught in their respective faith communities, but they no longer accept their tradition's teachings as unquestionable and infallible.

Liberal religious believers do believe in gods, and believe that in some way their god(s) revealed their will to humanity. They differ with religious fundamentalists in that they accept that the Bible and other religious documents were written by people, and that these books reflect the cultural and historic limitations and biases of their authors. Thus, liberal religious believers are often comfortable with the findings of archaeological and linguistic research and critical textual study. Some liberal religious believers, such as Conservative Jews, make use of literary and historical analysis of religious texts to understand how they developed, and to see how they might be applied in our own day. Liberal religious Jewish communities include Reform Judaism and Conservative Judaism.

3.4 Attitude of Science to Religion

Scientists have many different views of religious belief. The various views form the basis of the attitude of the person to religion. The following four are the summary of the views: Some scientists consider science and religion mutually exclusive; Some believe that scientific and religious belief are independent of one another; Some believe that science and religion can and should be united or "reunited;" and Some believe that science and religion can conflict because both attempt to accomplish the same thing: inform people's understanding of the natural world.
It has been argued that many scientists' conceptions of deities are generally more abstract and less personal than those of laypeople. Atheism, agnosticism, Humanism and logical positivism are especially popular among people who believe that the scientific method is the best way to approximate an objective description of observable reality, although the scientific method generally deals with different sets of questions than those addressed by theology.

The general question of how we acquire knowledge is addressed by the philosophical field of epistemology. According to a recent survey, that is carried out by Larson and Witham, in 1998 and published in their article "Leading Scientists Still Reject God" it is discovered that belief in a god that is "in intellectual and affective communication with humankind" and belief in "personal immortality" are most popular among mathematicians and least popular among biologists. In total, about 60% of scientists in the United States expressed disbelief or doubt in the existence of deities in 1996. This percentage has been fairly stable over the last 100 years. Among leading scientists defined as members of the National Academy of Sciences, 93% expressed disbelief or doubt in the existence of a personal god in 1998.

3.5 The Future of Religion and Science

One has to say that across the years the spirit that science is anti religion has been enormous. Today however, there seems to be a reversal. The ant religion spirit of science is gradually on the decline. The overwhelming voice that may indicate the future path of religion and science is that the two can be married for a complimentary role. Robert Russell opines that science can help to do theology better. He is quoted by Jodi Beyeler in Science and Theology News of April 28 2005 (on line version) to have said that "contrary to the popular myth that science is atheistic or that religion is irrelevant to science, we now know from the history of 20th-century cosmology that philosophy and theology can play a creative role in science."

Henry Swift, in another magazine, Metareligion, also opines that the current scenario is being prepared for when there is going to be a marriage of the wisdom of the East about our inner world of consciousness (which is actually religious) and the Western scientific wisdom. He concludes that "future scientists may have to be trained not only in sciences but also be students of their inner spirituality". Apart from this tendency that seems to come mainly from Christianity, other religions like the Baha'i faith also encourage intercourse between religion and science. In fact, one of the basic principles of the Baha'i faith is that religion and science should work together for the improvement of the world. From these indicators, you will discover that the future relationship between religion and science will move towards complimentary relationship and quit the antagonist relationship that seems to be the case.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit you have studied about the history of the conflict between science and religion from when theology has been regarded as the queen of science to when there comes a change and science is being pictured as being anti-religion. You have also been exposed to the attitude of religion to science as well as the attitude of science to religion. You have been made to see the main problem that seems to create tension between the two, namely, methodology. While science takes the objective approach, religion more than often takes the subjective approach.

5.0 SUMMARY

The following are the major points that you have studied in this unit: Traditionally, theology has been regarded as the 'queen of the sciences". Scientific methodology relies on objective approach to measure, calculate and describe the universe. Religion uses the subjective approach based on revelation and intuition to do the same thing. The attitude of religion to science from history can be categorized into three broad divisions: the positive (that sees no crisis), the negative (that sees the crisis) and the moderate (that believes that a synthesis is achievable).

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. Evaluate the attitude of religion to science.
2. Outline the broad history of the conflict between religion and science.

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UNIT 6: RELIGION AND STRATIFICATION

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This is the first unit of the second module of this course. In the first module, you have dealt with 'the study of the society and religious behavior.' Under that, you have studied the meaning, nature and development of society and the functions of religion vis-à-vis postulations like the Marxist, Weberian and Durkheimian theses. You have also studied the dimensions of religious behavior and their organizations. In this module however, you will be reading about religion and modernity. In this first unit of the second module, you will be focusing on religion and stratification in the areas of geography, economics, politics and religion itself.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Define the sub-urban church
- Discuss the challenges involved in working in the sub-urban church

- Discuss the relationship between religion and politics
- Evaluate the role of religion among the oppressed
- Differentiate between the conservative and the radical in religion.

3.0 MAIN CONTENTS

3.1 The Sub-Urban Church

According to the geographical distribution of churches, there are three types of churches namely the urban, the rural and the suburban churches. In this part, you will be focusing on the suburban church.

The Characteristics of the Suburban Church

1. The suburban church has a wide range of sizes: the size of the suburban church ranges from 30 to 800 people but it is usually less than 120 people.
2. The suburban church has a great variety theologically and denominationally. You will find out that within the environment you will find the charismatic, the evangelical, the liberal, the liturgical as well as the traditional oriented churches, thus making ministering in such an environment very challenging.
3. The suburban church caters for a wide range of ages. In such churches you will find the elderly, the family groups (consisting of parents and children) and also the youth. This diversity in the age range to be catered for makes ministering in the suburban church to be more challenging.

Despite all the challenges involved in the running of the suburban church, the church has a lot of potential for growth and expansion.

3.2 Religion and Radical Politics

When it comes to politics, especially in the Christian religion, there are many dissenting voices. Many Christian sects reject any involvement and participation in politics. Many of these sects rest their position on Jesus' statement that his kingdom is not of this world, which they interpret to mean that earthly politics should be rejected. Examples of these sects are the Amish and the Hutterites. Apart from Christianity, some of the Oriental religions also reject participation in politics. These include Taoism. Taoism teaches that politics was insincere and they actually have a very dim view of the state. They thus favor withdrawal from politics and promote life of contemplation. There are some conservative and severely ascetic schools of thought in Hinduism and Buddhism that also reject political involvement. The following religions also reject participation in politics: Jehovah's Witnesses, Christadelphians, Old Order Amish and Rastafarians.

3.3 Religion among the Oppressed

Religion by its very nature can be subjected to various usages. This is expressed in the words of Karl Marx as follows: "Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of the spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people." In his explanation as to the continual existence of religion, Hazel Croft opines that "people look to religion because it fulfills a need in a world which is full of competition, misery and oppression. In a society divided by class, where the majority of people have no real control of their lives, religion can seem to provide a solution. This is why religious ideas have often found mass support at times of great upheaval". The irony of the situation lies in the fact that traditionally the oppressed has looked up to religion in the acceptance of their position and the resignation to their fate while on the other hand the oppressors have appealed to the same religion to justify their continuous oppression of the oppressed. It looks as if the two divides are appealing to the same authority to justify what they are doing.

3.4 Radical and Conservative Religion

Among the religious people there have always been two great divides: the radicals and the conservatives (also known as the fundamentalists).

Conservative/Fundamental Religion

The Microsoft Premium Encarta defines fundamentalism as follows: "movement with strict view of doctrine: a religious or political movement based on a literal interpretation of and strict adherence to doctrine, especially as a return to former principles". Fundamentalism or conservatism has been known largely for its hard-line position on various religious, political as well as social issues. Fundamentalism as a religious principle is reflected in the three major religions of the world namely: Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Fundamentalism in Christianity Fundamentalism, in Christianity arose as a movement among Protestants which began in the United States in the late 19th century. It emphasized as absolutely basic to Christianity the following beliefs: the infallibility of the Bible, the virgin birth and the divinity of Jesus Christ, the sacrifice of Christ on the cross as atonement for the sins of all people, the physical resurrection and second coming of Christ, and the bodily resurrection of believers.

Origin

Fundamentalism is rooted in 18th- and 19th-century American revivalism. Until the middle of the 19th century, its principal beliefs were held by almost all orthodox Protestant denominations, particularly by evangelical denominations. Fundamentalism as an organized, conservative movement dates from the early part of the 20th century. It developed out of a series of Bible conferences, the first ones held in 1876. These were called by members of various denominations who strongly objected to the following: the historical-literary study of the Bible, known as the higher criticism; the attempts (still continuing) to reconcile traditional Christian beliefs and doctrines with contemporary experience and knowledge; and the acceptance of a scientific view of the world, particularly the popularization of the theory of evolution. Such trends and beliefs were opposed by many conservative members of Protestant denominations.

The more conservative members of each denomination at first attempted to exclude from their own institutions people they considered outspoken or unyielding liberals.

As a result a number of ministers and theologians were dismissed for espousing higher criticism. The exceptionally conservative, however, set up various rival bodies and educational institutions to spread their creed. Fundamentalism began to flourish in 1909 with the publication and distribution of 12 books called The Fundamentals. By the time the 12th of the series had been published, about 3 million copies of The Fundamentals had been distributed throughout the United States and elsewhere.

Development

Fundamentalism spread in the 1920s. It was strongest in rural areas, particularly in California, in the Border States, and in the South. In these areas, Fundamentalists sharply delineated the issue of biblical infallibility in historical and scientific matters. The controversy over this issue grew most intense in the secular sphere when Fundamentalists urged many states to pass legislation forbidding the teaching of evolution in public schools. Several southern and Border States, among them Tennessee, passed such laws. The Tennessee statute led, in 1925, to the world-famous trial of John Thomas Scopes, a high school instructor, who was convicted of teaching evolution in defiance of law.

The orator and politician William Jennings Bryan was an associate prosecutor at the trial; the lawyer Clarence Darrow defended Scopes. In 1968 the US Supreme Court ruled that such laws were unconstitutional. Fundamentalism lost momentum in the early 1930s. The main reasons were the acceptance by most Americans of modern scientific theories and methods, more liberal religious doctrines, and the lack of an effective national organization to lead the Fundamentalist associations. Fundamentalism, along with the related, but more moderate Evangelical movement, has since revived, primarily in reaction to such contemporary theological movements as ecumenicity, neo-orthodoxy, and Modernism. In 1948 an international Fundamentalist group was formed; centered in Amsterdam, the International Council of Christian Churches claims support from 45 denominations in 18 countries. Islamic Fundamentalism Islamic Fundamentalism is also known as Islamic revivalism or Islamism. It is the name given to a movement of religious, social, and political reform in the Islamic world. Its

particular doctrinal characteristic is the combination of traditional Muslim values based on the Shari'ah law of Islam with programmes of social and economic modernization. Most distinctively, Islamic fundamentalists (Islamists) aim to take power in Muslim states and use the state organization to carry out their objectives.

Islamic fundamentalist ideas first emerged in the salafiyya movement of Muslim purification and revival led by Muhammad Rashid Rida, a Syrian writer based in Egypt in the early 20th century. These ideas were taken up and modified by educational societies in Syria and Egypt during the 1920s; the best known was the Muslim Brotherhood founded in Egypt in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna. During World War II the Muslim Brotherhood expanded, achieving a following estimated at 2 million, developed political ambitions, and threatened the survival of the Egyptian political system. Branches were established in other Muslim countries. In 1954, however, the Brotherhood was suppressed by the new Free Officer regime, and for the next 20 years Islamic fundamentalism was overshadowed by the secular regimes, such as the Baath parties, and ideologies that dominated most Muslim states. There were, however, continued developments in the ideas of fundamentalists, notably in the work of Abu A'la al-Maududi in Pakistan and Sayyid Qutb who was executed in1966 in Egypt.

Revival

Islamic fundamentalism spread rapidly from the 1970s, aided by several factors. These included the reverses suffered by secular Arab regimes in the Six-Day War with Israel of 1967; the wealth and influence of Saudi Arabia, which patronized Islamic causes; the economic difficulties of several states during the 1980s owing to the fall in the price of oil; and especially the acceleration in the pace of modernization in Muslim countries, including the rapid growth of cities. The leaders of Islamic fundamentalism tended to be men who had been exposed to modern education and came from outside the ranks of the traditional ulema (religious scholars): their followers came especially from the new immigrants to the cities. Islamic fundamentalism is essentially an urban movement, and may be seen as a response to the problems of transition from traditional rural to modern urban economic and social structures. Doctrinally, it takes the form of hostility to the Western styles of the older secular political leadership; and more generally to certain, but by no means all, ideas proceeding from the West.

Spread of Islamic Fundamentalism

Powerful fundamentalist movements developed in many Muslim states in the 1980s and 1990s, notably in the Middle East, North Africa, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. Similar movements were visible in South East Asia, Central Asia, and Caucasia, and support was found among the growing Muslim communities in Western European states. The fundamentalists engaged widely in educational and charitable work and demonstrated the extent of their political support in elections. It is generally thought that the Muslim Brotherhood would have won far more parliamentary seats in Egypt had it not been for government interference. In 1992 the Algerian general elections were cancelled when it was supposed that the Islamic Salvation Front would win. In 1996 an Islamic party, Welfare, emerged as the largest single party in Turkey and its leader, Necmettin Erbakan, became prime minister, although resigning a year later. Islamists also won much electoral support in Lebanon, Jordan, Yemen, and Kuwait.

In 1989 a fundamentalist party, the National Islamic Front, came to power through a military coup in Sudan. In Iran the 1979 revolution brought to power a mixed fundamentalist/traditional Islamic regime and in 1996 the Taliban, a traditional/conservative Islamic movement, won power in Afghanistan by military victory. Islamist movements in various states began to build links, a process fostered in particular by Hassan Abdullah al-Turabi, the Sudanese Islamist leader, who established the periodic Popular Arab and Islamic Conference as a forum for Islamist groups.

Repression and Militancy in Islamic Fundamentalism

During the 1990s secular and other established regimes became increasingly concerned at the threat from the Islamists and began to repress their organizations. Some Islamists began armed struggle against the regimes, although it should be noted that not all militants (jihadis) were Islamists; some came from other Islamic strains. The greatest violence took place in Algeria where the Groupe Islamique Armé (GIA) began a ferocious, bloody struggle directed against government and civilians and which led to a major civil war. Other wars took place in Chechnya and Tajikistan. In Egypt militant Islamists had been active since the late 1970s and

had succeeded in assassinating president Anwar al-Sadat in 1981. They continued their attacks on government, the Coptic community, and foreign tourists. Islamist groups fought against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. A factor in militancy was the activities of so called Afghan Arabs, that is to say those Arab volunteers who had fought against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan during the 1980s and who were found in various places including Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chechnya, Sudan, and Afghanistan during the 1990s.

Best known among them was the Saudi Osama bin Laden, who went first to Sudan and then to Afghanistan. Many returned to Yemen where they were repressed in 2000 and 2001. The established regimes increasingly prevailed against Islamists who were dismissed from power: in Sudan, where Al-Turabi was first excluded from government and then arrested and imprisoned in 2001, and in Turkey, where the Welfare Party was shut down in 1998 and its successor soon afterwards. The civil war in Algeria reached its peak in 1995 and thereafter declined in intensity. As they were defeated in Arab and other countries many Islamists took refuge in Western Europe. Egypt complained of the shelter given to the militants and demanded their extradition but European governments were reluctant to take action that might be regarded as illiberal or might offend Muslim communities in their countries.

A feature of the 1990s, however, was that the Islamic militants increasingly turned their attacks against Western targets, complaining that Western powers supported anti-Muslim regimes. At first the targets were linked to Israel but the aim of the militants soon widened. In 1995 the GIA arranged a series of bomb explosions in Paris because of French support for the Algerian government. But the principal target of the Islamic militants was the United States, which was blamed for its support for Israel and for its military presence in the Arabian Peninsula following the Gulf War. In 1993 an Egyptian group bombed the World Trade Center in New York; in 1996 a US complex in Dharan, Saudi Arabia, was bombed; in 1998 there were bomb attacks on US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania; in 2000 a group attacked the US destroyer, USS Cole, while it was refueling in Aden, Yemen; and on September 11, 2001, the twin towers of the World Trade Center were attacked and destroyed. The US blamed Bin Laden for these last four episodes and they became the basis for the "war against terror" that was launched in 2001. Conservatism in Judaism Conservatism in Judaism has been reflected largely in the following movements: Judaism is closer to the Conservative position.

Orthodoxy

Modern Orthodoxy, championed by Samson R. Hirsch in the 19th century in opposition to the Reformers, sought a blend of traditional Judaism and modern learning. Orthodoxy is not so much a movement as a spectrum of traditionalist groups, ranging from the modern Orthodox, who try to integrate traditional observance with modern life, to some Hasidic sects that attempt to shut out the modern world. The emigration to America of many traditionalist and Hasidic survivors of the Holocaust has strengthened American Orthodoxy. Around the world, Orthodoxy has many regional distinctions derived from their local cultures. North European and American Orthodoxy retain a more Ashkenazic flavour, while south European, North African, and Middle Eastern Jewry has maintained a more Sephardic version. In Israel, Orthodoxy is the only officially recognized form of Judaism and elsewhere, with the exception of America, most religiously affiliated Jews are nominally Orthodox.

Zionism In Eastern Europe

Jews formed a large and distinctive social group; modernization of Judaism also took the form of cultural and ethnic nationalism. It argued for the creation of a new state of Israel and for return to the historic homeland. Like the other resurgent national movements in the east, the Jewish movement emphasized the revitalization of the national language (Hebrew) and the creation of a modern, secular literature and culture. Zionism, the movement to create a modern Jewish society in the ancient homeland, took firm hold in Eastern Europe after its initial formulations by Leo Pinsker in Russia and Theodor Herzl in Austria in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Zionism is a secular ideology but it powerfully evokes and is rooted in traditional Judaic messianism, and it ultimately led to the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. The issue of Zionism now dominates the relationship of Judaism and Israel with Muslims and Christians: it has become, often as a result of threats to Israel, a militant form of nationalism. Some ultra-Orthodox Jews refuse to recognize Israel as they believe only the Messiah can create Israel again.

Conservative Judaism

The founding thinker of Conservative Judaism was the German Zacharias Frankel, but the founder of the movement was Solomon Schechter at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The Conservative movement embodies the sense of community and folk piety of modernizing Eastern European Jews. It respects traditional Jewish law and practice while advocating a flexible approach to the Halakah. It recognizes modern criticism of the authorship and composition of the Bible and other important texts. In 1983 the Conservative movement voted to ordain women as rabbis. It is possibly the single largest Jewish denomination in America accounting for 33 per cent of synagogue affiliation. It has also recently spread to Britain and Israel where it is called by its Hebrew name Masorti ("traditional").

Radical/Liberal Religion

Liberalism is an attitude or philosophy, or movement that has as its basic concern the development of personal freedom and social progress. Liberalism and democracy are now usually thought to have common aims, but in the past many liberals considered democracy unhealthy because it encouraged mass participation in politics. Nevertheless, liberalism eventually became identified with movements to change the social order through the further extension of democracy. The course of liberalism in a given country is usually conditioned by the character of the prevailing form of government. For example, in countries in which the political and religious authorities are separate, liberalism connotes, mainly, political, economic, and social reform; in countries in which a state Church exists or a Church is politically influential, liberalism connotes, mainly, anticlericalism. In domestic politics, liberals have opposed feudal restraints that prevent the individual from rising out of a low social status; barriers such as censorship that limit free expression of opinion; and arbitrary power exercised over the individual by the state.

In international politics, liberals have opposed the domination of foreign policy by militarists and military considerations and the exploitation of native colonial people, and they have sought to substitute a cosmopolitan policy of international cooperation. In economics, liberals have attacked monopolies and mercantilist state policies that subject the economy to

state control. In religion, liberals have fought against Church interference in the affairs of the state and attempt by religious pressure groups to influence public opinion. A distinction is sometimes made between so-called negative liberalism and positive liberalism. Between the mid 17th and the mid-19th centuries, liberals fought chiefly against oppression, arbitrariness, and misuses of power and emphasized the needs of the free individual. About the middle of the 19th century many liberals developed a more positive programme stressing the constructive social activity of the state and advocating state action in the interests of the individual. The present-day defenders of the older liberal policies deplore this departure and argue that positive liberalism is merely authoritarianism in disguise. The defenders of positive liberalism argue that state and Church are not the only obstructers of freedom, but that poverty may deprive the individual of the possibility of making significant choices and must therefore be controlled by constituted authority.

Humanism in post-medieval European culture liberalism was perhaps first expressed in humanism, which redirected thinking in the 15th century from the consideration of the divine order of the world and its reflections in the temporal social order to the conditions and potentialities of people on Earth. Humanism was furthered by the invention of printing, which increased access of individuals to the classics of antiquity. The publication of vernacular versions of the Bible stimulated individual religious experience and choice. During the Renaissance in Italy the humanist trend affected mainly the arts and philosophic and scientific speculation. During the Reformation in other countries of Europe, particularly those that became Protestant, and in England, humanism was directed largely against the abuses of the Church. As social transformation continued, the objectives and concerns of liberalism changed. It retained, however, a humanist social philosophy that sought to enlarge personal, social, political, and economic opportunities for self-expression by removing obstacles to individual choice.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, you have studied the definition of the sub-urban church as well as the characteristics of the sub-urban church. You have also studied the major reaction of religion to politics and the basis for the religious opposition to political participation. You have devoted much time to the study of the development of fundamentalism in Christianity, Islam and

Judaism-the three monotheistic religions of the world and also the development of religious liberalism.

5.0 SUMMARY

The following are the major points that you have studied in this unit: Fundamentalism in religion has been expressed in the three great monotheistic religions of the world –Christianity, Islam and Judaism. Fundamentalism, in Christianity upholds the infallibility of the Bible, the virgin birth and the divinity of Jesus Christ, the sacrifice of Christ on the cross as atonement for the sins of all people, the physical resurrection and second coming of Christ, and the bodily resurrection of believers. Islamic Fundamentalism calls for the combination of traditional Muslim values based on the Shari'ah law of Islam with programmes of social and economic modernization. In Judaism, fundamentalism has been lived out in orthodoxy, Zionism and conservatism. Liberalism has been identified with modern humanism movement that decries any form of barrier on human freedom and is directed mainly against the church.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. Discuss the development of fundamentalism in Christianity.
2. What are the features of fundamentalism based on your understanding of Islamic fundamentalism?

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UNIT 7: RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

If we go by what we read in the daily press and see on local and international media, one could readily be led to believe that "democracy and good governance" are the most important political concepts in the world today. This is more so that the success of many countries have been attributed to their practice of democracy and good governance while the collapse and failure of several other regimes or governments have been explained mainly in terms of their non practice of democracy and good governance. In such circumstances many scholars have seen the need to democratize or embrace good governance as a major national priority for some countries especially those under military rule or authoritarian regimes.

In the same vein some countries such as Nigeria have paid an enormous price in terms of both human and material resources as they undertook a long and complicated process of transition from authoritarian to democratic governance. However, if the need for democracy and good governance is recognized as imperative for most political communities at the beginning of the twenty first century, there is little agreement among scholars and politicians as to what democracy and good governance actually mean. Is democracy really what everyone assumes that it is and ought to be? "a government of the people, by the people and for the people"? A related question is "what is good governance"? Does good governance and democracy have recognizable ingredients? Can we itemize and operationalise these ingredients?

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Define the concepts of democracy and good governance;
- Specify the major ingredients that distinguish between societies which operate on democratic good governance and those that do not.
- State the features in African society that promote democracy and good governance
- What are the contributions of democracy in building peaceful society in Nigeria?
- Explain the democratic experience in Nigeria since independence 1960
- Show how African democracy can help in resolving leadership crisis in modern times
- Examine the role of religion in sustaince of democracy in Nigeria

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Definition of Terms

There are two key terms that you need to define, know and employ in your every day discussion as a student of this programme. These are namely "democracy" and "good governance"

3.1.1 Democracy

The word democracy has been defined, described and constructed by many scholars and political writers in different perspectives. Sils observes that the standard definitions provided by most authors describe democracy as a system based on comparative-parties in which the governing majority respects the rights of minorities. The discussion is focused on the concepts of representation, majority-rule, opposition, competition, alternative government control and the like-hardly ever on the notion of self-governing peoples. Mijah corroborated that the word democracy has no exclusive right to the term as a label for their own version of rule by the people or governance in accordance with the will of the bulk people. Democracy therefore needs to be viewed not only from the perspective of European history, because other cultures have contributions to make towards our understanding of the term.

Sani asserts that democracy is a particular type of political process in which power, its conduct, and the limitations are determined by the majority of the citizens of the state through the established political institutions. Its emergence and development is associated with the decline and collapse of feudalism which freed mass populations from feudal economic and political bondage. The values that emerged as a result of this process include those of liberty, equality, fraternity and freedom. These values formed the basis for a new political process which entailed mass participation. It is in this sense that one can say that liberal democracy emerged along politics built and sustained by the above values. Maisamari defines democracy as the rule of the people by the people, and for the people. The rule of people means that the people are supreme and sovereignty resides in the people always. Democracy involves a social process which means people-cantered system of rule.

Ishaya, Yabo and Ama opines that democracy exists when the adult citizens of any state freely elect a group of people from among their members to represent them or be their agents for the purpose of administering their public affairs for the benefit of the entire populace. Ogunkunle defines democracy as the government of the people, by the people and for the people. A civilian government cannot claim to be a democracy unless it is produced truly as the choice of people. Della affirms that democracy is a system of government in which every citizen in the country can vote to elect its government officials; a country that has a government which has been elected by the people of the country; and a system in which everyone is equal and has the right to vote,

make decisions, among others. Durel agrees that the central tenet of democracy is the active participation of people in governing themselves. In a democratic society, there is respect for the rule of law. Yusuf further states that democracy is the way of life that concerns itself with how power is acquired and lost, exercised and shared.

As such, it ensures social, political and economic equality. The basic features of democracy includes: periodic elections, freedom of the press, participation of the people in social and political activities, enjoyment of fundamental human rights, rule of law, basic democratic equality, a homogenous society, government must be responsible to the people and respect for government opposition and a free judiciary, among others. In view of these aforementioned features, democracy is a set of institutions that permits the entire population to act as citizens by choosing their leading decision makers in competitive fair and regularly scheduled elections which are held in the context of rule of law, guarantee for political freedom, and limited military prerogative.

In political science, the term "democracy" has often been used in three senses that are fairly distinct, even though they refer to aspects of the same phenomenon. In a general sense "democracy" is used to describe a system of government in which ultimate power (or sovereignty) rests with the people against other forms of government in which the final decision-making power rests with an individual (monarchy) or with a small number (aristocracy). It is really in this sense that the Aristotelian classification of political systems into democracy is based. There is however a second sense in which the term democracy is used in political science. This is the institutional sense.

In this second sense, democracy is used to describe a system of government in which the powers of government are divided amongst different institutions such that some institutions are responsible for making laws, while others are responsible for executing the laws and yet a third institution may be responsible for mediating or adjudicating in disputes between different individual or groups who violate the laws of the land. In institutional terms, the presence or absence of such separation or distribution of governmental powers is taken as major indicator of the presence or absence of democracy. Finally democracy can be discussed in terms of the procedures by which a political system is governed. In most democracies, an essential procedure by which most essential decisions are taken is to subject them either to a popular election, a plebiscite or a referendum.

The basic rule in all such popular elections or consultations is that the opinion expressed by the majority is the dominant position that needs to be adopted while the minority opinion will be subordinated to the majority position. These three dimensions of democracy are usually either closely interwoven or not clearly separated in many works on the subject. What we need to emphasize here is the fact that each of these three dimensions is embodied in some of the popular definitions of democracy that we are familiar with such as:

> Democracy is the government of the people, by the people and for the people by Abraham Lincoln. Or "Democracy is a system of government where the majority has their way and the minority has their say" or again: "democracy is limited government" Each of these three definitions of democracy is correct to the extent to which we recognize the aspect of democracy it is highlighting. But to consider any of such definitions as good and complete for all purposes will be in correct.

3.1.2 Good governance

Is a relatively new concept, having entered the political lexicon in the 1970s and 1980s as a large number of underdeveloped countries were struggling to deal with the political and economic problems which poor political leadership had generated for their countries. By way of definition, we can say that good governance refers to a system of government based on good leadership, respect for the rule of law and due processes, the accountability of the political leadership to the electorate as well as transparency in the operations of government. Since you will be studying the rule of law in some detail in the next unit, let us now try to elaborate on the other components of the definition of good governance. These are namely good leadership, accountability and transparency.

According to a document prepared by the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria, the term leadership has several meanings. First it is designed as an art of influencing the behaviour of a group of people in order to achieve specific objectives and goals". In every society, the need for leadership in all societies cannot be disputed; for it is only with the aid of effective leadership that a society or group of individuals can succeed in attaining their political, economic and social objectives. If you accept the definition of leadership as consisting in the art of motivating people

to work together, to attain some agreed objectives, political leadership must be understood in terms of using and controlling public resources towards achieving public goals– be they political, economic or social.

Transparency in the operations of government on the other hand refers to carrying out government business in an open, easy to understand and explicit manner, such that the rules made by government, the policies implemented by the government and the results of governments activities are easy to verify by the ordinary citizen: A very simple illustration will help you to understand the concept of transparency in government: Assume that the Government has decided to build a rail way line from Lagos to Sokoto or Calabar to Maiduguri, or again Yola in Adamawa State to Ibadan in Oyo State. This project needs to be executed in a particular way in order to meet the requirements of transparency. First of all, the processes of designing the railway line must be open to as many competitors as possible.

Once a design has been selected in an open context, the tender for the real construction must be an open one, allowing the best bidder to execute the job. Finally, the total cost of the project will have to be specified and agreed upon from the beginning such that there will be no behind the scene additions or variations of the project sum. Similarly no individuals or groups will impose their own extra charge on the cost of the project. You will notice that we have not treated the subject of accountability as a component of good governance. This expression "accountability" simply refers to the fact that those who occupy positions of leadership in the government must give account or subject themselves to the will and desire of the people they lead. Accountability usually takes three distinct forms: First, the rulers come to their positions of leadership through the express will and mandate of the people.

This mandate is usually given in free and fair elections. Secondly, the policies and programmes adopted and implemented by the government are usually those that the majority of the electorate has accepted during popular elections. Finally, the government is accountable when it readily accepts the decision of the majority of the pollution to transfer their support to another leadership group or party. A very simple indicator of the accountability of a government is the readiness of a ruling party to transfer power to an opposition party that has won a general election. The cancellation of election results, refusal by a government to accept defeat in an election or the invitation of the army or police to take over the government of a country after an election or the deliberate pursuit of policies that have been popularly condemned by a large

section of the population of a country – all represent the absence of accountability on the part of a political leadership.

3.2 Inter-Relationship between Democracy and Good Governance

It is very vital for you to note that in many societies' democracy and good governance work so well that it will be difficult for you to tell where democracy and good governance begin. It is therefore your responsibility to apply some of the criteria and features discussed above in identifying societies that are governed on the principles of democracy and good governance. For example:

(i) In whose name, interest and authority does a ruling group claim to hold and exercise government power?

(ii) Does the government accept or reject the functional distribution of power among different institutions in the society?

(iii) How those in authority are selected for their positions? Are they chosen, in free and open elections or are they selected otherwise?

(iv) Does the government seek to dominate and control the totality of the political, economic and social life of the society or does it accept the autonomous existence of other groups in the economic, social and political spheres?

(v) Is there a recognisable link between the political, social and economic programmes pursued by the government and the expressed wishes of the people?

(vi) Is the business of the government conducted in an open manner or is it operated by some secret ruler?

(vii) Does the government willingly accept criticism or will it silence all contrary voices?

(viii) How does the government treat the fundamental rights of its citizens?

It is clear that a positive or negative response to each of these questions will help you to determine in all cases whether or not a given society is governed on the basis of democracy and good governance.

3.3 Good Governance and Bad Governance

Why, for instance, you may ask, the World Bank considers the installation of "good governance" in the States of Sub-Saharan Africa as a pre-condition for the sustainable development of their economies? What in effect is governance, and what distinguishes good governance from bad governance? These are some of the questions, which Steve Nkom tried to provide answers to in his contribution to the Volume edited by Professor Adedeji and Professor Ayo (2000). To quote Nkom directly, "the concept of governance refers to the use of political power to manage a nation's public affairs and to shape its economic and social environment in line with perceived notions of public interest and societal progress". (Nkom, 2000:75) It is precisely from the great impact which the use of political power either positively or negatively leaves on a society that arise both development and progress or stagnation and underdevelopment in the community.

Good governance therefore means the positive exercise of political power to attain positive societal goals and development while bad governance could be taken to be synonymous with the negative exercise of political power, usually for the private, sectional or group interests of the key political actors. This quotation from Landell-Mills and Serageldin (1992:310): "good governance depends on the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimately committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order and deliver public services, able to create an enabling environment for productive activities and equitable in its conduct".

It could easily be seen from the ingredients of good governance listed above that very few African States could score very highly on any of these variables particularly in the 1980s, hence the need for the World Bank to prescribe good governance for them. However, even if it was not clearly stated above, responsible, legitimate and accountable, or good governance would be easier to attain under a democratic regime than in a military autocracy. To that extent the World Bank's call for good governance in Africa was also a clarion call for democratisation of African countries then under the form grip of military dictators in the 1980s and early 1990s.

3.4 The Democratic Experience

Many unsuccessful attempts have been made to democratize Nigeria. This is a proof that Nigeria has not been insulated from the prevailing democratic aspiration of those days. This is largely because, since the collapse of communism in Africa and transition from military dictatorship to civilian rule, democracy has become fashionable in almost all the parts of the Africa and a measure of progress in most Nigerian societies. However, our collective experience shows that we are still far away from a truer democratic culture. Some recent experiences in the Nigerian society seem to suggest that we are one step forward today and ten steps backward the next day. The attempt to democratize Nigeria and other African nations is either a farce or an attempt to take leadership by hook or by crook, which has often resulted in wanton destruction of lives and property. This has been the tale of so many communities in Africa, including Nigeria. O'Neil notes that:

> With regard to the failure of democratic advancement, Nigeria appears to be in a class of its own. Here is a country, which as far back as 1979, when large number of African nation were under various kinds of dictatorships, organized a free and fair election which successfully transferred governance from the military to elected civilian rulers.

Before the applause of such a singular event died down, the Nigerian military decided to plunge the continent into diehard obscurantism. Democratic concern among the military has all but completely atrophied with postponements and cancellations of elections which are perceived as mere ploys to perpetuate incumbents in power. Nigerian nation was at the forefront of the liberation of South Africa from the darkness of the apartheid system to a modern democracy. Today, the democratic credentials of South Africa are a distant dream of many well meaning Nigerians. In the sixties and seventies, when dictators of various shades and colours were having a field day, African countries were among the few countries in the world in which continuous change of government (even though mostly through military coup) was a constant feature, and in which no self-perpetuating oppressive ruler could take root. The failure of democracy to take root in Nigeria and the Nigerian inability to transit from one democratically elected government

to another until of recent, have resulted in frustration, cynicism, fatalism and lack of confidence in the democratic process. Kukah notes that:

> If one were to conduct a survey on what ordinary Nigerians imagine democracy means to them, there are many chances that the researcher will be met with great derision. This is irrespective of whether it is on the streets or the classrooms. Most of the respondents will, proverbially, do what Nigerians love doing best: answering questions by asking other questions. Thus, in responding to a question like, what is democracy, most Nigerians would simply shoot back, na democracy we go chop? (Can democracy feed us?) or wetin be dat? (What does that means?).

Kukah further states that:

The tragedy of this lies in the fact that this climate of cynicism has become an all-encompassing phenomenon. For example, even among the so-called politicians themselves, there is so much self-deprecation, self-immolation, stone-throwing, name-calling, buck-passing, bickering, treachery, blackmail and wangling that there are many who would argue that it is their incoherence, more than anything else, which has made the epileptic military interventions become so much part of our nation's life. In some Nigerian societies the annulment of June 12, the sacking of the Interim National Government, the failed Abacha transition programme and our current democratic experience teaches us that democracy is an expensive project, in terms both human and material resources. It requires discipline, patience, vision and commitment. Kukah observed that; "so many years of experiencing the traumas and layers of oppression from the colonial and the neo-colonial states rendered many a Nigerian too weak to fight both in defence against (sic) and for democracy.

As such, no sooner had new democracies emerged in Nigeria that they began to crumble with ease, threatening to return to the state of nature for many". However, the Nigerian case seems to be unique. The frequency and manner with which one government is replaced by another leaves much to be desired; democratic processes have been brought to an abrupt end by military coups and counter coups. Meanwhile, the politicians manipulate their way to power only to be manipulated out again. The first Republic took off on the 1st of October 1960 and came to

an abrupt end by the infamous military coup of Major Chukumah Kaduna that eventually brought Aguiyi Ironsi to power from 1966-1967. His reign was short lived and he was ousted by General Yabubu Gowon. Only to be purged away by Murtala Mohammed. Like Aguiyi Ironsi his reign was a matter of months from 1975 to 1976. He was murdered in a coup attempt led by Lt. Col. Bukar Suka Dimka. The drama eventually led to the enthronement of Olusegun Obasanjo as military head of state.

Olusegun Obasanjo tactically handed power to a civilian administration in 1979 and gave Nigeria her first executive pesident in the person of Alhaji Shehu Shagari. The situation took on a dramatic turn with the re-election of Shehu Shagari in 1983. He was barely settling down when Major General Mohammed Buhari in another military coup chased him out of power. Within two years of his reign, General Ibrahim Babanngida in 1985 toppled Mohammed Buhari. As the drama unfolded, this led to Babangida's controversial "stepping aside" on 23rd August 1993 to make room for the Interim National Government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan. General Sani Abacha cashed in at this confusion resulting from the nullification of the presidential election of June 12 1993 (alleged to have been won by Chief M.K.O Abiola) and the illegitimacy of the Interim National Government and sacked the Interim Government. He was still perusing and perfecting his self-transition programme when death struck. This saw the emergency of the "child of necessity" General Abdulsalami Abubakar.

Abdulsalami Abubakar. He eventually handed over leadership to another ex-military head in the person of Olusegun Obasanjo through the ballot. With Obasanjo we have at least passed the first hurdle that is transiting from one civilian administration to another. The fact that Christianity is one of the main religions in Nigeria makes it pertinent to ask what role can and should the Christian leader play in the sustenance of democratic culture in Nigeria. But before we answer the question on what role should the Christian leader play in the sustenance of democracy; let us first of all understand what a Christian leader should be.

3.5 African Democracy and Leadership Crisis

The past independence political history of leadership experiments has shown that democracy is viewed by most people as a "game of smartness". The prevalent Machiavellian philosophy held by many Nigerian politicians who tried to separate morality from politics

informed the negative attitude with which they go into politics. Thus, the view widely held by Nigerians today is that politics is a "dirty game". This presupposes that there are no moral laws governing politics, if there are, they are not meant to be observed by those who practice it. Thus, from Plato in the 4th century BC to John Loace in the 19th century AD, philosophers and political scientists have tried to show that justice and the rule of law are the most essential ingredients of good governance. Although many Nigerian political scientists and politicians seem to disagree with the negative philosophy of the Italian pragmatic political thinker, Niccolo Machiavelli, who tried to separate morality from politics and advised rulers to ignore morality and the rule of law if they want to be successful in their political game; his "grabbing of it by all means", becomes justified.

Many Nigerian ambitious leaders still behaved as if this is the best way of perceiving the game of politics in Nigerian societies. For them, the most important thing in politics is to grab power by force and once one has succeeded in doing that, his grabbing of it becomes justified. In this case, "the end justifies the means". It is a pity that cultural factors have also contributed to the apparent lawlessness associated with democracy in Nigeria in the face of demand for an ideal political leadership. Corruption is endemic in Nigerian democracy. The attitude of the average Nigerian towards money, fame and leadership is questionable. These values are often constituted into ends rather than means to the end. Consequently, it becomes a case of "the end justifies the means". It does not matter whether you kill or dupe to become a political leader or rich over night. What counts and makes your act noble is that you attain your end.

This obviously demonstrates crises of values and calls to question one's whole understanding and appreciation of the meaning of life and political good governance. The Nigerian political game and leadership crises, therefore, is a reflection of the cultural and moral situation which hinders political leaders from meeting up with the demands of an authentic good governance in Africa. Many Nigerians have a deep conviction that you must be a cheat in order to succeed or bribe your way to get what you want. The philosophy prevalent in Nigeria today is that "if you cannot beat them, then join them". These kinds of philosophy at best heighten materialism and secularism as counterproductive. It does not certainly bring any sanity to national life and political governance. Since Nigerian politicians live and breathe in Moral Ocean, they are invariably influenced by the Machiavellian ethics which dominate national political life and leadership.

The high rate of political ills and lawlessness has resulted to the breakdown of laws and order in Nigerian society in contemporary times. The uneasiness of Nigerian political leaders to fully implement constitutional prescriptions for sustainable democracy and good governance has put to jeopardy the very relevance of the rule of law to the existential situation of contemporary Nigerian citizenry. By implication, it follows from the foregoing that Nigerian politicians who are part and parcel of the socio-political experience, should actively participate in the tasks of nation-building through "federal servant" model of leadership in democratic dispensation. Democratic good governance enables citizens of any nation to achieve their set objectives, goals, values and aspirations that help them in moving their country forward. And for them to achieve this, the leadership must be knowledgeable, pragmatic, responsive, emotionally mature, diligent, committed, accountable, consistent, prudent, and God fearing.

Since the crises of political leadership in Nigeria are not necessarily an epistemological inadequacy but an indication of a moral malady, there is need for a re-conceptualisation of sufficient solutions to the nation's problem. What is needed now is not sermonizing on what ideal political leadership entails, but rather putting into action what is conceptualized. It seems reasonable therefore to suggest that if the record sheets of Nigerian politicians and elected leaders must be credible they should resolve to make the moral values their guide of life. This is the only way that the crisis of political leadership in African and Nigeria can be resolved.

3.6 Democracy and Governance

In the world today, democracy and good governance are topical issues which occupy central place in contemporary debate. In Nigeria, democracy and good governance have created a vacuum in human relations which makes the history of political leadership to be incomplete without mention of the periods of disagreement, discord and war. There have been different unsuccessful attempts by European Powers to democratized Nigeria as proof that Nigeria was not insulated from the prevailing democratic aspirations of those days. This is largely because, since the collapse of communism, democracy and good governance have become fashionable in almost all parts of the world. Democracy came with new game of western political democratization, which in the words of Kaur, can be described as "liberal democracy", and based on western culture as opposed to African multi-cultural society.

Nigerian political and democratic developments can be traced to as far back as when the different kingdom leaders governed the whole of African nations. There were numerous kingdoms in Africa such as the kingdoms of Egypt, Carthage, Kush, Axum, Songhai, Ghana, Mali, Benin, Mwenemotapa, Zulu, Bamba and Chewa, just to mention a few. These kingdoms were represented and governed either by monarchies, were they had centered political authority such as in old Yoruba kingdom, Benin kingdom and the Hausa states. When there were no central political authorities such as in Tiv land and Igbo land decisions affecting lives of the people were taken by councils. Membership of such councils was by kindred and family representation. In most cases the eldest member of that family or kindred usually represented the family or kindred in the council. The religious beliefs of the people moderated the conducts of the leaders. There were established norms and values that guided the conducts of the leaders and people in the society. Violation of these laid down taboos and norms resulted in their consequences.

For instance, among the Tiv of central Nigeria, it was reported that during the first republic, the late Senator J. S. Tarkar, the founder of United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) went into alliance with Chief Obafemi Awolowo Action Group (AG). He was reported to have sworn to an oath (Swem) declaring that he would not mislead his people (the Tiv) by joining Northern People's Congress (NPC). The politicking that followed resulted into the killing of thousands of Tiv sons and daughters who belonged to the Northern People's Congress (NPC) in what was referred to as "Atemtough".

However, when the second republic came into being, J. S Tarkar, who was the sole leaders of Tiv people at that time, abandoned Chief Awolowo and joined forces with elements of defunct NPC to form the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) on which plat form he was elected Senator J. S. Tarkar spent barely a year in the senate when he suddenly fell ill and died of swollen stomach and legs. The oral tradition has it that the ailment was as a result of the breach of the oat he had sworn. Similarity in Yoruba land, it is said that Yoruba political leaders prefer to swear on the Bible or Qur'an than swearing by their local deities such as Ogun, Sango and Orisha. These are few of the many examples of the influence of African indigenous religious beliefs and practices on the conducts of their leaders and peoples.

Between 14th and 17th centauries AD, the entire land of Africa was bombarded with intrusion of foreign ideologies following the many European voyages of discovery and

exploration. Some of the people who had great influence on the whole discovery journey around Africa include: Prince Henry the Navigator and Vasco Dagama, Bartholomew Diaz (Warren, 1998). In the hinterland, missionary explorers included people like William Murray, Richard Lander, Henry Molton Stanley, Robert Moffat, Dr. David Livingstone, John Speke, Richard Burton, among others. These people made great impacts in the spreading of what could be called the "new western culture". Some of these people came to Africa as Christian missionaries and later worked for their government (Sholdfiled, 1975). It was this inland exploration and the western influence upon the entire people of Africa that led to the partition of the continent in 1885-1888.

This partition of Africa brought about the dividing up of African land among various European nations, such as: Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and Germany. Each of these nations took control of one part of Africa or the other and established their own political administration. Thus, the governments in Europe took control of the continent of Africa. British colonies for example were controlled from London, while all French colonies were controlled from Paris. The partition and colonization of Africa led African continent into a period of political struggle and democracy. The desire for Africans to rule themselves brought the strong idea of African nationalism. This resulted in the independence struggle from the white colonialists. The struggle for independence finally paid up because all African nations got their freedom with the exception of South Africa which remained under the apartheid regime until early 1990s.

The last move of western democratization was seen from the late 80's and the middle of 90's when the western rich nations forced many African nations to adopt the western form of multiparty democracy if they were to receive any economic support. No wonder, wa Mutharika, blames the western colonialists for the destruction of African economy, culture and democracy. The adoption of western form of multi-party democracy by many African nations, especially Nigeria, witnessed different unsuccessful attempts to democratize the citizens. This was a proof that Nigeria was not insulated from the prevailing democratic aspiration of those days. This is largely because, since the collapse of communism and transition from military to civilian rule as earlier mentioned, democracy has become fashionable in almost all parts of Africa and a measure of progress recorded in Nigerian is not an exception.

Many years of experiencing the traumas and layers of oppression from the colonial and neo-colonial states rendered many African peoples too weak to fight both in defences against

undemocratic culture and bad governance, and Nigerians are not an exception in this regard. As such, no sooner had new democracies emerged in Africa than they began to crumble with ease, threatening to return to the state of nature for many. The transition from military dictatorship to civil rule is now a thing of the past in many Africa societies. However, this has thrown a new challenge to every meaningful African. At least we now know that it is one thing to have democracy and democratically elected government and a different ball game altogether to sustain democratic rule, that would eventually translate to lasting democratic culture that is peculiarly Nigerian that is a democracy that will meet the yearnings and aspirations of all Nigerian people.

This means that in democratic governance, the masses should be able to determine who should govern them and have a say in the governance of their country by their elected representatives, be involved in passing the laws of the land, control and contribute to the decisions taken by their elected leaders. Above all, they should have freedom of speech, of the press and of opinion, as people are used to expressing their views and to questioning decision taken by their leaders. Thus, Abubakre quoting Kukah threw more light on how the culture of democracy and governance should be in Africa states thus:

> Yet it still remains in the realm of the abstract political scientists have since expanded this into an easier and broader term. It is fashionable to know examine democracy as an ideology and the philosophy of governance which sets a high premium on the basic law, the right to property, free flow of information and the right of choice between alternative political positions. On the other hand, democracy as politics is concerned with the institutions and processes of governance that they elicit, which tend to foster consensus whilst simultaneously promoting and sustaining respect for the ideology of democracy.

The democratic culture and good governance can only yield positive dividends in Nigeria when leadership is modelled on selfless-service to humanity and Nigerian elected leaders begin to see themselves as shepherds rather than masters or Lords. The democratic good leader is a shepherd and his responsibilities as a shepherd include, to love and care for his flock or masses, lead them to greener pastures, to guard and protect his flock from danger (cf. I Sam 17:34-35; Amos 3:12). This revolutionary idea of a leader as the servant of all, and service to humanity are

the hallmarks of democratic leadership greatness. No wonder Jesus, the greatest servant-leader said of Himself "If one of you wants to be great, he/she must be the servant of the rest; and if one of you wants to be first, he/she must be the slave of all". For even the Son of Man did not come to be served; he came to serve and to give his life to redeem many people (Mark 10:43-45).

Yusuf summarized Jesus' ideal of leadership in these words: "true leadership must be interpreted in the context of servant hood and summed up in total and unparalleled service" (cf. Mark 10:45; Lk 22:20 ff). Jesus is the model of humble service in contrast to the hunger for power and corruption in the world. He washed his followers' feet and taught them to serve in words and in deeds (John 13:13-13). He emphasizes the greatness of servant hood which culminates in self-giving, emptying to the extent of taking a form of a slave and be absolutely available to serve the needs of the people entrusted to you as a leader. In view of our present political landscape ant the fragile nature of our democracy, the tasks of good governance in the sustenance of democratic process cannot be over emphasized in Nigerian society. The vast majority of people who out of frustration have lost hope in the democratic regime are yearning for true democracy that guarantees them the constitutional right to choose leaders who could be accountable to them through voting, which is free and fair.

Our democratic elected leaders enjoy leadership and are trusted by followership. They must continually give hope to their people that their votes count and make a difference capable of determining the direction in which Nigeria should take. This include, giving the people a sense of meaning and belonging in their lives. The cynicism and fatalism that the masses now have can only be remedied by assuring them that as responsible citizens, they have a lot at stake and vital role in the whole process of selecting candidates to stand for election and the organization of elections. Many people, communities and parts of our continent/countries are aggrieved and feel hurt because of the corrupt process of democratization in some African countries which is not free and fair and has often resulted in violence, hatred, destruction of lives and properties and betrayal among others. Aware of the fact that nothing works without peace, democratic governance must continue to insist on free and fair political game that is the hallmark of the message of peace and reconciliation for the sustenance of enduring democratic virtues.

These virtues must be imbibed by the citizenry to positively influence the entrenchment and sustenance of democratic culture in most African countries, especially in Nigeria. The internalization and realization of some of our religious virtues which cut across religious beliefs

can form a solid foundation for democracy in African continent. These virtues include, need for peace, forgiveness, accountability, fairness, the rule of law, honestly, selflessness and reconciliation. They are values that contradict the anti-democratic vices that have infested our polity in contemporary times. Nigerian democratic elected leaders must take a leaf from the example of their counter parts in other parts of the world. We are one step forward today and ten steps backwards the next day. The fact that indigenous religion, Christianity and Islam are three major religions in Nigeria makes it pertinent to ask what role traditional religion can play in the sustenance of democratic culture and good governance in Nigeria.

3.7 Religion and Democracy

One cannot adequately discuss the role of indigenous religion in sustainable democracy and good governance without first treating the place of indigenous religion in Nigerian society. This is because religion and democratic leadership have to be established before one can talk of the contributions indigenous religion can make in sustaining democracy and good governance in Nigeria. Indigenous religion is a phenomenon that resides wherever people are found. It is a phenomenon that is vital for social maintenance and regulation of life-style of members in Nigerian society. O'Neil posits that the tendency of indigenous religion has opened many fields of study that correlate the human behaviours with the value system of the society. This correlation is dependent on shared system of governance that reinforces, reaffirms and maintains moral development of any nation. Indigenous religion performs major functions in sustainable democracy and good governance in Africa. These functions include:

- To provide support for social norms in the society
- To enhance social integration in the society
- To provide stability in the society and
- To provide motivation and interpretation of important life-cycle in the society

These roles help the citizenry to define what democracy is and help in sustaining good governance asserts that indigenous religion possesses moral authority and ethical sensitivity which complements the role of good governance for effective national development. Religion

enables citizens to exercise stability and conserving functions which make them to resist change both in their doctrines, policies and secular affairs, having relevance in development of moral standard approved by the society. This indicates that indigenous religion is tagged to forces which mobilize the hearts and minds of people towards better initiatives for good governance in Nigeria. Idowu lamented that the advent of foreign religions (Islam and Christianity) in Nigeria have threatened the religious landscape for sustainable democracy rather than promoting better initiatives for good governance in Nigerian society. Democracy and good governance can be viewed as two sides of the same coin. Nigerian society needs democracy and good governance to function effectively.

Haar asserts that indigenous religion is a potential force for mobilizing, reshaping and inducing moral actions which guides people to define democratic values and good governance in Nigerian society. The norms, laws, values, and indigenous taboos which human beings observe, keep, forbid as moral standard and values comes from God Himself. They are fruits and offspring's of indigenous religion put in human hearts to enable them do just things according to the approved standard of moral norms in the society. Oguejiofor corroborated that morality acts as a powerful aid of social and moral integration enforcing good governance in the society. It has moral codes to energize and motivates people in seeking for democratic good governance as well as in making moral decisions in Nigerian society. Indigenous religion not only functions as a tremendous force of vindication, but also enforces and perpetuates various other institutions of governance in Nigeria. Ushe affirms this thus:

> Indigenous Religion relied on cultivation of emotional feelings of identity and harmony with sacred values with the view of turning one to the past more than the future. This tends to integrate indigenous moral values which have suddenly become unacceptable in the wake of modernism into western oriented ones. Indigenous religion enables Nigerian citizens to accept societal values such as interdependence of other people, cooperation, justice, fairplay, good governance and honesty for the development of democracy in contemporary Nigerian society.

Indigenous religion has the capacity of inculcating moral values in the citizens that will not only achieve the democratic culture but also lead Nigerians to the bus stop of sustainable

democracy and good governance. The general objectives of indigenous religion were derived from sustainable development of humanity and the society. This implies that indigenous religion should be able to promote national unity, economic development, transformations of people's morals and good characters in Nigerian society. With the tenets of African Indigenous beliefs if there are incorporated into modern political life, some of the sad experiences would not arise.

For instance, those who are put in charge of public funds would be conscious of the fact that if they misused such public funds the African religious deities they had sworn to would strike them immediately. Besides, the wanton killings and destruction of properties that is associated in most countries in Africa would be avoided because African religious deities are abhors wanton destructions of lives and properties for whatever reason.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This first unit of our course has tried to help you understand the meaning of democracy and good governance, which are two concepts that are very much in political discussions in contemporary times. Essentially, democracy refers to a political system in which ultimate power or sovereignty rests with the people and the processes of decision-making and implementation in the society are designed to encourage popular participation and dispersal of power and authority in the society. Good governance on the other hand lays emphasis on the way political power, the authority, and coercive instruments of the society are effectively put to use. Good governance is essentially using political resources of the society to achieve goals and ends that are in the interest of the majority of the people. In addition to this popular test, good governance emphasizes the use of open methods to accomplish the goals of the society, the consciousness on the part of those who govern that they hold a stewardship of the mass of the people who can withdraw that stewardship.

5.0 SUMMARY

Perhaps this summary of the meaning and tests of the concept of democracy put forward by an author in political science can help you understand better how a democratic society works under a democratic government. The majority (directly or indirectly) makes or confirms laws and

elects or confirms the government its officials, and its policies. But the minority that disagrees today with these policies or laws may become a majority tomorrow. Under a democratic political system therefore a minority must remain free to express its views, to agitate for them, to organize, and to try to win converts to its side. It must have this freedom not only in its own interest, but also of the majority in order to get the chance to get different kinds of information and the right to change one's mind.

Thus the minority opinions may serve as listening aids to the community. When minority views are silenced, the majority is crippled in its ability to compare ideas, to learn new ones, and, if so wishes, to charge its actions. If majorities and minorities are to learn from each other, government must be open and secrecy must be restricted to a minimum. The more secrecy there is in government the fewer democratic decisions can be made by voters, interest groups and public opinion on basis of adequate information. (Deutsch, 1980) Even though the author we have just quoted does not say so explicitly, we need to note that the tests listed above refer both to democracy and good governance. The emphasis on the right of the majority to their own views, the need for the free flow of information and the necessity to limit secrecy is symptomatic not only of a democratic society, but emblems of good governance.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Define the concepts of democracy and good governance;
2. Specify the major ingredients that distinguish between societies which operate on democratic good governance and those that do not.
3. State the features in African society that promote democracy and good governance
4. What are the contributions of democracy in building peaceful society in Nigeria?
5. Explain the democratic experience in Nigeria since independence 1960
6. Show how African democracy can help in resolving leadership crisis in modern times
7. Examine the role of religion in sustaince of democracy in Nigeria

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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MODULE 3   HISTORY OF POLITICS

Unit 1: The Concept of Politics

Unit 2: The Nature and Scope of Politics

Unit 3: The Development of Politics

Unit 4: Colonialism and Nationalism

Unit 5: Contending Explanatory Models of Instability

Unit 6: Neo-Colonialism and Nigerian Economy

Unit 7: State Politics and Citizenship

UNIT 1 THE CONCEPT OF POLITICS

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction

2.0 Objectives

3.0 Main Contents

    3.1 Notion and Definitions of Politics

    3.2 Nature and Character of Politics

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    3.4 Origins and Problems of Politics in Contemporary Nigeria

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    3.6 The Functions of the Modern State

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Summary

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7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will be introduced to African Politics. This is a follow up to your study of Introduction to politics. This unit will introduce you to the application of the major principles

and concepts you have studied. The various issues that will be examined in this unit include the colonial background of African politics, the structure and nuances of political party formations in the post-independence era, and the major indices that define the nature and character of African politics. The unit will introduce you to the factors that are responsible for unstable political systems in Africa, and problems associated with such upheavals.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand the major features of African politics
- Appreciate that African politics is largely characterized by instability
- Explain the factors responsible for this instability.

1

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Notion and Definition of Politics

It is difficult to explain and analyze the nature and character of African politics without taking into account the encounter of these states with foreign influence, under colonial rule. What is now described as colonial legacy is an admission that this asymmetric colonial relation had a formative, if not disruptive or destructive influence on politics in Africa. Almost five decades after that threshold popularly referred to as the "African Year of Independence", it would amount to self-delusion to claim that African states today are free from the corrosive effects of European values, systems and institutions. Indeed, the manner these foreign models were grafted into African indigenous structures, continue to have consequences for contemporary African politics.

The key issue here is whether an ex-colonial, new state in Africa, and a plural society, composed of old nations can evolve viable political systems, institutions and structures that can sustain political order. The reality today is that African post-colonial political setting is a confusing mixture of authoritarian and democratic parliamentary/liberal institutions. While the

ideas of supremacy of the law and the structuring and organizations of a political community from which authority derives were consciously introduced by the colonial administration, corresponding consciousness that the ultimate control of government power play with the people was lacking. According to Jordan (1978:60), the absence of these elements of modern constitutionalism added to the existing confusion due basically to the co-existence of elements belonging to three constitutional traditions: pre-colonial African constitutionalism, the constitutional system of indirect rule and authoritarian administration and the Western model of liberal democracy.

This created an almost irreconcilable gap between the authority of a strong and effective government struggling to modernize and integrate, and the liberty of the citizens, who were anxious to translate the pre-independence "revolution of rising expectations" into concrete developmental fulfillments. The failure to resolve this conflict, which had its roots in the colonial era, was the major dilemma faced by African leaders in the immediate post-independence era. Rather than find solutions to this problem, the inheritors of political offices were so much pre-occupied with the struggle for power and appropriating to themselves the privileges of offices vacated by the colonialists that little time was left for constructing political agenda appropriate for a developing society.

In a recent commentary on Africa's unique sociological setting, Henry Kissinger (2001:203) remarked thus: "in no other continent did national borders emerge so directly and intrinsically from the way the imperial powers delineated their spheres of control". Awolowo's (1947) description of Nigeria as a "mere geographic expression", a phrase arising from the country's colonial origin is, therefore, equally applicable to most African states. This explains why unlike in most countries in the world where the state precede the nation, in Africa the nation precede the state. Consequently, it is difficult in African states to wrest a national consciousness from among a plethora of ethnic groups, or forge a national identity where centrifugal forces are strong.

3.2 Party-Politics in Post-Independence Era

In the movement towards national independence of African states, political parties were in the vanguard of that struggle. In Nigeria, for example the National Council of Nigeria and

Cameroon (NCNC), led by Herbert Macaulay, and later, Nnamdi Azikiwe gave nationalist struggle a boost. In former Gold Coast, now Ghana, the struggle for independence was initiated by the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), until Kwame Nkrumah broke away and formed the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP), proclaimed Positive Action and won independence for Ghana in 1957. In Sierra Leone, the Sierra Leone National Council, (SLNC), in Gambia, the Peoples Progressive Party, in Zimbabwe, both ZANU and ZAPU formed the Patriotic Front to demand for self-government, and eventually led their countries in the immediate post-independence era. In South Africa, the ANC struggled, not for independence, but for majority rule from the apartheid regime.

During the struggle for independence two factors accelerated the pace of parties' formation: the devolution of power by colonial authorities who attracted the nationalists, and induced them to convert their movements to political parties, and the modification of electoral system and constitutional adjustments that made it technically possible for political parties to seek power constitutionally (Sklar 1983). It is a fact that political parties were the prime force in the struggle for independence in Africa; it is however an irony that immediately independence was granted, they became sources of instability and undemocratic policies. The reason for this is not farfetched. Unlike in the advanced democracies like Britain where the party system is at the center of parliamentary government, political parties in African states are rarely institutionalized, lack clear cut ideology, are not issues or programme driven, not properly organized, lack party discipline and are not mass based movements, that can speak for the whole country.

In his study of political parties in French West Africa, Morgenthau (1964:336-41) made a distinction between what he called "patron" and "mass" parties. Although Smith (2003: 151) described the distinction as "less neat in fact than in definition," yet it gives us an idea of the organisational structure of parties in most African states in the early years of independence. By Morgenthau's definition patron parties were weakly organized, undisciplined, with little direct membership participation. The individuals were of interest to patron parties only for the purposes of exercising their franchise. Most parties in Africa fit into this category. In the rare cases like in Ghana, Ivory Coast or Guinea where we had "mass" parties, citizens were often mobilized or driven by ideologies to perpetuate leaders in office.

We must, however, admit that in spite of the observed deficiencies in parties their leaders were wise enough to close ranks, and forged a common front to demand for, and win-self

government for their countries. But they faced the first major challenge in transiting from anti-colonial agitators to managers of newly independent states. Because these parties were a curious combination of traditionalism and liberalism, they were therefore unable to reconcile these conflicting values. Traditionalism enjoined political leaders to take care of everyone regardless of party differences. However liberal democracy dictated that government should alternate between the majority and the minority. But in a continent where divisions are along tribal, ethnic or religious lines, the opposition, often the minority ethnic groups, usually found it difficult to understand the idea of their permanent exclusion from power, along with the privileges it confers. Under this circumstance, the political process boils down to a quest for domination, even repression, not alternation in office. This is the context within which the tug of war arena developed, and which in turn defines the nature and character of African politics. We can now identify and explain the salient features of African politics.

3.3 Features of African Politics

a. Crises of Legitimacy

The first major feature of African politics is the problem of leadership legitimacy. Legitimacy simply connotes wide acceptability of the government in power by the entire citizens. According to S.M. (1963) Lipset in his book "Political Man", legitimacy of a government is determined by three factors: how power is acquired, the performance or efficiency of government, and the level of freedom and welfare enjoyed by the citizens. In Africa, rules governing electoral competition are not followed, elections, are not free and fair, the performance of most governments are poor, while the freedom and welfare of the people are not guaranteed. A government that lacks legitimacy is prone to have its policies misinterpreted, creates communication gaps between the government and the governed and may not enjoy the benefits of feedback on its policies that can assist in policy re-evaluation, and re-formulation.

In the extreme, an illegitimate government imposes a reign of terror on the citizens to force them into submission or acquiescence. The regimes of blood-thirsty Idi Amin Dada of Uganda typified this tendency in the past, and its contemporary equivalent is Robert Mugabe's infamous rule in Zimbabwe. In the December 2007 General Elections in Kenya, incumbent

President Muai Kibaki manipulated the electoral commission to deny the opposition candidate, Railia Odinga of Orange Democratic Coalition from emerging victorious. After months of violence Kibaki agreed to a power sharing formulae, which created and gave the post of Prime Minister to the opposition candidate. In March 2008, Robert Mugabe re-enacted the Kenya drama in Zimbabwe, and ensured that the opposition challenger, Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change did not secure the mandatory 50 plus one percentage of the votes, required to win the election in the first ballot.

Before he resigned as President, Thabo Mbeki of South Africa successfully brokered a power sharing deal between the two feuding parties. Whatever the pretences by Kikabi and Mugabe, there is no doubt that they no longer enjoy credibility as leaders and their governments have also ceased to possess electoral legitimacy. The Kenya and Zimbabwe's cases are, by no means, unique; they merely represent the latest, and the frightful dimensions the crisis of legitimacy is assuming in Africa.

b. Corruption and Monetized Politics

Corruption has remained the bane of African politics. It has continued to undermine the effectiveness of political leadership. Awolowo (1966) defines corruption as abuse, misuse and disuse of power. Forms of corruption in African politics include bribery and manipulation of electoral process, nepotism in award of contracts and favouratism in dispensing patronage. While clientilism and patron-client relations are common in all societies, they define, and constitute the essence of African politics. Using Nigeria as a case study, Richard Joseph (2006) coined the word 'prebendalism" to describe a situation "where an individual seeks a patron and leans on him in order to benefit from the privileges of the upper class" Joseph's formulation is not too distinct from Karl Marx's notion of "primitive accumulation" – acquiring wealth in excess of what is reasonably or economically justifiable. J.F. Bayart's coinage of the term "politics of the belly" is understandable given the high level of poverty in most African states, but certainly was not intended to justify the massive corruption and looting of public treasury by some African leaders. Before their exit from power, some Africa leaders, notably Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (now CDR) were infamously reputed to be richer than their states.

The consequence of the pervasiveness of corruption in African politics is not only absence of development but also decline in state capacity; and ultimate state failure. This problem is a major factor in the deepened economic stagnation and under-development of African states, arising from diversion of states resources meant for development to serve the private interests of political leadership. In Nigeria, recent scandalous revelations about the diversion of PTDF funds, aviation intervention funds, National Integrated Power Project (NIPP), award of oil blocs and payment for signatures bonuses, are enough for us to conclude that in spite of public pretences to fight corruption, the menace appears to have been institutionalized in the nation's body polity. When this is added to the God fathers syndrome, and the monetisation of the political space, it is no surprise that the culture of impunity is gaining ground in the country.

The Nigerian case illustrates the trend in most African states where governments are rarely responsible because they run from accountability at the polls. The process of governance not only lacks transparency, the rule of law is weak, while the mass media and civil society groups that are to serve as watch dogs are either inept, or have been compromised. It is a fact that where there is power and discretion there is always the possibility of abuse, especially when the power and discretion have to be exercised within the context of scarcity. This problem therefore calls for appropriate policy response, process monitoring and system realignment.

c. Personalised Leadership

As a result of the dominance of a few individuals in the politics of African states, politics has always been based on personalized leadership. Ali Mazrui (1997:7) identified five leadership styles among African leaders:

i. Intimidatory leader, who relies primarily on fear and instrument of coercion to assert his authority, and specialized in the use and/ or threat of use of force to extract compliance from his fellow countrymen;

ii. The patriarchal leader, basically one who commanded neo-filia reverence, a near father like figure like Jomo Kenyatta and Nelson Mandela;

iii. The leader of Reconciliation, who relied for his effectiveness on qualities of tactical accommodation and capacity to discover areas of compromise between otherwise antagonistic

view points; such leaders like Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria and Milton Obote of Uganda remained in control as long as he was successful in politics of compromise and synthesis;

iv. Mobilization leader, whose main drive was ideology, with a dose of charismatic qualities, which helped in mobilizing the populace in the direction of a particular social action, as effectively employed by Nyerere in Tanzania, and perhaps, Nkrumah, in

Ghana;

v. Bureaucratic leader; the low-key type who relied on efficiency rather than evocation, procedure rather than passion.

Mazru's typologies are closely related to David Apter's views on political leadership in Africa, except that he laid emphasis on the integrative role of leaders in a plural African setting, in order to cope with the turbulence of political modernization. Hesitant to repress, but anxious to dominate the political scene, African political leadership, especially in the first decade of independence created a personality cult around themselves. Kwame Nkrumah, for instance, preferred to be called Osagefor (The saviour) while Nyerere also admired being called Nwalimu (The Great Teacher). Rather than institutions driving the political process the personal attributes of African leaders, either to hold the state together, or cause crises, are more important than the form of government, or the institution of checks and balances. For Instance, the stability which Ivory Coast enjoyed under Felix Houphouet Boigny, disappeared after his death and exit from office. While laying claim to be democratic most African leaders behave in the manner of maximum military rulers, in effectively demonstrating J.J. Rousseaus view that "the strongest is never strong enough to be master unless he transforms might into right and obedience into duty".

d. Sit-Tight Syndrome

Another feature of African politics is the sit-tight syndrome. This is the desire and consistent refusal of rulers and leaders in Africa to leave office at the end of their tenure; even when they had become unpopular. Whether elected into office, or they accede to power through a military coup such leaders begin to scheme and plot how to stay in power indefinitely. Obafemi Awolowo described this virus in African politics as "tenacity of office", which in turn makes the opposition parties to develop the tactics of "pull him down syndrome". For this reason in most

African states the electorates have lost faith in the ballot box as the only legitimate means of changing a bad government. Until recently, military intervention is considered the only available option, lending credence to the axiom that "those who make peaceful change impossible makes violent change inevitable".

Beyond the lust for power, another cause of the sit-tight syndrome in Africa is corruption. There is the pervading fear that a succeeding government could call an ex-leader to account for his stewardship. Therefore, there is the tendency by incumbents to tinker with the constitution in order to secure for them an extended or elongated tenure. To an average African politician the positive definition of jurisprudence that law is written unaffected by the desire of anyone is meaningless. The list of sit-tight African leaders is endless. In Gabon, Omar Albert- Bernard Bongo had been in power since 1967, and from 1971, he had been re-elected for about seven times. Mummar Gadaffi in Libya (1969), Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe 1980, Hosni Mubarak in Egypt (1981), Paul Biya Cameroon (1982), Yoweri, Museveni in Uganda (1986), Blaise Campore of Burkina Faso (1987), Omar Al – Bashar of Sudan (1989) and Yahaya Jamel in Gambia 1994.

In the recent past, the unduly long tenure of Nyerere in Tanzania, Kaunda in Zambia, Eyadema in Togo, Mobutu Seseseko in Zaire, Houphouet-Boigny in Ivory coast, Kerekou in Benin Republic, Banda in Malawi and Sekou Toure in Guinea, cannot be justified other than on account of lust for power. This second category of African leaders either died in office, or was humiliated out of office. Uganda, in addition, had the odd record of producing Presidents Yusuf Lule and Goddfrey Binassa who both served for few days, both of which were symptomatic of the political instability in the country. South Africa is a singular positive exception where Nelson Mandela graciously bowed out of office after completing a single tenure of four years.

In Nigeria, General Abacha, as a serving military head of state was adopted by the then five registered political parties as their sole candidate; as a ploy to prolong his government (Babatope 2003). Similarly, until the plan was frustrated by the National Assembly, it was no secret that President Olusegun Obasanjo nursed and pursued a selfsuccessionbid that would have entailed an amendment of the constitution to enable him contest for a third term in office.

3.4 Recurring Political Instability

The combined effect of the problems we identified above is that political instability has become a recurring feature of African politics. Being plural societies, African states are divided along segmental cleavages. These cleavages may be religious, ideological, linguistic, regional, cultural, racial or ethnic in nature; which are advanced in their primordial forms, or promoted, at times, extra-territorially. The fundamental assumption of the western model of democracy is that politics arises out of diversity of interests, which can be aggregated, reconciled and resolved, using established rules and mechanisms. But because in Africa there is absence of agreed traditions in politics, rival groups or claimants to political offices employ illegal or unconstitutional means, including enlisting the support of the military, to secure advantage.

The consequence is recurring political instability. In every political system, those who are in power face democratic opposition, who would normally replace them, either to change or modify existing policies. But in Africa the ruling party equate opposition with treason, or in the extreme are defined as "separatists" or "secessionists" Desperate to contain what is ideally a legitimate contribution to constructive dialogue, the sitting government often pushes the opposition groups underground, where they remain and continue as potent threats to political stability.

4.0 CONCLUSION

We have introduced you to the course African politics. We began by acknowledging the impact of colonialism on the nature and character of African politics. We also recognized that a society just emerging from colonial rule had many ills to correct, and many problems to solve, and that the failure of African political leadership to frontally confront this challenge is at the root of political crises in Africa. We identified the salient features of African politics, and explained why political instability is a recurring decimal in the continent.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have discussed in general terms the nature and character of African politics. In subsequent units, we shall discuss in greater details all the relevant issues, events and episode-past and present – that have defined the complexion of politics in Africa. In specific terms, the basic issues we addressed in this unit include:

- The impact of colonialism on the evolution of extant political values, process and systems in Africa
- Failure of African politicians to abide by the rules of the game and the consequent volatility of African politics
- The wide gulf that exist between the government and the governed, arising from failure on both sides, to reconcile authority with liberty.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Identify and discuss the major features of African politics
2. Discuss with illustrations the sit-tight syndrome in African politics.
3. In what ways is the problem of corruption related to the crises of legitimacy in African politics

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UNIT 2 THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will be introduced to what Politics is all about. In your day to day activities, you must have heard of the word Politics without actually understanding its meaning. What do you think is Politics? This question has been asked many times in every age before the birth of Jesus Christ – when the Greeks first introduced the idea of the 'polis' meaning city-state. It is from 'polis' that we derive our modern world politics. Aristotle (384-322 BC) in his book POLITICS first used the term politics to refer to the affairs of a Greek city-state. Aristotle observed that 'man by nature is a political animal'. By this he meant that the essence of social existence is politics and that two or more men interacting with one another are invariably involved in a political relationship. Aristotle observed that whenever men seek to define their position in society or as they attempt to achieve personal security from available resources and as they try to influence others to accept their points of view, they find themselves engaged in politics.

In this broad sense, everyone is a politician. Today, the word politics is an elastic one. To some authorities, politics is concerned with the ordinary day-to-day activities of the community in which we are all personally involved. To others, including Harold Lasswell, politics has been equated with the study of power or the study of influence and the influential. In fact, Lasswel went as far as to define politics as "who gets what, when how" which underlines the importance of power as the major ingredient of politics.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain what politics is all about
- Explain the development of political science as a subject of study and why political science is regarded as a science.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Definitions/Explanations of Politics

Generally speaking, it is difficult to define politics because there are many definitions by various scholars that conflict or sometimes complement one another. Ernest Baker (1962:1) stated that politics is the process of making and execution of governmental decisions or policies. Harold Lesswell and Abraham Kaplan (1950) defined politics as authoritative, allocation of values or who gets what, when and how. Austine Ranany (1975: 35-38) maintained that politics is a process of resolution of conflict in society. For Max Weber, (1947:145-154) politics is the operation of the state and its institutions. Politics for him means the sharing power to influence the distribution of power among individuals and groups within a state. Lasswell suggests that politics is essentially the struggle for positions of power and influence by which those who succeed in monopolizing such positions in society are able to make decisions that affect the lives of every citizen within the country. More will be said about power later when we examine it as a topic on its own.

For our purpose, politics can simply be defined in three ways: First, it attempts to discover the general principles, formation and functioning of government. Secondly, it is concerned with people and the way in which they make decisions and the way those decisions are reached. Thirdly politics is that part of the social sciences which treats the foundations of the state and the principle of government, governmental, social and economic programmes, international relations, organizations and cooperation. Politics goes beyond the activity of government, the political parties and the politicians. Politics is a universal phenomenon- that is, it is present in all human organization such as the family, trade unions, corporations, universities, etc. In all these organizations, politics is characterized by struggle for power and influence, conflict, bargaining, reconciliation, resolution and consensus.

Politics can be played at a national level or internationally. At the national level, the failure of the Nigerian political elite in 1962-66 gave the military the opportunity to intervene in our political process. History repeated itself in 1983 when the political elite again failed to settle their differences following the 1983 October general elections. Again, the military employing their monopoly over the use of force and the acquiescence of the Nigerian people swept the political elite off the political stage and ruled until 1999. Similarly, it was politics at the international level when the Palestinian and the Israelites partly resolved their age-long military/ideological confrontation over Palestinian home land in Gaza. Also it was a political action/decision when ECOMOG troops were sent by West African States to war-torn Liberia for peace-keeping operations. This helped to stop the fighting from getting worse. Peace has now returned to Liberia after 15 years of fighting.

3.2 The Development of Political Science as a Field of Study

The Greeks as we have seen established a broad definition of politics. However, between the sixteenth and early twentieth century's, European political philosophers established a narrower definition of politics. For example, Jean Bodin (1430-1596), a French political philosopher, who first used the term "political science" (science politique) was a lawyer. Because of his legal training, Bodin focused on the characteristics of the state more than any other aspect of the political process. He concentrated on analyzing the relationship between the organization of the state and how this relates to law. Another French philosopher Montesquieu

(1689-1755) argued that the functions of government could be encompassed within the categories of legislation, execution, and the adjudication of law. Montesquieu categories found their way into the United States Constitution and other Republican Constitutions with the assumption that liberty was best assured by separation of powers between the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary.

It was the work of these two philosophers that imposed a restricted definition of politics on political scientists. Political scientist for years concentrated almost exclusively on the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary as major concern until recently. In the mid-nineteenth century, Darwin's theory of evolution and natural selection began to exert a powerful influence upon political science. In fact, Biology came to reinforce history in the study of political institutions, which were seen as the product of historical change and, apparently organic evolution. The development of sociology after the 19th century prompted political scientists to give more attention to the impact on government of social forces not defined with reference to the institutional outline of the state. The industrialization of previously agricultural societies and sharpening clash between the emergent working classes and their employers (industrialists) compelled a closer study of economic facts, forces and trends, as these produced political problems and helped to shape political behaviour.

The advent of World War II brought about a re-think by political scientist that Legislature, Executives, agencies, and the Courts did not exist by themselves and that they did not operate independently of one another or of the other political organizations in society. Political scientists in America and Europe embarked on new fields of study by examining the political parties, interest groups, trade unions, as well as corporations and church organizations. Ideologies have also commanded the attention of political scientists because of their (ideologies) role in the formation of Ultra-Right and Ultra-Left political parties and movements. It is all the above institutions of the state plus other political and social organization that constitute the political system. What this mean is that politics is not just about government and politicians but a complex process involving everybody in a given society, attitudes to issues, interest groups, group organization, electioneering, as well as the formulation, implementation, and interpretation of law.

3.4 The Meaning of Verifiability

A proposition is said to be verified when it has been checked or tested by many specialists in the relevant field of study and when they all agree that other scientists and the general public can believe it to be true. However, there are no certainties in anything but probabilities. The probability that some propositions will hold true, is so great that they mcan be treated as certainties, but in the social sciences, this is not the case. If scientific knowledge is to be verifiable, science must be empirical, that is, scientific statements must be descriptive of the empirical world. Similarly, if scientific knowledge is to be verifiable, the desire for reliability and, ultimately, for verifiability has been the chief factor leading to the adoption of quantitative methods.

3.5 The Meaning of Systematic

Knowledge is said to be systematic when it is organized into an intelligible pattern, or structure, with significant relationships made clear. To achieve a system, scientists seek out similarities and differences putting things together. While looking for similarities and differences, scientists also look for relationship, whether correlations or causal relations concern for system means that scientists want to proceed from particular towards general facts, from knowledge of isolated facts towards knowledge of connections between facts. Thus, "the ideal of science is to achieve a systematic inter-connection of facts".

3.6 The Meaning of Generality or Universality

The knowledge provided by a telephone directory anywhere in the world is verifiable, and it is presented in an orderly and systematic way. However, it lacks generality or universality in the sense that a New York Telephone Directory is useless in the City of Lagos. The object in science is to develop generalizations so that explanation and prediction can occur to the maximum possible extent. Scientific knowledge on any subject, designed to facilitate explanation and prediction can be thought of as a pyramid rising from a base of specific bits of data up through more general facts to propositions, laws, and theories. Turning to the second part

of our questions: Is political science really scientific? Political science may be defined as the study of politics using some scientific tools.

Political science is not and cannot be an exact science in the sense of the natural sciences like physics, chemistry, geology, etc. The reasons for this are that the subject matter which political scientists investigate is generally uncertain in forms – that is, people are generally unpredictable. Thus, the conclusions reached after investigations are dubious and the findings are not all of general or universal applicability. Political science is not an exact science like the natural sciences because the material with which it deals is incapable of being treated exactly the same way as physics or chemistry. While physics and chemistry are natural or physical science, and deal with matter; the social sciences which include political science, sociology, economics, etc. deal with man in society.

Man in society is not only unpredictable but also extremely cumbersome to observe accurately because he is ever-changing and his environment is difficult to control. Political science like other social sciences has a scientific character because of the scientific method it employ in examining phenomena. That is, it is a science to the extent that it accumulates facts that are verifiable, links these facts together in causal sequences (systematically) and from these, makes generalizations of fundamental principles and formulate theories. The laboratory method of the natural science may be difficult for political scientists to adopt but they could observe historical facts and the facts of contemporary world as the basis for political analysis, classify, connect and compare. However, political scientists do not agree on the appropriate categories for classifying the phenomena of politics. This disagreement reflects the difficulty of observing and the frequent impossibility of quantifying the variables that political scientists identify.

Finally, because political scientists deal with large numbers of people in an uncontrolled setting where each individual has many behavioural options open to him, it is near impossible to make generalization on observed facts. The most crucial fact is how one defines, much less measure, political power and influence the very substance of the political process. Our assessment of political power will be highlighted when we examine power, authority and influence in another unit.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The development of Political science as a discipline shows its attempt in enhancing its scientific status. We are however informed that political science is not and cannot be an exact science in the sense of the natural sciences like physics, chemistry, geology, etc. The reasons for this are uncertainty and unpredictability of the subject matter which political scientists investigate.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have been exposed to what politics is about; the development of political science as a distinct field of study and its scientific status. We tried here to show you that although there is no universally acceptable definition of the word "politics", however, there are some working definitions that will guide you as new "entrants" in the field.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Discuss what you understand by the term politics.
2. Describe the development of political science over the years.
3. Why are the natural sciences more 'scientific' than political science?

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UNIT 3: THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICS

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit, we studied the nature and scope of political science. We also discussed the definitions and explanations of politics, the development of political science as a field of study, what science is and what makes political science a science, the meaning of verifiability, the meaning of systematic and the meaning of generality or universality. In this unit, you will be studying African Politics.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the development of politics in classical period
- Examine the history of politics in medieval period
- State the development of politics in reformation and renaissance periods
- Highlight the political changes that took place in the periods of reason and enlightment

3.1 The Development of Politics in Classical Period

There are three developmental stages of Greek politics from Plato to Marcus Tulius Cicero.

3.1.1 Plato (427-347 BC)

Sabine and Thorson observed that while the Great Age of Athenian public life fell in the third quarter of the fifth century, the Great Age of political philosophy came only after the downfall of Athens in her struggle with Sparta. Prior to this era, the Athenians were not much engaged in either reading or writing. As such, scarcely anything was preserved on prevailing political theories. There however exist indications that during the fifth century, active political debates on issues of public concerns and the conduct of government were common place. Political questions of various dimensions were actively asked and discussed and the Greek even conceptualized what exist today as comparative government. Herodotus treatise on *History* exposed the curiosity in Greeks of the fifth century to the laws, customs and institutions of other parts of the world.

It became obvious that some behavior which were upheld and praised in one place maybe condemned and ridiculed in another. Individual sought to live within the standard of their various countries as such customs and laws formed the basis of regulation and social control. The book contained dialogues on issues relating to such forms of government as monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. Such contending issues as the virtues of monarchy, or the rule of one-best man and subsequent degeneration to tyranny, the desirability of the so-called equality in democracy and nature of mob rule which is a corrupt form of democracy were widely discussed. At a point, political debates in Athens centered on economic issues and the polemics between proponents of aristocracy of the old and well born families of land owners, and democracy dominated by new interests of foreign trade with aim to develop Athenian power on the sea.

Meanwhile, while contention and debates on the best form of government was prevalent in Athens, conservatism and political stability dominated the trends in Sparta. In view of the dynamics of Athenian politics and democracy, the political system in Athens was described in terms of progress especially with the eventual triumph of democracy during the political career

of Pericles. Generally, Athenian political history and that of other Greek city states remained characterized by active party struggle and rapid constitutional change. The relevance of economic factors in Athenian politics is revealed by the triumph of democracy over aristocracy in the city state.

In the supposed Xenophon work, *Constitution of Athens*, the author conceives the constitution as a perfect instrument of government and a perverted form of government. The author conceives democracy as a device for exploiting the rich and putting wealth in the hands of the poor. He observed that with democracy, one cannot even identify a slave out there on the street. For him, the popular court was simply a clever way of distributing pay to six thousand jury men and compelling Athens allies to spend money in Athens while waiting to transact their judicial business. The principal ideas presented by the *Sophist* are that nature should not be conceived as setting a rule of ideal justice and right. They repudiated the impression that slavery or nobility of birth are both natural phenomena. Specifically, Sophist Antiphon argued that there was no difference between a Greek and a Barbarian. In his book, *On Truth*, he equivocally affirmed that all laws are merely conventional and therefore contrary to nature. Justice may be thought of as a convention having no other basis but the law of the state itself while nature is considered non-moral.

Consequently, most of what is just according to the law is against nature and men who are not self assertive usually loose more than they gain. Nature assumed the image as simply egoism or self-interest and a rule of strength. This stimulated contention and attempts to establish the true nature of nature. One dominant perspective conceived nature as a law of justice and rights inherent in human being and the world. The other conceived nature non-morally as self assertion and egoism manifesting in the desire for pleasure and power. *Socrates* exhibited the rational tradition of raw philosophy based on the belief that virtue is knowledge which can be learned and taught. He was engaged in the quest for a valid general rule of action and imparting through education. Furthermore, he was concerned with generating precise definition of issues with the belief that if ethical concepts can be defined, a scientific application of them in specific cases can be attained.

The ensuing science in his view can be used to sustain a society of demonstrable excellence. This was indeed the vision philosophers like Plato were concerned with in their search for the best state. Socrates remained an outspoken critic of the Athenian democracy based

on the assumption that any man can assume an office. He was accused of corrupting innocent mind and later executed. The work of Socrates greatly influenced Plato. ***Aristophanes*** (445-380 BC) was a Greek philosopher who defended the aristocratic order of Greek politics. For him, democracy was not a good form of government because it created avenue for unqualified people to occupy political positions. In his dialogue in *The Knight,* he observed that although the sausage seller lacked the competence to conduct public affairs, that such lack of competence was in essence, an advantage. Similarly, he denounced early reforms in Athens where poor citizens paid as jurors, ridiculed the practice of justice. Like Zenophon, he maintained that many unqualified people joined the juror for the sake of money.

In his work, *Ecclesiazusae*, he outlined the new order of the state. Here, he advocated that women are to oust men from politics and that marriage should be discarded and all women and men will be common and free. Consequently, he proposed that children should be kept in ignorance of their true parents and are to be equally the sons of their elders. This he demonstrated in the dialogue between Praxagoras and Blepyrus. He further advocated that labour is to be performed only by slaves while gambling, theft and lawsuits should be abolished.

The ideas of Aristophanes are very representative of his time. This coincided with the same time when Plato wrote his manuscript on *Republic*. As such, it is not very clear who actually preceded the other. However, one basic fact is that Aristophanes favoured communism or a system of communal ownership of property as a substitute for democracy which he condemned.

Writing on the ideal state or *polis*, Plato describes it as a just state based on justice which is the earthly manifestation of the human soul. He identified two basic principles that underlie the polis as the mutual needs of the individuals that make up the polis and secondly, the various aptitudes to be realized. From this, he describes the polis as a natural growth with its modes and mores and based on the needs and aptitudes of its members. Plato shares the view that to establish or govern a state is a labour to which the human hero shows him most godlike while the life of political service is the crown of human blessedness. Plato further identified three major social classes in the ideal state as the rulers, the soldiers and the producer or workers which corresponds to the soul's three operative elements and corresponds respectively to the *Nous*, *Thumos* and *Soma*.

The Nous or Reason refers to the Philosopher Kings or rulers who with the aptitude of wisdom govern and legislate for the polis. They are the lovers of wisdom, truth and knowledge.

This category of officials should neither marry nor own property. The Thumos or Spirit refers to the soldiers or auxiliaries and guardians of the rulers. They are primarily concerned with the defence of the polis. This class must be sustained by courage and fortitude to keep order and control of workers. They must be subject to the Philosopher Kings and must possess neither property nor wealth. The Soma or body refers to the producers, that is, the workers in the society. Members of this class are guided by desire for satisfaction of senses and with their desire and temperance provide the polis with material subsistence. They are subject to the Nous and Thumos and have no significant political responsibility. Members of this class can get married and own property. Plato contends that in an ideal state the harmony of these classes are safeguarded by justice especially as it concerns their duties and rights.

Plato extols "Aristocracy" as the best form of government where only the best rule for general interests. To this form of government, he describes others as inferior. He subsequently identified and describes other forms of government as degeneration from the ideal state. Specifically, he described *Timocracy* as a government of honour and ambition; degeneration from the ideal state where dissension exists between two elements of the governing class; the rule and the guardian no longer experience cordial relations with their subjects. The violence of their opposition is resolved in compromise under which they distribute land and houses to private ownership, while the subjects (producers) whom they once guarded as freemen are reduced to menials and constantly held in subjection. Another deviation from the ideal state is Oligarchy. Here, the few rule in their narrow and selfish interests.

Under oligarchy, it is wealth or property qualification that counts and political power is in the hands of the rich and the poor have no share of it. In oligarchy, the process of accumulation is in private hands and this heightens the possibility of perversion of the law. Here, the state suffers as majority of its citizens are poor and beggarly and often lack proper education. Plato further classified democracy as another deviation from the ideal state. He conceived democracy as originating from the conflict of the minority rich and majority poor wherein the poor emerged victorious. He described it as a society where there is equality of political opportunity and freedom for every individual member to do as he likes. Such a society for Plato lacks high principles and ideals and has little restriction in desires as the law is underrated.

The last degeneration from the ideal state in the views of Plato is Tyranny. This society is characterised by oppressive government either by an absolute ruler or group of rulers which

administer with cruelty and without due regards for the rule of law. Plato attributes it to the excessive emphasis of liberty under democracy. In his view, tyranny is the worst form of government. In a nutshell, Plato's ideal state is based on reason and controlled by the Philosopher King. It pursues the attainment of the best objective of the state which he classified as happiness. He proposed that the Philosopher King must emerge through a rigorous process of education which involves both theoretical and practical orientations and that this education will continue until they are at least fifty years. It is expected that the curriculum must cut across discipline such as mathematics, physical education, politics, psychology and philosophy. Only persons who have successfully completed this curriculum and emerged outstanding will take their turn to steer the turbulent ship of statecraft. It is on this background that Plato is classified as an idealist or utopian political philosopher.

3.1.2 Aristotle (384-322 BC)

Aristotle conceives politics as an integral aspect of ethics which is a completion and verification of it. He maintains that the moral ideal in political administration is only a different aspect of that which also applies to individual happiness. Man, for him is a political animal and a fraction of the city state and that the city state is the necessary condition for civilized life and the only means for bringing human faculties to their highest form of development. He further contends that humans are by nature social beings, and the possession of rational speech (logos) in itself leads us to social union. He conceived the ideal state (*koinonia politike* - political community) to be an offshoot from the family which evolved through the village community, to town, nation and subsequently the state.

It is usually based on sharing as it was originally formed for the satisfaction of natural wants. The ideal state exists afterwards for moral ends and for the promotion of the higher life. The state as such is no mere local union for the prevention of wrong doing, and the convenience of exchange. It is an institution for the protection of goods and property and also a genuine moral organization for advancing the development of humans. The family, which chronologically exists prior to the state, involves a series of relations between husband and wife, parent and child, master and slave.

Aristotle describes slavery as a natural institution and the slave as a piece of live property which has no existence except in relation to his master. He likened the relationship between a slave and his master to that between the body and soul; however, he maintained that we must distinguish between those who are slaves by nature, and those who have become slaves merely by war and conquest. He described the communal ownership of wives and property as sketched by Plato in the *Republic* as based on a false conception of political society. In his view, the state is not a homogeneous unity, as Plato believed; rather it is made up of dissimilar elements. The ***classification of constitutions*** is based on the fact that government may be exercised either for the good of the governed or of the governing, and may be either concentrated in one person or shared by a few or by the many. There are thus three true forms of government: monarchy, aristocracy, and constitutional republic. The perverted forms of these forms of government are tyranny, oligarchy and democracy.

The difference between the last two is not that democracy is a government of the many, and oligarchy of the few; instead, democracy is the state of the poor, and oligarchy of the rich. Considered in the abstract, these six states stand in the following order of preference: monarchy, aristocracy, constitutional republic, democracy, oligarchy, tyranny. He notes that with a perfect person, monarchy would be the highest form of government, but that the absence of such people puts it practically out of consideration. Similarly, true aristocracy is hardly ever found in its uncorrupted form. It is in the constitution that the good person and the good citizen coincide. Ideal preferences aside, then, the constitutional republic is regarded as the best *attainable* form of government, especially as it secures that predominance of a large middle class, which is the chief basis of permanence in any state. With the spread of population, democracy is likely to become the general form of government.

Which is the ***best state*** is a question that cannot be directly answered. Different races are suited for different forms of government, and the question which meets the politician is not so much what is abstractly the best state, but what is the best state under existing circumstances. Generally, however, the best state will enable anyone to act in the best and live in the happiest manner. To serve this end the ideal state should be neither too great nor too small, but simply self-sufficient. It should occupy a favorable position towards land and sea and consist of citizens gifted with the spirit of the northern nations, and the intelligence of the Asiatic nations.

It should further take particular care to exclude from government all those engaged in trade and commerce; "the best state will not make the "working man" a citizen. Such a state should provide support for religious worship and secure morality for itself through the educational influences of law and early training. In Aristotle's ideal state, the essential features of citizenship is that it should be a relation between two equals, rendering a voluntary loyalty to a government having lawful rather than despotic authority. Aristotle affirms that *education* is of primary importance in a polity because it promotes the progress of the constitution by positively moulding the character and perception of the citizens.

As such, he insists that education should be guided by legislation to make it correspond with the results of psychological analysis, and follow the gradual development of the bodily and mental faculties. Children should during their earliest years be carefully protected from all injurious associations, and be introduced to such amusements as will prepare them for the serious duties of life. Their literary education should begin in their seventh year, and continue to their twenty-first year. This period is divided into two courses of training, one from age seven to puberty, and the other from puberty to age twenty-one. Such education should not be left to private enterprise, but should be undertaken by the state. There are four main branches of education: reading and writing, Gymnastics, music, and painting.

They should not be studied to achieve a specific aim, but in the liberal spirit which creates true freemen. Thus, for example, gymnastics should not be pursued by itself exclusively, or it will result in a harsh savage type of character. Painting must not be studied merely to prevent people from being cheated in pictures, but to make them attend to physical beauty. Music must not be studied merely for amusement, but for the moral influence which it exerts on the feelings. Indeed all true education is, as Plato saw, a training of our sympathies so that we may love and hate in a right manner.

3.1.3 Marcus Tulius Cicero (106-43 BC)

Cicero associated the origin of the state with man's natural gift of social spirit which draws him always to partnership. A state in his view cannot exist permanently or in any form except a crippled condition, unless it depends upon or acknowledges the consciousness of mutual obligation and the mutual recognition of rights that bind its citizens together. It is therefore seen

as a moral community, a group of persons who in common possess the state and its laws. Such a community represents an association of a good number of people based on justice and partnership to secure common good. It is based on this that he described political governance as *res populi* or the *res publica,* meaning "the affairs of the state" or "Commonwealth." He extended this logic further by insisting that unless a state retains it nature as a community for ethical purposes held together by common ties, it is nothing but what was later described by St. Augustine as "highway robbery on a large scale."

It is on this basis that he observed that the Commonwealth is the people's affair; and the people is not every group of men, associated in any manner, but is the coming together of a considerable number of men who are united by a common agreement about law and rights and by the desire to participate in mutual advantages. The state he therefore argued is a corporate body whose membership is in the possession of all citizens and supplies its members with the advantages of mutual aid and just government. As such, its authority arises from the collective power of the people and political power when rightly exercised, is nothing but the corporate power of the people. From this, he argued that the state cannot exist permanently except it depends upon, acknowledges or gives effects to the consciousness of mutual obligations and recognition of rights that bind its citizens together.

It flows from the above that the state and its law in the purest sense is always subject to the moral and natural law which flows from God. This law transcends human choice and institutions. (Sabine and Thorson 1973) Writing on the best form of government, Cicero exhibited faith in the Polybian Cycle that is a belief in the excellence of a mixed constitution evolved from the historical cycle of constitutions as expressed by Polybius. The Polybian cycle was a representation of the orderly alternation of good and bad constitutions, from monarchy to tyranny, from tyranny to aristocracy, from aristocracy to oligarchy, from oligarchy to moderate democracy and from democracy to mob rule. Cicero's thesis revolved on the emergence of a perfect state based on mixed constitutions whose principle will evolve from the historical development of Roman constitutions. His logic is drawn from the fact that this constitution was contributed by many minds working under diverse circumstances and embodying piecemeal solutions of various political problems as they emerged. From this, he maintained that the Roman constitution was the stable and perfect form of government that has ever evolved.

The well centralized system of authority presented in the Roman law reflects not only administrative unity of the empire but also the ancient conviction that the state is supreme among human institutions. In this tradition, there was no thought of a divided allegiance in which another loyalty will compete with the claim of civic duty and not evident gulf between the City of God and the earthly city. There exist some similarities and distinction between the ideas of Cicero and Seneca especially as it concerns the ability of statesmen to deal with social problems. First, both men shared an eclectic stoicism which nature represented and a standard of goodness and reasonableness. They also described the great age of the Republic as a time when Rome achieved her political maturity and afterwards decline into senility, corruption and despotism. Their point of departure however rest on the fact that whereas Cicero held the illusion that this era may be recaptured, Seneca expressed pessimism and despondency insisting that the era of illusion was over.

Furthermore Seneca like Cicero, rejected the Epicurean pursuit of private satisfaction sought by the neglect of public interests. In the view of Seneca, dependency on a despot was preferable to dependency on the people because the mass of men is so vicious and corrupt that it is more merciless than a tyrant. He argued that a political career has little to offer the good man except the annihilation of his goodness. As such, he contended that a good man has little to do for his fellows by holding political office. He however envisaged a social service which involved no function of a political sort and maintained that it was the moral duty of the good man to offer his service in this capacity. This is another turn to the Stoic doctrine that every man is a member of two commonwealths- the civil state of which he is subject and the greater state composed of all rational beings to which he belongs by virtue of his humanity.

Seneca further noted that the greater commonwealth is a society rather than a state. This commonwealth is bound more by morals and religion than by legal or political ties. As such, the wise and good man renders service to the society even though he has no political power. This service is rendered by virtue of his moral relations to his fellow men as well as through philosophical contemplation. In his view, the man who by virtue of his thought, become a teacher of mankind, fills a place at once nobler and more influential than the political ruler. Likewise, Seneca considers the worship of God as another truly human service. It is significant to note that Seneca expressed his ideas in an age when the growing need of spiritual consolation

extolled religion above secular interests and as the only means of contact with a higher range of realities.

Furthermore, the essentially secular unity of life was breaking down and religion was achieving its independence beside and even above the life of the state. The growing influence and interest of religion became embodied in the institution of the Church which now began to lay claim to the loyalty of the individual. Seneca was conscious of the inherent sin and misery in human nature. He posited that human wickedness is ineradicable and continually haunts the individual as no one escapes it. From this he added that virtue consist of the struggle for salvation. As such, his ethics placed high premium on human sympathy and gentleness and reveals a tendency towards humanitarianism. These virtues are consistent with the Stoic tradition. Seneca rejected the ancient belief that the state is the highest agency of moral perfection. He had a glowing account of the Golden Age which in his view preceded the Age of Civilization. He argued that in the Golden Age, men were still happy and innocent; they loved a simple life without the superfluities and luxuries of civilization.

They were not indeed either wise or morally perfect for their goodness resulted rather from the innocence of ignorance than from practiced virtue. In Seneca's state of nature, men have not yet acquired that great agency of greed, the institution of private property. For him, it was the growth of avarice that destroyed the condition of primitive purity. He further contended that so long as men remained pure, they had no need for government or law; they obeyed voluntarily the wisest and best men, who sought no advantage of their own in ruling over their fellows. Unfortunately, the advancement in art brought with it luxury and corruption and men and rulers became self seeking and tyrants respectively. Consequently, law and coercion became inevitable and government became the necessary remedy for wickedness. Seneca's doctrine of Golden Age was derived from the haunting sense of decay in the Roman society of Nero's reign.

His conception of law as a mere cure for sin is at variance with the Utopian notion of law as true philosophy while his belief in a primitive condition of purity is implied in the Christian notion of the fall of man. Furthermore, his insistence that private property did not exist in the state of nature tallies more appropriately with the condition of communism but is disputed by lawyers who insist that ownership of property is in accord with natural law. Such a view became pronounced following the doctrine that poverty was morally superior to riches and monasticism

to a secular life. It need be highlighted here that Seneca's doctrine in no sense suggests a subversive attack on the private property, law or the existence of government.

Rather, it implies that these institutions represent at best, an ethical second-best which will not be required in a perfect society characterized by purified human nature in place. The logic which Seneca seems to advance is that law and government backed by coercion are the divinely appointed means for ruling mankind in its fallen nature. Based on this, he posits that the government has an indivisible claim to obedience and loyalty. Seneca's emphasis on the existence of government as a remedy for human evil reflects an enormous shift in moral opinion from the orthodoxy set by Greek political philosophers on political institutions. For instance, Aristotle expressed the opinion that the city state is the necessary condition for civilized life and the only means for bringing human faculties to their highest form of development.

On the contrary, Seneca extolled the existence of a coercive power that struggle ineffectually to make earthly life tolerable as a substitute for the state as a positive agency of human perfection. It is this trend in Seneca's writing that influenced the political philosophy of the Christian fathers. It has sometimes been argued that the rise of the Christian church as a distinct institution entitled to govern the spiritual concerns of mankind and independent of the state is the most revolutionary incident in the history of Western Europe, as it concerns politics and political philosophy. This is because, while it is accepted that Christianity is a doctrine of salvation which emphasized the providential government of the world, the obligation of law and government to do substantial justice and the equality of all men in the sight of God, certain ideas exposed by the Christian father had bearing on the functioning and processes of the society.

For instance, in St. Paul's letter to the Galatians, he denounced difference of race and social position when he observed that "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Jesus Christ." Similarly, in a letter to the Romans asserting the universal law inherent in all human beings in relation to the Jewish law, Paul observed that "For when the Gentiles, which have not law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves."The obligation of the Christian to respect secular authorities was recognized by Christ when he unequivocally told the Pharisee to "render to Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." St. Paul extended this further in another letter to the Romans where he cautioned against

the anarchical tendencies that existed in the early Christian communities. Specifically, St. Paul made the following pronouncements:

> Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resists the power resists the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not terrors to good works, but to the evil.

3.2 The History of Politics in Medieval Period

The medieval period is represented by Sebeca and Christian Fathers. These include:

3.2.1 St Aurelius Augustine (354-430)

In his work, *Civitas Dei*, St Augustine identified two Kingdoms which correspond to heavenly Kingdom or Civitas Dei, represented on earth by the Church and the Civitas Terrena or earthly city represented by the Holy Roman Empire. This doctrine became relevant to allay the fears of many Christian whose faith were severely shaken by the defeat and overthrow of the Roman Empire. His principal logic was that the entire humanity is one but divided into these two cities as identified by those who abide by the earthly principles and others living in accordance with the principles of the divine. St. Augustine distinguished between the two cities. He described the earthly city as founded on the earthly, appetitive and possessive impulses of the lower human nature. This refers to the kingdom of Satan and has its history in the disobedience of the Angels and embodying itself in the pagan empires of Assyria and Rome.

The other is the City of God, the society founded in the hope of heavenly peace and spiritual salvation. It is the kingdom of Christ which embodies itself first in the Hebrew nation and later the Church and the Christianized Empire. He contends that history is replete with the struggle between these two cities and of ultimate mastery which must fall to the City of God. He insists that eternity or permanence and peace is possible only in the City of God. This is because all earthly or temporal powers must pass away because such powers are naturally mutable and unstable and are often built on aspects of human nature which necessarily issue in war and the

greed of domination. He used this logic to explain the fall of Rome. It must however be noted that St. Augustine did not equate the Church as the City of God.

Rather, the Church remains an institution that propels and prepares men for the reward of that glorious city. St. Augustine ascribed divinity to the heavenly city which he described as the true society, a universal commonwealth ordained by God from creation. It is a city reserved for those that love and worship God and to whom God's grace is bestowed. The membership of Civitas Dei is unlimited by race, class, territory or any other form of boundaries. They enjoy community with God and with one another. It has a broader membership which includes the angels and dead elect and the living who through sacrament of the Church have won the grace of god. The City of God based on justice is the true Commonwealth. In his interpretation of man's quest for happiness, Aurelius Augustine maintained that the two great ends that determine man's action in life are the Supreme Good for which other things are desired and Supreme Evil which is the final end to which harmful effects of evil lead. He insists that it is the desire to locate these great ends that propel all quests for wisdom and attempts have been made to locate these ends in the soul, body and the soul and body together.

St. Augustine associated the foundation of Supreme Good in the City of God. He argued that men desire joy and peace and that even in war, the ultimate desire is to attain peace. Perfect peace for him is only attainable in the City of God where Supreme Good is everlasting. He distinguished it from the peace which men pass through in their mortal state as the perfect peace of the City of God experience no adversity and remains unto immortality. He argued that in the earthly city, Civitas Terrena, peace involves a concord between men in ordered relation with one another. However, in the City of God, the eternal peace prevails and it manifest as harmonious fellowship in the enjoyment of God. Writing on slavery, Augustine identified two levels of slavery which are *slavery to sin* and *slavery of one man to another.* He argued that all men including slave owners are in the bondage of slavery. His logic is that beside physical slavery, the slave owners are in themselves slaves to lust, pride and greed. It is his opinion that it is much more beneficial to be slaves to human beings than to lust which is the more pitiless domination.

Man, he maintains is called to the universal and eternal society guided by the universal state's relative law. He is called to a higher order, the Celestial Society, that is neither limited by time nor national or political boundaries. From this, he maintained that the Christian has to respect and obey the secular powers of course with a spirit of one destined to a higher city. This

obedience to the earthly powers must be limited to the secular affairs since the heavenly city the celestial society, cuts across languages and nation and never respecting the temporal laws that are against true religion. St. Augustine stands as a powerful advocate for orthodoxy and of the episcopacy as the sole means for the dispensing of saving grace.

It is his position that unless the state is a community for ethical purposes and unless it is held together by moral ties, it is nothing except highway robbery on a large scale. In the light of later scholarship, Augustine can be seen to serve as a bridge between the ancient and medieval worlds. A review of his life and work, however, shows him as an active mind engaging the practical concerns of the churches he served. It is significant to understand that the political ideas of St. Augustine like that of some other Christian Fathers emphasis the autonomy of the Church in spiritual matters and the belief that government is shared between the royalty and the clerics. The apparent interpretation is that both the church and the secular order are independent as long as each act within the sphere of its jurisdiction. This ensures that no party encroaches on the sphere of the other's jurisdiction.

3.2.2 Feudalism (200-1400)

Feudalism dominated the political structure of the medieval era just as city states were prevalent in the Greeko-Roman era. However, the structure and processes of feudalism was unequally developed in different times and places. For instance, the notion of serfdoms existed as early as the 5th century. However, the developed structures of feudalism emerged in the 11th and 12th centuries following the collapse of the Frankish empire. It is sometime estimated that the feudal era lasted for as long as twelve centuries in history. The feudal epoch was characterized chiefly by land ownership held in fief by serfs. Under the feudal era, public officers carry out their functions not only for national interest but also for the gains they anticipate in return usually in the form of land over which they exercise full jurisdiction. In a number of cases, a substantial part of the land went to the military leaders, the strongest of whom later became kings.

The military leader handed over the seized land to their combatants for lifelong use, and later as inheritable property together with the peasants living on it. One underlying feature of the feudal era is the fact that in a period of order and threats of anarchy in medieval European societies, large political and economic units were usually impossible. As such, government

tended to be restricted to a small size by modern or Roman standards. Consequently, there was a focus on the system of agriculture which made the village community and its dependent farmlands almost self-sufficing. In this situation, land emerged as a very crucial factor and important source of wealth in the feudal era. The effect of this was that every individual, including the King and his fighting forces derived their social, economic and political status and right from their relationship to land.

Interestingly, the control of land became the preserve of a small community in the form of villages which also exercised customary regulations and minor police functions. The control of government and organisation of society became fundamentally local. This is because the existing state of disorder and primitive means of communication created difficulties for the emergence and functioning of a large central government in even elementary duties as the protection of life and properties. The plots of land handed out on these terms were called fief, and the people who received them-feudal lords. Those who received land sometimes had to do military service. The land continued to be worked by small serf or peasants but they were now personally dependent on their new masters. The peasants have no right to move outside the jurisdiction of the land lords. They work constantly on the land for the lord who had the seal of ownership and to whom they must give part of their surplus value.

This explains why the feudal era is described as an era which its legal principle was a system of land-tenure in which ownership was displaced by something like leasehold. In the feudal era, the man of small power became the dependent of someone strong enough to protect him. He was one and the same time engaged in a personal relation and property relation. The personal relations emphasized loyalty and reverence of the vassal to his superior. It however operated to withdraw the loyalty of the lesser ranks from the king to their more immediate overlords. On the other hand, the property relation was more of a contract in which the two parties retained each of his private interests and cooperated because it was mutually advantageous to do so. In each of these relations, the small man obligates himself to render services to the great man in return for protection. He becomes a tenant on his land which he in most instances offers for his protection.

The property and power of the strong man becomes enhanced and he offers his protection to the serf. Similarly, the conditions of service and protection could also be reversed as a king could grant his land to a tenant who would make a return in service or rent. Another remarkable

feature of a feudal era is the pattern of structured vested interest which runs through the community. Structurally, the king is the sole land owner and his barons are tenants of the king and land owners by virtue of land which the kings extends to them for special services rendered. The barons will in turn have tenants on the land granted to them by the king while the serfs are at the bottom of the ladder. It is also expected that the baron will raise some number of men for the feudal army to the service of the king and each baron was to command his own men.

Under feudalism, an individual became servants first to the lord before the state and the relationship between the individual and state were at best secondary. This is because the individual's civic duties were first subsumed in his relationship with the feudal lords whose duty it was to protect his serfs. Those who have no fief have no lords and therefore have no rights as they have no lord to protect them. Quite often, these individuals were not considered as citizens. The consequence is that every individual seek allegiance to landlords. It is important to note that the grant of tenant sometimes carried with it the right to administer justice in his barony with immunity from interference from the king's officers. Consequently, the lords have governmental powers to operate individual manorial courts that decide among others issues relating to land titles, taxation and sometimes monetary issues.

However, the kings were slow to grant such powers and often hesitated where they could avoid it. The court of a lord and his vassals was the typical feudal institution. It was essentially a council of the lord and his men for the settlement of disputes arising among them in the course of implementing their contract. This implies that it was an alien notion to assume that the king or lord could decide out of his own plenary powers. Beside issues of command of the army and administration of justice, the revenue of the kingdom would arise less from taxation than from the dues and relief which the kings tenants were obligated to pay upon fixed occasions. The feudal lords private ownership of the land and his partial ownership of the serf provided the basis for the relations of production in feudal society.

The serf was not a slave for he had his own household. Alongside the property of the feudal lords, there existed the property of the peasants serfs and craftsmen-tools and their private holdings. Generally, the working time of the peasant serf was divided into the *necessary time* and *the surplus time*. During the *necessary time*, the peasants produced what was needed for the subsistence of his family. During the *surplus time*, he created surplus products, which were appropriated by the feudal lords in the form of land rent (labour, rent in kind or in money). The

exploitation of the peasant serfs in the form of land rent constituted the main feature of feudalism everywhere. The feudal lords could not kill their serfs but could sell them. As such, there was non-economic coercion of peasant serfs to work for the feudal lords.

It is remarkable to also observe that under feudalism, the king related to his subjects only at second or third hand especially as it relates to the three great instruments of political power-army, revenue and administration of justice. It is also noteworthy to state that the relation between the serf and his lord were usually mutual even though it remained unequal. For instance, the vassal owed the lord the duties of loyalty and obedience, military service, periodic payments and attendance to the lord's court. The lord on his part was obligated to give aid and protection to his vassal and also to abide by the customs or the charter which defined the vassal's rights and immunities. The end of the era began with the rise of the trading cities in the twelfth century even as many of the important political consequences of feudalism appeared after that date.

The entire history of feudalism was one of fierce struggle between peasants and feudal lords, and this struggle became intense with feudal uprising which shock the foundations of the feudal epoch. This struggle against the feudal lords was championed by the emerging bourgeoisie class who made use of the serf uprising to seize political and economic power. The advent of industrial revolution which ushered in new means of production and productive forces eventually led to the end of feudal epoch. Thus, signaling the advent of another mode of production called capitalism.

3.2.3 Basic St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)

St. Thomas conception of social and political life falls directly into his larger plan of nature. He conceived the society as a system of ends and purposes in which the lowers serves the higher while the higher directs and guides the lower. Like Aristotle, he described the society as a mutual exchange of services for the sake of a good life to which many callings contribute. For instance, the farmer and artisan supplies material goods while the priest supply his prayers and religious observance. He argued that the common good require that such a system shall have a ruling part just as the soul rules the body or any higher nature rules the lower. From this he posits that leadership is simply an office of trust for the whole community. The ruler's action and deed

is therefore justified because he contributes to the social pool of good like any other member of the society.

The duty of the leader therefore is the happy ordering of human life. His power is derived from God and is considered a ministry or service owed to the community of which he is the head. In this lies the moral purpose of government. It is the duty of the leader to direct the actions of every class in the state that men may live a happy and virtuous life, which is the true end of man in society. It is expected that this will outlive man's sojourn on earth to his celebration of his heavenly bliss. It is at this point that St. Aquinas maintain that the enjoyment of the heavenly bliss is beyond human power and rest in the keeping of the priest rather than of the secular authorities. St Aquinas also insist that the orderly organisation of political life is a contributing factor to man's attainment of his ultimate end; the enjoyment of the heavenly.

Consequently, he contends that it is the duty of the temporal authority to put in place the foundations of human happiness by maintaining peace and order, to preserve it by seeing that all the services of governance that address the needs of the society and remove the obstacles to the enjoyment of the good of life are in place. St Aquinas rejected tyranny and maintained that the moral purpose for which political rule exists implies that authority should be limited and exercised in accordance with the stipulations of the law. He argued further that justifiable resistance is a public act of a whole people and that those who resist must be responsible to ensure that their actions are less injurious to the general good than the abuse which they are resisting. He however described sedition as a deadly sin but insists that justifiable resistance is not tantamount to resistance.

St Aquinas was explicit on the issue of limitation concerning the powers of the King. He favoured a sharing of power between the king and the magnates of the realm. He also stressed the fact that true government is based on law as opposed to tyranny. Consequently, he identified two remedies which are available against tyranny. These are government in which the powers of the ruler are derived from the people. The other remedy rests on the ruler having a political superior such that the redress of grievances is by appeal to the superior. Writing on the nature of the state, St. Aquinas posits that the state emerged from man's gift of social spirit which propels him to pursue and promote the good of life. He proposed in *Summa theological* that the man who has greater knowledge and sense of justice should use it to help others and not to dominate them.

He however insists that the ultimate purpose of man which is the quest for the good of life and enjoyment of God can only be attained through divine grace.

Not even the best secular government can guarantee it. He classified government according to the interests they serve. A just government in his view aims at the good of all as opposed to perverted government which seek only the interest of the ruler. He however maintained that political authority emanates from God and must be obeyed. He classified monarchy as the best form of government and argued that it is suitable for the promotion of unity and peace in the state. In his opinion, effective mechanism must be put in place to curtail the excesses of the King in order to avert degeneration to tyranny.

3.2.4 Marsilio's of Padua

Marsilio advocated the theory of secular government based on the practice and conception of the Italian city states. Marsilio exhibited some bitterness towards the papacy and as such was favourably disposed towards empire building by secular princes. His writing was designed not merely to defend the empire but to destroy the whole system of papal imperialism that developed under Innocent III and the theory of canon law. He sought to define the limits of spiritual authority to control the actions of secular governments. His writings specifically placed the church under the domain of the state. Marsilio described the claim of the Pope to supremacy over the temporal rulers as a major source of strife in Europe. Consequently, his thoughts were aimed at seeking a cure for the associated disorder arising from this situation. Marsilio's ideas on this subject are expressed in his book, *Defensor Pacis.* Here, he expressed his view that religion has social consequences in addition to its truth.

The first part of the document contains the statement of Aristotelian principles and supplies the foundation for the second part where he discussed his conclusions regarding the church, the functions of the priests, their relations to civil authority and the evils which arises from a misunderstanding of these matters. The third part of the *Defensor Pacis* contains forty two theses drawn from the theories developed in the first two parts. Marsilio conceives the state as a living being composed of parts which performs the functions necessary to its life. Its health or peace consists in the orderly working of each of its parts, and strife arises when one part does

its work badly or interferes with another part. He also shares the organic theory concerning the emergence of the city which in his view evolved from the family.

The city therefore exists as a "perfect community" which is able to supply all that is needed for a good life. It is important to note that a good life in the views of Marsilio implies both the good in this life and in the life to come. What Marsilio is saying is that the first good life is the proper study of philosophy by means of reason while the knowledge of the second depends on revelation which comes through faith. Reason shows the need for civil government as a means of peace and order while religion has its usefulness both in this life and in the life to come. Marsilio further identified the various classes which make up the society. These are farmers and artisans that supply material goods and the revenue needed by the government; and there are soldiers, officials and priests who make up the state in a stricter sense. The class which is the clergy constitutes the last group.

This class generates special difficulty with regards to its classification. This difficulty is as a result of the two-fold purpose which religion plays in the society. Consequently, Marsilio identifies the function of a Christian clergy to include the knowledge and teaching of those things which the scripture qualified as necessary to believe, to do, or to avoid in the quest for eternal salvation and escape woe. It is the position of Marsilio that in all secular relations the clergy is simply one class in society just like other classes. He further contends that the Christian clergy is precisely like any other priesthood since the end of his teaching is beyond reason and extends to the future life. What Marsilio is saying here is that the teachings of the priests are not properly a power of authority since it lacks the coercive power of implementation in this reality except in instances in which the legislator empowers the priest accordingly.

Simply put, the Christian clergy is bound to obey the state in all temporal matters and must be subject to all social control like other human interests. This is because the church is part of a secular state in every aspect in which temporal matters are concerned. It has been suggested that such a separation of reason and faith is the root of secularism. Marsilio further distinguished between divine law and human law. First he described law as a rule of reason or intrinsic justice emanating from a constituted authority and carrying a penalty for its violation. For him, divine law is a command of God directly, without human deliberation. Such laws are usually about the voluntary acts of human beings to be done or avoided in this world for the sake of attaining the best end, or some conditions desirable for man in the world to come. The rewards or penalty for

compliance or violation of divine law is not administered in this life. Rather, they are administered by God in a future life.

On the other hand, human law is not derived from divine law rather it represents the command of the whole body of citizens or its part. Its source is derived from the deliberation of those empowered to make laws and these deliberation focus on the voluntary act of human being which should be done or avoided for the sake of attaining the best end. It is also designed to attend to the desirable conditions which man longs for in this world. Its transgressions are usually enforced in this world through the imposition of penalty to the transgressor. Consequently, any rule that involves earthly penalty belongs *ipso facto* to the sphere of human laws and derives its authority from human enactment. It is the views of Marsilio that human laws arise from the corporate action of a people setting up rules to govern the acts of its members. In other words, he subscribes to the view that it is the whole people who make the laws in their city state.

As such all authority is an act of the people and should be exercised in their name and their interests. From this, he maintained that a state is the body of men who owe obedience to a given body of law. It is Marsilio's view that the executive and judiciary in the state are set up or elected by the citizens. The pattern of election should be peculiar to the custom of each state. However, he insists that the authority of the executive should be derived from the legislative act of the whole body and must be exercised in accordance with the law. Its duties and powers should also be determined by the people. The executive also has the duty to ensure that every part of the state performs its proper functions for the good of the whole. Where it fails, it is removed by the same power (the people) which elected it. He further maintained that the executive must be unified and supreme so that its power will exceed all other groups in the society.

The attributes of unity and supremacy are necessary to avert the evils of strife and disorder. In a nutshell, Marsilio's notion of a natural and self-sufficing political community is depicted in an organic whole composed of classes as well as physical and ethical components that are relevant to the pursuit of the good of life for the citizens in the secular sense. Its power of regulation is the inevitable right of such a corporation to regulate its own parts for the well being of the whole. (Sabine and Thorson; 1973) The executive power of the state therefore is the agent of the corporation to put into effect whatever the unity of the state requires. The ensuing

community is the guardian of its own civilization and if its citizens have a spiritual well-being, which is another realm beyond the life of the state of which it is powerless to touch that life.

It is on this platform that Marsilio embarked on the quest to halt the incursion of the spiritual authority in what should otherwise remain in the secular realm of the self-sufficient polity. He argued that since the officials of the corporate community occupy positions of authority by the mandate of the people, it implies that the clergy whose authority is not derived from the people should have no claim to coercive authority. If ever they are to possess civil authority, it must flow from the people which constitute the base of such authority. It must be also realised that since the clergy are a class like every other class, they are subject to regulations like any other class and amenable to civil courts for violations of human law. It is his views that issues of heresy or spiritual offense are only judged by God and punished in the next life since their penalties are incurred beyond the grave.

However, if heresy is punished in this world, it is only as a civil offence whose spiritual penalty is damnation. Remarkably, this is also beyond the powers of the clergy. Similarly, it is his view that issues of excommunication belongs to civil authority. By implication, canon laws are not within the framework of distinct jurisdiction and the penalties of divine law are outside the sphere of this world while the penalties of earthly laws are within the powers of secular authorities. Consequently, the duty of the clergy is restricted to the celebration of religious rites, he can advice and instruct, admonish the wicked and point out the future consequences of sin. However, they lack the power to compel men to do penance. It is the view of Marsilio that the church can hardly own property.

Rather what exist as ecclesiastical property are mere grants or subsidies made by the community to support public worship. He further expressed the views that the clergy had no right to tithe and should not be exempted from taxation except where such rights are granted by the community. Simply put, ecclesiastical office like ecclesiastical powers is only a gift from the civil office and the clergy can be legally compelled to perform the offices of religion so long as they receive the benefits. Furthermore, he maintains that every church official from the Pope to the least in hierarchy can be deposed by civil action. As such, Marsilio's treatise reduced religion to regimentation by civil power. Marsilio believes that ecclesiastical hierarchy has a human origin and its authority is derived from human law and rest on entirely within the sphere of civil control.

Consequently all priests are considered equal and the members of the laity are also churchmen. As such neither the Bishop nor the Pope has a spiritual quality that a simple priest lacks. He further maintains that the priestly character which authorizes them to celebrate the rites of religion is purely a mystical stigma derived from God which has no earthly origin or earthly power or ecclesiastical rank. In reducing the Pope to a position of spiritual equality with other Bishops, Marsilio eliminated papal sovereignty from the organisation of the church. He debunked the assumption that the Pope had authority as the successor of Apostle Peter. Marsilio however identified the spheres of Christian beliefs where the church can act authoritatively. He opted for a general council which in his view should constitute the organ of the church for deciding on disputes.

For him, the Pope and church hierarchy should not be permitted to pass on disputed articles of faith. He rather conceded a mystical infallibility to the General Council of the church as the one point of contact between reason and faith. In such a Council, he maintained that inspiration will join hands with reason to supply an authoritative version of divine law contained in the scripture and a satisfactory answer to reasonable differences of opinion that might arise about such matters.

3.3 The Development of Politics during the Reformation and Renaissance Periods

The political philosophers of reformation and Renaissance period include:

3.3.1 NicolloMachiavelli (1469-1527)

Machiavelli was the first to discuss politics and social phenomena in their own terms without recourse to ethics or jurisprudence. He divorced politics from ethics and deviated from medieval political teaching by asserting that man has no supernatural end rather, the end of man is solely on earth and this centres on attaining power, greatness and fame. This helped to free the monarchs from the bondage of religion and entanglements of morals in the conduct of political actions. This is why he is sometimes described as the first modern thinker to apply scientific method to the study of politics. Machiavelli's real politic revolves on the pursuit, attainment and sustenance of state power. His central thesis is that any means to preserve the state is legitimate.

Machiavelli identified two ways of contesting for power. One is by law which is fair to man and the other is by brute which is the way of the beast.

The Prince has to adopt the fox to know the snares and the lion to scare and frighten the wolves. He holds that although men naturally acknowledged and praise honest princes who keep their power by law, he however advocated that it is the crafty Princes who adopt force that are often successful. Underlying his thesis is the proclamation that the end justifies the means. It is based on this that he argued that if the Prince aim at conquering and maintaining the state, then the means will be judged honourably and praised by everyone. What Machiavelli is saying is that everything else especially religion, morality that people associate with politics should be discarded unless they help one get and keep power. Machiavelli distinguished between private and political morality and argued that both be separated in the assessment of the conducts of the Prince. He strongly advocated that the Prince should make good use of falsehood, deceits and force where necessary.

The prince in his view can manipulate religion or renege on agreement, employ cruelty, murder and fraud in his quest for the attainment, maintenance and utility of state power but that this must be done neatly so as to be admired by his subjects. The single most articulated value in the work of Machiavelli is *virtú* (manly), which he described as the ability to enforce one's will on volatile social situations. This can be done through a combination of strong will, strength, brilliance and strategic and strategic thinking exerted towards the world on the one hand, or Fortune, which he compared to a Lady. He condemned the situation where the lady as an object of desire is approached and entreated and begged. His position is that the ideal Prince does not entreat or beg Lady Fortune, but rather physically grabs her and takes whatever he wants. This represents till date, a powerful translation of the Renaissance idea of human potential to the area of politics. He was branded an anti-Christ throughout the Renaissance because of his refusal to accommodate ethical considerations in political theory.

It will help to understand that Machiavelli was not talking about the state so much in ethical terms but in medical terms. For Machiavelli believed that the Italian situation was desperate and that the Florentine state was in grave danger. Rather than approach the question from an ethical point of view, Machiavelli was genuinely concerned with healing the state to make it stronger. For instance, in talking about seditious points of view, Machiavelli doesn't

make an ethical argument, but rather a medical one – "seditious people should be amputated before they infect the whole state."

3.3.2 Jean Bodin (1530-1596)

Bodin conceives the family as the natural community from which other societies including the state and private property emanates. The family here implies the father, mother, children, servants and common property. He subscribed to the Roman conception that state jurisdiction ends at the threshold of the house from which he proposed the extreme control by the *pater familias* over his dependents including his slaves and property. It is the *pater familias* who becomes a citizen when he steps outside the house and acts in concert with other family heads. He further reasoned that many associations of family in search of common defence and mutual advantages merge to form villages, cities and corporation. A state eventually emerges, mostly through force when these associations are united in a sovereign authority.

Although Bodin attributed the origin of state to conquest, he was however reluctant to justify force as an important attribute of the state after it is established. He further noted that a well ordered state cannot exist until a sovereign power is recognised over the units of families which make it. He distinguished state from band of robbers by observing that the state exerts lawful coercion which distinguishes it from band of robbers who strive on force. Jean Bodin had no clear theory of the end of the state which he defined as a lawful government of several households, of their common possession with sovereign power. He was however indefinite with regards to the end which the state should pursue for its members. For instance, while he observed that the pursuit of happiness which in the views of Aristotle was the end of the state was insufficient to the aspirations of his era, he was also reluctant to restrict the state to the quest for material and utilitarian advantages such as peace and security of property.

Writing on sovereignty, he maintained that the presence of sovereign power is the most important distinguishing feature between the state and all other associations in the society. He identified the defining features of the state as subject and sovereign and defined a citizen in terms of subjection to a sovereign. What Bodin is saying is that there exist other forms of relationship in term of ethical, social and religious affiliation between citizens outside subjection to a common sovereign, but it is this subjection which makes them citizens. Bodin recognised that

various individuals may have peculiar identities and attachment or laws. He classified such groups as *cite* corresponding roughly to ideas of nation or social union lacking formal political bond and insist that the *cite* is not a state in the sense of a Republic.

Bodin further described sovereignty as the supreme power over the citizens, unrestrained by law. Supreme power for him is perpetual and unrestrained by time. It is not delegated and if at all it becomes delegated, then it must be without limit or condition. It is also inalienable and not subject to prescription. He further asserts that the sovereign cannot bind himself or his successors and cannot be made legally accountable to his subjects. It is his opinion that the law of the land is nothing other than the command of the sovereign and consequently any attempt to limit the powers of the sovereign is simply extra-legal. To Bodin, the primary attribute of the sovereign is the power to give laws to citizens collectively or severally, without the consent of a superior, an equal or an inferior. Other attribute include the power to declare war, and enter into treaty for peace, to commission magistrates, to act as a court of last resort, to grant dispensations, to coin money and to tax.

It is the powers that demonstrate that the sovereign is the legitimate head of the state. It is based on this that he argued that a well-ordered-state must be based on the indivisibility of political authority. He identified one main skill, which is vital to the game of power, as sound calculation. The social and political world of the *The Prince* is monstrously unpredictable and volatile; only the most superhuman calculative mind can overcome this social and political volatility. If the ruler makes one miscalculation, all the authority he has so assiduously cultivated will dry up like the morning dew. As such, he contended that the successful politician must therefore know when to act and what to say and do at any point in time.

Machiavelli admired such winners like Caesar Borgia who made use of force and trickery and Julius II both of who were greatly hated in Europe as ungodly Popes. He extolled their astonishing military and political success. In chapters such as "Whether a Prince Should Be True to his Word," Machiavelli argues that any moral judgment should be secondary to getting, increasing and maintaining power. The answer to the above question, for instance, is "it's good to be true to your word, but you should lie whenever it advances your power or security—not only that, it's necessary."

3.3.3 Thomas Hobbes (1588-1676)

Hobbes began his political inquiry with an analysis of the human nature. For him, man is essentially selfish and is moved into action not by reason but by his emotions. He argues that man originally lived in a condition of natural warfare, that is, a state of *homo homini lupus* wherein man is wolf to his fellow man. This is the state of nature in which men lived without any form of government or political authority over them. Hobbes qualified this as the condition of *warre*, that is, everyman against everyman. This is a situation characterized by a perpetual struggle of all against all. In his attempt to explain this stage of human existence, Hobbes argued that since men are by nature equal and each man has aspirations which he sought to achieve, that the pursuits of such desired ends will lead to conflict and war resulting from competition, diffidence and love for glory. Since law and justice were absent, the life of man for Hobbes was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.

This is the Hobbessian state of nature where there exist, no right, no wrong. Nothing is unjust and no common power over men. However, there was the fear of death and desire for peace and security. It is these conditions that propels man to enter into a bond or contract which culminated in the emergence of the state and civil society. Thus, Hobbes maintains that the only way to peace is for men to surrender all their rights to a supreme coercive power, the leviathan. The contracting parties here as observed by Appadorai are not the community and the government, but subjects all of who will boldly surrender all their right to the Leviathan on the condition that everyone does same. From this contract, a state is created and this state must possess a government which is absolutely sovereign.

This sovereignty is not held on condition because the sovereign is not party to the pact, but a result of it. The pact is not revocable at the pleasure of the subjects because men surrendered all their right to rebel to the sovereign which embodies in himself, the will of all. Here, the law is in general not counsel, but command. Hobbes concept of the sovereign need not necessarily be one man but may be located in an assembly of men who must perform the functions of the modern day government. It is important to note that Hobbes described the covenant through the individuals surrender their rights to self government as leading to the establishment of a common power, that is, a unity which has the power to enforce the contract.

He called the emergent unity, the Leviathan or the mortal god to which we owe our peace and defence under the immortal God. This mortal god assumes the form of a Commonwealth. He further described the Commonwealth as one person, of whose acts a great multitude, by mutual covenants one with another, have made themselves every one the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient, for their peace and common defence.

3.4 The Changes that took Place during the Periods of Reason and Enlightment

The periods of reason and enlightment is characterized by political philosophers such as:

3.4.1 Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

Rousseau's doctrine of social contract was a blend between the views as expressed by Hobbes and Locke. His conception of the state of nature was not as gloomy as Hobbes but not as optimistic as that of Locke. Rousseau maintains that men in the state of nature were free and equal, essentially good and sympathetic. The state of nature was as such a period of idyllic happiness which was governed by the law of self preservation. Man cannot therefore renounce his freedom without renouncing his humanity with its rights and corresponding duties. However with the increase in human population and quest for private property, a time comes when men can no longer live as isolated savages who individually defend his rights. At this point man will be compelled by rational calculation to give up his natural freedom but is inadvertently confronted with the problem of establishing a form of association which protects with the whole collective force, the person and property of each associate, and in virtue of which everyone, while uniting him to all, remains as free as before.

This to Rousseau is the motif force for the emergence of civil society through the social contract. His work *The Social Contract* (1762) starts with the famous declaration, "Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains. Its catchphrase 'Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité', inspired the French Revolution. He argued that although man thinks himself the master of others, he still remains a greater slave than they." It is his position that it is only by surrendering to the general will, can an individual find his fullest freedom and that the general will is always right if it is

directed essentially toward common good. The citizens of a united community exchange their natural liberty for something better, moral liberty.

In this theory political society is seen as involving the total voluntary subjection of every individual to the collective general will; this being both the sole source of legitimate sovereignty and something that cannot but be directed towards common good. The social contract sought to resolve the problem of individual freedom and social stability. In it, Rousseau asserts that the individual obeys only himself and remains as free as before, while enjoying the collective strength. In Rousseau's social contract, equality is guaranteed because every individual surrenders all his right over all as they have over him, and in essence, gains from all, the equivalent of everything he surrenders in addition to the greater power to preserve what he has. The supreme control of the community is thus embodied in the General will.

Its members call it the state, when it is active, they call it the sovereign and when it is compared to others of its kinds, they call it power: Its members are individually called citizens because they share in the sovereign authority. Collectively, they are referred to as the people but in relation to laws of the state, they are called subjects. The social contract therefore established not only the civil state but also the sovereign, citizenship and the people. In it man substitute justice for his instincts, uphold rights and duties and in the process, attains ultimate freedoms limited only by the General Will. In Rousseau's Social Contract, law is only an expression of the General Will and can be made only in an assembly of the whole people. The sovereign remains a collectivity of the citizens acting as a people who pledge allegiance and loyalty to the General Will. Rousseau's ideals as encapsulated in the social contract inspired the French Revolution of 1789 which was a revolt against the despotic French monarchy.

3.4.2 G.W.F. Hegel (1770 – 1831)

The German idealist thinker, George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel was born in Stuttgart in 1770. He studied theology and philosophy at Tubingen but was encouraged by his teachers to abandon philosophy. The basic focus of Hegel's political philosophy centres on the right of the will which he described as comprising *the freedom of the subjective will-* or the absolute free will. This freedom is further described as the moment of exclusive individuality which reflects right imprisoned in itself. Here, the individual is in communication only with himself and

constitute negative actuality in relation to the real world. Hegel posits that at this stage, the individual is not actual and therefore not rational since only what is actual is considered rational.

Hegel's position is that the individual must shift from his shell and relate with the external world. This out-going of the subjective freewill objectifies itself beginning from the family where the individual strives to realize his material and spiritual needs. The will of the individual must further transcend the narrow confines of the self and family into the larger *civil society.* Here, the individual engages with a larger community of families and association and now seeks public interest in the pursuit of private interests. As such, man move further outwards towards a universal order which opens further avenue for the realization of the common social life. In this context, the so-called individual assumes the form of *civil freedom* which includes the regimes of social and economic rights of individuals and groups.

For Hegel, the full realization of the individual will (or the ethical will) is only possible within the framework of the state. Here, free will assumes the form of political freedom while rights achieve its full concreteness in the *Constitutional Law* of the state thereby resolving the existing conflict between private and public interests. Hegel insists that the State is the actuality of concrete freedom and concrete freedom implies that personal individuality and its particular interests not only achieve their complete development and gain explicit recognition for their right (as in the family and civil society), they also pass on their own accord into the interests of the universal. They know and will the universal, even recognize it as their own substantive mind. They also take the universal as their end and aim and are active in its pursuit. The result is that the universal does not prevail or achieve completion except along with particular interests and through the cooperation of particular knowing and willing.

From this, Hegel contends that the State is the highest embodiment of right- the spirit, reason and idea fully realized or concretized in history. Hegel maintains that the family and civil society constitutes only distinct phases in the development of reason in history. The family for him is the substance of the ethical mind immediate to itself and draws from the consciousness of the members whose unity is love. It emerges from the tie between two persons who unite in free consent and objectifies itself in the family capital and property as a legal entity in relation to other families. The civil society is a community based on selfishness but less selfish than the family. It comprehends the universal and subjective element of each individual and protects them through the codification of legal systems.

In attending to regimes of need, the civil society carries within itself some elements of control and characteristics of the state. However, it can only satisfy universal wants partially. It is on this platform that Hegel conceives a higher order, the state, which in his view, depicts the highest embodiment of right and genuine freedom. From this he contends that the individual or particular interests are fully realized in the universal interests of all and this is only realised by the individual and groups through obedience to the state. In his work, *Reason in History,* Hegel posits that the subjective will have also a substantial life, a reality where it moves in the region of essential being, which is the union of the subjective will with the rational will. This constitutes the moral whole, the state. It is that actuality in which the individual has and enjoys his freedom, but only as knowing, believing and willing the universal.

The emerging state which is constituted by the union of the universal and subjective will is itself *morality*, that is, the vitality of the state in the individual. Hegel further identified three major moments of the state to include the constitution or constitutional law which he described as the state in its actuality as self-dependent entity, the organisation of the state and the self-related process of its organic life and its individuality, uniqueness and exclusivity in relation to other states. It is his view that government which is a living totality is a necessity to make the abstract existence of the state to assume life and reality through the Constitution. This is because the establishment of government helps the concrete functioning of the state by distinguishing those who should command and those who should obey.

The government for Hegel consists of the legislative power, the crown and the executive. Invariably, he subsumed the judiciary in the executive which serves the crown or monarchy. These branches make up the totality of the constitution and should freely cooperate as they are part of an organic whole. The foregoing indicates that Hegel favoured monarchy, which is a polity where the King or Queen embodied the state, overseeing its functions but not directly controlling it.

3.4.3 Utilitarian School

Jeremy Bentham was a British philosopher, economist, and jurist, who founded the doctrine of utilitarianism. He was born in London on February 15, 1748. A prodigy, he was reading serious treatises at the age of three, playing the violin at age five, and studying Latin and

French at age six. He entered the University of Oxford at 12, studied law, and was admitted to the bar; however, he did not practice. Instead he worked on a thorough reform of the legal system and on a general theory of law and morality, publishing short works on aspects of his thought. In 1789 he became well known for his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation.* Bentham was the leader of the Philosophical Radicals, whose members included James Mill and his son, John Stuart Mill.

They founded and edited the *Westminster Review,* which served as an outlet for their reformist ideas. Bentham died in London on June 6, 1832. In accordance with his wishes, his body was dissected before friends. His skeleton, fully clothed and provided with a wax head (the original was mummified), is kept in a glass case at University College, London, which he helped to found. His fundamental teaching as advanced in his work, *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation,* is that: All men desire happiness, which may be defined as the surplus of pleasure over pain. He argued that nature has placed man under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do.

It is to these two phenomena that we owe all our ideas and refer to them in our judgments and all the determinations of our life. Pleasure and pain for him are therefore the main springs of human action. Bentham further maintained that the sources of pleasure and pain are physical (good scenery), political (good laws), moral (public opinion) and religious (in relation with God). As such, he contends that it is then the task of legislators to manipulate these sanctions to promote the good and happiness of man. A central thesis in the Benthamite calculus of pleasure and pain is that everybody counts as one and nobody for more than one. He insisted that for the individual, the value of a pleasure or pain taken by itself depends on a number of factors including its duration, intensity, certainty (or uncertainty) and nearness (or remoteness). With regards to a group, he acknowledged that the number of persons affected becomes another factor.

Here, the concept of hedonism in which pleasure is regarded as the chief good or the proper end of an action becomes admissible. Bentham ideas are espoused through his doctrine of utilitarianism which he advocated as the basis for reform. The essential doctrinal kernel of utilitarianism is that all actions must be judged by their results, by their fruitfulness in pleasure which must find an actual expression in the lives and experiences of definite individuals. He claimed that one could scientifically ascertain what was morally justifiable by applying the

principle of utility. Actions were right if they tended to produce the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people. Happiness was equivalent to pleasure. Through a kind of moral-mathematical calculation of pleasures and pains, one could tell what was a right or a wrong action. If all pleasures and pains were of the same order, then a utilitarian evaluation of moral, political, and legal activities would be possible.

Also, Bentham argued, if values were based on pleasures and pains, then theories of natural rights and natural laws were invalid. Bentham's doctrine of utilitarianism attracted significant criticisms. Appadorai observed that it assumes that the business aspect of human affairs alone governs man's conduct and does not seem to appreciate pure disinterestedness which it ultimately resolves into the pursuit of individual pleasure. Furthermore, it is argued that a sum of pleasure may be an attractive phrase but when it comes to estimates of human happiness or misery, such arithmetic in politics is not usually much helpful than politics in arithmetic. This is because there exists no proof that by pursuing the happiness of the greatest number will always produce the greatest happiness and since men are not equal, a particular pleasure may be felt unequally by different men.

John Stuart Mill, severely modifying some of Bentham's principles, discounted Bentham's method for calculating quantities of happiness. Bentham's ideas had great influence on the reforms of the latter part of the 19th century in the administrative machinery of the British government, on criminal law, and on procedure in both criminal and civil law. His other works include the *Rationale of Judicial Evidence* (1827) and the *Constitutional Code* (1830). As such the formula remains highly advocated for in the course of politics because it supplies a slogan which is imprinted in popular mind and also supplies a standard, with which one can assess state actions. The doctrine has also been described as a hook in the nostril of the Leviathan (The State) and supposes that The State should act to remove the disabilities that hinder the welfare of her subjects as the failure to do this erodes the State's right of sanctity.

3.4.4 John Stuart Mill (1806-1873)

JS Mill addressed the issue of justice in his work *On Liberty* published in 1859. He began the essay by asserting that the subject was not the so-called liberty of the will, but civil or social liberties which focus on the nature and limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised

by the society over the individual. Here, he traced the history of struggle between rulers and ruled and suggests that social rather than political tyranny is greater danger for modern, commercial nations like Britain. This social "tyranny of the majority (a phrase borrowed from Tocqueville), arises from the enforcement of rules of conduct that are both arbitrary and strongly adhered to. It is the practical principle that guides the majority to their opinions on the regulation of human conduct and the feeling in each person's mind that everybody should be required to act as he, and those with whom he sympathizes, would like to act.

Mill however, believes that human nature is so poor that unhappiness will always remain. He maintains that not even the Benthamite calculus of pleasure and pain could help legislators to bring good change. There will be unjust laws because of poor human nature. Man is always selfish whether he be the ruler or the ruled. He further contends that democracy could suppress tyranny and become oppressive itself, because of the lack of fair representation of all the members of the society. It is from this background that Mills cautions against the *so-called* "tyranny of the majority" which like other tyrannies, is still vulgarly held in dread, chief as operating through the act of the public authorities. Mills therefore advocates for a rationally grounded principle which governs a society's dealings with individuals. This "one very simple principle"—often called the "harm principle"—entails that:

> The sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for him to do so, because it will make him happier, because, in the opinion of others, to do so would be wise, or even right. These are good reasons for remonstrating with him, or reasoning with him, or persuading him, or entreating him, but not for compelling him, or visiting him with any evil in case he do otherwise. (*On Liberty* 51-2)

What Mill is saying is that men collectively or individually should not interfere with the liberty of action of anyone except for self protection. He could be persuaded but not restrained. This is because, "over himself, his body and mind, the individual is sovereign. This anti-paternalistic principle identifies three basic regions of human liberty: the "inward domain of consciousness," liberty of tastes and pursuits (i.e. of framing our own life plan), and the freedom to unite with others. It is the sphere of action in which the society different from the individual has only indirect interest and control if any. It concerns directly the person's life and conduct alone and can only affect others by free consent and participation. It is within this context that Mill conceives and expresses his idea of liberty.

Mill makes no appeal to "abstract right" in his justification of the harm principle. He advocates the freedom of the individual to act as they choose, so long as they cause minimal or no harm to others since this will promote "utility in the largest sense, grounded on the permanent interests of man as a progressive being." Rather, he insists that abiding by the harm principle is desirable because it promotes the "free development of individuality" and the development of our humanity. A basic philosophical problem presented by the work is what counts as "harm to others." Where should we mark the boundary between conduct that is principally self-regarding versus conduct that involves others? Does smoking and use of drug cause harm to others to warrant prevention? Does prostitution, Pornography or public nudity constitute harm? Mill polemics provide the readers with a principled way of deliberating about them.

Mill further contends that the best form of government is the one that promotes and respects social or civil liberty. He identified this in what he referred to as Representative Democracy which in his view promotes the growth and development of individuality which shields the sphere of civil liberty. Since it is participatory, representative government gives individuals good opportunity to identify their personal interests and interests of the society. Furthermore, this form of government creates avenue for proportionate representation of all groups or classes both minority and majority. This helps to avert the tyranny of the majority. Mill further contends that a convincing criterion of a good form of government depends on the qualities of the human members composing the society, over which the government is exercised. Such qualities as virtue and intelligence are extolled over selfishness, ignorance, stupidity and prejudice. From this, Mill contends that the best government is one which fosters the sum of the

virtue and intelligence of the people it governs individually and collectively. This criterion is also expected to extend to the structure and composition of the machineries of government.

3.4.5 Karl Marx (1818-1883)

Marx argued that the nature of individuals depends on the material conditions determining their production. This thesis was developed in his manuscript published posthumously as *The German Ideology*. Marx further traced the history of the various modes of production and predicted the collapse of the present one industrial capitalism and its replacement by communism. In the *Manuscripts*, Marx outlined a humanist conception of communism, influenced by the philosophy of Ludwig Feuerbach and based on a contrast between the alienated nature of labor under capitalism and a communist society in which human beings freely developed their nature in cooperative production. It was also in Paris that Marx developed his lifelong partnership with Friedrich Engels (1820-1895). In *Capital*, Marx elaborated his version of the labor theory value and his conception of surplus value and exploitation which would ultimately lead to a falling rate of profit in the collapse of industrial capitalism.

In the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* (1844), Marx argued that the more wealth the worker produces, the poorer he becomes. He maintained that the worker becomes an ever cheaper commodity the more commodities he creates. This is because the increasing value of the world of things proceeds in direct proportion to the devaluation of the world of men. As such, labour produces not only commodities; it produces itself and the worker as a commodity and does so in the proportion in which it produces commodities generally. Marx borrowed the concept of dialectics from Hegel and used it to explain his historical materialism. Marx described his dialectics as nothing more than the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought. From this he argued that it is the material economic base of society and the social classes that are instrumental to the progress of human history.

The *Economic Interpretation of History* is one of Marx's lasting contributions to western thought. Marx argued that economic interests lies behind and determine our values. He contends that people's beliefs and ideologies reflect the material interests of their social and economic class. This explains why business executives vote for conservative parties and labour leaders support candidates that advocate rises in wages or increasing employment benefits. Marx argued

that the highest determinant of human history is the sum of the relations involved in economic production. In other words, that the economic structure of society constitutes the real foundation on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. What Marx is saying is that it is economic production that ultimately directs man's social advancement in history not other factors.

Engels explained this further when he remarked that historical materialism implies that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the change in the mode of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct social classes and in the struggle of these classes against one another. Marx notion of historical materialism presupposes that there exists two levels of relationship in the process of production; the relationship between man and nature on the one hand and relationship between man and man on the other. The relation between man and nature is determined by available forces of production. However, he observed that men not only act on nature in order to produce but also on one another, cooperating mutually in the exchange of activities which involves relations of production. Such relations often assume the nature of domination and subordination, exploitation and expropriation, oppression and repression between the owners of means of production and their exploited workers.

It is the views of Marx that the development in human society is dependent on the level of advancement between these spheres of relationships involved in the process of economic production. These relations of production are both complementary and contradictory. This is because although the owners of means of production and the exploited workers need each other in the process of production, their relation is often characterised by antagonistic class struggle which heightened the contradictions in each mode of production. Marx used the concept of class to describe the relationship of individuals to the means of production. He contended that every succeeding generation finds itself in possession of the productive forces required by the previous generation which serve it as the raw material for new production. At a stage, coherence arises in human history as the productive forces and social relation become overdeveloped.

The emerging contradictions will metamorphose into a higher mode of production. Based on this logic, Marx identified five major historical epochs in the evolution of society as primitive communalism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and communism which is preceded by socialism.

From this he contended that the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles. Marx associated the emergence of state with the emergence of private property and located this phenomenon under the slave owning mode of production. It is his position that the state exist not for the interest of the generality of the populace but as a medium for the protection of the interest of the dominant and propertied class.

Writing on the bourgeois state, Marx contended that it is nothing other than the form of organisation which the bourgeois necessarily adopt for internal and external purposes, for the mutual guarantee of their property and interests. In the *Manifesto of the Communist* party, Marx described the executive in a modern state as merely the committee for the management of the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. From this he argued that the state and its agencies is only the tool which the dominant class utilize to oppress the bulk of the masses of the society. In a nutshell, this constitutes Marx primary view of the state. In his other works, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte and Class Struggle in France*, Marx however observed that the state may not represent the interest of any class and that in the case of the Bonapartist state, it is independent from and superior to all social classes, as being the dominant class.

It is this new twist in conception of the state that resulted in the State Autonomy theory in which the state is conceived as a site and arena of class struggle with fractions competing for dominance within the state arena. In this sense, the state becomes a factor of cohesion and an institution regulating class conflict. The bourgeois state for him can only wither away as an instrument for the protection of private property under a communist society in the aftermath of the proletarian revolution that will establish the dictatorship of the proletariats. This is because the bourgeois state is like a sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of evil which he has called up by his spell. Marx further contends that capitalism will inevitably lead to socialism. His argument is that technological advances enable capitalists to replace workers with machinery as a means of earning greater profits. He observed that the increasing accumulation of capital has two contradictory consequences.

For instance, as the supply of available capital increases, the rate of profit on capital falls. At the same time, with fewer jobs, the unemployment rates rise and wages fall. In Marx terms, the reserve army of the unemployed would grow, and the working class would become increasingly impoverished and their working conditions would deteriorate and workers would grow progressively alienated from their jobs. The business climate will become more violent as

mass poverty will increase the incidence of under-consumption. The continued decline in profit margins and investment opportunities at the domestic level will compel the dominant bourgeois class to resort to imperialism.

Marx maintained that the capitalist system will not continue with this unbalanced growth forever. As such he predicted that the increasing inequality will result in the intensification of class consciousness among the proletariat. Finally a cataclysmic depression will sound the death knell of capitalism which like feudalism, contains the seed of its own destruction. It is his view that since the state is an instrument of oppression by the members of the minority dominant bourgeois class over the mass of the proletariat or working class, the state is essentially evil by nature. In line with this, he argued that the notion of political obedience to the state is simply absurd and an abuse to common sense.

Consequently, Marx contended that the state must be overthrown through a bloody revolution by the class of the proletariats. This revolution will usher in a society based on socialist principles characterized by collective ownership of private property and means of production and exchange. The highest stage of socialism will emerge under communism. The features of communism as outlined by Marx include:

• Dictatorship of the proletariat.
• Abolition of private property
• Existence of classless society
• The withering away of the State
• The distribution of social surplus will be based "from everyone according to ability" to "everyone according to need."

4.0 CONCLUSION

We have studied African politics. We also examined the definition of politics and the different periods that characterized the development of African politics. We recognized that a society just emerging from colonial rule had many ills to correct, and many problems to solve, and that the failure of African political leadership to frontally confront this challenge is at the

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root of political crises in Africa. We identified the salient features of African politics, and explained why political instability is a recurring decimal in the continent.

5.0 SUMMARY

The followings are the major points studied in this unit:

- Sabine and Thorson observed that while the Great Age of Athenian public life fell in the third quarter of the fifth century, the Great Age of political philosophy came only after the downfall of Athens in her struggle with Sparta.

- Plato identified three major social classes in the ideal state as the rulers, the soldiers and the producer or workers which corresponds to the soul's three operative elements and corresponds respectively to the *Nous*, *Thumos* and *Soma*.

- Aristotle conceives politics as an integral aspect of ethics which is a completion and verification of it. He maintains that the moral ideal in political administration is only a different aspect of that which also applies to individual happiness. Man, for him is a political animal and a fraction of the city state and that the city state is the necessary condition for civilized life and the only means for bringing human faculties to their highest form of development.

- Cicero associated the origin of the state with man's natural gift of social spirit which draws him always to partnership.

- The medieval period is represented by Sebeca and Christian Fathers. These include:

- Machiavelli was the first to discuss politics and social phenomena in their own terms without recourse to ethics or jurisprudence.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Discuss the development of politics in classical period
2. Examine the history of politics in medieval period
3. State the development of politics in reformation and renaissance periods

4. Highlight the political changes that took place in the periods of reason and enlightment

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UNIT 4: COLONIALISM AND COLONIALISM

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Neo-colonialism is a policy by which a foreign power binds territories to herself by political ties with the primary object of promoting her economic advantage. Rather than attaining genuine sovereign status, a neo-colonial state is granted what is called 'flag' independence. With neo-colonialism, it then became almost impossible for African states to translate into concrete terms the pre-independence revolution of rising expectations. Thus, within a few years of independence slogans such as "seek ye first the political kingdom and every other thing shall be added unto it" turned into a mirage, or pipe dream. This unit discusses the concept of neo-colonialism, its origins and features.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Meaning and Nature of Colonialism

Colonialism is a form of imperialism. It represented a continuation of European encounter with, and penetration of Africa, after the era of slave trade, and what was described as "legitimate trade". The basic driving force behind colonialism is economic. It was this motivation which encouraged Europeans to embark on the adventures of expeditions and missionary activities that provided the convenient fore runners, which facilitated imposition of colonial rule. In his "Towards Colonial Freedom", Nkrumah (1947) identified the three fundamental doctrines in the philosophical analysis of imperialism as: (a) the doctrine of exploitation; (b) the doctrine of "trusteeship" or partnership; and (c) the doctrine of assimilation. From this doctrine we can see the connection between slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism, its contemporary manifestation–as different forms of imperialism or exploitation.

But in order to disguise its economic motivation, the Europeans found it convenient to present the colonial enterprise as fulfilling for the African people, a "civilizing mission", otherwise described by the "imperial destiny". But in 1885, the year when the partition of Africa was concluded, Jules Fery exploded this myth, and stated the three objectives why European nations desired colonies: to have access to raw materials; to provide markets for sale of manufactured goods; and as a field for the investment of surplus capital. In a more unmistaken term, Colonial Secretary of State for France said in 1923 "what is the use of painting the truth? Colonialism was not an act of civilization the origin of colonialism is nothing else than enterprise of individual interests, a one sided egotistical imposition of the strong upon the weak (quoted in Nkrumah, 1973:19).

We can therefore define colonialism as the policy by which the "mother country", the colonial power, binds her colonies to herself by political ties with the primary object of promoting her own economic advantage to secure trading routes and safe ports. To give effect to the desire the scramble for colonies in Africa began among the leading European nations: Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and Italy. At a conference in Berlin, chaired by German Chancellor, Otto Von Bismarck, African territory was carved out, to gratify European greed, and prevent wars among them. The conference therefore ratified France's 1881

colonial sway over Tunisia, and Britain's seizure of Egypt in 1882.1884 witnessed the establishment of the first German colony at Angra pequena in South West Africa, followed by the occupation of Togoland and Cameroon.

Portugal took over Angola. Italy colonized Somaliland, Spain and France established joint protectorate of over Morocco, while Leopold II, of Belguim established a personal rule over "Congo free state", a colony sixty-six times the size of Belgium. In virtually all cases, colonies were established by force of arms, and it was through similar process that Germany lost her colonies after her defeat during World War I. But rather than apply the Wilsonian principle of self-determination to Africa, the colonies were passed over to the victorious nations, as mandated nations under the League of Nations. In administering their colonies in Africa, European powers established different patterns. Britain was famous for its policy of Indirect Rule, a system which successfully adapted and integrated traditional institutions into her colonial administration. In her colonial policy Britain is widely believed to be more pragmatic than her European counterparts by recognizing the need to preserve indigenous cultures values and social structures where they did not jeopardize colonial interests.

As Smith (2003:36) put it. "Britain's need for political control and the maintenance of stability was consistent with the preservation of indigenous practices." On the other hand, France pursued the policy of assimilation. This was intended to create new African French elite, through Western education. Its effect was that local political elites identified closely with Europe and European culture. (The assumption behind assimilation policy was that local culture was an obstacle to the spread of European civilization). The enduring effect of this policy is still evident today in former French colonies in Africa. The application of the policy of assimilation in its extreme, found expression in Algeria, among others, a colony regarded by France as a department of Paris. Similarly, Portugal treated her African colonies as an extension of the government in Lisbon. But whether in British, French or Portuguese colonies, the essential feature of colonial government was a fusion of politics and administration, which Adamolekun (1993) labeled as "administocracy".

A "minimum government" which administocracy provided was regarded as consistent with the requirements of a colonial economy, which needed a regime of law and order, at limited cost, to thrive. To Cohen (1973) colonialism entails the following: "economic exploitation combines with political domination and the superimposing of European control over indigenous

political authority". What is critical is that colonialism seeks to reverse the power relations between two countries. It is not easy to separate the whole colonial enterprise into its separate dimensions. However, it will serve academic purpose, and enrich analysis if we attempt to deconstruct colonialism into its economic, political and military dimensions. A colonial rule is by definition a system of economic exploitation; the alienation of Africans from their lands, the enactment of chieftaincy and mineral ordinances, and the encouragement of cash crops.

The selective construction of railways and roads were meant to serve colonial objectives. Indeed the hospitals and schools, which later became unintended by products or benefits of colonialism, were originally intended to serve the basic health and clerical needs of expatriate colonial staff. Nkrumah (1947) listed what the colonial powers did to sustain this economic objective.

a. Colonies were made non-manufacturing dependencies.

b. Colonial subjects were consciously prevented from acquiring the knowledge of modern means and techniques for developing their own industries.

c. Colonial subjects were made simple producers of raw materials through cheap labour.

d. Colonies were prohibited from trading with other nations except through the "mother country". In short the slogans "trade follow the flag" and "buy British and trade imperial" eloquently demonstrate the economic character of colonialism.

The partition of Africa at Berlin in 1884/85 was largely a political exercise. It was meant to create and preserve these colonies as spheres of influence for the political leverage and diplomatic maneuvers of the colonial powers. Indeed, possession of colonies was a mark of the imperial prestige and status, and an instrument of foreign policy by the European nations in their competition for world domination (Cohen 1973). The political character of colonialism can also be viewed from the fact that what eventually became the territories of post-colonial states in Africa were negotiated at the Berlin conference. But despite the fact that these boundaries were drawn regardless of ethnic, language or cultural factors, the inherited colonial territories were accepted as sacrosanct and inviolable by African states after independence, and endorsed as such by the international community. Consequently, most African states today are multi ethnic and culturally diverse societies.

This colonial bifurcation, in some cases, fostered by the policy of divide and rule still continues to have profound consequences for national integration efforts or what has come to be described as the national question in African states today. Similarly, the adoption of the language of the colonial master as the lingua franca, the embrace of Western education and culture as well as Western legal system, including the preference for Western fashion of liberal democracy, have far reaching and enduring implications, beyond the political in Africa today. Nkrumah (1947) confirmed the links between the economics and politics of colonialism when he wrote: "the basis of colonial territorial dependence is economic, but the basis of the solution to the problem is political". The military institutions, which most African states inherited at independence, just as the states themselves owe their origins to colonial rule.

So, by orientation the African military was infected by the values, mechanics and techniques of the Sardhurst or Mons military training schools. In the recruitment policy into the army the policy of divide and rule, and the device of balkanisation were employed. The objective was to recruit those who would not rebel against the colonial authorities. To achieve this colonial power preferred the uneducated, small ethnic groups, and conservative people to the educated, dominant ethnic groups. In Nigeria this translated to the army having more recruits from the Muslim dominated North than the Christian oriented south. Lord Lugard in particular believed that the educated constituted threats to colonial rule since according to him, "they are liberal, argue a lot, critical and radical", and as a result could not make good soldier".

In military he argued that "brawn" was more important than "brains". This consideration, which was reflected in the recruitment policy in other colonies, debarred and prevented the Ashanti of the old Gold Coast, and Sulu of South Africa (two famous warrior groups) from joining the army. The quota system was deliberately introduced in recruitment into the military in Nigeria, for example, to give the Igala, Tiv and other minority Christian ethnic groups more advantage than the Hausa Fulani Moslem of the North; and the whole North more opportunities than the combined South. This uneven access was carried over to the post-colonial era, and was to have consequences for military organization, discipline and cohesion, and by extension political stability, when the military intervened eventually in politics. In colonial Africa politics in settler societies was based on colour bar, or what was popularly known as racial discrimination.

The party and franchise systems were narrow and restricted, which also assured the minority whites almost perpetual dominant position in national politics. The major party in

Rhodesia which always won the settler general election was the Rhodesian Front Party, and was formerly called the Dominion party. Apart from rejecting the universally accepted principle of one man, one vote, the franchise was based on a complex, and discrimination scales of educational, financial and property qualifications which placed the blacks at a disadvantage. For the greater majority of Africans who were deprived opportunities to receive secondary and post-secondary education, the educational qualifications were unattainable. Similarly the income qualification for the blacks was a major hurdle to cross. For example in Rhodesia, official statistics in 1962 revealed that only 41 percent of the total African labour force earned above the minimum amount to qualify for the B' roll of the income classifications.

Also, the bulk of African land farmed on a communal tenure basis made blacks ineligible under property qualifications (Nkrumah 1976: 14-16). Due to this restrictive franchise, the political powers that voting rights could have conferred on blacks to redress the injustice they were subjected to be absent. The deprivation of Africans of the right to political expression created very attractive conditions for the influx of Europeans, to Rhodesia, where they were already assured of privileged status. In Rhodesia and South Africa, like other settler territories an official justification was provided for the disenfranchisement of blacks.

The argument was that political power in the hands of blacks presented a potential danger of expulsion for the whites who had migrated to the continent and found Africa their homes, or made these territories their countries. The settler regime did not accept the idea of one man, one vote because according to Hans Strigdom, a former South African Prime Minister "the only way the Europeans can maintain supremacy is by domination... and the only way they can maintain domination is by withholding the vote from non-Europeans" The effect of this was to destroy the most important bridge between the worlds of two races. The implication of the limited franchise therefore was that the government of Rhodesia was elected by only 6 percent of the country's population. In essence the remaining 94 percent of the population who were predominantly blacks were either in the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) or the Zimbabwe Africa National Union (ZANU), and were denied of voting rights.

At a point when the Rhodesian government could no longer tolerate the nationalist activities of ZAPU, the party was proscribed. Leaders of ZAPU and ZANUPF, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe were severally, banned, harassed, or restricted to remote areas (Smith et.al 1981). In "Zambia Shall be Free", Kenneth Kaunda (1962) chronicled instances of

discriminations, harassments and unlawful arrests and detentions. In Malawi, former Nyasaland, Hastings Banda was similarity harangued by the settler's government. However, in 1964 both Zambia and Malawi became independent; an action which led to the dissolution of the Central African Federation; while Southern Rhodesia remained under minority settler government.

3.1 Problems and Legacies of Colonialism

It is only logical that before we can reasonably discuss the problems and legacies of colonialism that we settle or agree on a point of departure. It seems convenient that we commence from the period of independence, using 1960, African year of independence, as a base year. What we now call colonial legacy took the colonial powers more than a century to plant and nurture; it was only when the forces of nationalism made colonial business a more risky enterprise that colonial powers took steps to firmly root the crumbing pillars of alien rule in the consciousness of the African people. What most people now refer to as the history of colonialism is the drama of the Europeans who were eager to come to Africa but were reluctant to leave. But the real history of colonialism did not stop or terminate in 1960, or any other year, but its unbroken chain continued after wards, and have been sustained in many forms as the colonial heritage. Close to half a century after "Africa year", there is no denying the fact that the influence of colonialism on Africa remains crippling.

In the post-colonial era African leaders could not sustain the euphoria of anti-colonial nationalism, and failed to convert it into a rallying platform to build a nation out of colonially created artificial boundaries. Why this was so can be explained from the factor of colonialism which transformed Africa from a purely traditional, to a quasi-modern societies, in which traditional authority exercised by chiefs was displaced, and replaced with charismatic, or achievement oriented legitimacy, claimed by educated nationalists; who eventually took over from the Europeans. But history has shown that charismatic legitimacy tends to emerge during period of national crisis, which is comparable to the period of African struggle for independence. However, this created a major challenge for the immediate post-colonial era due to the failure of African leaders to sustain the nationalist euphoria and transform it into an adhesive or sinew to forge a new national identity.

The colonial powers were deliberately hesitant, partial and reluctant to prepare African colonies because of the need to preserve and safeguard their interest. What the skewed negotiation for independence between the Africans and the Europeans produced was a post-colonial state, with over developed bureaucracy relative to other political institutions. This distorted state structure, gave birth to new brands of coercive organs like the police and military which though served colonialism so well, but was not suitable for Africa (Smith 2003).

Political Legacy

When the former colonies emerged as independent states, they found themselves composed of varieties of tribes, social structures and cultures that were emotionally distant from one another. By extension postcolonial states were weak political entities, invested with political independence but lacked the muscles to assert their sovereignty. These states were new to independence and power, but were anxious to prove the legitimacy of their national interests. Forging these diverse people into a single nation was not easy because it required more than geographic proximity. The citizens of these states were naturally oriented almost entirely towards their sub-national groups and were loosely identified with their new country or its government.

More often than not, an African country becomes an independent state without a nation to provide a foundation. Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, has within its borders at least ten major ethnic groups, among which the pull of centrifugal forces led to a civil war in the 60s, and are still potent today (Baradat 2000). This failure of groups within states in Africa to pull together is also due to the fragmenting impact of colonialism. Berman (1984) noted that the policy of "divide and rule" "obstructed the development of alignments on a national scale by encouraging identification with ethnicity and locality. He argues that this factor persisted into the post-colonial period and became a major source of "destabilizing political conflict". Also, African states have grafted the British parliamentary and the American inspired presidential systems into their political structures, but it has not produced comparable success. This reason for the failures is that Africa has uncritically embraced what is foreign irrespective of whether it is suitable for African political climate.

Economic Legacy

Since we have largely identified colonialism with the economic interests of the Europeans, it is therefore not a surprise that its impact is more visible here. Colonialism created a dual economy in Africa, two economic systems co-existed within the society, but one was disarticulated, or not connected with the other: the village subsistence economy which served local needs, and the modern economy which fed the needs of international commerce (Onimode 1981:96). This has resulted in contemporary African economy, according to Aluko into "an inconsistent combination of circumstances" of African states not producing what they consume and not consuming what they produce. Cash crop-based, mono-cultural economies, foreign orientation and dependence and fluctuations as well as vulnerabilities constitute the essence of national economies.

The loss of control of production to foreigners, the external orientation of the economy and the manipulations of the international economic system has contributed to the destruction of Africa's pre-colonial self-reliance. In pursuit of its economic interest colonialism fused political and economic relationship into one. In his comparative studies of African colonies, Berman (1934) observed that colonialism established the state as the source of economic development, which was later transformed by African leaders into arena for managing and manipulating political (class) conflict. This view is close to the idea of a state as a parasite that extracts resources from society not for purposes of social reproduction, but to sustain the political elite. The mercantilist ethic inherent in colonialism also encouraged the introduction of commercial, together with a money economy.

Western trade brought with it the profit motive, which is the basic goal of the capitalist system, encouraged the idea of competition, which fostered individualism, but destroyed the classless nature of African society. Among the Ibos in Nigeria and Creoles in Sierra Leone, African merchant elite emerged and this transformation led to a new commercial practice distinct from what existed in the traditional African societies. Colonialism also introduced a modern system of taxation. Unlike in the past when traditional rulers irregularly merely collected tributes, taxation under colonial rule was standardized, and based on known assessment criteria. Though this policy was largely successful, it was violently resisted in the famous 1929 Aba riots of Eastern Nigeria and the 1854 hut tax riots in Sierra Leone (Jordan 1978:54). The failure of tax

policy in Africa, even in the post-colonial era, is due to the inability of many citizens to identify with state, and the definition of their relationship with government in terms of what they receive from, rather than what they contribute to it.

Peter Ekeh (1975) explained that colonialism has created two separate publics in political life in Africa: (a) amoral civil public from which one expects benefits but which is not important in the definition of duties; and (b) amoral primordial public, defined in terms of one's ethnic groups, to which relationships are phrased in terms of duty. What has worsened economic woes in Africa today is that most citizens extract resources from the state to serve the needs of their primordial groups; a carryover of colonial ethos. Another legacy of foreign rule is that it deliberately pursued a policy of uneven development in the colonies. Though the policy was deemed consistent to the dictates of colonialism, its enduring impacts are still common place in Africa today. In Nigeria and Ghana, the South developed at a pace faster than the North.

In Sierra Leone the Aborigines were distinct from the returnees; while in Rhodesia, Africans lived in fears of perpetual white minority rule. This uneven and separate development and treatment engendered permanent mutual suspicions among the groups, encouraged the adoption of ethnic quota or balancing devise, and has complicated nation building efforts.

Socio-Cultural Legacy

A complete true historical account of colonialism is that the European wars of conquest dislocated and disintegrated African political institutions economic structures and social systems, and super-imposed their own. Britain not only welded different ethnic groups to make Nigeria a "geographic expression" but also coined, and gave the country a name. This is a common heritage for most African states except for a few like Ghana (formerly Gold Coast), Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), Congo, which once changed to Zaire, before it reverted; Rhodesia, which split into Zambia and Zimbabwe, with the latter's capital, changing from Salisbury to Harare, among others. But these obviously harmless, but symbolic changes have not in any significant ways altered European cultural penetration of Africa. One, Europeans imposed their different languages on the colonies, which eventually became the official language or lingua franca of these countries after independence.

Consequently rather than use Yoruba, Swahili or Fanti to communicate, English, French or Portuguese are now being employed today as language of wider reach in Africa, even among inhabitants of the same country. Two, colonial rule also selectively introduced educational opportunities, and unevenly promoted the adoption of Western culture within the same state. The effect is that at micro and macro levels, Africa remains divided. In the coaster areas where Western influence is understandably dominant, what we have are strong imitations or mimicry of western way of lives, but in the hinterlands where alien penetrations are restricted Western influence is limited, because it is being resisted. Colonial education itself was limited, and not oriented to serve the developmental aspirations, but to produce clerks and interpreters, who served the needs of colonial administration.

According to Smith (2003:35) seventy five years of British rule in West Africa left one hospital for 30 million Nigerians, a ratio of doctors to inhabitants of 1:60, 000, and only half the children of one province surviving beyond their fifth year. Nigeria and Gold coast could only boast of one university each, university college of Ibadan, and university of Legon. Colonialism has now completely disappeared from the continent Portugal was the first European country to have contact with Africa and the last to leave. Angola's independence from Portugal, Namibia from South Africa's "illegal" occupation, and the attainment of majority rule by Pretoria marked the end of colonialism, and racist's minority rule in Africa.

To chronologists who are interested in terminal dates, the end of colonialism represents the dusk of an old era, and the dawn of a new one. But to a political scientist who is interested more with reality than appearance, the year 1960 represented a new beginning for Africa tomconfront the trappings of colonialism in their different guises. Indeed, it was not until after independence that radical Kwame Nkrumah realized that the eagerly awaited good life for Africans would not necessarily follow political independence

3.1 Meaning and Nature of Nationalism

A discussion of the phenomenon of nationalism in Africa must begin with an attempt at first distinguishing related concepts of nation, nationality, state and nationalism. A state is a political institution while a nation is an intangible, sociological concept. A nation-state therefore, is a fusion of the nation(s) into a state. Within a state, it is possible to have people of different

nationalities. As a result of the legacy of colonial rule most states in Africa are multi-national. However, nationalism in Africa is far from the desire for self-determination by these different ethnic groups, rather it represents opposition to colonial subjugation and desire for self-government. Given the dominant-dominated context of colonialism, it created an awareness and consciousness among Africans to resist foreign rule, so as to put an end to the humiliation, exploitation, injustice and discrimination inherent in colonial subjugation.

Nationalism can be described as an act of political consciousness concerned primarily with achieving independence for the different African colonies from foreign rule. Nationalism is also taken to mean self-assertion against the humiliating and exploitative tendencies of colonialism. For our purpose, we can define nationalism as the patriotic sentiment or activities on the part of groups of people held together by the bonds of common experience and their assertion of their inalienable right to be free to determine their common desires.

Classifications

Some Political Scientists have described nationalism in Africa as a child of the twentieth century. James S. Coleman (1958) in particular, insisted that it is a misuse of the term to apply the expression the rise of nationalism to describe independence movements in Africa. He argues that since most African states at the terminal stage of colonial rule were not yet nations, it is misnomer to adopt the term nationalism. Coleman preferred to describe them as reactive anti-colonial movements, or movements for independence, rather than nationalist movements. He categorized these movements into three kinds. The traditionalist, the Syncretic and Modernist independence movement. We will now elaborate on each of them.

Traditionalists

The traditionalists are those immediate spontaneous movements of resistance led by the likes of Jaja of Opobo in British, and Samore Taore in French territories. European scholars writing from the European perspective, called these traditionalist as nativistic to describe the Mau Mau movement in Kenya, or the Messianic or madhistic movement of Sudan. Contrary to these views, these traditionalists offered legitimate resistance to the Europeans, when after the

abolition of slave trade, they sought to penetrate Africa, using unfair trade, and later direct foreign rule. For their bravery, or in European perceptions, effrontery, Jaja of Opobo was exiled to the West Indies; Ovwerami of Benin lost his empire, and was deported to Calabar where he died. Kosoko lost the battle against the occupation of Lagos, and was later expelled to the mosquito invested town of Badagry.

Syncretism

The syncretic movements are the separatist religious movements led by Rev. James Johnson aimed at preventing the white-man from controlling the religious beliefs of the African people. These break away kind of movements from the Anglican, Methodist and Catholic churches realized that the European churches were themselves organs of colonial rule. In colonial Nigeria, we could categorise kinship groups such as the Imo State Union, Egbe Omo Oduduwa, as syncretic in form and character. According to Esedebe (1978:88) separatism began to manifest in churches in West and South African churches as from 1870's. As he explained, the cause of this important secession was not only opposition to European control, but also a positive desire to adapt the message of the church to the heritage of the African people.

The syncretics argued that if the Queen of England was the head of the English church, so the African paramount chief must provide leadership for these break away churches. These churches rather than being center of worship became fora for political agitations. To guard against this, the Portuguese firmly restricted the entry of protestant missions into their territories because they were seen as "the advance-guard of African nationalism".

Modernists

The Modernist nationalists, which Coleman obviously preferred were the economic and labour groups, principally trade unions and cooperative societies, and the professional middle class movements led by Western educated Africans, who fought against racism and discrimination, and struggled to advance the well being and economic status of members of their group. Coleman's preference for the modernists is because these were educated Africans who have traveled to Europe and North America, and have picked up the language of democracy and

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freedom from the American war of Independence and the vocabulary of liberty, equality and fraternity, made popular during the French Revolution. Within this group, one can include the pan- Africanists and the Trans-territorial movements. These were movements based in Diaspora, spurred by racial consciousness, and spearheading agitations for the advancement of the interest of the coloured and African peoples.

The Marcus Garvey's National Association for the Advancement of coloured People and the Back to Africa movement. In retrospect, we can say that James Coleman was in error to have made this distinction between these three categories. The correct approach or interpretation is to look at the objective of these different groups, and not the means or methods they employed. In all these groups, the sentiments of nationalism were reflected, irrespective of who led it, or the means and methods employed, and the fact that none of the three can be treated in isolation. The important criteria in nationalism are resistance to alien rule, protest against maltreatment and the desire for self-government. One major feature of nationalism in Africa is that it was a reactive movement rather than assertive nationalism in the sense that the presence of a common enemy – the European colonizers brought nationalists together.

But when the enemy disappeared, they disintegrated. It is important to emphasize that nationalism is essentially a political movement motivated primarily to eradicate colonial domination. The presence of colonial rulers contributed to it because it was then easier to distinguish between "them" and "you", and "theirs" and ours". That visibility factor is important, because if the colonizers were not visible, then the need to show the discrimination and subjugation inherent in colonial rule would have been difficult to establish.

3.1 Nationalism and Decolonization

Basically, there are two ideal types of approaches open to any colonial people struggling for independence. The two types can be examined from experiences of countries like Nigeria and Gambia, on the one hand, and experiences of Algeria, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, on the other. In between these two cases are the cases of Mau-Mau of Kenya and the Gold Coast (now Ghana) which combine the method of type. A group of countries with the method of type B group of countries. A colony can either adopt a constitutional, evolutionary approach to independence – that involves gradual constitutional process of evolution of power as was the

case in Nigeria from the 1950s, through 1960. With the type B situation, the choice open to the nationalists was not the luxury of a round table conference; but the dictates of the battle front struggle through military force to wrest power from an unwilling colonial power.

The Zimbabwean approach typified the military option towards independence. The question may be posed: what determines a given course of action open to the colonized people? In an attempt to answer this question, a number of factors must be considered. Perhaps the most critical relate to whether or not a given colonized people had presence or absence on its territory a sizeable colonial settlement. Where the settler population is high like Rhodesia, Kenya and Algeria there is high resistance to nationalist struggle, but in the West African colonies of Nigeria Gold Coast and the Gambia, already labeled as the "White-man's grave", the opposition to nationalism was less militant. In other words, while the constitutional approach was irrelevant in the former, it was suitable in the latter.

In Algeria, for example France had to face the humiliation of defeat in a war of liberation waged by armed nationalists. In the case of Portuguese colonies, Portugal was the first colonial master to come to Africa and the last to leave, in the mid-1970s, fifteen years after African year of Independence. In some settler colonies, the option of Unilateral Declaration o Independence (UDI) was employed. The idea was to accord dominion status to the white settlers while the blacks remained under minority white rule as Ian Smith attempted to do in Rhodesia in 1965. However, under the pressure of sanctions, Ian Smith could not sustain for long his illegal declaration of independence. It is evident from the history of nationalism in Africa that the movement towards independence began earlier in the British colonies than the French colonies. The activities of the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBW) and the formation of the Nigerian National Democratic party (NNDP) in the early 20th century were pointers to the early embrace of nationalist struggle in British colonies. Many factors accounted for this:

> It created a division between the traditional rulers and the educated elites. Because the educated Africans were excluded from the colonial administration, they therefore portrayed the traditional rulers as agents of colonial rule. In order to moderate opposition to their rule, the British rulers deliberately introduced constitutional reforms to accommodate the educated elites which in turn, speeded their agitation for right to fully control their affairs.

On the other hand, the French policy of direct rule consciously made African French educated elites member of the French parliament. The idea was to give them a false sense that they were part of the administration of their colonies. For instance in 1946, M. Houphouet – Boigny, who later became the President of Ivory Coast, in response to clamour for independence said: "there are no separatists on these benches…" In the same vein, Lepold Sengor of Senegal was quoted to have said: "The French Union must be a conjunction of civilizations, a melting point of culture it is a marriage rather than association (Nkrumah, 1965:24). These words, coming from leading Africans were confirmation that the French policy of assimilation which was aimed at producing an elite class was a success in her colonies in Africa. Unlike France, Britain did not discourage her colony from forming political parties. For example, while the first party emerged in Nigeria in 1922, no political party was formed in any French colonies until after World War II.

French colonial administration directly limited the spread of Western education to few Africans. Missionaries were not allowed to build schools until 1943. The only grammar school for the whole of French West Africa was ECCLE Normale Willita penty in Dakar, Senegal. In summary, while Britain consciously and gradually worked her colonies towards independence, France and to a greater extent, Portugal saw their colonies as extensions of the metropolitan, mother country..

4.0 CONCLUSION

Neo-colonialism, otherwise called post-colonial dependency is a major feature of most African states today. Neo-colonial structure was deliberately put in place by the former colonial masters to ensure that their vital interests were not endangered in the newly independent African states. This was achieved through many forms: economic links, military ties, and political associations. African states were still largely dependent on the West, particularly their erstwhile colonial master.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we defined neo-colonialism, especially within an African perspective. We traced its origins and its major features as a postcolonial, imperial ideology in Africa. We explained that its major objective is to sustain the exploitative relations between African states and their former colonial masters.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Explain the factors responsible for the imposition of neo-colonial structures on African States after their independence
2. Identify and explain the major features of a neo-colonial society in Africa.

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UNIT 5 CONTENDING EXPLANATORY MODELS OF INSTABILITY

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The problem of political instability in Africa has continued to attract scholarly attention. Two broad approaches have emerged in an attempt to provide explanations for it: The Western explanatory model and the political economy paradigm. The former provides liberal, while the latter radical, explanations for political instability in Africa. This unit examines the two approaches and attempts to identify the model that is more suitable for a better understanding of political instability in Africa.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit you should be able to:

- Identify the indices of political instability in any society
- Offer explanations from the two popular perspectives on political instability in Africa.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Defining the Concept of Political Instability

To properly understand the phenomenon of political instability, it is important to comprehend the concept of stability. A political system is stable where there is widespread acceptance among the actors about the rules of the game, as well as consensus about the legitimacy of the institutions regulating political conduct. Also, the process of leadership succession is only regular, but predictable, and anchored on an enduring and sustainable political culture. Today conventional wisdom has assigned the virtue of political stability to the developed countries, whilst the reverse of instability with its associated ills, are attributed to the politics of Africa, and other third world countries.

In African states manifestations of political instability include electoral induced crises, military coups, communal Conflicts and civil wars. These crises have been so grave and recurring that they have attracted the attention of political scholars. Since 1945, in the opinion of Smith (2003) both inter-state and intra-state conflicts moved from the developed, to developing countries, especially in Africa. An estimate put the number of deaths from civil war in Southern Africa alone at 1.5 million. At the end of 1990s over 40,000 Angola citizens were physically handicapped. The 10 year-civil war in Sierra Leone resulted in the death of about 200,000 lives (Smith). The search for a solution for the problem of political instability, for most African states is labeled the national question.

This question is so central to politics in Africa and is therefore related to stability, development and legitimacy. Stability is the condition for development. Such stability is not the stability of the colonial period, which Mahatma Gandhi once described as the peace of the grave yard'. 'Rather it is stability that promotes the dynamics of meaningful change. Development for Africa is trying to outgrow the stage of underdevelopment, and alter the prevailing vicious cycle of dependence and marginalisation, where Western nations pull the strings that determine African collective existence. Legitimacy set the limits of the government to government to the citizen such that the government is conscious of it and set limits on its power, and at the same time, it is recognized by the governed, such that acceptance of the authority of government is

based on the peoples consent (Ajayi 1992). In Africa politics is beset with instability due to crises of development and legitimacy.

3.2 Explanatory Models for Political Instability in Africa

Reaction to colonial rule dictates the type of government that came into existence in the various independent African states. Those countries that gained political sovereignty through constitutional struggle inherited the Western model of parliamentary or presidential democracy, as a colonial legacy. The package of this model contains the following political ingredients: periodic elections, universal adult suffrage, free press, independent judiciary and legitimacy of freely elected leaders. The model also recognizes the existence of political parties, the struggle for power among these parties, the assumption to power of the winning party, the existence of opposition parties, and rejection of access to power through violent or unconstitutional means.

However, these features of constitutional democracy were observed in the breach in virtually all African countries. The basic questions are: What are the reasons for the violation of these basic norms in African politics? Why the model not properly handed over to the new states? Two contending school of thoughts/paradigms has been proposed by scholars to explain the phenomenon of political instability in Africa: The first is the Western /Modernization school of D.E Apter, B.A. Rustow, S.P. Huntington etc. The Western perspective can be further sub-divided into modernization and ethnic pluralism explanations. The second is the Political Economy explanation championed by Walter Rodney, Samin Amir, and Immanuel Wallerstin etc. Water Rodney's book *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* is a classic on this model.

3.2.1 Institutional Fragility or Weakness

The modernization model identifies institutional fragility or weakness and lack of established culture in political competition as the basic cause of political instabilities in Africa. This school contends that African countries are experiencing rapid rate of modernization, and that the various changes taking place tend to weaken African traditional institutions. On the other hand, modern institutions capable of regulating new political behaviour are non-existent, and where they exist, they are yet to take root in the culture or tradition of the various African

societies. For political life, the implication is that in Africa, there are no agreed set of rules and procedures capable of regulating political interactions, resulting in the use of unconstitutional means to gain elective office. While desperate rival and opposition groups employ all means including enlisting the support of the military, to unseat those in power; the party in power employ state machinery to either suppress, or ban opposition elements.

3.2.2 Cultural Pluralism/Ethnic Conflict

The second explanation of the Western model is African cultural pluralism or ethnic conflict. The central argument of this model is that various groups exist in the new states of Africa and these groups engage themselves in intense conflict to influence and dominate political power. The various groups are said to be culturally distinct from each other in terms of language, social organization, values, beliefs etc. the groups also have different interests and aspirations and tend to use the various resources available to assert their differences and power in relation to other groups. The argument goes that before colonialism the different groups functioned as self-contained communities. However, when colonial rule forced them to live under one centralized political authority, the relation among them became one of competition for allocation of resources and other forms of colonial favour.

On the attainment of independence the struggles and competition among the groups continued with the majority seeking to control and dominate key positions in government institutions, while the minority groups struggle for recognition and fair deal in the distribution of national resources. Political life in Africa therefore became an organized desire by the various groups to advance and protect their particularistic interest, thereby creating a tug of – war political arena in Africa.

3.2.3 Political Economy Model

However, the political economy model challenged the premise of the Western school, and described it as static a-historical and non explanatory. The political economy model further is anchored on finding solutions to: what accounts for competition among political actors? Why are resources scarce in African states? According to the political economy school, the search for

meaningful answers to the above questions needs to go beyond what modernization and cultural explanations could offer. The major argument of this approach is that the political life of a particular society is a reflection of its material base. Thus political values, beliefs and institutions that shape political behaviour at a particular period have their roots and also reflect the material base or mode of production of that society.

From the above theoretical explanations, the school contends that the material conditions that influence and shape African politics include poverty, underdevelopment and dependence (Davidson 2000: 12-25). The political economy identifies poverty as a common feature among African states. The problems of poverty, underdevelopment and dependence have created an economic base, which in turn generate political problems in African states. But the school argues that African countries are poor not because of a cause of nature, but because their resources have historically been exploited for the development of Western Europe. Furthermore, this school contends that the ethnic conflicts in Africa represent the economic interests of the various groups in the society, which compete among themselves for scarce resources.

Ethnic prejudice and antagonisms are also prevalent, and do take violent character where business and pecuniary interests are involved. But where they agree on these issues members of different ethnic groups live together in harmony. The political economy model argues further that political elites by definition represent certain economic interest in society, and always seek power to control the use of scarce resources to cater for their interest. It is also not true as the modernization theorists' claim that there are no rules or procedures in African states; but rather politicians have devised means to circumvent these rules. In very rare cases where promising leadership have merged in African states, the international community has the means to manipulate the internal politics in order to keep African states within the orbit of the international capitalist system.

Therefore, to prevent external subversion African politicians are forced to be less assertive in international relations, and thus align themselves to the dictates of Western countries (Nkrumah 1963: 194-204). Furthermore, the political economy perspective traced African political predicament to colonialism. Colonial rule not only carved out states along ethnic lines, it fostered ethnic particularism, encouraged the policy of divide and rule, and adopted the expedience of uneven development in various African states. Consequently, these problems created by colonialism have imposed a peculiar character on Africa today. According to Claude

Ake, African leaders are in office and not in power. Therefore to adequately capture what Denis Austin called the "Africa's Predicament" we need to examine the internal dynamics within the continent in conjunction with its location in the world capitalist system.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In every academic discourse, there is always more than one side to an issue. This multi or plural perspectives not only enriches understanding but also helps in expanding the frontiers of knowledge. What one can draw from the contending schools in the analysis of political instability in Africa is not to return the verdict that one is valid, and the other is not. Rather it is to appreciate that each of the two is based on different premise. While the Western model looks at what is; the political economy approach goes beneath the surface by providing the historical context for what is. Beyond the value judgment that may colour any academic discussion, a more objective approach is to look at the beneficial aspects of the two models, without rejecting either of them.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have examined the two contending models of analyzing political instability. The Western model traces the problem to weakness of African political institutions. But the political economy approach explained that a combination of historical circumstances provide more reasonable explanations for political instability in Africa.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Explain the major arguments of the Western model of analyzing of political instability in Africa.
2. What are the linkages between poverty and the stiff competition for political power in Africa?
3. How can you resolve the age-long debate between the Western and Political economy schools of African politics?

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UNIT 6 NEO-COLONIALISM AND NIGERIAN ECONOMY

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Neo-colonialism is a policy by which a foreign power binds territories to herself by political ties with the primary object of promoting her economic advantage. Rather than attaining genuine sovereign status, a neo-colonial state is granted what is called 'flag' independence. With neo-colonialism, it then became almost impossible for African states to translate into concrete terms the pre-independence revolution of rising expectations. Thus, within a few years of independence slogans such as "seek ye first the political kingdom and every other thing shall be added unto it" turned into a mirage, or pipe dream. This unit discusses the concept of neo-colonialism, its origins and features.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

Essentially, this unit is aimed at the following objectives:

- To expose you to the concept of neo-colonialism and how it is relevant to the understanding of post-independent African society
- To give you an idea of how neo-colonialism originated and its major features.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Definition of Religious Politics

Religious politics occupy the center stage in Nigerian society. Before independence in Nigeria, religion and political authority were inter-independent. Religion and politics were inseparable and the only religion in Nigeria was African traditional religion. But after independence, the advent of Islam and Christianity has intensified sudden changes that resulted into religious politics, with ethics crisis and bigotry. The growing sensitivity to the differing needs of various groups and disposition to accommodate these needs, have led the government to reaffirm the pluralistic nature of the state and the constitution guaranteeing religious freedom of worship in Nigeria.

Essentially, the state declares her neutrality in religious affairs, respecting the separation of religion and state, but paradoxically there appears to be a significant distinction between the ideal of government acceptance of the religiously plural nature of the Federation and the actual implementation of the constitutional guarantees. The halting dialectic of religious politics in the last decades has led to significant consequences for relation between religion and politics. The increasing state of religious conflicts in the country as a result of government involvement in and regulation of religious affairs has affected the nation positively and negatively. Religion which has been a cohesive force in many societies has proved extremely divisive and disintegrative in Nigeria.

In their search for national unity, Nigerians have fallen back on prejudice, bigotry and parochial antagonism that only promote chaos and anarchy. Thus, taking undue advantage of the situation, some politicians who are sadists have so permeated all the fabrics of national life with the religious sentiment that now forms the basis of political cleavages, placement on the key posts in government service, and award of contracts and disbursement of economic benefits. This attitude has dampened people's sense of patriotism and commitment that no ordinary Nigeria is

ready to die for this country. The level at which religion is being manipulated in the religious and political circles by politicians have greater impacts on the nation than excellence or competence that would determine their rewards.

Historical studies of pre-Islamic and Christian era have also indicated that before both religions took roots in what constitute Nigeria, religious politics at that time was not pronounced. Politics was regarded as communitarian affairs which involved the whole members of the society. The traditional religious politics was accepted as the ideal virtue until foreign religions infiltrated the Nigerian nation. Since that time, Nigeria has experienced various crises and riots which are threatening her corporate existence. Each of these conflicts has had devastating effects on the unity, peace and tranquility of Nigeria as a nation. Okwueze one of the most disturbing issues in the unification of Nigeria is religious politics. The close interaction between Nigeria state and religious based organization reflects the widespread perception that Nigeria is not a secular state.

The existence of several religions in Nigeria accentuates regional and ethnic distinctions. This complex and unhealthy relationship create more rooms for national tension, tribalism and religious sentiment between Muslims and Christians adherents in Nigeria. Ngele noted that amalgamation invoked by Nigerians as the foundation of the rancorous relationship between the two religions (North and south) prepared grounds for political disagreements and suspicious between Muslims and Christians. Each of the two regions contains ethnic and religious minorities who harbor grievances against ethnic and religious majorities they see as hegemonic oppressors. These grievances are sometimes expressed through bitter political complaints, sectarian crises stoked by political elites and incendiary media rhetoric, and violent insurgencies.

Bamgnose posited that the jarring effects of arbitrary colonial unification of the northern and southern regions was so deep that one Northern Nigerian Muslim nationalist leader declared Nigeria "the mistake of 1914", while a prominent Southern Nigerian Christian nationalist figure called Nigeria "a mere geographic expression". The Christian anxieties about Muslim domination of the national political space and the accompanying fear that politically dominant Muslims would use their privileged perch to Islamize national institutions and impose Islamic Sharia law on non-Muslims have impoverished and denied Muslims, especially those from Northern Nigeria opportunities to leadership positions.

Manipulation of Religion in Nigeria

The word manipulation of religion according to Brown is "the all art of twisting something for personal gain". In the context of this paper, manipulation of religion refers to the art of maneuvering, cheating or bending by force a system or something to achieve a desired goal. It is also described as the process of using religious principles to change a political game by political lords to suit their set goals and objectives.

3.3 Consequence of Manipulation of Religion in Political Circle

Nigeria is passing through many challenges in the 21st century due to its pluralized nature. Kalu asserts that the heterogeneous nature of Nigeria in terms of diverse religions, ethnicity and political infinity has made her a veritable pluralistic society with many challenges. Ngele affirms that the Nigerian political scene is not dominated by religion but still very much influenced by it. Nigeria, like many other African nation-states that have emerged under the cloak of colonialism, has sought to negotiate equitably its extensive ethnic and religious pluralism, and channel such diversity into national integration. Nigerian Christians, for their part, still harbor fears of political domination by the Northern Muslim Hausa-Fulani peoples. They remember the *jihad* movements of the nineteenth century that promoted a new exclusive, intolerant and militant Islamic orientation.

Nor have they forgotten the Islamization policy of "One North, One Islam" of Northern Muslim leaders during the First Republic of the early 1960s. The majority of the country's political leaders have been from the North (although not always Muslim). While successive governments have employed various quota strategies to try to reflect the "federal character," Nigerians have every reason to be doubtful of the concept of fair play, with nepotism and corruption rife at so many levels. According to former Ambassador Jolly Tanku Yusuf, an outspoken Christian leader from the northern part of Nigeria, Christians have been denied access to electronic media in 16 Northern states, while Islam monopolizes 24 hours for its broadcast in the same area. Agents of the devil compound the misery, using the media to intensify religious manipulation by heaping insults on the Christians. Every hour the Muslims broadcast provocative statements about Christianity.

It means nothing, they proclaim, that people attend church on Sunday only to dance and to listen to songs! Authorities merely wink. The overall (conspiracy) theory of Muslim is to take over Nigeria and turn it into a Muslim state. It is unfortunate that at the center of religious political crises in Nigeria are political leaders, eminent people whom are looked up to by people as those in possession of the truth. Some of these highly placed individuals through their actions and utterances, especially on religious matters work towards destabilizing the nation (Kukah, 1999). A typical example of such utterances was by Sheikh Abubakar Gumi, a radical, anti-Sufi Muslim leader, who rose to become the most influential Muslim in Northern Nigeria in the 1970s. He founded the powerful "return to source" group known as Izala, which was active in proselytizing through the use of campaigns and recorded cassettes.

In responding to the broadcast by the British Broadcasting Co-operation and the voice of America concerning the chairmanship of Sultan, the spiritual head of the Muslims which consisted of low percentage of 40% population to head traditional rulers in Nigeria, he said that 80% of the populations were supposed to be Muslims. In early 1986, he also repeated that Nigeria was 80% Muslims, 5% Christians and 15% others. When Gumi received the king Faisal Prize in 1987, he claimed 70% Muslims population for the country. This position maintained by this eminent scholar caused ripples in the political circle as some began to see it as one of the attempts at Islamizing Nigeria. In the 1960's and 1990's, the Christian communities in Nigeria had argued that the various administrations were partial in matters of pilgrimage.

According to this argument, Nigeria sent 120,000 pilgrims on the hajj. Such a massive number on pilgrimage (they argued) had been possible due to government subsidies and use of government financed pilgrim Board. In 1981, the hajj cost the government just under N119 million (N118, 800,000) and Christian objections to such governmental spending were met with a proposal for limited government financing of Christian pilgrimages and the reaction of Christian pilgrim Board. As a way of correcting this anomalies the government in 1985, sponsored 20,000 Muslims to perform the hajj and 1,986 Christians were provided with similar facilities. The issue of government setting up Board for Religious Affairs was at a particular time seen as one issue which had religious undertone.

For example, when president Shagari tried to establish an Islamic Affairs Board to governmentally regulate Islamic affairs, Cardinal Dominic Ekandem, on behalf of the catholic Bishops, objected to it by pointing to the constitutional provision for keeping the government out

of the internal affairs on religious groups. Shagari backed down and the Board was not developed. At a particular time in the history of this country, there was fear from the Christian quarters that there was a deliberate attempt by General Ibrahim Banbangida to make Nigeria an Islamic state. This raised bias for or due to the following reasons:

> First in the year 1986, Gen Ibrahim Banbangida was said to have surreptitiously and single-handedly gagged Nigeria into the membership of the Organization of Islamic Conference, a purely Islamic organization. This was argued to be later complimented by the administration of General Sani Abacha, which in 1997 registered Nigeria as member of D8 another Islamic Organization of eight countries comprising of Egypt, Malaysia, Indonesia, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

According to the communiqué of the Bishops conference, in 1997, by this act Nigeria not only became a member of O.I.C, but also the headquarters of Islam in Africa. It was also argued that the administration had tilted administrative positions in favor of one religion. In another development Christian Association of Nigeria (C.A.N), Northern Zone, in its enlightenment series No. 1: "*Leadership in Nigeria"* observed that since the Babangida Administration came into power, it has unashamedly and in utter contempt for national unity, manifested discriminatory religious posture through overt acts of patronage and preference for Islamic religion. One is therefore left with no alternative but to conclude that the Banbangida administration is the principal agent for the Islamization of Nigeria". The list of the cabinet was given thus:

Name	Post	Religion
1. Gen. I.B Banbangida	Head of State and Commander-in Chief, Armed Force Minister of Defense	Muslim
2. Lt. Gen. Abacha	Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff	Muslim
3. Rear Adm. Nyako	Chief of Naval staff	Muslim
4. Air Mar. N.O. Yusuf	Chief of Air staff	Muslim
5. Alh. Aliyu Atta	Inspector Gen. of police	Muslim

(N.B. All the Service Chiefs were MUSLIMS)

6.	Maj. Gen. Aliyu Moh'd.	G.O.C. 2nd Div	Muslim
7	Oladipo Diya	G.O.C. 3rd Div	Muslim
8.	Abubakar T.	G.O.C. 82nd Div	Muslim
9.	Justice M. Bello	Chief Judge	Muslim
10.	Alb. Aliyu Mop's	Secretary to Fed. Government	Muslim
11.	Col. A. Akilu	Director, Military intelligence	Muslim
12.	Alh. Moh'd, B.	Nat. Security Adviser	Muslim
13.	Alh. Bola Ajibola	Att. Gen. & Min. of Justice	Muslim
14.	Alh. Lukuman	Min. of External Affairs	Muslim
15.	Alh. Jubril Aminu	Min. of petroleum & Nat. Ross	Muslim
16.	Prof. Aliyu Fafunwa	Min. of Education	Muslim
17.	Alh. Samaila Mamman	Min. of Agriculture	Muslim
18.	Alh. Abubakar Alh.	Min. of Budget & Planning	Muslim
19.	Alh. Bunu Sharif	Min. of Water Resources	Muslim
20.	Alh. A. Ahmed	Governor Central Bank	Muslim
21.	Maj. Gen. Basko	Min. for Abuja	Muslim
22.	Maj. Gen. M. Kontagora	Min. of Works	Muslim
23.	Col. David Mark	Min. of communications	Christian
24.	Dr. O.R Kuti	Min. of Health	Christian
25.	Alh. Abubakar Umar	Min. Labour & Productivity	Muslim
26.	Lt. Gen. Akinrinade (Rtd)	Min. Transport	Christian
27.	Prince Tony Momoh	Min. Information	Christian
28.	T.O. Graham Douglas	Min. Social Development	Christian
29.	Air Vice-M. Nura Imam	Min. Mines & Power	Muslim

It has been argued that under the leadership of General Gowon, majority of the members of supreme Military Council and Governors were Christians. The allocation of land for religious purpose in Abuja, when it was being developed also became one issue that had religious

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undertone. An Advertiser's Announcement in early March, 1998, had it that in the plan for Abuja, 66 plots had been allocated for religious purposes, and out of these, 18 had been approved and allocated-10 to Christians and 8 to Muslims (all recipients named). 48 were still available, and that they intended to give 24 to CAN and 24 to JNI, to be allocated as both organizations saw fit. However, the Christian community later accused the government of allocating to the National Mosque 55 hectares of land.

The National Ecumenical Centre to Christian total 29 hectares of land. Immediately after the 1999 election that brought Obasanjo into power and his subsequent appointment of members of his cabinet, the Muslim community also accused him of marginalization and what they described as "religious Lopsidedness" against the interest of Islam in the appointment of Ministers. This was contained in a statement signed by Alhaji Ishaq Kunle Sani and the secretary of the Council of Muslim Youths of Nigeria. This allegation of marginalization of Muslims in ministerial appointment was later supported in an advertorial by the Jama'atu Nasril Islam. In the statement, they not only allege the taking over of Aso Villa by "Jesus", they complained that with this take over, Muslim are fast becoming an "endangered species" because of the rate at which this " Christian Agenda" is being pursued. In their presentation they argued thus:

> In a country in which Muslims are in the majority, it is most uncharitable, unjust, ill-conceived and ill-motivated and a move towards anarchy to have a cabinet in which out of 42 ministers there are only 16 Muslims but not a single Muslim from the south or southwest. There are 60 Special Advisers, Personal Assistants, Special Assistants and Aides only 13 are Muslims and out of these 13, none is from the South or Southwest. Apart from the above, the group complained of the appointment of an Ifa Priest as adviser on culture from Oyo, thus presenting the Yoruba culture as "predicted on paganism".

The faulting of a qualified Nigerian, who was accused of being an *Ifa* Priest as an adviser on culture, is an indication that the indigenous African religion has been marked out for possible elimination and extinction. In the same vein the administration was accused of promoting Christianity above Islam through the use of the National Television Authority to broadcast Aso Villa Chapel Service conducted every Sunday, describing it as a "mischievous political

manipulation of religion" unprecedented in Nigeria's history. The national television station was also accused of being bias as it only broadcast clips from the Friday Tafsir of the chief Imam from Abuja mosque, only to spend hours on Sunday relaying the church service from the presidential Villa Chapel and later reports from various churches around Abuja as the only worthy news items.

In 2003 the government of the people's Democratic Party was accused of wiping up religious sentiments in the south and South-Eastern Nigeria to discredit the candidacy of Buhari and the entire All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) and Muslims through displaying posters which read "Vote ANPP the only Muslim party in Nigeria". It was reported in one of the national news magazines that the Islamic World raised the sum of one billion US Dollars for Buhari Presidency and 400 million had already been received. Another challenge of Nigeria according to Ngele is lack of strong institution that could enable the political system to face challenge of governance in a systematic way. The success of democratic experiment in a country depends on a party that has a strong mass support and leaders that have interest of the nation at heart. However, Nigeria has parties built along religions and leaders that are naive and selfish.

Other features that the parties exhibited and which affected the smooth functioning of democracy are the increasing use of violence and absence of existence of free and fair electoral body. Alfold also listed ethnicity as a major challenge of religious politics in Nigeria. He traced the roots of this religious challenge to colonial period when the colonial masters sowed seeds of discord between Christianity and Islam, the two major religious bodies that held way into socio-political scene of her national life. He painted a true picture of the scenario created by British imperialism which laid the foundation to suspicion and rivalry among the ethnic nationalities and religious groups in Nigeria thus:

> Meanwhile a country wind blew in the North as the root of Islamic fundamentalism was sowed. This veritable and political challenge to Christianity was nursed in the early days of independence. The conflict between Christianity and Islam was at first an aspect of regional rivalry and development.

This ethno-religious plurality has not been for the interests of Nigeria, especially as one finds heterogeneity prevail and the hostilities of predominant ethnic groups as well as the

minorities' have been rife as skirmishes of war are very much obvious. Danmole commenting on roots of this hostility during the colonial period when the British pursued the policy of divides and rule states:

> Nigeria was called a mere geographical expression not only by the British who had an interest in keeping it so, but even by our nationalists when it suited them to retreat into tribe to check their more successful rivals from other parts of the country. Nothing in Nigeria's political history captures her problem of national integration more than the conquered fortune of tribe in her vocabulary. At our independence in 1960, our national anthem which is our Hymn of deliverance from British colonial bondage has these lines: "though tribe and tongue may differ, in brotherhood we stand".

This was in the opinion of Achebe "a most ominous beginning of ethnic history in Nigeria. Since then ethnicity has become a basis for political and religious affiliation in Nigeria. The above situation coupled with the high level of corruption, neglect of public institutions, unemployment and manipulation of religion in religious and political circle led to mistrust and suspicion on both sides, such that issues are being debated not for national development but on the basis of its benefit to religion. Thus from the 1980's, the conflict generated by the phenomenon had taken on the character of the conflict between Muslims and Christians. One area that has been affected by this manipulation is the academia, especially when religion and its philosophy are being taught.

This is because religious issues have become so sacred that critical issues/matters in religious studies are left us taught for fear of causing uprising. The result is that at the end of the day, we only succeed in producing students that are not critically minded. The manipulation of religion has also led to fierce debates waged between the leaders of both communities over the idea of the secular state (as opposed to that calling for the fusion of state and religion). The import of Shari'a law for Africa as a multi-religious society has ignored the constitutional provisions for the freedom of religion, thoughts, conscience, and associations which involve the state government in the building of mosques, churches, and mission based schools and colleges, as well as financing pilgrimages to Mecca, Jerusalem and Rome.

The enrollment of Nigeria into membership of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and the question of its representation are other challenges of religious politics that aggregated the Christian demand for pilgrimage board to make the government share money between the two members of religions. The recruitment of people in top positions of state and national levels, particularly bureaucracy, judicial, military and police often times does not reflect national character but rather based on the decisions of "Wise politicians" who have been able to manipulate religion to perpetuate their office. Many African scholars are of the view that the call for state religion by some governors and the introduction of religious laws to surpass the constitution in the north is a diversionary tactics to cover up for the mismanagement of the resources plundered over the years.

Even at the level of programmes that aimed at cementing national unity, the religious difference has become even more pronounced. It is therefore not surprising that while some institutions have places of worship for both religions; some tertiary institutions have done it in favor of one religion. At the National Youth Service Corps level, religious umbrellas like National Association of Catholic Corps-Members, Muslim Corps-Members, Association of Anglican Corps-Members, and National Association of Christian Corps-Members among others exist. In the late 1970's Usman identified similar groups even at the Universities and Political Parties, when he states:

> Recently some of you students, here in the campuses became active agents of this pattern of manipulation. This is through the way you have defined issues in your elections. It might appear to you that joining in this manipulation is doing something new, avant-garde and profoundly political…(he concluded)…it has all been done before, here in this continent and it bankruptcy became blatant… this is over twenty years ago… they did not get anywhere, except into confusion.

As a result of the above situation in Nigeria, there exist throughout the country deeply entrenched culture of violence and general insecurity. Available statistics shows that from independence to date the country lost properties worth trillions of dollars and death toll alarming. According to Human Right record quoted by Hackett, just between 1999 and 2007, more than 11,000 Nigerians were killed in outbreaks of religious crises. The latest is the Boko Haram

crises, which claimed over 1000 lives. It is unfortunate that more than five hundred years after Christianity and Islam have set their feets on the soil of Nigeria; we have not been able to throw off the yoke of religious crises. The nation is noted to have the greatest number of churches and mosques in the world, as well as the greatest number of clergy men yet; it has recorded the highest number of religious turmoil in contemporary times as a result of religious manipulation for both political and religious interests. It is total disappointment with this situation that Kukah elucidates:

> Yesterday, we blamed our condition on a conference that was designed for scramble for Africa in far away Germany in 1884. Today in the name of evangelization, we have a scramble for the Traditional churches. We now divide ourselves into us and them. Christians have on their own admission decided that some of us have shallower life than others. Some are more redeemed than others. Some of us are being called idol worshippers.

Kukah, in another instance states:

> Whether it is the most visible manifestation of the North versus South, whether it is the alignment between Arabs and Europe themselves (cast as ethnic tussle), and the essence is the same… on the religious plane, there is the conflict that results from the breakdown of trust among the various faiths. Within Christianity and Islam we have the tensions between adherents themselves. These tensions do exist and they occasionally manifest themselves when very minor issues tend to lend to very serious and grievous crises that go beyond the immediate causes.

In the view of Kukah, this brand of religious politics has only resulted in a situation whereby adherents of the religions have turned to prey on one another in the pretext of trying to proclaim the gospel of their religions. The underlying factors behind the success of the manipulation of religion in Nigeria are poverty and unemployment among the youths. Statistics shows that there has been a systematic increase in the number of the poor and unemployed in the country. In 1960 about 15% of the population was said to be poor, by 1980, the percentage had

jumped to 28% by 1996; the incidence of poverty in Nigeria was 66% that is 76.6 million Nigerians wallowing in poverty. By 1998, the percentage of those living below poverty level had risen to 66 and 70%.

The distribution of income has adversely affected the poorest in Nigerian society throwing them into deeper poverty. It is estimated that over 70% of youths in the country are unemployed, years after graduating from higher institutions, while those who would have been self-employed lack the capital to establish themselves. All of them become ready-made tools for both religious bigots and their political allies to destabilize the nation. The Inter-faith Mediation Centre in Kaduna and the Catholic Justice Development and Peace Commission are championing inter-faith dialogue but there is need for other bodies to get involved. In her new attitude to non-Christians, the Vatican II Council encourages Christian adherents to enter with prudence and charity into discussion and collaboration with other religions.

3.4 Constitutionalism

A constitution can be meaningful if it draws its inspiration from the values, attitudes of those people over whom that constitution will apply, Nigerian experience in constitution making could for convenient sake be divided into 4 (four) periods.

The Period of Colonial Experience (1914-60)

The experience during this period varied from that of imposed constitutions with gradual regulation over time, allowing participation of Nigerians in varying degrees. At the early stage of Nigeria's colonial experience, constitutions were imposed on Nigerians in the sense that they were not allowed either to determine the nature of the document or to participate in the processes of bringing them into being. The Lugard Constitution of 1914 was responsible for creating legally what we now refer to as Nigeria by merging the Southern and Northern Nigeria protectorates into one entity. Therefore the 1914 Lugard Nigeria Council can be called the first Nigerian Constitution.

Clifford Constitution of 1922

With respect to the 1922 Constitution (known as the Clifford Constitution) there were no dramatic changes both in terms of the constitution and that of Lugard. Twenty-four years later, there was the Richard's Constitution of 1946.

Richard's Constitution of 1946

This constitution introduced the concept of regionalism in Nigeria. 1n 1946, Nigeria was divided into three (3) regions – North, East and West. With respect to the Richard Constitution, all that merely happened was that the Governor drafted a Constitution that was supposed to replace the Clifford Constitution of 1922. The draft constitution was later on submitted to the Central Legislative Council, and final approval of this constitution was given by the British Parliament. The Richard Constitution suffered serious criticism and opposition from its inception from the emerging political class, so that in 1951, this Constitution was replaced by the McPherson Constitution.

McPherson Constitution

As far as experience in constitution making is concerned, the McPherson Constitution could be said even within a colonial setup to be a peoples' constitution. This was because of the procedure adopted in bringing the constitution into being. In drafting the Macpherson Constitution, a wide spectrum of public opinion was consulted. There was consultation at village level, Provincial, District and Regional levels so that in contradiction to its predecessors which were personal affairs of successive governors. The 1951 Constitution 219 was Nigeria's first experience in the making of peoples' constitution. After 1951, there was only one constitution until the attainment of independence in 1960.

Lyttleton Constitution

The 1954 Lyttleton Constitution followed the same pattern of constitution making that was witnessed during the Macpherson's period. With the 1960 Independence Constitution, the powers of the British Parliament to legislate for Nigeria was terminated and the responsibility of the British Government for the administration of Nigeria was also terminated. At the same time, the Queen was still the Queen of Nigeria and the Head of Government. In order to change the dominance of external affairs of Nigeria by Britain, a new Constitution called the Republican Constitution of 1963 was proposed and adopted in 1963.

Republican Constitution of 1963

With this Constitution, the Queen ceased to be the Head of Government in Nigeria. Between 1966 and 1979, there was no constitution in existence in Nigeria. The military coup of January 15, 1966 had the effect of invalidating the legal order of the 1963 Republic Constitution by creating an entirely new legal order based on military Decrees and Edicts. The legal implication of the new military administration found expression in the Constitution Suspension and Modification Decree which suspended Parliament and Regional Legislatures in January 1966. The government of the Federation was vested in a Supreme Military Council. The Federal Military Government was vested with unlimited legislative powers to make laws on any subject or any part of the country. Constitution making under the military was both informal and unceremonious in the sense that elaborate procedures for making legislations were absent and no distinction between an ordinary legislative enactments and a constitutional decree. Decrees were used at the national level while Edicts were used at state levels.

Nigeria's 1979 Constitution

Attempts were made by the military government to usher in a civilian government. The procedures adopted in the making of Nigeria's 1979 Constitution were as follows: The Federal Military Government appointed a Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) consisting of 49 persons in October 1975 to produce a draft constitution for the country. The CDC was expected

to submit the draft for public comment and discussion before the Constituent Assembly deliberates on it. The method adopted by the CDC was to invite memoranda from the public on all aspect of the proposed constitution and in all; the CDC had 346 memoranda submitted by the public. The CDC raised certain problems: The first problem was what should be the position of the government relative to the Committee itself. Put differently, how are the government proposal to be handled by the CDC? The question becomes relevant in retrospect following an allegation made by a member of the CDC that there were subterranean influences from above. The allegation of interference was against the Federal Military Government, it was alleged by Mallam Aminu Kano that a letter was written to the Chairman of the CDC in which the government expressed its displeasure at the direction of the debate of the CDC on the issue of the creation of states. There are basically two comments to make from the allegation:

(a) Once it is agreed that a constitution must be a people's constitution, everything should be done to ensure that this becomes a reality;
(b) Secondly, as long as anyone is a Nigerian, individual or institutions, he has a right to submit proposals at the draft stage of the constitution.

But government like individuals should make its proposals known before the closing date of the submission of the memoranda or any unlimited privilege may legitimately be construed as interference. By people's constitution, we mean the constitution that is the nature of the people.

3.5 Revolutions and Military Coups

Political and social change refers to the varying change in human behaviour and institutions, in response to stimuli from society and the power relations between social groups. What then is change? What makes it necessary? What are the different forms of change? Change is the different in process, form and structure in response to certain stimuli or factors. Therefore, political and social changes are caused by certain factors or reasons in which men struggle to effect change with the hope that it will make life better for the majority of people living in society. If politics is defined as "who gets What, When and how", the political change has to do

with changes in who gets what, when and how. Changes in human behaviour towards constituted authority, in the state, in leadership, in political institutions and structures.

Therefore, a change in government is a form of political change, just as a change in form of government, for instance, change from a Monarchical regime to a Republican regime is a form of political change, just as independence from colonial rule. Social change, is a much wider concept, used in referring to very important changes in human societies, human behaviour – his values, his culture, his norms and inter-group relations, and human organisations all in response to a given set of stimuli. Social change is pervasive, leading to fundamental changes in a people's life, their attitudes, expectations and goals. In some cases, social change takes place alongside political change in what is often called a Revolution but at times it does not. Another dimension which has been developed by S. Decalo in his book "Coup and Army Rule in Africa" is the idea known as the Managerial brokerage system.

According to Decalo in this type of system, "the military comes to power in order to arbitrate disputes among various sectors of society, such as the politicians, the civil servants and the labour unions. What the word "arbitrate" means is that the concern is not with the social or political mobilisation or development of the masses, but with how much of the 'national cake' each section of the ruling group will get. Once in power, the military continues to see its primary function as moderating and managing conflict. The stress in the type of system is mainly on the economic, for the stability and development of a meaningful type to take place; equal stress must be given to political and social factors as well as the economic ones.

3.6 The Sovereignty

The concept of sovereignty has developed since the days of Aristotle who contends that the Senate of the Athenian state is sovereign and that its laws should be the final sovereign. However, in the sixteenth century, the French political philosopher Jean Bodin gave it a new meaning. In his book titled "Six Books of a Commonwealth" Bodin (1576) argued that "sovereignty" refers to the source of the state's authority regardless of its form of government. Sovereignty may be vested in a king or in some elite group or even in the corporate citizenry of the society over time. Whatever the form of sovereignty, Bodin explained, it is distinguished by three attributes, it is absolute, perpetual and indivisible. Bodin's primary concern was to

strengthen the authority of the French monarch which some argued was constrained to honour certain long-established traditions and principles enshrined in the common law and in France's feudal institutions.

But if the king was limited by the common law or by tradition, Bodin observed that the king was not sovereign; as the sovereign power could not be divided among various institutions, or formally limited by past experience, it followed that the king could do whatever the king pleases. Sovereignty was absolute, perpetual, and indivisible. However, Bodin admitted that Laws of God and the Laws of Nature (that is laws perceived through reasons) and the Salic Laws (that is the law of succession) were the only limitations on sovereignty. Otherwise, the sovereign can do no wrong. Finally, Bodin argued that the principal mark of the sovereign was the right to impose laws on all subjects, their consent notwithstanding. To govern well, Bodin believed that the sovereign must be above the law. Thus, law itself was nothing more than the command of the sovereign.

Other notable political scientists who contributed to the development of the concept of sovereignty include Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Bentham, John Austin, Dicey and Field. Hugo Grotius placed his emphasis on external sovereignty, that is, the freedom or independence of the state from foreign control. Thomas Hobbes also contributed to the development of the concept in his book "Leviathan" published in 1651. Hobbes insisted that sovereign might be one man or assembly but the power of the sovereign remained the same in whomever it reside. Sovereign power is absolute and cannot be shared, even though the sovereign may allow someone to exercise power on his behalf.

Hobbes argued that because the fundamental law of nature was self-preservation, human beings were inherently disorderly, selfish and were generally in conflict with one another. Thus, only a strong and powerful ruler (sovereign) can put these tendencies of the "war of all against all" in check. Hobbes, a supporter of Charles I, during the Puritanic Revolution in England strongly declared that sovereignty was absolute and resided in the ruler (the king). His work is the first statement of complete sovereignty in the history of political thought. John Locke and Rouseau redefined sovereignty in term of **people** rather than one single ruler. They contended that the ultimate power in any state rested with the people. Locke in his "Essays on Civil Government" wrote that the supreme power in the state lay with the people.

According to him, "the power of the state is limited, not absolute because it derives power from the people and because it holds power in trust for the people." Rousseau went further; he insisted that whenever the ruler violated or betrayed the "trust of the people", the people had the right not to obey the sovereign and to even overthrow his government. Let us now examine some of the modern views on sovereignty. Professor Dicey distinguishes between legal and political sovereignty. According to him, the legal sovereignty is that person or body of persons having the power to make law. The political sovereign on the other hand is that body of persons in the state (the electorate) whose will ultimately prevails because legal sovereignty in the making of law is bound to act according to their will.

By contrast, Field felt there was no need to make a distinction between political and legal sovereignty. Sovereignty is a legal term used in terms of law only according to Field. Finally, Bentham thinks of sovereignty in terms of the unlimited power of the Legislature, and he argued that this power is only morally limited by the possibility of justifiable resistance to its authority by the individual or by a group/groups. So varied are the views expressed on the concept of sovereignty by political scientists and jurists that it may take a long time in discussing them. For the purpose of our study, however, we shall consider the characteristics and types of sovereignty. Sovereignty can be used in three senses. Firstly, sovereignty used in the legal sense means that there is only one authority in the state that can exercise it.

And in this instance, sovereignty is unlimited, limitable, and indivisible. Secondly, sovereignty used in the coercive term implies that it is the coercive authority of the state. Since law has to be obeyed by citizens whether or not they like it, there should be a coercive authority to enforce the laws of the land. Thirdly, sovereignty is used to express the presence of a strong influence in the society. Sovereignty is the distinctive mark of the state, distinguishing it alike from individuals and associations in the community.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Neo-colonialism, otherwise called post-colonial dependency is a major feature of most African states today. Neo-colonial structure was deliberately put in place by the former colonial masters to ensure that their vital interests were not endangered in the newly independent African states. This was achieved through many forms: economic links, military ties, and political

associations. African states were still largely dependent on the West, particularly their erstwhile colonial master.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we defined neo-colonialism, especially within an African perspective. We traced its origins and its major features as a postcolonial, imperial ideology in Africa. We explained that its major objective is to sustain the exploitative relations between African states and their former colonial masters.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Explain the factors responsible for the imposition of neo-colonial structures on African States after their independence
2. Identify and explain the major features of a neo-colonial society in Africa.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 7 STATE IN POLITICAL ANALYSIS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit 'State in Political Analysis' will examine what constitutes a State as well as its nature and features in a political system.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Define a State
- State its distinctive features
- Explain how sovereign a state can be.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 State in Political Analysis

The question concerns the very nature or character of the state within the activity of the *political system* as a whole. However, before we dwell on the nature/character of the state, it is important to understand that a political system is different from a state. A *political system* consists of all the forces, processes, and institutions of a society which generate effective demand and support inputs and attendant political cooperation or conflict which are involved in the resolution of conflicts and the subsequent evolution of authoritative political decisions. In other words, a political system is - "any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, control, influence, power, or authority". A state on the hand is larger than a political system. It is an artificial creation that can be related to concretely through the institutions set up in its name to define it as well as make decisions as to the organization and regulation of the public domain.

The concept of the state as an *abstract entity* or *organisational abstraction and presence* can be understood in the sense that the physical features cannot be felt except when it operates through political institutions such as: the executive, the judiciary, the administration, the armed forces, prisons, governing parties and governmental institutions (public corporations and means of information) for achieving its purposes. The governments of that system through different roles obviously played by persons who create, interpret, and enforce rules that are binding on citizens are carried out through the formal institutional structure and location of authoritative decision-making in the modern state, the political role of 'government institutions' is to receive inputs from their social environment and produces outputs to respond to the environment.

It is therefore through institutional performance that societal demands are transformed into political action or devices for achieving purposes. It is clear that government evidently is an essential organ through which the state achieves its moral duty and obligation to administer and render service to the citizens of the state. Although Midgal, agrees with him that "the state is a special and unique kind of organization, however, he does not pitch tent with Putnam's view that the state, through its governmental institutions, acts as a mediator between social demands and

political action. Rather, he argues that the state is at the centre of continuous struggle with other organisations, over the right and ability to make binding rules in society. Midgals contention highlights on the one hand, the state as an organisation that has the sole legitimate right to use power, exercising thus political authority over a given territory and its inhabitants.

The implication of this, in effect, is that the state will be an inert entity without government at the centre of activity in the use and control of political power. On the other, the state is conceived as 'an association of human beings whose members are at least considerable, occupying a defined territory, and united with the appearance of *permanence* for political ends, for the achievement of which certain governmental institutions have been involved (Keeton as cited in Awolowo. What is implied here is that a state should be sovereign; autonomous, have a territorial boundary and have a government. Given this rather 'standard' arguments, it becomes clear that 'the ability of the state, through a set of its defining institutions, to make acceptable and binding decisions on the organisation of the public domain is not only related to the capacity of these institutions to translate decisions into action, but also depends, in a significant sense, on the acceptability of the rules and principles underpinning the activities and actions of the state's institutions.

To this end, the state has to transcend being an *organisational presence* to exist as a "set of broad organizing principles which defines and constitutes the enduring and continuous pattern of rule and governance which links and structures the many and diverse institutions of rule and governance into a coherent *whole* and *totality* (Shaheen, 1987) that is internalized and accepted by the people. The need for the internalization is based on the fact that the "society over which the state presides and superintends is essentially fragmented into 'contrasting interests' that are perpetually in a contest over the public domain such that the actions of the state in that regard hold enormous importance and implications for the various groups and interests. At this point, it is pertinent to know how the state will ensure fair play in a plural society characterised, as it were, by diversities and inequalities.

The function of the state in ensuring fair play is couched in law which inevitably is the basis of the modern state which must be called upon for the resolution of the inevitable conflict between the social interests of the society and the individual selfish interests. This is because the rule of law which differentiates the modern state from the feudal or traditional society specifically is a system or at least a collectivity of norms or rules which have the object of

regulating, and therefore also of affecting the actions of man, including that of the state. The organs regarded everyone as competent by to formulate and create binding legal norms in a domestic society such as Nigeria is the National Assembly.

In this respect, the stereotyped concept of law as a mere command of the sovereign directed to the subject or as a mere regulator of conduct, must be significantly modified if its purpose in society is to be realised. This presupposition means that a state enjoys legitimacy and authority derived not only from the democratic mandate but built on the traditional liberal tradition of separation of legislative, executive and judiciary. In sum, based on the above, given that the state is for man, and not man for the state or better still the state is still greater than an individual or any of it constituent units i.e parts or groups who dwell within it, it must be given a more dynamic role in the pressing duty of providing for the minimum standard of the living for its citizens, and for their happiness through social justice.

3.4 Citizenship and Rights

The first thing that comes to mind is 'who is a citizen'? A citizen or *citizenship* broadly is conceived as social contract valid for all in a political system based on the set of *rights and obligations* which a citizen is entitled to within a given state. In effect, citizenship could be regarded as the most privileged form of nationality, a broad term said to denote various relations between an individual and a state. However, this relation does not necessarily confer political rights but do imply other privileges, especially protection abroad. In effect, a citizen is supposed to identify with the interests of the political community to which they belong even at the expense of their membership in families, professional or regional communities. This notion of citizenship creates a problem for federalism especially in a country like Nigeria.

This is in the sense that the central object of federalism is "the extension and expansion of political space, autonomy and institutions to the benefit of geo-political units in a context in which the political community accepts that ethnic, religious and cultural differences exist and that their management would benefit from differential levels of governance. In this context, each participant enjoys a constitutionally protected membership in two polities, one regional and one central. The implication of this is that citizens of a federal state will enjoy protection from two levels of government. This aspect of federalism has been pushed too far by political elites so

much so that it has served to undermine the values of loyalty or served in engendering double loyalty.

On the other hand, citizenship as defined by international law denotes all persons whom a state is entitled to protect. This feature should, however, not be conceived as if a state may not protect aliens. The important thing to note, however, is that citizenship expectedly should confer equal access to a range of resources (like Civil Resources, Social Resources, Political Resources, and Economic Resources) so as to engender concomitant duties from the citizenry to the state. However, collective identifications based on ethnicity, religion and sex which all play an important role in determining the collective shape of citizenry have continued to ensure many a citizen are left out or are only partially included in the institutionalization of notions of citizenship i.e equal access to a range of resources. This brings to bear the fact that the actualisation of the content of citizenship though different for various segments of society go beyond the establishment of formal democratic institutions.

In effect, it has been agreed by scholars that citizenship is not absolute i.e. something that you either have or not, rather what you may have more or less of, in terms of the various attributes of access and recognition. Thus, for modern concept of citizenship, a significant divergence has been on the question of whether citizenship rights should be understood as individual entitlements only, or group and community rights. This shift in the content of citizenship over time not only border on changes occurring in society but rather on the fact that the attributes of citizenship have, however, neither been static nor uniform, or even limited in application exclusively to individuals as opposed to communities.

This is in relation to central issues like the engendering of citizenship which include struggles for the expansion of the rights of women; the promotion of male-female equality i.e. the reconstitution of the public sphere to enhance the presence and participation of women which border on patriarchy or on notions of discrimination, the reform of family law; and the re-definition of the legal requirements for citizenship. Citizenship to Aristotle implies the capacity to assume responsibility (such as participation in holding office) in the polis (State). This responsibility effectively distinguishes the citizen from non-citizens. Some duties and responsibilities expected from citizenship are:

(a) Allegiance

Citizenship is a form of relationship between an individual and a state in which an individual owes loyalty, commitment to the state and in turn is entitled to protection by the state. It is pertinent to state, however, that though this protection is extended to the aliens, most at times the accompanying responsibility is denied or at times extended partially to aliens and other non-citizens residing in any given country.

(b) Tax Obligation

Citizens (as well as aliens) of a state are under obligation/duty to pay taxes, royalties because the revenue generated will be ploughed in the provision of social infrastructure and basic amenities.

(c) Military Service

One of the obligatory responsibilities of the citizens to the state (for example Israel) is that of offering to serve and protect the integrity of the state through the uniformed institutions and organizations such as the police and the military/armed forces. However, in Nigeria it is not compulsory to serve the military or police. It is important to mention that even aliens enter military and police in some countries.

3.3 Citizenship Rights

It is expected that the consolidation of nation-states within fixed territorial boundaries and the institutionalization of participatory mass democracy would confer equal access to a range of resources. The range of resources at the state's disposal according to Marshall, Brubaker, and Davis are:

(a) Civil Resources: These are entitlements such as legal protection and access to the courts of law

(b) Social Resources: Here, the state is expected to provide welfare, education and health services

(c) Political Resources: These include voting and political representation to ensure equality of all citizenry.

(d) Economic Resources: These include the use of land and water as well as the right of permanent abode.

Specifically, in a concrete political system like Nigeria, the convention for the protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in the Nigerian 1999 constitution chapter *iv* stipulates the guarantee of human rights especially political and civil liberties.

3.2 Government Responsibilities

a. Provision of Health Services

An indicator is summary statistics that indicates differences between and or change over time in comparison to norm and standard. The analyses of governance indicators enable citizens and stakeholders to monitor the extent to which governance is efficient and effective in achieving its objectives. It is vital to assess if the government has met the challenge and provided or been successful about the provision of social services, their financing and delivery and the many synergies among them. The analysis of governance indicators would cover the inputs and outcomes/impacts of the proportion of government expenditure spent on health and education as a percentage of GDP, and gross national income in combination with progress in health and education indicators on Human Development Indicators (HDI).

Employment is also inclusive because most of the poor are not in waged employment. Or better still the ratio of the total impact of all these on women such as equal opportunity or affirmative action in education and employment etc. In the hierarchy of results, inputs are those things that contribute to the achievement of an end but do not, of themselves, achieve it. For example, is the assessment of the inputs towards the achievement of basic education to ascertain if the necessary outcomes were sufficient or not. Output or process or impact indicators capture or measure the extent to which the end is actually achieved. For instance, does the ratio of

outcome indicators reveal the (in) effectiveness of governance processes such as equal opportunity or affirmative guidelines in education, employment, health services etc.

b. Provision of Health Services

Health has been defined as a state of complete physical and mental well being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. In effect, the government has the social objective to provide adequate medical and health facilities for all persons as specifically stated in section 17(3d) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. However, access to good health remains a mirage for many Nigerians for reasons. First, the state of the medical and health facilities are far from adequate owing to the degeneration or poor handling of the health sector (prior the refurbishing of some teaching hospitals by the Obasanjo administration). The resultant effect was the massive shortage of health personnel/ professionals to industrialised countries that offer better economic opportunities. Second, where the services are available it is either located too far away or the health services are not affordable.

A situation that has led to the poor health seeking behaviour of the average Nigerian who resorts to self-medication and patronage of quacks or resulted in the traveling abroad of the majority who live in affluence for routine medical checks. The implication of the lack of both basic and sophisticated equipment as well as the poor state of the health facilities above is explained in the Nigeria health indices which are among the worst in the world despite her endowments. For example, in the 2008 state of the world's children report by UNICEF, Nigeria is pitiably ranked among the 12 countries with the highest under-five mortality rate and a maternal mortality rate of 800-1500 per 100,000 births. In fact, to date the impact of access to clean water and poor sanitation is yet to be felt in most towns in Nigeria let alone the villages/rural areas.

This has grave impact on the health of children who are already affected by poor nutrition and are vulnerable to disease and hunger. With these gory statistics, one really wonders whether the government realizes that only those who are alive can enjoy the services provided by government. Expectedly, to attain the constitutional objectives there have been efforts to address the shortfall. First, is the passage of the comprehensive legislative frame work which culminated into the passage of the National Health Bill by the Senate that would guarantee the provisions of

the health mandate of the government which is yet to be presented to the president for assent? Accordingly, there is the National Health Insurance Scheme, a laudable effort that is, however, bedeviled by numerous constraints especially funds.

For instance, the highest budget for health in Nigeria is about seven per cent at the federal level and three per cent at the state level. This is in spite of Nigeria being a signatory to an international declaration that nations should allocate at 15% of their total budget to health. This is at variance with Malaysia, for example, which allocates eight per cent of her total budget to their health insurance scheme and has been able to cover 40 million lives within three years. It is apparent from this analysis that the optimum premium placed on the health and life of Nigerians is low.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit examined what constitutes citizenship, how citizenship can be acquired and what a citizen's duty and responsibility are within the context of a concrete political system.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit addressed fundamental issues concerning citizenship.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Who is a citizen?
2. Does citizenship imply duties and responsibilities? Why?
3. Evaluate the practice of citizenship in a concrete political system like Nigeria.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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