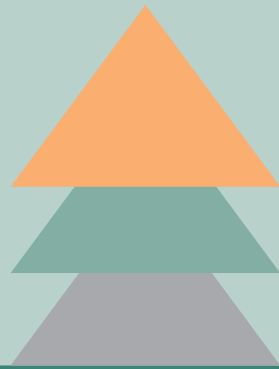


Religions and Development Research Programme

Mapping the Activities of Faith-based Organizations in Development in Nigeria

Olakunle Odumosu, Rasheed Olaniyi and Sunday Alonge
Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, Ibadan



Working Paper 38 - 2009

Rad

Religions and Development

Research Programme

The Religions and Development Research Programme Consortium is an international research partnership that is exploring the relationships between several major world religions, development in low-income countries and poverty reduction. The programme is comprised of a series of comparative research projects that are addressing the following questions:

- How do religious values and beliefs drive the actions and interactions of individuals and faith-based organisations?
- How do religious values and beliefs and religious organisations influence the relationships between states and societies?
- In what ways do faith communities interact with development actors and what are the outcomes with respect to the achievement of development goals?

The research aims to provide knowledge and tools to enable dialogue between development partners and contribute to the achievement of development goals. We believe that our role as researchers is not to make judgements about the truth or desirability of particular values or beliefs, nor is it to urge a greater or lesser role for religion in achieving development objectives. Instead, our aim is to produce systematic and reliable knowledge and better understanding of the social world.

The research focuses on four countries (India, Pakistan, Nigeria and Tanzania), enabling the research team to study most of the major world religions: Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism and African traditional belief systems. The research projects will compare two or more of the focus countries, regions within the countries, different religious traditions and selected development activities and policies.

The consortium consists of six research partner organisations, each of which is working with other researchers in the four focus countries:

- University of Birmingham, UK: International Development Department, Department of Theology and Religion, Centre for West African Studies, Centre for the Study of Global Ethics.
- University of Bath, UK: Centre for Development Studies.
- Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, New Delhi.
- Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, Ibadan.
- University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan.

In addition to the research partners, links have been forged with non-academic and non-government bodies, including Islamic Relief.

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Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, Ibadan
University of Birmingham

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Contents

Summary	1
1 Introduction	4
1.1 Aim and objectives	5
1.2 Definitions	6
1.3 Methodology	10
2 The evolution of faith-based organizations in Nigeria	13
2.1 Pre-colonial times, before 1861	14
2.2 Colonial times, 1861-1960	19
2.3 The evolution of FBOs since independence	25
2.4 Summary	30
3 Organizational types and activities of FBOs	32
3.1 Introduction	32
3.2 Interfaith organizations	33
3.3 Apex bodies	35
3.4 Development organizations	44
3.5 Socio-political organizations	64
3.6 Missionary organizations	68
3.7 Conclusion	74
4 Conclusion	79
4.1 Summary	79
4.2 Issues arising from the research	84
Notes	90
References	92
Appendices	95
1 Interview guide template	95
2 Primary sources of information	97

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List of tables

1	Faith-based organizations in Nigeria by type	76
2	Matrix of organizational types of FBOs and their activities	77
3	Matrix of organizational types of FBOs by regional location	77

List of acronyms

CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CCN	Christian Council of Nigeria
CHAN	Christian Health Association of Nigeria
CMS	Church Missionary Society
COCIN	Church of Christ in Nigeria
CRUDAN	Christian Rural and Urban Development Association of Nigeria
ECWA	Evangelical Church of West Africa
CSOs	Civil society organizations
FBOs	Faith-based organizations
FGN	Federal Government of Nigeria
FOMWAN	Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria
JDPC	Justice, Development and Peace Commission
JNI	Jama'atu Nasril Islam (Society for the Victory of Islam)
MSS	Muslim Students Society
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
POD	People Oriented Development
NACOMYO	National Council of Muslim Youth Organization
NASFAT	Nasrul-Lahil-II-Fathi Society of Nigeria
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
NIREC	National Inter-Religious Council
NSCIA	Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs
TEKAN	Tarayar Ekklesiyoyin Kristi a Nigeria or The Fellowship of the Churches of Christ in Nigeria
UM	Urban Ministry
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
WOWICAN	Women's Wing of the Christian Association of Nigeria

Summary

The nature, scale and activities of faith-based organizations (FBOs) remain poorly understood and documented in African countries. This paper reports on a preliminary 'mapping' of FBOs in development in Nigeria carried out as part of a larger research programme on Religions and Development.

The emergence, aims and activities of organizations associated with Christianity and Islam is linked to the history, expansionist goals, geographical spread, political aspirations and organizational characteristics of the two faith traditions that are dominant in the country. A review of the available secondary material shows that

- Some organizations associated with Islam emerged in pre-colonial times, mostly for the purpose of converting people to the religion and teaching Muslims about their faith, while Christian FBOs were associated with missionary activities in the 19th century and combined efforts to convert non-Christians with social welfare activities.
- As a result, most Muslim organizations are based (and strongest) in the north of the country and most Christian organizations in the south, although neither are confined to these geographical regions.
- Because religion and politics are inseparable in Islam and Muslim states were established long ago in northern Nigeria, many Muslim organizations have a political agenda and are close to the state, whereas the missionaries had an ambivalent relationship with the British colonial authorities and contemporary Christian churches were neither close to political power holders nor spoke with a single voice in the period after independence; their closeness to politics has, however, increased in reaction to the assertiveness of Muslims and the Muslim-majority northern States.
- Neither religious tradition is homogeneous, but Islam was traditionally linked to strongly developed state structures with associated sources of religious authority, while Christianity is characterized by competition between denominations and most of the mainline churches have a bureaucratic hierarchical organization. The different ways in which the faith traditions are organized has implications for the organization, autonomy and funding arrangements of FBOs.

In the absence of complete and up-to-date directories or other sources, the mapping of contemporary FBOs engaged in development was based primarily on semi-structured interviews with representatives of a range of FBOs with more than a local reach. The work was conducted in 2007/8 in Lagos and the Federal Capital Territory, where it was assumed that many FBOs would have their headquarters, and also in states selected to represent the main religio-geographical zones of the

country: Kano in the north, Plateau in the Middle Belt, and Oyo, Anambra and Enugu in the south. Brief descriptive profiles of a range of FBOs throw light on their legal status, organizational structure, membership strength, sources of funds, main activities, and relationships with other FBOs and the government. Together these provide an overview of their activities and characteristics. The survey revealed that

- Active FBOs can be found in almost all the States of the Federation, although not all are registered and not all those that are registered are very active
- A large proportion of religious organizations provide some social services, in particular education and health; fewer are engaged in activities such as community development,
- Most of the FBOs mobilize and rely on volunteers rather than paid staff, enabling them to expand their activities at relatively low cost
- FBOs assert that one of their main comparative advantages is their location in communities underserved by government, especially in the rural areas. In addition, their influence is greater than secular NGOs because through their religious and educational activities, they influence values and social rules governing, for example, family life and sexual activity. Furthermore, there is evidence that they command more respect and trust than either government or NGOs.
- A relatively small proportion of FBOs are primarily socio-political and advocacy organizations; many more are engaged in missionary activities.
- Little evidence is available on the scale and outcomes of FBO activities, but even in their own eyes their ability to sustain and expand their programmes is, for many, limited by their dependence on donations from adherents, their limited management capacity, competition with each other and lack of government support.

This initial mapping of FBOs engaged in development, socio-political and missionary activities indicates that development actors in Nigeria must

- develop an understanding not only of the aims, activities, organizational characteristics and funding base of FBOs but also of their deep historical roots and political links
- recognize that the characteristics of FBOs vary between and within faith traditions and develop better ways of identifying the types of organization that are active in particular locations

Further research is needed to

- increase the coverage and representativeness of this mapping of FBOs in Nigeria, particularly to include international development FBOs, organizations with significant or innovative local roles, and development activities undertaken by congregations rather than separate organizations
- evaluate the scale and outcomes of FBO activities and compare them to secular NGOs and government, in order to assess whether they have distinctive characteristics.

1 Introduction

In a speech to a conference organized by UNESCO in 2003, Archbishop John Onaiyekan, Catholic Bishop of Abuja and current President of the Christian Association of Nigeria, noted that

...the world community has gradually begun to recognize the positive role that religion can play in the affairs of the world. For a long time, the United Nations, for example, tried to avoid dealing with religion, condemning it at most to the margins of its activities. Of recent, however, it has begun to recognise that the world neglects religion at its own risk, especially since religion features a lot in many of the conflicts in the world. It is a great thing that we are beginning to realise that religion can be not only a cause of conflict, but also a solution to it and to other problems of this world.... the United Nations Agencies, UNICEF, UNESCO, UNAIDS, etc, are beginning to take religious organisations seriously under the newly coined term – ‘faith-based organisations’. This certainly is a move in the right direction (Onaiyekan, 2005, p. 133).

He went on to identify concerns common to many religious bodies, including poverty and ill-health, the HIV/AIDS crisis, conflict and insecurity, and poor governance, “For as long as we do not have a reasonable level of good governance, it will not be possible to secure peace nor shall we be able to adequately address other areas of human well-being like health, poverty alleviation, and education” (p. 134). To address these challenges, he argued, members of the different faith traditions should work together, in Nigeria and beyond.

Others have advanced a similarly positive view of the role of religious organizations in society, providing welfare for those in need, filling the gaps in public sector provision, providing services, and supporting communities. For example, the World Faiths Development Dialogue, commenting on the draft World Development Report 2004: *Making Services Work for Poor People*, claimed that while research in Uganda had identified various positive features of health services provided by faith-based organizations (FBOs), such providers operate “in ways which are not necessarily conducive to a market-led agenda for the provision of services. Faith groups providing services emphasize the importance of people’s participation in planning and running them, the need to make services accessible to all, including the very poorest, and also the religious value of any work of service to others, which explains the motivation of those who are willing to work for lower wages than are the norm” (WFDD, 2003, in Tyndale, 2003, p. 26). Tyndale also noted that surveys such as the World Bank’s *Voices of the Poor* have

...aroused interest in faith groups, as they show that no other organizations are more firmly rooted or have better networks in poor communities than the religious ones and

that religious leaders are trusted more than any others. Faith-based organizations are thus seen as essential agents both for influencing the opinions and attitudes of their followers and for carrying out development work at the grassroots. Their influence is recognized as a potentially key element in the solving of conflicts, even though, or perhaps because, religious groups are often seen as the cause of them (Tyndale, 2003, p. 26).

The apparently important role of religious organizations is not confined to developing countries with weak government capacity. Even in northern countries such as the US, it is claimed that religious organizations play positive roles. For example, research in Cleveland concluded that “Religious congregations are often strong social institutions in distressed neighborhoods long abandoned by secular organizations, leaving them well positioned to effectively solve community problems” (NODIS, 2007, p. 1). They are claimed to be important sources of local social capital, to inspire their members to work for the common good, to fill gaps in government provision for the poor and to address social problems. In response, northern governments have started to look to FBOs to take on a larger role, although, as NODIS points out, governments’ motivations for doing so are mixed:

...the desire in some quarters to reduce the role of the public sector; the existence of a small number of high-profile successes in health, education and economic empowerment sponsored by large churches; the perceived paucity of other strong institutions in many disinvested neighborhoods; and high expectations about the potential of faith communities to address problems that others have found intractable (NODIS, 2007, p. 1).

In developing countries, despite increased public, government and donor recognition of the role of religious organizations in welfare and service provision, data on the size and scope of their activities is incomplete, and systematic studies of their activities, motivations and approaches, to assess whether they are distinctive or to assess their outcomes, are rare.

1.1 Aim and objectives

The overall aim of the Religions and Development Research Programme is to generate new knowledge on:

- The relationships between religious values and beliefs and the actions and interactions of individuals and faith-based organizations

- The ways in which religious values and beliefs and religious organizations influence the relationships between states and societies
- The ways in which faith communities interact with development actors and the outcomes with respect to the achievement of development goals.

The aim of this study is to undertake a 'mapping' exercise of the nature, scale and activities of faith-based organizations (FBOs) in development in Nigeria. The scope and scale of the activities undertaken by religious organizations is poorly understood and documented and, while this small scale research project cannot chart all the relevant organizations or provide a comprehensive account, it can provide an overview. The objectives are:

- a) To increase knowledge about the nature and scale of faith-based contributions to development in Nigeria.
- b) To provide background and contextual information for further studies, enabling those involved to prepare detailed research proposals and select geographical locations, faith traditions and FBOs for further study.

1.2 Definitions

What is meant by the term faith-based organization? As noted by Archbishop Onaiyekan, the term has become part of public discourse, both in some northern countries and in the mainstream development literature. However, it is often used loosely. In particular, it is often unclear how the term relates to the more general terms 'civil society organization' and 'non-governmental organization'. Clearly, findings regarding the scope and scale of FBO activities depend, in large part, on how FBOs are defined. This section therefore provides an overview of different attempts to define and classify FBOs, as a first step in understanding the extent of their activity.

Various definitions of FBOs were available at the outset of this research in 2006. The Global Health Council describes FBO as

... a general term, used to refer to religious and religious based organizations, places of religious worship or congregations, specialized religious institutions, and registered and unregistered non-profit institutions that have religious character or missions (Yekholo, 2005, p. 27).

This definition includes both the organizational expressions of religious sects and denominations and autonomous organizations that more closely resemble non-governmental organizations or non-profits. For practical reasons, it was decided to confine this study to the activities of FBOs with a distinct organizational structure but differing degrees of autonomy from their parent or associated religious organization. A more specific definition was therefore adopted, based on one taken from Martens (2002) and adopted by Berger (2003). Martens views “religious NGOs”

....as formal organizations whose identity and mission are self-consciously derived from the teachings of one or more religious or spiritual traditions and which operates [sic] on a nonprofit, independent, voluntary basis to promote and realize collectively articulated ideas about the public good at the national or international level (Berger, 2003, p. 16).

There does not seem to be a generally accepted definition of faith-based organizations (FBOs) in Nigeria. However, it is clear from both primary and secondary sources, such as the work by Ibrahim et al (2006, p. 4), that FBOs are seen to be characterized by one or more of the following: affiliation with an organized faith community; a mission that makes explicit reference to religious values; a governance structure in which the selection of executive members is based on their religious beliefs or affiliation; decision-making processes based on religious values; and financial support from religious sources. At a minimum, therefore, FBOs must be connected with an organized faith community, with such connections occurring when an FBO adopts a particular religious ideology and draws staff, volunteers or leadership from a particular religious group.¹

While clearly, in a country with extremely high rates of religious affiliation and observance, many workers and volunteers in the public and secular non-governmental sectors have religious motivations for their activities, most FBOs interviewed in the course of this study asserted that FBOs are religion-based organizations that engage in social provisioning and seek to generate social change through their religion (Ibrahim et al, 2006). The purpose of most FBOs in Nigeria is to propagate the religion, conduct religious education and fulfil religious injunctions. The pursuit of the general welfare of their members and their economic empowerment follows from this perspective. In other words, the social action of FBOs is rooted in both utilitarian strategies and spiritual obligations.

In addition to coming up with a definition of FBOs, the specific aim of this study requires us to focus on the role of FBOs in development-related activity. For this purpose, a means of classifying the

organizations identified is needed, since the general definitions mask many of the differences between the organizations concerned. For example, purely in terms of scale, a small organization associated with a local congregation and the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) are both FBOs that draw staff and volunteers from a particular religious group. However, they differ substantially in the scope and scale of their service provision.

Various typologies were considered before finally settling on one. Smith and Sosin (2001), in the course of a study of social service organizations, developed a typology based on dimensions that include mission, service focus and extent of bureaucratic organization. Sider and Unruh (2004) produced a typology based on case studies of domestic community service organizations. Their work offered distinct criteria for organizations and programmes, rightly noting that programmes run by religious organizations may be completely free of religious references, and vice versa. Their typology separated organizations into six different categories (listed from most to least faith-based):

- faith-permeated
- faith-centred
- faith-affiliated
- faith-background
- faith-secular partnership
- secular.

FBOs can also be classified according to the size of the organization and the extent of the geographical area for which they provide services. Cnaan (1999) defines six categories of religious service organizations:

- 1) local congregations
- 2) interfaith agencies and ecumenical coalitions
- 3) citywide or region-wide sectarian agencies
- 4) national projects and organizations under religious auspices
- 5) para-denominational advocacy and relief organizations
- 6) religiously affiliated international organizations.

While these categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, they do distinguish between FBOs along the dimension of geographical locus of service.

However, the term development refers to work centred on longer term social and economic change, which aims to fight poverty and promote social justice. It was agreed that the main focus would be on the material aspects of development, although including some elements of spiritual development, which can have both positive and negative aspects. Rather than the typologies developed above for studies in northern countries, therefore, a more appropriate starting point was felt to be the typology developed by Gerard Clarke (2006), on the basis of his international review of the roles of FBOs in development. Clarke focused on organizations involved in: “(1) public policy debates; (2) social and political processes that impact positively or negatively on the poor; and (3) direct efforts to support, represent or engage with the poor” (Clarke, 2006, p. 835). Such organizations operate in the same policy arenas as donors and development NGOs involved in national and international policy debates and are therefore important stakeholders in the development enterprise. He identified five types, as described below (Clarke, 2006, p. 835):

Faith-based representative organizations or apex bodies which rule on doctrinal matters, govern the faithful and represent them through engagement with the state and other actors;

Faith-based charitable or development organizations, which mobilize the faithful in support of the poor and other social groups, and which fund or manage programmes that tackle poverty and social exclusion;

Faith-based socio-political organizations, which interpret and deploy faith as a political construct, organizing and mobilizing social groups on the basis of faith identities but in pursuit of broader political objectives or, alternatively, promote faith as a socio-cultural construct, as a means of uniting disparate social groups on the basis of faith-based cultural identities;

Faith-based missionary organizations, which spread key faith messages beyond the faithful, by actively promoting the faith and seeking converts to it, or by supporting and engaging with other faith communities on the basis of key faith principles;

And finally, *faith-based radical, illegal or terrorist organizations* which promote radical or militant forms of faith identity, engage in illegal practices on the basis of faith beliefs or engage in armed struggle or violent acts justified on the grounds of faith.

An adapted version of this typology has been employed in this study. First, the category of interfaith organizations has been added, Second, although the final category of organizations was excluded because (obviously) none was listed in any of the directories available, none of the key informants was

able to identify any such FBOs and in any case there are inherent risks and difficulties in investigating such organizations.

1.3 Methodology

The aim of the study was to undertake a 'mapping' exercise of the nature, scale and activities of FBOs in development in Nigeria. Little existing data and few directories were available and so it was decided at the outset that it would not be possible to undertake a nation-wide comprehensive study. It was therefore agreed that Lagos, Oyo and Plateau States, and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory, would be the locations for obtaining information, based on an assumption that Lagos, the former capital of Nigeria, and Abuja, the new Federal Capital Territory, host the headquarters of most FBOs. Abuja also houses the Corporate Affairs Commission and the Nigerian offices of international organizations such as the UK Department for International Development, OXFAM, Action Aid, the European Union, UNICEF and UNDP, which were expected to have information on indigenous FBOs. Plateau State was selected as an example of a religiously mixed north central state. Oyo State, a southern state with a mixed religious composition, was selected both because it houses many FBOs and because of the research team's base in Ibadan, the State capital. Given the extremely large number of FBOs in Nigeria, it was decided to exclude those operating solely at a local level and focus on obtaining an overview of those that operate nationally (or at least beyond the bounds of a single State).

Although it was envisaged that the approach adopted would provide an overall indication of the nature, scale and relative importance of different types of FBOs operating at the national level, reasonably detailed information on FBOs in two of Nigeria's six geopolitical zones (the south west and north central zones), and outline information on the other zones. It was assumed that key informants in Lagos and Abuja would be able to provide information on FBOs with a national reach. It emerged, however, that a significant number of FBOs operate at the regional level (i.e. beyond the bounds of a single State, but not necessarily in all parts of the country) while others operate within a single State or even locality. Key informants provided the names of many organizations that could not be reached during the first phase of fieldwork, which was limited to Lagos, Oyo and Plateau States and Abuja. In particular, Muslim organizations were under-represented in the first phase of fieldwork. In order to provide a more 'representative' picture, a second phase of fieldwork was undertaken, which covered the northern State of Kano and its environs, and the south eastern State of Anambra and its environs.

These provided coverage of FBOs in the northern and southeastern zones of Nigeria. It was decided to focus on indigenous FBOs, although some of the international FBOs are active in Nigeria, generally working with local partners, and may have their own field offices.

The methodological approach included reviews of documentary evidence and semi-structured interviews in Oyo, Lagos, Plateau, Anambra, Enugu and Kano States and the Federal Capital Territory. The PhD dissertation by Mbachirin (2006) proved particularly useful and has been heavily drawn on. The study aimed to identify the nature, scale, location and activities of faith based organizations through in-depth interviews with representatives of umbrella organizations and key informants from different faith groups. An initial set of key informants and FBOs was identified at the outset, and others suggested by the key interviewees. An interview guide focused on obtaining basic information about the activities of specific organizations was developed embracing various themes including legal status, organizational structure, membership strength, sources of funds, main activities, collaboration with other FBOs, and relationships with the government, although conversations with informants also sought to elicit their general knowledge of and views about FBOs more generally. This first phase of the survey, which covered Oyo, Lagos, Plateau and the Federal Capital Territory, took place in June/July, 2007, while the second phase, which covered Anambra, Enugu and Kano States, took place in July, 2008. The interview guide, including the ethical guidelines issued to members of the research team, is reproduced in Appendix 1 and the list of primary sources of information is given in Appendix 2.

Considerable time and effort had to be spent locating the faith groups because no up-to-date directory is available. Existing directories have not kept pace with the growth of FBOs in the country. In fact, only one directory of FBOs was found, which was compiled in 2006 by the Child Rights Information Bureau of the Federal Ministry of Information and National Orientation. While this directory was able to provide the contact addresses of the State chapters of a few FBOs and also their thematic foci, it did not specify their organizational structure, membership strength, funding sources or relationships with government. There is also a Resource Directory of Nigerian Civil Society Groups (2007), prepared by *Idasa* Nigeria. This directory provides information on geographical coverage, membership of the governing board and funding sources, but does not differentiate between NGOs and FBOs or provide information on the thematic foci of the organizations included. Another useful directory is the Directory of Development Organizations in Nigeria (2006), which provides contact information for known FBOs,

but does not differentiate between NGOs and FBOs. Consequently, about three-quarters of the faith groups eventually visited were identified by means of a snow-balling technique.

While the majority of the research subjects readily consented to an interview and graciously approved the use of a tape-recorder, much persuasion and extensive pre-interview discussion was necessary before consent was obtained. Their reluctance can be attributed to the sensitive nature of the issue of religion in Nigeria. In addition, there had recently been discussions in government circles about taxing religious organizations, so a few felt that our inquiries about their activities might have been a way of assessing their tax liability.

In the next section, an historical overview of the evolution of FBOs in Nigeria is provided. The third section presents a profile of the different types and activities of FBOs, while the fourth section concludes the report.

2 The evolution of FBOs in Nigeria

In this section, the account of the evolution of FBOs will be divided into three historical periods: pre-colonial times (before 1861), colonial times (1861-1960) and the post-independence period. Apart from the time dimension, issues investigated include: trends in each religion, and the nature, structure, activities and funding modalities of organizations associated with the religion.

Two of the major world religions are significant in Nigeria: Christianity and Islam. They grew in a context in which the varied beliefs and practices commonly grouped under the generic heading of 'African traditional religion' were all-pervasive. Whether or not the latter can be considered 'a religion' (or 'religions') continues to be much debated (see, for example, Alhassan Aolo, 2007). Even if African Traditional Religion (ATR) is regarded as 'a religion', it is difficult to identify the percentage of the population who are adherents of the different religions, and this is a matter of continuous debate, because of a lack of (accurate) census figures. The earliest census that included a question on religious affiliation was the 1931 census, which showed 50 per cent of the population as 'pagans', with the percentage in this category declining to 34 per cent in 1952 and 18.2 per cent in 1963, leaving Islam with 47 per cent and Christianity with 34 per cent. Because of its sensitive nature, none of the censuses since 1963 have asked a question about religious affiliation. In addition, most of them have been unreliable. Today, almost everybody claims to be religious, with the vast majority claiming that their religion is either Islam or Christianity and few acknowledging that their religion is 'pagan' or 'traditional' (although traditional spiritual beliefs and practices are still reportedly widespread) (Ibrahim et al, 2006).

Other sources of figures are available. For example, in the third Afrobarometer survey of a sample of 2,198 adults in 2005-6, 44.1 per cent of the respondents claimed to be Muslim, 54.1 per cent Christian, 1.0 per cent 'traditional religion' and 0.7 per cent none, agnostic or atheist (www.jdsurvey.net/jds/afrobarometer.jsp). In contrast, the larger 2003 Demographic and Health Survey (sample of 9,966) showed that 50.6 per cent of respondents reported themselves as Muslim, 48.0 per cent as Christian and 1.4 per cent as 'other' (NPC and ORC, 2004, p. 24).

Apart from the main world religions one can find almost every other religion in Nigeria. Nigerians travel all over the world in search of education and employment and when they come back, they bring new religious ideas and connections. Consequently, today there are a considerable range of esoteric and metaphysical movements usually Eastern-related, such as the Rosicrucian, Eckankar, Holy Grail, and

the Aetherius society.² There are other groups which are distinctively Nigerian and are spreading fast, like the Olumba Olumba, and the Aladura groups. Secret societies still exist even though they were officially banned in 1975. There are a few Hindus, Buddhists, Baha'is, Rastafarians, and a sizeable number of Jehovah's Witnesses. In order to help us see the unique characteristics of the three major religions in Nigeria, we will look at their history and relationships with one another.

The presentation here deals mostly with Islam and Christianity because not only are most people adherents of these world religions today, most of the information available is on these religions.³ African Traditional Religion is touched on only briefly because as noted above, the number of people who admit being adherents of traditional religion has dramatically declined and also little information is available.

2.1 Pre-colonial times, before 1861

Available information indicates that FBOs in the sense used in this study did not exist in pre-colonial times, so most of the discussion in this section will outline the evolution of different religions in Nigeria during the period. The section discusses first African traditional religion, then Islam and lastly Christianity.

2.1.1 African Traditional Religion

African Traditional Religion is the precursor of Islam and Christianity, shaping the ways that Africans have adopted both religions (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 76). Ilesanmi (1991) describes religion in precolonial Nigeria as all-pervasive. For Nigerians, "every adventure of life, as well as instruments of governance and survival, were clothed in rituals, language and religious symbolism" (Ilesanmi, 1991). Each ethnic group, clan or family had its own gods. The people believed that the gods were responsible for the prosperity or decline of the society. The gods were worshipped and sacrifices offered to them in the belief that these gods would give worshippers wealth, happiness and protection. The success of an ethnic group, clan, or family was associated with how well it treated its god or gods. Success was usually followed by popularity and power. The leaders also got the credit for leading people to do the right things and such leaders had more political power (Burns, 1951, pp. 235-236). In African Traditional Religion, the religious and political authorities were interdependent. The king promoted religion, built places of worship, and enforced doctrines and ritual observances. He led religious

festivals; he was the leader of the priests. The king, together with the chiefs, priests and doctors, were the custodians of the customs and traditions. They also played a crucial role in the socio-economic and political life of the society. Religion legitimized politics and vice versa. People in political positions and those with special talents were regarded as sacred.

Laws functioned to protect sacred objects, direct worship, and educate the tribe on matters of justice, self-restraint and morality (Burns, 1951, pp. 235-236). In this religion, societies found unity and ways of moving forward. Ilesanmi (1991, p.120) argues that because beliefs, rituals, and symbols of traditional religion regulated the diverse spheres of African life, it was an apparatus for social cohesion. It is also interesting to note that even though ethnic groups and families had their own gods, the existence of a Supreme Being was appreciated throughout the country. The Supreme Being was invisible and remote. He was considered to be the creator but had little to do individual affairs. Because of this, more attention was given to the minor deities who were more concerned with human affairs.

Societies with traditional religious beliefs were said to be free of religious conflicts, which came with the introduction of foreign religions. Proselytization and competition for membership were non-issues in African Traditional Religion, which respected and tolerated the views and practices of others. In most cases rituals, festivals, dances, ceremonies and even gods were adopted from other groups. This is best expressed in an Ibo saying, *Egbe Ielu, Uo elu* - Let the kite perch and the eagle perch.

Because the proportion of Nigerians who claim traditional beliefs as their 'religion' is so small, it will not be discussed further in the subsequent sections on the colonial and post-colonial periods. Despite the apparently tolerant and justice-seeking attitudes of its practitioners, the attitudes of the government, Islam and Christianity towards it have been rather hostile. Both the missionaries and the colonial masters considered traditional religion to be barbaric, primitive and tragic (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 78). The colonial attitude to religion was one of respect for the dominant religions and those that were perceived as being to their advantage. From the beginning there was an attitude of disrespect for traditional religion. Similar views are held today.

2.1.2 The coming and spread of Islam

Islam is the oldest of the foreign religions in Nigeria, with most scholars⁴ claiming that it arrived in the 11th and 12th centuries, becoming well established by the 15th century. Thus Islam had already taken root amongst most ethnic groups in the country, with the exception of the Ibo and some ethnic groups in the Middle Belt before the coming of colonialism.

Islam came through the Kanem Empire and spread into Borno, in the northeast of Nigeria, and then to the Hausa states in the fifteenth century. By 1591 Borno was the most powerful state in what was then the western Sudan. Its political, economic, and military might were felt in the entire region. The spread of Islam was through the activities of merchants and Islamic scholars. As early as eleventh century [sic] there existed trans-Saharan trade between West Africa and the Arab nations. As the traders came they also carried out missionary activities. The Wangera or Malian traders went south as far as Lagos. By the 16th century many converts were made in the Yuroba [sic] land. There are others who suggest that Islam came to the Yuroba land through Mali and Sonhgai before traders [reached the area] from Northern Nigeria (Babalola, 2002, p. 43). In this early phase Islam reached the Old Oyo, Ikoyi, Ogbomoso, Iseyin, Igboho, Ketu and Lagos. Islamic scholars helped to spread Arabic education, Islamic culture and the principles of Islamic law. Their aim was to establish Muslim communities (Onaiyekan, 1988, p. 219). Another scholar also observes, 'The standard pattern for the introduction and dissemination of Islam in Africa has been with the establishment of Quran schools where little boys and girls are taught to learn by rote the elementary portions of the sacred book' (Sanneh, 1997, p.181) (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 80).

Muslim expansion slowed between the 16th century and the *jihad* (struggle) of Uthman dan Fodio in 1803 and 1804, which was the most important of several *jihad*s. It was

...led by a young Fulani Muslim leader and scholar, Shehu Uthman dan Fodio. The *jihad* lasted for six years ...[and] was not just religious but also political because it was directed against Muslim rulers as well as pagan rulers who had not submitted to Fulani rule. ...One of the aims of the *jihad* was to purify the Muslim faith which was believed to have been corrupted by the Hausa states. He also wanted to revive the faith, remove syncretist beliefs and rituals and all the innovations that he considered contrary to the Qur'an and *Sharia*, and encourage more devotion to Islam (Opeloye, 1989, p. 352). Through this *jihad*, dan Fodio transformed the Northern region of Nigeria into an Islamic religio-political community where the legal system, education, administration, and social life were "based on Muslim concepts, ideas and values (Imo, 1995, p.17). The dan Fodio *jihad* also took Islam to the South and established a Caliphate there with the headquarters at Ilorin. From there Islam disseminated to other parts of Yoruba lands (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 81-2).

2.1.3 Christianity and its spread in Nigeria

According to Kenny (1979, p.172), there are scholars who believe that Nigeria came in contact with Christianity in the Middle Ages. There is some evidence that Nubian and Coptic Christians came to the Benin Kingdom around the 15th century via the north of Nigeria and Ida. The evidence for this is the *formee cross*, which is believed to have originated in Nubia. Also, John Kenny writes, “Written documentation is available for evangelization of the Benin area beginning in 1486 and four missionary journeys across the Sahara to the North of Nigeria in 1688, 1719 and 1850” (Kenny, 1979, p.172).

“However, Christianity did not take serious root in Nigeria until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is impossible to talk about Christianity in Nigeria without making reference to European trade and exploitation: ...chaplains accompanied traders not just to minister to them but to also convert Africans. They established mission stations at trading posts” (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 98), paving the way for the expansion of trade and the establishment of colonialism.

The first European groups to make contact with Nigeria in this way were the Portuguese, who monopolized trade along the coast of Africa until 1650, when Dutch, English and French traders broke their monopoly (Dzurgba, 1991, p.186). The Portuguese brought the Catholic faith, and it is said that they established churches and monasteries in the Benin and Warri areas in the 15th and 16th centuries (Burns, 1951:269).

Christianity became more widely established by the various efforts made in the 19th century. There were many things happening at that time which created interest in trade, mission and colonialism, such as the Industrial Revolution in Europe and a major evangelical revival in Europe and America (Dzurgba, 1991, p.186; Gofwen, 2004, p. 53-4). Increased industrial production meant that “Europeans needed big markets and plenty of raw materials. It became necessary for European countries to create empires in Africa and elsewhere in the world” (Dzurgba, 1991, p.187). The evangelical revival provided an impetus to mission work. However, the coming of Christianity to Nigeria was not just the work of European missionaries. Pioneer missionaries who made an even wider impact were freed slaves. Caleb Oladipo writes,

As early as 1792, Christianity arrived in Africa through many groups of Christians of African birth or descent who had come to faith in Christ as plantation slaves or soldiers in the British army during the American war of independence, or as farmers or squatters in Nova Scotia after it (Oladipo, 1996, p. 325).

Without the role played by the Africans, Christianity would have not come at the time it came nor would it would have come to the places it came.

The first missionary effort was made by Wesleyan Methodists. They were led by Thomas Birch Freeman, a liberated slave who arrived in Badagry in 1842 and went inland as far as Abeokuta. The next effort was in 1843 by Reverend Henry Townsend, who was also a liberated slave sent by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) (Babalola, 1976, p. 44). However, the most important efforts were associated with the Niger Expeditions. Though the main objective of the Expeditions was not mission work, this was one of the motives. The Expeditions were

...organized by the British government to introduce cultural, medical, social and agricultural aid and advice to the interior of Nigeria. The aim of the Church Missionary Society on these expeditions was to discover opportunities for missionary settlement in the interior. Missionaries from CMS who accompanied the first ship were J.F. Schon, a linguist, Samuel Ajayi Crowther, a liberated slave who later got re-united with his family in Nigeria, Rev. and Mrs. Townsend, and Rev. and Mrs. Andrew Gollmer. There were also other liberated slaves and African helpers (Thorpe, 1972, p. 26). ...The CMS was the first missionary organization to penetrate the interior of Nigeria. Because of its relation with the British Colonial government, it was able to work everywhere in the country, even in the North. In the beginning years, Badagary was the entry point and headquarters of most missionaries... because it was the most notorious slave post ...known. It was from here that Christianity spread to other parts of Nigeria (Thorpe, 1972, p. 20). The Methodist missionaries came in greater numbers in the 1850s. They came on the invitation of the liberated slaves. They concentrated their efforts in the South, but began to move toward the North in the 1880s" (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 101-2).

The American Southern Baptist Convention, known in Nigeria as the American Baptist mission, made its way into Nigeria through Badagary in 1850. The first missionary was Thomas J. Bowen of Georgia. The Baptists in Nigeria named their denominational university after him. This mission worked mostly among the Yoruba people and had its headquarters at Ogbomosho. However, its progress was affected by the American Civil War (1861 - 1865) (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 102).

Another group of missionaries that came to Nigeria were from the United Presbyterian Church in Jamaica. Led by Atope Masterton Waddell, the group arrived in the Calabar in the eastern part of Nigeria, in 1846, where they had been invited by the king and chiefs, who hoped that the missionaries would teach their children English. The mission was given land and welcomed enthusiastically. Later the Presbyterians were joined by the Baptist and the Scottish Presbyterians. A person of great

significance in the Calabar work and the Presbyterian mission was Mary Slessor, who was respected by the colonial government, the missions and the local people. She even served as a representative of the natives to the colonial administration. The Presbyterians started two schools in the area, which contributed in various ways to the progress of education, teaching and providing training in crafts, typing, book-binding and printing (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 103).

2.2 Colonial times, 1861-1960

Christian and Muslim organizations (meaning faith-based organizations as distinct from faith communities or congregations) had their beginnings in the colonial era. They were, in the beginning, formed to address social and religious matters that also had economic consequences, rather than political issues as we see today.

2.2.1 *The spread of Islam and the evolution of Islamic organizations*

The dan Fodio *jihad* united the Hausa states, leading to the establishment of the first Caliphate, the Sokoto Caliphate, under Sharia law, of which all the Hausa dynasties became part (Falola, 1998, p. 25). Most people supported the *jihad* because its leader preached that oppression and injustice were against the Muslim faith and it fought against the oppression and injustices of the Hausa States (Enwerem, 1995, p. 21-22). The Sultan of Sokoto was an autocratic religious and political leader, and all socio-economic, political and religious decisions were brought to him for approval. This was the beginning of Islamic theocracy in Nigeria. However, the *jihad* also made social contributions and improved the socio-economic life of the people:

It stimulated learning, education, and the spread of Islam: scholars wrote books to educate administrators about the kind of society they should aim to create and to explain Islamic laws to judges (over two hundred known works by dan Fodio, Abdullah and Bello alone). Literacy became necessary for high office, and the Hausa language spread in many areas as the lingua franca among people speaking a variety of different languages (Babalola, 2002, p. 46).

The *jihad* was very important in that it established the essence of the political and legal system and the structures that were established were retained and used by the British colonial administration. Islam was also able to penetrate the Middle Belt⁵ during the colonial era when the area was included in the Northern region by the colonial rulers, who partitioned it into various emirates. However, the spread of

Islam in the Middle Belt was very slow. By 1931, Muslims constituted only 6 per cent of the population, while by 1952 the percentage had only risen to 10 per cent (Clarke, 1982, p. 228). The proportion of Muslims is higher in the cities than in the rural areas, although small pockets of Muslims are scattered in many villages. “Muslim traders also settled in the East as far back as the 1900s. Islamic centers were established in cities like Enugu, Onitsha, Owerri, Umuahia, Nsukka and Awka. Both in the Middle Belt and the East, Muslims usually settled in one section of the town” (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 83).

“Most Muslims in Nigeria are *sunni* and belong to the Malakite school of law. The number of *shi'ite* Muslims is small and comprised mostly of foreigners” (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 85).⁶ The oldest of the Muslim FBOs are arguably the *Qadiriyya* and *Tijaniya* Sufi brotherhoods (*tariqa*), which have large numbers of followers, especially in the northern States (Olupona and Falola, 1992, p. 39).

The *Qadiriyya* is older, and is believed to have been present in area for centuries. Indeed, it is widely believed that Shehu Usman dan Fodio and his community of *Jihadists* (the *Jamaa'a*), including most of the first generation emirs, were members of the *Qadiriyya* brotherhood. Thus, the *Qadiriyya* brotherhood was regarded as the ‘State’ *Tarika* of the Caliphate. To date, [this] brotherhood, in both its traditional and reformed versions, appears to be very much present in varying degrees in most parts of the country (Ibrahim et al, 2006, p. 20)

However, it is stronger in Sokoto (Okafor, 1997, p.158). Conversion of non-Muslims is its main objective.

The *Tijaniyya* is the second oldest Islamic brotherhood in the country (Ibrahim et al, 2006). Sheikh Al-Hajj Umar Futi, from modern Senegal, introduced it into Hausaland in the nineteenth century. Since [then].. and especially between the 1940s and the 1960s, the *Tijaniyya* has spread rapidly across the country. ... [It] is particularly active and has a large following in areas of commercial activity and economic opportunity such as Kano, Gusau, Zaria, Katsina and Lokoja (Ibrahim et al, 2006, p. 21).

Today, it is more widespread in both the urban centres and rural areas of the northern states.

Toyin Falola, commenting on the nature of Muslim societies and organizations, said that they “were social in nature. They tried to forge a strong Islamic community through such activities as the sponsorship of Quranic schools, and they demanded more secular schools that catered to Muslims” (Falola, 1998, p. 31). However, the Islamic injunction that religion and government cannot be separated

meant that many Muslims considered politics was the best medium through which to address social issues and some Muslim organizations from the beginning had political backing.

2.2.2 The spread of Christianity and the evolution of Christian organizations

The missions that came to Nigeria can be grouped into three main categories, namely Catholics, Protestants and nondenominational or fundamentalist Pentecostals. Some of the most important pioneer missions are described briefly below, but many others came later, and almost every denomination represented in Nigeria today came to undertake missionary activities (Gofwen, 2004, p. 4).

As earlier mentioned, Methodist missionaries arrived in Nigeria in the 1850s. They concentrated their efforts in the South, but began to move toward the North in the 1880s. In 1893 another Methodist group joined the first mission. This group, known as the Primitive Methodists, had been working on the Island of Fernando Po, but had to leave because of Roman Catholic opposition to their work. The Primitive Methodists worked in the Eastern part of Nigeria among the Efik people.

When the early attempts of Portuguese Catholics to establish a mission failed, no further attempts were made until the 1860s and 1870s. This second attempt was by French Roman Catholics, who were able to make speedy progress. Even though they entered the country through Abeokuta and started work among the Yorubas, they were more successful among the Ibos of the East. The Roman Catholics were less aggressive in the conversion of Muslims and adopted more African customs (Mbachirin, 2006, p.103).

They quickly penetrated the North, but faced restrictions placed on their activities by the colonial government, which

claimed that the exclusion of Christian missionaries from Muslim areas was necessary to avoid the development of religious fanaticism. Colonial officials also claimed that the emirs had never agreed that missionaries should operate in the emirates and added that they would not want the missionaries to be embarrassed for (they averred), the embarrassment of a European was their own embarrassment (Crampton, 1975, p. 64, in Mbachirin, 2006, p. 62).

Another reason why the colonial government restricted missionary activities was that it recognized that “Christianity is a forceful agent for social change and ...[was afraid] that Christianity and its educational activities would break the Anglo-Fulani hegemony and lead to the development of nationalism. There was some truth in this suspicion. Kukah (1993, p. 4) reports that the intention of the missions was to educate pagans so that they could take over the nation through education” (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 63).

Many of the missions concentrated in the south of the country. For example, the Kwa Ibo Mission, with staff from Protestant Ireland, was founded by S.A. Bill, who took the name of the mission from the Kwa Ibo River. “This newly formed mission began work in Nigeria in 1890 and evangelized the Niger Delta people and the Ibo. By 1905 they were able to reach all the major towns in Ibo land” (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 104).

In contrast, few mission bodies had the Northern part of Nigeria as their main target. “The Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) was the largest Protestant mission in the North and made great impact there. It began in 1893, drawing its missionaries and financial support from the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Their work was restricted to non-Muslim areas” (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 104) and resulted in the establishment of a single church, the Association of Evangelical Churches of West Africa (ECWA).

Next most important was the Sudan United Mission (SUM), the beginnings and operations of which

... are attributed to the zeal and work of Dr. Karl Kumm of England, who travelled to many countries to preach the need for mission in the Sudan, seek financial support and recruit personnel for the work. 1895 is the year known as the real beginning of this mission. Its first name was the Sudan Pioneer Mission but in 1904 this changed to the Sudan United Mission to reflect constitution of the mission (Casaleggio, 1964, p. 5). The Sudan United Mission allowed various denominations from overseas to work under it as independent branches, and raise funds and recruit personnel for themselves. Unlike the SIM, the SUM established different churches, but it also created an association that brought these churches together in ecclesiastic fellowship known as TEKAN” (Tarayar Ekklesiyoyin Kristi a Nigeria or The Fellowship of the Churches of Christ in Nigeria) (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 104-5).

The aim of the missions was to spread Christianity and 'civilize' Africans: "they destroyed everything African that they considered opposed to the type of civilization they knew. They changed things like the methods of marriage, marriage ceremonies and norms. Things like native medicine and medical care by native doctors, rituals and festivals, dances, dress and music were condemned" (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 108). The missionaries aimed to replace these with 'Western civilization' (Galloway, 1960, p. 64).

They

sought to rescue Africans from what they considered dangerous paganism and Islam. Their understanding of Islam was mostly negative and they also wanted to suppress it as much as possible. They taught that Islam was inferior, uncivilized, associated with immorality and social problems, the creation of the devil, and that only Christianity was capable of bringing liberty, justice and freedom in Africa (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 108).

Because it was easier to operate and produce the Bible in a single language, each missionary group tended to work with a single ethnic group, reinforcing ethnic identity (Mbachirin, 2006).

The primary purpose of the missionaries was to spread Christianity, but this had wider social, economic and political effects (Mbachirin, 2006). Missionaries established various institutions to aid them in their work and unintentionally, many of these institutions, such as printing presses, hospitals, schools and garages, became sources of revenue and training grounds for the churches. The Nigerian churches learned things like fund-raising techniques from the missionaries, since their existence too depended on their ability to raise funds. Christian missionaries wanted a capitalist economy for Africans, regarding it as the only way to cure African problems (Enwerem, 1995, p. 26). Their operations were often associated with the establishment of markets, postal services, water supply, electricity and telephone services, which paved the way for new economic activities. Above all, mission was associated with education, which developed literacy and inculcated technological skills. However, as seen in the warnings given to field missionaries, the training they wanted to give to the natives was limited. The warning was "not to go too fast about promoting Africans to positions of responsibility on the grounds that there were limitations to their capabilities, weakness to their character, and defect to their Christianity" (Dzurgba, 1991, p. 193). They had little confidence in Africans, wanting to keep them in a servant position, but nevertheless undertook activities directly aimed at providing the natives with specific skills. For example, Galloway reports that in the 1900s missionary societies in the United Kingdom sent farm implements and other technical tools "for the

development of the African” (Galloway, 1960, p. 65). In addition, Galloway attributes “the beginnings of modern social services” to the missions (Galloway, 1960, p. 64). These included health services and leprosaria (Dzurgba, 1991, p.191).

The missions therefore had many ways of supposedly preparing ‘the natives’ to cope with modernity. Mission schools were boarding schools to give them opportunities to train their Christian pupils in various ways, including constitutional matters, with the aim of enabling the “native Church becoming self-propagating, self-expansion, self supporting and self-governing.” (Dzurgba, 1991, p.190). Through education, Christians were able to seek employment in the colonial administration, becoming acquainted with administrative skills and bureaucratic procedures, that later gave the self-confidence to ask for political self-government. Not only did the missions train Nigerians in a wide variety of occupations, from clerks to doctors, they had enormous influence on their entire way of life (Mbachirin, 2006). “It is no exaggeration to say that Christianity has contributed more than any other organization to education and health care as well as social welfare development in Nigeria” (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 111; see also Oyeshola, 1991, p. 44).

Christian missionaries came together in missionary associations or conferences to address religious, social, economic, and political matters as they affected them and their converts. Religious issues centred on strategies for their work and how to deal with the obstacles that hindered the dissemination of the gospel. Socially, they sought ways to provide education, health care and other social services. In addition, they were looking for ways of acquiring government or overseas support for the projects they had begun. Education provided by missionaries, with the initial aim of helping converts read the Bible, became an avenue for Christians to get paid jobs and consequently to improve their standard of living. Such economic benefits were therefore the consequence of the religious aims and social programmes.

In the early years of colonialism, education was solely in the hands of the missions. Although there was a long tradition of Islamic education in northern Nigeria, which had produced the officials that ran the Caliphate and emirates, their knowledge and skills did not match those required by the colonial administration. The colonial government turned to the missions to train the Muslim leaders that the colonial administrators were using. In 1900 Lord Lugard asked a leader of the Church Missionary

Society to start a school in Zaria to train Muslim children. However, later the colonial government became suspicious of this school, assuming that it would be teaching its pupils the Christian faith (Kalu, 1978, p. 102). As mission education spread, missionaries were exerting considerable influence on the natives, including Muslims. To curtail this influence, and particularly because of the carefully negotiated relationships associated with indirect rule in the north, the colonial government began establishing secular government schools, reducing the monopoly of mission schools over 'modern' education.

2.3 The evolution of FBOs since independence

Both Muslim and Christian FBOs have proliferated in the years since independence. These trends will be discussed for the two faith traditions in turn in the subsequent sub-sections.

2.3.1 *The proliferation of Muslim FBOs*

Beginning with the 19th century *jihad*, the desire of the Nigerian Muslim community has been to Islamize Nigeria and establish an Islamic state. The zeal for an Islamic state has been expressed by both individuals and organizations and various attempts have been made to realize this dream. Muslims feel they are under an obligation to continue to work towards the objective of the *jihad* that was not completed by Uthman dan Fodio. In particular, a zeal to Islamize Nigeria was expressed by the Sardauna of Sokoto and Premier of Northern Nigeria, Sir Ahmadu Bello, who propagated the myth that the North was wholly Islamic and is alleged to have wanted to make Nigeria an Islamic world power, or at least black Africa's Islamic power, with himself as its leader (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 91).

After independence, Bello used his political position to establish and fund the Jama'tu Nasril Islam (JNI) (Society for the Victory of Islam) with public funds. One of the aims of JNI is to create an Islamic state (Olupona and Falola, 1992, p. 38). It trains and sends missionaries all over Nigeria. The Muslim Students Organization (MSO), influenced by Libya, Iran and Sudan, has also been agitating for the establishment of an Islamic state.

Muslim education aims to train all Muslims in their faith and to produce religious teachers and scholars. A detailed examination of the Muslim education system is beyond the scope of this paper, but see (Bano, 2009) for an account of relationships between Muslim schools and the State

government of Kano. One form of Islamic education (*Almjranci*) involves children leaving home to be educated in the faith in schools run by an individual teacher. system called in which children are made to learn the Quran and rudiments of Islam. Hard economic times in Nigeria has both increased the number of pupils in such schools and reduced the donations on which they depend. While teachers and their pupils can more easily support themselves in rural areas, in urban areas this is more difficult, with the result that many have to resort to begging and young men and boys roam the streets with nothing to do. They are ready to accept any wage for any work. Muslim politicians and religious leaders use them to fight for their interests and promise them payment. There is considerable concern about the activities of the *Almajirai* (Okoye and Yau, 1999).

In the early part of the colonial era, according to Mbachirin (2006, p. 95), “Muslims despised western education, which they considered to be an instrument of the Christian missionaries to convert people to Christianity” (see above). As a result they lacked the skills required to access jobs in the colonial government and the formal sector, a disadvantage that persists today, resulting in high unemployment, particularly amongst young (male) Muslims. Later, therefore, seeing Western education as an avenue for political and economic progress, Muslim leaders invited Christian missionaries to start schools in their domain and they started sending their children to Christian schools. In the South, more Muslim children attended Christian schools than in the North, but Muslims were nevertheless worried over the influence of the Christian faith on their children. To provide secular education for Muslims without the Christian influence, Muslim societies in the South, such as the Ahmadiyya and Ansar-ud-deen, started opening Muslim schools in which Western education is combined with Islamic education (Kenny, 1979, p. 173). Ansar-ud-deen was especially dedicated to providing education for girls, for that reason establishing schools for girls only.

In addition to educational institutions, associations concerned with welfare and the position of disadvantaged groups have formed. There is a Nigerian Red Crescent organization that serves in mosques, during festivals and to assist pilgrims during the *haj*. Women’s groups “help women improve themselves and fight for their rights in what is clearly a patriarchal society” (Falola, 1998, p. 31) and the Federation of Muslim Women’s Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN) was established in 1985.

Since the 1980s, Nigeria has witnessed a proliferation of religious movements and organizations as well as secular NGOs. The explosion in numbers of Muslim FBOs is inseparable from their reaction to the general economic and governance crises, which they perceive to be a direct failure of the Western style development paradigm, and their attempts to devise an alternative development strategy. Generally, Muslim organizations or movements were formed to reject western values, spread Islam and oppose Christianity (Falola, 1998, p. 31). Some handle specific matters of Islamic interest, create and promote Islamic identity, and fight for Islamic rights: “Both the Council (Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs) and the JNI seek to work closely with Muslim office holders to ensure the progress of Islam, if need be by using their influence and positions in office” (Onaiyekan, 1988).

There has, moreover, been an increase in the number of radical is, however, an issue about the relationship between some militant Islamic sects and brotherhoods and the increasingly frequent occurrence of religious violence in Northern Nigeria. According to Salih (2002, p.14),

...the main objective of these groups is to convert the States where they have emerged into Islamic states: short of that, their aim is to instal Islamic *shari'a* law, at least in the northern states of Nigeria. Most important among Islamic brotherhoods in Northern Nigeria are *Jama'atu Nasril Islam*, the *Zak Zaky* Shi'ite fundamentalist movement, the *Ansarul Din*, the *Ahmadiyya*, and the *Jamaat ul Muslemeen Council*.⁷ These Muslim brotherhoods and sects build their creed on the determination to advance Islam and ensure the application of *shari'a* as a Muslim way of life. Almost all incidents of religious violence have involved one or more of these militant Islamic groups. These movements receive generous support from Egyptian Brotherhood organizations and Saudi- and European-based Islamic NGOs, with various connections, particularly to American Muslims. Nigerian Islamic brotherhoods have developed sophisticated networks for fund-raising activities, with frequent visits to Saudi Arabia, the United States and Europe where they maintain contacts with transnational Islamic foundations....

One of the most renowned and militant Muslim activists and scholars was the late Shaikh Abubakar Gumi of Kaduna. He founded and led *Jamaat Izalat al bidi' wa Iqamat al Sunna*, a militant anti-Sufi movement dedicated to the eradication of innovations. Shaikh Gumi condemned *Sufi* orders as heretical and un-Islamic and opposed them by using the Federal Radio Corporation of Northern Nigeria (FRCN Kaduna), two newspapers (*New Nigerian* and *Gaskiya fa fi Kwabo*) and recorded cassettes of his teachings. Kukah (1993, p. 218) observed that, by 1978, ‘some of his pupils had penetrated the main political institutions like the army, the media, the universities and the business world in the country, bolstering his base within and outside Nigeria’. With his contacts in high places, including

President Shagari [who was President at that time], Shaikh Gumi had developed an aura of influence around himself which gave Jamaat Izalat al bidi' wa Iqamat al Sunna legitimacy and acceptance. However, Shaikh Gumi found himself under immense pressure from Nigeria's traditional Muslim establishment such as Jammaatu Nasril Islam (JNI) and its supporters in the leadership of political parties in Northern Nigeria (Kukah and Falola 1996). The ferocity with which the religious-political alliance of the northern establishment attacked Shaikh Gumi was regarded with scepticism among many Nigerians who understood that his teachings might go beyond religion to the advocacy of an alternative political order. No matter what Sheikh Gumi's political religious teaching and political manoeuvring might have entailed, it reveals that the Muslim movement in Northern Nigeria is far from unified, but in fact divided and beset by ideological as well as material differences. It is notable that Shaikh Gumi was supported by the Saudi Islamic Relief Association (Salih, 2002, p.15).

In Umar's view, the rapport that the Sardauna established with the Saudis yielded donations for the promotion of Islam in Nigeria. He had little problem persuading the Saudis that donations to the cause of Islam in Nigeria would not be used for promoting *Sufism*, given the Saudi antagonism to the Islamic *Sufi* orders' abhorrence of the idea that a Muslim country could be ruled by a king (Umar, 1993, p.162).

Unfortunately, according to Salih (2002, p. 16),

these religious sects are parasitic, and they never invested in religious education, let alone secular education. Their disciples remain committed to the mystique of the leadership rather than voluntarism to improve their own lot. However, the twin expansion of Islamic FBOs, sects and brotherhoods is not a coincidence. It reveals that Muslim brotherhood organisations are capable of exploiting modern institutional and organisational frameworks and adapt [sic] them to their needs. The evidence available suggests that, far from being backward-looking and exclusive, Islamic brotherhoods and sects selectively integrate their activities within the wider global NGO movement, thus expanding their following and outreach at a global scale.

2.3.2 The proliferation of Christian FBOs

Christianity in Nigeria was and is marked by diversity. As described above, different mission organizations established different churches. Apart from typical denominational squabbles, missions and Christian churches got involved in some competition. In the missions era it was competition over territory, and there was jealousy between them, especially when a neighbouring mission was making

more progress. Missions were also involved in trying to win influence over areas on behalf of their home governments. The mainline or dominant churches also tried to claim their superiority over the Pentecostal churches and smaller groups. Intra-Christian differences, in particular between Catholics and Protestants, have always been an important feature of Nigerian Christianity (Mbachirin, 2006, p.114).

The largest of the traditional churches are the Catholics (perhaps 13 million), Anglicans (the Church of Nigeria) (perhaps 16 million), Methodists, and the various Baptists. In addition, the numbers and membership of Pentecostal, charismatic and African independent churches have grown dramatically since the middle of the 20th century.⁸ The number of denominations has not yet been determined. For a church to be recognized it has to register with the Nigerian Corporate Affairs Commission, but many have not registered and operate illegally. Nor does the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) have a record of all the denominations. One estimate is that, if each of the independent/Pentecostal churches is considered to be a 'denomination', the figure is not less than 4,000⁹ (Mbachirin, 2006, p.114).

Thus, pluralism is part of the ethos of Nigerian Christianity. Churches emphasize the differences between them and spend resources to show their superiority over others (Babalola, 1976, p.132). This affects the unity of the churches in Nigeria and thwarts their efforts to present a common opinion on issues affecting society. Nevertheless, there are many efforts to work together and bring unity.

While many of the organizations providing social services were started by the colonial era missionaries, others have been established by the churches more recently. Many were originally and remain denominational, although in some cases, networks have been formed to encourage collaboration in service delivery and increase their ability to influence government. For example, the Christian Health Association of Nigeria was founded in 1973. In addition, after the Nigerian civil war (1967-70), the churches (especially the mainline churches) shared various concerns, for example control over education and health facilities, suspicions over missionaries' role as agents of destabilization leading to the denial of visas, and the imposition of tax and import duties on gifts to churches from abroad (Tanko, 1991, p.125). These common concerns encouraged cooperation.

Many Christian organizations attempt to respond to societal problems and to work to improve the status of disadvantaged groups. Various churches have associations for women, for example, the

Women's Fellowship (Zumuntar Mata), Young Women's Christian Association, and Girls Life Brigade, which provide women and girls with elementary education, maternity and hygiene education, child welfare and training in various crafts (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 115). Another example is the Urban Ministry, which was established in 1991 to promote the holistic development of the urban poor.

2.4 Summary

The evolution of both Islamic and Christian organizations started in the colonial period. At that time, the objective of most Islamic organizations was to convert non-Muslims. They also tried to forge a strong Islamic community through such activities as the sponsorship of Quranic schools. Beginning with the *jihads*, the Nigerian Muslim community has wished to Islamize Nigeria and establish an Islamic state, thus religion and politics are, in Muslim eyes, inextricably linked. Later, many Islamic organizations emerged in reaction to the Christian missions and their capacity to combine religious and educational, as well as health and social activities. In the early stages, Muslims were able to unite and form socio-political and developmental organizations better than Christians, possibly because the universal spirit of Islam helped Muslims to achieve unity more easily.

Despite the efforts of some missionaries to work together, Christian unity has been difficult. Commenting on this, Yusufu Turaki (1993, p. 158) says:

The missionary emphasis on denominationalism in effect created many brands of Christianity and communication and exchange or fellowship across denominations was almost non-existent. Christian identity was not formed across denominational lines and thus could not easily unite all Christians. Christian identity was rather vertical with parent church or mission.

Three reasons have been suggested to explain why Christian unity was difficult in the colonial era: First, there was no commonly perceived national threat. Next, there was no sufficiently politicized religious leadership with a nationalist vision in any of the three Christian blocs (Catholics, Protestants, and nondenominational or fundamentalist/Pentecostals). Furthermore, there were limitations imposed by the colonial administration on socio-cultural interaction between Nigerians from the South and the North (Enwerem, 1995, p. 75).

In the immediate post-independence period, the priority was to establish the autonomy of the churches and foster indigenous leadership. The same trend is now observed with the missionary societies, some of which have continued with both mission and some of the development activities in which they had been engaged in colonial times. Christians were taught that religion and the public square were separate and they did not want to use church organizations to achieve political goals. However, struggles for power and influence in national politics, tensions between Christians and Muslims at the State and local levels, and perceived injustices and discrimination in government policies led the churches to become more activist, through their religious and other organizations. The main motivation for Christians to work together was to present a unified voice on these religious, political and socio-economic issues (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 153).

3 Organizational types and the activities of FBOs

3.1 Introduction

A description of the different types of FBOs is presented in this section. As noted in Section 1, this study did not cover all the FBOs in Nigeria, partly because it was not possible to include all the States in this vast country and partly because of the sheer number of relevant organizations, which has risen in almost direct proportion to the decline of the Nigerian state. It is impossible to estimate the number of FBOs and NGOs, because many fail to register and do not appear in the relevant directories, while on the contrary many registered organizations are paper creations with no real activities or capacity. However, one estimate of the number of Muslim NGOs in 1980 and 2000 suggests that the number rose from 54, or 4 per cent of the total number of registered NGOs (1,350), to 523, or 13 per cent of the overall number of NGOs (4,028) (Salih, 2002, p. 11).

In the course of the field work, most individual FBOs visited were found to be branches or affiliates of major FBOs. For example, the Nigerian Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) has 34 branches and the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) has 38 branches, while its women's wing (WOWICAN) has 27 branches. While the aims and objectives of these branches may be the same, their activities are sometimes different. The report of activities is as presented by the FBOs visited. Each profile begins with defining the type of FBO under consideration. It then goes on to discuss the organization's history, geographical spread, activities, funding sources and volume, membership and/or target groups, relationship with government, potential biases in coverage, use of faith, and finally, own perceived strengths and weaknesses. The issue of the organizations' strengths and weaknesses is also discussed in the summary section of this chapter. The information is based mainly on documentation provided by and interviews with key informants and representatives of the FBOs. The primary sources of information are listed in Appendix 2.

In many cases, the representatives interviewed were not able to provide all the needed information. FBOs were generally willing to reveal information about their structure, geographical spread and activities but were not very forthcoming on funding issues. The usual response was that majority of funds were received from members/congregation contributions. Nor was much information available from FBOs on their relationships with government. A recent workshop held with FBOs involved in another of the RaD research projects¹⁰ suggested that they consider their relationships with government to be weak and not cordial. It was possible to cover the 'use of faith' element only for missionary organizations and even then only indirectly.

We identify five categories of faith-based organizations, in an adaptation of the Clarke typology discussed earlier: 1) interfaith organizations; 2) apex bodies; 3) development organizations; 4) socio-political organizations; and 5) mission organizations. While FBOs may have characteristics of more than one of these categories, they do distinguish between FBOs along the dimension of the main type of activities in which they are involved.

3.2 Interfaith organizations

Interfaith organizations are groups of different congregations, denominations or religions that join together for a common cause, or to provide large-scale services that are beyond the scope of a single congregation. Only two interfaith organizations were found during the course of the study.

As a result of persistent religious conflicts, many efforts have been made over the years to mediate religious conflicts. In a paper presented at the All African Association of Catholic Exegetes in Dakar, Archbishop John Onaiyekan referred to efforts made in January 1964 by the first Bishop of Sokoto, Edward Lawton, who advised the Catholic Church to provide some specialists in Islam who were well versed in Arabic, in order for the Church to understand and relate well to the Muslim community in Nigerian society¹¹. Onaiyekan also mentioned the efforts of Revd. Fr. Victor Chukwulozie, a graduate of Oxford University in Arabic and Islamic Philosophy, to promote dialogue amongst Christians and Muslims in Kano in the early 1960s, even though priests at that time belittled these efforts. The Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria (CBCN) also established an Inter-religious Dialogue Commission following the appointment of Archbishop Arinze as Cardinal Prefect of the Pontifical Council for Inter-religious Dialogue by Pope John Paul II¹². Government involvement started when in 1986 the Federal Government established the National Religious Advisory Board, an important goal of which was to institute inter-religious dialogue to produce inter-religious harmony.

Despite all these efforts, inter-religious crisis did not abate. As a way of finding a solution to the problem, former President Olusegun Obasanjo inaugurated the Nigeria Inter-religious Council (NIREC) on September, 29, 1999. The Council was inaugurated at Aso-Rock in Abuja and is still based in Abuja¹³. The Nigerian Inter-Religious Council has fifty (50) members: 25 Christians and 25 Muslims and had two maiden chairpersons: the president of the Christian Association of Nigeria and the Sultan of Sokoto, the spiritual head of Nigerian Muslims, who co-chaired the Council. The Coordinator of the Council was appointed by the Federal Government of Nigeria and was the Chaplain of the Aso Rock

Chapel. The highest ranking officers of the Christian and Muslim faiths at the national level are members.

The rationale behind the establishment of the Nigeria Inter-Religious Council by the Federal Government was to promote mutual understanding among the adherents of various religions in the nation, especially Christian and Muslims and especially to promote religious harmony. This has been the guiding principle behind the public pronouncements of the leaders of the Council. Some of its activities include building and encouraging good relationships among people of different faiths; enlightening members of each of the religious bodies of the virtues of religious harmony and peaceful co-existence; educating its members to understand the special characteristics of the Nigerian nation as a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-religious nation and the importance of living together peacefully as a nation; serving as an advisory body to the government on issues affecting religion and governance; and promoting the welfare of adherents of various religious bodies by encouraging the peaceful resolution of any misunderstandings. As an organization established by the Federal Government, the Nigeria Inter-religious Council is mainly funded by the government. When necessary, the Council also raises funds from Nigerians, especially members of the two major religions. An example of such necessity is the fight against HIV/AIDS.

The Interfaith HIV/AIDS Council of Nigeria was established to build the capacity of the faith community in Nigeria to tackle HIV/AIDS and to facilitate the establishment of a systematic HIV/AIDS service delivery mechanism operating through local churches and mosques. In 2003, Rev. Nwashili (the National Director) gave a brief account of the history of the newly-created organization (Nwashili, 2005). He narrated that in April 2002, Muslim and Christian leaders gathered to consider the ways the faith community could respond to the spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Nigeria. Together with The Balm in Gilead¹⁴, Dr. Lateef Adegbite (Secretary General of the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs) and Archbishop John Onaiyekan endorsed a partnership to address HIV/AIDS issues and established the Interfaith HIV/AIDS Council of Nigeria. It was developed and supported by the highest levels of both the Christian and Muslim structures to address the problems raised by the epidemic and made a Declaration of Unity. The main task of The Balm in Gilead is to set up “a culturally diverse and competent national HIV/AIDS organization with a mission to mobilize and engage churches and mosques” in order to address the epidemic in an effective and relevant way. In April 2003, a follow-up meeting set up a working advisory council to determine the operational structure of the new

organization. A mobilization strategy, which included technical assistance and site visits from various faith organizations, paved the way for the formal establishment of the Council, whose members adopted its constitution on 30 October 2002. Rev. Nwashili became the organization's first National Director. In November 2002, many key figures of the Christian and Muslim faith in Nigeria convened to launch the partnership of the Council and The Balm In Gilead.

The Council has four goals: (1) To bring the two major religious groups (Christian and Muslims) together to present a common front in the fight against HIV/AIDS. (2) To establish and maintain the pre-eminence of quality capacity building among the faith groups in addressing the problem of HIV/AIDS. (3) To advocate for the rights of people living with and those affected by HIV/AIDS in Nigeria. (4) To collaborate with governments and NGOs in the prevention and control of HIV/AIDS and in giving care and support to people living with HIV/AIDS. It has a Board of ten trustees, five each from the Muslim and Christian communities. Dr. Lateef Adegbite was elected its first chairman.

3.3 Apex bodies

Apex bodies rule on doctrinal matters, govern the faithful and represent them through engagement with the state and other actors (Clarke, 2006). They vary across the main religions in Nigeria.

There are two main apex religious bodies, the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) and the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). At the time of the study, the Secretary General of the former was Dr Lateef Adegbite, and the President of the latter was, as noted above, Archbishop Dr. John Onaiyekan.

3.3.1 Islamic apex bodies

Historically, the Islamic Society of Nigeria was the first attempt to unite Muslims. It was the handiwork of some members of the Muslim elite who wanted education for their children. The aim of the Society was to promote the interests and well-being of Muslims in general and of the Muslim community in Nigerian in particular, and in that respect, to found, build and maintain educational institutions, with a view to disseminating true knowledge of Islam; to inaugurate and maintain classes, lectures and such similar activities as the Society may deem fit from time to time; and to maintain libraries (Falola, 1998, p. 45). "The Islamic Society of Nigeria did not last very long but made a lot of educational impact on the Nigerian Muslim community, especially in the Yoruba area" (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 129).

The Jama 'tu Nasril Islam (JNI) came next. It was "founded in 1961 by the northern Muslim intelligentsia immediately after independence. The Premier of Northern Nigeria, the Sarduna of Sokoto, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, used his position and public funds to start and fund the organization.... His aim was to unite all the different Muslim brotherhoods in the North (Okafor, 1997, p. 158). For Bello, all Muslims belonged to this organization; they could be active or passive members... [It] included Muslim politicians, Muslim civil servants, all emirs and other prominent Muslim leaders. The Sultan of Sokoto was the President General, while Ahmadu Bello was the president of the General Purpose Committee" (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 130), which initiated most of JNI's activities. JNI was closely associated with the Northern People's Congress (NPC), a political party; indeed some regarded it as a religious wing of the NPC. From the outset JNI received both government and foreign support. Apart from using the political machinery at hand to further the aims of JNI, Ahmadu Bello's government gave it substantial funds. In addition, all the staff of JNI were paid by the government (Okafor, 1997, p. 106). Foreign support in the form of money, advice and personnel came and continues to come from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and other world Muslim organizations. In addition, the association also received many copies of the Koran from Pakistan to distribute free of charge (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 131).

One of the programmes of the JNI was to publish Islamic literature. Since 1939, the government-owned Gaskiya Publishing Company in Zaria has been used for this purpose. JNI also spoke on social issues and tried to discourage some traditional practices, such as the keeping of concubines and servants who were treated like slaves, through radio and tracts. However, such advocacy "was not well received by emirs and other Muslim kings. [Thus] JNI was not able to unite Muslims in the way it hoped. The southern Muslims viewed it with suspicion and northern Muslims looked at it as a promotion of the Hausa-Fulani hegemony (Kukah, 1993). At best it united emirs and traditional mallams" (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 134). The current main aims and activities of JNI are discussed later in this section.

Because of its limitations, there was a need for a more united organization, which JNI joined. The new organization, which is the current main Islamic apex body, the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA), was established in 1973 in Kaduna and from the beginning was closely linked with politics (Kukah, 1993, p. 48). It came into being as a result of "the culmination of many years of tireless efforts to get Muslims in this country under one central organization. Among the objectives of the SCIA were

to spread Islamic faith across the nation and even beyond, to bring different Muslims groups together to work for the common good of Islam and act as a bridge between these different groups, and to speak to the government with one united voice on Islamic matters” (Clarke, 1982, p. 242). The SCIA has made it possible for “Muslims at Federal level to debate, discuss and state their point of view on such matters as education and law” (Clarke, 1982). The SCIA claims a national character in its origins and focus. “In terms of its organizational structure, the Council is made up of representatives from each State of the Federation. These members form the governing council, which is presided over by the Sultan of Sokoto. It has a full-time Secretary General and for a long time Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, a renowned Muslim politician and one who personally fought for Nigerian membership in the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), was its general secretary” (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 135). The council wants “to serve as the only channel of contact on Islamic matters” (Onaiyekan, 1988, p. 227). It claims control over all Muslims. The council takes educational issues seriously, although it does not directly establish or run educational institutions, and tries to ensure that all Islamic institutions are treated fairly (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 135).

3.3.2 *Christian apex bodies*

Christian faith-based groups have also formed themselves into larger entities. The most obvious is the Nigerian Catholic Bishops’ Conference, which unites all the dioceses of the Catholic Church, and which functions with considerable efficiency and speaks out publicly. The mainline Protestant equivalent, the Christian Council of Nigeria, uniting the established mission churches, has traditionally been almost non-functional, one of the weakest of such bodies on the continent. The Pentecostal Fellowship likewise is organizationally very weak. The most high-profile body, an umbrella body embracing all three organizations, is the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), which has a tradition of speaking out publicly.

Historically, the Christian Council of Nigeria (CCN) can be described as the first ecumenical attempt of the church in Nigeria.¹⁵ Its genesis is usually traced to an informal meeting of a small group of missionaries in Oyo, who met to discuss a line of action concerning the proposed educational law that separated religion from education (Aiyegboyin, 2000, p. 21). The missionaries were successful in preventing the government from enacting the law, making the power of joint action and one voice very clear to them and giving them the courage in November 1929 to start an association. The first name of

the association, which reflected its aim, was United Missionary Council for Education. In 1930 this was changed to the Christian Council of Nigeria, to enable the new organization to address issues other than education (Ayegboyin, 2000, p. 21). For a dozen years CCN's leadership was mostly in the hands of missionaries. It began in the south but had impact all over Nigeria as churches in the south spread to the north and as northern churches joined (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 154).

CCN has worked closely with many international missionary and Christian organizations. It has a close working relationship with the World Council of Churches (WCC), which helps CCN in its rural, medical and educational programmes. It also maintains theological and corporate relationships with the All Africa Conference of Churches, TEKAN, United Mission of Africa, and various Pentecostal groups (Ayegboyin, 2000, p. 23). This is in line with one of the aims of the CCN: to foster and express fellowship and unity, foster the realization of its oneness with the Church throughout the world and keep in touch with the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches.¹⁶ Foreign governments like Germany also give scholarships to Nigerians through CCN. CCN has now become one of the branches of CAN but it continues to operate many of its programs independently.

CCN has also attempted to incorporate the Roman Catholic Church in Nigeria. Although the latter never became a member, regarding CCN as a Protestant body, it has worked with CCN in the areas of education and health. In 1971, CCN and the Catholics jointly established the National Institute of Moral and Religious Education known as 'Project Time' (Enwerem, 1995, p. 76). Young people were the target of this project, which aimed to inculcate moral and religious values in the lives of Nigerian youth. Among other things it trains Christian teachers and organizes workshops and seminars to help young people appreciate Christian values. Another joint project is the Christian Health Association of Nigeria (CHAN) (see below).

CCN has undertaken and continues to undertake a variety of social, economic and religious projects, many of which have political implications. It has spoken out on national issues and has achieved some success in this area. Mbachirin (2006) complained that records were not available to provide a detailed list of CCN projects and reported that he had gleaned the information in his account from many documents. As noted above, the initial aim of CCN was to provide education to the natives and it has always had many educational programmes. It established many secondary schools, vocational

training schools and teacher training colleges; continues to give advice to the churches on educational matters, to set the standard of education for Christian schools, to seek grants for schools, to provide educational materials, and to help students get scholarships to study abroad. It considers the training of Christian teachers to be the most important and encourages joint efforts among the churches in this area (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 156). It operates a literature department with a library at the Institute of Church and Society in Ibadan. This department runs the Daystar Press; publishes the Nigerian Christian monthly magazine; operates book stores; publishes and distributes free Christian literature; encourages churches to run newspapers to educate Christians on social, economic, and political issues; and produces Sunday school materials. CCN's Scripture Union in particular has the responsibility for producing Bible study books for college and university students and producing and distributing Christian literature in the vernacular languages (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 157).

CCN plays a similar role in health care. Different churches throughout the country were operating health programmes at various levels. Later it became necessary to establish an interdenominational organization to coordinate and facilitate the medical programmes of the various churches, leading to the establishment of the Christian Health Association of Nigeria (CHAN), which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter under development organizations.

During the missionary era, CCN established the Missions Medical Advisory Council to coordinate the activities of hospitals and missions' medical work. Later CCN organized the coming together of Christian medical doctors and medical students in what is known as the Christian Medical Fellowship. Nurses in the north came together to form the Association of Christian Nurses, which later became a nation-wide organization and changed its name to the Fellowship of Christian Nurses. These medical associations were encouraged to work together to improve the medical care of the rural people (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 158).

In addition, CCN has a medical department that runs hospitals, health clinics and training schools for para-medics.

CCN has over the years given special attention to the neglected rural areas. For this and other reasons CCN has a Study Center, ...[which] is not just an academic exercise, It deals with basic problems confronting the Nigerian society... [It enables CCN to identify] the needs of various rural communities and the way to deal with their problems. The Department of Rural Development encourages churches to invest in rural development, and encourages them to make rural development part of pastors' and catechists' training (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 158).

It has undertaken rural projects in the east and northern regions and was able to bring churches in these areas together to launch community development programmes to provide water. CCN started a Rural Training Centre at Asaba for the training of rural workers and rural people themselves. Home economics is taught to women to improve their home keeping. The centre also educates people on the biblical basis of providing welfare for rural people, although not to the neglect of urban communities. CCN has an Urban and Industrial Committee which targets factory workers. The committee prepares and trains pastors and laymen to work and witness in these areas. Courses were designed for this purpose and are taught in seminaries and theological schools (Mbachirin, 2006).¹⁷

Another important department of CCN is the Christian Social Action Department, which deals with social, economic, and community development issues (Ayegboyin, 2000, p. 23). It tries to infuse the churches with the desire for social action and to encourage “churches to become involved in making known in a practical way the love of Christ to the people in distress and need”.¹⁸ Before the Social Action Committee was set up CCN had a Commission on Relief and Rehabilitation. This was set up immediately after the civil war to help war victims. The Social Action Committee was set up initially to work among the victims of the Niger-Delta flood and

arrest the malnutrition problem of many of the poor people. This committee was able to secure material aids, obtain food, drugs, powder milk, and other protein foods from American churches and other foreign nations and distribute them to Nigerians, especially in the Lagos area where there was suffering and a high level of poverty and malnutrition.¹⁹ The CCN motto is, “We cannot be spiritually healthy churches until we too learn to show, in concrete ways, sympathy those in hardships.”²⁰ Closely associated with Social Action is the Christian Home and Family Life Project. This project was established in 1963 and it is mostly funded and staffed with money earmarked by the WCC. The Christian Home and Family Life department has regional offices in order to reach every community. Many of the activities are done on regional level. The activities of the Christian Home include rehabilitation of abused persons, production of marriage literature, and provision of teaching and seminars on sex education for boys and girls through qualified medical staff (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 159).²¹

Over the years, the CCN has spoken to and confronted the government and represented member churches on issues of religious freedom, politics, educational development, community development, and medical care. In most cases the government has respected the opinion of the council. Two notable instances were over the negotiation of teachers’ salaries between the government and teachers’ union and [the] Detention Bill. CCN wrote a memorandum to the Morgan Commission which was looking into the

matter and that became the main conclusion of the Commission. The view of CCN was respected and implemented. Concerning the Detention Bill, CCN wrote a memorandum that it was impugning upon the freedom of Nigerians and that was also respected.²² CCN has achieved success in issues like unemployment, increased wages, and change of wage structure and in mediating between labor unions and the government on various matters. One of the most important works of CCN is the classic book the *Christian Responsibility in an Independent Nigeria*²³. This [1970] report prepared by Christian intellectuals from different walks of life and church leaders covers issues of church and society, church and politics, political responsibility of the church, the problem of bribery and corruption, economic issues and unity of the church. Generally, it has been the desire of the CCN to help Christians understand and be educated on national and religious issues. It is because of this that the Institute of Church and Society (ICS) was set up in 1964. It has its headquarters in Ibadan and a branch in Jos.²⁴ ICS writes and collect books on social, economic, political, and Christian-Muslim relations (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 160-1).

One of the visions of CCN is to seek peaceful co-existence between peoples of all faith. CCN also wants Muslims to see Nigeria as a pluralistic society; as such CCN encourages dialogue between Christians and Muslims (Oyelade, 2000, p.185). CCN has been involved in projects that help Christians to understand Muslims and live in harmony with Muslims. In 1964 it was decided to promote and encourage Islamic studies among both the clergy and the laity. “Churches were advised to conduct a one year Islamic training for all pastors to create more understanding of Islamic religion and educate clergy on how to witness to Muslims. Seminaries and theological schools were helped to begin courses in Islamic studies” (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 161).²⁵ CCN works through two projects that deal with Islam directly. In 1958, Islam for Africa Project was started, which later established a Centre for Islam and Christianity that is reported by Mbachirin (2006) to now go by the name Project for Christian-Muslim Relation (PROCMURA) and aims to deepen Christian understanding of the Islamic religion (Oyelade, 2000, p.186).

CCN has other departments like the Department of Laity and Youth Ministry. The Department of Laity educates Christians on how to live in the secular world, conducting seminars on the role of the laity in the church and the government. It brings laymen from all walks of life (business, politics, the judiciary, education and the civil service) together in laymen’s consultation forums. The Department of Laity works closely with the Department of Urban Industrial Evangelism. “The Youth Work Department was started in 1964 with the help of the All African Christian Youth. It has branches all over Nigeria and

encourages and advises churches on youth matters and organizes youth conferences. The Scripture Union works in cooperation with the Youth Department” (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 162).

Generally [Mbachirin claims] CCN is known for its commitment to fight social, economic and religious injustices, moral decadency, corruption, and bribery in Nigeria. CCN does make the government and the general public aware of the ills associated with bribery and corruption in offices, courts of law, law enforcement agencies, the dangers of pool, lottery, gambling, betting, raffles, Sunday games and sports, and filthy movies. It also warns the government and educates people on the social vices that poverty, unemployment, and lack of education can lead to (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 162).

In the 1970s, religious bodies were becoming more vocal. Complaints and different voices were coming from churches, Christian organizations, individuals and other religious bodies in response to government policies and activities. However, most of these voices were isolated. It was difficult for the government to know which voice represented the interest of the entire church (Tanko, 1991, p.125). As a result of the need to have one voice representing the interests of all Christians, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) was founded in 1976. One can argue that the government played an important indirect role in the formation of CAN, since in part it was a response to government perceptions of Christians as disunited. Before the formation of CAN there was no Christian association or organization that brought all Nigerian Christians or churches together; all ecumenical attempts then were more or less sectional. The Northern Christian Association was limited to the North. Even though the Christian Council of Nigeria included churches from the North, it was still considered a southern association. Roman Catholic unity was strong and vocal on national issues, but was limited to Catholic churches (Mbachirin, 2006).

The objectives of the Christian Association of Nigeria include: To serve as a basis of response to the unity of the church; to promote understanding, peace and unity of the churches; to promote understanding, peace and unity among the various peoples and strata of society in Nigeria through the propagation of the Gospel; and to be a watchdog of the spiritual and moral welfare of the nation.²⁶ Elections to offices are on the basis of church groups to ensure balanced representation.

CAN is comprised of five major church groups: the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria (CSN), the Christian Council of Nigeria (CCN), the Christian Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN), the Organization of African Instituted Churches (OAIN) and the TEKAN/ECWA Fellowship. The basis for representation in

its decision making bodies and competition between CCN and the Christian Social Movement initiated by lay people in 2000 have always been contentious (Mbachirin, 2006). The Association also has a Women's Wing (WOWICAN) and a Youth Wing (YOWICAN). It has a headquarters in Abuja and branches in all states of the Federation, also operating at local level. CAN has 38 branches, while WOWICAN has 27. CAN is mainly involved in advocacy activities, although the positions of its members and their attitudes towards engagement with Muslims and the government vary widely. For many years it was essentially a reactive movement, attempting to forge a united Christian response to government and Muslims. However, by 2004, Mbachirin (2006) detects more determination to set its own agenda and an organizational structure of departments was established (Ecumenism and Inter-faith; Legal and Public Affairs; National Issues and Social Welfare; Education, Youth and Women Development; Planning Research and Strategy), although all were ineffective and none had full-time staff at the time of his research.

Mbachirin (2006) gives CAN credit for encouraging ecumenical cooperation, while noting that disunity persists. He notes that CAN is alleged to be preoccupied with the 'Muslim agenda' including defending Christians and the churches against perceived Muslim assertiveness and violence, although he sees this as a more or less inevitable response to Muslim views about the inextricable relationships between religion and the state. While CAN encourages collaboration and speaks out on other issues, such as HIV/AIDS and corruption, it has sometimes been accused of "transforming the religion into a political platform" (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 290), even sponsoring candidates for political office. Mbacharin notes that CAN and its members have often adopted confrontational methods in their relationships with Muslims and the government, but detects a recognition amongst some CAN members that such approaches may exacerbate tension and an increased focus on dialogue (for example through the National Inter-Religious Council), lobbying government (for example on education and the ownership of schools), working to reduce inter-religious violence, and providing immediate assistance for Christians affected by such violence. While CAN has developed a considerable profile in the country, Mbacharin notes that it is dependent on subscriptions from its members (and geographical zones), which are paid irregularly if at all, and so its effectiveness is greatly reduced by its limited and uncertain financial base (Mbacharin, 2006).

3.4 Development organizations

By definition, development organizations mobilize the faithful in support of the poor and other social groups, and fund or manage programmes that tackle poverty and social exclusion (Clarke, 2006). They may play roles in service delivery, especially in health and education, and run programmes with economic as well as community development dimensions (e.g. micro-finance).

As noted above, education was a primary concern of both Muslims and Christians from the outset, to spread the faiths, teach children religious teachings and values and influence society more broadly. Even in the early days of missionary schools, concerns over their proselytizing purpose were voiced and some government schools were established. Muslim support for state education followed recognition that the curriculum taught in the mission schools was enabling their graduates to gain disproportionate access to official employment. Pressure for more control over education provided by religious bodies and extension of the government's role increased at the time of independence and State governments extending varying degrees of control over religious schools. Finally, in the 1970s, all Christian schools were taken over by government, although some have been returned to their proprietors since the 1980s and religious bodies have been allowed to establish universities (Mbachirin, 2006).

Many FBOs provide emergency and developmental assistance to individuals and families. Some of this is short term assistance, for example emergency food aid, financial assistance and replacement clothing. Other social services provide more long term assistance, for example child care, counselling, employment assistance and training, youth mentoring and after school programmes (Scott, 2003, p.14).

Throughout Africa, there is a widespread supposition that people in need include those who are sick both physically and mentally. Healing is generally viewed as a holistic activity, requiring attention to the spiritual as well as physical aspects of a person. For this reason, religion plays an important role in health care generally, strongly suggesting the need to integrate spiritual ideas into health care policy (Ellis and Ter Haar, 2004, p. 8).

Religious institutions play a conspicuous role in providing health services in Nigeria.

The main Muslim development FBOs in Nigeria include the Federation of Muslim Women Association in Nigeria (FOMWAN), the Nasrul-Lahi-Il-Fathi Society of Nigeria (NASFAT) and the National Council of

Muslim Youth Organization (NACOMYO). The main Christian FBOs include the Christian Rural and Urban development of Nigeria (CRUDAN), the Justice Development and Peace Caritas Commission (JDPC), the Urban Ministry, the Christian Health Association of Nigeria (CHAN) and the People Oriented Development (POD) of ECWA. Some of the FBOs are not exclusively concerned with development but also undertake socio-political activities, for example the JDPC. These development organizations are described below, starting with the Islamic organizations.

3.4.1 A profile of some Islamic development organizations

The organizations described below are those that the research team came across in the course of the fieldwork.

■ Federation of Muslim Women Association in Nigeria (FOMWAN)²⁷

The Federation of Muslim Women Association in Nigeria (FOMWAN) was established in 1985 as an umbrella body for all Muslim women's associations in Nigeria. FOMWAN's mission is to propagate Islam, educate Muslim women and ensure that they live according to the tenets of the faith and make positive impact on national issues. FOMWAN envisions a world where women are properly educated and equipped to work with men for an equitable and peaceful society.

It operates in 34 states of the Federation and has almost 1,000 affiliate groups. Some of the organization's objectives include: educating Muslim women at all levels; Intellectual and economic empowerment of women; care of early school leavers (school dropouts etc); rehabilitation of abandoned children and orphans; encouraging girl child education and adult literacy for women; developing programmes for youth development; encouraging Muslim women to establish groups throughout the country for educational and *dawah* (preaching) purposes; and provision of health services especially in reproductive health. FOMWAN concentrates heavily on education because the reason for its formation was to educate Muslim women.

FOMWAN is an association of societies/organizations rather than individuals. It has a board of Trustees and Executive Committees at the National and State levels. The 34 elected Amirahs (Chairpersons) of the State chapters are members of the National Executive Council, in addition to the elected National Amirah (National President), Naibatu'l Amirah (Vice President), Secretary-General,

Financial Secretary, Da'wah/Welfare Officer, Legal Adviser and Public Relations Officer. FOMWAN also has Education, Health, Publications, Finance, Welfare and Disciplinary, and International Relations Boards headed by chairpersons who are also national executive members. It has five zonal coordinators for the North East, North West, North Central, South West and South East. Smaller organizations and societies in a local government area come together to form a local FOMWAN.

Until now, FOMWAN has funded its activities from membership dues, sales of publications, donations, *zakat* (charitable giving that is mandatory for Muslims) and grants from donor agencies. FOMWAN headquarters banks with Habib Bank in Abuja, Kano and Lagos, while the State branches keep their accounts with various banks, and the accounts are regularly audited. All the states branches give an account of their activities during the quarterly National Executive Council Meeting. The organization has fixed assets and reports that it is currently not indebted to any individual or organization.

FOMWAN is an FBO with consultative status at the United Nations. Since its inception, it has made inputs into policies through partnership with government, thereby earning it official stakeholder status in the Federal Government's Universal Basic Education (UBE) and Nomadic Education programmes, and at the Joint Consultative Committee on Education. The organization is also involved in the joint Federal government/UNICEF Qur'anic Education programme and a member of the Civil Society Coalition on Education for All (CSACEFA), an initiative that was initially funded by Action Aid. Various State branches also network and collaborate with other non-governmental organizations or FBOs in education and the rehabilitation of Almajiris.

So far FOMWAN reports that its efforts are targeted at the wider population. It has no programmes for physically challenged children and women, the destitute or refugee children. Funding remains its greatest constraint, particularly in the field of education. It does not receive regular grants from State or local governments, while facilities provided under typical welfare arrangements in Islam have not been developed and access to funds from elsewhere in the Muslim world is reported to be nil.

■ ***Nasrul-Lahi-Il-Fathi Society of Nigeria (NASFAT)***²⁸

The Nasrul-Lahi-Il-Fathi Society of Nigeria was formally established in 2001. The quest for Islamic knowledge and brotherly association led to the setting up of the forum, where the Muslim faithful come together to rub minds with learned Islamic scholars in order to learn more about the Islamic religion. Its

aim is to make the best possible use of Muslims' Sunday morning leisure time. A few members of the Muslim elite perceived a need to spend these precious leisure hours judiciously and dispatched letters of invitation to other members of the Muslim elite from all walks of life. Following an encouraging response, on Sunday, March 5, 1995, Nasrul-Lahi-il Fathi (NASFAT) held its inaugural prayer session at the residence of its pioneer president, now chairman of the Board of Trustees, Alhaji Abdul-Lateef Wale Olasupo. In essence, therefore, NASFAT started as a prayer group.

The organization is legally registered at both national and state level with the Corporate Affairs Commission. Based on a belief that the *Ummah* (community of Muslims) is affected by ignorance and poverty, its mission is "To develop an enlightened Muslim society nurtured by a true understanding of Islam for the spiritual upliftment and welfare of mankind". The society has designed appropriate programmes to tackle the two issues by: establishment of welfare committees; financial donations to and economic empowerment of needy members on an individual basis; establishment of business committees; establishment of the NASFAT Co-operative Society, with the long term goal of transforming it into a community bank; promotion of small scale businesses and granting of loans to individuals and business through the business committee and Co-operative Society; establishment of an economic empowerment committee and economic empowerment programmes; establishment of nursery/primary schools; and planning for secondary schools and a university.

While the above activities are considered to have helped tackle the problems identified, NASFAT is clear that reducing poverty amongst its members and ensuring a sustainable income for the Society requires more than the normal approach to *fi sabil Allahi* contributions (charitable giving 'in the cause of Allah', mainly *zakat*). Currently, it is funded from donations from its members and philanthropists who believe in its objectives. It reported that, soon before the interview, it had just identified an opportunity to generate an appreciable level of income for on a sustainable basis, economically empowering the Society and the *Ummah* to face the challenges of the future. The opportunity has resulted in the formation of a new company, TAFSAN Beverages Limited, for the purpose of producing non-alcoholic malt drinks (for now) via a contract-manufacturing arrangement with a non-alcoholic beverage company. The company intends to establish its own factory in the near future.

NASFAT has a National Executive Council and headquarters in Lagos, as well as zonal offices in each of the geopolitical zones of the Federation, each headed by a Chairman assisted by other executive

members, including a branch vice chairman, secretary, assistant secretary, financial secretary, treasury secretary, audit secretary, legal secretary, social welfare secretary and medical secretary. Other members are put in charge of monitoring and overseeing the activities of branches in the zones. Membership of NASFAT is said to be about 100,000 nation-wide. The organization's relationships with the government are claimed to be very cordial, especially in the northern states. It collaborates with other Islamic organizations.

■ **Organization of Muslim Unity²⁹**

The Organization of Muslim Unity was established in 1970 with the purpose of bringing Muslims together and rendering help to those in need. Its headquarters is in Lagos and it is registered at the national level. At the time of the interview, it had more than 20 branches nationwide (mostly in the western part of Nigeria, but also in Enugu and some of the northern states) and the number was reported to be increasing. All the branches benefit from the national registration.

The organization engages in service delivery, emergency relief, assistance to the poor and conflict resolution. In the area of service delivery, it runs a primary school where the children of those who cannot afford the cost of sending their wards to school attend.

The organization is a membership organization run by an executive with executive and ex-officio members including a chairman, vice-chairman, treasurer, financial secretary, Qur'anic coordinator and various other officers.

The major sources of funding are donations from both members and non-members. The general-secretary maintained that they sometimes organize conventions and raise money during the process.

The organization reported that it has no relationship with the government but collaborates with other Islamic organizations, for example NASFAT and Almiraj within Enugu State.

■ **Almiraj³⁰**

Almiraj originated in the 1980s, when Muslims were scattered all over the eastern parts of the country with no umbrella body. To come together, they formed the Almiraj Muslim Society of Nigeria, which

became fully established and registered in 1984. Almiraj Enugu is a branch of Almiraj national. The Enugu branch was also registered in 1984 as a faith-based organization. Almiraj has its headquarters in Enugu State, with some branches outside the State in Anambra and some other eastern cities such as Onitsha, Awka, Nsukka and Ababaliki.

Almiraj as an organization engages mostly in service delivery and advocacy. In the area of service delivery, in Enugu State, it operates a nursery/primary school. It also provides counselling services to inmates in the Enugu prisons and offers assistance to Muslims through the Red Cross. It is also very active in pastoral care.

ALMIRAJ has a Director, Secretary-General, Treasurer, Financial Secretary, Public Relations officer and other members. The initial membership of the organization in Enugu State was about 40, but now it embraces the entire Enugu Muslim community, which was estimated at about 3,000 persons. The organization's major sources of funding are general contributions by members and non-members, donations and charity.

The representatives of Almiraj, Enugu, reported that they have a good rapport with the government of Enugu State and were particularly involved during the reign of the previous Governor. The government has been meeting the costs of going on Hajj by members of the organization. Almiraj reported that it collaborates with other FBOs in Enugu State, including some Christian FBOs, especially on issues relating to HIV/AIDS.

■ ***Usman Bin Affan Islamic Trust Fund***^{B1}

The Usman Bin Affan Islamic Trust Fund was established in 1992 and legally registered as a faith-based organization. The main areas on which it focuses are service delivery, economic empowerment and pastoral care. In the area of service delivery, the organization has established various schools. In terms of economic empowerment, assistance is provided to members (by donating motorcycles, money and assistance to attend hajj).

The organization has headquarters in Kano, a paid staff of about 75 and about 12 volunteer staff. It has a President, Vice President, Academic Secretary, and Committee of Trustees. Its main source of funding is the school fees paid by students in its various schools.

The government posts some teachers to the organization's schools and also pays the salary of the teachers. However, the Chief Imam in charge of the organization does not see this relationship as good enough and expects more support from government. The organization networks with other Islamic FBOs like the Muslim Students Society, mostly for providing pastoral care. Islamic scholars from this organization are invited from time to time to come and give lectures.

■ ***Muslim Corpers Association of Nigeria (MCAN)***³²

The Muslim Corpers Association of Nigeria is legally registered as a faith-based organization. Its headquarters is in Abuja and it has branches nationwide, wherever the National Youth Service Corps operates, including Kano. However, it has no official relationship with the NYSC. The MCAN has a large membership. All the staff are volunteers.

Its main activities are in the areas of service delivery and community development. In terms of service delivery, the organization helps to keep the communities in which their members live clean by sweeping and maintaining proper sanitation, through education of community members. Also, members of the organization visit prisons, orphanages and so on to render help to the inmates. In addition, it organizes coaching classes for students free of charge in order to assist them to prepare for examinations.

The administration of the organization consists of the executives: the president, secretary, public relations officer, secretary, treasurer and others. Generally there are a minimum of about 18 members in the executive at the branch level and the same structure is found at the national headquarters. The organization's major source of funding is donations from the members. It reports that it has no relationship with the government and does not network with other FBOs, although it would be ready for such collaboration if the need arises.

■ ***National Council of Muslim Youth Organization (NACOMYO)***³³

The National Council of Muslim Youth Organization (NACOMYO) was established and registered in 1987 at both the national and State levels, with chapters in every state and headquarters in Abuja. The organization traces its origins to the requirement to obey a Qur'anic injunction to help those in need in the community. Its main focus is service delivery, including the establishment of schools and hospitals, and it also runs education and enlightenment campaigns. Since any member of the Muslim faith can become a member of the organization, it has a large membership. The organizational structure consists of an Amir, Assistant Amir, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Public Relations Officer, Financial Secretary, Editor, Auditor and so on. It has three main sources of funding: government grants, aid from other bodies, and donations from both members and non-members who are Muslims. Since government sometimes funds its activities, it reported fairly good relationships with the government and also, unlike most other Islamic faith-based organizations in the northern part of the country, it networks with both Islam and Christian organizations.

■ ***Jamaatul Islamiya***³⁴

Jamaatul Islamiya was established in Nigeria around 1929, with its headquarters in Lagos, while the branch at Kano was established around 1998/99. The organization is legally registered and has branches in almost all the states of the federation. In the Kano branch, at the time of the interview, the organization had about 1,000 members. The main focus of the organization is service delivery and pastoral care. It is involved in the admonition of members, public lectures, presenting goods to orphanages, counselling prisoners and admonishing them, and presenting books and other materials.

The structure of the organization consists of a chairman, vice chairman, second vice chairman, secretary, treasurer, financial secretary and so on. Sub-committees include all-purpose, the property and venue, and finance committees. It also has a religious board. Funding is mostly member contributions. The informant reported a good relationship between the organization and the Kano State government, although this has not been expressed in terms of financial support, and some networking with other organizations in the state.

■ **Islamic Foundation**³⁵

The Islamic Foundation of Nigeria was established in Kano in 1973. The founding chairman was Dr. Hassan Ibrahim Gwarzo, the then Grand Khadi of Kano State. The organization is legally registered, with headquarters in Kano and branches at Taraba and Ankpa in Benue State. The main focus of the foundation is the propagation of Islam through *da'wah* (preaching), especially among non-Muslims; promotion of Islamic education; and humanitarian services. In the states where it operates it runs schools, hospitals and mosques.

The organization has members across the nation and is open to all Muslims. It has up to 200 paid and 20 volunteer staff. Structurally, there is a chairman, vice chairman (Administration), vice chairman (finance), executive director in charge of Hanuyi Hospital, secretary general (who is now acting director of schools), and accountant. The major sources of funding are contributions from members, school fees from students and proceeds from the shops it has established. It reports a good relationship with the government, which occasionally supports the organization financially.

■ **Darus Sahaba**³⁶

Darus Sahaba is an organization based in Kano. It is legally registered with the Kano State government and has no other branches. Its main focus is service delivery and pastoral care, including educational activities, a school known as Darus Sahaba, missionary activities in order to expand Islam and enlightenment activities.. The organization has 13 paid teaching staff and 4 non-teaching paid staff.

It is led by a Director, who is the Amir and also the Chief Imam of the Darus Sahaba Juma'at Mosque. Other officers are members of the school management committee. Funding comes from the Muslim Amir, school fees, and a small and irregular amount from the government. Its relations with the government are reported as very cordial, as the government provided it with a plot of land, contributed to the building of the mosque, and has donated learning materials, especially chalk and exercise books. The organization networks with others, especially Muslim organizations.

■ ***Muslim Forum***³⁷

The Muslim Forum was established in 1992 and is registered with Bayero University, Kano, rather than the government, because it operates within the university. The main areas of focus of the organization are service delivery and pastoral care. Members are staff of Bayero University. It maintains a librarian and a shopkeeper, while volunteer staff are also called upon from time to time. The administrative structure consists of a president, vice president, public relations officer, financial secretary and secretary. The organization has two major sources of funding: contributions from members of staff and profit from the shop it owns. The informant noted that the Forum has good relationships with the university authorities and the state government. It was reported that the organization has reached out to the government on many occasions, while sometimes the government has responded by coming to their aid. It does not collaborate with other organizations except on issues that have to do with peaceful coexistence within the university campus.

■ ***Al-Furquan Charitable Foundation***³⁸

The Al-Furquan Charitable Foundation was established in November, 2006. It is registered with the Corporate Affairs Commission and has centres in Kano (its headquarters), Kaduna, Jos and Abuja. Its main activities are in education and social welfare. It has established Qur'anic schools, hostels for students, mosques and delivers humanitarian services in the rural areas. It employs many paid staff and also has many volunteer staff. The organization is governed by a board of trustees and also has a management board which is headed by a Director General. There is also a deputy director, heads of the education, social welfare, public relations and projects, and accounts departments, a secretary and a librarian. Funds are donations from individuals and other organizations, and also some donations from the government, with which its relationships are reported to be very good. The organization also reported that it collaborates with many others.

■ ***The Young Muslim Congress of Nigeria***³⁹

The Young Muslim Congress of Nigeria was established in 1963. It is legally registered and has branches in all the 36 states of the federation and in Abuja. It also has branches in most local governments in northern Nigeria. The main activities of the organization are pastoral care and service delivery. Its main activity is *dawah* (converting non-Muslims to Islam through preaching and prozelytization; calling Christians and traditionalists to embrace Islam). Its second major activity is the

establishment of schools, both modern and Islamic, and adult literacy campaigns. Thirdly, it preaches to enable Muslims to better understand the principles of Islam.

The organization has 24 leadership positions and well over 4 million members. The organizational structure is the same at both the national and branch levels, with an Amir (or Rahiz or Zahi), who is the leader, then a secretary, financial secretary, treasurer and public relations officer. Members provide funds and the government, especially the northern State governments (Sokoto, Kebbi, Zambara, Borno, Yobe, Jigawa and Kano), also occasionally contribute to the organization. For example, it was reported that 36 local councils had donated a bus to each of the organization's branches. While relationships with government are thus reported to be very good, the organization does not collaborate with other organizations.

3.4.2 A profile of some Christian development organizations

The organizations discussed below are those the research team came across during the fieldwork. They are not discussed in any particular order, since their exact size is not known.

■ Christian Rural and Urban Development Association of Nigeria (CRUDAN)⁴⁰

Christian Rural and Urban Development of Nigeria (CRUDAN) is a Christian, interdenominational not-for-profit, non-governmental organization. It was formed in 1990 as a result of the merger of two previous organizations and registered with the Corporate Affairs Commission in December 1992. Its head office is located in Jos and there are zonal offices in Ibadan, Enugu, Yola, Kaduna and Jos. In 2006 it had branches in 22 states (Ibrahim et al, 2006, p. 11). It is a membership organization that has as its members churches, Christian organizations and individuals that are engaged or interested in development work in Nigeria.

CRUDAN envisions that, in collaboration with the church in Nigeria, Christians (both organizations and individuals) can be enabled to effectively serve the holistic needs of people and their communities, that the growth of the community of believers will be enhanced, and that the poor and their communities will be empowered to be and do as God intends for them in His kingdom. Its mission is to promote Christian holistic development by enabling the church in Nigeria to empower the poor in the name of Jesus Christ. Its main goal is to build the capacity of the church and its organizations, non-

governmental organizations, community based organizations (CBOs) and faith-based projects to effectively carry out their development work, as a way of witnessing to the love of Christ in the society.

CRUDAN is managed by a team comprised of a National President, Vice President, Treasurer and other officers. A National Board supervises the management and the organization employs facilitators (field staff). There are also elected zonal committees, each of which works with a paid zonal facilitator. Over the years, CRUDAN has gained a lot of experience and is reputed for quality service in the following areas: project concept development and strategic planning; programme/project implementation counselling; human resource development (including Board development); participatory programme review and evaluation; organisational assessment and intervention planning; accompaniment services to organizations (including monitoring and coaching for programme managers, and change management); mainstreaming gender and environmental issues into organizations' programmes; and large group intervention to determine clients' needs and preferences. CRUDAN also provides: financial management systems advisory services; fund-raising advisory services for CBOs; Income generating project advisory services for CBOs; and organizational sustainability development planning.

CRUDAN is funded with income from membership fees, annual registration fees, annual dues and grants, and donations from those who are interested in what CRUDAN does. It collaborates with government and networks with other FBOs in its rural programmes, which include most areas of development, including rural development, agriculture, water and sanitation, micro-finance and livelihoods development and training.

■ ***Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC)⁴¹***

The Justice, Development and Peace Commission was created as a Pontifical Commission on January 6, 1967 with the name *Justicia et Pax*. The purposes of the Commission are to awaken in the people of God full awareness of their mission today; and to further the progress of poorer nations and international social justice, in order to secure justice and peace. The Justice, Development and Peace Caritas Commission (JDPC) was established in 1993 as an integral development Commission. The vision of JDPC is a future in which Church members, through Christian Communities and a vibrant liturgical and sacramental life, are enlightened and God-fearing; promoting justice, peace and human

dignity through reconciliation and healing, the fulfillment of human needs, the exercise of human rights and celebrating the integrity of creation. JDPC in Oyo State's Mission Statement is:

Fired by a radical witness to the gospel of Jesus Christ inspired by Christian Charity and guided by Catholic Social Teaching, the Justice Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) of the Catholic Archdiocese of Jos shall promote the dignity and fullness of human life through the facilitation of community participation, towards the attainment of human needs; inspire civic responsibilities, care and protection of all God's creation; and work in the spirit of collaboration with all others who strive for Justice, Development and Peace.

Its goals/objectives are to:

- promote justice especially for the marginalized
- train religious and laity for holistic human transformation
- attain an integrated health care ministry
- initiate an Integrated Rural/Urban Development programme
- develop a Diocesan water provision programme
- organize local cooperative societies
- ensure regular self-evaluation of diocesan social development policy.

The National Office of the JDPC/Caritas is a unit of the Department of Church and Society in the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria (CSN), which also includes a Health Unit, a Family and Human Life Unit and an Education Unit. The department is headed by a Director who reports to the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria through the Secretary-General of the CSN. JDPC operates nationwide through its network of nine Provincial offices and 51 Diocesan offices.

The activities of the Commission in development matters include policy-making for the dioceses in specific areas of social development and advising the Ordinary⁴² on all related issues; coordinating all programmes relating to social welfare; rural, urban and water development; and animation for integral human development; and recommending programme and project proposals to the Ordinary for funding. The major sources of funding for the JDPC have been a Multi-Level Marketing Support Card Programme, Church collections and donations from members of the public. A few foreign donors contribute to activities by different branches, including Misereor Germany, the National Democratic

Institute (Washington DC), Comitato S. Andrea Ap. Labico Onlus (Rome) and the European Union (Via Ijebu Ode JDPC).

The Director reported that the organization has been making efforts to reach out to the government, but that this has not really yielded positive results, although it partnered with the government to monitor the most recent election. JDPC is engaged in advocacy with the government in most states of the federation and works with other organizations, especially NGOs.

■ *Pro Labore Dei*⁴³

Pro Labore Dei was founded on 16th May, 1990 in Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State. It began as a response to God's call to Sister Stella-Maris Okonkwo to "Go out into the streets and slum areas where people are suffering and look after the poor". She began the work with a few destitute people in the Bere area of Ibadan with only a few Nairas in her pocket. Six weeks later she received the blessing and approval of the then Bishop of Ibadan Diocese, Rt. Rev. Dr. Felix Alaba Job (now Archbishop). Pro Labore Dei was registered around year 2000 as a faith-based organization. All the branches in Nigeria benefit from this national registration, and so they do not have to register at branch level.

The main focus areas of Pro Labore Dei are service delivery, empowerment and advocacy. In the area of service delivery, the organization has schools for orphans and vulnerable children, providing hospital services for them as well as other destitute people, and provides clothing and other essentials for the destitute. The organization also renders pastoral care to members of society, teaching and counselling them about marital and other issues.

The founder is the chief coordinator, while the 26 branches also have coordinators. Group members organize the activities, while members who are sisters take care of the children. Up to 70 people work for Pro Labore Dei as a whole, with about ten in the Enugu branch. Its headquarters is at Balogun Ibikunle Village, Ibadan, on a plot of 9.2 acres, with 15 houses housing over 50 needy adults and babies. It also has five branches in America, two in London and three in Sierra Leone. The major sources of funding include donations and the proceeds from the sale of soap, cream and ginger drinks, as well as money made by the skill acquisition centre. Pro Labore Dei reports that it has no

relationships with the government or its agencies except for registration, but it does collaborate with other FBOs, both Muslim and Christian, which donate money and other items for the upkeep of those it supports.

■ ***Urban Ministry***⁴⁴

The Urban Ministry (UM) began in 1991. After evaluating the need for and usefulness of the proposed programme, it was launched in Jos, Plateau State. As an arm of the Christian Reformed World Relief Committee (CRWRC) and Christian Reformed World Missions (CRWM), which are headquartered in North America and work around the world, UM began its work in Jos and quickly spread to Lagos, Abuja and Makurdi.

The vision of UM is an empowered, interdependent and holistic sustainable organization helping in the transformation of the urban poor in Nigeria. Its mission is to promote the holistic development of the urban poor in Nigeria. It aspires to empower poor people to be more useful to themselves and their communities, empowering participants to appreciate their role in society, and to become economically self-reliant and better informed about what is happening in their community and nation. UM is not a church and is not affiliated with any specific denomination. It exists to cooperate with local churches to improve urban environmental conditions and to upgrade the spiritual, physical and social wellbeing of the urban populace, thereby promoting peace, justice and unity and enhancing the economic welfare of families and the growth of churches.

■ ***Christian Health Association of Nigeria (CHAN)***⁴⁵

The Christian Health Association of Nigeria (CHAN) was founded in 1973 by the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria, the Christian Council of Nigeria and the Northern Christian Medical Advisory Council (known as the Founding Fathers). Its original function was primarily to represent the views of Nigerian voluntary medical organizations to the government, advising on the integration of these organizations in government planning and acting as a central point for the exchange of views and expression of new ideas. Today, CHAN is a not-for-profit service organization, coordinating church-sponsored health care throughout Nigeria. In accordance with its mission, CHAN assists its member institutions (MIs) “in reaching more people, especially the unreached, with health services in Nigeria that are good quality, affordable and patient friendly.” Its members see themselves as continuing the

healing ministry of Christ by providing good quality and affordable health services for all who need them, irrespective of their religious affiliation.

As an umbrella organization, CHAN facilitates co-operation on health matters among its members from 23 major churches at local, state and federal levels. It aims to build members' capacity to better serve the health needs of the people of Nigeria, irrespective of their gender, ethnic origin or religious affiliation. Its great achievement is to have brought together diverse Christian denominations, showing both ecumenical unity, the will to act effectively and the ability to speak with one voice. Although the CHAN umbrella association promotes best practice among its members and offers guidelines for health care provision, the MIs are autonomous and free to prioritize and adapt these guidelines to their own service delivery and operational situation. CHAN's MIs between them constitute the oldest and largest health care infrastructure in Nigeria, second only to the government. According to estimates provided by the World Health Organization (WHO) office in Nigeria, CHAN may well be responsible for at least 40 per cent of health care provision in Nigeria, especially in the rural areas.

Established as a representative body for networking and information gathering and dissemination, in 1979 CHAN went on to establish CHAN Drug Supply Services or CHANpharm, as it is now known. Supported by grants from Northern donors, CHANpharm soon became a source of safe, quality and affordable drugs for members of CHAN. Today, CHANpharm operates as a separate entity in order to ensure the sustainability of its operation. In the same year, Primary Health Care Services (PHCS) was set up to collect and disseminate information and help members to improve their holistic Primary Health Care (PHCS).

CHAN currently has almost 400 MIs, comprising 140 hospitals, 187 clinics delivering maternal and primary health care, 23 rural health programmes and four leprosaria. In total, the MIs operate some 4,000 outreach health facilities, many of which are situated in remote rural areas, fulfilling CHAN's stated objective of "Reaching the Unreached". In some of the remotest areas, these are the only health care provision available. Among its members, CHAN includes the oldest health institution in the country, the Sacred Heart Hospital, Lantoro Abeokuta, Ogun State, which was established as a health facility in 1880 by the Catholic French Society of African Missions to cater for the needs of a leper colony. Today, it employs 120 nurses and 14 doctors, and operates four out-stations.

CHAN's services are administered through four geographical zones (A, B, C and D), with headquarters in Numan, Jos, Emekuku and Ibadan respectively. Activities are co-ordinated by a central office in Jos. CHAN reports that it has consciously striven to achieve a gender balance among its zonal staff, and to date three of the zonal Public Health Care managers are women and one is a man, while there are two female and two male pharmacists. Each zone has an administrative office, supervised by a Zonal Committee. CHAN's governing body, the National Executive Committee, is composed of nominees from each of the Founding Fathers' Groups, comprising the Catholic Bishops Conference, the Christian Council of Nigeria and the Northern Christian Medical Advisory Council, chairmen of CHAN's zonal councils and the Secretary General. The President is elected on a rotational basis for a four year term. The Board of Trustees is made up of representatives of the Founding Fathers' Groups. The daily activities of CHAN are managed by a central management unit based in Jos, headed by the Secretary General. Similarly, zonal activities are managed by CHAN's zonal offices, each with a supervising zonal council made up of representatives of the various institutions in the zone.

■ *People Oriented Development of ECWA*⁴⁶

The Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA) is an indigenous church, which aims to glorify God in all its programmes. It pursues this goal through the establishment of various ministries (departments and agencies), one of which is People Oriented Development (POD). Prior to the formation of POD in 1989, ECWA Rural Development and ECWA Community Health Programme were ministering, especially to the rural poor. By the mid-1980s, a number of evaluations revealed that these two departments were not really meeting the numerous needs of the rural poor, due to the ineffectiveness of their strategies and the downturn of the Nigerian economy. The departments agreed to change their approach, which led to a series of re-orientations to focus on community-based development. A decision to merge the Extension Section of ECWA Rural Development and the Preventive Healthcare unit of ECWA Community Health Programme was then taken, forming POD.

The mandate of POD of ECWA is holistic community-based development as an act of demonstrating God's love to mankind. Its goal is for Nigerian communities to attain sustainable holistic development and its mission to promote sustainable holistic development activities through effective animation and capacity building. POD believes that although Nigeria is a rich country, most of its citizens live in rural

and underprivileged communities, are poor and are rarely reached by the development programmes meant to benefit them. These are the types of communities with which POD works. POD's strategy is two-pronged: animation and capacity building. Field staff (especially Community Development Officers, CDOs) are trained in various animation techniques, including Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) tools, which enable them to facilitate the development process in the communities with which they work. They also facilitate/coach the implementation of any projects that communities decide to embark upon. The aim is to enable communities to implement projects in ways that are relevant to their situation, using locally available resources (e.g. Participatory Technology Development). Community Development Committees (CDCs) formed by the people are empowered through training to carry out development activities on their own and to eventually take over the role of the CDOs.

In terms of principal officers, the organization has a governing council, a chairman, the coordinator of the programme and volunteer staff. The members of the ECWA church are the members of the People Oriented Development organization. POD's major sources of funding are offerings by church members, usually three times a year. Its relationship with government depends on the location of the branch. In Kano, for instance, the organization does not have a good relationship with the government, since the Governor is a Muslim. It was reported that it is even difficult for the organization to secure permission to construct church buildings. The organization works alone and does not collaborate or network with any other organization.

■ ***Catholic Women Organization***⁴⁷

The Catholic Women Organization was founded in 1963 by Chief Honorable Mrs. Okoye. Its Enugu branch was registered in 1963 as a faith-based organization and there are other branches all over Nigeria. The Catholic Women Organization has a wide range of activities covering service delivery, community development/economic empowerment, advocacy/civil rights, conflict resolution, and post-disaster/emergency relief, as well as pastoral care. In Enugu State, in terms of economic empowerment, the organization has a skill acquisition school where those who are less privileged can learn a trade of their choice. The school has produced many graduates who are working in different places. The organization has also helped those who have suffered disasters by providing food and clothing.

In terms of organizational structure, there is a World Council of Catholic Women Organizations, then the National Council of Catholic Women in Nigeria, and then organizations for each Province of the Catholic Church, with thousands of branches nationwide. There are ten provinces, each divided into dioceses, in which of which there are ecclesiastic secretary organizers. For example in Onitsha Ecclesiastical Province, there are seven dioceses: Onitsha, Awka, Nnewe, Enugu, Abakaliki, Nssuka and Oguro. In Enugu there is a President General, Secretary General and treasurer. In Enugu State alone, the Catholic Women Organization has 168 branches from diocesan to parish level and its membership is said to run into several thousands. The organization has several sources of funding, including levies, dues, school fees from the organization's schools, and donations from overseas countries as well as from within Nigeria. The informant reported that the organization has a very good relationship with the government in Enugu, with which it has interacted from time to time, but that it does not really collaborate with other organizations.

■ *Daughters of Divine Charity*⁴⁸

Daughters of Divine Charity home was established in 1992 for the purpose of taking care of less privileged people, especially women and children. The organization was registered as a faith-based organization. Its headquarters is in Enugu and it only operates in Enugu State. It is involved in service delivery and economic empowerment. In terms of service delivery, the organization takes care of single mothers and their babies, in terms of both their physical needs, such as food and clothing, and their health. With regard to economic empowerment, the organization has a skill acquisition programme in which mothers are trained so that, when they return to the larger society, they will be able to sustain themselves. Being a Catholic organization, Daughters of Divine Charity is also involved in pastoral care, making sure that the children in their care are spiritually developed. It also operates a centre called the Pro-life Centre.

The Mother-General is the proprietor, while three sisters direct the affairs of the organization and others assist with the day-to-day running of the home, which at the time of the interview had 37 residents, mostly single mothers and abandoned children found in the streets. The organization depends on money from the congregation and contributions from the sisters managing the organization, who contribute from their monthly salaries. It was said that the State government assists with foodstuffs for the children. The organization reported that it interacts fairly well with the State

government, which has on more than one occasion visited the home and donated both cash and other items for the residents. Other than attending an occasional seminar, there is no specific collaboration with other organizations.

■ *Marist Brothers*⁴⁹

Marist Brothers is a religious congregation in the Catholic Church, which was started in 1876 in France by a young priest and established in the early 1970s in Enugu State. It was registered as a national organization; the branches do not have separate registration. The headquarters is in Enugu and there are twelve branches nationwide. The Marist Brothers are involved in service delivery, advocacy/civil rights, emergency relief and economic empowerment, as well as pastoral care. In terms of service delivery, the organization established a rehabilitation centre following the civil war for people who had suffered amputations, or were disabled or abandoned. The Brothers are also very active in rehabilitating cured lepers, who are economically empowered by providing a large expanse of land to farm and also helping them to market their products. The organization also has a skill acquisition centre where residents learn different trades. In the area of pastoral care, the organization takes care of the spiritual needs of residents by building a church where residents worship. It is also active in providing emergency relief for those affected by disasters.

The organizational structure of Marist Brothers in Nigeria is at three levels: the Provincial and members of his council, the superior/ director of the house, other brothers and members of the house or community comprised of the residents/beneficiaries. Marist Brothers in Nigeria have about 50 'prophets' (worldwide about 4,600) and 100 laymen working to make sure that the residents are adequately taken care of. There are a large number of beneficiaries, who in Enugu are cured lepers who are being rehabilitated. The major sources of funding are money realized from the various schools they run and support from overseas countries, especially German Leprosy. The informant reported that the organization has made efforts to reach out to the government but that these have not yielded positive results. The organization has not really been collaborating with other organizations; members have only been attending seminars organized by others when what is being discussed is related to their own activities.

■ ***Guardian Angel Motherless Babies Home***⁵⁰

A monk started the Guardian Angel Motherless Babies Home in Emene in Enugu State in 1999, but could not obtain full authority from his home country, Austria, to stay in Nigeria, so came back to hand the home over to the Catholic Church. He left the home in the hands of the bishop, Right Rev. Dr. A.O. Uju. The present coordinator was then called to come and manage the orphanage. The organization was registered as faith based organization in October 28th, 1999. The home has taken care of over 120 orphans and vulnerable children since its inception. Like most Catholic organizations, the bishop is the head of the home, while others work under him to see to its smooth running, including a Monsignor, a Matron, five reverend sisters and eleven other workers. At the time of the study, the home was caring for about 40 children and some single parents. It depends on donations of money or materials from well-meaning individuals and also solicits for funds from the diocese. Others volunteer from time to time to pay the salaries of its workers. It does not work with any other organization except for other sisters in the Catholic Church, or with the government.

■ ***New Generation (of CAN)***⁵¹

The date of establishment of the New Generation could not be ascertained. It is a youth wing of the Christian Association of Nigeria and is said to be as old as Christianity in Kano State. It is now a legally registered nationwide organization with headquarters in Abuja and branches in all the states of the federation. The main focus of the organization is on service delivery, youth empowerment and pastoral care. In terms of service delivery, the organization is very active in helping orphanages. Resource persons are employed to teach young people business skills and how to set up small-scale industries. With regard to pastoral care, the organization has members who sensitize people to and preach the gospel. Membership of the organization is open to all Christian youths and so it is large, with many volunteer members but no paid staff.

The organizational structure consists of a president, vice president, secretary, assistant secretary, public relations officer, prayer secretary and so on – a total of about twelve. There are then sub-groups attached to the various offices. The major source of funding is through donations from various sources, including individuals and churches. The organization reports that it has good relationships with the government and its agencies. Recently, for example, it invited the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency to talk to young people about the problems associated with abuse of drugs. It

collaborates with other organizations, both Christian and Muslim, mostly in the area of conflict resolution.

■ ***Nigerian Christian Corpers Fellowship (NCCF)***⁵²

The Nigerian Christian Corpers Fellowship was established in 1973. It is registered with the Corporate Affairs Commission. The headquarters is in Jos but it has branches in every state of the federation. Its main activities are humanitarian services, reaching out to the less privileged in villages, helping to provide some basic needs and above all reaching out to them on the need to serve God. The organization has three paid staff in Kano and many volunteer staff. It is organized on three basic levels: the National Delegates Conference, which is the highest body and is comprised of all the presidents and general secretaries of the 36 state branches plus Abuja; a State Executive Council in each; and a general council. Its funds come mainly from member contributions. The organization's relationship with the government is reported to be cordial, since it can relate to the government through the National Youth Service Corp, and it also collaborates with other organizations.

■ ***Project Living Springs***⁵³

Project Living Springs is a new organization that is at present working only in Kano and Jigawa States and is in the process of being registered. It is concerned with service delivery, especially the provision of education, and also pastoral care, in order to develop the spirituality of the children it is education. At the time of the study, 209 children are beneficiaries. The organization has a director, two other paid staff and seven volunteer workers. It is led by a Chairperson who heads the board. Its funds are donations from individuals. It collaborates with other organizations with the same focus, which have the same vision, but has no specific relationship with the government.

■ ***Mothers' Union***⁵⁴

The Mothers Union in Nigeria was formed in 1979, and is now present in ten ecclesiastical provinces, including over 90 dioceses. Its organization is legally registered at the national level and has about 120 branches, with a large membership. The Kano branch has about 500 members and many volunteer workers, but only one paid staff member.

Nationally, projects range from health projects, to agricultural support, to literacy groups, and income generating schemes operate in many dioceses. The projects vary, depending on the diocese, since needs vary considerably. Shariah (Islamic) law in many parts of the north exposes the church to quite a few challenges and the Mothers' Union in these areas is key in providing its members with fellowship and support – in this region Christians can be persecuted for their beliefs and the Mothers' Union strives to encourage and equip people in their faith. Literacy and Basic life skills classes are reported to have been effective in a practical way, enabling members to reach people in their communities and help build trust in local areas prone to religious tension. Farming is difficult in this area too, as much of the land is desert. Members have established centres where people can learn alternative skills, in the hope that they can broaden their skill base and support themselves and their families when farming becomes difficult. In contrast, dioceses in the east and west of Nigeria boast a better climate, making farming easier. Diocesan projects in this area have encouraged communities to generate income through poultry farming, and palm oil and cassava processing. In a country where ethnic and religious tensions can run high, the role of women in Nigerian society can be difficult. The organization believes that its members' work really does empower many who may not ordinarily have the opportunity to attend courses, or even have fellowship with others. The sense of empowerment that can be felt through working together or setting up a project for their community is, it is asserted, invaluable for many of these women.

In terms of the structure of the organization, in each diocese it has a president who is the diocesan Bishop's wife, a vice president who is the senior pastor's wife, a secretary, assistant secretary, financial secretary and treasurer. Its main sources of funds are donations and levies. It collaborates with Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) to organize programmes, prayer seminars/conferences and visits to prisons, as the need arises.

3.5 Socio-political organizations

Socio-political organizations interpret and deploy faith as a political construct, organizing and mobilizing social groups on the basis of their faith identities in pursuit of broader political objectives or, alternatively, promoting faith as a means of uniting disparate social groups on the basis of their faith-based cultural identity (Clarke, 2006). As discussed above, organizations with a religious background are actors and partners in relief, reconstruction and development work, as well as providers of social

services and safety nets. They can also play an important role as forces for social organization, change and advocacy. As earlier noted, some of the FBOs in Nigeria identified as development organizations are also involved in socio-political activities. Brief profiles of some Muslim and Christian organizations are presented in turn below.

3.5.1 A profile of some Islamic socio-political organizations

The organizations discussed below are those the research team came across during the fieldwork. They are not discussed in any particular order since the exact sizes of the organizations are not known.

■ ***Jama'tu Nasril Islam***⁵⁵

As described in Section 2.3.1, the Jama'tu Nasri Islam (JNI) was founded in 1961 by the late Sarduna of Sokoto and the first Premier of Northern Nigeria, Sir, Ahmadu Bello. Membership is open to all Muslims and it is headed by a President-General, the Sultan of Sokoto, and administratively by a Secretary-General, with various departments and supporting staff. The organization has various committees and sub-committees e.g. the Health, Social Welfare and Disaster Committee. The Secretary-General runs the day-to-day activities assisted by numerous sub-committees and other executive committee officials. The first constitution was ratified in 1964 and revised in 1975 and 1989. The objectives of the organization, as expressed in the constitution, include: the propagation of Islam; the establishment of schools and hospitals; the organization of lectures, seminars and conferences for the promotion of Islam; the production of Islamic literature in Nigerian languages; and unification of the various Muslim sects and groups in the Northern Region. In essence, the JNI is a convergence of several religious groups and sects, traditional rulers, and other scholars. Originally Northern-based in terms of its activities and support, it has subsequently expanded to other parts of the country.

The initial aims of JNI were purely religious - to spread Islam and educate Muslims on Islam. It established many schools, including a Muslim university, and also works for the establishment of Islamic Studies departments in Nigerian universities and encourages the study of Islam. JNI wanted to continue with dan Fodio's *jihad* and for that reason one of its objectives is to train and send missionaries throughout the nation. Matthew Kukah reports that according to the government of Northern Nigeria, "JNI sought to encourage Islamic literature in Nigerian vernacular languages, build

mosques and encourage Islamic centers of learning” (Kukah, 1993, p. 43). Its vision is to establish an Islamic state in Nigeria, encouraging Muslims to claim a very large population. JNII has also had a political dimension. For example in 1965 and 1966 it was involved in radical politics, presenting a strong voice concerning the 1966 military coup, which it described as a Christian attack on Muslims. Subsequently, it assumed a position of opposition to Christianity, re-focusing from a struggle to unite the north to become a representative voice of all Muslims (Falola, 1998, p.106). Until the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs was formed in 1973, it acted as the main body fighting for Islamic causes. JNII is polemic in its presentations. It delves into pointing out any government activities or policy that does not favour Islam.

The Jama ‘tu Nasril Islam is polemical in its presentations, is the main body that makes demands on behalf of Muslims and is in the forefront of identifying any government activities or policies that it perceives as favouring Christians rather than Muslims. It was in the forefront of the struggle for Nigeria to become a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and has supported the introduction, and implementation of *Shariah* law. It also undertakes many social projects and has started schools, drawing up and introducing syllabi in line with the requirements of the Ministry of Education, paying and supervising the teachers, and soliciting grants from the government of Nigeria and Muslim nations. It also established a bookshop to supply books to Muslim schools and Muslim literature to the general public.

■ ***Centre for Human Rights in Islam (CHRI)***⁵⁶

The Centre for Human Rights in Islam was set up in Kano to promote and protect human rights from a Muslim point of view and was legally registered in April 2003. The establishment of the organization was motivated by adultery cases such as those of Safiya Hussaini and Amina Lawal. It only operated in Kano at the time of the study but had plans to establish branches in Kaduna, Katsina, Jigawa, Bauchi, and Zamfara States. The organization focuses on advocacy and civil rights. Its main activities include workshops to build the capacity of NGOs on human rights, making radio and television programmes, and counselling youth and married couples on how to guarantee their rights. It has eight paid staff: an executive director, programme manager, administrative officer, public relations officer, financial secretary, auditor and an office assistant. There also security men and youth corpsers. Its major sources of funds are grants and money made from the businesses it runs. The organization

networks with others, including NGOs and CBOs, both in Kano and even internationally, but does not interact with the government.

3.5.2 A profile of some Christian socio-political organizations

The organizations profiled below are those the research team came across during the fieldwork. They are not discussed in any particular order.

■ ***Justice Development and Peace Commission (JDPC)***⁵⁷

As earlier noted, some FBOs undertake different types of activities. The Justice Development and Peace Caritas Commission (JDPC) is one. It has a broad approach to human development. At the human rights level, it responds to human rights violations by investigating cases to verify claims and then using administrative processes to seek redress, including writing to agencies like the National Human Rights and Public Complaints Commissions to solicit their intervention. In rare cases, JDPC has taken human rights violation cases to court. In the area of democracy monitoring and civic education, JDPC has engaged in a variety of activities, including training and deploying monitors during elections to check rigging and violence, monitoring of elected local government officials and local government policies and budgets, and making information about local governance accessible to CBOs and trade unions to enhance their oversight functions. The peace-building programme of the JDPC is carried out in partnership with CARITAS. Since the return to democracy in 1999 and the increase in violent conflict that Nigeria has experienced, the JDPC has started working in the area of peace (Ibrahim and Bagu, 2004).

■ ***The Ecumenical Commission of Justice and Peace (ECJP)***⁵⁸

The ECJP is an NGO under the Methodist Church, which conducts democracy and governance monitoring, human rights activism and conflict management activities. In 2000, the Benue State branch responded to the increasing incidence of conflict in the state by promoting civic education activities in communities, in order to uncover the root causes of the conflicts and initiate forums for dialogue and the development and implementation of preventive measures. ECJP reports that it has successfully engaged the support of traditional councils, opinion leaders, state officials, religious leaders, community organizations and business leaders, and claims that it has conducted several small-scale intervention efforts.

3.6 Missionary organizations

Missionary organizations seek to spread key faith messages beyond the faithful, by actively promoting the faith and seeking converts to it, or by supporting and engaging with other faith communities on the basis of key faith principles (Clarke, 2006). Key informants provided the names of many organizations that could be categorized as missionary organizations. Many of them, however, could not be reached during the fieldwork for this national overview of FBOs. Some of those mentioned that could not be reached include: Agape Rural Evangelism and Missions; Bible Society of Nigeria; The Catholic Charismatic Renewal of Nigeria (CCRN); Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, Nigeria; Global Redemption Outreach Inc.; Glory Of God Christian International Outreach Ministry (GGCIOM); Greater Evangelism World Crusade; Master's Life Ministries; Nikaolife Ministries; Opus Dei, Nigeria; Real Woman Foundation; The Reconciliation Life International; Spread the Word Ministries; Transformation Christian Ministry (Inc); Uma Ukpai Evangelistic Association; Young Women's Christian Association; Young Disciples International; and Worldwide Ministries of Bamidele Moyo-Angel (a.k.a The Spokenword Ministries). These are indigenous FBOs but were not located in the states selected for the research.

3.6.1 A profile of some Islamic missionary organizations

A number of Muslim missionary organizations were encountered during the fieldwork and are profiled below.

■ *Ansarudeen Society*⁶⁹

Ansarudeen Society is a Muslim organization founded in 1923 in Lagos by Yoruba Muslims as a reaction to the activities of Christian missionaries in Yorubaland. The society today has branches all over the country and headquarters in Lagos. One of its earliest branches in the north was founded in 1944 in Kano, where it also has active branches today in Kwara, Niger, Kaduna and Kogi. The aims of the Society are: to build and maintain educational institutions and promote the religious, moral and social advancement of all Muslims, and to defend Islam against all attacks and aggression from other religions. It is funded by dues paid by its members and has little or no direct relationship with government, instead linking with government through other major organizations like the JNI and FOMWAN.

■ *Council of Ulama*⁶⁰

The national Council of *Ulama* (religious scholars and teachers) was established by the emergent modern Muslim intelligentsia in 1980, while the Kano branch was established in 1983. The headquarters of the organization is currently in Abuja, and it has branches in most of the northern states. The immediate motivating factor behind the formation of the Council revolved around the desire for Muslim unity in the face of the growing Muslim-Christian tension that had gripped the country in the 1980s. Thus the formation of the Council of *Ulama* was aimed at uniting the divided Muslim *Ummah* to speak with one voice and articulate a Muslim position on religious and political developments. The organization mainly attracted western-educated Muslim intellectuals from the Universities at Zaria, Kano and Sokoto and from the judiciary as members, but also representatives of the old orthodox religious movements and sects.

The main activities of the organization are pastoral care and emergency relief services. It also organizes seminars, talks and retreats for Imams, Muslim leaders and the general public, and lectures and paid announcements on the radio and television. In addition, it runs programmes on Islamic codes of conduct for the police, soldiers and retired people. In respect of emergency relief, materials are sent to places devastated by natural disasters and to victims of conflict. It has only four paid staff, a Secretary, Assistant Secretary, cleaner and messenger, otherwise relying on volunteers who are only paid their expenses. Funds come from member contributions and donations from the State government and individuals who are interested in the organization's activities. It reports a good relationship with the government, which has supported the organization financially and materially, especially providing vehicles and pieces of land. The organization collaborates with other Muslim FBOs such as the Izala, the Rijjaniya and the Derika, especially to try and resolve misunderstandings.

■ *Muslim Students Society*⁶¹

As noted above, the first major Muslim youth organization established in Nigeria was the Muslim Students Society (MSS), which

...was founded in 1954 by young Yoruba Muslims who felt oppressed in Christian schools on account of their faith. By 1957, the MSS had branches in most secondary schools throughout the Western Region and also at the University of Ibadan. In the 1970s MSS had ... opened branches in all schools and universities in Northern Nigeria. The branches at the tertiary institutions in the Northern States, especially at Bayero University,

Kano and Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria turned into the most active Muslim youth movement in the country.... The impact of the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s, and the Islamic resurgence that accompanied the Iranian revolution transformed the MSS into a radical Islamic movement. Although the radical posture and activism of MSS has declined..., it has remained the only major recognized Muslim students movement (Ibrahim et al, 2006, p. 26-7).

Today, it has branches in all secondary schools and higher education institutions with Muslim students, all of whom are presumed to be automatic members of the organization. The organization is divided into two zones: zone A is comprised of the 19 Northern States, with headquarters in Zaria, while zone B has headquarters in Lagos and includes all the other States.

In addition, the MSS has served and still serves as a credible arena for the production of future Muslim leaders and activists in the wider Nigerian society. Former members ...have stayed together in a loose network, the '*Ummah*' although they vehemently wish to do away with any formal name or membership structure (with the exception of the Sokoto branch that took a local identity, while remaining part of the main body- *Jama'atul Muslimeen*). Still, they have Amirs in the bigger ..towns in the North served by a national secretariat, the National Islamic Centre in Zaria (previously located on the premises of the Islamic Trust). They congregate twice a year in the Easter and Christmas breaks for conferences and conventions, the communiqués of which are widely disseminated in the mainstream media. These ex-MSS intellectuals from the universities in Zaria, Kano, Sokoto and Maiduguri provided the intellectual groundwork that made the implementation of Shariah in the northern states a reality (Ibrahim et al, 2006, p. 27).

In terms of organizational structure, the MSS has a National President and a vice president for each zone, also a Secretary, Treasurer, and Financial Secretary. There also committees to coordinate some programmes. Most of the organization's funds come from its members, but donations are also given by well-meaning individuals. The organization reports that it has a good relationship with the government, carrying out activities even in government-owned schools and receiving occasional government support for its programmes. The organization collaborates with other Muslim organizations such as the Council of Ulama and the Usman Bin Affan to provide pastoral care.

■ ***The Muslim Sisters' Organization***⁶²

The Muslim Sisters' Organization (MSO) came into existence in 1976 in Kano, where its national headquarters and most active branch are located. Its major focus is to educate and enhance the

Islamic knowledge of Muslim women, youth and children. It runs several Islamiyya schools and skills centres in Kano (Ibrahim et al, 2006, p. 27).

■ ***Anwar-ul Islam Movement of Nigeria***⁶³

The Anwar-ul Islam Movement of Nigeria, formerly known as the Ahmadiyya Movement-In-Islam of Nigeria, was founded in the year 1916. It can be described as the pioneer Muslim organization in the southern parts of the country, if not indeed the whole of the Federation. The Movement was founded by members of the Muslim Literary Society and Juvenile Muslim Society in Lagos. The aim of the Anwar-ul Islam - meaning the light of the religion of Islam - is summarized as “to reform the Muslim world morally, intellectually, socially, religiously and spiritually and to realize in all walks of life the ideals of Islam as taught in the Holy Quran and exemplified in the life, character and spirit of the Holy Prophet Mohammed (PBOH)”. The objectives of the Movement are: “to study, teach and spread Islam according to the Holy Quran throughout the World”.

The management of the Movement is vested in its National Executive Council, which is composed of (i) Not less than 20 representatives elected by the respective missions (branches); (ii) Eleven nominated members selected by the elected representatives after the general election, which is held every four years under the Constitution (revised in 1992); (iii) The President, who is the head of the Movement; (iv) the Vice President; (v) National General Secretary with two Assistant Secretaries; (vi) National Treasurer; (vii) Financial Secretary; (viii) Legal Adviser; (ix) Publicity Officer; (x) Welfare Officer; and (xi) Education Officer, who is the Chairman of the Movement’s Committee on Education. There are six Trustees. The Movement, which has grown over the years, has spread throughout Nigeria from its base and headquarters in Lagos. There are at least 55 branches in other parts of Nigeria (Missions), including Epe, Ijede, Kaduna, Zaria, Birnin Kebbi, Danbatta, Ijebu-Ode, Ibadan, Port Harcourt, Kano, Minna, Funtua, Tegin, Agbowa, Mainland, Benin, Agege, Ikorodu, Oyo, Shagamu, Iwo, Sokoto, Ara, Ogbomosho, Iseyin, Asa, Itire, Bode Osi, Oba Oke, Ile-Ogbo, Okeho and Oluponna. Each Mission has its their own Executive Council headed by a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and other relevant officers.

3.6.2 A profile of some Christian missionary organizations

The organizations discussed below are those the research team came across during the fieldwork.

■ *BEGE Ministries International*⁶⁴

BEGE Ministries started in 1999 in response to the Muslim-Christian conflicts in Nigeria that have taken and continue to take innocent lives. It has headquarters in Abuja and is a missionary organization that also supports converts from Muslim, although it also claims that it strives to bring about religious dialogue and to promote mutual respect among the various religious groups in Nigeria and Sub-Saharan Africa. BEGE Ministries claim to be specialists in both Islam and Christianity, and to reach out to both Muslims and Christians, but in practice it is a ministry that specializes in reaching out to former Muslims facing persecution as a result of their faith. In particular, BEGE assists Muslims who are forced out of their homes following conversion, rehabilitating them as well as providing legal services to assist them to practice their faith without harassment from individuals or corporate entities. BEGE means hope in Hausa, a name derived from the loss of hope experienced by Muslims and other converts to Christianity.

First, BEGE provides a refuge or half-way house for converts immediately following their conversion and then instructs them in the meaning of their new Christian faith. Third, it trains Muslim converts in livelihood skills such as carpentry, animal husbandry, mechanics or metal work, and also trains converts and other Christians who believe they have a calling to undertake ministry among Muslims. Finally, it supports them in proselytizing. BEGE therefore means Begin, Empower, Go and Enlarge. It also produces publications, provides the children of converts and missionaries with education, awards scholarships to enable the children of converts to complete higher education, and runs an HIV/AIDS awareness programme. It cooperates with other Christian churches and organizations to bring the gospel to Muslims.

■ *Serving In Mission (SIM)*⁶⁵

As outlined above, SIM began work in Nigeria in 1893 when Walter Gowans, Thomas Kent, and Roland Bingham attempted to take the gospel inland. Gowans and Kent died within the first year; and Bingham returned to Canada. In 1900, Bingham made a second journey to Nigeria, but this second venture failed due to sickness. In 1901, he returned to Nigeria for a third time and began work among the Nupe

tribe. By 1902 the first station had been opened. Since then SIM has pioneered mission in 30 language areas, especially in the north, and in particular through medical ministry. SIM Nigeria's vision is to be a community of missionaries who support and empower one another for ministry and influence. It envisions a church in Nigeria led by servant leaders committed to discipleship and training, who have a strong witness in the community and are a mighty missionary force within Nigeria and beyond.

In 1954, the SIM-related churches came together to form an indigenous body known as the Evangelical Churches of West Africa (ECWA) (see above). In the following years, mission stations, Bible Schools, academic schools, and medical programmes transferred to ECWA leadership. Today SIM Nigeria partners with ECWA to support the education of young people and missionary work including evangelism, church planting and medical mission, through publication of resources (including scriptures in local languages), leadership development, etc. In 1974, the SIM literature ministry, including about 30 bookstores and the production of *Today's Challenge* magazine, was incorporated into an indigenous organization called ECWA Productions Limited. On November 19, 1976, ECWA accepted responsibility for all the remaining SIM ministries. ECWA runs eight seminaries or Bible colleges and 15 theological training institutes. More than 1,600 missionaries from ECWA churches serve with the Evangelical Missionary Society (EMS), the missionary arm of ECWA, among unreached people in Nigeria (of which, according to SIM, there are at least 120) and other countries. All SIM missionaries in Nigeria entered a new role of partnership with ECWA, helping to train Nigerian leaders as well as aid in the task of reaching Nigerians with the gospel. A Memorandum of Understanding between ECWA and SIM was signed in February, 1998.

■ ***Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)***⁶⁶

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) is a Christian organization which was founded in London in 1844 and claims therefore to be the oldest NGO in the world today. It has spread to over 130 countries and has a total membership of 30 million. It was founded in the city of Kano in Nigeria in 1925 and it is a not-for-profit organization. Its aim is to serve young people, irrespective of religion, tribe or creed (Ibrahim et al, 2006, p. 12).

In 2000, realizing that the rising level of youth unemployment constituted a security risk in Nasarawa State, as many of the unemployed youth often became involved in communal, religious and ethnic conflict, decided to reduce the number who were unemployed by providing them with education for self employment.

For example it ran a small scale training programme for 32 at-risk youths in the Mada Hills area. Its secretariat in Kaduna was burnt down during the November 2002 Muslim-Christian clashes over the Miss World Beauty Pageant, it still provided a basketball court for a project “using basketball to cultivate tolerance and peaceful coexistence among Christian and Muslim youth. Up to date [according to Ibrahim et al] the basketball court is still said to serve as a ‘Peace Zone’ in the Muslim-dominated Tudun Wada neighbourhood of Kaduna metropolis” (Ibrahim et al, 2006, p. 12).

3.7 Conclusion

While it would have been useful to have a description of the relative size and significance of the organizations contacted, the information available to the researchers did not provide this. Although many of the informants were able to provide information on the geographical coverage of their organizations, they could not provide information on membership strength. This report cannot ascertain what proportion of all Muslim or Christian development-related FBOs were found, nor judge the relative importance of their different activities, since not all the FBOs in Nigeria were visited. We can, however, conclude as follows:

- Many Muslim FBOs had their beginnings before Christian FBOs
- Many Muslim FBOs emerged in reaction to Christian missionary activities and the capacity of the missions to combine religious and educational, as well as health and social activities. Ansarudeen Society, for example, was founded in 1923 as a reaction to the activities of Christian missionaries in education.
- In the beginning, FBOs (both Muslim and Christian) were formed to address mainly religious and social matters
- Many Muslim FBOs later turned political because they felt that politics was the best medium for addressing some of the issues with which they were concerned, so Muslim Islamic FBOs were the first to have a political flavour to their activities
- The Christian Council of Nigeria (CCN) can be described as the first attempt of the churches in Nigeria to bring together the mainline Protestant churches, mainly to provide education and other social services. It later (1976) metamorphosed into the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), which became the political mouthpiece of the churches.

Table 1 presents a summary of faith-based organizations by type, while Table 2 maps the activities of FBOs and Table 3 presents the spread of types in Nigeria. A quantitative table of FBOs is not presented since not all the states of the federation were visited and not all FBOs in Nigeria were surveyed. Table 1 does not include all the FBOs surveyed, instead presenting examples of the different types of FBOs, based on their activities.

This partial survey of FBOs in Nigeria revealed that they vary greatly in size and reach and not all the FBOs are active. The majority of the examples included in Table 1 are those that can be found in almost all the States of the Federation, or at least in every geopolitical zone of the country. The survey also revealed that a high proportion of religious organizations provide some human services. Most of the FBOs mobilize and rely on deeply engaged volunteers rather than paid staff and are thus in a position to deliver services at low cost. The key advantages of FBOs may therefore include their access to volunteers and location in the communities where services are needed. Many are involved in informal networks, cooperating, coordinating and working together with other organizations within and beyond their own denominations and faith traditions.

It has been suggested that FBOs'

...influence derives from their ability to integrate their messages into broader belief systems, avoiding just delivering 'superficial awareness creation'. Religion also has other comparative advantages in disseminating messages and educating people about [social issues, including] HIV/AIDS. For example, churches and mosques have regular audiences at their places of worship. Local FBO workers and leaders have a history of regular contact and involvement in the daily lives and rituals of their congregations. Within most FBOs, a strong associational infrastructure at the national and local levels exists. Such an advantage is particularly important in rural areas, as many [development]..-related NGOs are concentrated in cities and towns, whereas religious groups often have a strong presence in rural areas.... These grassroots activities have made religious institutions a more present and permanent fixture in ordinary life, especially in rural areas. This associational infrastructure co-exists with a spirit of 'voluntarism' among FBO members.... Religious leaders often can also provide guidance and influence curriculum development in schools. They may be able to engage in advocacy work.... Finally, in many cases religious leaders command a good deal of respect and trust from their congregations (Liebowitz, 2002, p. 10-11).

Table 1: Faith-based organizations by type

Type	Definitions/Comments	Most common Activities	Major examples
Interfaith	These are groups of different congregations, denominations or religions that join together for a common cause, or to provide large-scale services that are beyond the scope of a single congregation.	Promote mutual understanding among the adherents of various religions	Nigerian Inter-Religious Council
		Bring the two major religious groups (Christian and Muslims) together to present a common front in the fight against HIV/AIDS.	Interfaith HIV/AIDS Council of Nigeria
Apex bodies	Apex bodies rule on doctrinal matters, govern the faithful and represent them through engagement with the state and other actors	Spread the Muslim faith across the nation, bring different Muslim groups together to work for the common good of Islam and speak to the government with one voice on Muslim matters	Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs
			Jama 'tu Nasril Islam
		Promote understanding, peace and unity of the churches and speak to the government with one voice on Christian matters	Christian Association of Nigeria
			Christian Council of Nigeria
Development organizations	Development organizations mobilize the faithful in support of the poor and other social groups, and fund or manage programmes that tackle poverty and social exclusion	Service delivery, especially in health and education, an economic (e.g. micro-finance) as well as a community development dimension.	Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria
			Nasrul-Lahil-Il-Fathi Society of Nigeria
			Justice, Development and Peace Commission
			Christian Health Association of Nigeria
			Christian Rural and Urban Development Association of Nigeria
			People Oriented Development
			Urban Ministry
Socio-political organizations	These are organizations that interpret and deploy faith as a political construct, organizing and mobilizing social groups on the basis of their faith identity but in pursuit of broader political objectives	Respond to human rights violations, monitor political processes and governance.	Jama'atu Nasril Islam
			Justice, Development and Peace Commission

Type	Definitions/Comments	Most common Activities	Major examples
Missionary organizations	These are organizations that spread key faith messages beyond the faithful, by actively promoting the faith and seeking converts to it	Proselytizing and providing religious instruction for members of their own religion, sometimes providing social services on the basis of key faith principles.	Ansarudeen Society Islamic Foundation of Nigeria Council of <i>Ulama</i> Muslim Students Society Muslim Sisters' Organization Anwar-ul Islam Movement BEGE Ministries Int Serving In Mission Young Men's Christian Association

Table 2: Matrix of organizational types of FBOs and their activities

Activity Type	Islamic FBOs					Christian FBOs				
	Inter-faith	Apex Org	Development Org	Sociopolitical Org	Missionary Org	Inter-faith	Apex Org	Development Org	Sociopolitical Org	Missionary Org
Service Delivery			✓	✓	✓			✓		✓
Community Development			✓		✓			✓		✓
Advocacy	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Conflict Resolution and Mediation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post Disaster Relief		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Pastoral Care		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓

Activity Types

Service Delivery – rehabilitation of drug addicts, HIV/AIDS treatment/care and support, legal aid, education, health services

Community Development - population and reproductive health issues, skills acquisition and micro-finance

Advocacy - human rights campaigning, gender rights, anti-corruption campaigns, child rights issues

Conflict Resolution and Mediation - mediation in inter-religious and inter-ethnic conflicts

Post Disaster Relief - emergency relief

Pastoral Care - HIV prevention, counselling, prison fellowship and behavioural change initiatives

Table 3: Matrix of organizational types of FBOs by their regional location

Geopolitical zones	Islamic FBOs					Christian FBOs				
	Inter-faith	Apex Org	Development Org	Sociopolitical Org.	Missionary Org	Inter-faith	Apex Org	Development Org	Sociopolitical Org.	Missionary Org
Northwest		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Northeast		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Northcentral		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Southwest		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Southeast		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Southsouth		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Federal Capital Territory	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Respondents in Nigeria supported many of these assertions. The mainstream Roman Catholic and Anglican churches, for example, possess strong associational infrastructures, including organizations for women, men, young people and others, at every level and particularly in the rural areas, who perceive their actions as less politically driven and selfish than those of government leaders. Interviews conducted during the survey bore out the ability of FBOs to draw on (and indeed their reliance on) volunteers and provided examples of religious leaders encouraging discussion and providing guidance on social and development issues, for example some religious leaders in the north were reported to be advocating an increase in the minimum legal age of marriage for girls. Informants also noted that religious organizations and many of their leaders enjoy higher levels of respect and trust than government, politicians or many other non-governmental organizations.

However, FBOs appear to have two major deficiencies.”One is that religious organizations are strong on vision but weak on practical strategies for attaining the kind of equality and wellbeing they dream of; the other is that their community development work is carried out on such a small scale that it will never make a significant contribution to the fight against poverty” (Tyndale, 2003, p. 27). Informants in Nigeria had similar concerns.

The religious communities do not seem to see it as their role to come up with national strategies for development, but they do point out that the values which should underlie such strategies are to be found in the programmes they run or support. However, a US government study of FBOs in the US referred to by Clerkin and Gronbjerg (2007, p. 116) noted some characteristics of American FBOs that are echoed in the findings from this Nigeria study. First, some faith-based organizations lack the capacity to collaborate with government agencies, limiting their influence on wider policy and decision-making. Second, the FBOs studied acknowledge constraints on their own programmes, for example inadequate access to information technologies, weak management structures, financial systems that limit their ability to manage complex social services and limited funds. Lacking the capacity to raise start-up funds for new programmes, in may look for support from government, which in most cases does not materialize. Many faith-based organizations acknowledge that they face challenges in building their own capacity, connecting with funding sources and evaluating their programmes. However, in the interviews they indicated that, even if they do not do a better job than secular NGOs, they are connected with and can inspire local religious communities, which may enhance their effectiveness.

4 Conclusion

This study seems to be the first systematic attempt to map the activities of faith-based organizations in Nigeria. It provides an impressionistic national overview of the nature, scale and evolution of institutionalized religion and FBOs, as well as some indication of the relative importance of different organizational types and activities. Given the lack of an up-to-date directory of FBOs, limited resources that restricted the number of states that could be visited in the course of the study, the apparently limited number of key informants with a good overview of the sector and other difficulties, it was not possible to undertake a comprehensive survey or make a quantitative assessment. The report therefore relies on a review of existing sources of information, interviews with knowledgeable key informants and introductory case studies of a range of FBOs of different types. The latter are based on secondary material obtained from reports and websites and a semi-structured interview with one or more representatives of the organisation concerned. They are descriptive, rather than evaluative, and have been presented as profiles of each of the organizations contacted.

This section presents a summary of findings of the study. It begins with a discussion of the evolution of FBOs in Nigeria and the nature of their activities. It then describes the types of FBOs surveyed, giving examples of each of the types, their characteristics and the nature of their activities. Some issues of interest arising from the research are then discussed.

4.1 Summary

4.1.1 *The evolution of FBOs*

This FBO mapping study has attempted to document the nature, scale and activities of faith based organizations (FBOs) in Nigeria. The evolution of Christian and Muslim faith-based organizations began in the colonial era. FBOs in the beginning were formed to address social and religious matters that also had economic consequences, rather than political issues as we see today. Muslim FBOs had their beginnings before Christian FBOs. The objective of most Muslim FBOs at that time was to convert non-Muslims. They also tried to forge a strong Muslim community through such activities as the sponsorship of Qur'anic schools. *Jihads*, especially dan Fodio's *jihad* at the beginning of the nineteenth century, have expressed the desire of the Nigerian Muslim community to Islamize Nigeria and establish an Islamic state. The zeal for an Islamic state has been expressed by both individuals and organizations and various attempts have been made to realize this dream. Muslims in Nigeria feel that they are under an obligation to continue the objective of the *jihad* that was not completed by

Uthman dan Fodio. The emergence of many Islamic organizations was to a large extent a reaction against Christian missionary activities and the capacity of the missions to combine religious and educational, as well as health and social activities. Given that in Islam religion and politics are inseparable, many Muslim organizations feel that politics is the best medium to address some of the issues with which they are concerned and some political backing from the outset.

After independence, FBOs such as the Jama'at Nasril Islam (JNI) (Society for the Victory of Islam) were established with the aim of creating an Islamic state. These organizations train and send missionaries all over Nigeria. In the early part of the colonial era, Muslims despised western education, which they considered to be an instrument of the Christian missionaries to convert people to Christianity. They were later compelled by the socio-economic and political advantages attached to western education to embrace it. To provide western education for Muslims without Christian influences, Muslim FBOs in the south of the country, such as the Ahmadiyya/Ansar-ud-deen, started opening schools in which western was combined with Islamic education. Muslims also have various ways of helping their members cope with the modern world, including programmes that help them deal with hardships and growing industrialization. There are, for example, organizations such as the Federation of Muslim Women Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN), which was established in 1985, which help women to improve themselves and fight for their rights in what is clearly a patriarchal society. Since the 1980s the country has witnessed a proliferation of Muslim FBOs as a result of Muslims' reaction to the general economic and governance crises, which they perceive to be a direct failure of the western style development paradigm. In their attempts to search for an alternative development strategy, Islamic organizations are considered desirable (Ibrahim et al, 2006).

The evolution of Christian FBOs began with the coming of the Christian missionaries. The aim of the missions was to provide social civilization for Africans. They sought to rescue Africans from what they called dangerous paganism and Islam, in the process having a major impact on existing social structures and belief systems. The needs of the missions for staff and services, their association with colonial trade and administration, and the perceived importance of literacy for studying the Bible resulted in the establishment of schools and training programmes that provided education and vocational skills, enabling their graduates to gain employment in the colonial administration and formal economic sector. Other modern social services, especially health care, were initiated by the missions, which came together in associations to address religious, social, economic, and political matters as

they affected them and their converts. Religious issues centered on strategies for the mission work and how to deal with obstacles that hindered the dissemination of the gospel. Socially, they sought ways to provide education, health care and other social services to the people. In addition, they sought ways of acquiring government or overseas support for the projects they began. Most of the economic effects were a consequence of the religious and social programmes. After independence, the churches founded by missionaries became independent or autonomous of their parent bodies, with implications for their relationships with the government of independent Nigeria and their funding base that have not been fully explored in this study.

Although Christianity in Nigeria was and is marked by diversity, the Nigerian churches have frequently attempted to cooperate and forge unity among Christians in Nigeria. Numerous Christian organizations aim at bringing about denominational or interdenominational unity. Some are formed specifically to coordinate the provision of a particular kind of social service (for example, the Christian Health Association of Nigeria, which was founded in 1973). Others target a specific group and work to improve its status (for example, the Urban Ministry, which was established in 1991 to promote the holistic development of the urban poor). Various churches have associations for women, for example the Mothers' Union, Women's Fellowship (Zumuntar Mata), Young Women's Christian Association and Girls Life Brigade.

Many Christian FBOs have emerged as a result of religious, socio-economic and political conditions at different points in time. At some stages, especially after the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970), Christians shared common concerns. For example, government threats to take over schools and hospitals, denial of visas to missionaries because of suspicions over their role as agents of destabilization, and the imposition of tax and import duties on gifts to churches from abroad were all issues that gave rise to joint action. Many Christian organizations now exist to respond to societal problems in Nigeria.

4.1.2 Types of FBOs

This mapping survey did not cover all the FBOs in Nigeria, because of the sheer number of relevant organizations and the size of the country. As noted above, only selected states were visited during the fieldwork. While it was possible to visit the headquarters of many FBOs, others visited were found to be branches or affiliates of the main organization. While some FBOs are found in all the states of the federation, others are found only in particular regions, states or localities. Although the intention of the

study was to visit only those with a reach beyond their immediate locality, uncertainty about the scale of some FBOs' activities led to the inclusion of some very small local organizations. While the aims and objectives of different branches of a major FBO may be the same, their activities are sometimes different. Five categories of faith-based organization were identified based on an adaptation of the Clarke (2006) typology discussed earlier. These are: 1) interfaith organizations; 2) apex bodies; 3) development organizations; 4) socio-political organizations; and 5) mission organizations. These categories distinguish between FBOs along the dimension of the different types of activities in which they are involved, although as expected several FBOs combine activities of more than one type and do not fit neatly into the above typology.

Only two interfaith organizations were found during the course of the study. One is the Nigeria Inter-religious Council, which was established in 1999 by the Federal Government of Nigeria. The rationale behind the establishment of the Council was to promote mutual understanding and harmony between the adherents of various religions in the nation, especially Christian and Muslims. The other interfaith organization is the Interfaith HIV/AIDS Council of Nigeria, which was established in 2002 to build the capacity of the faith community in Nigeria to tackle the HIV/AIDS epidemic and facilitate the establishment of a systematic HIV/AIDS service delivery mechanism operating through local churches and mosques.

There are two main apex religious bodies in Nigeria, the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) and the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). The Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs was established in 1973 and right from the beginning was closely linked with politics. It has a very strong political voice. Among the objectives of the SCIA are to spread the Muslim faith across the nation and even beyond, to bring different Muslim groups together to work for the common good of Islam and act as a bridge between these different groups, and to speak to the government with one united voice on matters concerning Islam. As a result of the perceived need to have one voice representing the interests of Christians, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) was founded in 1976. Its objectives are to promote understanding, peace and unity of the churches; to promote understanding, peace and unity among the various peoples and strata of society in Nigeria through the propagation of the Gospel; and to be a watchdog of the spiritual and moral welfare of the nation.

Many indigenous development FBOs exist in Nigeria. The main Muslim development FBOs include the Federation of Muslim Women Association in Nigeria (FOMWAN), the Nasrul-Lahi-Il-Fathi Society of Nigeria (NASFAT) and the National Council of Muslim Youth Organization (NACOMYO). The main Christian FBOs include the Christian Rural and Urban Development of Nigeria (CRUDAN), the Justice Development and Peace Caritas Commission (JDPC) of the Roman Catholic Church, the Urban Ministry (UM), the Christian Health Association of Nigeria (CHAN) and the People Oriented Development (POD) of ECWA. It was noted that some of the FBOs are not exclusively engaged in development activities but also have a socio-political role. A good example of such an organization is the JDPC. Most of the FBOs' have a role in service delivery, especially health and education, while many of their programmes have both community development and economic dimensions (e.g. micro-finance).

Only a few organizations that have primarily socio-political aims were identified. According to Clarke (2006), socio-political organizations interpret and deploy faith as a political construct, organizing and mobilizing social groups on the basis of their faith identities but in pursuit of broader political objectives. Two Islamic socio-political FBOs were identified, the Jama'tu Nasri Islam (JNI) and the Centre for Human Rights in Islam (CHRI). Two Christian socio-political organizations were also identified, the Justice Development and Peace Caritas Commission (JDPC) and the Ecumenical Commission of Justice and Peace (ECJP).

There are many missionary organizations in Nigeria. These actively promote their faith and seek to convert others to it. The Islamic missionary organizations identified include the Ansarudeen Society, the Council of *Ulama*, the Muslim Students Society (MSS), and the Anwar-ul Islam Movement of Nigeria (formerly known as the Ahmadiyya Movement-In-Islam). Some of the Christian missionary organizations identified are the BEGE Ministries International, the Serving In Mission (SIM), the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA).

FBOs often have extensive networks of people, institutions and infrastructure, especially in rural areas, where few other such institutions exist. As noted by Liebowitz (2002, p. 2) and borne out by respondents, they "often have a direct impact on social institutions, such as schools, which socialize people and change attitudes over time." In addition, the jurisdiction of religious organizations often includes a number of areas that affect values and practices, such as morality, beliefs about the

spiritual bases of disease, and rules of family life and sexual activity. Some FBOs are also engaged in practical attempts to reduce poverty, including the provision of charity and welfare as well as support to income-generation. However, there is little evidence of their involvement in policy formulation and implementation. The evidence assembled for this study does not permit any conclusions to be drawn about the scale, effectiveness and developmental impact of their activities – as noted below, this must be the subject of future research.

4.2 Issues arising from the research

4.2.1 FBOs and society

There is a growing awareness that development work has important cultural dimensions and that religion is a relevant factor in a given cultural setting. Religion can be a source of social conservatism or a force for social change. It has the power to shape and transform society negatively or positively (Mbachirin, 2006). For example, Nwosu (1993, p. 129) says, “Religion could be seen as a catalyst with abundant evidence of political and socio-economic dynamism”. It has been suggested that “Where religion and spirituality are rooted in the everyday life of people and society they can make an important contribution to sustainable development – but religion can also be used to enhance conflicts” (Holenstein, 2005, p. 368). Both these positive and negative possibilities are evident in Nigeria.

Though religious people often act individually, they are also subject to the discipline of the relevant authorities within their faith tradition and religious bodies generally assume that they can function better through organizations or associations with specific goals and objectives. Acting collectively, it is suggested, will enable adherents to express more articulate and coherent ideas and make better use of their numbers. Such organizations also allow different groups within one faith tradition to work together and, in theory, to present a stronger and more thoughtful voice on matters affecting the faith (Mbachirin, 2006, p.125)-6. A Nigerian saying quoted by Mbachirin is: *War sen tswen hule*, translated as: “a river does not go straight because it flows alone.” The implication is that when one acts alone he, she or the group is bound to make mistakes. In his view, it is with this belief that religious bodies, despite their differences, come together to form associations or organizations. While missionary organizations seek to expand the number of adherents to a particular faith or denomination, other religious organizations can be either offensive or defensive. In Nigeria, the most prominent, vocal and well organized are essentially reactive in their attitudes and approaches to issues, suggesting that

such organizations emerged to deal with particular social problems (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 73).

Sometimes the initial responses to societal ills come from individual churches or mosques, which may take the lead in motivating or establishing wider organizations to tackle particular issues.

The difficult situation in Nigeria is attributed by Mbachirin to the inability or failure of the governments to provide for the people and control divisive elements. It is, in Mbachirin's view

... a country divided ethnically, socially, economically, politically and religiously. One divisive element affects the stability of another aspect of life. Unavoidably, divisive elements breed tension, violence, intolerance, general unrest, indiscipline, and all forms of social vices. Divisiveness leads to distrust, stereotyping, hatred, disharmony, malice and feelings of insecurity. Religious divisiveness usually develops into mutual suspicion. In this atmosphere, people tend to group themselves into associations or organizations to protect their group, struggle for better treatment, achieve domination or have more influence on policies that affect the society. These associations and organizations fight discrimination and victimization (Mbachirin, 2006, p. 127).

Mbachirin suggests that such social divisions are one of the most important reasons for the large number of organizations and associations in Nigeria. These, he suggests, have differing aims and objectives and may contribute to the life of the nation either negatively or positively. In addition, in Obadare's view "frustration at the state's failure to deliver on its promises of basic social welfare, coupled with the moral devaluation that is thought to be integral to the ascendancy of secularism, appear to have provided a conducive environment for faith-based groups to emerge and grow in influence" (Obadare, 2007, p. 136).

International trade and conquest and the expansion of Islam and Christianity have been significant for Nigeria since pre-colonial times. This is no less true today: contemporary international relations, unequal trade relationships, global religious competition and mainstream development policy and practice all have a major influence on the internal dynamics of Nigerian society. The influence of these on the characteristics and activities of FBOs has been mentioned in places in this report but not fully explored.

4.2.2 Funding, influence and accountability

FBOs are finding it increasingly difficult to fund their programmes, even those that fill gaps in government provision, from their traditional sources of funds (Parry, n.d.). Many indigenous FBOs do not receive external support, having to raise funds locally in resource-constrained settings. As mentioned by FBO respondents, they obtain a large proportion of their funds through direct donations from members of the faith congregation. This can mean that they are less dependent than some secular NGOs on government funding contracts. However, they also seek state funding, with the amount of support they receive varying depending on the part of the country in which the FBO is based. Thus many FBOs in the northern part of the country included in this study report that they receive appreciable financial support from State governments, as in the case of JNi. However, detail on sources of funding other than traditional sources are not available from this study, where queries about sources and amounts of funding were met with considerable suspicion on the part of informants.

The degree of separation between and autonomy from religious congregations varies. Some FBOs have quite direct ties with or actually form part of religious congregations or denominational structures, so identifying their budgets may be difficult. They may not keep separate accounts, especially as religious congregations do not fall under the same tax filing requirements as nonprofit organizations (the legal tax status of most NGOs and FBOs). However, if government monies are involved, the congregation may create a separate legal and accounting entity.

In recent decades many working in the development field have recognized the important impact of local faith-based humanitarian efforts, especially in addressing HIV/AIDS. Large donors and agencies often partner with these smaller grassroots organizations in the field. Such partnerships potentially have many benefits including local knowledge, greater reach into underserved areas, and the employment of local citizens. However, they also present challenges. Lack of local capacity and potential conflicts between religious practice and development work are issues faced by organizations partnering with local faith-based groups. In northern Nigeria for instance, a belief system that prioritizes Islamic education above modern education has implications for the supply of education by non-state providers, while the tendency of some FBOs to restrict access to the services they provide (in practice if not in principle) to members of their own religious group may also deter external funders. These factors raise questions about accountability.

In most FBOs, there is a paucity of quality data available. Even when apparently successful programmes are under way, documentation is a problem (see also Parry, n.d.). Sometimes this causes problems even when the funding is raised from local congregations or government, with suspicions of corruption when it is not possible to trace how donated funds are used. Moreover, external donors generally require project proposals, regular monitoring and accounting, and systematic evaluation. The requirements can be onerous and time consuming, especially for the many FBOs that are not equipped to meet the documentation requirements of major funding agents (see also Parry, n.d.).

4.2.3 Competition and cooperation/networking among FBOs

As noted in the report, competition between Islam and Christianity in Nigeria is one of the defining features of the country. This is reflected in the relationships between many of the FBOs profiled in this report. Nevertheless, of great hope is the way that people of different faiths with seemingly insuperable doctrinal differences respond together. The need for increased coordination and collaboration has never been greater. Some FBOs possess substantial influence, resources and reasonable organizational capacity. The information from the interviews indicates that FBOs do collaborate through coalitions to tackle specific socio-economic issues. An example is the Interfaith HIV/AIDS Council of Nigeria. In addition, some FBOs with a nationwide reach are relatively large organizations with distinct missions and complex organizational structures. Many (e.g. the Jama'tu Nasril Islam and the Justice Development and Peace Commission) allow their members or affiliates, both regionally and locally, to vary their activities in response to local needs. They benefit from the wider organizational structure through funding, the provision of ideological/theological or policy frameworks and technical support, while having a degree of autonomy. The national organizations may collect systematic information about the decentralized activities, but many do not appear to do so, reducing their ability to guide and learn lessons from their branches. In addition, some FBOs collaborate with each other and with secular organizations on a particular issue or in a locality, although it is clear from the interviews that many do not. This research did not systematically evaluate the scope for and outcomes of competition and collaboration and can only make some provisional comments. However arguably, greater collaboration is needed to maximize efforts, coverage, quality of service delivery and better utilization of resources, both human and financial.

4.2.4 Government-FBO relationships

As noted from the interviews with FBOs, most religious organizations do not seem to see it as their role to come up with development policies, but they do point out that their own programmes embody the values that should underlie such policies. While some obtain resources from and cooperate with government agencies, most lack the capacity to do so, and have even less capacity to engage in dialogue over policies. Many faith-based organizations in Nigeria as in the US "...face challenges in building their own capacity, connecting with funding sources and evaluating their programmes" (Clerkin and Grønebjerg, 2007, p. 116)

Many governments enlist and support faith-based organizations to provide social services. Dixit summarizes the argument in favour of this policy: "...such organizations can be efficient providers of such services, not only because they are closer to the recipients of the services than are official civil servants and therefore have better information about the needs, but also because they experience some direct benefit from these actions and will therefore perform them for smaller salaries and/or weaker incentive payments" (Dixit, 2002, p. 2). However, he also notes, these policies are controversial: "Some have questioned the validity of the claims of efficiency of faith-based organizations. But the main counterargument is that the actions of these organizations have by-products, for example promotion of their religious beliefs, which society may regard as improper for the government to support" (p. 2).

Religious movements may challenge the development agenda because they

...often confront the legitimacy of states, offer citizens an identity at variance with the national identity, [and] challenge the state's economic and social agenda.... In sum, religious movements and identities can, and do appear to, make it difficult for states and the international community to pursue their developmental agenda especially with regard to gender equity, minority rights, rights of vulnerable groups, wealth redistribution, democracy, and participation. More importantly ... [Pínglé suggests], they do so in ways that are seemingly different from those posed by other interest groups or institutional actors. Governments thus need to have a better understanding of religious organizations and be able to negotiate space with them such that they are able to pursue a developmental agenda (Pínglé, 2005, p. 7).

FBOs are engaged in a wide range of activities, including community development. However, a report for the American government notes that “Congregations and other faith-based groups, like other kinds of organizations, have strengths and weaknesses. They work in environments that pose different kinds of problems and offer varying kinds of opportunities.....They should apply their energies in ways that capitalize on their comparative advantages” (Urban Institute and Vidal, 2001, p. 32).

4.2.5 *Some avenues for further research*

The mapping of FBOs in this report is preliminary and incomplete. For a fuller picture to be developed, a comprehensive registration system and/or systematic surveys are required. In particular, FBOs that operate in the States not visited as part of the study, international FBOs operating alone or in partnership with local organizations and FBOs with significant and innovative programmes in particular localities need to be included. For such research to be meaningful, improved ways of identifying and categorizing FBOs and distinguishing them from other types of non-governmental organizations are required.

Despite much discussion of the utilization of faith-based organizations to provide social welfare services, surprisingly little research has been undertaken which has systematically investigated the distinctive attributes of faith-based organizations and their impact on users, including their contribution to public policy goals such as effectiveness and efficiency. In addition, little research has been done on specific operational issues affecting FBO activities in development. There is need for case studies of FBO programmes and their outcomes and impact; longitudinal studies are needed for assessing activities with long term goals.

Faith-based organizations assert that they have distinctive strengths and advantages, but to assess this claim, typologies for categorizing organizations active in development need to be improved, appropriate methods of evaluating outcomes and impacts developed and comparative case studies of secular and religious organizations carried out. The primary objectives of such case studies would be to describe the ways in which different types of organization differ and to obtain insight into any distinctive advantages or disadvantages that (different types of) faith-based organizations bring to the field. One way to do this would be to compare and contrast different types of organizations engaged in development activities or sectors already known to include both faith-based and secular participants.

Notes

- ¹ Nigeria's constitution explicitly outlaws religious political parties.
- ² "The Shari a Debate: Religion and Politics in Nigeria," Interview with Rosalind Hackett, <http://web.utk.edu/rhackett>. accessed on 15/10/2005.
- ³ The following sections draw heavily on the review of literature in Mbachirin (2006).
- ⁴ A detailed history of Islam in Kanem and Borno is provided by Clarke (1982), pp 66-71.
- ⁵ Straddling the central zone of Nigeria, the Middle Belt is a relatively large, complex, multi-ethnic and multi-religious geographical area, which (unlike the areas occupied by Hausa-Fulani and Kanuris in the far north) is populated largely by minority ethnic groups.
- ⁶ An Afrobarometer sample survey in 2005-6 showed that of the Muslim population, a third claimed to be Sunni, 12 per cent to be Shi'ite and the remaining 55 per cent did not identify themselves as one or the other www.jdsurvey/jds/afrobarometer.jsp
- ⁷ Radical revivalist movements, mostly with origins in South Asia or elsewhere. The Ahmadiyya are regarded as non-Muslim by many Muslims.
- ⁸ Afrobarometer's 2005 survey suggests that 36.5 per cent of Christians are Catholics, 26.8 per cent Evangelical/Pentecostal Protestants, 18.3 per cent mainline Protestants, 4.2 African Independent Churches and 14.2 others www.jdsurvey.net/jds/afrobarometer.jsp
- ⁹ This figure includes not only the large well-established traditional churches but all the different Pentecostal churches. Most of these have only a few churches and are usually found in one locality but they insist on being counted and registered as denominations.
- ¹⁰ Workshop on "Faith Communities and Development Process in Nigeria", a component of the Religions and Development Project, held at Abuja, August 28 & 29, 2007.
- ¹¹ World Council of Churches (WCC) (1979) Guidelines on Dialogue with People Living Faiths and Ideologies, Geneva WCC.
- ¹² Vatican secretariat for Non-Christians. Meeting the African Religion. Rome: 1968 (mainly the work of Grayrand).
- ¹³ "Nigeria: Half-and-Half and on the Edge—Abuja's Archbishop views Islamic-Christian Relations" ZENIT. Org (2001, Aug. 5): <http://www.huk.orgarticals/0901/27.html> (20 Oct, 2005), Par. 9.
- ¹⁴ The Balm In Gilead, Inc. is a not-for-profit, non-governmental organization whose mission is to improve the health status of people of the African diaspora by building the capacity of faith communities to address life-threatening diseases, especially HIV/AIDS
- ¹⁵ This section draws heavily on Mbachirin, 2006.
- ¹⁶ Constitution of the Christian Council of Nigeria section 2 (a).
- ¹⁷ Much of Mbachirin's account seems to be based on the General Secretary's Report to CCN's Fourteenth Biennial Assembly, held at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, from 1st-10th July 1964, and it is not always easy to tell from his account which activities continue today, p. 18.
- ¹⁸ General Secretary's Report to CCN's Fourteenth Biannual Assembly, p. 28.
- ¹⁹ General Secretary's Report to CCN's Fourteenth Biannual Assembly, p. 28.
- ²⁰ General Secretary's Report to CCN's Fourteenth Biannual Assembly, p 38.
- ²¹ General Secretary's Report to CCN's Fourteenth Biannual Assembly, p. 28.
- ²² General Secretary's Report to CCN's Fourteenth Biannual Assembly, p. 32-3.
- ²³ Christian Council of Nigeria (1960) Christian Responsibility in an Independent Nigeria. Ibadan : Abiodun Printing Works.
- ²⁴ Mbachirin notes that the Jos office was not functioning at the time of his research.
- ²⁵ Fourteen Biannual Assembly, 23.
- ²⁶ Source: Assistant Secretary General of CAN.
- ²⁷ Information on FOMWAN was obtained from representatives in Abuja FCT and Oyo State.
- ²⁸ Information on NASFAT was obtained from representatives in Abuja FCT and Oyo State and from http://www.anwarulislam.com/beginning.asp?r=75.5029684695227&svr=7&lang=en_us&

- 29 Information on Organization of Muslim Unity was obtained from a representative in Enugu State.
- 30 Information on Almiraj was obtained from representatives in Enugu State.
- 31 Information on Usman Bin Affan Islamic Trust Fund was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 32 Information on Muslim Corpers Association of Nigeria was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 33 Information on NACOMYO was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 34 Information on Jamaatul Islamiya was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 35 Information on Islamic Foundation was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 36 Information on Darus Sahaba was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 37 Information on Muslim Forum was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 38 Information on Al-Furqan Charitable Foundation was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 39 Information on Young Muslim Congress of Nigeria was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 40 Information on CRUDAN was obtained from representatives in Oyo and Plateau States.
- 41 Information on JDPC was obtained from a representative in Oyo State.
- 42 An ordinary is an officer of the Church who by reason of office has ordinary power to execute the Church's laws.
- 43 Information on Pro Labore Dei was obtained from a representative in Enugu State.
- 44 Information on Urban Ministry was obtained from a representative in Plateau State.
- 45 Information on CHAN was obtained from representatives in Oyo and Plateau States.
- 46 Information on POD of ECWA was obtained from representative in Plateau State.
- 47 Information on Catholic Women Organization was obtained from a representative in Enugu State.
- 48 Information on Daughters of Divine Charity was obtained from a representative in Enugu State.
- 49 Information on Marist Brothers was obtained from a representative in Enugu State.
- 50 Information on Guardian Angel Motherless Babies Home was obtained from a representative in Enugu State.
- 51 Information on New Generation was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 52 Information on Nigerian Christian Corpers Fellowship was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 53 Information on Project Living Springs was obtained from representative in Kano State.
- 54 Information on Mothers' Union was obtained from representative in Kano State and http://www.themothersunion.org/province_nigeria.aspx?vote=yes
- 55 Information on Jama'tu Nasri Islam was obtained from the works of Mbachirin (2006) and Ibrahim et al (2006).
- 56 Information on Centre for Human Rights in Islam was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 57 Information on JDPC was obtained from a representative in Oyo State.
- 58 Information on ECJP was obtained from a representative in Plateau State.
- 59 Information on Ansarudeen Society was obtained from a representative in Lagos State.
- 60 Information on the Council of Ulama was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 61 Information on the Muslim Students Society was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 62 Information on the Muslim Sisters' Organization was obtained from a representative in Kano State.
- 63 Information on Anwar-ul Islam Movement of Nigeria was obtained from a representative in Lagos State.
- 64 Information on BEGE Ministries was obtained from a representative in Abuja.
- 65 Information on SIM was obtained from a representative in Plateau State. Much of this section is also taken from <http://sim.ca/index.php?section=WhereWeGo&view=1>
- 66 Information on the YMCA was obtained from a representative in Kano State.

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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW GUIDE TEMPLATE: MAPPING FAITH BASED ORGANISATIONS IN NIGERIA

Background and purpose of the study:

The rationale for this study is that the nature, scale and activities of faith based organisations (FBOs) remain poorly understood and documented in Nigeria. The aim of the study is, thus, to undertake a ‘mapping’ exercise of the nature, scale and activities of FBOs in development in Nigeria. The objectives are:

- c) To increase awareness of the nature and scale of faith based contributions to development in Nigeria.
- d) To provide the necessary background and contextual information for further studies under other components of the RaD research programme, helping those involved to prepare detailed research proposals and to select geographical locations, faith traditions and FBOs for further study.

Methodological issues

The purpose of the national level ‘mapping’ study is simply to provide an overall indication of the nature, scale and relative importance of the different types and activities of FBOs operating at those levels, as well as a broad sense of the evolution of FBO types and activities over the chosen period.

Ethics (as per RaD ‘Ethical Guidelines’, April 2006)

The RaD programme is committed to designing, reviewing and undertaking the research in a way that ensures its integrity and quality, from its inception to completion and publication of results and beyond. As with any research, this raises ethical issues. However, one of the reasons why there has been so little research on the relationships between faiths and development is the sensitivity of the issues involved, and so particular care needs to be taken to undertake the research in ways that ensure its integrity, enable it to make a positive contribution to social dialogue, do not place research subjects or researchers at risk and do not inflame social conflicts. When approaching key informants we will

- Take responsibility for ensuring that respondents are not affected adversely by the research (physically, socially, financially or psychologically)
- Explain clearly our purpose and identity, and especially what we cannot offer
- Gain appropriate collective consent before commencing research in organisations or communities
- Gain informed consent from individual research subjects; imposing no coercion on respondents to start or continue participating

- Accord respect to respondents' views and record faithfully how they see the world, even when our perspectives differ
- Present findings accurately and fully, recognising the partiality of our own knowledge, assumptions and capabilities
- Seek the views of those who may lack voice in social and political arenas
- Show sensitivity to the desire for privacy, values and beliefs, and cultural practices of the groups under study
- Ensure confidentiality and anonymity are respected when people desire it
- Recognise the importance of other calls on respondents' time and their other priorities
- Show appreciation for respondents' time and inputs
- Share research findings with respondents where possible and respect their concerns about the possible harm caused by their content or presentation
- Admit the limitations of the research findings.

Interviewers should also remember in the introduction to ask the respondent whether a tape recorder can be used, whether one can come back at some point in the future for clarification, and to assure them that they will have a chance to see the transcript before the data is used, and that they will be shown the results of the research stage by stage.

INTERVIEW GUIDE TEMPLATE: MAPPING FAITH BASED ORGANISATIONS IN NIGERIA

1. Name of respondent.....
2. Gender: M %. F %
3. Town/State/Region (Geo-political zone).....
4. Name of faith based organization (include acronym).....
.....
- a. Please include specific denomination/sect/affiliation
5. Position in the faith based organisation.....
6. How long have you been in the current position? months/years
- a. What did you do prior to working with this organisation?
7. Your level of education:
 - No formal education
 - Primary
 - Secondary
 - Higher/University
 - Other training (e.g. religious/professional)
8. How big do you estimate the membership of your organisation to be?
9. When was your organisation established?
10. Is organization the main establishment or a branch?
11. If a branch, does it bear same name as main establishment?.....
12. If not, what is the name of the main establishment?.....
.....
13. If it is a branch, establish location and address of its headquarters (incl.tel):
14. Estimate the number of branches nationwide:
15. Legal status (registered or not) & date:
16. Under what category was it registered (e.g. Limited liability, limited by guarantee, etc).....

17. Thematic foci:
- (a) Service delivery (list activities):
 -
 -
 - (b) Advocacy/Civil rights (list activities):
 -
 -
 - © Community Development/Economic Empowerment (list activities):
 -
 -
 -
 - (d) Conflict resolution and mediation (list activities):
 -
 -
 - (e) Post disaster/Emergency relief (list activities):
 -
 -
 - (f) Pastoral Care (list activities):
 -
 -
18. How many paid staff does your organization have?
19. How many volunteers does your organization have?
20. Which are the main sources of funding for your organization?
21. Other organizations the FBO collaborates with (indicate if they are also faith-based):
- (a)
 - (b)
 - (c)

- (d)
- (e)

22. Describe nature of collaboration with the other organizations:

- (a)
- (b)
- (c)
- (d)
- (e)

23. Briefly describe the organizational structure:

.....

.....

.....

.....

24. Describe the gender character of the organization:

.....

.....

25. Describe the mode of membership of the organization:

.....

.....

26. Any relationship with government? Please describe

.....

.....

PRIMARY SOURCES OF INFORMATION

OYO STATE INFORMANTS

1. Alhaji Arisekola Alao (President, Muslim Community in South West)
2. CISCOPE (Secretary General)
3. Dr. K.K. Oloso (Head of Department, Islamic and Arabic Studies, Univ of Ibadan)
4. Mr. Bankole Laotan (Catholic Journal)
5. Prof. Ismail Balogun (Retired Prof. of Islamic Studies and member Country Advisory Group)
6. Fr. Kenny (Dominican Community)
7. Nigerian Centre for Research and Documentation

ORGANIZATIONS AND PERSONS VISITED

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. JDPC | - | Father Owoeye – Director |
| 2. Anglican Church | - | Bishop Segun Okubadejo |
| 3. Baptist Church | - | Rev. Dr. Ademola Ishola |
| 4. Muslim Community of Oyo State | - | Engr. Gbadeyanka – Secretary General |
| 5. Methodist Church | - | Archbishop S. Kehinde |
| 6. CHAN | - | Pharm. Rachael Dirisu – Zonal Coordinator |
| 7. NASFAT | - | President and Secretary |
| 8. FOMWAN | - | Alhaja Risikat Akinola (Amiral, Oyo State) |
| 9. CRUDAN | - | Dr. Gbenga Idowu, Zonal Coordinator |
| 10. Total Foundation | - | Dr. Mrs Adekunle, National Coordinator |

LAGOS INFORMANTS

1. Rev. Father Patrick Adegbite
2. Mr. Anthony Alenkhe (Journalist)
3. Pastor Remi Akano
4. Mr. Simbo Awojobi (Fountain of Hope International)

ORGANIZATIONS AND PERSONS VISITED

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Christian Association of Nigeria | - | Bishop George Amu |
| Catholic diocese | - | Rev. Fr. George Ehusani |
| Christian Council of Nigeria | - | Bishop M.K. Stephen |
| Ansar-Ud-Deen Society of Nigeria | - | Alhaji B. Oshonubi |

ABUJA INFORMANTS

1. Dr. Dom Okoro (CISCOPE , National Coordinator)
2. Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC)
3. Federal Ministry of Information
4. Dr. Jibrin Ibrahim (Political Scientist and member Country Advisory Group)
5. Ms Nkoyo Toyo (Lawyer and member Country Advisory Group)

ORGANIZATIONS AND PERSONS VISITED

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Pentecostal Fellowship of Nig. | - Rev. (Dr.) William Okoye (General Overseer) |
| 2. | Christian Association of Nigeria | - Supt Apostle Akin Omojola (Asst General Sec.) |
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