

SECULARISM, LAW, GOVERNANCE AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Secularism, the absence of a state sponsored religion, emerged as a perceived panacea to the intractable conflict between religion and state administration. Generally, secularism is instituted by law which itself can be used to promote or suppress religion; yet sometimes religious precepts get elevated to law. This paper doctrinally examines the thematic inter-connection between secularism, law, state administration and national development in the context of the Nigerian nation. The study finds that secularism as a philosophical concept in state administration provides a better environment for cohesive national integration and development in a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and heterogeneous society like Nigeria.

Keywords: Secularism, Religion, Law, Governance, National development, Nigeria

1. Introduction

Nigeria's constitutional regime, prior and subsequent to the nation's political independence, has been based upon a purportedly neutral secularism. Beyond the tacit secularism of the pre-independence colonial constitutions engendered by silence on religion¹ and the entrenchment of fundamental freedoms of religion, conscience and non-discrimination on religious ground, in the 1960 and 1963 Constitutions,² the 1979 Constitution provided express prohibition of state religion.³ The extant Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, as amended (CFRN 1999) in addition to entrenching the fundamental freedoms (rights), retained the prohibition against government of the federation and states from adopting any religion as state religion.⁴ Although, no religion has been declared to be an official religion in Nigeria, in many respects, the practical observance of this constitutional stipulation leaves much to be desired. In spite of the clear constitutional injunction, religious bigotry has been a "serious democratic cancer in Nigerian politics which constantly overheat the political atmosphere."⁵

There are essentially three pronounced religions in Nigeria, namely, African Traditional Religion (ATR), Christianity and Islam,⁶ with the last two being the most dominant and principal contenders. Outcries of marginalisation from adherents of the two dominant

religions, that is, Christians and Muslims are common place and religious sentiments regularly employed for political goals, which usually generate strong ill-will between the two groups. Geographically, Nigeria appears to be divided along religious and ethnic lines with the north dominated by Muslims majority of who are of Hausa-Fulani ethnic extraction while the south is dominated by Christians, who are majorly of the Yoruba and Igbo ethnic groups.⁷ This ethno-religious dispersion helps to fuel the embers of religious bigotry in the country, which affects not only the political but also the socio-economic spheres of the country. As Sampson⁸ succinctly puts it

...the Muslim dominated northern Nigeria was groomed under the British indirect rule, which housed the Islamic Sharia legal system; while the Christian dominated southern Nigeria was administered under the English-secular command. So as the British colonial lords bequeathed a post-independence secular state, which seemed more aligned to Christian south, the northern Muslims frowned at it utterly. This contradiction has remained the bane of Nigeria's corporate existence...

This division along religious and ethnic lines appears to overshadow federalism and secularism espoused in the constitution and greatly affects governance and national development. Thus, this paper examines the thematic connection between secularism, law, governance and national development in Nigeria. The central objective is to determine the suitability/effectiveness or otherwise of secularism as instituted by law in ensuring good governance and national development in a plural-religious and multi-ethnic society such as Nigeria. The study is essentially theoretical and employs the descriptive and analytical methods relying mainly on the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and other relevant legislative instruments as its primary sources of data while published academic works such as books, journal articles and relevant historical documents constitute the secondary sources of data. The research questions are in the form of hypothetical questions interspaced in the body of the paper. Pertinent legal provisions and views of others as expressed in published works are described and deductively analysed to arrive at conclusions from which the recommendations flow.

This paper is divided into five sections. After this first segment, which is the introduction, the next section briefly examines the concept of secularism and related term secularisation, so as to place them in proper perspective for the rest of the paper. The third section explores the relationship between secularism, law and governance to establish the relationships/effect(s) that they have with/on each other, if any, in the Nigerian context. The penultimate section links the established connections that exist or can exist between secularism, law and governance on one hand and Nigeria's national development on the other hand. The last segment presents the key findings, recommendations and conclusions.

II. Secularism and Secularisation

Etymologically, the word "secular" is derived from Old French (*seculer*) and Latin (*saecularis*) which in both languages means inter alia "not connected with religious or spiritual matters; occurring once every century or similarly long period; this generation or age".⁹ Its derivative "secularism" (Old French: *sécularisme* and Latin: *saeculum*) means "the principle of separation of the state from religious institutions; the world; relating to

the present age or period". The *Chambers Dictionary*¹⁰ thus defines the word "secular" to mean "relating to, or coming or observed once in, a lifetime, generation century or age; relating to the present world, or to things not spiritual; civil, not ecclesiastical; lay, not concerned with religion" while the internationally acclaimed legal dictionary, the *Black's Law Dictionary*¹¹ simply states that secular means "worldly, as distinguished from spiritual". As a philosophical concept, secularism seeks to construe life on principles taken solely from the material world, without recourse to religion.¹² In political terms, secularism is the principle of the separation of government institutions and persons who represent the state from religious institution and religious dignitaries.

Historically, secularism draws its intellectual roots from Greek and Roman philosophers such as Marcus Aurelius and Epicurus, Medieval Muslim polymaths such as Ibn Rushd, Enlightenment thinkers like Denis Diderot, Voltaire, Benedict Spinoza, John Locke, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine, and modern freethinkers, agnostics and atheists such as Bertrand Russell and Robert Ingersoll.¹³ But it is generally believed that the term "secularism" was popularised by the British writer George Jacob Holyoake (1817 – 1907).¹⁴ Holyoake invented the term to describe his views of promoting a social order separate from religion, without actively dismissing or criticising religious beliefs.¹⁵ An agnostic, Holyoake contended that:

Secularism is not an argument against Christianity, it is one independent of it. It does not question the pretensions of Christianity; it advances others. Secularism does not say there is no light or guidance elsewhere, but maintains that there is light and guidance in secular truth, whose conditions and sanctions exist independently, and act forever. Secular knowledge is manifestly that kind of knowledge which is founded in this life, which relates to the conduct of this life, conduces to the welfare of this life, and is capable of being tested by the experience of this life.¹⁶

A discourse on secularism usually conjures up the image of the "worldly" as opposed to the "sacred". Marbaniang writes that secularism "shifts the focus from religion to other 'temporal' and 'this-worldly' things with emphasis on nature, reason, science, and development".¹⁷

The related concept: "secularisation" is the transformation of a society from close identification and affiliation with religious values and institutions toward non-religious values and secular institutions. Norris and Roland assert that secularisation refers to the belief that as societies progress, particularly through modernisation and rationalisation, religion loses its authority in all aspects of social life and governance.¹⁸

This paper is concerned with secularism as a term of legal and political philosophy. In this sense, secularism means that governments should remain neutral on matters of religion but should not enforce nor prohibit the free exercise of religion, leaving religious choices to the liberty of the people. This evidently has two connotations or manifestations. The first is the separation of state governance/administration from religion and religious institutions, such that public activities and decisions, especially political ones, should be not be influenced by religious beliefs, dictates, practices,¹⁹ or religious dignitaries. The other manifestation of the concept in a State declared to be neutral on matters of religion, is the freedom of religion which implies unhindered rights of a citizen to follow any religion of his or her choice, not to follow any religion at all,

and be free from imposition either by the government or other persons, of religious teachings or practices.

Political secularism was an innovation that responded to multiculturalism.²⁰ Hunter²¹ traces the origin of secularism to the pragmatic response to the bloody religious wars of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries which ignited desires to find a way in which different faith communities could co-exist amicably. Straumann²² argues that the Treaties of Westphalia (1648)²³ successfully solved the problem of deep religious disagreement by imposing liberal religious liberties which left subjects with exclusively secular duties towards their authorities and established a secular procedure to adjudicate religious disputes that excluded religious reasoning from the courts. Thus, secularism developed from the idea of religious toleration specifically, from a change in attitude to heresy and heretics.²⁴

An important question that immediately arises here, is whether in pursuit of secularism, a nation should totally jettison religion? In other words, should a constitutional regime based upon neutral secularism, such as Nigeria, totally dispense with religious precepts in public affairs? Writing in the aftermath of the co-ordinated series of terrorist attacks by the Islamic fundamentalist group, *Al-Qaeda* on the World Trade Centre in New York and other strategic places in the United States of America on 11 September 2001, which killed a total 2,977 people and left thousands of others seriously injured,²⁵ Marshall argues that “some public acknowledgement of religion might be justified as a counterbalance to secular dominance that itself raises anti-establishment concerns. The author asserts that even where a nation has adopted secularism as a constitutional prescription, it can in practice (though in limited circumstances) endorse religious activities that affirm its religiosity.²⁶ We align with this view, however, the problem lies in setting an appropriate limit to secularism, particularly in a country such as Nigeria which geographically divided along religious and ethnic lines.

III. Secularism, Law and Governance in Nigeria

Most cultures are deeply rooted in religion and cultural values often include religious beliefs, which shape our way of living and acting. Cultural and religious beliefs vary between groups, such as ethnic groups. Emphasizing the strong link between religion and culture, the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) states that:

Religious beliefs have a strong influence on the culture of a community. Indeed, for many people around the world, religious beliefs are central to their culture and provide the moral codes by which they live. Even where people in the contemporary world believe that the traditional beliefs of their parents and societies are not so relevant to their everyday lives, underlying religious beliefs about human worth and how to relate to other people and the Earth are still important parts of their lives.²⁷

Bayers²⁸ asserts that *religion* is determined by *culture*, but *religion* also influences *culture* and the fate of *religion* and *culture* is interwoven. Furthermore, that to understand the nature of religion one has to understand its connectedness to ethnicity and culture.²⁹ If credence is given to the interconnectedness of *culture*, *religion* and ethnicity, then it must be recognised that people of different cultures and ethnic grouping may invariably have

diverse religious beliefs. This is the case with a heterogeneous and multi-cultural society like Nigeria.

Having earlier postulated that secularism is a shift away from religion, at least in public affairs, and in extreme cases, a shift away from God (atheism), the question then is: how can the components of a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society give up their religious beliefs to attain secularism? In other words, how can such a heterogeneous society be secularised politically? The answer lies in “law” which binds the various components under a new set of rules outside the moral standards that their different customs and religions may have established.

While recognising the impracticability of giving a generally acceptable definition of “law” as it is a term capable of multiple meanings, it can safely be put forward that law is the collective term for the rules of conduct for men living in a legal order. It consists of rules of conduct which govern a particular human society. Its major attribute is coercion, acceptance, generality and consistency. Law has existed in every known human society world over, whether primitive or developed – *ubi societas ibi jus* (Latin) - where there is society, there is law. Its contents may vary from place to place and within a place may change from time to time according to changes in social, economic and moral precepts of the given society.

Law has proven to be a stronger means of social control when compared with morality. While both law and morality are normative in that they tend to prescribe standards that are considered to be normal in the society, there are essential differences between the two both in terms of functions and sanctions. Law is an objective phenomenon which creates its own validity, that is, it is enforceable on its own, while morality is relative and is used to evaluate conduct as good or bad, right or wrong and thus largely depends on voluntary behaviour. Thus, while moral sanctions may be based on social, religious and cultural factors without any State punishment, law has regular sanctions (supported by the State) for its breach. Law prescribes external conducts and changes in substantive law are usually slow while morality prescribes internal conduct and changes in moral opinions tend to occur much faster.³⁰ The connection between law and morality is important since not all illegal acts are immoral. For example, adultery is generally considered to be morally reprehensible, but is not legally prohibited in all legal systems (all states in southern Nigeria inclusive).³¹ Thus, many legal questions are morally indifferent and moral sentiments on some matters may not be sufficiently developed to be translated into law. For example, it is morally objectionable for an adult who can swim to stand by and watch a child drown in a river but in the absence of a personal legal duty on such an adult to take care of the child, there will be no legal sanction. Similarly, while there may be some sort of moral obligation for a medical practitioner who comes upon the scene of a road accident to assist the victims, there is no legal duty on such a medical practitioner to do so. However, where an immoral activity, even though consensual or personal (such as prostitution, homosexuality and use of hard drugs) which, if not checked, has the tendency of corrupting other members of the society who may want to get involved in them, law can be used to regulate and protect public morals from such corrupting influence³² and thereby elevate such moral precepts to the status of legal rules.

Law is able to institute, through force, rules which have the effect of altering accepted customs and religious practices of different ethnic groups in a political State. This is how secularism became the constitutional norm in Nigeria. We shall in the succeeding

paragraphs briefly highlight the provisions of the Nigeria Constitution which institute secularism in Nigeria. The Constitution states categorically that the government of the federation or of any state shall not adopt any religion as state religion³³ and that national integration shall be actively encouraged, whilst discrimination on the grounds of, inter alia, place of origin, religion, ethnic or linguistic association or ties shall be prohibited.³⁴

In relation to fundamental rights, in line with international human rights instruments to which Nigeria is a party,³⁵ the Constitution guarantees that every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including freedom to change his religion, or belief and freedom to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance. No person attending any place of education shall be required to receive religious instruction or to take part in or attend any religious ceremony or observance if such instruction ceremony or observance relates to a religion other than his own, or religion not approved by his parent or guardian.³⁶ It prohibits discrimination and according any privilege or advantage (preference) either expressly or in the practical application of any law, executive or administration action of government, on the bases of ethnicity, place of origin, religion or political opinion.³⁷

Finally, to ensure the participation of members of the constituent ethnic groups and faiths in partisan politics, the Constitution provides that no association by whatever name called shall function as a party, unless inter alia, the membership is open to every citizen of Nigeria irrespective of place of origin, religion or ethnic grouping.³⁸

As secularism is instituted and sustained by law, so is the form or structure of a State as well as the functions and powers its organs and individuals who administer same. Thus, the Constitution defines the State, its constituent parts³⁹ and its citizenship.⁴⁰ It stipulates the composition, functions and powers of the organs of the State: legislative,⁴¹ executive⁴² and the judicature,⁴³ both at the national (federal) level as well as the constituent units (states). Beyond the establishment of the governments and their organs, law provides how any of the government organs which fails to perform/discharge its assigned role can be dismantled. This is the basis for the constitutional provisions relating to impeachment of elected public office holders and legislative instruments relating to the qualification, appointment and discipline of appointed public officers.⁴⁴

Conversely, the government as constituted by law can abrogate or change the law, including the Constitution. This is why democratic constitutions usually provide rigorous processes of amendment such that any proposed alteration thereto must receive the support of majority of the representatives of the people.⁴⁵

The foregoing discussion shows clearly that there is a very close affinity between law and secularism on the one hand and law and governance or state administration on the other hand. Secularism is in fact, a principle of state administration which is instituted and sustained by law which also defines the form and structure of state governance.⁴⁶ Thus, the law that creates the structures and organs of the State as well as adherence to it become very important in fostering good governance.

IV. Secularism and National Development in Nigeria

An important issue is whether the principle of secularism as enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution has been pursued in a manner to advance the nations development? Are there impediments in its implementation which obstruct national development? However, before dealing with the issue, it is necessary to consider what national

development entails, and later also show how secularism entangles national development in Nigeria.

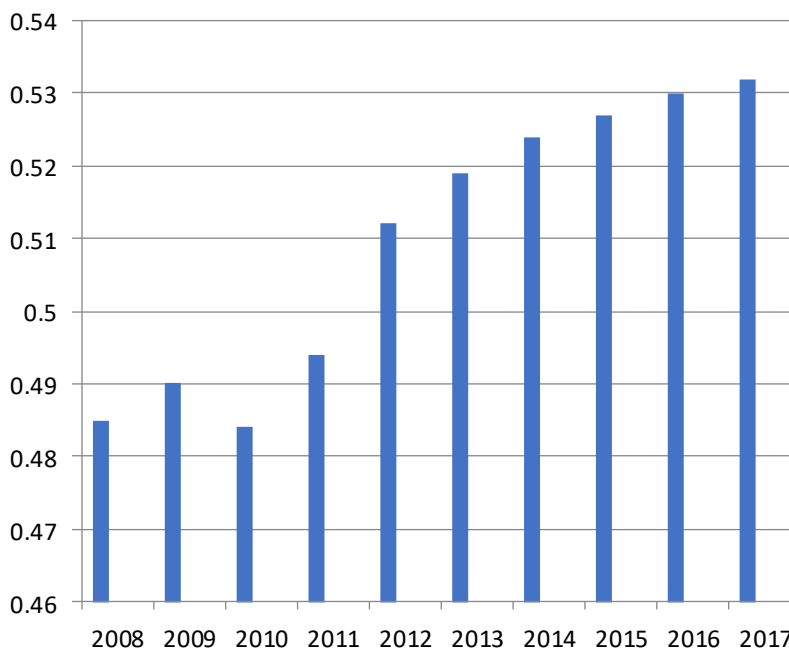
In considering the overall development of a nation, factors such as the quality of life, economic, social and physical developments may be used. However, a popular parameter used by international agencies is the annual Human Development Report (HDR) of the United Nations Development Programme,⁴⁷ The reports provides the Human Development Indices (HDI) using criteria designed to be broad enough and inclusive of countries' social, political and economic diversity while being indicative of a country's quality of life. As a nation, Nigeria is endowed with potentials for rapid development considering its endowment in natural and human resources. Regrettably, this has not been the case as the country has over the years remained low in human development ranking being ranked 157 out of 189 countries, with HDI of 0.532 in the latest report.⁴⁸ The nation's HDI has shown very slow increase in the last decade from 0.485 in 2008 to 0.532 in 2017 representing annual average increase of 0.0047, as shown in Table1 below.

Table 1: Annual Increase/Decrease in Nigeria's HDI: 2008 – 2017

Year	HDI	Increase/Decrease
2008	0.485	-
2009	0.490	0.005
2010	0.484	-0.006
2011	0.494	0.01
2012	0.512	0.018
2013	0.519	0.007
2014	0.524	0.005
2015	0.527	0.003
2016	0.530	0.003
2017	0.532	0.002
Total		0.047
Annual Average Increase		0.0047

Source of data: UNDP, Human Development Indices and Indicators: 2018 Statistical Update.

Figure 1 below is a graphic depiction of Nigeria's HDI for the last decade: 2008 – 2017.



As of December 2018, the World Poverty Clock indicated that in Nigeria, 90,681,988 people (representing 46.4% of an estimated population of 195,304,378) live in extreme poverty. These statistics are expected to rise in the next ten years to 108,212,701 (that is 45%) of estimated population of 240,616,206.⁴⁹ According to the World Bank,⁵⁰ extreme poverty is a situation where a person lives on less than one dollar and ninety cents (\$1.90) or six hundred and eighty-two naira ninety, thirty-five kobo (₦582.35) a day.⁵¹

Certain policies of the federal and state governments are not in tandem with the principles of secularity set out in the Constitution. Obvious examples include the adoption of Sharia Law as part of the criminal law by some states, the countries membership of exclusive international Islamic organisations, government sponsorship of religious pilgrimages and observance of public holidays for religious events.

By far, the most glaring violation of the principle of secularism in Nigeria appears to be the adoption, by some northern states, of Sharia law. Presently, Sharia law is in force in at least twelve states in the north.⁵² The imposition of Sharia law, a product of Islamic religion, is perceived by many as evidence of a movement towards Islamisation of the whole country.⁵³ The adoption of Sharia law in the north gave impetus to a fresh wave of religious extremism which ultimately birthed the Boko Haram⁵⁴ fundamentalist group which later declared parts of Nigeria (mainly parts of the north east) as an independent

caliphate and has cost the country a lot in financial and human resources to contain as will be shortly highlighted.

Nigeria's continued membership of the certain international religious (especially Islamic) organisations contradicts the principle of secularism. With a population made up of an estimated 48.8% Muslims and 49.3% Christians as at 2010 and a projected 51.1% Muslims and 46.9% Christians as at 2020,⁵⁵ Nigeria is presently a member of such exclusive Islamic organisations as the Organisation of Islamic Co-operation (OIC), the International Islamic Financial Market (IIFM), the Islamic Solidarity Sports Federation (ISSF) and the Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition (IMCTC).⁵⁶ This is in spite of repeated calls on the federal government by Christians to withdraw the country from such bodies.⁵⁷ No matter the benefits derivable from such organisations, Nigeria's membership of these bodies procured through executive fiat constitutes outright violation of the constitutional principle of secularism.

Both the federal and state governments spend huge sums of money annually to sponsor religious adherents (Christians and Muslims) on pilgrimages to holy lands, notably Saudi Arabia, Israel and Italy. The individual freedom of worship component of secularism cannot justify dissipating public funds for such religious purposes. Establishment and funding of pilgrimage boards by the federal and state tiers of government evidences the connection between religion and the act of governance in Nigeria which detracts from secularism. Also the funding of building of national religious centres such as the Christian Ecumenical Centre and the National Mosque by the Federal government and churches and mosques by state governments, is also a serious pointer to religion dominance of State affairs in Nigeria.⁵⁸ Needless to point out that in such dissipation of public funds in favour of the two dominant religions, smaller religious groups such as the ATR are utterly neglected.

One cannot overlook the effect of the requirement for information on one's tribe and religion in government official documents, which breeds ethno-religious bigotry. Where such information forms the basis for a decision in favour or against a person in a public affair, the requirement would amount to a desecration of the principle of secularism.

Declaration of public holidays resulting in the closure of public institutions during certain religious festivals, especially Christian and Muslim festivals, also runs counter to the principle of secularism. The separation of religion from public affairs of the State presupposes that government should not align with any or some religions while leaving out others, because ATR practitioners and other minor religious groups in country do not have public holidays during their religious ceremonies.

Lack of strict adherence to the principle of secularism has had and would continue to have adverse effect on national development. The Boko Haram insurgency in the north-east of the country has cost Nigeria a lot in financial and human resources. The loss of life, maiming and destruction of both public and private property has been enormous.⁵⁹ As of 16 June 2018, the estimated number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe was 1,918,508 individuals (364,323 households).⁶⁰ At a time Boko Haram was reported to have overtaken notorious Islamic State (IS) as the world's most deadly terror group.⁶¹ If the number of persons that have died, the huge resources expended in countering the insurgency as well as maintaining those displaced by it, have all been used for developmental projects in the region, the level of development it would have brought would have been enormous. The colossal

losses occasioned by religious fundamentalism could have been averted if the principle of secularism is strictly adhered to.

Furthermore, there have been ethno-communal conflicts with religious undertone in the country which border on religious intolerance. The incessant communal clashes in the middle belt region as well as herders and farmers conflict all bear ethno-religious coloration which would have not occurred at all or at the level and frequency with which they occur if the government and citizens abide by the secular prescription in the Constitution.

V. Findings, Recommendations and Conclusion

Nigeria is a multi-ethno religious pluralistic nation and mixing religion with politics portends grave danger. Secularism is the best option for the sustenance of peace and development in a heterogeneous nation like Nigeria where any attempt to favour or marginalise one ethnic or religious group over others can upset the political, social and economic equilibrium and seriously undermine national development. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria adequately posits secularism in its provisions but the constitutional provisions are not being strictly adhered to.

Government policies that violate the constitutional prescription encourages ethno-religious fundamentalism which destabilises national cohesion and impede national development. Worrisome is the fact that such breaches of the Constitution in Nigeria utterly go unchallenged. This is contrary to what obtains in developed countries that espouse secularism, where any actual or perceived breach of the law is promptly challenged in court.

Nigeria's human development index is very low taking into account the natural and human resources available in the country. Conflicts arising from ethno-religious fundamentalism that could have been avoided by adherence to secularism take a toll in the human and economic resources of the country resulting in the diversion of resources that would have been used for national development to containing such conflicts.

Law has very important role to play to stop and prevent further unbridled violation of the constitutional provisions relating to secularism, so as to ensure good governance and rapid national development.

It is therefore recommended that principles and dictates of the Nigerian Constitution that promote secularism should be strictly adhered to in practice. The supremacy of the Constitution should be maintained by all levels of government. Any violation of such provisions of the Constitution should be promptly challenged by public interest litigation so as to check ethno-religious bigotry especially in public domain.

Those in control of state machinery should desist from promoting or appearing to promote religious programmes such as religious pilgrimages with public funds and avoid interfering in religious affairs by policies which tend favour any religion. The guiding principle should be state neutrality and non-involvement in religion.

Bearing in mind Nigeria's geographical population dispersion, religion and ethnicity are closely intertwined. The constitutional principle of federal character which ensures even spread of political and public office should be strictly adhered to in the distribution of public office. Actual or perceived marginalization by any section or sections in the allocation of public office triggers ethno-religious dissent.

Law is pivotal in maintaining secularism, ensuring good governance and rapid national development. The rule of law should be maintained by all levels of government and adequate machinery should be put in place to challenge any government action or inaction that detracts from the tenets of rule of law.

For Nigerian to remain as one country and have peace, good governance, national cohesion and develop to its full potentials, secularism is not negotiable. The provisions of the Nigerian Constitution are adequate to achieve the level of secularism that will guarantee that attainment of these potentials but the problems lies with the bigotry in their observance.

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32. This was the basis for the decision in cases such as *Shaw v. Director of Public Prosecution* [1962] AC 220 (conviction for conspiracy to corrupt public majority's morals and safety for acts of solicitation for prostitution and living on the earnings of prostitution) and *Knuller v. Director of Public Prosecution* [1973] AC 435 (Conspiracy to Corrupt Public Morals – Homosexual Practices).
33. CFRN 1999, s. 10.
34. *Ibid.*, s. 15 (2).
35. Namely, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights UDHR), arts. 2, 16 and 18; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), arts. 2, 5,(1) 18 (1) - (3), 26 and 27; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) , arts. 2 (2), 12 (4) and 13 (3); International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), art. 5; Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), arts. 5, 14 (2), etc.
36. CFRN, s. 38 (1) and (2).
37. *Ibid.*, s. 42 (1).
38. *Ibid.*, s. 222 (b).
39. See CFRN, ss. 2 and 3.
40. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, ss. 25 – 32.
41. *Ibid.*, Ch. V, ss. 47 – 128.
42. *Ibid.*, Ch. VI, ss. 129 – 211.
43. *Ibid.*, Ch. VI, ss. 230 – 294.
44. Civil Service/Public Service Regulation; Armed Forces Act, Cap. A20, LFN 2004; Police Act, Cap. P19, LFN 2004 and others.
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46. This is what is obtainable in all constitutional democracies that have adopted secularism, eg. the United States of America, Australia, Turkey, etc.
47. UNDP “Human Development Reports” <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data>.
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The conversion from dollar to naira was arrived at using the official average exchange rate of \$1: ₦306.50 for December 2018.
51. The conversion from dollar to naira was arrived at using the official average exchange rate which as at December 2018 is \$1: ₦306.50.
52. These include Zamfara (the first to adopt it), Kebbi, Sokoto, Katsina, Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi, Gombe, Borno, Niger, Yobe and Jigawa. See D. E. Agbiboa, “Sharia and the Nigerian Constitution: Strange Bedfellows?” (2015) available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/275036356_Sharia_and_the_Nigerian_Constitution_Strange_Bedfellows, accessed 01 February 2019.
53. G. E. Ordu, “Sharia Law In Nigeria: Can A Selective Imposition Of Islamic Law Work In The Nation?” *Sharia Law Journal of Islamic Studies and Culture*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2015) pp. 66 – 81; DOI: 10.15640/jisc.v3n2a8; C. N. Dickson and F. O. Chujor, “Secularism, Religion and the Rising Challenges of National Cohesion in Nigerian, 2000-2015” *International Journal of Religious and Cultural Practice* Vol. 3, No.1 (2017) p. 2; available online at <https://iiardpub.org/get/IJRCP/VOL.%203%20NO.%201%202017/SECULARISM.pdf>, accessed on 30 January 2019.
54. The full name of the sect is Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad – which in Arabic means “People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad” but it is known simply as *Boko Haram* which loosely translated from Hausa means “Western education is forbidden or evil”.
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56. See the list of members of these organisation in their respective websites and publications - IOC: <https://www.oic-oci.org/states/?lan=en>; IIFM: “IIFM Sukuk Report 2018” http://www.iifm.net/system/files/private/en/IIFM%20Sukuk%20Report%20%287th%20Edition%29_0.pdf; ISSF: <http://issf.sa/en/>; and IMCTC: <https://imctc.org/English/Members>, accessed 30 January 2019.
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