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Impact of Christian Missions on the Settlement Pattern of Yakurr Communities in Southern Nigeria

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Abstract

African rural communities are blessed with land good for cultivation and housing purposes. Individuals, communities, corporate bodies, the state, and supernatural entities claim land ownership in these areas. Every rural community in Nigeria has evolved customary procedures for land tenure embedded in their aboriginal traditional processes that are generational. These procedures influence the successful development of housing and settlements within rural communities. Through the narrative method; stories about Christian missions, housing, and rural settlement sprawl were captured through observation of mission sites, with the aid of Google Earth Pro Software and focus group interviews with church and community elders. Christian missions in Yakurr communities of Ugep, Ekori, Mkpani, Idomi, Assiga Old Town, and Assiga New Town between 1910 and 2010 were sampled. The transcribed interviews were content analysed with NVivo 12. The outcome is consistent criteria for land allocation to Christian missions rooted in the sociocultural configuration of the People's Cultural beliefs and myths which significantly influenced settlement patterns in the Yakurr communities. Certain plots of land were believed to harbour malevolent forces or were associated with premature death and other negative experiences. These perceptions made such plots undesirable for residential purposes among the locals. To mitigate these fears, communities often allocated these parcels to Christian missions, viewing the church as a protective shield against supernatural threats. Consequently, with the church hall and manse serving as central places on such land; adjacent plots are attractive to the villagers for housing. The influence of these cultural beliefs and myths underscores the complex interplay between intangible forces and tangible land use, shaping how rural settlements expand and evolve. Understanding these indigenous practices is crucial for stakeholders involved in housing delivery in these areas.

Keywords: Christian missions, church, housing, Indigenous practices, land tenure, supernatural entities

1. Introduction

In all theories and belief systems about creation, land is the most important. The land has unique functions in supporting the generations unborn, the living, and the dead. Although all humans were born to meet land, it remains one of nature's most original and inestimable gifts. Besides labour and capital, land is the other and most prominent element of production.

Every rural community in Nigeria has organically generated distinct customary practices for land tenure. These methods that allow rural residents to inherit, own, transfer, utilise, and manage land are all ingrained in Aboriginal traditional systems that are generational. In certain societies, these land tenure mechanisms have gone through passive adjustments, although some essential principles are still kept. For instance, aside from land being a common property; land inheritance, ownership, transfer, usage, management, allocation, and the resolution of land-related conflicts are conferred on family heads and the council of elders (Obioha, 2012).

However, contrary to the position of Ekpodessi and Nakamura (2023) on the security and legality of land acquired through traditional procedures; Obioha (2012) earlier said that the allocation of land based on customary procedures has been recognised by the village council and protection against eviction. He also noted that customary landowners have access to basic communal land rights. The Nigerian customary laws also respect customary land tenure systems and allocation methods. Nevertheless, Chukwunweike (2023) emphasised that land is expected to be given for housing, commercial, public, institutional, religious, recreational, agricultural, and industrial purposes in a sustainable fashion. The procedures and reasons for allotting land can impact the growth of settlements and also improve the development of houses inside African rural communities.

Furthermore, several pieces of literature exist about the advent of missionaries in Nigeria and their spiritual impact on the people. More so, it is general knowledge that the Christian missionaries were allocated plots of land for their operations. On such landed assets they built church halls, vicarages, or manse for the priests or pastors, schools, and healthcare facilities as part of their evangelical strategies. The church buildings also beautified the local environment and were key rural landmarks (Innocent & Udobi, 2024).

2. Literature review

A search of published literature was performed to evaluate the meaning of Christian missions, the history of missions in Africa, and if the church was authorised to hold landed assets. The settlement and house development pattern in typical African rural settlements was also reviewed.

2.1 Review of Christian Missions in African Communities

A Christian mission is a deliberate attempt to continue evangelism or other endeavours in the name of the Christian faith, such as the creation of hospitals or schools. It also entails deploying teams across borders to spread the Christian faith. Christian missions in West Africa commenced in the fifteenth (15th) century. The Portuguese reached the West African coast through the Atlantic Ocean for mineral exploitation, colonial empire development, and Christian missions (Boaheng, 2018). Braun (2024) also argued that African coastal communities were the entry points of the Europeans into West Africa.

Earlier, within the first three centuries to 313 AD, the church started to accept gifts of members' goods and later acquired properties to strengthen their propagation and charitable activities ("Church Property," NA). Wealthy and powerful members of the community also aided the church in the acquisition of land and evangelism. Pavliková-Vilhanová (2007) and Masuku (2023) noted that Christianity developed in the subsequent centuries to the point that schools, hospitals, factories, printing companies, literature, and bible translation efforts became part of Christian missions. There was also an interchange of cultures. However, the Christian missions assisted European imperialism and further promoted Christianity as superior to existing African traditional religions and cultures (Andrew, 1997). Christian missions discreetly subjugated Africans, making them subject to colonial masters, and further clad Africans in African soil on European clothes despite the severe disparities in climate and sociocultural makeup (Kohn, 1962; Masuku, 2023; Saayman, 1991).

This contrasts the strategy of Matteo Ricci's Jesuit in his Christian mission to China. He explored the Chinese cultural fabric as a blueprint for Christian missions (Eerdmans, 2003). Records of the China protestant faith missions of Hudson Taylor (1832–1905) and Henry Grattan Guinness (1835–1910) saw Taylor a Briton donning Chinese costumes and even chatting in Chinese in his home (Chisholm, 1911). The outcome had a significant impact.

Okon (2014) further stated that Christian missions provided civilisation and development to African countries but was unclear about the nature of progress. He also indicated a substantial relationship among Christian missions, colonial trade, and colonial governance. In divergence, Jedwab *et al.* (2021) noted that Christian missions in Ghana from 1828 to 1932 produced negligible socioeconomic advantages for their host people. Rather, fertile, table and strategically located land were assigned to the missionaries. Even in South Africa, Mlambo (2024) also noticed that Christian missions backed apartheid and supported the subjugation of the blacks while also acquiring territory. Nonetheless, Johnson (1967) strongly emphasised that the parameters for the site selection and location of Christian missions, notably in African countries, deserve empirical study.

2.2 Evolution of settlement patterns

A settlement is a collection of buildings where people live (Živković, 2019), and how they interact with their natural landscape, such as water, land, plants, and mineral resources. Each community has a location, site, and setting. The site of a settlement is the real land where the settlement is established, while the location of a settlement is usually indicated using a precise combination of latitude and longitude. The choice of a site is dictated by physical variables such as water supply, availability of fertile farmlands, protection from prospective invasions by rivals and foes, topography, and shelter. Politics, accessible technology, culture, and economic issues such as communication, trade, mineral, and forest resources also affect the siting of settlement places (Ambe, 2018; Rashid, 2020; Rosenberg, 2018).

However, in Nigeria, Udo (1965) and Okafor (1981) asserted that the then Eastern Nigeria had a nucleated settlement structure. They further claimed that the settlements expanded largely due to the land tenure system and kinship inheritance along patrilineal and matrilineal links. The communities were also intermingled with farmlands and customary religious grooves, sacred trees, and deities; which further altered the pattern of spread of the settlements.

2.3 The Yakurr People

This research focused on the Christian missions in Yakurr Local Government Area of central Cross River State. The Yakurr people have a rich cultural heritage that spans their entire calendar. Of utmost importance is the Leboku New Yam celebration held by the people between July and October of every year in all Yakurr villages. Effective age grade system (*ekoo*) is existed in all Yakurr villages. Figure 1 is excerpt from the year 2021 *Leboku* festival events of Mkpani community of Yakurr Local Government Area, Cross River State.



Figure 1: Mkpani New Yam Festival featuring 'Feed the Community' parade by an Ekoo (Age grade) Source: Authors (2021)

Finally, the Yakurr people, like their nearby Igbo brothers, live in nuclear compact villages (Forde, 1937), Among Yakurr communities, land is a common property, and concerns of land tenure among the Yakurr People are vested on a council of elders and family heads. Several pieces of evidence exist regarding the footprint of Christian missionaries in Yakurr communities. However, there is scant documentation about how the missionaries were granted land for their mission work and the subsequent impact on the housing development and settlement pattern of the people. This is the fulcrum of this paper.

3. Theoretical Framework

Research on human behaviour and culture generally requires numerous theories to elucidate. However, for this study, the theory of conservation of resources and the central place theory were used as the underpinning theories.

3.1 The Conservation of Resources (COR) Theory

The Conservation of Resources (COR) Theory discusses the reasons that urge humans to both retain their current resources and pursue additional resources Hobfoll (1989). From time immemorial, hereditary resources like land have been greatly regarded and cherished by all humans irrespective of cultural colouration, beliefs, religion, literacy level, and financial situation (Muñoz-Viñas, 2012). For instance, Umeh (1973) pointed out that individuals, communities, supernatural creatures, corporate entities, and the government have land ownership rights. He also reported that in an African context, unseen powerful, and supernatural individuals own property, water bodies, and forest reserves.

Additionally, Hobfoll (1989) claimed that when there is a threat of a loss, psychological stress will set in. COR states that loss of resources can push people to some levels of stress (Halbesleben *et al.*, 2014). Abdullayev (2021) has further stressed that the cultural environment of a locality in the shape of deities, shrines, and historical monuments considerably impacts the spirituality of the inhabitants of the place and portray the people's lives and peculiar belief systems (Mather, 2003). Motonaka (2005), Progano (2018); Progano and Kato (2018, 2020) in their independent investigations have suggested that sacred locations, sites, routes, and shrines form a distinctive cultural landscape within the locality. It can thus be hypothesised that these supernatural powers can restrict human access to the physical land they occupy and further confine or change the spread of human activities, housing, and settlement patterns. This lack of resources might produce mental and spiritual distress among the population.

3.2 Central Places Theory in Rural Setting

In urban geography, central place theory is a spatial theory that enlightens the causes behind the global dispersal patterns, sizes, and sprawl of cities and towns. It also intends to establish a framework that permits the study of rural areas for historical as well as modern locational housing and settlement trends (Briney, 2023). Gbamwuan (2023) further observed that most Tiv communities in North Central Nigeria are dispersed settlements but with the entry of the missionaries, new cluster settlements developed around the newly built church buildings. Hence, the Christian missions in African rural communities over the years have transformed settlement patterns and become a central place in the settlement configuration of various African communities.

4. Research Methodology

The narrative analysis method was employed for this inquiry. This method was favoured as it permitted the study of how the Yakurr People constructed stories about their experiences and drives related to the construction of

residential housing and settlement sprawl before and after the missionaries came. Furthermore, an inductive technique was employed to create new concepts from the data collected and reviewed.

Primary data for this research were obtained from individual and focus group interviews with knowledgeable church and community elders using an interview guide. Some mission stations were also visited for observation. Secondary data were gathered from church archival records, pictures, and publications regarding church history (Ani, 2020; Bassey, 2021). To ascertain the trend and validate the findings, the site placement and land allocation criteria of Christian missions in Yakurr communities were examined as follows: four churches in Ugep, three in Ekori, two in Mkpani, two in Idomi, two in Assiga Old Town, and one in Assiga New Town. The churches were founded between 1910 and 2010. The recorded conversations were content analysed utilising the NVivo 12 application while Google Earth Pro was employed to examine the spread of dwellings and the following settlement pattern around Christian mission zones.

5. Analysis and Results

After analysing the obtained data, the narrative content analysis established the conditions under which Christian missionaries were awarded land in Yakurr villages. The consequent impact on the villagers' land-use pattern and housing also manifested.

5.1 Criteria for allocation of land for Christian missions in Yakurr communities

This study isolated five main criteria the elders and people of Yakurr considered before allotting land for Christian missions. These criteria are rooted in the sociocultural configuration of the People, their lived experiences, and their set of beliefs.

a. Land claimed by deities and shrines

Plots of land allotted to Christian missions were those that the villagers in the past willingly gave to supernatural entities like shrines and deities. It was revealed that over the years, human entry into the land and other adjoining plots of land for housing and cultivation purposes were resisted by these supernatural entities who have firmly laid claim to the land. Human encroachment in the form of housing and farming resulted in the untimely death of the client, farmer, or their immediate family members, sudden lunacy, twisting of the victim's neck, nightmares, and physical attack by snakes or other wild animals.

A text query result in Figure 2 demonstrated that cultivating or building a house on specific plots of land is related to premature death and other bad experiences. These isolated apieces of land were specifically designated for Christian missions.

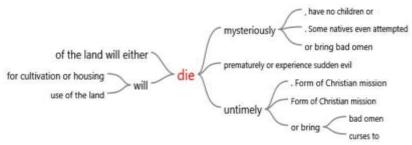


Figure 2: Result of text search query

Source: Authors, 2024

A villager's lived experience about land claimed by a deity is summed in the following anecdote APCN 2:

"I know of two persons who built on the land and were killed by the deity. "Before we came, there use to be a big tree here. We started prayers on the plot after allocation to us and then one night, thunder struck and pulled down that big tree. We decided to locate the Church altar where the tree was".

b. Land claimed by water spirits

Several streams both seasonal and all-year round streams, dot the settlements of the Yakurr people. These streams fulfil both the bodily and spiritual needs of the inhabitants. Some of these streams have been determined to be the dwelling of water spirits (mammy water). Hence parcels of land around these streams have been avoided by the inhabitants because the water spirits do not accept any sort of interference that will lead to deforestation around the stream. The lived experiences revealed that persons who had interactions with the water spirits were generally childless, emotionally unstable, and physically destitute. To date, certain indigenes of Yakurr are afraid to go close

to or through particular streams for fear of being assaulted by some water spirits. The land around these streams was allocated to the church for missions at little or no expense.

c. Land claimed by dreaded village clubs and societies

Some of the activities and occasional exhibitions of these clubs and societies are nurtured in secluded sites called *ketam* (club house) outside the established village hub. These plots of land become dreaded or forbidden forests years after the demise of some powerful front-liners of the group or exile of the club or society. It is thought that the land previously occupied by those clubs and groups is marked with charms to fend off non-members and any type of trespass.



Figure 3: Lebilembi ta (shrine) still in the compound of Assemblies of God, Church – Ijiman, Ugep Source: Authors, 2021

Hence, even when the village settlements grow to these locations, the inhabitants become afraid to build houses on those plots of land. Those who attempted to accomplish their residential housing projects on those plots were chased away mystifyingly. These sorts of pieces of land are freely donated to Christian missions. Figure 3 depicts the shrine (stone) of such a powerful club still surviving in the premises of a church compound.

According to a respondent about UAGC: "This is not just a story. Some people who attempted to build in this place before the land was given to the Church were chased away mysteriously".

The Yakurr communities' administrative structure comprises some powerful village clubs and societies. These clubs and societies are assigned some functions within the community leadership.

d. Accursed vacated lands

Christian missionaries in Yakurr commenced in 1910 with the establishment of All Saints Presbyterian Church in Ijiman, Ugep. The area largely assigned to them was the one that was the prior settlement of the Mkpani people. Mkpani people are the closest brothers of the Ugep people and they lived together following migration from their original country Akpa. Mkpani community further migrated from the present location of All Saints Presbyterian Church in Ijiman, Ugep to their present settlement after a 'bitter quarrel' with the Ugep community (Forde, 1937). The circumstances surrounding the exodus caused the Ugep people to label the area 'accursed'. No indigene of Ugep farmed or constructed a dwelling on such land until the property was assigned to Christian missions.

According to Obol Oji Lopon Sunday Eteng Okoi, the Obol Lopon (Community Head) of Mkpani: "When I was made the Obol Lopon of Mkpani, I was told that the land where the All Saints Presbyterian Church in Ugep (UPCN) is located belongs to us. I was also shown the place where our grandparents planted a coconut tree that the church came to meet". It is also usual among the Yakurr People to gift Christian missions' pieces of land that are under major disputes. Especially if these arguments have led to a series of deaths among the warring parties. The explanation is that such plots of land are called 'accursed' due to charms and rituals buried in them. In most circumstances, the method of reversing or annulling the effects of those charms is undiscovered before and after the demise of the major contestants.

e. Proximity to the residence of church members

Another reason for land allotting land to the first Christian missions was proximity to the church members. In Assiga communities, it was observed that the land allotted to the Christian missions was found near the boundary of the two (2) communities of the Assiga Old Town and Assiga New Town. Another school of thought for allotting land to the Church at the boundary of the two communities was to fend off community disputes between the two (2) communities and foster peaceful coexistence.

f. Influence of community elders

Yakurr villages have vested in their various council of elders the authority of land tenure. Hence, various cases abound of their influence on land allotment to Christian missionaries. The key criteria examined by the various councils of elders for the allocation of land to Christian missions are those indicated from a to e.

6. Discussion

Morris (2008) noted that the compassion and provisions of God Almighty have been severely misinterpreted and misrepresented by individuals in different cultures of the world. The outcome is deities, shrines, and sacred places that affect the growth of settlements and other human activity. The tactic taken by the Yakurr People to date was to freely hand out those pieces of land and its environs to Christian missionaries. The instant the parish priests or pastors effectively deforest and put those heretofore forbidden land to use, the villagers would progressively build houses near those places, irrespective of the inconveniences that may emerge due to the vicinity to those worship centres.

The landscape of African communities is rich with diverse cultural identities, encompassing shrines, mammy water, forbidden forests, and sacred grooves. These supernatural entities, in conjunction with the people's sociocultural ideas, render certain plots of land sacred (Figure 4) and unsuitable for human use.

For instance, interaction with mammy-water spirits can hamper physical advancement in life, thus, people avoid water bodies considered to house mammy-water spirits. Mammy Water they feel can lead to financial collapse and significant physical and mental health difficulties. Water spirit can also bring about material failures if her demands are not met (Wintrob, 1970).

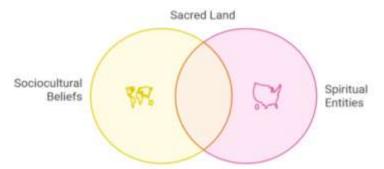


Figure 4: Factors influencing land allocation to Christian Missions in Yakurr communities

6.1 Historical trend of Christian missions on housing and settlement pattern

One might have been inclined to assume that the practice of allocating land to Christian missionaries was owing to a lack of understanding, illiteracy, and the conquering might of the whites at the time. However, as shrines and deities are rooted in the cultural landscape of the people, the criteria for allotting lands to Christian missions still hold footing even in the 21st century. From the first church to be established in Ugep in 1910 to the most current church sampled for this study established in 2010, the trend is the same. Lands entrusted to the Church were those the locals could not use for fear of death, as well as other types of vengeance from supernatural forces and demonic spirits that have claimed the land.

7. Conclusion And Recommendations

Ikhuoria (1987) has long since maintained that African nations witnessed expansion in three (3) waves: precolonial, colonial, and post-colonial. He further noticed that each of these waves had a unique land-use pattern. Before the entrance of Christian missionaries, the rural land use of the population was subsistence farming based on shifting crops, hunting, and shelter. However, throughout the colonial era, Christian missions within Yakurr villages, built church meeting spaces, manse to accommodate parish priests or pastors, and primary schools. The presence of the

Church through her missionaries offered basic primary education to the people in 1912, when the first primary school in the present Yakurr Local Government Area of Cross River State, Nigeria was constructed in a mud and thatch building. The mud and thatch classrooms only gave way for stone-brick composite walls after forty-two (42) years. So, during all these years that the church and school grew, no death was recorded because of the land they were allocated.

Interestingly, the Church further proved to the rural people that the land previously claimed by deities, water spirits, and scary cults could still be used for cultivation by building school demonstration farms. Also, the villagers can build houses on those plots of land and live quietly in them by establishing residences for the priests and pastors on those hated property plots. Finally, burial places are sacred and must not always be associated with prohibited or bad forests, hence the church established cemeteries on the previously inaccessible land areas.

The leadership of villages donated sections of land claimed by deities, shrines, and water spirits, as well as other supernatural energies, to Christian missions to deforest, neutralise, and demystify (Figure 5). Christian missions were utilised as a buffer to separate the community from the forces that prevent human access and connection with certain parcels of land within the community.



Figure 5: Summary of the impact of Christian missions on the settlement pattern of Yakurr communities

7.1 Implications to Built Environment Professionals and Stakeholders in Housing

- **a. Cultural and spiritual feasibility assessments of building projects:** Several projects pass operational, technical, economic, financial, legal, and environmental feasibility tests yet fail to meet end users' cultural and spiritual needs. Residents' cultural and spiritual demands should guide housing building locations. This is crucial because humans are spiritual. Land selection for any project should be based on cultural and spiritual feasibility from the people's perspective, not the project team, corporate, or individual client's (Figure 6).
- **b.** Land ownership by intangible forces: This study supports the idea that supernatural entities and other forces own land as well as humans, communities, and the state. Unless proper procedures are followed, these intangible landowners might suspend all known physical land ownership claims and disrupt building efforts. This caused the collapse of some incomprehensible building projects in different civilisations. All building and real estate specialists should fight this trend.
- c. Facility placement for optimal performance: The location of a building facility is crucial to its optimal performance, attainment of goals, the satisfaction of users, and total profit turnover. Church building projects in rural settings will be more successful if positioned close to the members' houses. This will encourage all ages of members to attend church activities on time. The priests and pastors can also be easily visited in cases of urgency. This will also encourage the rural members' farming activities because they can return from church and directly proceed to their farms, and vice versa.

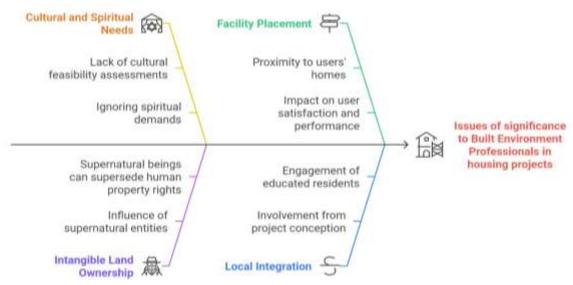


Figure 6: Challenges in housing projects for Built Environment Professionals

d. Integration of the locals right from the conception stage of the project cycle: Key stakeholders in housing delivery should always integrate the locals right from the conception stage of the project cycle. This will help to define the criteria for the seamless and timely completion of housing projects within budget while achieving user satisfaction (Musa & Amirudin, 2016). Project failures related with the area can be avoided with the engagement of educated residents

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