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## Literary Reflections on the Boko Haram Insurgency: A Study of Tosin Jobi-Tume's *The Victims*

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### Abstract

This study examines the socio-economic and political implications of the Boko Haram insurgency on its victims and communities as well. By examining the interplay between personal trauma and collective experience, this study highlights the role of drama and theatre in fostering a deeper understanding of the multifaceted impact of the conflict on the society. Through a close reading of the play, this analysis reveals how *The Victims* not only reflects the horrors of the Boko Haram insurgency but also shows how the insurgency has seriously hampered the socio-political growth and development of Nigeria, with grave implications for the lives of individuals and communities in the affected regions. It also serves as a testament to the resilience and courage of those who endure it. Most importantly, this study positions Jobi-Tume's play within the broader context of Nigerian literature, emphasizing its significance in mirroring and condemning the realities of contemporary society.

**Keywords:** Boko Haram insurgency, Terrorism, Conflict, Poverty, Trauma and Rape.

### Introduction

Nigeria, since 2009 has witnessed devastating conflicts as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency. This conflict is characterized by rampant cases of abductions, extreme violence and massive displacements, especially in the Northern part of the country. Muritala Babatunde Hassan says that:

Since Nigeria returned to democracy in 1999, her socio-political life has been characterized by one violent crisis or the other. Thousands of life and unquantifiable properties have been lost to ethno-religious crisis, post-election crisis and politically motivated assassinations. However, the recent horror of Boko Haram insurgency, terrorism, looting, abduction and kidnapping has added another dimension to the country's security history (Hassan 9)

The Boko Haram insurgency has also wreaked havoc on the political and socio-economic fabric of the country and has posed security threats as well. Several factors ranging from socio-economic to political factors have been identified as the major contribution to the rise and perpetuation of Boko Haram in the country. The northern part of Nigeria, usually affected by Boko Haram attacks, experiences poverty coupled with restricted access to resources. This economic disparity provides a conducive atmosphere for radicalization. In addition, there is an extremely high rate of unemployed youths, which makes them to feel marginalized. Hence, they enlist in militant groups as a means of livelihood. Mohammed says that:

What is the origin of Boko Haram? It has been there as a religious sect in some parts of the North Eastern Nigeria. Until sometime from 2002 to 2003, they are recruited to help bring some governors to power. In the process they became part of the mainstream of the government. Some of their members became state commissioners and some members became advisers. When they came into government, they wanted to push their own religious views through. They fell out with their

governors along the line since. They complained about corruption, unemployment for their areas. It took a very short time for them to run afoul of the law in their states. Armed conflicts started, which led to the extra judicial killings of their leader, Mohammed Yusuf (Mohammed 14)

The pervasive nature of corrupt activities and ineffective political leadership in Nigeria have led to lack of trust in government institutions. This lack of trust fosters discontentment and forces the people to adopt extremist ideologies as an alternative political order.

Over the years, the northerners have experienced marginalization by the federal government, which has left them feeling alienated and discontented, which the extremist groups can exploit. According to Ani Casmir, Nwaoga and Chrysanthus Ogbozor:

The Boko Haram sect and its members are angry that poverty, corruption, bad government, lack of security, human rights abuses, social injustices of social contradictions in the Nigerian state that have made the people of Northern Islamic extraction not to experience the development dividends arising from their membership of Nigerian Federation. These contradictions had been exploited by the new Islamic state to perpetrate violence against the Nigerian state under the guise of BOKO Haram (Ani. Nwoga & Ogbozor 61).

The ideological beliefs of Boko Haram are based on the radical interpretation of Islamic teachings. The aim of this terrorist group is to establish a strict Islamic state under Sharia law, in opposition to Western education and values. Nigeria's religious situation is marked by tensions between the Muslims mostly in the north and the Christians in the south. These tensions sometimes degenerate into violence, exacerbating the insurgency. Ani Casmir et al say that:

Religious fundamentalism has been ascribed as a major cause of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. However, fundamentalism is a function of wrong religious education and indoctrination that teaches the wrong or adulterated principles of the founder or mainstream faith of a religion. The danger is that the adulterated teachings are often passed off as the right or pure path without the adherents of the extremist sect knowing any better. Boko haram is a direct consequence of the teaching of the wrong version of Islam. Boko Haram forces forces and abducts Christians to become moslems and also kills them. Islam does not force or compel others to become moslems (Ani et al 63).

The arbitrary borders and administrative divisions established during colonial rule have contributed to ethnic and religious tensions. History of mankind has shown that in the modern society, conflicts are bound to take place on the account of religious differences. Ene says that "such conflicts occur when there are divisions caused by differences in religious beliefs" (Ene 91). Nigeria is marked by such differences in religious beliefs which has led to the outbreak of violence and wanton destruction of lives and properties in several communities.

Boko Haram has been influenced by and has connections to international jihadist organizations like Al-Qaeda and ISIS. These relations provide ideological inspiration, training, and sometimes logistical support. It is for this reason that Oluwagbemi says that Boko Haram is "a local yet global phenomenon that needs more extensive study" (Oluwagbemi 13).

The reliance of Nigerian government on military intervention to mitigate Boko Haram insurgency has often been criticized for human rights abuses and massive damage, which can alienate the entire populace and muster support for the insurgents.

Boko Haram which means "Western education is forbidden," is a movement that takes advantage of the lack of educational opportunities in the north to spread its anti-Western ideology. This absence or lack of educational opportunities leaves many Nigerian youths in the northern region vulnerable to being recruited as a member of this genocidal movement.

Constant clashes between various ethnic and religious groups in northern Nigeria enables an insecure environment and mistrust, which Boko Haram can take advantage of to gain recruits and support.

The situation of hostages, especially women and children in some of these Nigeria's conflict zones poses a serious problem for both local and international communities. The experiences of these hostages differ widely; many faces violence, while some have managed to withstand and survive such harsh conditions. This issue is highlighted by Kums, Simon Nankap, and Kwede, Cornelius Ishaya.

Banditry, as it is practiced in Nigeria, has a negative impact on the country's security and generally makes the lives of victims, particularly women and girls, miserable...In recent years, rural Banditry has reached frightening heights in the northern states of Zamfara, Kaduna, and Katsina. Women and girls face the brunt of Banditry in the region due to these attacks. Women are increasingly being raped, kidnapped, or commodified by families compelled to exchange their daughters for safety.” (Kums, Nankap, and Kwede, 201).

Boko Haram attacks does not only affect women and children as it has other negative socio-economic implications for the entire country. Ani et al is of the opinion that:

Since the return of democracy in 1999, Nigeria has continued to search for the best ways of attracting and increasing foreign direct investment to boost the domestic economy. This vigorous chase for FDI is seen as a boost for its democratic stability and economic security that will qualitatively and quantitatively to enhance the dynamism of its poverty reduction policy and wealth creation goals for its impoverished citizens. Since the Boko Haram insurgency started, foreign direct investment has become a direct victim of the environment (Ani et al 65).

While socio-political analysis is common in the discourse on Boko Haram insurgency, literary reflections give a unique insight into the human dimensions of the conflict. Tosin Jobi-Tume's play, *The Victims* is a play that sheds light on the personal stories and emotional landscapes of those drastically affected by the Boko Haram insurgency. Therefore, this study aims to explore how *The Victims* portrays the Boko Haram insurgency and its impact on individuals and communities. In the play, understudy, Tosin Jobi-Tume not only condemns the atrocities of the conflict but also lends a voice to the plight of the victims of Boko Haram insurgency.

### **Individual traumatic experiences and their consequences in Tosin Jobi Tume’s *The Victims***

*The Victims* by Tosin Jobi Tume won ANA award in 2019 and was initially performed at the Arts Theatre of the Federal University, Oye Ekiti and subsequently at the Adekutu Hall of the Ekiti State University on the 10<sup>th</sup> of September, 2018 and the Arts Theatre of the University of Ilorin on the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> October. The play is set in Northern Nigeria. Tosin Jobi Tume’s *The Victims* examines the experiences of women and children in the terror-stricken Northern part of Nigeria. The play starts with the introduction of one of the child narrators, a girl child called Gimbiya, who gives us insight into the peaceful nature of her community before children are being torn apart from their families as a result of the attacks unleashed by the nefarious movement commonly known as Boko Haram. She says:

I am Gimbiya. I was born into a beautiful world: a beautiful nation, a beautiful home. Ours was a closely-knit family. I had a doting father and a loving mother; wonderful parents. My father was a Muslim from the Northern part of our country, while my mother, a Christian, hailed from the East. We, the children freely practiced both religions without any discrimination from any of our parents. For us, it was ‘Bismillah’ and ‘Amen’, and everything in between. Though, they were of different religions, yet, the love, mutual respect and tolerance. My two brothers were ever so protective of me. I was their little sister, the baby of the house, I had them all wrapped around my little finger, and I could get away with virtually everything. I was a spoilt brat, their spoilt brat. As my name Gimbiya implies, I was their darling Princess who is to be pampered always...and pampered I was. (Smiles) And Nura... I had Nura (*Winks*) (17-18)

Gimbiya presents us with a world where tremendous communal love, unity and kinship thrives before the sudden and tragic incidence leading to the disruption of peace in the village. Dadinkowa village is a peaceful one, peace-loving and stable society devoid of social ills such as religious intolerance and tribalism, etc. Even the atmosphere of the merry making and fun fair created by Gimbiya and her friends while playing the traditional kids games substantiates this claim. Ajayi Christianah Olubunmi says that:

the world depicted in this movement denotatively represent Nigeria of the 1940s to the early 80s when such social ills of religious intolerance and tribalism has not captured the soul of the nation and shattered our unity. Love between young Nigerians of different cultural background thrived leading to inter-tribal marriages as depicted in Gimbiya’s parents union; Peace and security of lives and properties and progress in agricultural ventures were guaranteed under such atmosphere but it is quite unfortunate that things have fallen apart and the centre can no longer hold. (Ajayi 214)

Subsequently, Nura, another child narrator and Gimbiya’s lover informs us that peace was shattered by overzealous men and trigger happy soldiers who shot indiscriminately at their people whose lives they had sworn to protect. The soldiers

impunity eventually led to an uprising of criminal minded, vengeful people who are hell bent on avenging the gruesome murder, killing and maiming of their people. He says:

Life so sweet, yet so sour. So beautiful yet so ugly. So full of hope, yet so dull of despair. I had all I needed in my father, my brother and Gimbiya they meant everything to me, and we were content with our simple life (Closes his eyes) Ah....Gimbiya nawa, I thought that our life would always be a bed of roses. (Scoffs) How utterly naïve and wrong I was. My life was perfect up until a fight broke out between the farmers and herdsmen in my village, Dadinkowa. Then the soldiers came, shouting sporadically at everything in sight. People were killed, houses were burnt. My entire village was in ruins. Very few families escaped that carnage. During that military invasion in DadinKowa, all that I had and held dear perished. My father and only brother were killed, wasted by the soldiers; soldiers who claimed to be intervening in a communal clash. I mean, how do you stop a communal clash by wasting more innocent lives>? Just how? (26)

The excerpt above highlights the duality and unpredictability of life. It illustrates that life can be simultaneously sweet and sour, beautiful and ugly, hopeful and despairing. Nura reflects on their once content and simple life, which was shattered by violent conflict. This sudden and tragic loss underscores the fragility of happiness and the harsh reality of how quickly peace can turn into chaos. It also criticizes the violent military approach in communal conflicts, highlighting the irony and injustice of using violence to restore peace.

Against these odds, Nura is obviously nostalgic of the few memorable instances they had with their loving family. Nura exclaims “I thought life would always be a bed of roses. (Scoffs) How utterly naïve and wrong I was. My life was perfect until a fight broke out between the farmers and herdsmen in my village, Dadin Kowa (26). This statement paints a picture of hopelessness and despair. He is fully conscious of his fate, which has been shaped by events in his early childhood and as by now, has already ruined his life. This experience may have hampered his psychological growth and development as a child and eventually led to his state of despair and arrogance in his future endeavors. Another remarkable feature in the Nura’s childhood is the absence of the father figure. Nura talks about how life had changed after his father’s death. Children get torn apart from their families, parents and relatives in these turbulent times and helplessly look for them everywhere with a hope of reuniting. Most times this does not work out for these youngsters, but instead leaves the children at the mercy of the predators. Nura tells us that, his loathed uncle who is known for his selfishness and greed remains the only surviving member of his family. His uncle refuses to cater for him. He rather took over his “father’s house, farms and what was left of his cattle” (27). Consequently, Nura is being raised under appalling conditions. He wanders and begs for alms so as to fend for himself. Incidentally, Nura leaves Dadin Kowa and wandered into a nearby village where a Quranic teacher took him in as an Almajiri. It was there that he met Sule.

Sule is another child victim, who was thrown out of the house so to cater for himself by his father. There is no choice for Sule’s father, since he is incapable of meeting up with the financial demands of his numerous wives and children. He says:

...In my own case, my family’s predicament is self-induced. My father, a poor shoe-shiner, married more wives than he could handle. He married six. The wives have in turn engaged themselves in a laughable fertility competition. With no thoughts for birth control, they keep popping out kids every year, making children that they can neither feed nor clothe. My father’s children are enough to start a village. We are thirty-six in all, and the number increases day by day. We wallow in abject misery, desperate poverty and avoidable penury. And you know the most unfortunate thing? My father and his wives have still not come to the realization that their problem is self-inflicted. In their impoverished state, they keep having more children. Then, what does my father do? He sends us to various Islamic schools far away from home. With no food, no money, no nothing. To acquire Islamic knowledge, he says. But I know better, he is merely trying to dodge the consequences of his irresponsibility (28-29)

Here, the playwright implicitly shows how terrorism thrives in the midst of religious fanaticism, poor family structures, and societal norms or practices such as polygamy without economic means, lack of birth control, and inadequate family planning. Things start getting worse for the teenage friends when the Islamic cleric no longer had enough money or financial support to cater for them. As a result of this, Nura and Sule took to alms begging and menial jobs for survival. Eventually, both of them resorted to criminal activities so as to improve their living conditions. Nura would distract unsuspecting passers-by with his excellent skills in music and dance performances, while Sule picked money from their pockets. As time goes on, Sule introduces Nura to hard drugs. Hardship led the teenagers into wandering from one place to another and they ended up with the notorious Boko Haram terrorist movement. Sule says:

SULE: I just got an invitation to join a movement working against the military. It is a firebrand movement which totally abhors and condemns the nefarious acts of overzealous military men. They also preach to unbelievers to come to ALLAH. They are presently recruiting and from what I hear, the pay is fantastic.

NURA; A movement working against the military? (hesitatingly) I don't know...

SULE: Nura, this is an opportunity of a lifetime. It means we will get to leave this hell hole (31)

Here, Tosin Jobi Tume highlights that when children are faced with all the odds, their choice of a sound decision becomes limited and therefore any other desperate act or decision is good for them. The conversation between Sule and Nura further makes us to imagine being in their shoes. We can now understand them in a better perspective, for they do not act by choice, but are forced by the desperate circumstances created by the society and the so-called political leaders and to an extent by fate.

Therefore, Sule, introduces Nura to the terrorist gang under the pretext of giving him the invaluable opportunity to worship Allah and avenge the death of his family members. In the play, it can be seen that while the children find themselves in a situation that is beyond their control, thereby forcing them to become child terrorists, a child just like Sule have criminal tendencies and violent attitude weaved into him from observing his parents. This brings to the fore, the critical role of the environment in influencing children's growth and development. The cruelty in these children can easily be triggered depending on the predisposing factor. Many of these children happen to be in search of protection, food and shelter, and the possibility of taking a vengeance against those who had killed their parents, siblings, relatives and destroyed their homeland.

Tosin Jobi Tume also illustrates how governments were also responsible for the recruitment of child soldiers so as to add up to their terrorist gang. Unfortunately, once recruited they are abandoned with no supplies. Strangely, the starving kids became soldiers by day and rebels who looted by night for the sake of survival.

Generally, in *The Victims*, the writer highlights the role of government, security agents and politicians in exacerbating terrorism in the society. At a point in the play when Nura tries to convince Sule on the need for them to abandon the struggle, since they are sure of government's protection, Sule says in a counter-argument:

You are a complete fool right now. (Scoff) You mean you believe all that nonsense about government's protection? Who is the government? We are the government. All those big men with flowing gowns who visit our camp in the dead of the night in their big cars, bearing bags of money, truckloads of arms, ammunitions and heavy weapons, who do you think they are? Where do you think we get our cars, motorcycles and sophisticated phones from? How do you think we access the internet? Have you ever stopped to think of why this camp has never been invaded? You think the government does not know where we are? Wise up, man (51).

The writer emphasizes that the failure to address some of these socio-political problems by the so-called leaders would destroy our future as it did with those of Gimbiya, Nura and Sule. The play, according to Tosin Jobi Tume:

reveals the culpability of family, society, culture, religious and politics in the menace which insurgency and terrorism have become in the country. Through a narration of the life stories of the three main characters, the play reports a searing expose of the different categories of the victims of terrorism in Nigeria, how the victims are affected, and the hopelessness of their situations. The story culminates into a dangerous and life-threatening love triangle between the three youngsters (Tume v-vi)

When Gimbiya eventually activates the explosives, resulting in her death, coupled with Nura and Sule, the writer issues a serious warning to all stakeholders involved in counter-terrorism efforts. The implicit message here is that the security agents, the government, citizens, and civil society organizations must take immediate and proactive measures to build the nation and ensure sustainable development, safeguarding the future from imminent dangers. It is crucial to de-radicalize captured terrorists and potential terrorists who have become disillusioned with a system that fails to support their growth and development. Currently, many disillusioned youths in the nation turn to terrorist groups, become armed robbers, sex workers, or internet scammers known as "yahoo boys," and some even resort to suicide.

The rise of the Boko Haram terrorist group has turned many young and able bodied youth into degenerate members of a killer squad. The large number of the youths and children, having lost their parents, relatives and homes to the deadly terror, becomes Almajiris or beggars in their own community. Sadly, many of them also fall into the trap of this extremist Islamic group. Therefore, they are being recruited by this group and used as tools to unleash terror on the innocent members of the society. Women, young and old are raped mercilessly even up to the point of death. Gimbiya,

Nura and Sule are few survivors of the raging terror who find themselves unfortunately in the hideout belonging to the Boko Haram insurgents.

Binebai says that “the Boko Haram sect portrays real traits of a suicide squad. Moral failure, economic hypocrisy, religious charlatanism and the struggle for political power account for the emergence of these terror gangs” (Binebai 6) The playwright also gives an insight on the type of horror perpetrated by this terrorist group and shows how such children who end up as victims fail to lead normal lives. Gimbiya makes us understand how girls and women such as her mother are being forcefully captured and raped. She sorrowfully laments:

The Movement. We had heard rumours about the Movement but we were so sure that they would not dare come for us. We all worshipped God, right? How wrong we were. It was a Friday and I had just gotten back from school. I was having a hearty lunch with my family, when suddenly men of The Movement barged into my father’s compound. Seven of them all wearing masks. They ordered us to come out. Right there and then, their leader started to admire my mother’s child-like beauty. He mocked her and called her an infidel. He ordered her to undress...it was obvious what they wanted to do to her and my father was having none of that. My father attacked them and he was shot within the twinkling of an eye. My brothers and I screamed and huddled together in fear (sobs) the animals manhandled my mother...All of them except one who kept throwing up, I think he was ill or something...The rest of them, grunting and panting like the pigs that they are, took turns on my mother, while my siblings and I were forced to watch. My father was shot to death and my mother was raped to death right in our presence, while we the children watched on helplessly. A horrible ...horrible day that was (36-37).

This horrifying scene mirrors the kind of violence that women and the girl child are subjected to in times of terrorist attacks. According to Nkiruka Akaenyi:

The impact of the Boko Haram crisis on women and girls has been extremely severe. They have borne the brunt of the displacement crisis and constitute the majority of the victims of sexual exploitation and abuse. Furthermore, they face stigma due to their association with different groups, exacerbating the challenges they already confront compared to men and boys (Akaenyi 10).

The level of abuse against women and the girl child inflicts profound harm on their well-being. Moreover, the child victims of banditry are often forcibly separated from their families and sometimes compelled to join criminal groups and this affects them psychologically. These experiences not only traumatize the victims but also unsettle their parents, families, and the broader community. Additionally, the children, often unsure of what cause they are fighting for end up serving a terrorist movement that pay no attention to their welfare. In movement four of the play, Nura challenges the modus Operandi of the terrorists group

Nura: This isn’t what I bargained for. Why not go after the corrupt politicians the bad leaders who have made life so difficult for us why have we turned on each other? The people, they are victims as well, we all are victims... I am tired...just tired... totally fed up.

He goes further to fault its claim to fighting for Allah as seen in his dialogue with Sule in same movement.

Nura: I disagree with you, Sule ours is a religion of peace. If we really are fighting for the cause of Allah then we don’t need to take up arms. If you think about it logically, you will realize that there is really nothing to fight for our fight is needless.

Sule: How do you mean?

Nura: Allah is greatest right?

Sule: Yes...

Nura: And he created us, not so?

Sule: Where are you going with this?

Nura: My point is that we don’t need to fight for Allah. If Allah is the greatest, then he definitely does not need us to fight his battles, the created need not fight for the creator.

Sule: You are making no sense

Nura: (Pleadingly) Sule we can leave now we can surrender our arms and embrace peace.

Sule: Peace...Peace...Peace is a relative concept so is war. Peace and War are symbolic, how do you appreciate peace if there is no war?

Nura: We don’t need war to have peace

Sule: Stop your sanctimonious bullshit man. You are as dirty as the rest of us holding the gun in our hand and the Quran in other won’t take you to heaven

Nura: (Determinedly) listen to me, Sule I am sick and tired of all these atrocities being committed under the guise of fighting for a religion which advocates peace. I want true peace and freedom I want out Sule. (52-53).

These sentiments show that at some point Nura and some other child soldiers are not completely corrupted by the horrible nature of terrorism. For instance, Nura refuses to be part of the gang rape of Gimbiya's mother when his deadly team unleashed terror on her family. Gimbiya forgives Nura easily when he explains and pleads with her for forgiveness. Even though, Nura has joined the terrorist group, he is still patriotic. Nura's condemnation of the murderous acts of the group shows that he still recognizes the importance of moral values. Nura's humanity is highlighted in the play. His refusal to rape Gimbiya's is not merely explained by the fact that he's in love with Gimbiya, because he would have still indulged in the act without any of Gimbiya's family member recognizing him, since he covered his face with a mask.

Nura still shows feelings of humanity towards others. Nura, like many of the child soldiers received military training after recruitment. According to Birahima, the training involved, apart from the manipulation of firearms (AK 47) some religious teaching. He cites how le Bon taught that "If you truly loved the Lord God and alone who kills the bad guys, the sinners and the damned". (70). This is wrong teaching to innocent children. Ajayi says "I find it aimed at only hoodwinking children who are naive to join the faction. At times new comers had to undergo exorcism of demons before admission" (Ajayi 128). Some conduct was to be adhered to by the child soldiers. For instance, compulsory prayers and punishment (execution) for those who attempted to escape as in le Bon's camp. This shows how force is being used by the warlords is to maintain loyalty in their camps.

The writer uses the play to criticize the level of violence unleashed on innocent members of the society in the name of religion. Nura is expressly disappointed with the situation of things. He bitterly laments of the irony and hypocrisy of fighting for peace and religion through violence. He wonders why the focus is not on addressing the main causes of societal problems, such as bad leaders and corrupt politicians, instead of killing each other. Nura strongly opines that if Allah is truly the greatest, then he does not need human beings to fight his war. Nura believes that true adherence to their faith should lead to peace, not violence. Sule's counterarguments highlight a more cynical and fatalistic perspective, suggesting that peace and war are intertwined and that his actions are justified. Ultimately, Nura's plea for peace and rejection of violence underscores a longing for true freedom and a life without the atrocities committed under a false guise of religious duty.

## Conclusion

This study explores the negative impacts of Boko Haram insurgency on communal life, highlighting the loss of peace and the emergence of violence. The play criticizes the role of various socio-political structures in exacerbating the crisis. In the play, Tosin Jobi Tume vividly captures the failures of the government and the military, whose irrational actions often lead to worsens the conflict and festers resentment among the entire populace. In the play, Sule's story shows how hardships and poor family planning can push children into desperate situations, making them easy targets for radicalization. Through Nura's ultimate rejection of violence and plea for genuine peace, the playwright highlights the need for redemption and the importance of addressing the root causes of terrorism. Finally, Tosin Jobi Tume's *The Victims* serves as a urgent call to action for all stakeholders, including the political leaders, security agencies, and civil society, to take quick and effective measures so as to prevent the radicalization of vulnerable children and to support their rehabilitation. The play highlights the need for effective strategy to address the problem of terrorism, ensuring a safer and more stable future for all.

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