

Religions and Development Research Programme

Comparing Religious and Secular NGOs in Nigeria: are Faith-Based Organizations Distinctive?

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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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Summary

In Nigeria, case studies of three NGOs and four FBOs (two Christian and two Muslim) in two Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Kano State (largely Muslim) and one LGA in Lagos State (religiously mixed) sought to identify whether and in what circumstances FBOs have distinctive characteristics with respect to their goals, values, organizational characteristics and activities related to the achievement of development objectives. All the organizations studied are well-established, with good reputations, and are engaged in HIV/AIDS-related work (one of the main areas of development work for which funding is currently available and in which differences between secular and religious organizations might be expected).

After 2000, the Nigerian government's desire to address the rising incidence of HIV/AIDS raised sensitive issues, as did the proliferation of NGOs attempting to implement relevant programmes, especially in largely Muslim areas, where they were perceived as donor driven and lacking in credibility.

The study did not find significant differences in the development-related aims, values and activities of organizations self-identified as FBOs or NGOs.

- The FBOs and NGOs studied largely share a commitment to humanitarian, charitable and service delivery aims; some are also engaged in development, advocacy and conflict resolution activities, especially those exposed to international development thinking.
- FBOs generally justify their activities, including their HIV/AIDS-related work, in religious terms and use religious language and practices in their work. In addition, the truth claims of both Christianity and Islam encourage adherents to seek to spread their religion. FBOs therefore believe that they have a responsibility to do so, and often see their humanitarian activities as a means to that end.
- NGOs, in contrast, express their mission and values in secular humanitarian terms, even when their founders, employees and volunteers have religious motivations, as many do in a society where almost everyone considers him or herself to be religious. Despite this, observers consider NGOs to be less able and willing to adhere to religious principles in their practices.

Differences between FBOs and NGOs were evident with respect to programme design, and were even more marked in relation to their organizational characteristics.

- An organization's values influence the design, implementation and evaluation of the HIV/AIDS programmes it delivers, including the targeted populations, with only one of the NGOs targeting high risk groups who engage in behaviour of which FBOs disapprove, including truck drivers and sex workers. In addition, the organizations vary in their willingness to advocate condom use by the unmarried, with religious organizations stressing abstinence and faithfulness to prevent transmission. Some foreign funders (especially those with religious affiliations) are willing to accept religious objections to condom use, enabling some FBOs (both Christian and Muslim) to access international funding for their programmes.
- NGOs' activities have a predominantly material focus, emphasizing improving physical wellbeing, while FBOs combine material and spiritual aims, which influences the content and delivery of their programmes. For example in HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention, NGOs emphasize physical aspects and choice, and advocate the use of condoms. In contrast, FBOs use religious justifications for their messages and stress the moral basis for behaviour, emphasizing abstinence and stressing the importance of marriage and the family, but also providing spiritual succour to the users of their services. Most beneficiaries seem to prefer FBOs' combined material and spiritual focus, which is seen as being more holistic.
- All the FBOs studied deliberately recruit staff from within their own faith tradition, at least for senior and management positions. In addition, FBOs display symbols of their religion in the dress of their staff, in their facilities and on their vehicles. They also (like at least one of the NGOs) observe daily prayer rituals.

Organizations perceived as committed to relevant development objectives, effective and reputable were chosen for this study, so major differences in priorities, perceived performance or allegations of malpractice were not anticipated. Unsurprisingly, their leaders, staff, local stakeholders and beneficiaries had positive perceptions of their performance. In addition, responses indicated that differences in the perceived performance of FBOs and NGOs are not marked. However:

- while some beneficiaries feel that the NGO approach to condom use is likely to be more effective, others prefer FBOs' focus on abstinence and behaviour and their approach to HIV/AIDS education, which uses moral and religious (rather than secular and humanitarian) language, values and messages.
- what appears to matter most is the perceived quality of the service provided, judged in terms of an organization's local presence, frequency of contact with local communities and the nature of the services provided.

- few, if any, NGOs and FBOs do systematic assessments of the outcomes and impact of their activities. While those organizations that receive official donor funds are required to systematically monitor progress against objectives (using targets and quantitative indicators), FBOs believe that whether their operations and activities comply with religious values and injunctions is a more important criterion for assessing performance.

Many beneficiary respondents feel that FBOs, in general, have some advantages over NGOs (e.g. a long history, an ongoing presence, frequent contacts with communities, higher levels of trust, greater financial independence, and autonomy in setting their own locally responsive development agendas). FBOs' (partial) financial independence depends on religiously mandated giving from their members and associated congregations, which is significant for most of the FBOs studied. However, several also rely on international donor funding (as do the NGOs), and one FBO also has income from its own business investments. For some functions, however, NGOs may have advantages. For example, some have greater expertise, and one of the Kano State studies notes that NGOs are considered to be better at prevention campaigns, while FBOs are considered to be more effective in providing care and support to PLWHAs.

Both NGOs and Christian FBOs find it difficult to work in largely Muslim Kano State. In this context, traditional religious leaders (and Islamic FBOs) can provide NGOs with legitimacy and access to local communities and NGOs are perceived to be more successful if they work with FBOs and religious leaders. Thus the context in which an organization works matters and this may affect their performance more than any religious/secular difference.

Some implications of the study for donors and policy makers are that

- i. Decisions about whether and how to engage with FBOs must be made on a case-by-case basis, based on an understanding of individual organizations and their context – neither a general preference for FBOs nor a standard approach is appropriate, any more than it is appropriate for NGOs.
- ii. NGOs and FBOs are not necessarily alternative partners for development activities, since joint working may be appropriate in certain religiously sensitive contexts.

List of acronyms

AHIP	Adolescent Health and Information Project
ART	Anti-retroviral therapy
BAOBAB	BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CBO	Community-based organisation
CLO	Civil Liberties Association
CSADI	Community Support and Development Initiatives
FBO	Faith-based organization
FHI	Family Health International
FOMWAN	Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nige
GHAIN	Global HIV/AIDS Initiative Nigeria
HAST	HIV/AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Tuberculosis Programme
HUFFPED	Humanity Family Foundation for Peace and Development
LABONGO	Lagos-based NGO
LGA	Local Government Area
LGC	Local Government Council
MCH	Maternal and child health
MCN	Methodist Church of Nigeria
MSO	Muslim Sisters Organization
NACA	National Action Committee on AIDS, now the National Agency for the Control of AIDS
NASFAT	Nasiru-Ilahi Fatir Society of Nigeria
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PEPFAR	(US) President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PLWHA	People living with HIV and AIDS
PMCT	Prevention of mother-to-child transmission
POD-ECWA	People Oriented Development of the Evangelical Church of West Africa
RAPAC	Redeemed AIDS Programme Action Committee
RCCG	Redeemed Christian Church of God
SACA	State Action Committee on AIDS
SAP	Structural adjustment programme
STI	Sexually transmitted infection
SWAAN	Society for Women and AIDS in Nigeria
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WIN	Women in Nigeria

1 Introduction

The role played by religion and religious organizations has been neglected in mainstream development studies, policy and practice, despite the importance of religion in developing countries and the longstanding engagement by religious organizations in service delivery and other development activities. However, in recent years there has been increased recognition of the role played by faith-based organizations (FBOs) in development work and interest on the part of some donors and other agencies to engage more with FBOs than they have done in the past.

Religious organizations themselves claim that they have advantages over other civil society organizations. They are said to

- draw on spiritual and moral values
- be able to mobilize religious adherents estranged by secular development discourse
- have a strong organizational structure that reaches into remote and rural areas, and are trusted
- have links at the grassroots, making them close to the poor and enabling them to be responsive in their activities
- have a high degree of legitimacy, are well networked nationally and are usually embedded in politics and governance
- have international links, which may safeguard their autonomy and enable them to source funds
- are less dependent on donor funding than NGOs
- have capacity and expertise in some key development areas.

However, it is not possible to provide a straightforward answer to the question: *Do religious organizations (faith-based organizations or FBOs) have a comparative advantage in achieving development objectives?* The categories 'FBO' and 'NGO' are both complex, faith traditions differ in many respects, organizations operate in a great variety of contexts, the evidence to assess the assertions is scarce, and there are methodological obstacles to assessing organizational performance and attributing development outcomes to the activities of individual organizations. The research therefore seeks to assess whether and how FBOs make a *distinctive* contribution to development in the Nigerian context.

The work was undertaken as part of wider research on the relationships between religions and development, including a comparative study of the development activities of FBOs and NGOs in Nigeria, Tanzania, India and Pakistan.

This introductory section outlines the aim, objectives and key research questions of the study. It also describes the methodology and analytical framework adopted in undertaking it, including some of their limitations. The preparatory literature review is summarized in Section 2 and the findings of the fieldwork presented in Sections 3-5. The overall findings are summarized in Section 6, with a comparative analysis of Kano and Lagos States. Finally, some of the implications of the findings for development policy and practice are discussed and some avenues for possible further research outlined.

1.1 Aim, objectives and research questions

The overarching aim of the research is *'to identify whether and in what circumstances FBOs make a distinctive contribution to the achievement of development objectives'*. It builds on earlier work that attempted to assemble an overall picture of the scale and scope of FBO development activities in selected states in Nigeria (Odumosu et al, 2009), by undertaking more detailed case studies of selected organizations with different faith backgrounds and operating in different parts of the country. In order to assess whether FBOs display any of the characteristics listed above and are indeed distinctive, case studies of selected NGOs were also undertaken. Because contextual factors can explain differences in organizations' choice of activities and modes of operation, as well as perceived outcomes and effects, the research focused on selected localities and studied selected organizations within these settings.

The study thus had four objectives:

- i. To understand the history of FBOs and NGOs operating in the selected localities and relevant characteristics of their evolving institutional contexts at the local, national and international level
- ii. To compare the development aims, values, activities, organizational characteristics and performance of FBOs and NGOs operating in the selected localities
- iii. To assess the perceived outcomes and effects of the activities of the FBOs and NGOs under study
- iv. To identify the implications of the findings for development policy and practice.

It sought to answer the following six research questions, which reflect the objectives outlined above.

- i. What is the history of the organizations operating in the selected contexts? How do they relate to each other, and to governmental structures at the local, state and national level?
- ii. What similarities and differences exist in the development aims, values, activities and organizational characteristics of the selected FBOs and NGOs?
- iii. How is faith manifest in the selected FBOs?
- iv. Do FBOs approach development any differently from their secular NGO counterparts?
- v. What are the perceived performance outcomes of the activities of the selected FBOs and NGOs?
- vi. If the perceived performance outcomes differ, what explains these differences?

1.2 Methodology and analytical framework

The religious composition of Nigerian states varies, with states in the north of the country being predominantly Muslim. Those in the south and central belt are more mixed, although some have a Christian majority. If conclusions applicable to the whole country are to be drawn from research, it is considered vital that it occurs in localities that reflect the full range of geo-political contexts. However, because of Nigeria's size, it is rare for research to be undertaken in every religio-geographical zone. The alternative, to study a single locality, while generating in-depth knowledge, has the disadvantage that the relevance of the findings to other parts of the country may not be clear. The earlier study that attempted to map the scope and scale of FBOs' and their development activities concentrated on identifying indigenous FBOs with more than a local reach in Kano, Plateau, Oyo, Anambra and Enugu States, chosen partly because of their different religious composition and partly because of their location as the headquarters location of some significant FBOs operating nationally or regionally (Odumosu et al, 2009).

For this study, Kano State, in the north of the country, and Lagos State in the south were selected, both to enable organizations operating in different contexts to be studied and to allow for cross-state comparison. This selection was based on the following considerations: firstly, these are the two most populous states in Nigeria, in both of which a wide range of FBOs and NGOs are operating; and

secondly, while each has both Christian and Muslim populations, Kano State is mainly Muslim, whereas Lagos State is religiously mixed.

Within each state, it was decided to study organizations operating in a single Local Government Area (LGA), based on the assumption that this would enable the geographical, historical, political and religious contextual characteristics influencing the nature and functioning of the organizations under study to be held constant. It was also decided to focus on well established and reputable organizations operating in the same sector, in order to facilitate comparisons between them.

The organizations selected are all active in HIV/AIDS-related work, with activities that include community mobilization; counselling, testing and treatment; and provision of support for community groups. The first case of AIDS in Nigeria was reported in 1987. From 1.8 per cent of adults in 1991, HIV/AIDS prevalence was thought to have increased to 5.8 per cent in 2001 (USAID, 2002). In 2007, it was estimated to be 3.6 per cent, with nearly 3 million people living with AIDS and 192,000 AIDS-related deaths in that year (compared with over 225,000 deaths from malaria¹). In 2009, it was estimated that there were over 2 million AIDS orphans (children who had lost one or both parents to the disease) (NACA and UNAIDS, 2010, p. 28). Even though prevalence is lower than in many other African countries, the Nigerian government has, since 2000, sought to curb the upward trend and to address the need for treatment and support of the large number of people living with AIDS (PLWHAs). Its efforts have raised sensitive issues, as has the proliferation of NGOs attempting to implement HIV/AIDS-related programmes, especially in largely Muslim areas, where they are perceived as donor driven and lacking in credibility.

There were a number of reasons for the decision to focus on organizations involved in HIV/AIDS-related activities:

- Firstly, a sector of activity in which comparable FBOs and NGOs are operating needed to be identified and the earlier report, as well as preparatory state level visits, had shown that there were many FBOs and NGOs active in this field in both states, not least because of the availability of foreign funds for activities related to HIV/AIDS. Sources of funding and their influence on organizations were of interest to the research.
- Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, it was assumed (rightly, as it turned out) that a focus on HIV/AIDS would reveal interesting differences between secular and religious organizations.

- Thirdly, the research team wanted to explore international as well as national and local influences on the organizations under study.
- Finally, the personal knowledge of, prior work on and interest in HIV/AIDS of some members of the research team influenced the decision.

However, during the preliminary visits made to each state, the feasibility of researching FBOs associated with different religions in a sensitive context emerged as an issue. Thus while it was possible to compare Muslim and Christian FBOs in Lagos State, initial indications were that this would cause problems in Kano State, and so it was decided to study a Christian FBO and comparable NGO in one LGA and a Muslim FBO and comparable NGO in a second LGA. The selection of particular LGAs was based on the following criteria: firstly, that at least one FBO and NGO involved in HIV/AIDS programmes was working there, to enable comparison; and secondly, that the LGAs concerned should include both rural and urban areas, since it was anticipated that rural/urban differences might influence the nature of FBOs/NGOs and their work.

The case study LGAs were selected from a wider set of possible localities identified by key informants during the preparatory state visits. Some LGA preparatory visits were then undertaken, to determine whether those organizations provisionally selected for detailed study were suitable, given the analytical framework to be adopted (see below).

The fieldwork in Kano State was conducted in Nassarawa, Tudun Wada and Tarauni LGAs. The organizations studied were the Society for Women and AIDS in Africa (SWAAN) and People Oriented Development of ECWA (POD-ECWA), both based in the Nassarawa LGA. However, although the main branch office of POD-ECWA is in the Nassarawa LGA, most of its activities are undertaken in outlying villages in the Tudun Wada LGA, where focus group discussions (FGDs) and project observations were conducted, allowing comparison of a secular NGO and a Christian FBO. In Tarauni LGA, one Islamic FBO, Foundation Health Services (Al-Noury Specialist Hospital), and one secular NGO, Community Support and Development Initiatives (CSADI), were studied and compared. The fieldwork in Lagos State was undertaken in Ikorodu LGA, where one Muslim FBO, two Christian FBOs and one secular NGO were studied, namely the Nasiru-Ilahi Fatir Society of Nigeria (NASFAT), the Methodist Church of Nigeria, the Redeem AIDS Programme Action Committee (RAPAC) and Humanity Family Foundation for Peace and Development (HUFFPED).

This study draws on an analytical framework adapted by Hefferan et al (2009) from earlier work by Sider and Unruh (2004) and designed to provide a basis for 'unpacking' and explaining the ways in which faith or religion can and does manifest itself in development organizations, despite its lack of attention to gender. Preliminary mapping of the scale and scope of faith-based organizations activities related to development in Nigeria (Odumosu et al, 2009) used and adapted a typology suggested by Clarke (2008) as a basis for classifying different types of faith-based organizations. However, even in Nigeria (and even more so in the other countries in which attempts were made to 'map' FBOs engaged in development), it is clear that differentiating between faith-based and secular organizations is problematic, and that it is more appropriate to focus attention on the ways in which religion influences the characteristics and operations of development organizations. Hefferan et al (2009) identify the relevant features as:

- Self description as faith-based or secular
- Identity of the founder and organizers
- Identity of the managers or leaders
- Religious affiliation of staff/volunteers
- Sources of financial and other support
- Organized faith practices of personnel/volunteers
- The faith content of programmes
- The main ways in which faith content is integrated with other programme features
- Expected connections between faith content and programme outcomes
- The use of faith symbols

Some of these seek to determine whether and how faith manifests itself in the objectives, mission statement and values of an organization, as well as in how the organization and its staff define development. Others focus on the role of faith in aspects like sources of funding, the religion and motivation of founders, staff recruitment, and the use of organized faith practices and religious symbols within an organization. A third set focuses on programme activities, examining how faith influences their design, implementation and evaluation, as well as the related question of how faith influences the way performance and effectiveness are defined and measured. The studies did not address these aspects mechanically but adapted their examination to the cases and contexts under study, organizing their findings somewhat differently as a result (see Sections 3-5).

The study was undertaken by a team of four senior Nigerian researchers, sub-contracted through the Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER), in Ibadan, with the help of some research assistants, local guides and interpreters, where necessary. It was designed at two workshops, in February and August 2009, and implemented in two phases. Drawing on a review of the international literature by a UK-based researcher, teams from all four countries met in the UK to agree the research questions and research design. Phase 1 of the work in Nigeria (April to August 2009) included a review of available literature on FBOs and NGOs, as well as preparatory visits to Kano and Lagos. The dual purpose of these visits was to provide further state-level information about NGOs and FBOs in these states, and to identify suitable FBOs and NGOs for further study in selected LGAs. Following a fieldwork design workshop held in Ibadan in August 2009, in Phase 2 (October-December 2009) 2-5 weeks fieldwork was undertaken in the three selected LGAs in Kano and Lagos States to study the selected FBOs and NGOs.

Data collection was based on a series of checklist-based semi-structured interviews based on the six research questions and designed during that workshop (see Appendix 1). It was used (with adaptations as appropriate) for interviews with selected LGA and FBO/NGO staff (and with religious and other traditional leaders in the case of Kano State). In addition, a number of focus group discussions (FGDs) with samples of beneficiaries and other community members were organized, complemented by relevant documents, where available (e.g. maps, leaflets, manuals, action plans and other grey literature collected from the LGAs and organizations studied) and observation.

A snowball approach to sampling was adopted. Thus, once contact had been made with one or two people within an organization, these were asked to identify and recommend others to be interviewed. Permission to use a tape recorder was sought and obtained from respondents in the selected LGAs, the FBO/NGO staff interviewed and the beneficiaries selected for FGDs. Interviews and FGDs (with translations by research assistants in Kano State) were recorded, unless the respondent/s objected. The beneficiaries of the services who were interviewed will remain anonymous in this report, except where they gave permission to be quoted directly. LGA and FBO/NGO respondents who specifically preferred not to be mentioned by name will also remain anonymous. All quotes from respondents are reproduced verbatim.

A total of 63 people contributed to the study in Nassarawa and Tudun Wada LGAs in Kano state, including 18 local government officials and selected religious leaders, 18 informants from POD of ECWA and SWAAN staff, and 27 beneficiaries or other community members. LGA and FBO/NGO staff were interviewed individually, while three focus group discussions (with young beneficiaries of SWAAN programmes, adult beneficiaries of SWAAN programmes and men and women beneficiaries of POD-ECWA programmes) were held. In Tarauni LGA, 16 staff members of the Al-Noury Hospital and CSADI were interviewed, as well as an official of the Local Government Council and four other key informants. Three focus group discussions were held, with members of the Askiya Al Noury Hospital Support Group, the CSADI Munafata support group and the CSADI Youth Friendship Centre (see Appendix 2 for details).

Similarly, a total of 48 people contributed to the Lagos State study in Ikorodu LGA, including six local government officials, 21 members of staff of the four selected FBOs and NGO, and 21 beneficiaries of their programmes. As in the case of Kano State, the local government, FBO and NGO staff were interviewed individually, while seven focus group discussions were held, with groups of market women, young men and women beneficiaries, and separate groups of elderly men and women elders who had previously benefited from services provided by one or more of the four organizations under study (see Appendix 2).

1.3 Limitations of the study

The study was limited by several factors. Inevitably, the research design had to be tailored to the financial and time resources available. Limited secondary documentation and other evidence was available on the localities and organizations under study (for example independent evaluations of programme outcomes and impact), to corroborate or challenge what respondents said. As a result, the fieldwork findings are based almost entirely on the perceptions of informants. In addition to semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, the researchers had also planned to visit some of the facilities run by the selected organizations and to observe some of their services being delivered. Unfortunately, however, the limited time available for the fieldwork and the practical difficulties encountered meant that they were unable to do so in practice.

Systematic assessments of the outcomes and impact of organizations are resource intensive and methodologically difficult, because given the wide range of factors that can influence the outcomes of particular interventions, let alone their wider impact, it is difficult to attribute observed changes to particular programmes or the activities of individual organizations (see, for example, Fowler, 1996). This problem is compounded when the interventions deal with intangibles such as attitudes, and behaviour (especially sexual behaviour) that may not be reported accurately. It is also likely that stakeholders have different perceptions of what constitutes effective performance. As an initial step, this study attempted to identify what staff of the organizations under study, a few of their beneficiaries and some outside observers consider important about performance and how they perceive the 'effectiveness' of the case study organizations. It does not attempt to test these perceptions and assertions with objective evidence.

As noted above, focusing the research question on whether FBOs are distinctive (rather than more or less effective) led to the selection of well-established and reputable organizations for study. However, these do not reflect all types of civil society organization in Nigeria and the selected organizations should not be seen as being typical or representative of either the particular faith traditions or denominations with which they are associated, or of FBOs or NGOs working in the field of HIV/AIDS in general. For example, they have reputations for effectiveness and good practices, but civil society organizations in Nigeria are widely recognized to vary greatly in size and effectiveness, and are frequently accused of ineffectiveness and corruption. Nor do the case study organizations include any with extreme religious or political views. Beneficiary perceptions of all the organizations studied were very positive, which is not surprising, given the reputation for good work of the selected FBOs and NGOs. In addition, it is possible that beneficiaries gave a positive picture in the presence of researchers unknown to them, especially when the researchers were accompanied by programme staff. Furthermore, the organizations studied were mostly indigenously controlled rather than branches of international organizations and, even for those studied, the existence, character and influence of their international links (organizational, funding, flows of ideas) was not considered in any depth.

As noted above, the need to avoid sensitive comparisons between Muslim and Christian FBOs in Kano State, as well as financial and time constraints, led to the study being carried out in two LGAs, meaning that it was only possible to study one Islamic and one Christian FBO in that state (in each

case compared with a 'secular' NGO). Because it was possible to focus on one LGA in Lagos State, the researchers were able to study two Christian FBOs, as well as an Islamic FBO and a 'secular' NGO. The study would ideally have liked to include further case studies of both Islamic and Christian FBOs, to reflect the undoubted variety of organizational types and allow for more intra-faith comparisons.

The analytical framework adopted also had limitations, one of which was its neglect of gender. As a result, gender issues are not considered as systematically as originally intended in the analysis below.

2 Findings of the literature review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review is a contribution to the study of the development activities, values and performance of FBOs and NGOs in Nigeria. As noted above, the rationale for the study is that the activities, values and organizational characteristics of FBOs themselves and when compared to secular NGOs are poorly understood. It is sometimes asserted that FBOs have advantages in particular circumstances and are closer to the poor, with the result that their development activities have more positive outcomes than those of secular NGOs, but comparative research to explore these assertions is not available.

It is important to note at the outset that the review focuses solely on literature on Nigeria and does not include the wider international literature on FBOs and NGOs, which had been reviewed separately. This review seeks to explore the following research questions and themes:

- What are the key texts that examine FBOs and NGOs in Nigeria in terms of their history, evolution and current status?
- How are 'FBO' and 'NGO' defined? Are the categories contested and, if so, how and why?
- Are relationships between FBOs and NGOs documented?
- Are there political differences between FBOs and NGOs? Do they have different relationships to the state?
- How do FBOs differ from secular organizations? Do they adopt different development strategies from NGOs?
- Is there any work on developing a methodology for comparative research on FBOs and NGOs in Nigeria? If so, what does it indicate on suitable methods for and the content of such comparison? How can comparative data be interpreted to understand any differences identified?

The review is based on analysis of both primary and secondary publications, notably those published in international journals, books, websites and the publications of donors and other organizations. The review involved visits to libraries and bookshops in Lagos, Ibadan and Abuja, but most of the materials were sourced through the internet.

The major limitation of the review was access to publications, particularly academic literature. While a considerable grey literature was identified, that is organizational publications such as newsletters and

reports, few academic and research-based studies on NGOs and FBOs were found. This may be due to recent nature of the proliferation of NGOs and FBOs as known today. Another likely reason for the dearth of academic work is the growing tendency for self-publication, with many university-based researchers publishing research studies solely for use by their students, with the result that many of the publications are not indexed or cited in bibliographic reference resources. Nevertheless, internet searches, as well as enquiries to some authors, yielded some positive results.

This section is structured as follows, reflecting the questions listed above. Section 2.2 provides an overview of the evolution and history of FBOs and NGOs in Nigeria generally, and in the two selected states. Section 2.3 will present some of the definitions offered for NGOs and FBOs in the Nigerian context. Following from this definitional exercise, section 2.4 will outline the differences between FBOs and NGOs identified in the literature. Sections 2.5 and 2.6 will explore relations between the state and NGOs and FBOs in Nigeria and the selected states of Kano and Lagos respectively. In Section 2.7, existing literature on national and state-level studies of FBOs and NGOs will be reviewed, followed by studies that compare FBOs and NGOs. Finally, concluding remarks and some implications of the literature review for the study will be presented.

2.2 The history, evolution and current status of NGOs and FBOs in Nigeria

2.2.1 The history, evolution and current status of NGOs and FBOs at the national level

Generally, studies which discuss the history and evolution of NGOs and FBOs consider them as part of the evolution of civil society in Nigeria. The evolution of civil society in the pre-colonial period is associated with social movements such as the religiously motivated Jihad, economically motivated groups seeking to protect markets and politically motivated groups that agitated for reforms aimed at more inclusive, less authoritarian political systems. In the early colonial period, civil society became organized around movements of resistance to colonial authority, as well as those committed to modernization of their communities. Notable among these movements were those organized under the platforms of women's organizations, trade unions, student movements and emergent ethnic and town unions.

The impetus for the proliferation of civil society in the colonial period stemmed from several factors, ranging from colonial exploitation and authoritarian rule, to a high sense of relative deprivation among Nigerians, the quest for modernization, the lack of capacity of the colonial state, and competitive communalism. These socio-economic and political contexts contributed to the anti-establishment orientation of some of the organizations and movements. However, not all civil society groups were anti-establishment. Some of the groups were set up to take advantage of incentives put in place by the colonial administration. For instance, the policy of the colonial government to encourage cash crop production through cooperatives encouraged formation of community-based organizations. Nonetheless, most of the civil society groups joined the nationalist movements that pressed for the country's independence (see Sklar, 1963; Nnoli, 1980; International IDEA, 2003).

The literature gives a detailed account of the emergence of faith-based organizations during this period. The Christian FBOs receive more attention in this literature, with authors identifying their negative and positive impact on national development. For instance, Agbola (1998, p.28) posits that:

The missionary movements of the nineteenth century moved hand in hand with the colonizers and the church had its share of guilt for its contribution to the destruction of cultures and legitimizing exploitation by the early colonizers. The church has however had tremendous contribution to the intellectual and social development of Nigeria. The earliest schools, hospitals, recreation grounds and many more were provided by the various religious groups or NGOs.

In fact, the Christian missions were credited with having established about 60 per cent of all schools and hospitals during the colonial period (Ajayi in Agbola, 1998, p. 29). The Christian religious NGOs were deemed to have contributed more to social development than the government itself. As Williams (1991, p. 36) puts it

Mission schools outnumbered government schools in southern Nigeria...Christian schools most often were better run than their government counterparts and parents scrambled to send their offspring to them regardless of their religious bias.

In the North, where the policy of the colonial government was to Westernize rather than Christianize Muslims, the government established more schools, to insulate Muslim children from missionary influences. This policy was less successful in Western Nigeria, largely as a result of the ubiquity of mission schools. However, Muslim FBOs such as Ahmadiyya, Ansar-ud-Deen and Isabatudeen took

advantage of some incentives offered by the Western Region government to establish Muslim schools in the region (Williams, *ibid*). Although governments in the three (later four) regions took steps to discourage proselytization in mission schools, they allowed both Christian and Muslim FBOs to continue establishing and managing schools. The context for this was the regional competition for modernization in the First Republic (see Melson and Wolpe, 1971). The governments also recognized that FBOs were successful in mobilizing communities to contribute to developments in the education and health sectors in particular.

The government's attitude to FBOs changed in the period after the civil war. Williams (1991) attributes this change to the unabashed support for the Biafran cause by Christian missions and faith-based organizations, especially those affiliated to the Catholic Church. Immigration restrictions were placed on foreign Christian missionaries seeking entry into Nigeria for missionary and humanitarian work, especially in the Eastern Region, where 75 Catholic priests were expelled. The Federal Military Government also acquired and nationalized primary and secondary schools and hospitals established and run by Christian religious organizations in the former Biafran enclave. The military government introduced a uniform national educational policy and gradually extended this acquisition policy to other states of the federation, facilitated by increases in oil revenue for the Federal government, which provided the wherewithal for the take-over (Ukiwo, 2007).

The literature on FBOs from the 1970s onwards focused increasingly on their involvement in contentious politics. First, religious bodies clamoured for the return of their schools, and/or compensation for the forceful acquisition. Second, agitation emanated from the controversy over the application of *sharia*, which also created a deadlock at the 1977 Constituent Assembly convened to deliberate on the Draft 1979 Constitution (See Laitin, 1986; Kukah, 1993). This competition for prominence in the public sphere is captured in the literature of the 1980s and since, which discusses the religious conflicts and the involvement in them of religious organizations, ranging from student religious groups to vanguard religious movements (see Falola, 1998).

Ibrahim, Wakili and Muazzam (2006), in their mapping study of FBOs in Nigeria, further emphasize the role of economic crisis and poor governance in the evolution of FBOs:

The explosion of both religious and secular NGOs witnessed in the 1980s and 1990s in Nigeria are [sic] inseparable from the Muslims' reaction to the general economic and governance crises, which they perceived to be a direct failure of the western style development paradigm and their attempts to search for alternative development strategy. In this struggle for the alternative mode of development, the Islamic organizations are considered desirable (Ibrahim et al, 2006, p. 23).

The increasing religiosity among Nigerian adherents of Christianity and Islam that accompanied their competition for pre-eminence contributed to the proliferation of FBOs as agents of proselytization during the period (Obadare, 2007). Emergent FBOs were weaned with generous support from North American evangelical and Pentecostal movements, as well as Middle Eastern and North American Islamic charities. In addition, Ibrahim, Wakili and Muazzam (2006) argue that the Iranian revolution of 1979 and "the inherent nature of the Muslim Ummah, which is characterized by internal divisions and heterogeneity" contributed to the explosion of Islamic FBOs during this period.

The literature also records an explosion of civil society organizations, especially NGOs, in the 1980s. According to the UNICEF Directory on NGOs, this decade witnessed the greatest proliferation of NGOs in the post-colonial period. From the perspective of UNICEF, NGOs are voluntary development-oriented and autonomous organizations that complement government's developmental efforts. The proliferation of NGOs and civil society organizations generally during this period is attributed to three main factors. First, worsening socio-economic conditions arising from an oil glut, scarcities of essential goods and structural adjustment policies encouraged the emergence of NGOs and identity-based groups, which aspired to fulfil the responsibilities abdicated by and to occupy the space vacated by the retreating and downsizing state. Second, the political context of a succession of military regimes, which trampled on civil and political rights against the yearnings of Nigerians for democracy, promoted the emergence of pro-democracy organizations. The human rights and pro-democracy NGOs became platforms and forums for popular mobilizations for democratization. Third, the global reconfiguration of development assistance, which was increasingly being channelled through NGOs because of the perception of the public sector as a cesspit of corruption, created a conducive environment for NGO proliferation.

Donor preferences are considered very important in the evolution of NGOs by some scholars. For instance, Ogboju and Idogho (2006) note that Nigeria has a rich history of civil society organizations,

which are mostly self-sustaining and serve as a source of social capital in many communities. However, they argue that the arrival of NGOs per se is mostly traceable to donor preference for NGOs and other forms of CBO, especially during the military regimes of the 1980s. They also emphasize the role of civil servants in establishing early NGOs, following their realization that international development partners were no longer channelling development assistance through the state.

Some studies also consider that sympathy for poor rural dwellers (the 'uncaptured peasantry') and determination on the part of NGOs to uplift their living standards an explanatory variable for NGO expansion in the 1980s (see, for example, Elumilade and Asalu, 2006). Another factor considered important in the proliferation of NGOs in the 1980s was the graduation of radicalized students from Nigerian universities. Having been socialized into radical scholarship and politics, many of the graduates, especially activist students, shunned enlisting into the militarized public service and, in the face of declining opportunities in the private sector, were attracted to the NGO sector (see Oculi, 2009). In particular, they formed the core of emerging human rights NGOs.

To be sure, the history and evolutionary trends depicted above were not identical throughout the country. While Lagos State and the South West attracted the largest concentration of NGOs, especially human rights advocacy groups, there were fewer in the North. Using data from the UNICEF Directory, Walker (1999) observes that, whereas 88 NGOs were listed in Lagos State, only six NGOs were based in Kano State, with a roughly similar population. The annulment of the June 12 election and the ploy of the Abacha regime to denigrate and suppress the pro-democracy movement by portraying it as a purely South-West phenomenon contributed to the rapid spread of human rights NGOs to other parts of the country, as activists resisted being containerized as so-called Lagos-based NGOs (LABANGOs) (see Oculi, 2009). In the Niger Delta region, environmental degradation, the inadequate corporate social responsibility programmes of the multi-national oil companies, state neglect and corruption among local elites, also contributed to the rapid spread of human rights, environmental rights and minority rights NGOs.

Analysts suggest that the evolution of civil society in Nigeria can be divided into phases, although they do not necessarily agree on the phasing. For example, Ibeanu (2009) suggests that there have been three phases: (1) the old voluntary, religious organizations, trade unions and ethnic organizations

established in the late colonial period and the early years after independence, (2) the rights groups that emerged in the context of military rule and (3) the post-military organizations established to address democratic consolidation and specific social problems, such as health and human trafficking.

Using a slightly different schema, Imade (2008) delineates three phases: the pre-independence national CSOs that canvassed for independence and against neo-colonialism in the early post-colonial period, the anti-military groups that emerged out of resistance to state repression and failed economic policies, and a military-inspired phase during which the government promoted voluntary groups as part of its mobilization strategy.

Finally, Salih (2002) identifies four phases in post-independence Africa. He suggests that the first phase covers the 1960-70 period, which marked the transformation of community-based organizations and urban associations into modern urban charitable and local voluntary development organizations. During the second phase, covering the 1970s and 1980s, Africa experienced an expansion in the numbers of NGOs, as foreign NGOs arrived in droves to provide support to African populations in the midst of conflict and famine. The third phase, of the 1980s and 1990s, witnessed the emergence of African Independent NGOs in the political struggle for democracy and resistance to globalization-inspired economic policies. The fourth phase marks efforts to consolidate NGOs and develop their capacity.

In focusing specifically on the Lagos and Kano State contexts, Welch's perspective on what he calls the NGO revolution is useful. Unlike some other analysis, Welch argues that NGOs/FBOs emerged as Africans sought to engage with, not to exit out of, the state.

2.1.2 The history, evolution and current status of NGOs in Lagos State

The historical role of Lagos in the emergence of NGOs is evidenced by the term LABANGOs – devised to reflect the predominance of Lagos-based NGOs in Nigeria. Okafor's book on human rights NGOs, for example, gives a synopsis of the origins of the following Lagos-based NGOs: the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO), the Constitutional Rights Project (CRP), Human Rights Africa (HRA), the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR), Media Rights Agenda (MRA), the Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN), the Human Rights Law Service (HURILAWS), the Shelter

Rights Initiative (SRI), the Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC), the Empowerment and Action Research Centre (EMPARC) and BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights (BAOBAB). According to Okafor's account, these human rights NGOs were a response to the deteriorating state of human rights under military regimes. The location of Lagos as the then federal capital, as well as the major base of most of the print and electronic media, provided the context for the high concentration of these NGOs in Lagos. Another important factor was the high concentration in the city of lawyers, who were the pioneers of human rights NGOs in Nigeria. However, Okafor posits that factors other than human rights violations need to be considered in explaining the emergence of additional LABANGOs after the formation of CLO, the pioneer organization. In his words:

The establishment of almost every civil / political rights NGO in Nigeria was significantly motivated by the sorry status of human rights under successive military regimes in Nigeria. Nevertheless, far too many of them were also formed in order to achieve the desires of their founder(s) for administrative and financial autonomy from either the CLO or other parent body; to address the dissatisfaction of its founders with their own circumstances within the relevant parent organization; and to gain separate and independent access to the available pool of foreign funds (Okafor, 2006, p.43).

Examples of organizations whose founders were people Okafor (2006) described as 'breakaway staff' members of CLO are CRP, HURILWAS, MRA, CLEEN, CDHR and ERA. CRP and HURILAWS were established by Mr. Clement Nwankwo and Mr. Olisa Agbakoba, the co-founders of CLO, respectively.

Another important contribution of Okafor's book is that it documents how the need for functional specialization contributed to the proliferation of NGOs in Lagos. For instance, among NGOs whose founders had had stints at CLO, MRA was established to specialize on media matters, ERA on environmental rights, and CLEEN on rights issues pertaining to the police and the criminal justice system.

Although Lagos State still has the highest concentration of NGOs, there has been a rapid dispersal, with NGOs established in the 1990s spreading to other locations, especially Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory since 1991. The dispersal has occurred in two ways. First, after Abuja became the official capital of the country, several Lagos-based NGOs established branches there to enhance their advocacy role with government. An Abuja office also enhances relations with donor organizations and funding agencies based in the Federal Capital Territory. Second, some new NGOs chose Abuja as

their base from the outset. One of these, the history of which is recorded in Okafor's book, is Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP), although he does not provide any specific reason for its choice of Abuja, which set CAPP apart at the time. However, Oculi (2009) argues that the founders of CAPP were inspired by the need to counteract the attempts of the Abacha administration to isolate human rights organizations to Lagos and the South West.

2.1.3 The history, evolution and current status of secular NGOs in Kano State

Little or nothing has been written about NGOs based in Kano, Nigeria's second most industrialized state. This is partly due to the recent emergence of NGOs in the state. As Walker (1999) points out, while there were 88 NGOs in Lagos State, there were only five in Kano State in 1995 when the UNICEF NGO Directory was prepared. Kano State, like most states outside Lagos and the south west zone, was seemingly unaffected by the groundswell of human rights and pro-democracy activism against the Abacha military dictatorship. This is partly because of the high concentration of human rights NGOs and pro-democracy groups in Lagos. Moreover, although Chief MKO Abiola, the presumed winner of the annulled 1993 presidential elections, garnered electoral support from all parts of the country, the annulment generated particularly strong resentment in his south-west base because it was perceived as a ploy to deny the Yoruba people the opportunity to produce the country's president. This absence of NGOs, which was typical of all the northern Nigerian states, became a source of concern to the international development community, which took some proactive measures to support the growth of NGOs in northern Nigeria.

In this drive to encourage NGO development in northern Nigeria, Kano State has received special attention. During the 1990s, several donor and development agencies set up offices in or moved their offices to Kano, including the British Council, DFID and USAID. For instance, USAID moved its office from Kaduna to Kano in 1996. The new offices had multiplier effects, as implementing partners of these donors followed suit by establishing their own offices in the state. For instance, implementing partners of USAID, such as Family Health International (FHI), established offices in Kano and /or started programmes in the state (see Ejembi et al, 2003).

The proliferation of funding agencies in northern Nigeria and their concentration in Kano contributed significantly to the development of NGOs in the state. From a point in 1995 when only five NGOs were listed in Kano, the state now boasts so many NGOs that some commentators think there are now too many.² David Ehrhardt (2007, p.39) claims that “NGOs in Kano are thriving”, and records in his thesis on conflict resolution in Kano that there are 76 registered NGOs in the Kano Network of NGOs (KANET). In this respect, therefore, it is most likely that the conditions that influenced the proliferation of NGOs in Kano State are not significantly different from those in Lagos State.

Another trend in NGO development that has parallels in Lagos is the fission of NGOs. For instance Ya’u (2007), in his study of the eclipse of Women In Nigeria (WIN), the first women’s rights NGO in Nigeria, gives insights into the emergence of the Adolescent Health and Information Project (AHIP) based in Kano. The same trend noted in the case of CLO and other human rights NGOs occurred, with leaders of WIN quitting to establish new NGOs. AHIP was established by Mrs. Mairo Bello, the financial secretary of WIN, who was suspended from the organization. Like other suspended leaders, Bello, according to Ya’u, established AHIP from a project she was coordinating in WIN. To borrow Ya’u’s analogy, AHIP also has its own baby chameleon, with the youth mobilization officer of AHIP becoming the executive director of Youth Empowerment and Human Development Initiative (YEHD).

However, unlike Lagos, where the emergent NGOs predominantly focused on human rights issues, the deplorable social conditions in Kano State, like other northern Nigerian states, led to the emergence of NGOs interested in health, education and economic empowerment (see Walker, 1999; Ejembi et al, 2003). This influenced the establishment of local NGOs, national NGOs with offices and programmes, and branches of international NGOs in Kano. For example, Foundation for Women’s Health, Research and Development (FORWARD), a United Kingdom based NGO, established an office and care centre in Dambatta, Kano to attend to vesicovaginal fistula (VVF) patients.

Since the adoption of Sharia in Kano in 2000, the state has attracted more NGOs working on human rights. For instance, BAOBAB – a Lagos-based NGO - has been working to promote and protect women’s rights under Sharia in Kano (see Imam, 2004). The upsurge in religious and communal conflicts in the state after the adoption of Sharia also attracted several NGOs that promote the use of alternative conflict resolution methods, for example the Democratic Action Group (DAG) and Peace

Initiative Network (PIN) (see Ehrhardt, 2007). The need for good governance and the focus on transparency at state and local government levels have also attracted a host of NGOs interested in budget monitoring. These have formed a coalition called Coalition of Budget Transparency Advocates in Kano (COBTAK), which has received grants from some agencies to support its work.

In spite of the proliferation of NGOs in Kano there are no existing systematic analyses of these organizations and their contributions to development. Existing information on NGOs is mostly found in project and assessment reports on donor agencies and their implementing partners. For example, an assessment of the Global HIV/AIDS Initiatives in Nigeria (GHAIN) programme in Kano State provides some background information on several HIV/AIDS-focused NGOs in the state (see dRPC, n.d.). However, some scholars have been interested in wider civil society in Kano and some of their studies provide a rich background to the evolution of NGOs in the state and the challenges they face.

Paul Lubeck's study on class formation and labour is based on the experiences of the Kano working class. The book provides the context for the subsequent development of NGOs in Kano by discussing the dynamics of the city's transition from an agrarian to a semi-industrial city (Lubeck, 1986). Industrialization triggered waves of migration to Kano, but industrial decline in the 1980s attracted the urban poor to such millenarian movements as Yan Tansine, transforming ethnic and religious relations as Kano became increasingly associated with waves of ethno-religious and communal conflict (see also Watts, 1994).

However, not only 'uncivic' civil society groups emerged in Kano during this period. John Lucas' (1994) study of three associations in the city shows how regional elites formed associations to fill the vacuum created by declining state capacity. His focus on the Kano State Foundation (KSF), the Kano Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture (KACCIMA) and the Kano Traders' Multipurpose Cooperative Society (KTMCS) shows how Kano elites responded to the economic decline of the 1980s and provided support to themselves and their society. A couple of other studies focus on the coping strategies of youths in Kano society through membership of vigilante groups or formation of soccer clubs (See Dan-Asabe, 1991; Haruna and Abdullahi, 1991; Ya'u, 2000).

2.3 Definitions of NGOs and FBOs

Several studies of non-governmental organizations in Nigeria assume that they are like elephants - easily recognizable by the beholder - making definitions superfluous. Thus, most of these studies, including full length books, monographs and articles, do not contain any explicit attempt to define or conceptualize the organizations under study. An extensive survey of the literature indicates that most studies are content with outlining the characteristics of NGOs, as well as decomposing NGOs into different categories.

A few examples can be given to underscore this point. First, Bradley (2005), whose article focuses on the role of NGOs in Nigeria's 'democratic progression', does not define NGOs, even though he provides definitions for civil society and democratic consolidation, other key concepts employed in the paper. He defines civil society as "the arena in which non-state actors are in an action oriented space of eagerness between individual family units and the state" (Bradley, 2005, p. 64). This privileging of the definition of civil society suggests, as confirmed by the use of NGO throughout the article, that Bradley used NGO interchangeably with civil society organization - a trend observable in other studies (for instance, International IDEA, 2003; Ibeanu, 2009).

Second, Okafor (2006), whose study on human rights NGOs also attempted to map the nature, impact and limitations of the Nigerian NGO community, does not define NGOs. He is content to cite a definition of a human rights NGO in a footnote as:

A private association which devotes significant resources to the promotion and protection of human rights, which is independent of both governmental and political groups that seek direct political power, which does not itself seek such power (Okafor, 2006, p. 9).

Third, Smith's rich ethnography of NGOs provides an array of variants of NGOs, such as GONGOs - Government Organized NGOs, BONGOs - Bank Organized NGOs, IONGOs - Individual organized NGOs, LABONGOs - Lagos based NGOs, PONGOs - Post-office box NGOs, E-NGOs - E-mail NGOs and TONGOs - Telephone Operated NGOs. While the author gives graphic descriptions of these variants, which are unmistakably corrupted versions, he makes no attempt to define an ideal type NGO (Smith, 2008, pp. 102-104). A similar approach to deconstructing NGOs to indicate that they are not 'monolithic or homogenous' organizations, without defining them, is taken by Ukpong (1993), whose study focuses on NGOs and rural development initiatives. His taxonomy includes foreign

NGOs, local NGOs, support NGOs, Northern NGOs, Southern NGOs, Community Based Organizations (CBOs), and Government NGOs (GONGOs), among others. Agbola (1998) also describes Religious NGOs, Social / Philanthropic NGOs and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) in his study on NGOs and housing development, but stops short of defining NGOs.

This failure to define NGOs is also conspicuous in studies on the role of NGOs in community development, rural poverty alleviation, leadership development, rural financial intermediation and conflict resolution (see Adeyeye, 2003; Ogbuozobe, 2000; Ugal, 1992; Olomola, 1999). Similarly, Omole and Ajibade (2005), in their study on communications in NGOs, describe the nature of work done by NGOs, the differences between NGOs and the state, and the methodology adopted by NGOs in their work, but do not offer any explicit definition of the term, even though they consider their description a definitional exercise.

However, some studies that provided definition of NGOs were identified. The first definition is contained in Claude Welch's pioneering work on NGOs working on human rights protection in selected African countries, including Nigeria. Welch adopts Philippe Schmitter's definition of NGOs as "intermediary organizations and arrangements that lie between the primary units of society - individuals, families, clans, ethnic groups of various kinds, village units - and the ruling collective institutions and agencies of the society" (Welch, 1995, p. 44). He proceeds to operationalize the term in ways that show that NGOs are integral to but not co-extensive with civil society, making an important distinction between NGOs and identity based groups or pressure and interest groups, which he regards as part of civil society.

This voluntary and altruistic element that is considered to be the distinguishing aspect of NGOs compared to other civil society organizations (CSOs) is also evident in the definition of NGOs provided in Oruwari's study on welfare provisioning activities of new generation churches in Nigeria, to wit:

Any voluntary groupings of people, whether physical or moral, constituted with the unique aim of promoting development by, with, and for a target population, so that the latter master its living conditions at the economic and socio-economic levels (Kaharhuza in Oruwari, 2001, p.77).

Burton (2006, p. 2) also posits that:

An NGO is a non-profit group or association that acts outside of institutionalized political structures and pursues matters of interest to its members by lobbying, persuasion, or direct action. The term is generally restricted to social, cultural, legal, and environmental interest groups having goals that are primarily non-commercial.

Another perspective in defining NGOs emphasizes their autonomy and independence from government. Thus, Olujide (2006) offers the following definition:

NGOs are basically an association with a legal status which is financially independent of government and is actively engaged in the political, social and economic transformation of society.

The criteria of autonomy and independence are also included in the definition provided by Willet (cited in Akpabio and Aboh, 2007):

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) refer to independent voluntary associations of people acting together on a continuous basis for some common purposes, other than achieving government office, making money or illegal activities.

Some studies do not emphasize independence from government but do stress autonomy. Thus, NGOs have been defined as people-focused, development-oriented, and statutorily recognized organizations that complement government development programmes (UNICEF, 1995). Ladele et al (cited in Kuponiyi and Ladele, 2007) present a more restrictive definition of NGOs as “non-profit, voluntary organizations engaged in the philanthropic pursuit of relief and development activities with a goal of providing services either directly to rural poor or to grassroots membership organizations.”

These definitions are useful for the purpose of the present study because they narrow the field from which to choose possible organizations for study. In particular, interest and pressure groups such as professional organizations, trade unions, ethno-political organizations, neighbourhood organizations and community-based organizations are not considered to be NGOs for the purpose of this study. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that most organizations are mixed rather than single type/purpose organizations.

Most of the texts and articles that constitute the academic literature on faith-based organizations (FBOs), also called Religious NGOs (RNGOs), hardly define the concept either. Like the term NGO, most writers proceed with an assumption that the reader understands what the term connotes.

Among the definitions of a religious based organization found in the review is that provided by Salih (2002, p. 2) for Islamic NGOs as

Voluntary (national, regional or transnational, as well as community-based) organizations for which Islam is an important inspiration to do good and an identity marker that distinguishes them from NGOs with similar orientations and objectives.

In his study of Islamic Civil Society Organizations and educational reform in Northern Nigeria, Khalid defines religious NGOs as:

...formal organizations whose identity and mission are self consciously derived from the teaching of one or more religious or spiritual traditions, and which operates on a non-profit, independent voluntary basis to promote and realize collectively articulated ideas about the public good at the national or international level (Martin in Khalid, 2004).

Ibrahim, Wakili and Muazzam, in a review of literature on FBOs in Nigeria, suggest that “FBOs are religious organizations that engage in social provisioning and seek to generate social change” (Ibrahim et al, 2006, p. 4). They make the point that one distinguishing feature of FBOs is their declaratory claims, rather than any evidence on their success in actually attaining social change. Thus, self-definitions generally focus on purpose rather than outcomes.

Ibrahim et al (2006) also outline some characteristics of FBOs / RBOs as follows:

- Organizations emanating from a religious community and guided by the said religious ideology.
- Organizations that respond to perceived needs – spiritual, social, economic, political – emanating from a particular community or society at large.
- Organizations that draw staff and support from their religious order but also draw from other sources.

Organizations that engage in a wide span of activities that cover religious, political, economic and social needs of communities.
- Organizations whose purpose of intervention is to promote social change.

In a mapping study on the role of faith based organizations involved in conflict resolution, Ibrahim and Bagu (2004, p. 14) describe FBOs as “major organizations that are generally considered representative organs of faith-based groups.” They list as major examples of FBOs, “apex bodies” such as Jama’atu Nasril Islam (JNI) and the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs (SCIA) for Muslims, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Pentecostal Federation of Nigeria (PFN) for Christians, as well as “charitable and development organizations” like the Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN), the Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) and Nigeria Prays. The study broadens its definition to include “quasi-ethnic associations that have strong religious identities” as FBOs. The organizations listed as examples are those that represent the interests of groups with fused ethnic and religious identities. Most of those listed are in northern Nigeria, where ethnic identities tend to coincide with religious identities and there is a longstanding history of religious conflict. Ibrahim and Bagu (2004) also adopt a typology that distinguishes three types of FBOs with conflict resolution programmes: inter-faith bodies, Islamic FBOs and Christian bodies.

Some authors have suggested that different criteria should be used for the definition of Christian and Islamic FBOs. For instance, Bouta et al (2005) suggest that a broader definition should be given to Islamic FBOs as a result of the inseparability of Islam from other aspects of life for Muslims. Their study suggests the following as criteria for defining Islamic FBOs:

- Self-identification
- Located and works in an environment that is predominantly (90 per cent or more) Muslim
- Led by a Muslim
- Has a Muslim religious leader as an equal partner
- Uses Islamic values, teachings and practices to transform conflict,
- Led or established by Muslims inspired by Islamic values

Their definitions of Christian and multi-faith FBOs are based on a narrower set of criteria:

- Religious affiliation and resource base
- Religious values
- Use of religious resources
- Deliberate and sometimes exclusive cooperation with religious actors as partners

This suggestion that different criteria should be used to define Islamic and Christian or multi-faith FBOs is not very useful. For comparative purposes, it is important that FBOs should share some minimum defining features. However, the expansive list of criteria suggested for Islamic FBOs would make virtually every group in Muslim societies a faith-based group.

2.4 Differences between FBOs and NGOs

There is a dearth of studies that seek to systematically differentiate between FBOs and NGOs and those that do employ different criteria. There is, first, an attempt to distinguish FBOs and NGOs on the basis of their mission and the space they seek to occupy in the public sphere. In this respect, Obadare (2007, p.136) observes that:

While, almost as a rule, NGOs have tended to capitalize on and insert themselves into the vacuum presumably created by state dysfunctionality; in parts of the developing world, faith-based organizations appear to have additionally fed on the popular search for spiritual stability amidst the sense of displacement and contingency fostered by the rapid advance of modernity.

In other words, while both NGOs and FBOs provide platforms for Nigerians seeking to 'exit' from the state (see Osaghae, 1999), FBOs go beyond NGOs, which are merely concerned with material needs of their target population, to also focus on the spiritual needs of people. Some FBOs constitute an extreme form of exit from the state as they take a resolutely political stance, seeking to undermine the secular state and enthrone a theocratic one.

Another major plank for distinguishing the two types of civil society is their perceived legitimacy and links with the community in which they operate. FBOs are considered to have more legitimacy than NGOs and therefore to be better positioned to facilitate social change. For instance, Gwarzo (2003, p.294-295) submits, in a study which profiled Islamic civic associations in Kano State, that the success of NGOs is limited by their poor links to the communities where they are located:

Generally, people that are not indigenous to the communities and have little grassroots support run most of these NGOs. To complicate matters, some NGO projects usually take place in a very sensitive area, i.e. reproductive health. As these NGOs are usually regarded as lobbyists for family planning, the community is very suspicious of them. The fact that the leaders of these NGOs are mostly Christians does not help matters.

Ejembi et al (2003, p. 28), who conducted an assessment of the social sector activities of USAID in northern Nigeria, found that NGOs were considered alien and delinked from northern realities.

This perception, which contrasts with the hopes pinned on NGOs globally, has been attributed to the late arrival of NGOs in Kano and much of northern Nigeria, as earlier discussed (see Walker, 1999), exacerbated by the suspicion that NGO workers are predominantly adherents of a different religion, which eroded confidence in them and adversely affected programme delivery.³ FBOs, in contrast, are considered to have closer links to local communities.

An extreme case discussed in the Nigerian literature is the controversy surrounding polio immunization in July 2003. The Nigerian Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) mounted a campaign to reject polio vaccination, based on perceptions that the government (at the time under a southern Christian president at the federal level) and international organizations such as UNICEF and WHO shared an anti-Islam and anti-northern Nigerian disposition and interest (see Obadare, 2005). There was a similar response to the activities of a US NGO providing credit to small and medium scale enterprises, which was accused by some opinion leaders in Kano State of having a 'hidden agenda' (see Umar et al, n.d. pp.107-108).

FBOs are also distinguished from NGOs based on a perception that they command more respect because they are operated in accordance with high moral standards. Unlike NGOs, which are purportedly prone to similar corrupt practices to those prevalent in the state sector, FBOs are considered by some to be run as public trusts rather than the private enterprises of their leaders. NGOs are often considered to be highly personalized and privatized by their founders/directors, who hold office for life. Allegations of their lack of transparency and accountability lead some authors to regard them as glorified 'Non-Governmental Individuals' (NGIs) (see Gwarzo, 2003). This widespread perception that NGOs are citadels of corruption explains why some faith-based organizations do not want to be called 'Religious NGOs' (see Obadare, 2007, pp. 143-144).

There is also some commentary on the reactive donor-driven predilection of NGOs and the more independent stance of FBOs. Whereas NGOs are seen as soulless purveyors of westernization, FBOs are regarded as mobilizing anti-westernization forces by insisting on basic values underpinned

by religious doctrines (Gwarzo, 2003). For example, in a desk study on civil society and HIV/AIDS in Nigeria, Ogbogu and Idogho (2006) argue that:

The overriding interest of faith-based organizations is to ensure the non-pollution of their doctrine. They seek to reduce the 'Westernizing influence' of secular NGOs while remaining committed to service delivery; they are also concerned about reducing that Westernizing influence on their own doctrine. Other CSOs' greatest concerns are securing funds for their programs and gaining recognition in their communities.

Ogbogu and Idogho (2006) claim that FBOs are able to resist donor pressures and agendas because they are mostly membership-based organizations that can survive on membership dues and contributions.

Furthermore, authors have distinguished FBOs and NGOs on the basis of the scope of their activities. While FBOs are considered to be strongly linked to communities and rural people, NGOs are accused of having an urban bias and not being able or willing to effectively connect with communities. This is associated with critiques of NGOs' urban bias and elitism (see Okafor, 2006).

An impact assessment study of the role of selected faith-based organizations in HIV/AIDS prevention and mitigation in some African countries attributes their success to the fact that FBOs:

Have extensive networks of people, institutions, infrastructure, especially in rural areas, where few others exist. In many cases, members of FBOs demonstrate more commitment to their FBOs compared to other political, social and economic institutions. FBOs often have a direct impact on social institutions such as schools, which socialize people and change values over time. In addition, their jurisdiction often includes a number of areas closely connected to HIV/AIDS, such as morality, beliefs about the spiritual bases of disease, and rules of family life and sexual activity (Liebowitz, 2002, p. 1-2).

The findings of a study based on desk research, personal and telephone interviews and email communications involving 27 Christian, multi-faith and Muslim organizations administering conflict resolution and peace building programmes in different parts of the world are similar. The study, which adopted a Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) analytical framework, found that the advantages FBOs have over NGOs include their strong commitment, grassroots connections, and moral and spiritual authority, providing them with a niche that enables them to mobilize others for peace. However, it also reports that the weaknesses of FBOs include the risk of proselytization⁴, a lack of focus on results and a lack of professionalism (see Bouta et al, 2005).

Finally, other analysts have attributed differences between NGOs and FBOs to the role of faith in their activities. Whereas NGOs are said to be faith-focused, FBOs are faith-based. The distinction is significant, with its proponents suggesting that 'faith-focused' implies engaging with religious individuals and organizations, and taking religious teachings and beliefs seriously, whereas faith-based means organizationally 'associated with' a religious tradition/sect/denomination. According to the Development, Research and Project Centre (dRPC), a Kano-based NGO that introduced this distinction and facilitated the formation of the Network of Concerned Muslims on HIV/AIDS:

The faith-focus intervention is ... simply based on the conviction that concerned Muslims with awareness and knowledge of HIV/AIDS, working with others and *engaging* Islamic opinion leaders and scholars that have deep knowledge of the Qur'an and the Hadith can lower the cultural barrier to HIV/AIDS awareness and mitigate the impact of the pandemic. The synergy produced by their engagement will fill their knowledge gaps and, more importantly, constitute the basis of awareness creation, advocacy and training in the wider Muslim Society.⁵

As we shall argue later, this distinction is important because it has implications for the autonomy, accountability and access to resources of an organization. Such initiatives by 'progressive' Muslims to engage with 'conservative' Muslims over various issues constitute a fulcrum of the relationships between NGOs and FBOs. It is evident in the work of organizations such as the Centre for Human Rights in Islam and BAOBAB, a gender rights NGO. As Imam (2004, p.129) demonstrates in her account of the activities of BAOBAB, a faith-focused approach adopted with faith communities aims at promoting a better understanding of issues under Sharia laws, in this case the rights of women.

BAOBAB reached out to particular individuals and organizations to try to persuade them to engage in an open discussion about their reservations concerning what was being done in the name of Islam - sometimes without initial success.

This approach to engagement is different from that of most FBOs. As Ibrahim, Wakili and Muazzam (2006, p. 30) show in their mapping of FBOs in Nigeria:

FBOs as organs bear, propagate, construct and give expression to religious beliefs, profane actions and ideological utterances by individual believers and institutions. As a result, FBOs produce ideas and values that order lives and seek to influence society through such ideas. In this regard, FBOs are the symbols that legitimize, prescribe, forbid and/or advance the beliefs of different religions. They help to re-produce experiences which become dominant in society.

As evident from the foregoing discussion, there is no systematic analysis in the literature of the differences between NGOs and FBOs. However, this review has sifted through the available sources to identify both explicit and implicit references to differences, for further exploration in the study.

2.5 Relationships between the state, NGOs and FBOs

Most of the studies of NGOs and FBOs in Nigeria explore relationships between these civil society organizations and the state. This exploration of the transactions between the state, FBOs and NGOs is considered from different angles. First, there are studies that show how the state wittingly or unwittingly contributed to the evolution of FBOs and NGOs. A major strand of the literature on the evolution of Christian FBOs discusses the ways in which these groups found a niche in Southern Nigeria and the Middle Belt as a result of the nonchalant attitude of the colonial state to education and health. Muslim FBOs also emerged during this period in South West Nigeria to contain the rapid spread of Christianity and the exposure of Muslims to Christian values and beliefs (see Agbola, 1998; Gwarzo, 2003; Williams, 1991). In the post-colonial era, gross human rights violations, corrupt government and virtual collapse of service delivery also triggered the proliferation of FBOs and NGOs, especially in the 1980s and 1990s (see Gwarzo, 2003; Ibhawoh, 2001; International IDEA, 2003; Osaghae, 1999; Okafor, 2006; Walker, 1999; Welch, 1995). Related to this is the literature that shows how the non-responsiveness of the state to emergency situations contributed to the growth of FBOs and NGOs. One striking example is the HIV/AIDS epidemic, where NGOs took the initiative while the state remained somnolent (see Ogbogu and Idogu, 2006).

Secondly, some studies have also drawn attention to the different ways in which the state or state officials have contributed to the growth and proliferation of NGOs and FBOs in the country. Among these are some that explore the ways in which incentives introduced by the state have created a congenial atmosphere for the emergence of NGOs and FBOs. Most of the studies that focus on state incentives make reference to government policy on cooperatives, poverty alleviation, etc., which promoted the growth of NGOs and FBOs. The dynamic here is similar to the incentives offered by donor funding, as NGOs and FBOs are often established to take advantage of funds from the public sector. Other studies have shown that the state and some state officials and/or their wives have set up cronies in NGOs (proxy NGOs) to gain access to funds from the state or foreign donor agencies. It is such NGOs that some analysts have referred to as 'Government owned NGOs (GNGOs)' (see

Smith, 2008). A genre of NGOs which has also become commonplace is that established by the wives of presidents and state governors. Such 'first lady' NGOs manipulate the political process by using their influence to raise funds from both public and private sources for sundry causes. Given the gargantuan resources they mobilize, their high mortality rate and the questions of accountability and legitimacy that are associated with their rise and fall, it is intriguing that not many studies have trained a searchlight on the phenomenon (see Mama, 1995).

Other studies have examined the ways in which the state has responded to NGOs and FBOs at different historical points. The pattern of response has mostly depended on the state's perception of the level of threat posed by FBOs and NGOs to the national interest, which is all too often reduced to regime survival. State responses fall within a range between cooperation, competition and conflict (see Gana, 1999). Cooperation occurs when the state is satisfied that the FBO or NGO concerned poses no threat to its survival and legitimacy. It either ignores such groups altogether or mildly recognizes them as partners. This was the attitude of the state to FBOs involved in education and health provision during the colonial period. As earlier noted, however, some Christian FBOs incurred the wrath of the state due to the position they took during the civil war. In addition, some studies explore the response of the state to such anti-establishment FBOs as Maitasine (see Lubeck, 1986), while others show how the state has tried to undermine or co-opt pro-democracy and civil liberties NGOs during periods of political transition (see Gwarzo, 2003; Okafor, 2006).

Extreme positions often tend to be adopted when the state feels that such groups are competing with it for legitimacy in the public sphere. However, in some contexts the state has sought legitimacy and popularity by associating with popular FBOs and NGOs. In such circumstances, the state and state officials seek to cultivate good relations with such influential FBOs. This phenomenon was common during the Obasanjo administration, during which the penchant of elected officials to harness religious legitimacy led to the emergence of terms such as 'Pentecostal presidency' and 'Sharia governors' (see Obadare, 2006). However, most of the studies on state responses focus on issues of high politics in which the state often comes into conflict with NGOs and FBOs and there is a dearth of studies of state relations with NGOs and FBOs on issues of low politics. The present study will seek to cover this gap in the literature.

2.6 Relationships between FBOs and NGOs in Kano and Lagos States

This review of the literature indicates that, as elsewhere in the country, there are no systematic studies of the relationships between NGOs and FBOs in Kano and Lagos States. Existing studies only mention collaborative arrangements between NGOs and FBOs on specific programmes. Such collaborations stem from increasing realization among NGOs and development agencies of the crucial role that FBOs can play in the delivery of programmes that have implications for the religious beliefs of target populations. Some of the examples that have been documented are discussed below.

In Lagos State, the Centre for Law and Social Action (CLASA) has initiated a series of dialogues between civil society organizations (NGOs) and faith-based Pentecostal groups. According to Obiora (2006, p. 6), the executive director of (CLASA):

The emergence and growth of the Pentecostal churches in Nigeria is a social reality that the human rights movement must take account of and adapt to in its strategies to consolidate democracy in Nigeria and protect human rights...At the very least, it is important that civil society in Nigeria explore possibilities for dialogue with the Pentecostal movement with a view to cooperation to promote peace, social justice and accountable governance.

It is against this background that CLASA organized two dialogues in 2004 on the role of Pentecostalism in public life. There is a widely held belief that the 'prosperity gospel' of the Pentecostal churches has compromised the fight against corruption in Nigeria. However, as mass social movements with millions of followers, CLASA believes that the Pentecostal churches can influence attitudes toward public morality and good governance among their members (see Obadare, 2007).

Lagos-based BAOBAB has also been engaging with Muslim FBOs on the rights of women under Sharia, both in Lagos and across the country. The objective of such collaboration is to foster better understanding of the rights of women among the faithful. Imam (2004) documents the focus and reach of BAOBAB's engagements with FBOs in Lagos and other parts of the country. BAOBAB has also worked with FBOs on bridge-building projects aimed at facilitating peaceful resolution of conflicts and peace-building in contexts of violent religious conflict. A further way that BAOBAB has engaged with FBOs is to facilitate the formation of broad coalitions of NGOs and FBOs working to protect human rights, a case in point being the Coalition for the Protection of Women Rights in Religious, Secular and Customary Laws (see also Ibhawoh, 2001, p.60).

Ukah's thesis on the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), which contains a section on the Redeemed AIDS Programme Action Committee (RAPAC), discusses the relationships between RAPAC and a number of national and international NGOs, including the International Red Cross and Family Health International (FHI). Through these NGOs, he notes, RAPAC was able to raise funds to pay its staff and for its activities (Ukah, 2003, p.146). Adogame (2007, p. 481) explains the nature of the relationship between RAPAC and FHI. He notes that, while FHI refers persons living with HIV, transport workers and youths to RAPAC for spiritual counselling, RAPAC in turn refers church members living with HIV to the HIV/AIDS care and support programmes of FHI/IMPACT. In this regard, it is worth noting that the website of RAPAC contains the names and addresses of HIV Testing and Counselling Centres across the country, including those managed by NGOs such as SWAAN.

In Kano, UNDP (n.d.) documents the activities of the Ganuwa Group, a coalition of NGOs, FBOs, CBOs, PLWHs and traditional leaders working on HIV/AIDS prevention and awareness campaigns. The report highlights the remarkable achievements of the Group in reaching market women, religious congregations, and university students, among others. However, it does not dwell on the exact nature of the relationships between organizations in the Group. Emah et al (2001) also discuss the relationships between some NGOs and FBOs involved in programmes funded by USAID through FHI in selected local councils in Kano State. The FBOs include ECWA, MSO and FOMWAN while the NGOs include AHIP and SWAAN. Through the FHI initiative, the selected NGO and FBOs have collaborated on HIV/AIDS awareness and care programmes.

A report by Umar, Ogedengbe and Karlyn (n.d.) is based on a study of collaboration between the Population Council, AHIP, FOMWAN, and the Islamic Education Trust to combat HIV/AIDS in northern Nigeria. The study discusses collaboration to prepare an Advocacy Manual for Communities in northern Nigeria. As a result, the Population Council produced a manual that addresses taboo issues in a religiously and culturally sensitive manner. The range of issues addressed, using key texts from the Bible and the Qur'an, include abstinence, STIs and HIV, safe motherhood, child spacing, gender violence and couple communication. The manual has been used (apparently effectively) to train 500 community advocates. The Nigerian partners brought to the programme their grassroots understanding and knowledge of the cultural and religious context. The study concludes that:

Employing community knowledge and utilizing culturally relevant religious texts offers a useful methodology for creating training materials for community advocates in Northern Nigeria. In particular, this methodology offers a technique for introducing and addressing often-taboo behavioural, maternal, reproductive and sexual health issues (Umar et al, n.d.).

2.7 Recent studies of NGOs and FBOs

This review found that some authors refer to differences between NGOs and FBOs, for example Agbola (1998) and Gwarzo (2003), and some to the assumed comparative advantages of FBOs, but there are no systematic comparative studies of NGOs and FBOs.

Those studies of NGOs and FBOs that are available tend to concentrate on FBOs and NGOs working in human rights, reproductive health and rights, HIV/AIDS-related issues and conflict resolution and peace-building.

To begin with the last, the activities of the inter-faith mediation centre in Kaduna have attracted some attention. The centre was founded by Pastor James Wuye and Imam Muhammed Ashafa, who both suffered losses in the Zango-Kataf conflict in southern Kaduna in 1992. Starting with their co-authored memoirs, the efforts of the centre to promote dialogue between Muslims and Christians has attracted scholarly interest. Smock (2004) selected the story of the Imam and the pastor as one of the case studies in his article exploring how faith is not only a source of violent conflict but also an instrument for peace, reconciliation and healing in the world's hot spots. The centre is also discussed in a study on faith-based peace building by the Netherlands Institute of International Relations and Salam Institute for Peace and Justice, which examined the methods used and challenges faced by the centre (Bouta et al, 2005). However, these two studies, which are based on desk research, only provide a synopsis of activities of the centre and do not discuss in detail the complexities of its relationships with the state or other civil society actors in the peace progress.

Several studies of NGOs and FBOs focus on their involvement in HIV/AIDS and reproductive health and rights programmes. CSOs currently account for more than 70 per cent of programme interventions related to HIV/AIDS in Nigeria. This dominance stems from the fact that donors prefer NGOs to government agencies, given their perception of the high incidence of corruption and red tape

in the public sector (Ogbogu and Idogho, 2006). Most of the available studies are reports of assessments of these programmes, rather than comparative studies of NGOs and FBOs per se.

Holfeld et al (2008), in their evaluation of USAID programmes in the social sector in Nigeria, examined the role of the Federation of Muslim Women Associations of Nigeria (FOMWAN) and Adolescent Health and Information Project (AHIP), two Kano-based organizations. The evaluation team noted that the two organizations, like other Nigerian organizations, participated as 'junior partners'. There were no clear roles for them in the project beyond the expectation that their capacities would be enhanced. The study thus underscores the tendency for local NGOs and FBOs to serve merely as appendages in the programmes of international NGOs. The evaluation team also suggested that the Nigerian partners contributed more to the partnership than they benefitted from it. For example, according to Holfeld et al (2008, p. 49):

It has been largely FOMWAN's specific knowledge of the area, their skills to interface with the community, their ability to explain issues in terms the communities could understand and relate to, and their reputation that permitted Community Participation for Action in the Social Sector (COMPASS) the unparalleled access to women in northern Nigeria to expand routine immunizations, polio vaccinations, and deliver messages on HIV/AIDS and reproductive health. It also helped that FOMWAN fielded large numbers of volunteers to go door-to-door to deliver these messages.

The study also singled-out FOMWAN for having the structures to disseminate training received under the COMPASS programme. Holfeld et al (2008) concluded that the selection of FOMWAN had been sound, but argued that the selection of AHIP might jeopardize the project because it does not currently operate in Lagos and Nassarawa States, the two focal states of the Enabling HIV/AIDS and TB and the Social Sector Environment (ENHANSE) and COMPASS programmes and was, moreover, under the censure of a state government (see also Ejembi et al, 2003, p. 26).

2.8 Conclusion

This literature review has examined both the academic literature and organizational publications in order to document the state of knowledge on the nature and roles of FBOs and NGOs. Its overall findings are summarized below.

There is no agreement among authors on what constitutes an NGO or an FBO. For the purposes of this study, FBOs can be regarded as a subset of NGOs, sharing the typical NGO characteristics of being voluntary, non-profit making, non-governmental (i.e. having some degree of autonomy from government) and having some public purpose. However, FBOs are distinguished from NGOs either because they define themselves explicitly as religious organizations, and/or by having observable links to a particular religion, religious organization or congregation. In adopting these definitions, we are conscious of the limitations of the concept of a 'secular' NGO in a highly religious country where almost all NGOs staff and volunteers, as well as FBO staff and volunteers, will be religious. In addition, the term FBO cannot be seen only as a subset of NGOs. As one Kano State government informant put it, the state government can also be seen as an FBO.

A number of studies document the origins and evolution of NGOs and FBOs in the country. The origins of FBOs are traced back to the early colonial period, when Christian missions embarked upon educational and health programmes, and new Islamic organizations emerged to support Islamic education and provide western education in Islamic colleges, to prevent the conversion of Muslim children attending Christian schools. In more recent years, the proliferation of FBOs has been contemporaneous with the apparent increase in religiosity in Nigerian society and competition between the major religions for the hearts and minds of Nigerians and pre-eminence in the public sphere. NGOs, on the other hand, are considered developments of the 1980s: they are the children of economic crisis, military autocracy and the debilitating impact of corruption on the public sector. All these contributed to the de-legitimation of the state, leaving citizens' associations and other organizations to step in to fill the vacuum left by the state, which was increasingly incapable of maintaining public security, managing the economy and guaranteeing access to essential commodities and services at affordable prices. Donor support for NGOs in the context of the Washington Consensus, which promoted downsizing of the state, provided a congenial atmosphere for the flourishing of NGOs. Economic depression, military autocracy and official corruption were also critical in fanning religious revivalism and opening up spaces for FBOs, which were buoyed up by financial flows from North America and the Middle East.

There are some references in the literature to the differences between FBOs and NGOs. Some of the available studies suggest that NGOs lack grassroots linkages, tend to adopt top-down approaches in their operations, are tied to the apron strings of donors and uncritically execute donor agendas. In the

northern part of the country, there is also a perception that NGOs are manned by southerners. Thus some studies suggest that FBOs are better placed to deliver programmes because they are well connected to local communities, who trust them to implement programmes that do not offend the belief systems and sensibilities of community members. Such criticisms of NGOs are not restricted to those manned by southerners: some NGOs led and staffed by northerners also face the charge of pandering to the wishes of western donors. On the other hand, FBOs are also considered to be custodians and interpreters of religious worldviews and are respected for being outspoken about programmes that in their view are injurious to religious adherents' beliefs and worldviews. The comments above are based on case studies of one or a small number of organizations, and so their general applicability is suspect. Not only are the terms FBO and NGO used very loosely in the literature, there is a dearth of studies that analyse the characteristics of and differences between them based on empirical evidence. This provides one of the justifications for the present study.

The review indicated that there are past and ongoing relationships between some FBOs and NGOs in selected states. The nature of the relationships, what each party brings to a relationship, the asymmetries or symmetries of power, and the development implications of the relationships, are not fully explored. Existing studies merely indicate that both FBOs and NGOs are involved in some projects funded by donor agencies or that NGOs may organize capacity building programmes for FBOs. The dearth of systematic studies means that we do not as yet understand whether either type of organisation has a comparative advantage over the other, what distinctive contributions each type of organization makes, and the extent to which the relationships between them are conflictual, complementary, cooperative or competitive. These are research questions that need to be addressed to further understanding of whether FBOs play distinctive roles in development.

The literature review shows there are very few existing national or state level studies of NGOs or FBOs, including Kano and Lagos, despite the large numbers of registered NGOs and FBOs in these states. The existing studies are mostly practitioner accounts by NGO founders, assessment reports on projects and mapping reports. There are very few detailed case studies that provide in-depth analysis of the contributions of NGOs and FBOs in particular settings and the challenges they face. In terms of focal areas, NGOs and FBOs working on human rights, conflict resolution, health (mostly HIV/AIDS) and economic empowerment (micro-credit) have attracted more attention than organizations working on other aspects of development.

In addition, the value of the research that is available is limited by the dearth of comparative studies on NGOs and FBOs. Consequently there is little available information on whether there are political differences between NGOs and FBOs, whether the two types of civil society organization have different relationships to the state, or whether FBOs adopt different development strategies from those of NGOs and to what effect. Most of the available case studies assess the performance of a particular NGO or FBO, but do not enable conclusions to be drawn on whether FBOs perform better than NGOs or whether religious organizations play a distinctive role in the development process.

A wide range of analytical frameworks are used in the existing studies on FBOs and NGOs. Given the assumed qualities and mission of civil society in relation to the state and the market, the predominant analytical framework is impact assessment. Most studies aim to assess the performance of NGOs and FBOs. However, performance is viewed and measured differently depending on the deliverables expected by particular organizations. The criteria for measuring performance generally include effectiveness of outputs/outcomes, beneficiary satisfaction, the availability of testimonies and success stories, whether or not the intervention was participatory, organizations' democratic credentials and intervention mechanisms, the degree of ownership by beneficiaries and the sustainability of programmes. Some studies also use a SWOT analytical framework, which explores the strengths and weaknesses of an organization and perceptions of the opportunities and threats it faces. In the absence of comparative studies in Nigeria, an analytical framework for work on FBOs in Latin America has been adopted for this study, as noted above (Hefferan et al, 2009).

Finally, the literature review revealed that although a wide range of methodologies has been applied in the available studies of NGOs and FBOs, most used qualitative methods for data collection and analysis.

3 Comparing a Muslim FBO and an NGO in Kano State: the Al-Noury Hospital and Community Support and Development Initiatives

In this section, the findings of comparative organizational case studies of the Islamic Foundation Health Services (Al-Noury Specialist Hospital) and the Community Support and Development Initiatives (CSADI) in Tarauni Local Government Area (LGA) of Kano State are presented, based on research conducted between September and December 2009. Al-Noury Hospital and CSADI were selected because they are implementing similar programmes concerned with the treatment, care and support of Persons Living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHAs) in the same local context, enabling comparison of their operations and performance. Given the overall objective of the study, which is to explore the distinctive contributions, if any, that FBOs make to development, it was necessary to hold other variables, apart from organizational objectives, values and methods, constant. The focus on a single LGA meant that it was likely to be possible to identify people who had accessed services provided by both organizations and would be willing and able to make comparative assessments of the services used. The choice of organizations with ongoing programmes increased the probability of the researcher being able to observe service provision and identify informants willing to respond to the research questions.

Sources of evidence include a desk based review of existing publications and documents, key informant interviews with leaders and staff members of the organizations studied and government officials, and focus group discussions (FGDs) with programme beneficiaries (see Appendix 2). Preparatory research which mapped the NGOs and FBOs active in the area was conducted earlier in the year and was instrumental in the selection of case studies.⁶ As noted in Section 1, the organizational profiles and analysis use the analytical framework suggested by Hefferan et al (2009), which provided a common framework for all three studies in Kano and Lagos States.

First, some background information on the local context is presented, followed by profiles of the organizations studied. The findings related to the research questions listed in Section 1 are presented in Section 3.4 and some conclusions in Section 3.5.

3.1 The local context: Tarauni LGA

This section provides background information on Tarauni LGA, the local setting, which was created out of Kano Municipal LGA on October 1st 1996, during the last state and local council formation exercise initiated by the Abacha administration. It has a population of about 600,000 and occupies an area of 28

km.⁷ The LGA is mostly occupied by indigenous Hausa-Fulani people. Since the local government reforms of 1976, Local Government Councils have had a uniform structure across the country. In the current dispensation, the Council is made up of an executive arm headed by an elected chairman and a legislative arm, which is made of elected councillors that represent the wards that make up the Local Council. The local government is charged with maintenance of law and order, provision of primary education, primary healthcare and sanitation, among other local services.

The local council also has a traditional rulers' council, which is made up of a hierarchy of traditional rulers. At the apex is the Hakimi or district head, who is appointed by the Emir of Kano in consultation with the local council and the state government. The Hakimi is responsible both to the Emir of Kano, the paramount ruler and spiritual head of the Kano Emirate Council, and the Local Government Council. Below the Hakimi is the village head called the Dagaci and the ward head known as the Maianguwa. The traditional rulers support the local council in performing its functions of mobilizing and governing the people. In particular, the traditional rulers provide advice on chieftaincy and cultural matters. Religious leaders, notably the Imams, also support the local council in information dissemination and social mobilization. The religious leaders wield enormous influence and are respected by residents in areas such as Tarauni, which, with more than 100 mosques and no church buildings, is predominantly Muslim (Emah et al, 2001). The chequered history of religious conflicts and government land allocation policies have led to a concentration of churches in the Sabon Gari (strangers' quarters) sections of most towns and cities in northern Nigeria (Ibrahim and Bagu, 2004), so that Christians resident in Tarauni LGA have to attend services in churches located in the Sabon Gari in Fagge LGA.

The predominant occupation of people living in Tarauni LGA is farming. However, a considerable proportion of the population is also involved in trading, carving and work in industries that produce soaps, traditional caps, pomades, leather goods, chalk, etc. Trading activities take place in markets, notably the Gyadi Gyadi, Tarauni and Yar Akwa Markets. A major centre of economic activity is the Ungwa Ugu Motor Park, which is reputed to be among the busiest motor parks in the Sahel region of Nigeria and West Africa. In addition, many middle and low class workers in banks, tertiary institutions, industries and government establishments are resident in the area, living in both public and private low income high density housing estates.

There are scores of public and private secondary schools, Islamiyya educational centres and vocational training centres in the LGA, although the Aminu Kano Teaching Hospital is the only public medical facility, so that both residents and people from elsewhere depend on private hospitals such as the Premier Hospital and the Al-Noury Specialist Hospital, as well as large numbers of pharmacies, for their medical services.

Historically, the LGA has had one of the highest HIV prevalence rates in the state. Consequently, it is one of the first three LGAs in the state to establish a Local Action Committee on AIDS (LACA).⁸ The factors contributing to a high prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS include the absence of industry and activities capable of generating high incomes, high levels of youth unemployment and destitution, a large population of vulnerable women earning low incomes and the presence of the very busy Ungwa Ugu Motor Park (Emah et al, 2000, 2001).

It is against this background that both NGOs and FBOs have historically targeted the LGA in their HIV/AIDS prevention programmes. Apart from the high incidence of HIV/AIDS and other social problems, such as youth destitution, low school enrolment and poor maternal and child health, a growing number of NGOs and FBOs have been attracted to the area by the availability of cheap accommodation. Thus some of the NGOs based in the area have programmes in other states and LGAs, while CBOs involved in security and economic empowerment programmes are more localized.

Local Government Council officials identified three types of NGOs operating in the area: community based organizations (CBOs), non-profit NGOs and support groups, including the Council of Positive People (COPOP), the Adolescent Health and Information Project (AHIP), the Women's Health and Advancement Network (WADNET), the Grassroots Health Organization of Nigeria (GHON), the Society for Women and AIDS in Nigeria (SWAAN) and Community Support and Development Initiatives (CSADI). FBOs such as the Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO), the Islamic Foundation of Nigeria and the Federation of Muslim Women Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN) also implement some of their humanitarian programmes in the LGA.

Tarauni Local Government Council has partnered with NGOs and FBOs on several projects in its jurisdiction, especially health, education and economic empowerment. While financial constraints have prevented the council from funding NGOs and FBOs, it collaborates with organizations that have

received funding from other sources. Council officials appreciate the work done by both NGOs and FBOs, which they consider as complementing the efforts of the state and local governments to address the human development challenges of the area.⁹ The cordial relationship with NGOs is also influenced by the fact that some senior council officers have at various points been members of NGOs.

3.2 Islamic Foundation Health Services (Al-Noury Specialist Hospital)

3.2.1 Organizational profile

The Al-Noury Specialist Hospital was established by the Islamic Foundation of Nigeria, one of the oldest registered Muslim organizations in Nigeria. The hospital building was declared open and commissioned by His Royal Highness, Alhaji Ado Bayero, the Emir of Kano, on 27th April, 1987. The purpose of the hospital, as set out in its mission statement, is “to provide quality health services to **all** members of the Kano community. Our first responsibility is to our patients, who are the main reason for our existence, believing that every human being has a right to good health” (Islamic Foundation Health Services, n.d.).

The Islamic Foundation was established in 1973 by a group of Islamic scholars led by the late Dr. Hassan Gwarzo. It derives inspiration from the words of Allah:

Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong. They are the ones to attain felicity (Islamic Foundation of Nigeria, 2009, p. 1).

The founding fathers established the community as part of *da'wah* (evangelization)¹⁰ and service to humanity, believing that as devout Muslims, they had an obligation not only to preach and convert people to Islam but also to provide for their basic needs. This was borne out of their experiences during their evangelization tours, when it became clear to them that there were large gaps that needed to be filled. In particular, many rural communities did not have access to healthcare services. For example, the Secretary of the Board of the Islamic Foundation narrated an experience he had while touring some communities for *da'wah*.¹¹ He reported that he had met a critically ill patient in a community where the doctor was only available for consultations in the local health centre once a month. The situation appeared hopeless for the sick man because there was no vehicle to transport him to the closest town for treatment, with the result that he and his team had to cut short their

mission to convey the sick man to a hospital hundreds of miles away. Today the Islamic Foundation of Nigeria provides a variety of humanitarian services, including educational institutions and training centres, youth centres, homes for the destitute and rehabilitation centres as well as healthcare.

In responding to the need for health facilities, the founding fathers were also motivated by their desire to have a hospital providing services according to Islamic injunctions and standards. Secular hospitals and medical centres are generally considered to be insufficiently sensitive to the religious beliefs of patients, leading not only to conflict but also affecting health care delivery in adverse ways. For instance, the lack of separate sections for male and female patients often discourages devout Muslims from patronizing hospitals. Thus the Al-Noury Specialist Hospital was conceived to provide an Islamic hospital in a predominantly Muslim community: “Al-Noury’s main purpose is to provide quality health services in an Islamic setting to the Kano community” (Al-Noury Specialist Hospital, n.d., p 1).

Although there was already an Islamic hospital in Kano known as the Ahmadiya Hospital, the founders felt it was not wholly run according to Islamic principles. There was a strong perception that the practices and procedures of Ahmaddiya Hospital were influenced more by its Pakistani origins than the teachings of the Prophet. Consequently, according to the matron, the founding fathers wished to establish the “*purest Islamic hospital*” in Kano.¹² The hospital advertises itself as “the only non profit indigenous NGO hospital in Kano,...[which is] pioneer in being Islamic [and which has] access to nearly all Islamic organizations in Kano” (Al-Noury Specialist Hospital, n.d., p. 2). It operates according to Islamic principles, notably targeting people in the low income group, charging low and affordable fees, providing free services to indigent patients and running separate sections for male and female patients. Significantly also, doctors from the hospital provide support services in public hospitals when medical practitioners embark upon strikes.

The hospital is registered with the State Ministry of Health as a non-governmental non-profit health service provider. As a result of its credibility and popularity, several governmental and non-governmental organizations have entered into partnerships with it to implement programmes, as evidenced by the large number of organizations who visit the hospital. For example, the Federal Ministry of Health selected the hospital as one of the implementing partners of the National Tuberculosis Programme. In 2009, it was the recipient of the Drug Revolving Fund administered by

Partnership for Transforming Health Systems (PATH) and the Kano State Ministry of Health. In addition, the hospital is one of the recognized centres for the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS).

3.2.2 Activities

The Al-Noury Hospital provides primary preventive health care services, mainly maternal and child health (MCH) services. It expanded in 2003 and currently provides curative, secondary and specialist care in the areas of obstetrics, gynaecology, paediatrics, ophthalmology, surgery and radiology. As noted above, as a result of its expansion, it has been recognized by both national and international agencies, which have entered into partnership with it to implement various health programmes. Since September 2005, it has been a sub-partner in the United States President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) in Nigeria, which is administered by a consortium of five organizations led by Catholic Relief Services.

The goal of the project is:

To make quality services available and accessible in Al-Noury Specialist Hospital Kano, through provision of anti-retroviral drugs to people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA), while increasing awareness of Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT), in order to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS on the population of Kano State, Nigeria (Al-Noury Specialist Hospital, n.d., p. 3).

The support from AIDS Relief has made the hospital a reference point for the treatment and care of people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHAs) in the state. AIDS Relief supports the "provision of comprehensive care, treatment and support for PLWHAs with a major focus on the scale of ART services" (AIDS Relief Nigeria, 2006). It also offers integrated support, which includes technical assistance, financial support for care and treatment, and access to ART services. Over 2,000 people have so far been registered on the programme, with about 1,100 receiving ART in the hospital.

The hospital also supports the formation of support groups for PLWHAs and hosts a vocational and recreational centre for them. Some of the PLWHAs are on the staff of the hospital while others serve as volunteers. Although the AIDS Relief programme is a very important aspect of the hospital's activities, it continues to provide its services in other areas of health care.

3.2.3 Organizational structure

The founding fathers originally funded the hospital through *da'wah* and *zakaat*¹³ contributions. After several years of operations, the hospital was able to diversify its sources of funding through fees and grants from development agencies. Although it is currently self-sustaining and financially independent, the Health Management Board of the Foundation still performs some oversight functions. For example, it is responsible for the appointment of the executive director and meets quarterly to address policy issues. According to the matron, the financial independence of the hospital has not affected its vision, mission and values.¹⁴ The Executive Director heads a management committee, which includes the Finance Manager, Administrative Manager, Project Director, Project Coordinator and Project Officer (for the AIDS Relief programme).

The HIV/AIDS treatment and care programme has contributed to enhancing the capacity of the hospital. For instance, its staff strength increased from 27 to 72 between 2005 and 2009, with 48 staff members directly supported by the programme. It has a well equipped laboratory for HIV infection tests, viral load tests and tuberculosis tests, among others

Apart from the fact that it was founded by Muslims who derived their inspiration from the injunctions of Allah as contained in the Qur'an, the hospital's identity as an Islamic FBO is evident in its recruitment policy. As a matter of policy, the hospital only employs Muslims, because only Muslims are expected to share its values, vision and mission to serve humanity.¹⁵ In contrast, the parent foundation does employ non-Muslims in its schools, especially youth corps members on primary assignment.¹⁶

The hospital has a well developed Management, Administration and Financial Policy Document, which stipulates procedures for the recruitment, promotion and discipline of staff. It also specifies the duties and responsibilities of all staff, as well as administrative and financial procedures. This elaborate policy appears to be one of the requirements for getting funding for its operations, as reflected in the following quote from the section on recruitment:

Because much of the work in NGOs is funded either directly or indirectly by outside funds, the organisation is generally obligated to comply with established regulations regarding the hiring of staff and consultants. These should be fully understood and strictly adhered to by all members of the organisation. It is the responsibility of the human resource development to promulgate procedures and monitor the recruitment and hiring process (Al-Noury Specialist Hospital, n.d., p. 30).

3.2.4 Sources of information used for programmes

Information used by the hospital for the AIDS Relief programme is mainly obtained from the AIDS Relief Consortium. For example, staff members of the hospital participate in relevant training programmes. However, the content of the training is based on a prior agreement between the Al-Noury Hospital and Catholic Relief Services, the lead partner in the consortium, that the programme will be based on Islamic principles. According to informants, Al-Noury Hospital's position on this matter was readily accepted, as PEPFAR, which was developed under the Bush presidency, aimed to provide support for initiatives that promoted the key messages of Abstinence and Be Faithful.

Since the hospital adheres to Islamic principles and values, which it holds sacred, the ultimate source of guidance for its operations is the Qur'an. An example of policy which flows directly from Islamic injunctions is the operation of separate sections for male and female patients. Although it was reported that the same doctors attend to all patients, the waiting room and other service points of the hospital are divided into male and female sections. Its insistence on compliance with Islamic principles and values means that it does not enter into partnership with organizations with programmes that do not comply with these principles.

3.2.5 Target beneficiaries

The Al-Noury Hospital seeks to provide services to all members of the Kano community, although as about 90 per cent of the population of Kano are Muslims, most users are Muslims. It emphasizes its commitment to providing services to non-Muslims, despite being an Islamic hospital. This orientation is attributed to its view that care and treatment are part of *da'awah* and also Islamic principles which enjoin believers to support the less privileged and people facing difficulties. The principle of non-discrimination influences the way the hospital delivers service to PLWHAs. For example, there are no separate sections for HIV positive and negative people in the hospital and no designated staff for HIV positive patients. Both staff members and beneficiaries of the services said that these practices guarantee that there is no stigmatization of PLWHAs.¹⁷

The hospital's policy of confidentiality, which ensures that the HIV/AIDS status of persons who benefit from the services is not disclosed, has attracted patients even from other religions to access treatment and care services.¹⁸ As a result, the hospital has exceeded its quota under the AIDS Relief

project and is currently referring prospective clients to other service providers, including the Ahmaddiya and Aminu Kano Teaching Hospitals, where both the matron and participants in a FGD reported that patients have concerns over confidentiality.¹⁹

3.2.6 Assessment of performance

As an implementing partner in the consortium, Al-Noury Hospital adopts the objective performance indicators shared by all the partners. The Monitoring and Evaluation Unit of the hospital keeps records of patients attended to, number of counselling sessions conducted, number of voluntary tests conducted, number of patients placed on Anti Retroviral Therapy (ART), and percentage of compliance with ART. Periodic monitoring exercises, which are reported in project and annual reports, generate information on outputs and help the management of the hospital to monitor progress towards its targets. It was also reported that the hospital monitors its performance using secondary sources, such as government assessments of the HIV prevalence rate in the state and anecdotal reports of HIV/AIDS-related deaths. As noted above, staff members claim that the hospital has overshot its target for placing PLWHAs on ART under the AIDS Relief programme and also that it is contributing to development at the state level, although attributing changes in prevalence or HIV/AIDS death rates to the activities of the hospital is clearly problematic.

The identity of the hospital as a Muslim FBO is regarded by those concerned as crucial to its performance. For example, the project officer linked perceptions of its good performance to the religious foundations of the organization and the religious beliefs of its staff members, such as humility, which is considered a virtue in Islam and is regarded as contributing to the prevalent respect for the confidentiality of patients and the claimed success of the policy of non-stigmatization. Moreover, staff members and some members of the support group claim that the religious affiliation of the organization is responsible for the honest delivery of medical supplies to patients, with the project officer claiming that there is no 'out of stock syndrome' in the hospital where all the drugs provided are delivered to patients, unlike public hospitals in which it is alleged that drugs are diverted.²⁰

Project staff members also believe that their faith influences the modality of service delivery. For instance, Mrs. Rayya Abba, the Adherence and Compliance Officer, stated that the Islamic belief in the certainty of death at an appointed time for every human being influences the method and goal of the

treatment, the aim of which is to reduce suffering and pain for PLWHAs so that they can die peacefully and honourably when their time comes.²¹ This is done by ensuring high compliance with the ART regimen and regular viral load tests to enhance the health of patients and reduce the likelihood of opportunistic infections.

Staff members also emphasize that the HIV/AIDS prevention policy of the hospital is strongly influenced by its religious background, noting that it works only with those organizations that share its values and vision and not all organizations offering funding. As earlier noted, it agreed to partner with Catholic Relief Services in the AIDS Relief Consortium CRS is committed to a prevention policy based on a faith-based message – ‘Abstinence and Be Faithful’. As a religious organization, it was reported that the hospital abhors pre-marital and extra-marital sex, and therefore does not promote condom use. Both the project officer and compliance officer asserted that condom use is only tolerated as a part of the treatment regimen of legally married couples, because the barrier method can protect partners where one is negative and the other positive or, where both partners are positive, can prevent them from contracting other strains of the virus or getting a higher viral load. However, the compliance officer also said that this option is only discussed with affected couples and is not made public, in order not to send the wrong signals to members of the public.

From the interviews, it emerged that staff members measure performance outcomes at both organizational and personal levels. The indicators used to measure performance at the organizational level include the number of patients attended to, quality of treatment and care provided, reductions in mortality, reduction of mother-to-child transmission, rate of adherence to treatment, and number of referrals, judged on the basis of information derived from beneficiary testimonials on the one hand, to programme reports and hospital records on the other. At a personal level, staff members reported that they get a sense of inner satisfaction both from providing care and also because they believed that they are assured rewards from Allah for their engagement in *da'wah* activities.

3.3 Community Support and Development Initiatives (CSADI)

3.3.1 Organizational profile

Community Support and Development Initiatives was established in 1999 as the Association for Women and Adolescent Health in Nigeria, but was re-launched and re-registered with the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC) as Community Support and Development Initiatives (CSADI) in 2000, inspired by a realization that development initiatives need a holistic focus on communities instead of isolating parts of them for interventions. The organization currently advertises itself as

... an indigenous non-tribal, non-religious, non-political, non-governmental organization working in the fields of health, social, economic, political and religious sectors relating to women, youths and the family.²²

Its holistic view of development is inspired by its founder and director, Hajiya Zainab Suleiman, who stated in an interview that:

*Development means moving from grass to grace. When you don't know a thing and you get to know it, that is, development. When you have something that you can give to others and others can benefit from it, we call it development.*²³

This conceptualization of development in terms of enhancing human capability influences the goals of the organization. According to Hajiya Zainab, the objectives of CSADI are to empower the less privileged in society, provide care for the sick and provide assistance to the needy.²⁴ Its mission is to see to it that people live healthily. Although the organization has a broad interest in health, it was established to contribute to controlling the spread of HIV/AIDS. Its mission and objectives are born out of Hajiya Zainab Suleiman's experiences as the Kano State coordinator of the Society for Women and AIDS in Africa (SWAAN). In her own words:

*I, as a founder of the organisation, have had friends and relations that died of HIV/AIDS. I have been in an organization where I saw women suffering in pain. I felt it was important that I get the message across to a wider audience - to the community. Not just to women alone. I was determined to contribute my own little quota to ensure that people know how to prevent the infection or if infected know how to manage the opportunistic infections such as tuberculosis and malaria associated with HIV/AIDS. I was also determined to make people realise that HIV is like any other ailment and disease. I saw people stigmatize HIV patients but they don't stigmatize people living with diabetes, that also has no cure. We want to make people know that HIV is not a curse.*²⁵

In particular, Hajiya Zainab referred to the importance of her experience as a grantee of the MacArthur Foundation Fund for Leadership Development in 2000-2002 in charting the course of the organization. She noted that she had received a grant for an initiative that targeted local and informal sector workers such as barbers, traditional birth attendants and traditional healers, who faced occupational risks of contracting HIV or unknowingly aiding transmission of the virus from one client to another through the sharp objects they use. However, the community mobilization programme revealed to her not only the increasing ruralization of HIV/AIDS but also the importance of reaching all members of a community:

The work took me to eight local government areas in the state. In every village we visited, people spoke of how relatives who had travelled to the urban areas during dry seasons to work returned during the rainy season with a strange ailment. They called it Gaji [a spirit form]. In-laws talked of how the man who returned from the town died, followed by the wife and newly born babies. From their description of the symptoms, it was clear the illness was HIV/AIDS. We started by telling the barbers, traditional birth attendants and traditional healers on how the strange disease is spread and how through their simple action of using gloves and sterilizing and/or using sharp objects for only one client, they can help to prevent the spread of the infection. But we knew the mobilization had to reach the entire community.²⁶

She realized that increasing knowledge of HIV/AIDS and how it is transmitted was contributing to the stigmatization of people living with HIV/AIDS and adversely affecting community mobilization because it was stopping people from going for HIV testing and disclosing their positive status. She realized that fighting stigmatization of HIV-positive people should be at the heart of any effective prevention programme. This experience inspired the holistic and community focus of CSADI. In recognition of Hajiya Zainab's services to the nation, the President conferred on her the national honour of Member of the Federal Republic (MFR).

It is against this background that CSADI holds as its values maintaining confidentiality and the rights of people living with HIV/AIDS. Hajiya Zainab's belief that stigmatization can be reduced if people living with HIV/AIDS are supported to be economically independent influenced the decision that CSADI would integrate economic empowerment into its HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment programme.

Our development goals are to develop capacities, to open vocational centres where women and youths can learn how to develop themselves. With the skills they acquire, people living with HIV/AIDS can continue to be productive and respected members of their community. The idea behind CSADI is that there is hope for people living positive. That one day there will be hope. When we started we could not help people much. We

only told them how to avoid infection but we saw those already infected dying. Things are changing. Now we have anti retroviral therapy (ART). Now we have treatment for opportunistic infections. We have hope there will be a cure. Avoiding idleness will not only enhance self esteem of positive people but also get them gainfully engaged while we are awaiting the cure.²⁷

CSADI collaborates and networks with several national and international groups working on HIV/AIDS activities. It is a member of the Civil Society Associations on HIV/AIDS in Nigeria, the Kano NGO Network, and the Kano Civil Society Coalition on HIV/AIDS. It collaborates with both secular NGOs and FBOs, such as FOMWAN, the Adolescent Health and Information Project (AHIP), the Catholic Women's Association, ECWA Women's Association, the Fulbe Development Association (FULDAN), the Society for Family Health, SWAAN and the Kano State Hisbah Board. It is also registered with the Kano State Ministry of Health and the Tarauni LGA.²⁸

3.3.2 Activities

CSADI is currently operating six programmes. It is primarily involved in the provision of HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment services. It undertakes community mobilization, which includes conducting counselling and testing in communities. It runs a Mobile Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) service aimed at taking the services to hard-to reach areas, people in the working/ business class who may not be willing to go to its centre and other special groups.

It also provides home-based care to people diagnosed with HIV and on antiretroviral therapy (ART), to ensure that patients observe the treatment regime, and provides food supplements to patients. The target beneficiaries include all community members, including women, youths, children, occupational groups and nomadic communities. It has a vocational centre that provides positive people with skills to enable their reintegration into society and increase their economic capacity. The organization also runs outreach programmes to prisons and the orientation camps of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), where inmates and corps members are provided with information on preventive measures and counselled on the need for early testing and treatment.²⁹

With support from AIDS Relief, CSADI is currently working with the Al-Noury Specialist Hospital and the Ahmadiyya Muslim Hospital to deliver comprehensive care, treatment, including free anti-retroviral treatment to people living with HIV/AIDS in Kano State and its environs. It has started exploring the possibility of initiating an Orphan and Vulnerable Children (OVC) programme.

3.3.3 Organizational structure

CSADI is administered through three institutions: a Board of Trustees, a Project Advisory Committee and a Management Committee. The Board of Trustees, which has ten members, meets quarterly to deliberate on policy issues. Members of the Board of Trustees also provide support for the recruitment of personnel. The Project Advisory Committee also meets quarterly, or as occasion demands, to provide advice on project design and implementation. It has twelve members, some of whom are members of the Board of Trustees. Members of the Project Advisory Committee are selected because they are knowledgeable about the issues or can facilitate CSADI's access to communities or relevant government agencies.

The Management Committee is made up of the director/project coordinator and heads of the six departments: Administrative Department, VCT Department, Monitoring and Evaluation Department, Home-based Care Department, Training and Vocational Department and Outreach Department. The organization employs 32 staff and the Home-based Care and Outreach Departments are also supported by 40 volunteers drawn from different segments of the communities in which CSADI works. The volunteers are considered critical to the success of community mobilization, sensitization and the provision of palliative care. In addition, CSADI works with support groups, which are made up of persons living with HIV/AIDS who are benefiting from the programmes of the organization and which meet regularly to offer support to one another and to support the community mobilization and care programmes. The support groups help PLWHA fight off social stigma and support members' prospects for income earning through the establishment of cooperatives and the pooling of resources, as well as psychological support. For instance, it was mentioned that members may find marriage partners from within a support group if they have been rejected by society at large. The large staff and use of volunteers is part of the organization's strategy to enable people to improve their incomes – while its funding is sufficient to employ only 18 staff members, it has been used to employ 32 staff and 40 volunteers by paying staff less than the salary included in its bids for external funding.

Within the organization, decisions flow from top to bottom. While the Board of Trustees and Project Advisory Committee handle policy issues, the management is responsible for its daily operations. Communication within the organization is reported to be mostly formal, with regular management meetings, staff meetings and unit meetings, during which information is shared. In addition, directives

and requests are made through memos. The executive director is responsible for approving budgets and spending, although as a financial control measure, a member of the Board of Trustees usually signs cheques once the executive director has approved the expenditure and signed the cheque.

CSADI operates a non-discriminatory employment policy. Religion, state and ethnic background do not play any role in the recruitment process, with ethnicity and language only being considered when a position requires a candidate with local knowledge.³⁰ Positions are usually advertised and interviews conducted by a panel made up of members drawn from the Board of Trustees, the Project Advisory Committee and the Management Committee. These three bodies are also responsible for staff appraisal, promotion and dismissal.

3.3.4 Sources of information used for programmes

As a secular NGO, CSADI relies mostly on information gathered at training programmes provided by development agencies and funders of their work. The executive director and other project staff reported that they participate in training workshops provided by organizations such as the USAID IMPACT programme, the USAID GHAIN programme, Action AID, the Society for Family Health and AIDS Relief. Participating staff are expected to conduct step down training for other staff, so that all staff members are exposed to new information and skills, in order to ensure that all staff, including support staff like cleaners, drivers and security personnel, can counsel people and conduct HIV tests. In the view of the organization, democratization of information contributes to the demystification of the ailment. CSADI does not consult any religious texts in preparing its instructional and educational materials.

3.3.5 Target beneficiaries

As earlier noted, CSADI is guided by the philosophy of reaching whole communities. In the organisation's view, a multi-beneficiary approach is necessary to break the cycle through which the virus is spread. Thus, beneficiaries include both rural and urban communities, and people from different religions, genders and ethnicities - the legal status of individuals is not considered relevant, so inmates of prisons are also targeted. The organization has mobile counselling and testing centres, which enables it to reach itinerant and recondite people by taking the message into community squares, markets, motor parks and orientation camps.

3.3.6 Assessment of performance

CSADI uses objective indicators to measure the outputs and outcomes of its activities. Its M & E Unit collects and collates information on the number of persons reached in community mobilization programmes, the number of persons counselled and tested, the number of referrals made to primary health care service providers, the rate of compliance with ART and the rate of reduction in mother-to-child transmission of the virus. The sources of information are interviews by counsellors and home carers, returned referral forms from primary health care service providers and testimonials from beneficiaries. The yardstick for monitoring progress is the extent to which targets are met – most of the indicators, with the exception of reducing mother-to-child transmission, track progress rather than measuring outcomes. A number of reasons can be adduced for this approach. First, the data are usually collected for reporting to project funders and are intended to ascertain the immediate activity levels - the objective is to report implementation and delivery rather than impact, which donors or project funders tend to assess at the end of a project. Second, evaluation is more technical and so requires capacity that many organizations lack, for example, failing to recognize the need to collect baseline information before an intervention commences. Third, the nature of HIV/AIDS itself makes impact assessment challenging. It is difficult to attribute changes to interventions, especially as there are multiple programmes.

Apart from objective indicators, the organization also assesses performance in terms of the satisfaction that individual staff members derive from the perceived impact a project makes to the lives of beneficiaries, borne out by testimonials from project beneficiaries. For example, when asked to speak on the performance of the organization, Hajiya Zainab said:

It's so much. Whenever I just sit down, I thank the almighty Allah for using me to do what I am doing because I have touched a lot of lives. I derive joy from being able to help people... We picked people from the streets. Now they have homes. They are parents and are fully employed. To see that the death rate is not as high as it used to be it gives me a lot of joy...I feel happy when I see this little baby that has been with me since she was nine days old. I see a lot of hope in her. Growing up and seeing other children. I am happy with members of my support group that all of their children are negative and they are all responding to treatment.³¹

3.4 Findings

Analysis of the case study organizations and comparisons between them are presented below according to the six research questions outlined in Section 1.

3.4.1 *The organizations and their institutional context*

Kano, as a centre of trade and Islamic learning, historically attracted organizations seeking to propagate the Muslim religion, and many of the religious organizations in contemporary Kano, including the area that is now the Tarauni LGA, focus their attention on the propagation of Islam and education. However, as the worsening economic crisis affected public social welfare policies, new FBOs proliferated and the services offered by existing ones were extended. This trend became marked in the mid-1980s, when the structural adjustment programme (SAP) was introduced, including substantial reduction of the budget for the social sectors. In the midst of state withdrawal FBOs, like other civil society groups, moved in to fill the vacuum.

It is therefore not coincidental that the Al-Noury Hospital was established in 1987, a year after the introduction of the SAP. The Islamic Foundation of Nigeria, which had been involved in the promotion of Islamic missionary activities and education since 1971, established the hospital to provide health care for the underserved Kano community. However, as noted in Section 3.2, the hospital was intended not just to cater for the health needs of the general public, but to serve the particular needs of the Muslim population, who felt that public institutions were not sufficiently accommodative of their concerns and values.

Like a deadly enemy, the HIV/AIDS epidemic struck at the time the country was least prepared for it. The first case of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria was reported at an international conference in 1987 and a decade later the country experienced the most rapid rise in the rate of infection in West Africa. The prevalence rate among adults increased from 1.8 per cent to 5.8 per cent between 1991 and 2001 (USAID, 2002). A poor response by the public sector created opportunities for non-governmental organizations, although the return of the country to civilian rule in 1999 was followed by a national response, with the newly inaugurated government of President Olusegun Obasanjo taking steps to address the epidemic by establishing a Presidential Action Committee on AIDs, followed shortly by the establishment of the National Action Committee on AIDS (NACA) in 2000. Government recognition of the pioneering roles

played by NGOs was evidenced by civil society organizations being represented on NACA.³² State governments and local councils were encouraged to establish action committees on AIDS (SACA and LACA).

NACA produced a three year HIV/AIDS National Emergency Plan in 2001, the objectives of which included (USAID, 2002):

- To increase awareness by sensitizing the general population and key stakeholders;
- To promote behaviour change in both low-risk and high-risk populations;
- To ensure that communities and individuals are empowered to design and initiate community-specific action plans;
- To ensure that laws and policies encourage the mitigation of HIV/AIDS;
- To institutionalize best practices in care and support for people living with HIV/AIDS;
- To mitigate the effect of the disease on people living with HIV/AIDS, orphans and other affected groups;
- To create networks of people living with HIV/AIDS and others affected by AIDS;
- To establish an effective HIV/AIDS surveillance system; and
- To stimulate research on HIV/AIDS.

The National Emergency Plan and increased interest by donor agencies contributed to the proliferation of non-governmental organizations with a focal interest in HIV/AIDS. The USAID HIV/AIDS programme in Nigeria's choice of Kano State³³ as one of its four focal states contributed to this, CSADI being one of the organizations established in the wake of these institutional developments. In addition, lack of capacity in the newly established Tarauni LGA, which was considered a high risk area for transmission of the virus, created opportunities for NGOs like CSADI.

The sensitivities surrounding HIV/AIDS, given its association with sexual behaviour, raised new problems, as the predominantly Muslim community reacted to some of the preventive solutions propagated by NGOs and international donors. Perceptions by community leaders that NGOs tended to be donor driven, indiscriminately adopting donor agendas, generated problems of access and credibility for NGOs which had secured funds (see Walker, 1999). Donors increasingly realized that FBOs could assist as trusted gate-keepers, although ideological differences in the preferred mode of intervention between faith communities and secular bodies generated tensions. NGOs who had received funding started to engage with FBOs and faith leaders to assist programme implementation.

The rise of the Bush presidency, which favoured a faith-based approach to prevention, was reported to have been instrumental in reducing the tensions. One of the outcomes of this development is the AIDS Relief project, which has strengthened collaboration between CSADI, an NGO, and faith-based care givers such as the Al-Noury Specialist Hospital and the Ahmmadiya Hospital.

Another important background factor is the adoption of *sharia* in Kano State in 2000, followed by the government forging stronger partnerships with both FBOs and NGOs for service delivery, especially security. The perception that Kano is underserved by the Nigeria Police has, it was suggested by informants, induced the government to be more disposed to encouraging community policing and faith-based mobilizations against anti-social behaviour.

Finally, recent controversies surrounding the implementation of public health programmes, such as immunization of children against the five killer diseases, have led to increased collaboration between government and FBOs, as well as between FBOs and NGOs. In the wake of the controversial allegation by religious leaders that sponsors of immunization had a hidden agenda of population control, the government has tried to use influential FBOs and religious leaders to reassure the public on the safety of vaccines. Thus, the changing institutional context in Tarauni LGA is one which has allowed and encouraged increased collaboration between government, FBOs and NGOs in the implementation of development programmes.

3.4.2 Comparing the development aims, values, activities and characteristics of the organizations

From the discussion in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 of the development aims, values, activities and characteristics of the organizations studied, it is possible to identify some similarities and differences.

With respect to aims, it is evident that the organizations share a common desire to improve the human condition. For instance, both CSADI and the Al-Noury Hospital are part of the AIDS Relief Consortium, which is implementing a programme with the objectives of disseminating information on ways of contracting HIV/AIDS, promoting early testing and detection of HIV infection, improving the access of positive people to ART, prevention of mother-to-child transmission (PMCT) and ensuring the psycho-social wellbeing of PLWHAs by reducing stigma and discrimination. However, while the

founder of CSADI said that her motivation is purely humanitarian, the founders of Al-Noury Hospital had a spiritual motivation and some of the key informants interviewed were of the opinion that FBOs consider involvement in development work a spiritual calling. As the Kano State Coordinator of the State Action Committee on AIDS (SACA) noted:

I will say the FBOs have an additional motivation apart from the zeal to assist. Because of their faith they think of reward that will come to them at a later time. They believe they will have a reward for whatever they are doing here in the hereafter.³⁴

While such respondents perceive FBOs as having otherworldly motivations for their development work, they consider NGOs to be mostly inspired by mundane motivations. The dominant perception is that among NGO workers and leaders, material benefits are the driving motivation for participation in development work. This is often contrasted with the willingness of FBO staff and volunteers to work without taking a salary or to put in extra hours of work in order to satisfy their clientele.³⁵

Moreover, some respondents said that FBOs conceive of development work as part and parcel of their missionary activities. For example, Hajiya Asmau, a prominent member of the Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO) in the state, asserted that:

Ours [motivation] is different. The facts may be the same but the reason behind the facts may differ. We try to emphasize and propagate our religion through the development work we are doing. We consider development as da'wah.³⁶

The central role of faith in the development aims of FBOs is also evident in the response of Hajiya Bayero, a member of the project implementation committee of the MSO.

Everything we do as Muslims is Islamic-oriented. In Islam you are supposed to take care of your health, if you don't take care of your health, you will be asked by your creator. You have an obligation to take of your health. This is why we have to get involved in health-related development work.³⁷

The spiritual dimension is also considered crucial in the activities of FBOs. For instance, a participant in the FGD organized for the CSADI support group said:

FBOs are used to giving sermons, lectures during marriage and naming ceremonies, as well as at mosques where they preach against bad behaviour such as consumption of alcohol, pre-marital sex. The FBOs also provide psychological support to PLWHAs and

*give them the hope for survival. FBOs advise people to go for VCT before marriage and emphasize staying faithful to sexual partners.*³⁸

Thus, FBOs use the opportunities presented by offering development support to pass on religious messages, indirectly seeking to convert 'unbelievers'.

Respondents generally viewed FBO approaches as combining physical and spiritual wellbeing, while NGOs are seen to be mostly concerned with the physical wellbeing of the people with whom they are working. For instance, another respondent in the FGD with the Haske support group opined:

FBOs give lectures that give one hope to continue living and prayers and they make you believe in God and to go to hospital. NGOs help you in knowing your status and they also teach you on how to be self-reliant by giving you job.

In terms of organizational characteristics, the study found some differences between FBOs and NGOs. Firstly, the founders of FBOs are religiously inclined people who establish an organization to satisfy a religious obligation, while the founders of NGOs such as CSADI reported that they were inspired by the need to contribute to humanitarian efforts or tackle social problems.

Second, FBOs use religious symbols in their identity markers. For instance, Al-Noury Hospital's signs use both Arabic and English and it has a minaret in its logo. In contrast, NGOs do not use religious symbols – thus CSADI's logo is a multi-colour platform with the acronym CSADI.

Third, while both Al-Noury Hospital and CSADI have equal opportunity policies with regard to access to their facilities, CSADI extends the non-discrimination policy to its staffing. While all the staffers of Al-Noury are Muslims, CSADI has both Muslim and Christian staff members and symbolically also has a Christian on its Project Advisory Committee.

Fourth, FBOs tend to be affiliated to the religious groups to which they are responsible, while NGOs are not affiliated to religious bodies and therefore have greater autonomy.. A corollary is that the governing boards of FBOs tend to be more powerful and influential than the management, whereas in the NGO studied the management is arguably dominant, as it is responsible for nomination to the governing bodies. In CSADI, the executive director is unmistakably dominant, while in the Islamic Foundation, the Board, which appoints the executive director, is more influential.

It is instructive that respondents perceived these differences to be significant, even when an NGO is led by and staffed by Muslims. As Hajiya Bayero, leader of MSO put it:

It does not matter much if the NGOs are headed by practising Moslems. The difference is still clear. One is an Islamic FBO, while the other is an organization headed by a Muslim. The NGOs are not portraying Islamic principles. NGOs headed by practising Muslims may try, but they cannot be as strict as FBOs.³⁹

3.4.3 The manifestation of faith in the selected organizations

From the foregoing discussion of the profile, structure, activities, sources of information and methods of performance assessment of Al-Noury Specialist Hospital, it is evident that faith is manifest in different aspects of the organization. In the first place, Islam is strongly manifest in the organization's operations. Its mission statement explicitly states that the hospital was established to provide health services in an Islamic setting. The hospital was established by an Islamic foundation, is managed by devout Muslims and only employs Muslims. In addition, religious practices influence its operations. For instance, the hospital has separate sections for male and female patients and reception areas for men and women visitors; meetings, including interviews with staff members conducted during this study, are prefaced by prayers to Allah; and hospital activities are suspended during prayer times to allow staff to pray.

Secondly, organizational values are strongly influenced by Islam: doing good and helping the less privileged is a duty of Muslims and humanitarian activities are considered crucial for successful *da'wah*, so that it is believed that devout Muslims committed to *da'wah* should also be committed to humanitarian activities.

Thirdly, Islam is integrated into programme activities and affects the performance of the hospital. The Islamic value of chastity influences the hospital's preference for and insistence on HIV/AIDS prevention based on abstinence and fidelity between partners. The Islamic principle of humility is said to positively impact the confidentiality policy of the hospital, which staff insist has enhanced its capacity to reach out to more PLWHAs. Moreover, the principle of non-discrimination, which influenced the policy of the hospital not to devote a separate section for HIV/AIDS patients, has contributed to high levels of patronage of the services.

Fourthly, the Islamic religion influences the organizational structure, culture and management style. The organizational structure is hierarchical, with authority flowing from top to bottom. The executive secretary is directly appointed by the Health Management Board of the Islamic Foundation. Hospital staff members consult with both spiritual and traditional leaders during programme implementation. Although funds from the AIDS Relief Consortium have become more significant in recent years, the original source of funding was from the Islamic Foundation and the hospital still collects *zakat* and other contributions from wealthy and devout Muslims to fund its activities. The organization enters into partnership with both faith-based and secular groups to implement its programmes, but faith greatly influences its choice of partners. Thus it does not partner with any organization whose values and mission contradict the principles of Islam.

Fifthly, faith plays a large role in the way Al-Noury Hospital measures its performance. Although it uses objective performance indicators, the salience of these indicators is coloured by Islamic beliefs. This is explicit, for example, in hospital staff members' acceptance of the role of ART in enabling patients to live and die peacefully. The timing of death is not a source for concern, since they believe that individuals die at a time ordained by Allah. Moreover, staff members also assess performance based on the extent to which activities either lead to the conversion of non-Muslims, lead non-Muslims to take a more positive view of Muslims, or strengthen Muslims in their faith.

Sixthly, the beneficiaries and community stakeholders interviewed think that faith influences most aspects of the organization. Patronage of the hospital is reported to be based on the perception of the predominantly Muslim population that staff members will not act in ways that are contrary, offensive and injurious to the Islamic faith. This also explains why community stakeholders provide moral and financial aid to the hospital through *zakat* contributions during the Ramadan celebrations.

Some observers have suggested that NGOs led by Muslims or based in overwhelmingly Muslim environments should be regarded as faith-based organizations.⁴⁰ To assess this view and explore the ways in which faith is manifest in secular NGOs established and administered by Muslims, it is also important to examine the ways in which faith is manifest in CSADI's values and operations. To start with the role of religion in the organization's operations, it is obvious that religion is virtually absent. There is no reference to any religious obligation or motivation in CSADI's mission statement. Although the founder and executive director is a devout Muslim, there is no reference to any religious text in its

mission statement, which explicitly states that the organization is non-religious. Moreover, although Muslim staff members observe prayer times, prayers are not always observed before meetings. Finally, religion plays no role in staff recruitment policy. In addition, the Project Advisory Committee (PAC) has at least one notable Christian member.⁴¹

Secondly, the values of the founder and executive director of CSADI are framed in terms of the development discourse of human capability, rather than any religiously inspired vision. She regards herself as a development worker first and foremost, and the origins of the organization date back to a development initiative on which she worked.

Thirdly, religion is not integrated into the programme activities of CSADI. Most of the content of the projects are developed and implemented with support from secular bodies that use scientific resources rather than religious ones. Project content is not coloured by religious values and doctrines. Thus, CSADI is not opposed to use of the barrier method as a tool for preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS, despite its principal funder's promotion of the 'abstinence and be faithful' message.

Fourthly, the organizational structure is not influenced by religion. Although there is hierarchy, the management style allows for consultations with staff. Funding is from secular sources and the organization has no inhibitions on entering into partnership with any organisation, working with partners from all faith background and none to implement its programmes.

Fifthly, organizational performance assessment is based solely on objective indicators - targets and milestones achieved – with no explicit or implicit reference to satisfaction of a religious obligation. Staff report that their satisfaction is derived from providing a service to humanity.

Finally, beneficiaries and community stakeholders interviewed recognize the distinctive identity of CSADI as a secular NGO, attributing the contributions of the organization to its nature as an NGO or to the personal qualities of its founder and executive director.

3.4.4 Do FBOs approach development any differently from their secular counterparts?

This study shows that in a situation in which most funding comes from international donors for HIV/AIDS related activities, FBOs and NGOs administer similar development programmes and organize similar activities. However, responses from FBO and NGO staffers, as well as beneficiaries and stakeholders, reveal some differences in the ways they approach development.

First, most respondents claimed that NGO approaches can be summarized as ‘the end justifies the means’. For the FBOs, however, they perceived that the means are as (and sometimes more) important than the end. With specific reference to HIV/AIDS prevention programmes, while NGOs are satisfied with any approach that will reduce the rate of infection, FBOs only approve of those means that are not injurious to social morals and religious principles. In other words, FBOs reject some proven means of preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS that go against the principles of their faith. As Hajiya Jemila Yahaya, the Almira of the MSO, puts it:

The bottom-line of what we do is that it should have religious basis. We make sure all our activities abide by Islamic principles. If there is a discrepancy between the proposed solution and position of our faith, then our faith must prevail. We admit that this can be more costly. For instance, we have in the past developed manuals that are customized to our faith and the expectations of our people, when we find out that the prescriptions in the manual presented by donors are inappropriate.

In her contribution, the Adherence and Compliance Officer in Al-Noury Hospital reiterated the role of religion in service delivery.

We sometimes counsel them [PLWHAS] socially, psychologically and spiritually. ART we use counselling on religious basis. You allow the client to cry. Later you talk to them. They will tell you the problem.

Similarly, a participant in the FGD held with members of the Haske Support Group at Al-Noury Hospital said:

FBOs are very concerned with the unintended consequences of development activities. Before adopting any method, the FBOs will check how it will affect the believers. The FBOs regard themselves as custodians of faith. They approach development work as missionary work. They give you hope, they pray for you and make you believe in God while they ask you to go to the hospital.

Reinforcing these views, Dr. Asmau Yahaya, a school proprietor and member of MSO noted:

We present the message from a religious perspective. For instance, we are able to make people insist on HIV test before marriage by providing religious justification. The Prophet encouraged background checks before marriage to ascertain issues [such as] mental illness, leprosy, etc. In the same line if you have to find out HIV status, you are right. Religion has backed you. Equipping them with the necessary arguments was important. Mothers started asking for pre-marital screening, we gave them the religious arsenal to fight for their rights. The reason for the facts is important. We used the Prophet's message to discourage sex before marriage. The Prophet had asked a man what his reaction would be if he was told a man had had sexual intercourse with his daughter, sister or wife. The man said he would be angry. The Prophet then told him to avoid pre-marital and extra-marital sex because the lady involved was definitely somebody's daughter, sister or wife. He advised the man to fast if could not contain himself. This is why we designed the message Abstinence, Be Faithful and Fast (ABF) in place of the offensive ABC message. As you can see, the facts of the matter may be the same, but the reason behind the facts matter most. We insist on giving a religious background and context to our programmes. Mentoring has become part of us.⁴²

Secondly, FBOs are perceived to adopt a holistic approach to development, while NGOs tend to be more issue and case specific. A participant in the FGD referred to above said that FBOs are interested in meeting the needs of the body, the soul and the spirit, while NGOs only concern themselves with the physical body. In the view of another respondent, "FBOs are not specialists. They do so many things and are therefore not effective. NGOs are specialists and perform better in their own area of work."

Thirdly, FBOs are generally considered as being more selective in their choice of development partners than NGOs. As Hajiya Jemila Yahaya confirmed:

NGOs don't care how much they go into the donor agenda. FBOs are more sceptical. For instance, MSO has found it difficult working with organizations working on reproductive health. We find that because we don't want to contribute to making an individual who is shaking in his faith to fall. You can see that we are restrained, while the NGOs have no restrictions whatsoever.

This view is supported by Hajiya Zainab of CSADI:

For us NGOs we are not restricted. We can do anything. FBOs have a lot of religious obligations. They have limitations in terms of partnership. They cannot partner with every group.

3.4.5 *The perceived performance outcomes of the selected FBOs and NGOs*

Beneficiaries interviewed during the study were so full of praise for the projects from which they had benefitted that it was difficult to obtain any objective comparative analysis from their comments. However, some comments did direct attention to possible strengths and weaknesses of the organizations. All the beneficiaries of programmes implemented by CSADI felt that its grassroots community orientation had helped immensely in tackling stigmatization and encouraging more people to accept voluntary testing. Beneficiaries were also appreciative of both the counselling sessions it offers and home-based care, which they reported has afforded them an opportunity to get married and have children who are HIV negative. CSADI's beneficiaries also claimed that the organization, and very often, its director, had transformed their lives through the various capacity building and economic empowerment programmes in which they had been able to participate. Beneficiaries of the services provided by the Al-Noury Hospital were particularly appreciative that the hospital's confidentiality policy has enabled them to adhere to their ART treatment regimen, enabling them to live healthier lives because of the positive impact of the drugs on their ability to resist opportunistic infections.

When asked to comment on the performance of CSADI and Al-Noury, staff members of the two organizations advanced the view that they complemented each other. However, when asked to comment on FBOs and NGOs more generally, the staff members of both tended to project their own type of organization in a more positive light. For instance, Hajija Zainab of CSADI said, in response to a question on how she rated FBOs and NGOs:

I think performance of FBOs is okay but not 100 per cent. We [NGOs] do a lot of referrals to them. We have common training. We belong to networks. [However] we are not the same; for us NGOs we are not restricted. We can do anything. Faith-based groups have a lot of religious obligations.... They cannot partner with every group.

Clearly, respondents affiliated to both FBOs and NGOs consider NGOs to have fewer constraints on their operations and collaboration with other groups than FBOs. Thus, NGOs can more easily source funds from grant-making agencies and are more readily able to forge alliances and coalitions for implementation, enjoying the advantages offered by partnership and networking. As a result, NGOs may be able to accomplish tasks and deliver results more rapidly than FBOs. This is borne out by the perception of most respondents, including some affiliated with FBOs, that FBOs' insistence on their

religious tenets being respected in programming may lead to delays in programme delivery or increases in programme budgets.

Interestingly, the staffers and members of FBOs consider the adaptability and flexibility of NGOs to be a liability rather than an asset. The pragmatism of NGOs, which manifests itself in their willingness to work with any group and adopt any 'donor driven agenda' is considered to indicate that NGOs are 'soulless' agencies staffed by careerists interested in their compensation rather than delivering development. In this view, the supposedly uncritical acceptance of projects by NGOs is considered unfortunate, as it can trigger conflicts in religiously charged environments, alienating intended beneficiary communities. In contrast, FBOs' sensitivity to the potential for inappropriate interventions to cause conflict is said to have the potential to reduce unintended consequences of development activities. Some FBO sources even claimed that the adaptability of NGOs can sometimes cause irredeemable damage to their organizational integrity and credibility, because it leads to a loss of trust and respect in the community. As the matron of Al-Noury argued:

NGOs are not sympathetic. Religious groups are more straightforward and strict... Religion is very sensitive. Whatever you do, once you call God, people respond. They are more inclined to trust you. Whatever you do [without involving the religious leaders is bound to fail. They are like our prophets. They disseminate to us. They believe NGOs are just there with very low community support.⁴³

Other informed community stakeholders confirmed some of the perceived differences between FBOs and NGOs. For instance, the state director of the AIDS action committee (SACA) noted:

We do interact with FBOs and NGOs and are in a position to make more objective assessments of their strengths and weaknesses. We have been working with the Association of Islamic Leaders Affected by HIV/AIDS. Particularly when it comes to issues of counselling, disclosure, and family conflict resulting from a member diagnosed. We find it easier if we have FBOs coming in to bring the situation under control. In the past, we had issue regarding acceptance of a girl diagnosed with HIV. With the assistance of the FBO, we were able to reach out and make sure the stigma conflicts were resolved. FBOs are more accepted. Nigerians are deeply religious. People try to accept the words of religious leaders. Easier for them to quote from relevant holy books on what needs to be done. They are more acceptable than other individuals.⁴⁴

The foregoing discussion indicates that most observers perceive FBOs to be more acceptable in a highly religious context, such as Kano, and therefore more likely to be able to mobilize community support, particularly where a programme is suspected by potential beneficiaries to be at odds with their religious beliefs.

Some explanations for the perceived relative performance of FBOs and NGOs also emerged from the study. NGO and FBO workers, as well as beneficiaries and community stakeholders, strongly believe that acceptance by a community is crucial to successful programme implementation by FBOs. This acceptance, in their view, is borne out of trust of FBOs, belief in the principal tenets of their religion, and a sense that the organizations belong to the same faith tradition. The reputation of leaders of FBOs as prophets and oracles of the divine also contributes to the credibility of FBOs and strengthens their influence. Dr. Asmau Yahaya of the MSO captures this idea very poignantly:

FBOs are close to the community and the society. When we started the HIV/AIDS awareness campaign, we were looked upon as role models. The fact that we had doctors and pharmacists amongst us was very important. They came to believe us when they knew we were highly knowledgeable, not just religious. There were no barriers. We spoke their languages in ways they could understand.... We were Moslems who know what the religion allows and disallows.

This perception was confirmed in the position advanced by Hajiya Kilishi Sanusi of the MSO:

Islam is a community. This is why we say Ummah. There is no individualism in Islam. We are not NGOs. We are able to stick to principles. The NGOs are secular ... We have restrictions. Certainly, it is a matter of acceptability. This is an Islamic community. If you want to be acceptable you have to come with Islamic ethics.

The questions of acceptability, trust and identity are also prominent in Dr. Asmau Yahaya's response:

Islammiya women saw us as women who had exposure that they did not have. They trusted us. They saw us as sisters, friends or mothers... I believe we have some leverage. Why? Religious leaders are important gate keepers. The religious leader knows that you know what they know. It is based on mutual respect. The religious leaders are proud of us, even though they may not show it. It is easier for us to access them. We don't draw salaries. We bring in, instead of taking out. NGOs talk in terms of benefits. That is not a priority here. FBOs have nothing to hide. Some NGOs have something to hide. Their documentation is not satisfactory..

Although most of the respondents referred to trust, closeness to the community, the humility of staff, community acceptance, acceptance by local and religious leaders, extreme religiosity, credibility, honesty, altruism, sacrifice, community ownership, community participation and devotion to the faith as responsible for the better performance of FBOs, it was not clear that these features are associated with FBOs qua FBOs. It seems likely that secular NGOs who possess some of the same attributes are also embraced by target communities, as claimed by Hajjiya Zainab of CSADI:

We have performed differently because we are very committed. We don't wait for funders. We use the little resource we have judiciously. We have been groomed on how to approach the community. The respect we have for religious leaders has helped us to move on well. We started by getting the blessing and support of the Emir, who directs the District and Ward heads. We are fed wherever we go to. We don't look high; we manage on what we have. We have joy that whoever we call to help us is willing to do so and that has given us a lot of joy because we don't have to spend so much to HELP THE PEOPLE. The support groups we are using have helped us to break a lot of barriers. Instead of us going directly into the community, they have really helped to communicate to the people.

Several members of beneficiary groups also attested to the fact that they had been attracted to CSADI because Hajjiya Zainab is kind-hearted, approachable, sincere, trustworthy, self-less, God-fearing and humble. Many had received gifts from her and believe that she had gone beyond the call of duty to attend to their needs. Photographs displayed in CSADI appeared to confirm that she has good working relationships with traditional leaders, as well as religious leaders in the community. Although a secular NGO, CSADI, with its grassroots focus, has strong community support. From our study of CSADI, therefore, it is difficult to conclude that the explanations for success put forward by informants are peculiar to FBOs. Instead, it is likely that secular NGOs that meet the same criterion of being sympathetic and sensitive to religious beliefs and practices and with staff members who are predominantly members of the locally predominant faith enjoy the same kind of community support.

3.5 Conclusions

This study has explored whether and how religion is manifest in an NGO and an FBO operating programmes related to HIV/AIDS in Tarauni LGA on the outskirts of Kano. Most respondents distinguished between FBOs and NGOs. The defining distinctive markers of an FBO have been identified by Thaut (2009) as religious inspiration in its mission, aims and objectives; affiliation to a

religious body; composition of the organization's staff and board; the extent to which the organization draws on religious ideas to justify and implement development projects; and whether or not the organization mobilizes resources from faith communities.

The case studies of CSADI and the Al-Noury Hospital confirmed that they are involved in similar development activities, for which they draw much of their support from the same donor. However, Al-Noury incorporates more religious messages, practices and symbols in its programme delivery. Interestingly, this does not alienate non-Muslim clients, who continue to patronize the facility because of the low cost of the health care it offers and the confidentiality it guarantees HIV/AIDS patients. This suggests that delivery of services through FBOs does not necessarily generate resentment and conflict among non-adherents of the relevant religion, particularly where the services are provided by the dominant religious group and so are not openly branded as aimed at conversion. In contrast, if services are provided by an organization affiliated to a religious minority in the Nigerian context, it is possible that adherents to the majority faith would be less likely to use them because of a perceived conversion motive.

The study suggests that NGOs can more operate more effectively in areas where there is a high consciousness of religion by working with FBOs, as well as religious and traditional leaders. FBOs can play an important role in mediating access in contexts where NGOs are implementing programmes with sensitive and controversial religious and cultural implications, especially those concerned with reproductive health and rights and gender relations. Thus, NGOs and FBOs can play complementary roles in programme delivery in contexts such as Kano. This suggests that policy should seek to encourage partnership and collaboration between NGOs and FBOs, rather than them being seen as alternative agents of development. The case studies indicate that such a partnership can be productive when an NGO working in a deeply religious community is sensitive to and respectful of the faith of the people amongst whom it is working and is willing to engage with religious authorities and organizations.

Furthermore, the study found that respondents believe that faith matters, because members of faith communities trust religious leaders and are more likely to respond to programmes that are implemented by or have the express approval of the religious authorities. Faith also matters because it is easier to mobilize faith communities by providing religious justifications and representing

programmes using the perspectives of the Holy Books. This suggests that it would be useful to include religious leaders and FBOs in the design and implementation of programmes that are linked to the belief system of a community.

This comparative case study also underscores the importance of recognizing complexity and not assuming FBOs and NGOs are homogenous. While NGOs are considered both more adaptable and more pragmatic, but FBOs are not totally immune from external pressures. The exigencies of their situation lead to the adoption of sometimes contradictory policies. For example, Al-Noury Hospital employs only Muslims, but given the shortage of qualified Muslim teachers in certain subjects, its parent Foundation recruits non-Muslims to teach in its schools.⁴⁵

Finally, the study does not support the widely held claim that FBOs are financially self-sufficient while NGOs are always dependent on donor funding. While Al-Noury Hospital does raise some funds from local religious giving for the services it provides, both it and CSADI depend on donor support to run the HIV/AIDS programme considered here.⁴⁶

4 Comparing a Christian FBO and an NGO in Kano State: People Oriented Development and the Society for Women and AIDS in Nigeria

This chapter presents the findings of the comparative study of a Christian FBO (People Oriented Development) and an NGO (Society for Women and Aids in Nigeria), operating in two Local Government Areas in Kano State. First, the broader religious context is described, before providing some background information on the local context. Section 4.3 comments briefly on the history of FBOs and NGOs working in the LGAs and relationships between them and local government. SWAAN is profiled in Section 4.4, and then POD-ECWA analyzed in Section 4.5, which pays particular attention to the ways in which Christianity manifests itself in the organisation's mission and activities. Feedback from focus group discussions and interviews with community stakeholders enables some comparison of the perceived performance of the organizations, before the main findings are summarized in the final section.

4.1 The religious context

As noted above, Islam is the oldest foreign religion in Nigeria, said to have been introduced in Kano around the fifteenth century by Muslim merchants from northern Africa (Hiskett, 2007), who combined trading with missionary activities.⁴⁷

Christianity is believed to have been introduced in the Middle Ages (Kenny, 1979). It was first introduced to the northern region by Christian missionaries via the River Niger and Idah, a town situated on the confluence of the Rivers Niger and Benue. However, it did not take root in northern Nigeria, especially what is now Kano State, until the late nineteenth century (Odumosu et al, 2009). The Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) was one of the first and most famous of the Christian missions. Its founders arrived in northern Nigeria in 1893 with a mandate to spread the gospel in Nigeria's far north. However, because Islam was already established in the north, in Kano and other parts of Hausaland, it was not until the late 1930s that missionary work to convert the Hausas to Christianity commenced.⁴⁸ The Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA) grew out of SIM's work, and today claims more than 6 million worshippers. The church is managed and run by a governing council consisting of a chairman, directors, managers, coordinators and programme staff. ECWA, which was established in 1954, is both a national and an international church (www.ECWAng.org, accessed May 2010). The church is engaged in theological education, medical work, radio broadcasting, publishing and community development. Over 1,600 missionaries from ECWA churches serve with ECWA's Evangelical Missionary Society (EMS), both within Nigeria and internationally.

The work of the church proliferated throughout Kano and outlying villages during the three decades after the ECWA church was formed and many Hausa Muslims converted to Christianity. With SIM and ECWA working in partnership, some of the first schools, medical centres and colleges in Kano, many of which educated Muslim children, were established. Many of the Christians interviewed for this study in the villages in Tudun Wada local government were children of Muslims who had converted to Christianity following village evangelism by ECWA missionaries in the 1950s and 1960s.⁴⁹ Thus, through its medical, education and community development ministries, much of the Islamic north, especially Kano, was opened to Christianity. People Oriented Development (POD), the Christian FBO selected for study, was established by the Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA).

Kano State is largely Muslim. Christians and followers of other non-Muslim religions are a small percentage of the population, with Christians reported to comprise just one per cent.⁵⁰ Traditionally they have lived in the Sabon Gari (strangers' quarter) or Nomansland. The state government introduced *sharia* law in Kano State in 2000, causing many Christians to leave when religious riots broke out during October 2001. ECWA has experienced discrimination by the State government since Islamization of the state has intensified, preventing them from promoting Christian activities,⁵¹

4.2 Profile of Nassarawa and Tudun Wara LGAs

As mentioned in Section 1.2, although POD-ECWA has its main branch office in the Nassarawa Local Government Area, most of its activities are concentrated in outlying villages in the Tudun Wada LGA, where the focus group discussions (FGDs) and project observations were conducted. In this section, some of the characteristics of these two LGAs are described.

4.2.1 Nassarawa LGA

Nassarawa is one of 44 LGAs in Kano State.⁵² It was carved out of the Kano Municipal Local Government Council in 1989 and its headquarters are located in Bompai. With an area of about 34 square kilometres and a population of about 1.2 million (Nassarawa LGA Strategic Plan, 2009b), the Nassarawa LGA has the second highest population density after Kano Municipal, with about 90 per cent of its population living in urban areas and 10 per cent in peri-urban semi-rural areas.⁵³ The Hakimi (District Head) plays an important role in local government and his advice and

recommendations on various issues are regularly sought by the Chairman of the Local Government Council.

Nassarawa is a cosmopolitan LGA, containing numerous ethnic groups from all over Nigeria, including Ibo, Yoruba, Igala and Idoma, as well as Arabs and ethnic groups from other parts of West Africa. However, the indigenous Hausa and Fulani groups predominate. It is a commercial centre with several active markets and motor parks. The major markets are Dakata grain market, Gwagwarwa market and Yan Kaba vegetable market. It is reputed to generate high revenue for the Kano State government due to its multi-ethnic population, most of which is engaged in business trading.⁵⁴ Many workers are also employed in privately owned manufacturing companies, as the LGA has the highest concentration of industrial activities in the state, including construction, tanning, textile manufacturing, edible oil and flour processing and plastics manufacturing.

There are several primary and secondary schools in Nassarawa LGA, including Islamic schools for both girls and boys. In addition, there is also a large pool of for-profit private schools in the formal economic sector, which employ a sizeable proportion of the workforce.

In the rural parts of the local government area, two main seasonal crops are produced, known as dry and rainy season crops. The rainy season crops include groundnuts, millet, guinea corn, maize, cassava and beans. The dry season crops include wheat and onions, which are produced with irrigation. Animals reared in the local government area include cattle, goats, rams, camels and sheep and animal products include milk, butter, cheese, hides and skins (Nassarawa Local Government, 2009b).

4.2.2 Tudun Wada LGA

Located about 116 Km south of the Kano metropolitan area, Tudun Wada was created during General Murtala Mohamed's military regime in 1976, under the local government reforms.⁵⁵ It has an area of 1,204 square kilometres and a population of 231,742 according to the 2006 census, with its headquarters in the market town of Tudun Wada. It has one district head and 25 village heads. The LGA is about 95 per cent rural⁵⁶, growing rainy season crops including rice, sorghum, millet, maize, groundnuts, onions and cowpeas, and dry season crops of wheat, tomatoes and garlic. The only part of the area that can be described as 'urban' is the narrow stretch alongside the main road which runs

through the town on its way to Kano. The main road is the commercial centre, where large numbers of people are engaged in various forms of business and trading activities. The town hosts a wholesale grain market three to four times a week, selling mostly rice and millet.

The inhabitants of Tudun Wada LGA are predominantly Hausa/Fulani, the majority of whom are farmers and fishermen, while the Fulani segment of the population – which is mostly engaged in cattle rearing and herding – is nomadic. According to one key informant, 90 per cent of the population of Tudun Wada LGA is Muslim, whilst the Christian population is about 10 per cent. A large number of mosques have sprung up over the past two decades in response to population growth. Some churches have also been built to cater for in-migrants, but the number of new mosques exceeds the number of churches due to the number of Muslims moving to the area from Kano. Muslims in the LGA are reported to be very religious, and there are a number of Islamic schools and scholars, who are literate and teach in Arabic.

When Christian missionaries attempted to introduce Western-style education in Tudun Wada during the mid-twentieth century, the Muslim religious leaders aggressively resisted them for fear that people would be converted to Christianity.⁵⁷ Consequently, parents refused to send their children to school for decades thereafter. Over the two decades prior to this study, the fear of being converted to Christianity has apparently subsided, following recognition that Western-style education has benefits, such as being able to read and communicate in English. This change came about because Muslim Hausas who had not received Western-style education realized that they could not apply for employment in the public sector or Western-style businesses. They are also reported to have begun to realize that missionaries do good works, such as building schools and clinics and providing free medicines. In contemporary Tudun Wada, many parents send their children to either mission or government schools to receive Western-style education, although the government schools also teach Islamic studies and principles. There are also a number of Islamic schools or *madrassas* in the town, which focus mainly on teaching Islamic principles and the Qur'an. To date, the Tudun Wada local government has built 150 primary schools, including Islamic schools, 100 junior secondary and two senior secondary schools.

Faith-based organizations and secular NGOs were present in the study areas before the current LGAs were created. Following increased in-migration over the two decades prior to the study, new FBOs and NGOs have emerged. Although the number of organizations operating in the area has increased in recent years, most are not based in the Tudun Wada area, nor are they registered with the local government. Instead, they are based in Kano, and are registered with the Kano State government and the respective local governments in which they are based. Due to the temporary nature of the presence and activities of the organizations in the LGAs under study, local interviewees were unable to provide the researcher with much background information about them. POD-ECWA, for example, had been delivering a variety of development activities in the LGAs long before it was formally registered as an FBO in 1988. It has had active HIV/AIDS programmes in the Tudun Wada LGA for over ten years and most of its workers and beneficiaries live in the villages around Tudun Wada town, where most of the study on POD-ECWA was conducted.

In addition to Kano-based organizations, there are community organizations within the LGA, which are registered with the local government. Interviews with informants from two of them revealed that the Fulbe Development Association (FULDAN) was established in 2006 to create and promote awareness of development interventions among the Fulani communities. The organization aims to mobilize its target community to participate in community-based programmes – for example HIV/AIDS and polio eradication programmes. Some of the female members are traditional birth attendants, who have received training on basic hygiene procedures from visiting FBOs/NGOs to enable them to deliver babies safely. Miyetti Association's mandate is to provide outreach on development interventions to its members living and working in the Tudun Wada area.

4.3 Relationships between the Local Government Councils and organizations operating in their areas

Interviewees consider FBOs and NGOs to be very important in delivering key development activities at the community level. For example, local government staff members consider that FBOs and NGOs provide a link to people in the communities, communicating the governments' development plans and encouraging them to participate in development activities, such as HIV/AIDS and polio immunization programmes. While the local government councils do not fund development activities such as HIV/AIDS-related or polio eradication programmes, they second some of their staff to work with FBOs and NGOs because without the assistance of these officials to introduce them to the local leaders and

mobilize the targeted communities, these Kano-based organizations would be unable to implement the programmes for which they have funding. Regarded as outsiders by the indigenes and unfamiliar with the local communities, they appear to depend on the assistance of local government staff.⁵⁸

It was also reported that FBOs and NGOs often approach the local government with new project ideas that require partnership working, such as a current HIV/AIDS-related anti-stigmatization programme. If the local government considers the project to be viable and of benefit to residents, it joins forces with the FBO or NGO concerned to execute the programme.⁵⁹ The interviewees went on to explain that the Local Government Councils work with FBOs (both Muslim and Christian) and secular NGOs, and do not distinguish between the two types of organization.

According to the respondents, the proliferation of FBOs and NGOs and their activities over the past few years has been due largely to the availability of financial assistance from international donors which fund their activities, particularly HIV/AIDS programmes. Many of the counselling, testing and sensitization programmes are funded and supported by international donors. The spread of activities has been gradual over the years, as has increased volume of funding received by local organizations. As the funding and activities increased, so the organizations were able to reach more people. There are currently four FBOs and nine secular NGOs operating in the Nassarawa local government area; which are important to the local government because they assist in executing most of the development programmes in the community.

4.4 Society for Women and AIDS in Africa, Nigeria

4.4.1 Background and development aims

The Society for Women and AIDS in Africa, Nigeria (SWAAN) was founded at the fourth International Conference on AIDS in Stockholm in 1988 by a group of African professional women concerned about the disproportionate and adverse effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on women in Africa (SWAAN, n.d., p 1). During a World AIDS Day Rally organized by the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Health in 1989, representatives from Nigeria who had attended the conference decided to invite suitable women from all over the country to discuss and plan how to establish an organization that could help women and children cope better with HIV/AIDS. In 1990 SWAAN was established and the Kano State chapter, which was established in May 1990, was one of the pilot branches. There are now about 30 state

branches spread across Nigeria. As members of other African countries returned to their own countries after the Stockholm conference, they also established their own forms of Societies for Women with AIDS in Africa. For example, the organization is known as SWAAZ in Zambia. There are branches in the US and Europe, which also aim to reduce the impact of HIV/AIDS. Thus, SWAA is both national and international.

SWAAN is a secular, non-political and strictly humanitarian NGO established to reduce the impact of HIV in Nigerian society. According to Hajia Suleiman, the Chairperson:

Its main objectives are to conduct AIDs-related activities that are more receptive to African women; and to collaborate with governments and other non-governmental agencies in order to control the AIDs epidemic in Africa (Interview: H. Suleiman, 2009).

The mission of SWAAN is to prevent HIV, provide counselling and testing to people that do not know their HIV status, and refer those found to be infected to the appropriate health facility for treatment. SWAAN also aims to reduce the stigma associated with HIV/AIDS in communities. The organization's goals include building the capacity of women to understand HIV/AIDS, modes of transmission and how to prevent and manage it (SWAAN, n.d., p 1).⁶⁰

4.4.2 Programme activities

Initially, drugs were not available to treat HIV; therefore, only opportunistic infections, such as tuberculosis, were treated. However, in the past decade progress has been made in developing appropriate drugs to manage HIV/AIDS. SWAAN educates women to understand the importance of nutrition and healthy eating when they are diagnosed as HIV-positive, the danger of transmission to their children, methods for family planning. It also refers women to hospital so that they can obtain treatment and home care. Women are also provided with some funding to enable them to generate income – for example, they are given grinding machines which they can rotate among themselves to generate income to support their families.⁶¹ One informant reported that some husbands, after they learn that their wives have been diagnosed as HIV-positive, promptly seek a divorce, leaving their wives without any means of support for themselves and their children.⁶² SWAAN steps in at this point with skills training and income generation projects to enable such women to establish small trading businesses to enable them to support their families.

As mentioned above, the organization's main intended beneficiaries when it was first established were women and children – women from all the ethnic groups in Nigeria, including those in *purdah*.⁶³ However, over the past decade, the organization has begun to target men, especially husbands of the women who benefit from their services. One of the main reasons for targeting men, and husbands in particular, is because it is usually husbands who infect their wives.⁶⁴ The organization also aims to reach the youth because, according to one of the HIV/AIDS counsellors, “...*they're known for their risky behaviour.*” In addition, it tries to reach out to the adult male population through its contacts with young people in secondary schools and higher education institutions.⁶⁵ It encourages students to seek HIV testing and counselling. Many young girls are raped in the communities, so the organization also provides information on HIV/AIDS to young girls and teaches them how to protect themselves.⁶⁶

SWAAN also targets servicemen (i.e. soldiers and police), who are known for their 'risky behaviour'. It visits barracks to mobilize officers and provide them with information about HIV/AIDS, counselling and testing. It also cooperates with the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) to operate a mobile service, which visits motor parks to sensitize lorry drivers and commercial sex workers.

The organization also conducts sensitization activities with the Muslim and Christian clergy, to enable them to better communicate with their congregations about HIV/AIDS during religious services. Verses are often read from the Qur'an and Bible, and Imams and Pastors preach messages about abstinence, faithfulness in marriage and for people not to cheat on their wives/husbands if they are to avoid being infected with HIV.

The programme activities are run in four of the eleven wards in the Nassarawa LGA, namely Brigade, Gama, Gauna and Tudun Wada. Apart from helping women and children to cope with the HIV-AIDS virus, the organization conducts home visits and, as noted above, runs youth programmes and makes presentations to anti-AIDS clubs in secondary schools. Community outreach and advocacy, income generation projects, as well as meetings with community and religious leaders, are part of their programme of activities. Another important area of work is capacity building of different groups, including traditional birth attendants, barbers and hospital staff. Barbers use local knives to shave hair, perform circumcisions, scrape substances such as mucus from babies' vaginas, and carry out circumcisions.⁶⁷ SWAAN's capacity building programmes seek to enlighten such groups about the danger that their traditional work within the communities can increase HIV infections.

As well as the mobile counselling and testing service mentioned above, which enables SWAAN to go out and meet people to provide information and tests in their homes, markets and workplaces, it also has a self-referral system at its testing centre in Nassarawa, whereby people are encouraged to walk into the centre and ask to be tested and counselled on HIV.

Currently, staff members, many of whom are reported to be HIV-positive themselves, are working in the various communities to reduce stigma and discrimination.⁶⁸ The organisation's approach is to establish community support groups to sensitize local people and to educate hospital workers and other stakeholders about the virus. SWAAN was also one of the first organizations in northern Nigeria to form support groups for people living with HIV/AIDs and these have become an important part of the service it provides. These informal groups are made up of people living with HIV/AIDs, the first of which was established in 1991, who have been helped to manage their condition by SWAAN. They are facilitated by development officers from SWAAN and are said to have helped to reduce stigma and discrimination. It emerged that over the past decade, more people have been coming forward, not only to admit their HIV-status, but also to identify with those living with the virus.⁶⁹ During the first few years of SWAAN's operation, no law existed against discrimination, but now informants noted that there is a law which outlaws discrimination against those living with HIV. If a person experiences discrimination, the matter can be taken to court, so people are now said to be more cautious about discriminating against people living with HIV.

The organization also provides a free telephone counselling service, whereby people from all over Nigeria can phone a free hotline number to request information about HIV/AIDs. Through networking with the National Action Committee on AIDs (NACA) and ZAIN (the phone network company), who sponsor the service, SWAAN is able to provide advice to local and national callers.

4.4.3 Values of the organization

When asked to explain the values of the organization, informants suggested that the need to respect humanity is important. For example, the Chairperson, Hajiya Suleiman, pointed out that:

As a Muslim, I must love my neighbours as myself. I must share what I have with others, and I should give, irrespective of my religion. I should be able to work with anybody and care for them.

Asked how she had arrived at such values, she stated:

You know everything is a calling, and you are blessed as you do things, and you don't know why you do them. But every day, you pray 'God, this is a new day, let me have a good day, let me be able to touch lives, let me be able to do things to bless people'.

SWAAN believes providing appropriate information in order to change social behaviour to stop the spread of HIV. The organization believes that HIV has become a challenge because most people still do not believe in its existence. Thus, it attempts to enlighten people about how to avoid infection, and if they become infected, how best to manage their HIV-positive status.

The researcher was informed by the Project Manager that the core values of the organization have not changed since it was established.⁷⁰ The organization aims to be in a financial position to achieve its goal of helping the poor. A decade ago, people living with HIV had to visit health facilities to be tested, counselled and receive treatment. People suffered stigma and discrimination. But now, the organization reported that it has trained community volunteers and peer health educators to take the services to communities so that people no longer have to go to hospitals and clinics if they do not want to.

4.4.3 Organizational characteristics

The Kano branch of SWAAN is registered with the Corporate Affairs Commission, as well as the Kano State Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development. It has a Board of Trustees comprising the President, Vice President, General Secretary, Assistant General Secretary, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer, Public Relations Officer and Zonal Coordinators. The local structures, members of which are selected by the national board, is comprised of a Chairperson, Secretary, Financial Secretary and other officers. The organizational culture was described by one interviewee as "*relaxed and democratic*"⁷¹, but the organizational structure appears to be more hierarchical than democratic: the senior management, which is based at the organisation's registered headquarters in Zawaciki Housing Estate in another part of the Kano, are reported by the Chairperson to make all the decisions and relay them down to the managers and field workers at the operational centre in Nassarawa local government area for implementation⁷². Senior management has periodic meetings with staff, and a Project Advisory Committee (PAC) meets once a month to discuss strategic plans for the

organization. When the Board of Trustees meets, staff are represented by two of their number. SWAAN employs 17 paid staff, 113 community volunteers and about 40 peer health educators.

Communication is managed through the use of mobile phones and writing of letters. The organization does not have direct access to the internet and does not use emails to communicate. The Chairperson also meets the senior staff once a month to discuss the various programmes. Another chain of communication is the SWAAN Board: communication goes through the Chairperson to the Programme Manager, who then relays the information to the rest of the staff, signifying a hierarchical communications structure.

When SWAAN needs to recruit additional staff, the senior management approaches the Nassarawa local government and ward heads, who recommend people from local communities. The jobs are open to the general public, and recruitment is not based on religion, although in this Muslim-majority area, most of the staff is Muslim. SWAAN also places advertisements in strategic places, such as mosques and the British Council notice board. The organization has a team in its registered offices at Zawaciki, which interviews and selects staff. When new recruits are selected, the Chairperson signs the appointment letters and then notifies SWAAN's funders of the new appointments for funding purposes.

SWAAN works in partnership with the local government and a number of NGOs in the LGA to deliver activities associated with a programme piloting an integrated approach to HIV/AIDs and Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Tuberculosis (the HAST programme). An initiative of the Global HIV and AIDs Initiative Nigeria (GHAIN) is financed from PEPFAR (through USAID), coordinated in Nigeria by US-based NGO Family Health International (FHI) and is being delivered by a conglomerate of NGOs and the local government.

SWAAN also works with the following organizations at local, state and national levels:

- *Grassroots Health Organization of Nigeria (GHON)*, a secular NGO established in 1993 to create a supportive environment for maternal and newborn health, thereby reducing the high rate of maternal, newborn and child morbidity and mortality;

- *Civil Society for HIV/AIDs in Nigeria (CiSHAN)*, which is an umbrella organization set up in 2000, in response to the poor representation and exclusion of civil society from key government policy and decision making processes on issues of HIV/AIDs in Nigeria. The organization aims to co-ordinate, facilitate and advocate on behalf of CSOs working on HIV/AIDs, to provide a coordinated and coherent input into the national response to HIV/AIDs;
- *Community Support and Development Initiatives (CSADI)* (see Section 3.3) is a secular NGO established in 2000 to increase awareness in order to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDs, STIs, malaria and tuberculosis. CSADI targets mostly pregnant women who are infected by the HIV virus.
- *Ahmadiya and A-Nur hospitals*, which are local Muslim hospitals situated in the local government areas under study. Once clients have been diagnosed with the HIV virus and have been counselled, they are referred to these hospitals for life-saving treatment.

SWAAN raises funds by applying to donors who advertise in the local press, such as the *Daily Trust* and *Guardian* newspapers. After obtaining permission from national SWAAN, it applies by submitting funding proposals and legal documents. If its applications are successful, which they have been in the past, the donors contact them to inform them of the decision and provide funds to deliver the proposed projects. Stakeholders in the communities where SWAAN operates also help the organization to raise funds; and some ward counsellors have sponsored some of their clients.

SWAAN's monthly budget is N1.2 million (£4,878 based on an exchange rate of N245 to the £). The funds are managed and transmitted by GHAIN (through Family Health International). Currently the Kano branch of SWAAN is working with GHAIN to deliver a stigma eradication programme in Nassarawa LGA. The initiative and funding, which commenced in 2005, is a six-year programme. Since 1990, SWAAN has also secured funding for various projects from the UN, USAID and Family Health International.⁷³ Apart from the funding that branches receive from national SWAAN,⁷⁴ each branch is allowed, with permission from national SWAAN, to plan projects and source funding itself, which the Kano branch reported that it does regularly.

4.4.4 Organizational performance

The views of respondents from both within and outside SWAAN on the organization's performance were obtained. The Monitoring and Evaluation Officer, for example, provided a detailed description of how well the organization has performed since its inception in 1990:

SWAAN's performance is dependent on the project activities that it has been running. From 1992, we've been able to penetrate different areas of our target communities now. We've been able to penetrate different areas of Kano and Jigawa States. We've been able to train many peer health educators, traditional barbers and birth attendants. We've trained people living with HIV to become peer health educators. We've formed many support groups with and for people living with HIV. In fact SWAAN was the first NGO to set up community support groups in Kano State and the whole country. We have strived over the years to come out and publicly mobilise people about HIV/AIDs. It was years later that other NGOs/FBOs decided to adopt the method and made it part of their programmes. SWAAN also was first to work with traditional rulers and stakeholders in every aspect of HIV/AIDs in the whole country. This shows how well and progressively this organization has performed over the years. We have also introduced income generation activities into our programmes so that, especially carers taking care of vulnerable orphans can be well supported; so that the carers can be independent and survive. We're involved in the Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) programme, which also involves skills acquisition as well as income generation to help people living with HIV and vulnerable children, so that they can support themselves and their families, especially the women.

However, the Monitoring and Evaluation Officer's account perceives the organization's performance in terms of progress and outputs, rather than evaluation of outcomes, raising some doubts about local staff members' understanding of the difference between outputs and outcomes/ impact. SWAAN claims to have taken the lead in a number of respects, for example in the establishment of support groups for PLWHAs, as described above. As will be confirmed from the analysis of responses from stakeholders external to the organization below, SWAAN is considered to be not only a high performer but also a pioneer amongst FBOs and NGOs in the country in terms of how it executes programmes on HIV/AIDs.

Staff were also asked to describe how their own lives have changed as a result of working for SWAAN. They refer to changes in their own understanding and attitudes, as well as the satisfaction they derive from being able to assist people. Some of their responses are reproduced below:

Working for SWAAN has given me the chance to help people, to change their lives both here in the office and also within the community as well. I had a phone call from somebody on our hotline in Cross River State yesterday concerning HIV, and I was able to answer his questions, and that made me feel good (Interview: Counsellor, Mallam Abdulahi-Yau).

I counsel men who would like to abandon their wives when they find out that they're positive. I had a phone call from a man in Abuja, who wanted to leave his wife when he discovered she was positive and I encouraged him to stay with his wife and not divorce her; and I counselled them on how to manage the virus in his wife. I encouraged them to go for testing and counselling and treatment, to learn how to manage the situation. This work has changed my life (Interview: Counsellor, Mallam Auwalu).

Working for SWAAN has changed me a lot. Before I came to work for SWAAN I didn't know anything about HIV/AIDs. I discriminated against those living with the virus. I wouldn't even sit in the same room with a positive person, but now here I am testing and counselling HIV positive people and encouraging them to live positively ... (Support staff, Mallam Ado-Yau).

4.5 People Oriented Development of the Evangelical Church of West Africa

In this section, the Kano State branch of POD-ECWA is profiled, and the way in which Christianity manifests itself in its mission and activities examined using the framework suggested by Hefferan et al (2009) as well as themes emerging from the study.

4.5.1 Background and development aims

As outlined above, the Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA) is an indigenous Christian church in Nigeria.⁷⁵ Its overarching goal is to glorify God in all its activities, and it pursues this goal through the establishment of various ministries, departments and agencies, one of which is People Oriented Development (POD), which was established in 1988. The organization is involved in holistic community-based development, which includes community health, adult education and community economic projects in various areas in northern Nigeria, including Kano State. Their target beneficiaries include the poor in both urban and rural areas.

According to its 2007-09 Strategic Workplan, the development goals of POD-ECWA are as follows (POD-ECWA, 2007):

- To promote and sustain the living conditions of poor and under-privileged Nigerians;
- To mobilize and build the capacity of target communities toward sustainable development;
- To increase food security in target communities through sustainable agricultural practices;
- To promote sustainable water supply by empowering target communities to explore alternatives;

- To promote healthy communities through community-based health care services;
- To promote harmonious relationships in target communities;
- To improve the economic well-being of target communities, especially women and youth.

The mission of POD-ECWA is to promote improved and sustainable living conditions, through effective community mobilization and capacity building of underprivileged communities.⁷⁶ POD is involved in what it describes as ‘total-person’ or holistic community-based development, as a way of demonstrating God’s love for mankind, as called for in Matthew 14 verses 13-20; 15 verses 29-38 and Isaiah 61, verses 1-6 (POD-ECWA, 2007). According to its Project Coordinator in Tudun Wada LGA, the organization attempts to develop the whole person, by transforming people socially, physically and spiritually through development interventions in partnership with the target populations.⁷⁷ Its strategy is two-pronged: participatory learning and action, and capacity building. It is supported by a field team skilled in various participatory learning and action (PLA) techniques that enable its staff to facilitate the development process with the communities with which they work.⁷⁸ Its staff also facilitates the process of helping target communities to identify their needs and enabling them to implement selected project activities.

Interviews and a focus group discussion revealed that the religion of the founders had influenced the values and aims of the organization. According to the Project Coordinator, the founders realized that their own social, physical and spiritual needs had already been taken care of by God and felt that they must share these blessings with those whose needs were not being met. Social, physical and spiritual transformation is considered necessary to improve poor people’s lives. The founder members of the Governing Council sought to achieve this through holistic community-based development, without which they felt that the poor would continue to live in poverty.

4.5.2 Programme activities

POD-ECWA attempts to achieve these goals by mobilizing its target communities using participatory learning and action tools, conducting awareness raising meetings, and equipping members of church councils and community development committees on how to go about developing them. The main focus of POD’s programmes is the development of people, which is attained through the participation of their target communities – in decision-making, implementation and evaluation. According to the

Programme Officer, this builds the capacity of participating communities, enabling them eventually to become self-reliant.⁷⁹ POD believes that its target populations are knowledgeable, especially about their own environments, and are therefore, capable of improving their own situations. The organization's strategy for effecting community-based development is therefore through the establishment and empowerment of Community Development Committees (CDCs).⁸⁰

The idea is to get to know the people we're trying to help, to get to know who they are, and for them to know who we are. That's how we try to identify them and their development needs (Interview: Project Coordinator, 2009).

The organization operates in several villages near Tudun Wada: Katsinawa (where the focus group meeting was held), Ungwan Marere, Gidan Sale and Ungwan Korau. Its programme activities start with community mobilization, which involves going into target communities to raise awareness and organize meetings to discuss potential programmes. It is also involved in activities to improve food security – a broad programme of activities which involves farming, animal husbandry, tree planting and cropping systems. Farmers are taught how to grow their crops and sustain and manage their farms. POD-ECWA carries out research in areas such as soil fertility and other farming practices to support its programme. POD also carries out work on HIV/AIDs and preventive healthcare, testing, counselling and treatment, which involves training church leaders on prevention, testing, counselling, treatment and care of those affected.⁸¹ Ultimately, according to the Project Facilitator, POD-ECWA hopes to withdraw, having enabled communities to sustain the development activities initiated:

These activities are carried out to improve the lives of people. We train people by providing them with the skills to do them [these activities], and we hope that they continue to do those things we teach them long after we've left the villages. We develop sustainable communities, so that any development initiatives we start will continue to be sustained by the communities we have developed.⁸²

When asked how the project ideas are initiated, informants responded that the senior management of POD initiate project ideas, develop them and authorize managers and field staff to implement them. Sources of information to support activities are also passed down from senior management at the organisation's headquarters in Jos, Plateau State. Activities are designed and developed in a three-year strategic plan with associated 12-monthly workplans. These are assigned to managers and their field staff, who implement the activities in the selected rural communities.

4.5.3 Organizational values and characteristics

POD values people, integrity, indigenous knowledge, God's love and the sacredness of life. It seeks to enable people to achieve their potential and full participation in their own development by utilizing locally available resources through communal efforts, as well as realizing God's love (POD-ECWA, 2009). God's love and the sacredness of life are therefore important to POD's work. It attempts to demonstrate God's love through its activities in the communities, believing that as life is God-given, it is sacred and must be preserved. This value is said to be demonstrated in the way that the organization attempts to improve and sustain living conditions through effective community development and capacity building of the underprivileged. Indigenous knowledge is valued, including people's knowledge about their own environment and their identification of issues that concern them, with these being utilized in programme design. In its strategic plan, the organization asserts that it believes in total honesty, transparency and accountability at all levels, as well as respect for its leaders. However, the study did not attempt to corroborate these claims and insufficient information is available at present to assess how such respect for leaders who are all male affects the priorities and culture of the organization.

The organizational and decision-making structures are hierarchical, with directives about how individual branches are managed forwarded top-down from senior management. The organization is legally registered with both the Plateau and Kano State governments, as well as with the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC). The POD-ECWA branch in Kano State employs two paid staff and about 50 volunteers.

Staff recruitment is authorized by senior management at its headquarters in Jos. When approval is received from headquarters, the senior staff in Tudun Wada approach the local Church Board with information about the type of people they are seeking to recruit. The Church Board approaches congregations to initiate a selection process. Posts are announced in churches during services and posters with details of vacancies posted on church notice boards to encourage members of the congregations to apply. The Church Board is responsible for selecting and interviewing candidates. All POD staff must be practising Christians, although informants noted that some of its volunteers in the field (i.e. in the villages) are Muslims.

The POD-ECWA senior management stress the importance of being accountable to the communities they serve. The organization attempts to be transparent and accountable by being what informants described as 'good stewards' in dispensing the resources allocated to them for service provision:

All the money that is allocated to us for the work is properly registered and accounted for at headquarters. We have accountants and auditors and cashiers who manage the funds, and report on money generated and expended.

The governing body of ECWA oversees the activities of POD to ensure that they are efficiently executed. It also endeavours to ensure that all the programmes, finances and evaluation processes are well managed. Four times a year, POD-ECWA Kano State reports to the governing body at the headquarters in Jos. The governing body reviews the report, and the senior management of POD-ECWA disseminate decisions taken by the governing body to other managers and field staff.

When asked about partnership working with other organizations, the researcher was informed that POD-ECWA Tudun Wada does not partner with secular NGOs. However, it does work with three other FBOs in the villages where this study was conducted. This, it was explained, is because secular organizations, which in Muslim-majority Kano State are in practice run mostly by Muslims, are reluctant to work with Christian organizations. The FBOs working with POD in Tudun Wada are African Service, Open Doors International and Peace House, with which it collaborates to run health clinics, mission schools and HIV/AIDs campaigns.

Most of the funding for POD-ECWA's activities comes from ECWA congregations, through regular special gift offerings during church services. Tearfund, a UK-based donor associated with evangelical churches, also funds some of its activities. The senior management in the HQ in Jos allocates the funds to various activities.

4.5.4 Organizational performance

When asked to define 'performance', POD respondents referred to the benefits that POD beneficiaries have derived from their activities in the outlying villages near Tudun Wada. They expressed a belief that these benefits validate the organization's performance compared to other FBOs/NGOs in the area. The Programme Facilitator went on to explain that he and his team monitor, manage and evaluate their programme activities.

We're so much conscious of the impacts and results of what we do among the poor. NGOs are merely interested in getting recognition for what they do, not on the impacts their activities have on people. They want to be recognized internationally, not the results or about the people they're helping. FBOs care more about people, because what we do is based in our faith. We don't care much about our popularity, but about the people we're serving. Also we believe people trust us more than NGOs.

As we will see in the Section 4.6, stakeholders, community rulers and beneficiaries of the activities of both secular NGOs and FBOs corroborate the comments made above by the POD-ECWA Programme Facilitator.

4.5.5 Religion and its effects on POD-ECWA's operations

This section analyzes how faith is manifest in the work of POD-ECWA. The analysis combines ideas from Hefferan et al (2009) and issues that emerged from the study. It explores the following themes:

- Religion and its effects on the organization's mission, recruitment and operations
- Values and perceptions of the meaning of development and poverty
- Programme activities
- Organizational characteristics
- Organizational performance
- Religion and its effects on the organization's mission, recruitment and operations

The mission statement of POD-ECWA states its aim as: "To promote improved and sustainable living conditions, through effective community mobilisation and capacity building of the underprivileged communities in Nigeria." Religion is not visibly manifest in the way the organization describes its aim. One informant suggested that it is attempting to downplay its faith identity in order to seek funding and other resources from secular donor agencies.⁸³ However, interviews with the staff revealed that their work is indeed influenced by religion. For example, as noted above, the three-year strategic plan states that:

POD is involved in holistic community-based development as an act of the demonstration of God's love to mankind.

As discussed above, the founders of the organization were Christians who desired to develop whole people through holistic development programmes and the senior managers of the organization are

also Christian “*because the organization is Christian.*” Not only are senior managers required to be Christian, respondents considered that faith plays an important role in their promotion: “*Management leaders have to be Christian to be recruited and promoted within the organization*”. Indeed, POD-ECWA requires all its staff to be practising Christians, although some may be recruited from denominations other than ECWA. This suggests that the organization considers that maintenance of its faith identity is important, even though this may be covert in the field.

For example, its staff recruitment policy does not prevent it from recruiting growing numbers of non-Christian volunteers, in order to enable it to access intended beneficiaries in Muslim and animist communities:

We don't force the volunteers and beneficiaries to accept our faith, but when they see the work we're doing and how it is benefiting people, they begin to accept us among them, even though they're Muslim (Programme Facilitator).

It was stressed that:

POD works with non-Christians, with animists, traditional healers and muslims. Some of our volunteers in the villages are non-Christians. The fact that these people are not Christians doesn't stop us wanting to involve them in our activities.⁸⁴

In some instances, religion appears to influence the organization's operations. For example, devotions are held and prayers offered before meetings commence. Muslim volunteers are also allowed time to pray five times a day in the course of their work: “*We include their prayer times in our work schedule.*” According to the Programme Facilitator, Christian staff do not overtly share their faith with volunteers or beneficiaries, although on occasion, Muslim beneficiaries ask Christian workers to pray for them, because they believe that God answers prayers from both Muslims and Christians.

It seems that POD-ECWA has adopted a compromise between its faith-based mission and its development work to enable it to access funds from secular donors (so far unsuccessfully), employ non-Christian volunteers and work with a diverse group of communities.

■ Values and perceptions of the meaning of development and poverty

Religion emerged as fundamental to the organization's values. For example, *“POD values people, their potentials, [and their] full participation in development activities, as well as the people’s realization of God’s love.”* As described above, its values include *“the sacredness of life ... as God given and must be preserved.”* These comments by senior managers suggest that their understanding of development is based upon the organization's faith identity. Thus, although the organization claims that it does not attempt to convert beneficiaries, both its values and its approach to development are embedded in its Christian heritage. It defines development as an ongoing activity because poverty is ever present and development therefore needs to continually develop and deliver programmes to eradicate poverty and improve poor people's lives. According to respondents, this definition of development and its focus on the reduction of poverty stems from a verse in the Bible in which Jesus reprimanded his critics for criticizing a woman for pouring a very expensive ointment on his head: *“For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always”* (Matthew 26 verse 11 KJV).

■ Programme activities

The study found that although POD-ECWA is an FBO, its purpose is expressed as witness rather than conversion and its programme activities are described in largely secular terms.

When we arrive in the villages to work with them, the Muslims and animists know we're Christians. We tell them we're there to deliver services that will benefit them, and not to share with them our faith. They accept us even though they know we're Christians.

In the past, ECWA's activities did focus on converting Muslims to Christianity. However, over the past two decades, and since the establishment of POD, its activities have shifted from the propagation of the gospel and have become increasingly secular, at least in part because of the difficult political and government environment in which it operates. Some examples of the secular activities delivered by POD include promoting and sustaining the living conditions of poor and underprivileged people through various poverty reduction projects, building the capacity of communities, HIV/AIDs awareness, and community-based health care services. The methods used by POD-ECWA to deliver these services are little different from the approaches used by SWAAN.

A further reason for the organization becoming more reluctant to articulate its faith-based identity is to enable it to reach target populations from a variety of religions and backgrounds. Staff and volunteers stated their belief that “*doing development in a Christian way*” without expressly articulating their religious beliefs allows them to access their target beneficiaries: “*they [Muslims] trust us Christians and allow us to come among them to deliver our activities.*” By ‘acting out’ their faith in the activities they deliver, they believe that the organization is able to deliver its programmes and achieve results.

Staff and volunteers claim that they

...don't carry a Bible or preach to people. We don't have to preach to them. They identify us as Christians through our work, the way we treat people and each other, and by the way we talk to them.

However, the researcher found that people targeted by the organization identify POD-ECWA as a Christian FBO through its logo and a cross displayed on its vehicles, which have a caption that says: “*People-Oriented Development of ECWA*”, and “*Helping people to help themselves*”, with a picture depicting a community setting, which informs people that the organization is involved in helping people.

■ **Organizational characteristics**

It was observed from the study that POD’s organizational and decision-making structure is hierarchical, and a senior informant suggested that directives on organizational functioning come down from senior management.⁸⁵ This means that decisions taken by senior management must be accepted by staff. Interactions with staff during the study and other FBOs in the past suggests that, in most faith-based organizations, people believe that their leaders, including those holding positions of authority, are also spiritual leaders who must be obeyed. This is evident in staff members’ reluctance to question decisions taken by senior management. Observation and interactions with junior and senior staff indicated that senior managers expect complete and unquestioning obedience to their authority because they believe this comes from God. Christians working for POD reported that they understand the importance of obeying its leaders because the organization is based on Christian principles and teachings.⁸⁶ These values affect people’s behaviour and how the organization is managed, which in turn influences its culture. The characteristics of its culture observed during the

study include a top-down style of management, which is authoritative and conservative, and a commitment to formal ways of doing things.

The characteristics of the organization are also influenced by its sources of funding. Most of POD-ECWA's funding comes from the congregations of the parent church, the Evangelical Church of West Africa. Tearfund, a UK-based Christian NGO, also provides funding for some of its activities. The government does not fund POD's activities, although the reason for the lack of government financial support was not given. It was emphasized that its faith-based identity does not prevent it from accepting financial support from secular donor agencies, although as noted above, it has not yet received funding from such sources: *"We accept funds from all sources, and it doesn't matter where the money comes from because we use it to benefit poor people"* As mentioned earlier, the organization works with non-Christians, notably Muslim volunteers and beneficiaries. According to the Programme Facilitator, it justifies its willingness to accept funds from all sources on the grounds that its target populations are not necessarily Christian. In addition, the Programme Coordinator argued that accepting financial support from secular donor agencies would not change the organization's objectives or its Christian values; it would merely enable it to better serve the poor.

In practice, as noted above, the POD-ECWA branch operating in Nassarawa and Tudun Wada LGAs works mainly with other Christian FBOs, particularly in the villages where the study was conducted. Although nationally, the organization collaborates with government and secular NGOs to carry out its development programmes, it has not worked with either local government or secular NGOs in the LGAs under study, for reasons that will be explored in the next section.

■ Organizational performance

POD staff pointed out that its performance and effectiveness are influenced by religion:

We're so much conscious of the impacts of what we do, and the benefits that the poor gain from our activities. We monitor and evaluate our performance and the impacts of our activities on the beneficiaries. We don't care whether we're recognised for what we do or not. What we care about is the people we serve, because what we do is based on our faith."

As a national Christian FBO with a Protestant denominational background, POD-ECWA's operations in Tudun Wada are strongly affected by its relations with the Islamic government of Kano State. Several respondents stated that the State government attempts to exert control over its activities in the following ways:

- *Purchase of land:* currently, ECWA is not allowed by the State government to purchase or own land, although it is permitted to lease pieces of land for a limited period. In addition, the process of registration is tedious and long-winded.
- *Higher taxes:* non-Muslim FBOs are required to pay higher taxes than Muslim ones, including taxes on leased pieces of land, Christian schools, churches and medical centres. Most Muslim and secular organizations, many of which are run by Muslims, pay less or no tax. According to some respondents, the government increases the taxes payable by Christian organizations and denominations annually, to discourage their expansion and attempts to convert Muslims.
- *Lack of development:* the State government is said to be reluctant to develop the infrastructure of areas called Sabon Gari and Nomansland in Kano because they are populated by non-Muslims, who are referred to by the government as 'infidels'.⁸⁷ These areas have fewer roads and services, while most of the roads that do exist are pot-holed and poorly maintained, making access to some areas difficult. Most of the services available in these areas, including schools and hospitals, were established by Christian missions and FBOs. For example, the famous eye hospital in Sabon Gari, which serves both Christians and a large number of Muslims, was founded by Dr Hursch of the Sudan Interior Mission, an American SIM missionary ophthalmologist, in the early 1940s and is now managed by ECWA (Harrison, 2005, p. 525).
- *Converts from Islam to Christianity:* some of the Christian respondents interviewed by the researcher in Kano claim to be under constant harassment by government officials for converting from Islam to Christianity. These are indigenous Hausas who now live and work with Christian FBOs.
- *Christian schools:* according to respondents, the government also makes it difficult for Christian FBOs to start new schools. Those allowed to operate are compelled by the government to introduce Islamic studies, which are taught by Muslim teachers. Registration of Christian FBOs is also reportedly made difficult in order to discourage Christians from converting Muslims to Christianity.

The challenges of working in a largely Sharia-governed state are said to be endured by all non-Muslim organizations, but especially those engaged in evangelism.⁸⁸ The Tudun Wada Local Government Area, where part of the study was carried out, is largely Muslim, but the villages in which POD-ECWA operates are about 95 per cent Christian, although figures for the religious composition of the area are not available from the local government.⁸⁹ This is because during the 1950s and 1960s, before Muslim opposition mounted, ECWA had concentrated much of its effort in these areas on converting Muslims to Christianity. Many people in the target villages converted to Christianity as a result and the current residents are second generation Christians.⁹⁰ The villagers claim that they do not receive any help from secular NGOs or the government because of their conversion, and that the only help they receive is from POD-ECWA and other Christian FBOs operating in the villages. In a FGD with POD-ECWA beneficiaries, participants stated that they had contacted some secular NGOs based in Tudun Wada to request development support for their villages, but had been ignored. The reason for this lack of support may be because many of the secular NGOs are run by Muslims, who are reluctant to support converts for fear of reprisals from the government.

4.6 External stakeholders' assessments of performance

Participants in the focus group discussions, mostly beneficiaries of services provided by the selected organizations, were very articulate when describing the performance of the FBOs/NGOs that serve them. In a focus group comprised of young people living with HIV/AIDS, who had been recipients of SWAAN programmes, for example, some of the participants noted that:

We're experiencing good programmes in development because of these FBOs and NGOs – for example, HIV/AIDs. They're performing well in the communities, including community mobilization activities. Even ECWA came to Tudun Wada [ward] to carry out community mobilization.

On how they would assess the performance of FBOs/NGOs, some of the participants in a focus group comprised of adult recipients of services provided by SWAAN maintained that there seems to be little difference in their performance, as they have similar goals, which include serving communities and meeting their needs. Participants in a focus group comprised of beneficiaries of POD-ECWA programmes⁹¹ asserted that they were impressed with the organisation's performance because it has brought some positive changes into their community – for example, digging wells for clean drinking water, better farming methods to increase yields, and HIV/AIDs awareness and prevention.

On particular indicators of the performance of SWAAN and POD-ECWA, participants noted that the target communities have become better-informed about issues related to HIV/AIDs and TB. In addition, they reported that people are responding to the advice that they go to the hospital or a clinic for testing and counselling. Participants suggested that some of these diseases are now being better managed due to better information provision and increased awareness. One particular indicator mentioned by a participant was that, when people are thinking of getting married, they now insist on their prospective spouse being tested for HIV before getting married, which was not the case before the FBOs/NGOs commenced their awareness and community mobilization programmes. Due to the increased levels of awareness and presentations on stigmatization, it was reported that discrimination has decreased and society has become more accepting of those living with HIV, who no longer have to hide their status, but can openly visit health facilities for testing, counselling and treatment. Not only reduced stigma but the availability of treatment was reported to have changed attitudes. For example, one woman participant stated:

There used to be a lot of paranoia about HIV/AIDs, and people died of the paranoia before the disease even killed them. But now there is hope because of the availability of treatment.

Traditional/religious rulers, who used to discriminate against PLWHA and shun them, are reported to now speak out against discrimination, and encourage people to visit health facilities to receive life-saving help and support.⁹²

It was also suggested that people suffering from TB associated with the HIV virus are being increasingly cured of the disease, and are organizing thanksgiving and appreciation services in the mosques and churches to express their gratitude.⁹³ Drugs and associated services are provided free of charge, and are said to be very effective.⁹⁴ Participants in the FGDs believe that, due to the work carried out by FBOs and NGOs, TB is close to being totally eradicated in the Tudun Wada ward.

The POD-ECWA focus group noted that more lives are saved in the villages in which they live than in villages where the organization does not operate.

When cholera hit our villages in early 2009 the Christians were not affected because they had received training in effective hygiene practices, but many Muslims died from the disease because they hadn't received the training. It's the same with HIV/AIDs; there are more HIV cases among the Muslims than Christians because of the training

we've received from POD.⁹⁵ We've been taught on how to protect ourselves from the virus; therefore, the incidence of HIV is low among the Christians but high among the Muslims. Before POD came to our villages our young people were promiscuous, but when POD came and educated the people and carried out some training on the dangers of HIV, the young people now observe abstinence.

When asked how they would describe the performance of the organization from which they receive services, respondents who had experienced SWAAN programmes described it as being 'very good'. One woman respondent in the 'Adult focus group' described SWAAN as being very supportive of pregnant women who are HIV-positive, helping them to prevent unborn children from being infected, and caring for a woman and her children after a birth through drugs and nutritious food supplements, so that the child would survive. In the 'Youth focus group', one participant noted:

In most of the serious cases of illness, SWAAN would turn up with their bus and take the people to conduct tests and counsel them before taking them to the hospital for treatment. SWAAN can be called out for anything and they're available 24 hours to the people. They deliver their services freely, and there's no money involved.

The beneficiaries of POD-ECWA also describe its performance as 'very good'. The organization has trained traditional birth attendants from several villages to reduce the number of babies being born with the HIV virus. To this end, traditional birth attendants have been provided with special birthing polythene bags for them to spread on the floor during delivery. POD has also built latrines for the villagers:

Before POD came to build the latrines, we used the bush, but now we use the latrines. Using the bush caused air and water-borne diseases and problems with flies. They also taught us how to wash our pots and plates, which has cut down incidences of diseases and improved our health.

On ways in which the organization assists development, and the outcome of its services, beneficiaries of SWAAN described it as a "grassroots organisation", and its work as "largely hands-on", which in their view is more effective in reaching people than other NGOs operating in the area. Although SWAAN's focus is on women and children, it now reaches out to everybody. And it is not just in the Nassarawa local government area that the organization operates; it is widely known in most of the communities in Kano. For example, one participant noted: "I went to Kruna recently, and somebody was talking about SWAAN." Another participant from the 'Youth focus group' commented:

Those that have been with you can tell your problems [a Hausa proverb], and because SWAAN has been with us so long they can diagnose our problems. They know how to deal with the problems of the communities.

POD-ECWA's beneficiaries cited one difference between POD and other FBOs/NGOs working in similar sectors in the community, suggesting that other NGOs remain in the big towns (Tudun Wada and Kano) and do not go to the villages (especially largely Christian villages) to provide services, but POD has remained with the people to help them with improved farming methods, HIV/AIDS services, and so on:

They [other NGOs and FBOs] don't even bother to come to the villages. We tried to work with some of the NGOs in Tudun Wada town some time ago, but we didn't succeed because we're Christians, and these organizations are Muslims; even the secular ones are run by Muslims⁹⁶

When asked about the quality of service that the selected organizations deliver, the SWAAN and POD-ECWA focus groups were unanimous in proclaiming the high quality of service delivery, as verified by the number of performance indicators cited above.⁹⁷ A participant in the FGD of adult beneficiaries of SWAAN programmes attributed this verdict to

... the quality of their service, the way they educate people, and the information they give are high, because they're also able to reach even uneducated people. Their staff and volunteers are very well trained to carry out their duties very well. They also go to hard-to-reach areas, even to the Fulanis, villages and farms.

A young SWAAN beneficiary added:

.... they don't waste your time; they address your needs promptly. They respect everybody and treat everybody the same; no discrimination. No one goes to SWAAN without experiencing pleasure.

Participants in a FGD with POD-ECWA beneficiaries were equally positive:

POD is short-staffed, and they need more money, but the quality of work is very good. The other organizations come here and only talk about helping the community, but POD does what it says. POD comes close to the community; they conduct grassroots activities. Other organizations only talk development to us, but POD does development. Also POD follows up their projects, unlike other organizations, who come here and make pronouncements and then leave and you never see them again.

On community ownership of the study organizations, the SWAAN focus groups asserted that they feel part of the organization: *“If you had asked everybody in the community to attend this meeting, you wouldn’t have had space to contain them, because people are so responsive to SWAAN and its activities.”* During the interviews, the management of SWAAN emphasized the importance of working with communities to identify their needs and problems; and indicated how they respond according to their understanding of those needs. They believe that this is a clear indication both that SWAAN is accepted by its target communities, and that they in turn feel part of SWAAN. Participants in the POD-ECWA group likewise believe that there is a sense of community ownership of the activities delivered by the organization:

POD is well-known in the communities. They have taught us how to make soap, pomade and tie-die cloths. Traditional birth attendants have been taught how to carry out baby deliveries in a more hygienic way. They’ve also provided us smokeless ovens, and now they also build them for our Muslim neighbours as well. All this points to how people work with and interact with POD.

However, focus group participants were rather reluctant to openly compare the performance of FBOs with secular NGOs. The explanation provided by some participants for this reluctance was based on their view that FBOs are established to cater for the spiritual as well as physical needs of people, whereas secular NGOs focus only on physical needs.⁹⁸ In addition, the FGDs revealed that religion permeates the work practices and performance even of secular NGOs, because they are managed by religious people who are either Muslim or Christian. Earlier in this paper, the Chairperson of SWAAN’s explanation of how being a Muslim affects her work and how she lives her life was reported. She described her role as Chairperson of SWAAN, a secular NGO, as *“a calling”*, maintaining that *“As a Muslim, I must love my neighbours ... Every day, I pray: ‘God, let me have a good day, let me be able to touch lives.’”* It was also observed during the study that prayer is important not just to the staff of the FBO but also to the staff working for the secular NGO studied: Muslims stop whatever they are doing to pray and Christians take time off to attend events at their local churches.

A number of community stakeholders, including traditional/religious rulers were interviewed during the course of the study. On the contributions made by FBOs/NGOs locally, these stakeholders affirmed that such organizations contribute in the areas of health, especially HIV/AIDs and polio eradication, and economic development. They also verified what most respondents had stated, namely that FBOs

deliver their programmes differently from NGOs because they employ religion to reach people. When asked to compare the performance of the organizations studied, the community stakeholders interviewed stated that they did not perceive much difference between them because they both attempt to meet the needs of people in the communities.

4.7 Summary of key findings

This study found that religion does indeed influence the activities of FBOs. Although the selected FBO (POD-ECWA) does not overtly profess its faith identity, or attempt to convert its target beneficiaries, its religious identity and beliefs are manifest in the approaches used to execute its programme activities, in its organizational structure and culture, and in some of the outward symbols by which it identifies itself. The organizational values and its approach to undertaking development activities are permeated with its faith, and religion is incorporated into its internal and external operations – for example, daily devotions and prayer. The staff may also offer to pray for their Muslim and animist target beneficiaries. However, in its mission statement, the organization does not describe itself as a religious organization, apparently downplaying its faith identity in order to reach non-Christian beneficiaries, enable it to apply for funding from secular donor agencies, employ non-Christian volunteers and target diverse communities.

Unsurprisingly in a country in which the vast majority of people claim to be Muslim or Christian, the study also found that most secular NGOs are managed by religious people and that faith inspires and influences the way they live and work. This was evident in the conversations the researcher had with respondents from SWAAN, the selected secular NGO, and POD-ECWA, the FBO studied. Senior management and most of the staff in SWAAN in Kano State are Muslim, and many of the remainder (about three members of staff) Christian. Conversations and meetings with them were infused with phrases such as ‘we thank God’ or ‘that depends on God’. For example, the Chairperson of SWAAN, a secular NGO, claims that she prays to God every morning to guide and lead her. She is a practising Muslim and has attended the Hajj. Her title, ‘Hajiya’, confirms her as a committed Muslim who has attended Hajj. The widespread practice of taking time off work to pray or attend religious events several times a day confirms the importance of religious observance to many Nigerians.

The study also suggests that FBOs add value to approaches to delivering development activities. Beneficiaries of both FBOs and secular NGOs affirmed that most people prefer the services of FBOs to those provided by secular NGOs because FBOs address their spiritual as well as their physical needs. In addition, respondents from the selected secular NGO noted that they have to work with FBOs in order to reach most of their target populations in the communities. This seems to be more about the religious influence that FBOs have on beneficiaries who are themselves religious, than for the services provided by the faith-based organizations. Moreover, because most FBOs have a longer and more established history than NGOs and on the whole are closer to people, they appear to be more visible to rural communities than secular NGOs, which tend to be based in urban areas. A dedicated study focussing on the dependence of secular NGOs on FBOs would be required in order to fully explore and comprehend this interesting finding.

The remainder of this section explores three questions: whether differences in perceived performance between the FBO and NGO studied were observed, whether and how religion influence performance and effectiveness and the influence of local traditional and religious leaders.

■ Do FBOs perform differently from NGOs? Why and how?

There were differences in the nature of interventions by SWAAN and POD-ECWA. For example, SWAAN advocates the use of condoms during its sensitization programmes. It also works with commercial sex workers and lorry drivers, encouraging them to use condoms to protect themselves from HIV. POD-ECWA, on the other hand, discourages its beneficiaries from using condoms, because Christians are not expected to engage in sexual activity before marriage. Instead it urges them to abstain from sex before marriage, and to pray to God for grace. POD-ECWA also delivers its anti-stigma programmes differently from SWAAN. While the former uses the example of God's love for everybody, whether they have HIV/AIDs or not, and urges its beneficiaries to accept those living with HIV, just as God accepts them, SWAAN uses secular approaches, without any religious aspect, to persuade people to stop discriminating against people living with AIDs (PLWA). More generally, POD-ECWA uses its faith identity and a spiritual approach in its approaches, by sharing the principles of the Christian faith with its beneficiaries, although in an inconspicuous manner.

When asked whether and how FBOs are different from secular NGOs, all the respondents in this study asserted that there are distinct differences between the two types of organisation but some were reluctant to compare the performance of religious and secular organizations because they believe that FBOs are established for different purposes. For example, an FBO is perceived as campaigning on HIV/AIDs because of its concern for the spiritual well-being of a person, while a secular NGO, in a similar campaign, concentrates on physical well-being. Most of the interviewees associated with SWAAN and POD-ECWA believe that the main goal of FBOs is to spread religious beliefs with the aim of conversion, in addition to delivering development activities that help people.

The bases for the set up of FBOs and NGOs are different; so to compare them is difficult. For the FBOs, they come to educate people on community matters, not only to enlighten them, but to teach them on moral obligations and how to live a chaste life. For example, most people believe that the main reasons for contracting HIV is promiscuity, infidelity, and so on. These are moral issues, and religion attempts to control the spread by teaching people how to live a faithful and chaste life. The NGOs also come to educate the people on how to manage the virus, but the FBOs have an added value, which is based on morals and religion. NGOs are only concerned about the physical needs of the people (Focus group discussion).

Respondents asserted that they believe that FBOs are better placed to educate people on all matters because they are closer to them. In addition, they asserted that people trust FBOs more than secular NGOs, with the result that they have more influence and can deliver development activities more effectively than NGOs. In addition, the study found that Muslim clerics attend most community-based events, where they openly extol Islamic virtues, while Christians have to use their faith in a more discreet manner.

From the researcher's personal experience and observations, it appears that people in the northern part of Nigeria are more religious than those in the south and so are more likely to be receptive to the activities of FBOs than secular NGOs. This was confirmed by FGD participants, who also noted that people pay a great deal of attention to their traditional and religious leaders. Religious organizations, whether local congregations or NGO-like FBOs, are closely attached to religious leaders, and if secular NGOs want to make an impact on communities, they have to partner with religious organizations to gain access. Thus any development activities concerned with awareness raising, education or community mobilization have to go through religious organizations and/or leaders to be successful, as asserted by a SWAAN community worker:

When an NGO goes to the community without first going through the religious leaders and FBOs, people become suspicious and would not come to us. But when we go with them, people accept us and see us as part of the particular FBO we're working with. They say things like: 'this NGO is part of our people (the indigenous FBO)' and are more prepared to work with us. The same goes with the churches and the Christian communities: we have to go through the FBOs and pastors to reach the target population. They make us more acceptable, and our organization more credible.⁹⁹

A significant difference between FBOs and secular NGOs identified by informants concerns funding and other resources. In the perceptions of some “... the NGOs have more money than FBOs because they get financial support from international donors, and FBOs don't have the same access to such support”, although this view is not wholly supported by the evidence. When asked why they thought FBOs could not access international financial support, they alleged that foreign donors are reluctant to support FBOs because they consider religion a sensitive issue. Respondents suggested that many FBOs are constrained by their religious doctrines from applying for foreign aid. Some believe that such organizations forfeit their religious principles if they approach the secular world for funding.

■ ***How does religion influence performance and effectiveness?***

Respondents in this study felt that the loyalty of staff to their ‘calling’ is an advantage that FBOs have over secular NGOs. Many people working for FBOs believe that they have been called by God to serve in a religious environment. FBOs are also able to mobilize a large number of dedicated volunteers from their associated congregations to deliver much needed services within communities, enabling them to operate with lower budgets than secular NGOs. For example, POD uses a large number of volunteers to carry out its activities.

In addition, POD and three other Christian FBOs were the only service organizations working in the remote villages where this study was conducted. “They [secular NGOs] don't even bother to come to the villages” (POD-ECWA focus group). In part this is because of the difficult environment in which POD exists in Kano State, which constrains its freedom to operate. However, it may be more widely true that FBOs are more able and committed to reaching people in remote areas.

The FBOs operating in the contexts under study also seem to be more responsive than secular NGOs to villagers' multiple needs and to have the flexibility to do so because they are propelled by their

'calling' and religious beliefs (FGDs, 2009). POD is also said to have been able to reduce promiscuity among the youth in the villages where it operates through its HIV/AIDS campaigns and moral education, which encourages young people to practise abstinence and live chaste lives. Thus although POD's programme activities appear secular on the surface, religious principles seem to be embedded in the approaches used.

According to respondents, POD also attempts to address the needs of its target population in a holistic manner through other means and, unlike secular organizations, to provide them with spiritual and moral support alongside practical assistance. FBOs' strategy of addressing spiritual, moral and development issues using alternative holistic development approaches is what differentiates them from secular NGOs. 'Alternative development methods' here means that FBOs use spiritual and religious principles to address people's needs. According to focus group participants, one of the outcomes is that people are spiritually transformed and therefore able to endure the challenges of the world (FGDs, 2009).

This kind of 'performance outcome' is difficult to measure and articulate to a secular donor agency. However, for most people in Nigeria, spirituality and faith in God are an integral part of their lives, leading them to trust and prefer to use the services of FBOs because they believe that FBOs understand their spiritual as well as their physical needs better than secular NGOs. Moreover, beneficiary responses indicate that when people approach an organization for help, they expect to be ministered to, or helped spiritually, because they believe that there is a correlation between physical/material and spiritual needs.

■ ***The influence of the traditional and religious rulers***

The roles played by traditional rulers and community stakeholders were a recurrent theme in the interviews with both stakeholders and beneficiaries. The researcher interviewed various traditional leaders, including the Deputy District Head of Nassarawa LGA, the traditional ruler of Tudun Wada LGA (the Hakimi), and some ward heads from the various communities. These traditional leaders, who are also religious leaders (Imams and other teachers of the Qur'an and Islamic values), support the work of NGOs and FBOs working in their areas, but raised concerns about not being included in planning processes. They object to being marginalized by international agencies and some secular

NGOs on matters that affect their people. The Deputy District Head, who identifies himself as a traditional as well as a religious ruler, described the roles of traditional rulers thus:

Religious leaders are under traditional rulers by the Hausa-Muslim tradition. The traditional rulers are also religious leaders. In the past, before Islam and Christianity came to Nigeria, the traditional rulers were the custodians/priests of the people; they were the oracles of the people. Even though many of the people have become Muslims and Christians, the tradition continues, though to a lesser extent, because of secularism and social changes, especially in the cities. Therefore, when a traditional chief or village head becomes converted to Islam or Christianity, he orders the whole village to follow suit, and there is very little resistance to this order. People reverence, respect and trust their traditional/religious rulers. Consequently, in order to succeed, FBOs/NGOs must go through them.

When asked about relationships between FBOs/NGOs and traditional leaders, he commented:

They take us as their father and would do nothing in the community until they see or contact us. It is the Hakimi (District Head) that introduces the FBOs/NGOs to the Village Heads and Ward Heads, and secures access to the community under the Heads.

These roles are enacted through activities undertaken by FBOs, most of which were established by mosques and churches. Because most people respect and trust their traditional/religious leaders, while distrusting outsiders, including secular NGOs, such leaders can support or hinder the achievement of development interventions.

5 Comparing Christian and Islamic FBOs with an NGO in Lagos State

This chapter presents the findings of the comparative FBO/NGO study in Lagos State. Four FBOs/NGOs were studied, all of which are active in HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment and counselling. They comprised one Islamic FBO - the Nasiru-Ilahi Fatir Society of Nigeria (NASFAT), two Christian FBOs - the Methodist Church of Nigeria and The Redeem AIDS Programme Action Committee (RAPAC) - and one secular NGO - the Humanity Family Foundation for Peace and Development (HUFFPED). Section 5.1 will provide some background information about Ikorodu local government area, where the four selected organizations operate. Section 5.2 goes on to present a comparative organizational profile of the organizations. Section 5.3 explores the similarities and differences in terms of their approaches to development, while Section 5.4 does the same in relation to performance and outcomes, as well as seeking to explain the differences observed. Section 5.5 concludes the chapter.

5.1 Ikorodu Local Government Area

The study took place in Ikorodu LGA in Lagos State, which lies about 36 Km northwest of Lagos city and 26 Km from Ikeja, the state capital. The LGA has an area of approximately 161,954 square kilometres and, according to the 2006 census, a population of 536,000, comprised of 273,000 males and 263,000 females. It is a lowland region with relatively flat undulating features stretching for about 18 Km from east to west along the shoreline of the Lagos Lagoon. Agriculture (farming, hunting and fishing) is a major economic activity in the area, together with expanding trading opportunities, commerce and blue collar jobs. Ijebu, a Yoruba dialect, is the indigenous language spoken in the area, which has a rich cultural heritage, involving many traditional festivals.

Ikorodu derives its name from *Oko – Odu*, which means *Odu* farm. However, today the town itself is densely populated, with a high incidence of poverty. There are several primary and secondary schools and health institutions located in the town, and several NGOs in the LGA. Most of the organizations engage in health-related activities, education and advocacy, especially for prevention of HIV transmission, poverty alleviation and youth empowerment.

Information available about development in Ikorodu LGA is limited, although the general levels of development appear to be similar to those in most LGAs in Lagos State. Life expectancy is estimated to be about 55 years, infant mortality to stand at 85 deaths per 1000 live births, and the maternal mortality rate at 650 deaths per 100,000 live births. A 2008 national HIV sero-prevalence survey found a prevalence rate of 5.1 per cent for Lagos State as a whole (FMOH, 2009).

Ikorodu LGA was considered appropriate for the more detailed study of faith-based and non-governmental organizations in Lagos State, because it includes both urban and rural communities and has a number of FBOs and secular NGOs that are actively involved in various development activities, including those related to HIV/AIDS. Respondents identified three categories of non-profit organizations operating in Ikorodu. First are civil society organizations with international origins. These are offshoots of global groups such as the Red Cross, Boy Scouts and Rotary. Another category consists of town and community organizations, which are voluntary groups that mostly focus on community development. Examples include secular NGOs, neighbourhood groups, special interest groups such as women's organizations, and occupational and trade groups and guilds. The third category identified is religious organizations, mostly with church or mosque-based memberships.

Five prominent FBOs were working in the LGA during the period of study - the Redeem AIDS Action Committee (RAPAC), NASFAT, the Anglican Communion, the Methodist church, the Justice Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) and the Christ Apostolic Church Maternity Home. Four major secular NGOs were working in the LGA during the study period - the Humanity Family Foundation, Hope Worldwide, Child Aids International and Put a Smile Organization.

Christianity was introduced to Nigeria by two Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, Thomas Birch Freeman and William de Graft, who in 1842 who settled in Badagry and Abeokuta. They expanded their evangelism to Lagos in 1910 (Findlay and Holdsworth, 1922, p. 219). Islam entered Nigeria much earlier, but expanded rapidly in the eighteenth century through a Jihad spearheaded by Uthman Dan Fodio (1754-1817), which resulted in the establishment of the Caliphate of Sokoto in northern Nigeria (Voll, 1998).

Analysts have observed the development role missionaries played in most African and Nigerian communities during the colonial period (Wellard and Copestake, 1993; Oyugi, 2004). In this period both mission Christian and Muslim evangelism was going on in various parts of the country, accompanied by the construction of churches and mosques. Congregations from both religious traditions later began to focus on development activities, apart from church or mosque-based worship and religious education. They started providing community services, such as economic development activities, health care and education, especially in areas where the colonial administration did not provide such services. The missionaries sought to provide social services in order to facilitate their

primary objective of evangelism, but many FBOs were created as separate entities from churches and mosques as development work became more entrenched in the religious institutions.

Also during the colonial period, Christianity and Islam were introduced to the Ikorodu area, with the Methodist Church being the first church to be created in the area in the early 1900s. In the year 1924, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission (now known as Anwar-ul Islam) was established at Ijede, a small coastal town near Ikorodu¹⁰⁰ and the Ansar-ud-deen Muslim Movement was established in Lagos in 1924 (Oliver et al, 1975). All the religious organizations soon started to engage in various community development activities, especially health care and education. Ahmadiyya and Ansar-ud-deen were established to foster the educational, moral and social development of Muslims, following recognition by the Muslim community that unless they invested in educational and social development, Muslims would lag behind Christians. They started Islamic primary schools in Ikorodu.

FBO development work in Nigeria was fostered by the difficult socioeconomic and political conditions engendered by the civil war of 1967-70. Immediately after the war, Christians and Muslims faced common problems, such as the government taking over control of missionary schools, suspicion that missionaries were agents of destabilization, and the imposition of taxes and import duties on gifts to churches from abroad. To confront these problems, several Christian umbrella organizations, such as the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN), were established. Between the late 1980s and the early 2000s, Nigeria also witnessed a proliferation of Islamic FBOs, as a result of the reaction by the Muslim community to general economic and governance crises.

In addition, the FBO and NGO staff interviewed in Ikorodu indicated that the economic hardships of the 1980s and early 1990s stimulated secular NGO and FBO activities in Lagos State. Structural adjustment policies led to a fiscal and capacity crisis for Ikorodu Local Government Council during this period and as a result it had difficulties coping with the demand for social services. As a result, there was a boom in the number and activities of NGOs in the late 1980s and early 1990s, focusing mostly on development work, research and policy advocacy. One local government official was of the opinion that local governments utilized the opportunities brought by global contacts and the emergence of NGOs to bolster their own development activities. According to this official, an example of global contacts was the World Bank's Multi-Country AIDS Programme (MAP) in Africa, which was launched

in 2000. The aim of the programme was primarily to provide resources for a longer-term response to mitigate the effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and eventually reduce the rate of incidence of the disease in Africa. In addition to various government AIDS control agencies, many Local Government Councils and NGOs participated, to respond to community development needs in the light of the epidemic.

Some respondents also said that Lagos State government activities had stimulated the influx of NGOs and FBOs into Ikorodu LGA. Prior to 2000, they suggested, it was becoming obvious to the state government that Lagos was becoming 'over-urbanized'. In 2002, the State government estimated that the state was one of the first sub-Saharan regions to cross the 10 million population mark (Okunlola, 2004). The government consequently declared Lagos 'a mega city' and developed a comprehensive policy to improve state infrastructure to address the emerging population challenges. This provided opportunities to explore creative and innovative ways of addressing the urban infrastructure deficits. In particular, the government invited private institutions, including civil society organizations, to complement government efforts and resources. This gave birth to Public-Private Partnership (PPP) initiatives that fostered the emergence of even more NGOs ready to participate in development. According to a Ministry official interviewed during the preparatory phase of this study, both FBOs and secular NGOs were encouraged by the government in a number of ways, such as not being required to pay taxes.

A fourth factor that stimulated NGO and FBO activities in Ikorodu were responses to the human rights abuses that occurred during the period of military rule of the 1980s and 1990s. Respondents noted that there were agitations by various groups, which led to the formation of associations like the Campaign for Democracy (CD) and the Odua's People's Congress (OPC) in Lagos. Such organizations mobilized citizens to push against military rule and demand democracy. Even though many of these human rights organizations did not have formal offices in the LGA, they worked through their members who were residents in the area.

Fifth, the efforts of government authorities and development partners to meet international development goals such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) contributed to the increasing activities of NGOs and FBOs in Ikorodu. Respondents affirmed that many of these organizations were encouraged to engage in advocacy and empowerment of women, as well as reproductive health

issues, including HIV/AIDS, in a bid to support the realization of the MDGs. There was a strong focus by NGOs on the prevention of HIV and AIDS, as it was realized that prevalence rates were increasing in many states within the country.

5.2 Organizational profiles

This section is divided into the following sub-sections, each of which refers to all the selected FBOs and NGOs: history, representation and geographic spread; mission statements; organizational objectives; values; governance structure; finance; and communication and associated processes. The organizations are first described in relation to each of the themes, after which their differences and similarities are discussed.

5.2.1 History, representation and geographic spread

The Nasiru-Ilahi Fatir Society of Nigeria (NASFAT) was established in Lagos in March 1995. Since then, it has developed from a small in-house prayer group of seven persons to an international multi-ethnic organization with over one million adherents. The primary motivation for the establishment of the organization was to provide members with a forum for regular prayer meetings, to promote the cause of Islam, and to further evangelize. Within a short space of time, many adherents were attracted to the organization. Respondents unanimously observed that the organization's congregations are predominantly made up of young and middle-aged adults.

A NASFAT member of staff observed that the organization shares 'pure' Islamic doctrines with its congregation through "*modern enculturation processes without losing touch with the dictates of Islam*". Staff explained that there is a slight variation between the ways NASFAT conducts its worship services, compared to older Muslim organizations (such as Anwar-ul-Islam and Ansar-ud-deen). For example, the older denominations do not hold 'night vigils' (night prayer meetings), but NASFAT started to hold this type of meeting. They further noted that NASFAT has introduced various other activities that are not common for older organizations, such as periodic prayer conferences or camps and regular leadership seminars. Respondents noted that camp meetings involve members travelling to a NASFAT settlement out of town for prayers for a day or more. Members of NASFAT from all over the country are usually invited to such meetings.

The increasingly large number of adherents led to the evolution of community branches. Its first branch outside Lagos was located in Offa in 1995, and branches subsequently proliferation in various communities throughout the country, so that by 2009, it was estimated that there were about 180. NASFAT claims that since the early years of its existence, it has been sensitive to the development needs of local communities and committed to meeting them, to demonstrate that Islam is love. It therefore provides humanitarian relief and educational and economic development initiatives for local residents.

As noted above, the Methodist Church of Nigeria (MCN) was established in 1842 by a Wesleyan Methodist Church missionary, who was invited by former West African slaves who had returned to Nigeria from Sierra Leone. The church began to spread to other parts of the country, particularly west of the river Niger. More missionaries arrived in 1893 and assisted the church to evangelize and spread, including to the east of the river Niger and the north. Several branches (dioceses) were formed in different parts of the country. Today there are 44 dioceses, each of which contains a number of churches, and church has about two million members nationwide. The first MCN church was established in Lagos in 1851¹⁰¹, and shortly afterwards MCN churches were established in Ikorodu. MCN accompanies evangelism with development work, especially in rural and semi-urban areas, where it has several community networks. Respondents unanimously confirmed that MCN has a long history of community development and service delivery, dating back to the period during which the church was established in the country. MCN has established leprosy centres, orphanage homes for HIV/AIDS affected children, health centres and hospitals, primary schools and tertiary educational institutions across the country. The organization is considered by its beneficiaries to have transformed lives by investing in development activities, especially in the areas of education and health.

RAPAC was established by the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) in 1998. RCCG, established in 1952, is a Pentecostal church that believes in winning souls. The mode of worship is similar to most Christian denominations, with praise worship, hymns and prayers. The church believes in faith healing and miracles. The General Overseer of the Church, Pastor Adeboye, initiated the establishment of RAPAC. Respondents revealed that the idea came from the need to mitigate the impact of HIV and AIDS on individuals who are infected, as well as families that are affected, in addition to preventing HIV from spreading. Many of the operations of the organization are aligned with

the World Health Organization's terms for the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS, as enunciated by the National Agency for the Control of AIDS (NACA) such as health education and voluntary counselling and testing. Respondents indicated that the organization has developed quickly because it reaches out to people through development-oriented programmes. It also gives its members opportunities to achieve their spiritual ambitions, especially those who have a divine call to the work of God, who are encouraged to train and become church ministers. Respondents explained that in the 1990s and 2000s, the RCCG, the church through which RAPAC was founded, rapidly established community churches in most parts of the country. This rapid expansion also led to the creation of many branches of RAPAC. Apart from its activities in Ikorodu, which started in 2000, RAPAC operates in seven other states.

Respondents reported that the Humanity Family Foundation for Peace and Development (HUFFPED) was established in 2003 to fill a perceived development gap in the areas of education and health in Ikorodu. Respondents observed that the founders of the organization had discovered that youths in the local community had become vulnerable and susceptible to various vices, because many of them were unemployed. The founders initiated the idea of developing interventions to empower the youths. Respondents also noted that HIV prevalence rates had begun to increase, rising from 1.8 per cent in 1991 to 5.8 per cent in 2001. The founders of HUFFPED were therefore motivated to intervene to prevent the spread of the epidemic, particularly during the period from 1991 to 2001, when not much was being done in the communities by the government. During the period of this study, HUFFPED activities were confined to Ikorodu, but the organisation operates in many communities within the LGA, including rural communities.

There are a number of notable similarities and differences between the selected FBOs and NGO with regard to their history, representation and geographic spread. Respondents noted that they are all well known and prominent organizations within Ikorodu LGA. All are considered to have an 'official' presence in the LGA, in terms of designated offices and, in the case of the FBOs, worship centres. Respondents further noted that each of the FBOs has beneficiaries within Ikorodu LGA, and the NGO also has recognizable beneficiaries in the area. The local branches are mostly part of much larger organizations. Thus both MCN and NASFAT have branches in almost all the states in the country, and RAPAC has branches in seven states. Although HUFFPED is local to the LGA, it has many local rural branches. A major similarity between all the organizations is that they are engaged in development

work in local communities, especially provision of health, social and educational services, in order to influence community development. Respondents from all the FBOs, except the MCN, described their organizations as of 'non-Western' origin, meaning indigenous rather than imported.

5.2.2 Mission statements

Respondents were asked about their organization's mission and how it is reflected in the organisation's activities and operations.

NASFAT conceptualizes itself as a nongovernmental, non-political, multi-ethnic organization that aims to foster Islamic development, peace and the welfare of the world. Its mission is expressed thus in its mission statement: "To develop an enlightened Muslim Society nurtured by a true understanding of Islam for the spiritual uplift and welfare of mankind." Respondents affirmed that NASFAT's mission points to two major foci of the organization. One is to create awareness and knowledge of 'true' Islam among Muslims. In accomplishing this, the organization seeks to enable its adherents to imbibe a high level of spiritual activity that will make them "submit to the will of the Almighty God". It was agreed by respondents that NASFAT was prompted to adopt this mission in accordance with the injunctions of the holy Qur'an that mandate human beings to worship Allah. The second part of the organization's mission is to seek the welfare of mankind, regardless of whether they are Muslims or not.

Respondents observed that this aspect of the mission motivates the organization to engage in development activities in various communities in the country.

Respondents described MCN as a non-governmental and non-profit organization. Its mission is to "consistently win more souls for Christ, develop spiritually fulfilled members and remain very active in serving humanity." Similar to NASFAT, the mission of the organization has both divine and human aspects. The first dimension has a spiritual focus: a commitment to evangelize, to "win more souls for Christ", a mandate that is considered to be required "to fulfil heavenly spiritual church obligations". The second dimension stems from recognition of the spiritual nature of persons and the need to sustain their being through the supply of spiritual materials, such as prayer and fasting. The third dimension is altruistic, taking the form of service provision to populations in the areas where church congregations are situated. Respondents affirmed that the third part of the mission motivates the Church to engage in development work at community level.

Respondents observed that RAPAC is a non-government, non-profit and non-partisan organisation, with a mission to *“promote youth and women development within and outside the church through various life skills and spiritual discipleship trainings.”* Similar to NASFAT and MCN, RAPAC’s mission has both spiritual and human dimensions. The organization aims to propagate Christian doctrine or evangelize in the wider community, as well as among adherents. It also focuses on the material and educational (‘life skills’) development of youth and women.

Respondents observed that HUFFPED is a secular non-governmental and non-partisan organisation, the mission of which is to integrate:

...well informed education and health interventions for positive change through intensive and extensive participatory community mobilization and self help initiatives.

As a secular NGO, HUFFPED’s mission has no spiritual component. However, like the selected FBOs, its mission envisages the conduct of development activities in specific communities, with a focus on educational and health interventions.

In terms of spiritual identity, NASFAT refers to “developing an enlightened Muslim Society”, the MCN to “winning more souls for Christ”, and RAPAC to “spiritual discipleship training”. In terms of the human development component, NASFAT refers to the “welfare of mankind”, MCN to being “active in serving humanity” and RAPAC to “promoting youth and women development”. The focus on human development is broad in all the FBO mission statements. RAPAC however, unlike NASFAT and the MCN, does not mention a clear-cut religious orientation in its mission statement. A striking similarity among all the organizations, according to respondents, is that their mission is built on a basic premise that it is desirable to *“foster and engender public good”*. Some respondents also noted that most of the organizations were created with the intention of serving communities and peoples that are neglected and impoverished.

Development was defined by some within the context of their faith identity. For example, a programme officer from RAPAC indicated that the totality of man [sic] consists of his spiritual wellbeing - man can only talk about development when his spirit being is renewed through salvation. However, the view of other Christian FBO respondents is that development is closely related to knowledge building, which is no different from many secular definitions of development. According to another RAPAC official, *“when*

you teach somebody how to fish the person will be independent and also will be in a position to assist others.”

5.2.3 Organizational objectives

There was a consensus among respondents that NASFAT has identified four strategic objectives to effectively accomplish its mission. These are a) to have a world-class functional secretariat supporting one global society, with members spread across the world, b) to have a solid financial base with income from strategic investments by the organization, c) to promote economic empowerment of members and d) to engage in *da'wah* (invitation to Islam) and developing true Muslims among NASFAT members.

Two major strategies are implicit in these objectives. One is to pursue an agenda of spreading Islamic teachings among Muslims and others: the organization desires to have large congregations in various countries of the world, through which 'true' Islamic doctrines and tenets will spread amongst Muslims and beyond. The second major organizational aim is to build a strong financial base from income generated from investments. According to a NASFAT Programme Officer, the organization planned from the outset to engage in profit making activities, to generate resources solely for *da'wah* and the provision of free social services in the public interest.

Respondents observed that MCN has multiple objectives arising out of its mission. These are a) to evangelize and bring individuals to Christianity, b) to promote both western and theological education, c) to promote worship in ways that are sensitive to local cultures, d) to enhance family life and e) to empower the youth to grow in knowledge.

Respondents described the objectives of RAPAC as a) to give aid to the less privileged, b) to guide youths to uphold the values of abstinence and chastity before marriage and c) to engage in Christian spiritual development and training of community members. The objectives are described as stemming from the mission and intentions of the organization.

With respect to HUFFPED, respondents described the organization's objectives as a) to acquire, preserve and disseminate quality information on sexual and reproductive health issues, in particular

relating to women and children, b) to address attitudinal and behavioural change amongst youths and community members and c) to foster peace and interpersonal help among community members. There are similarities and differences in the objectives of the FBOs and the NGO. All the FBOs have both spiritual elements and human development issues in their objectives. Both NASFAT (objective d) and MCN (objective a) emphasize spreading their faith. All the FBOs also intend to promote the spiritual development of their members, as reflected in NASFAT's objective d), MCN's objectives b and c, and RAPAC's objective c. Unlike the FBOs, HUFFPED has no focus on spiritual development. However, like all the FBOs, HUFFPED emphasises the provision of education and information. The objectives also specify the type of development work programme all the organizations contemplate undertaking, as reflected in HUFFPED's objectives a and b, NASFAT's objective c, MCN's objectives b and e, and RAPAC's objectives a and b.

5.2.4 Values

Respondents identified the following as the values shared by NASFAT staff and members: a) to project the tenets of Islam, both in behaviour patterns and the attitudes of members, b) to adhere strictly to the Holy Qur'an and the practices of the Prophet Mohammed, c) to promote Islamic brotherhood, in the sense of cordial and honest relationships among adherents, d) to pursue knowledge, and e) to imbibe the values of care, compassion, tolerance, patience, steadfastness and equality among adherents. The values enunciated for MCN include: a) to uphold the Christian values of compassion, help, "love others as thy self", justice and righteousness, b) to imbibe family life values in marriage relationships, the rights of children and care for parents, c) "to seek knowledge and eschew ignorance" and d) respect all authorities, in ways that do not compromise Christian doctrines. The values are said to be derived both from the mission statement of the parent organization and the theology of the faith and denomination of which it is part.

Similar to both NASFAT and MCN, respondents described the values that guide RAPAC operations as: a) to incorporate the value of sexual abstinence among youths, b) to adhere to "Christ's beliefs and love others" and c) show compassion to those infected by HIV/ AIDS. These reflect the specific focus of the organization within the broader Redeemed Christian Church of God.

The major values that HUFFPED upholds, according to its Director, are to a) "be thy brother's keeper" and b) show love, compassion and avoid stigmatizing HIV positive people.

As in their mission and objectives, there are similarities and differences in the values of the selected FBOs and NGO. Their values all have a positive emotional component, with most emphasizing love, understanding, and help for humanity. The major difference is that for the FBOs, their values reflect their desire to further their spiritual course. Thus NASFAT's values include the organisation's desire to promote Islamic, while both the MCN and RAPAC believe that their values can promote the cause of Christianity.

5.2.5 Governance structure

The study investigated the structure of the case study organizations, especially in relation to decision making and the distribution of power within the organization. Interviewees consistently report that all the organizations are quite strongly centralized: decisions, policies, rules and the terms of relationships are often made centrally and are expected to guide conduct and administration at branch levels.

NASFAT is a largely centralized organization. Respondents reported that community branches are administered by local administrators who receive general guidance from the national headquarters office, which establishes policies and procedures. The organization is administered predominantly through a committee system. In addition, there is a Board of Trustees located in Lagos, which is the highest ruling body. Responsibility for daily administration is vested in the National Executive Council (NEC), which has 25 members and is headed by a President assisted by two Vice Presidents. The NEC makes policies and ensures that they are implemented, usually meets weekly, supervises staff within the national office, and provides guidance for and liaises with community branches. In addition, there are two standing committees, a Council of Elders and a Mission Board, which regularly serve as advisory bodies.

NASFAT has branches in all the states of the federation and Local Government Areas. Each is managed by a management team headed by a Director of Programmes, who oversees the day-to-day running of the branch at the state level and is responsible to the National Director. Each local branch is managed by a team headed by a Programme Officer, who is responsible to the State Programme Director.

NASFAT staff understand coordination to mean linking community branches together in ways that ensure the smooth functioning of the whole organization. Most coordination efforts involve management of the relationships between branches and the headquarters on the one hand, and the relationships among community branches on the other. For the purpose of these two forms of coordination, between eight and ten community branches are grouped into a zone, with a zonal coordinating body, which coordinates the activities of branches in its domain by holding regular meetings with executive members at the branch level. A branch is only allowed to interact with the headquarters through the zonal office.

The MCN has a hierarchical and centralized organizational structure. The conference of Methodist Churches is made up of eight divisions (archdioceses), each of which is divided into at least four dioceses (44 altogether). Each of the divisions of the Church is an administrative unit. At the top of the hierarchy is the conference of the MCN, which is headed by the Prelate and is the overall governing board of the Church. The conference is called every two years to review the work of the Church and make decisions related to all areas of its operations. Next in the hierarchy are the archdioceses, which supervise the operations of the dioceses. Each diocese is headed by a Bishop and supervises the activities of all the branch churches in its domain.

Respondents consider the administrative structure in RAPAC to be centralized. The organization employs 33 staff members in all its community offices, who are recruited when operational needs arise. Respondents noted that the General Overseer, who is the head of the parent body (the RCCG), is the overall head of both the Church and RAPAC. He does not participate in the day-to-day activities of the organization, but according to the organizational policy, is expected to communicate administrative instructions from the office of the General Overseer to key staff for implementation.

Respondents also reported that HUFFPED has a hierarchical structure. Policies and procedures are established by the organization's Board of Trustees, which is elected by members. The board is the policy making organ, meeting periodically, but not involved in the daily running of the organization. There is a head of operations, appointed and paid by the Board of Trustees, who heads day-to-day administration and leads the implementation of policies agreed by the Board. There are six key staff members in the office at Ikorodu, with many field and support group members who are not regular staff members.

A striking similarity among all the FBOs studied, as well as the secular NGO, is the strong tendency towards centralization of decision-making power in the management of the organizations. All are centrally governed, with Boards of Trustees playing a major role in administration, playing a key role in the formulation of policies and procedures and providing oversight functions, including provision of strategic guidance and organizational support. A major difference between the organizational structure of the FBOs and that of the NGO is that religion plays a vital role in the selection of Board members, who have to be members of the relevant religion. Thus respondents noted that all the members of the Board of Trustees of NASFAT are Muslims, while they are all Christians in the MCN and RAPAC. In contrast, respondents noted that there are no rules regarding the religion of the Trustees of HUFFPED, although many of its members are Christians.

5.2.6 Finance

Questions were asked about the sources and management of the finances of the selected organizations. It is evident that financing is a major concern for all of them. All the respondents affirmed that the nature and volume of an organisation's funding determines how much of its development agenda is accomplished. All the FBOs are largely privately funded by congregations, while the NGO receives most of its funds from development agencies.

NASFAT has a national financial secretary, who is in charge of the financial affairs of the organisation, including its financial and budget procedures. The financial secretary, together with other members of the executive, makes the financial decisions. Some of the income of the organization comes from donations by members of its own congregations. In meetings that involve congregations (e.g. Friday *jumat* prayers, Ramadan sermon meetings, night vigil *tajud* prayers), leaders always solicit donations from members, usually towards the end of a meeting. About 40 per cent of donations collected at branch mosques have to be sent to the central headquarters, although this income generation strategy is not consistently adhered to, with a number of branches not regularly remitting the proceeds of such collections to the national body. Respondents observed that the irregular remittance of proceeds from local branches to the central headquarters is a major financial challenge for the organization.

The national body relies mostly on donations from NASFAT members when they attend nationally organized meetings. Informants reported that it is often difficult for the organization to conduct its

affairs, because it is difficult to estimate likely annual income. In practice, the majority of staff members are volunteers. Recurrent expenses, mostly to pay non-volunteer staff, are paid from income generated from NASFAT members. Capital projects and programmes are financed through fund raising among members, and occasional solicitations are made to particular members of the organization for contributions. Respondents noted that governments and non-members of the organization rarely contribute funding, with the occasional exception of the government of Lagos State, which has given donations to implement particular projects. In addition to funds raised from the congregation members, NASFAT also obtains funds from its investments. These include the production of malt drinks, and airline and travel ventures. A business committee of the organization develops most of the strategic investment plans, which are subsequently approved by the national executive committee. All have been developed into fully fledged companies, which are not managed directly by the business committee. Several professionals who are NASFAT members are involved in the development and management of the business ventures.

Respondents observed that the bulk of MCN financial resources come from members of the Church. The income comes from donations, pledges and tithes, often received during Sunday and midweek services. Apart from donations, it is mandatory for adherents to contribute one-tenth of their income (*tithe*) to the Church. Respondents indicated that the income is mostly obtained monthly, as the majority of congregation members who work are paid monthly. It was also noted that members are called upon to donate toward the cost of a particular programme. Respondents reported that a statement of the organisation's income and expenditure is often made public periodically to Church members through the dioceses. In addition, donations are frequently raised from members specifically for development activities, and the proceeds allocated to the relevant development committees.

Respondents reported that in the formative years of RAPAC, the organization was funded from congregational contributions, with members donating money because of the biblical injunctions that require Christians to work for God.

Everything done in the name of God has reward, whether here on earth or in heaven. A few individual worshippers pooled resources together to support RAPAC initially. They were doing it as their pet project in the Church. It was a voluntary service (Programme Officer, RAPAC).

However as time went by and the organization expanded, development partners within the country became interested in its activities. Currently, it no longer relies on funds from congregations and the majority of funds for its development work are obtained from development partners (primarily Family Health International and USAID), who provide financial support for projects such as the HIV/AIDS campaign. A respondent confirmed that “*the Society for Family Health is a pillar of resources for our organisation.*” Members of staff working for the organization are remunerated monthly from these funds, which are also used to purchase all the materials required for service provision. Regular financial reports are produced that show income and expenditure, which respondents noted is a basic donor requirement.

Similarly, respondents reported that the bulk of financial resources that are expended for the activities of HUFFPED are provided by development agencies. Respondents noted that the organization often competes for grant funds. Currently, its major sponsor is USAID, which requires it to provide periodic statements of accounts. USAID funds are used to cover both the recurrent and capital expenditure of HUFFPED.

In conclusion, religion plays a major role in the source of funding of FBOs. As noted above, respondents reported that the selected FBOs source most of their funds from congregations. However, respondents associated with these organizations noted that they do not reject funds from government or other sources. According to respondents, their ability to obtain congregational funds gives the FBOs a degree of autonomy in determining their own agenda, although some have obtained external funding for specific programmes related to HIV/AIDS (which is one of the main areas for which external funding has been available for the last decade or more). Both RAPAC and HUFFPED source funds from development partners for such programmes, although members of the RCCG also contribute to the functioning of RAPAC. A significant motivation for members of the organizations or their associated congregations, both Muslim and Christian, to make personal contributions is their belief in religious doctrines that require them to donate.

5.2.7 Communication and associated processes

Communication is an important ingredient in enabling organizations to meet their goals. All the selected FBOs and the NGO utilize several channels of internal and external communication, including

e-mail, telephone, meetings, workshops, seminars and newsletters. With the exception of HUFFPED, which is still planning to develop its website, all the other organizations have websites. NASFAT was upgrading its website at the time of the study. Respondents hoped that this development would enhance global communication within the organization and foster the accomplishment of its goals. Informal channels were also used by all the selected organizations, including private meetings to discuss official matters, word of mouth, and other forms of interpersonal relationship. Respondents involved in the work of all the organizations were generally satisfied with the level and patterns of communication in the workplace.

Other processes linked with communications are also used in the operations of all the organizations, including network building. All the organizations have established links with other local, national and international organizations, with quite similar strategies. All the FBOs and the NGO have regular relationships with various umbrella organizations. Respondents noted that HUFFPED does not discriminate in its choice of partners on religious grounds and has, in the past, had links with FBOs. They also observed that FBOs have various networks, some of which cut across religious boundaries. For example, a NASFAT respondent indicated that:

Our various branches have relationships with government agencies. Empowerment [agricultural training programmes] works with Ministry of Agriculture, our NASSHIN [NASFAT Health and HIV/AIDS initiative] works with the Society for Family Health.

In addition, NASFAT has periodic meetings with other Islamic sects. The MCN is a member of the Christian Association of Nigeria and the World Methodist Association. It partly builds networks for spiritual reasons. Thus it was stated by the organization's Project Director that MCN collaborates with other relevant organizations for deep Christian fellowship so that:

...the curse of Babel which bedevils the whole church in the world today may be removed and ... perpetual Pentecost, a oneness of spirit, may prevail.

An operational practice that characterizes all the FBOs is the forging of regular, close and passionate relationships with both individual members of the organization or its parent religious body and even, during the course of its development work, with community members. According to a Christian FBO Programme Manager, this takes the form of spiritual guidance, counselling, prayer and modelling. As one respondent observed, such practices are amongst the "*exemplary practices that endear the religious organizations to the communities.*"

5.2.8 The ways in which faith is manifest in organizations' operations

NASFAT is acknowledged to draw its motivation for development from the injunctions of the Holy Qur'an, which specifies that Muslims are required to seek the welfare of mankind. In a bid to adhere to this injunction, the organization regularly mobilizes resources to provide development services to members of the wider community around a branch of the organization.

Similarly, respondents affirmed that the MCN has a long history of development activities in Nigerian communities and that these have been intertwined with its faith from the beginning. Putting the organization within its historical context, it was noted that the Church "*first arrived on the soil of the country*" with the intention of converting people to Christianity. Alongside this, however, the missionaries brought a set of "*development entreaties*", particularly in the areas of education and health. Respondents further maintained that community members took advantage of the services provided and in the process embraced the religion. A major goal for all the FBOs in the present study is to extend their faith and beliefs to non-members who have access to their services and development activities. In this sense, their development work is a means to an end.

To further explore the nature of faith manifestations in the development work of the FBOs, respondents were asked how faith had influenced the founding of the organization. A respondent from NASFAT mentioned that "*the seed of faith was sown into the organization through the founding fathers*", an assertion that is also true for all the other FBOs. The role of faith in the development work of the FBOs can be traced to the pivotal role of their founders, who were reported to have been profoundly inspired by their faith to create the organization. All seven founding fathers of NASFAT were Muslims. John Wesley, a devout Christian who was originally an Anglican, started the new denomination of Methodism. A respondent from RAPAC noted that the General Overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God, who founded RAPAC, "*is a Christian and a true man of God who used his faith to influence the organization.*" Respondents indicated that all the founding fathers of the FBOs not only founded the organizations on the basis of their own religion, but also perpetuated their faith in the various activities of the organizations. For example, many of the founders had appointed family members who are devout religious adherents to occupy key positions in the organization.

In terms of recruitment for key posts, respondents in all the FBOs mentioned that faith plays a role. In the case of NASFAT, respondents noted that, although there is no written rule or policy that discriminates on the basis of religion, in practice individuals employed in management positions are all Muslims. They recalled that vacancies are often filled from within the membership of the organization, as most professions are represented amongst its members. Members are usually the first to know about any advertisement related to the organization, are often the first to apply and usually outnumber applicants from outside the organization. Respondents also mentioned that another reason why NASFAT engages Muslims to fill employment vacancies is that jobs often require employees to have a knowledge of Islam and the verses of the Holy Qur'an. An employee noted:

.....But when you come to the office like this, somebody who is not a Muslim cannot work here. Because I may be asking for something here if he is not a Muslim, like I say go and bring a hijab he may not be able to know exactly what it is. If you are a Christian, one cannot work in this office, because of the familiarity with the Islamic injunctions. If I want to recite a verse of the Qur'an, and I cannot remember, I can say oh what? An administrative officer should be able to assist me on this.....

RAPAC has an explicit requirement that staff should be Christian and profess a personal faith in Christ. According to one respondent, one of the requirements for employment is that the member of staff should *"be born again, that is, such a person should demonstrate faith in Jesus Christ and a desire to follow Him."* This suggests that the personal faith of employees is considered important in maintaining the faith identity of the organization. A RAPAC official revealed that *"there are enough qualified professionals in the Church to run the organization, so there is no need to employ unbelievers."* Respondents believe that this policy ensures that the most important decisions concerning programmes of the organization are made in line with its Christian values.

For all the FBOs except RAPAC, respondents reported that only in low cadre jobs do members of other religions have the opportunity to be employed. For example, in the Methodist schools and health centres in Ikorodu, a few employees self-identified themselves as Muslims and noted that they are not discriminated against when they are trying to practise their religion. Respondents in NASFAT mentioned that in the past, the organization has very occasionally employed members from a different religion to serve as low cadre staff. However, this is rare partly because many members of NASFAT congregations are unemployed and they are given preference when paid positions are available.

Faith is also manifest in workplace activities, to a different degree in different FBOs. NASFAT staff members are expected to observe regular daily prayers in the workplace and the organization has mandated its *Imams* (prayer leaders) to lead prayer sessions for its staff, although such prayers are not compulsory. Short sermons are also given in the course of these sessions. MCN does not have a formal pattern of religious activities to be observed in the workplace, but it was observed that some sectional leaders call staff members in their sections for short morning prayers before a day's activity begins. In all the FBOs, regular meetings to facilitate decision-making are important. There were opening and closing prayers in all the meetings that researchers in this study witnessed, in both Muslim and Christian FBOs. In addition, sometimes the organizations and respondents in this study quoted religious scriptures to justify their perspectives.

Faith is also depicted in the course of the development work of the FBOs through the use of various symbols. Respondents observed that FBOs utilize a number of faith symbols while serving in communities. For example, NASFAT members are expected to wear a uniform when they appear to provide services to the public. In Nigeria, women wear a blue and white head-tie and men are required to wear white clothes. The NASFAT logo consists of a crescent and moon, "*which symbolizes light to the world*". This logo is visible on the organization's cars and buses. Some of the organization's members carry a rosary, which they use to pray while engaged in service delivery, and NASFAT leaders often carry a copy of the Holy Qur'an or other printed scriptures in public, using the Qur'an to pray during the process of service delivery. Respondents observed that faith symbols are depicted during the development work of MCN. Although members who deliver services do not have a uniform, the researchers observed that priests sometimes wear an MCN uniform when they lead other members to deliver services. Members also sometimes carry the Holy Bible during development work and use it for prayers, and often members chant MCN slogans intermittently during humanitarian work. One respondent observed:

We have a slogan 'Worthy is the lamb, bountiful his love, hallelujah'. It is a slogan in Methodists of Nigeria to identify ourselves in public. If I get to somewhere and somebody says 'Worthy is the lamb' immediately I will know he is a member of the Methodist Church in Nigeria.

As previously mentioned, both the Christian FBOs and NASFAT have commonalities, in terms of expressing their faith in their organizational identity, operations and development activities. They

mostly develop services as a means of accomplishing evangelism. In addition, their faith is reflected in their recruitment practices, sources of finances and spiritual workplace-based activities, as well as in their development activities.

5.3 Do FBOs approach development any differently from their secular counterparts?

To answer this research question, this section is divided into two sub-sections. The first identifies the types of services provided by the selected organizations within the Ikorodu community. The second sub-section pertains to how the services are rendered by the FBOs and the NGO. Information for both sections is derived from the responses of both those engaged in service provision in the selected organizations and beneficiaries.

5.3.1 Provision of services

Questions were asked from both service providers and beneficiaries about the service and development work that is undertaken by the selected organizations. To capture the sum total of services and development work, respondents were asked to indicate which services are provided to community persons and organizational members. The programmes that were identified can be classified into six categories: visitation or relief, health, youth empowerment, education and widow support.

All the FBOs (but not HUFFPED) have a visitation component. They regularly visit nursing homes, general hospitals, orphanages and homes for physically-challenged people to assist inhabitants with food, drugs, money and the cost of home maintenance. All the organizations provide health-related services, including activities related to the prevention and treatment of diseases. HUFFPED engages in the prevention of HIV and STI infection through campaigns and messages about abstinence, faithfulness to one's partner, and correct and consistent use of condoms. The messages are packaged according to the target audience. NGOs in general (including HUFFPED) lay more emphasis on the use of condoms, because the number of condoms they distribute is taken as evidence of their acceptance by intended beneficiaries, with implications for their continued funding. Messages about the use of condoms are integrated with other advice and programmes, as indicated by a Programme Officer of HUFFPED:

Some of the NGO's intervention has been primarily in the integrated management of childhood illness, universal access to female condoms to prevent unintended pregnancies and Sexually Transmitted Illnesses (STIs), family planning and the training of Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs) in safe deliveries

Similarly all the selected FBOs regularly engage in activities intended to prevent HIV/AIDS transmission, including counselling and testing, for both their members and community inhabitants in general. The prevention aspect involves education about the modes of transmission of the infection and campaigns that promote sexual abstinence for the unmarried and sexual faithfulness for the married. FBOs approach this through messages delivered during their programmes and handbills they distribute. For these organizations, premarital and extra marital sex is against the will of God and so they are not willing to promote condoms above abstinence and faithfulness to one's partner. In contrast, the NGO adopts counselling techniques based on bio-medical explanations.

In addition to HIV and AIDS prevention and control, all the FBOs provide health-related programmes, especially blood pressure screening, malaria treatment, and referral services through clinics. For example, during *asalatu* (prayer) meetings every week, NASFAT runs a clinic that is facilitated by medical personnel who are members of the organization. They attend to users and, for emergency treatment and other forms of care that cannot be immediately offered at the clinic, make immediate referrals to hospitals after first aid is given.

All the selected organizations engage in youth empowerment in different forms. Their activities are often characterized by the provision of vocational training, the creation of employment opportunities for youths and provision of leadership training workshops. All the selected organizations are also involved with offering education or information services, including the provision of advice, counselling and various educational materials (pamphlets, posters, and books) related to the organization's service focus. Formal education is provided by MCN through the establishment of schools. Finally, all the selected FBOs actively engage in widow support programmes. Respondents observed that many widows become members of religious organizations. Many are poor, particularly since the death of their spouse. RAPAC regularly provides monetary and food support to widows. Respondents from NASFAT mentioned that the organization supports widows in particular, mainly by providing them with the opportunity to engage in trading, especially the sale of malt drinks produced by the organization, which it is hoped will provide them with a source of income.

5.3.2 Patterns of service delivery

Beneficiaries who participated in the focus group discussions agreed that the organizations have distinctive patterns of service delivery. FBOs are reported to deliver services to community members with “*religious colouration*”, meaning that they engage the beneficiaries in worship before the start or at the end of a project activity, while the secular organization is mostly concerned with conveying facts, without any reference to religion. However, no striking differences between the ways the two Christian FBOs and NASFAT deliver their services were reported, with both being spiritually oriented, as described further below. In general, all the organizations comply with standard prevention or treatment recommendations as prescribed by international health agencies (e.g. WHO and UNAIDS).

Questions were asked about the pattern of service delivery, with specific reference to the HIV and AIDS programmes that are common to all the selected organizations. In terms of prevention messages, all the organizations conform to the international standard. In other words, they disseminate messages that are recommended worldwide as being effective in preventing HIV transmission. Respondents considered that the major difference between FBOs and the NGO is that there is a strong sense of “*judgement involving right or wrong*” in the ways FBOs deliver their messages. To quote one respondent:

The FBOs tend to sermonise the HIV information and make it look like as if you are committing big sins when you do some things. Take the example of HIV. It is forbidden by the FBOs to have a boy and a girl who are single to sleep together. They cannot even tolerate it in the ways NGOs will pass the message. Not to talk of talking about condoms to prevent. It is a taboo to think men and women should use condoms.

However, most respondents think that the messages disseminated by the FBOs are not realistic in the light of modern day life. As one said:

I wish people can abide by the way the religious organizations tell us to go away from sex when we are not married. There will not be anything like gonorrhoea or even HIV. I think the world will change. But many people will just pretend that they can adjust their life. The second day the same girl that listened to information not to have sex will go again to the same sugar daddy. I don't think people can easily practise what they [religious organizations] are saying.

Respondents consider the secular NGO's practices with respect to information dissemination on HIV and AIDS different from those of the FBOs. They noted that the secular NGO is less concerned about

morality in the messages that it disseminates. It conforms strictly to scientific evidence about modes of prevention and disseminates information on this basis. They noted that the NGO is not concerned about what is “*right or wrong*” in the same way as the FBOs. In the words of one respondent:

The NGO information is different a lot. They [sic] are about things that youth do. They (HUFFPED) just ask them to be careful. If you want to sleep with your friend, you have to use condoms, if you can not abstain. They don't forbid friends not to have something together when they are not married.

To buttress this point, HUFFPED's Executive Project Director advocates the use of female condoms as an effective method for prevention of HIV and STIs and publicly demonstrates their use. He noted:

It [a female condom] empowers the woman as well. If the man comes home without his condom and the woman has her own, they can use it. It is not compulsory that the man must have his condom all the time. The woman has the right to use her own condom too.

Respondents were asked their views on which approaches to communicating messages about HIV and AIDS are effective. They noted that the FBOs are closer to intended beneficiaries than NGOs, describing how NGOs come to meet community members periodically, but do not have strong links with them as individuals or groups, unlike FBOs, which have spiritual links with their intended beneficiaries. They explained that, although FBOs conform to standard guidelines for HIV prevention, as earlier indicated, they often choose recommendations that are consistent with their religious perspectives. For example, the guidelines state that people should abstain from risky sexual relationships (such as with casual or commercial sex partners) or use a condom if they cannot abstain. Respondents observed that FBOs only choose to disseminate information about sexual abstinence, supporting the idea that total abstinence from high risk sex is the most effective way of curbing HIV transmission. However, they also consider that FBOs choose prevention messages that, to quote one, are “*like the ideal things that people should do, but they are not usually followed.*” In contrast, respondents noted that the prevention messages disseminated by secular NGOs like HUFFPED take cognisance of the way of life of the youth and offer prevention options that are more acceptable to them.

Another difference that respondents noted between the secular NGO and FBOs is access to resources. Surprisingly, they suggested that FBOs have access to more resources for HIV and AIDS programmes than secular NGOs. They believe that the funds raised by congregations for religious

organizations such as RCCG, MCN and NASFAT are huge. In their view, secular NGOs are often too donor dependent, with the result that their funding is irregular and they are unable to provide services as consistently as FBOs. In addition, they noted that most FBOs have a long term track record of presence and service, with the result that they have built up their resources over the years and have access to larger networks than secular NGOs. They also suggested that FBOs can draw on the services of diverse professionals who can offer assistance to infected persons, especially counselling and advice, in ways that NGOs cannot match.

Finally, respondents observed that the way the FBOs operate means that they are concerned about what happens to an individual both *“physically and spiritually.”* They noted that when FBOs provide relief materials to PLWHAs, they want to ensure that the assistance provided is used by recipients to foster their spiritual development as well as their material wellbeing. Consequently, as one respondent noted, FBOs are considered to be *“compassionate, considerate, close and want to have lasting relationships”* with the individuals they encounter. In contrast, they consider that the secular NGO is not concerned about the spiritual aspect of life, and is less affectionate than the FBOs. For example, respondents explained that FBOs always have dedicated counsellors, who are available to attend to individuals facing challenges. According to one respondent, FBO officials may even *“often go to the extent of making follow-up visits to the individuals in their houses”*, to ascertain their welfare. Respondents noted that this is not generally the practice of NGOs.

Service providers were asked to identify the major difficulties they face in the course of their service or development work. All the respondents, from both the secular NGO and the FBOs, complained about limited financial resources, which restrict their ability to scale up services and expand coverage as much as they would like. Respondents from the secular NGO were particularly concerned that they have to work *“very tight to the budget they make.”* As one noted:

We would have decided the number of people we want to engage in our activities. When more consumers come forward there is crisis. It is also somehow unethical if someone has a problem and you are helping some people and you don't help others. That is discrimination....

Respondents from the NGO noted also that the agenda for service provision of NGOs, including those working in the LGA, is not often decided by the NGOs themselves, instead being dictated by the donor

agencies. Respondents noted that this is sometimes a challenge for programming and meeting community needs: As one respondent said:

The work plan we have is usually decided by the donor agencies. They decide what we should do and how we should do it. Sometimes what they want us to do is not always meeting the needs of the people. But NGOs have to conform, otherwise they will lose their grant.

Respondents who are officials of the selected FBOs and the NGO observed that this is less of a problem for the FBOs, who can more easily decide the focus of their activity and what they want to do themselves because they rely less on donations from international agencies than secular NGOs.

All the respondents also felt that neither NGOs nor FBOs have sufficient capacity to deliver their programmes and that they all need to build their capacity. As one noted, “*they need to learn new technologies and ways of efficient service delivery.*”

5.4 Perceived performance and outcomes

There are two categories of concerns here. First is how the service providers under consideration and their beneficiaries conceive of ‘good performance’. The second issue concerns the perceived relative performance of the selected FBOs and the NGO.

5.4.1 Framing effective performance

As noted in Section 1, restrictions on both the time and financial resources available for this research and available information made objective evaluations of outputs, outcomes and impact of the service delivery and development activities of the case study organizations impossible. The researchers decided, therefore, to focus on perceived effectiveness in terms of organizational performance and programme outcomes. Service delivery may not be effective, in terms of accomplishing its ends, if there is a wide disparity between the expectations of beneficiaries and practitioners. There is, therefore, a need to ascertain how both understand ‘good’ performance and effective service delivery.

There was a disparity between service providers’ and beneficiaries’ conceptions of effective performance. The difference is even wider when FBOs’ definition of good performance is compared with that of beneficiaries. For FBO staff, the primary criterion of good performance is that services

should be provided in accordance with religious doctrines, while in the view of NGO staff, services should be provided according to the objectives of a project and implementation plans. What ultimately matters to beneficiaries, unsurprisingly, is whether what they consider to be positive changes in their lives are brought about by the interventions. However, they also have more specific criteria by which they judge individual programmes.

All the respondents working for FBOs affirmed that a) services should be rendered in a way that conforms with the Qur'an (in the case of NASFAT) and biblical injunctions (in the case of RAPAC and MCN), b) service providers have to be "*God fearing*" (abide by religious injunctions) in the ways they offer services, and c) service providers must treat intended beneficiaries equally and show concern for the poor and impoverished. Respondents noted that there are differences in perceptions between staff and members and ordinary residents, and suggested that these usually arise when there is little or no consultation on community expectations between the people who are the ultimate recipients of services and FBO/NGO practitioners who provide the services. They suggested that if practitioners liaise with people, they would understand their needs and ideas about expected performance accordingly. They also alleged that the idea of performance enunciated by secular NGOs is that defined by their development partners, with the NGOs having no choice but to comply with donors' performance requirements. Further criteria for effective performance relate to coverage: whether an organization is able to provide coverage universally (or at least in multiple locations). The outcomes with respect to these ideas and criteria for good performance will be discussed below.

5.4.2 Perceived performance outcomes

As noted above, treating potential service users equally is one of the criteria for good performance advocated by FBO members and staff. However, some beneficiaries of services provided by the NGO claimed that NGOs take equality of access to their resources more seriously than FBOs. As one said: "*one does not need to belong to any faith before benefiting from NGO projects and this gives them the advantage of making their services available to more people than FBOs*".

A second criterion noted above relates to coverage and accessibility. FBO staff were of the view that NGOs are limited in terms of their ability to provide wide coverage. According to one staff member, "*an FBO where the parent church has branches all over the country will cover more population than NGOs that are limited to a particular location usually determined by the type of grant they have*".

Beneficiaries generally felt that the selected FBOs and NGO are doing desirable things in the communities with regard to HIV and AIDS. They observed that the problem of HIV and AIDS would have been more severe if the organizations were not active in the town. However, many respondents thought that there is room for improvement in the activities of both FBOs and NGOs.

Confidentiality and sensitivity emerged as important to them. For example, they considered that most often there is no privacy in the discussions that service providers have with clients and some thought that the environment of clinics should be changed to foster confidentiality. All the respondents thought that HIV and AIDS are very sensitive subjects, but complained that this is not taken into consideration by many of the organizations engaged in relevant programmes. As one said:

It was very difficult to go for HIV testing whenever they are doing their programmes. The last time people were asked to go and test at the back of the hall. Everybody was seeing everybody. There was no privacy.how can somebody ask for help if someone has HIV? The whole church will know about it. It is a shameful. They may even be telling other people. There is no confidentiality.

In the context of programmes related to HIV and AIDS, providing information is necessary but not sufficient – ultimately success requires behaviour change. Service providers were asked to indicate whether in their view their organisation's activities are changing people's behaviour so that they do not become HIV-positive. Respondents from all the organizations responded that it is difficult to say “*how much or to what extent*”, although they think that there is bound to be change if they continue to provide relevant information. Following up on this perception that there had been behavioural changes amongst community inhabitants, officials of the case study organizations were asked to comment on the role played by the programmes of their own organization. None of the respondents could rate the performance of their own organization in terms of how much change its activities had led to in the community. They noted that many organizations are working on the same issues so, as one suggested “*it is difficult to know which one is causing the change in behaviour.*”

Beneficiaries were also asked to compare the performance of the case study organizations. They found it difficult to identify clear differences, believing instead that each organization had both strengths and weaknesses. With respect to HIV testing and support for HIV-positive people, FBOs are said to offer better services. As one respondent said:

They [beneficiaries] have access to both pastoral and normal counselling. They are given regular food, provisions and they [FBOs] cater for their welfare in so many more ways than secular organizations.

Most respondents thought that, generally speaking, FBOs reach more people than secular NGOs, in part because their own members and congregations take advantage of the services they provide. Most beneficiaries also thought that secular NGOs are more realistic in the HIV prevention messages they promote and are able “to secure greater prevention impact ... [because of their] advocacy for condom use”, as one put it. Respondents also felt that FBOs are more visible than NGOs in terms of their ability to provide services regularly and consistently. Finally, beneficiary respondents were asked to evaluate the overall performance of FBOs and NGOs. Most felt that FBOs achieve better overall performance than secular NGOs.

The study probed into explanations for perceived differences in performance and effectiveness. An important explanation in the case of the areas in which FBOs are considered to perform better than the case study secular NGO and other NGOs in the LGA, claimed by most respondents, is that FBOs are closer to ordinary residents than secular NGOs. People spend more time with religious organizations in a quest for worship and spiritual development. Such organizations are also multifunctional and more developed. As one respondent explained:

There is opportunity to do many things with the church. We attend the church during the week and every Sunday. We even go in the night for vigils and if there are problems with the people they consult the church in the times they are there. The church has different departments to attend to different problems.

Respondents observed that FBOs are more visible than secular NGOs in communities: they have more branches and a longer history of relationships with communities. Respondents also noted that both members of religious organizations and ordinary people are socialized by religious organizations - they have received some form of religious education, are indoctrinated with the principles on which FBOs base their work and are, therefore, more emotionally attached to FBOs than secular organizations. As one respondent said:

People are used to the churches and mosques. Some are even born in the churches and mosques and given names by them. They went to their schools and even went to their hospitals when they were growing up. The people grew up in churches and

mosques. They have benefited in them when they were growing up. They don't know the NGOs as much as they know the churches and mosques.I think they generally trust religious organizations because they cannot deceive and they work according to the ways of God.

Clearly, FBOs benefit from their association with and the existing reputations of their parent bodies, with the result that they are more accessible to non-members, who are more familiar with and inclined to trust them than secular NGOs.

5.5 Summary and conclusions

In this section, the findings of the Lagos State case studies are summarized and some conclusions drawn in relation to the six research questions.

Both secular NGOs and FBOs are considered to be contributing to the development of Ikorodu community. They are encouraged by the Lagos State government to participate in development activities and to fill perceived gaps, especially in the provision of social services. Both Muslim and Christian FBOs have missions, objectives and values that are based on religious principles and doctrines. Policy formulation and the process of service delivery by the organizations are also influenced by their religious orientation. In contrast, the secular NGO's mission, objectives and values do not contain any explicit spiritual element, and the services it delivers have no spiritual dimensions. In terms of their organizational structure, all the FBOs are connected to religious leaders and centrally governed by Boards of Trustees. They themselves or their associated religious traditions have large organized networks of congregations and branches in many states in the country, including Ikorodu LGA, unlike the case study secular NGO which operates locally. The FBOs are therefore often able to leverage their extensive networks of congregations, infrastructure and branches for service delivery. For example, they often recruit personnel and obtain financial resources for service delivery work from within the wider organization through their extensive networks. Faith is also clearly manifest in the organizational structure and processes of the FBOs. They all had founders who belong to the religion with which they are associated. Their members of staff are mostly affiliated to the FBO or its associated religious organization. All the FBOs, especially NASFAT, encourage religious practices in the workplace. Finally, all of them often display specific faith symbols in the workplace and during the process of service delivery.

The secular NGO studied and most other NGOs in the LGA rely substantially on donor funding for their development work. RAPAC also relies partly on external donor funding, whereas the MCN and NASFAT rely mainly on congregational funds (and, in the case of NASFAT, profits from their investments). This has implications for the practice and future of secular NGOs. In particular, secular NGOs often do not have autonomy to decide which development needs they would like to focus upon – instead, a donor usually decides the objectives of a programme and the strategies to be adopted to accomplish them. This makes it difficult to ascertain whether the services provided and the way they are delivered are relevant to community needs.

There are significant disparities between FBO/NGO staff and beneficiary conceptualizations of development performance. As we saw in Section 5.5.1, for FBO staff, services should be performed in accordance with religious doctrines, while NGO staff believe that services should be provided in accordance with project objectives and implementation plans. What matters to beneficiaries, in contrast, is whether interventions being about what they consider to be positive changes in their lives. The development goals of organizations and the needs of residents are, therefore, not necessarily in harmony. Decisions on the type of services to be provided and strategies for implementation need to be reached in a multilateral manner, with inputs from donors, FBOs/NGOs and communities.

FBOs' view of development is that it should affect individuals both physically and spiritually, whereas secular NGOs are only concerned with material and physical wellbeing. Neither organizational practitioners nor beneficiaries were able to give a clear assessment of the contribution of their organizations to community development. All the staff respondents acknowledged the challenge of determining the effectiveness of their strategies. However, the major reason they offered was external - that many other organizations are doing similar work to them, and so attributing perceived changes (in this instance mainly behaviour associated with HIV transmission) to the activities of any single organization is impossible. All the organization staff whose views were obtained during the study agreed that there is substantial improvement in the development of the Ikorodu LGA, especially in the area of control of HIV and AIDS, on which many of their activities and the study focused, although they were unable to identify the specific contribution of their own organization. In addition, when they identified shortcomings in the performance of their own organizations, these were largely attributed to the shortage of financial resources – another external factor.

However, perhaps understandably, when faced by questions from unknown researchers, staff and members of the organizations under study identified few weaknesses in their approaches or programme outcomes. Although programmes funded by external agencies require monitoring of progress and outputs, few if any external assessments of outcomes or impacts appeared to have been made and none were made available to the research team. Standard evaluations of effectiveness would, in any case, be difficult because many of the objectives of the organizations and their programmes are not easily quantifiable.

Beneficiaries were also unable to assess the contribution of individual organizations to delivering services related to HIV and AIDS. They reported that both FBOs and NGOs have strengths and weaknesses in terms of service delivery and meeting the needs of communities. Although somewhat reluctant to make overall comparisons, most perceived FBOs to be more effective, for a variety of reasons.

6 Summary of the main findings, some implications and avenues for further research

In this section the main findings of the study will be summarized, some possible policy implications identified and some possible areas for further research outlined.

6.1 Summary of main findings

This section will address the six key research questions of the study, as outlined in Section 1 and will include some comparative discussion of the three studies that compare FBOs and NGOs in Kano and Lagos States in order to identify whether FBOs have distinctive characteristics.

6.1.1 *Organizations operating in local contexts: history and relationships*

The first research question refers to the history of organizations operating in particular local contexts, within the wider history of the country and individual states. As part of understanding this history, it also refers to the relationships between the organizations under study and between them and government structures at local, state and national levels. This question was addressed in Section 2 and in the profiles of the LGAs in which the individual organizations selected for study are operating provided in Sections 3-5.

As discussed in Section 2, religious organizations, especially those associated with Islam, have a long history, especially in northern Nigeria. However, far-reaching and dramatic changes followed the arrival of Christian missionaries and the dan Fodio *jihad* in colonial times. Since then, religious organizations have played a key role in the delivery of social services, particularly health and education. Since independence, and particularly over the last 20-30 years, FBOs have also increasingly taken on other development roles, such as advocacy and conflict resolution. Some of this (e.g. human rights work) was a response to contextual factors, such as opposition to the military regimes which prevailed for much of the post-independence period until the late 1990s. Some of it (e.g. conflict resolution work) was a response to increasing competition over resources, as well as the ethno-religious conflicts arising out of that competition. Some religious organizations have become increasingly politicized, for example around agendas such as the Islamization of the northern states and the reactions of Christian communities to that agenda. FBO development agendas have also been influenced by international donor agendas and the funding streams with which these agendas are associated. The many current international donor funded HIV/AIDS-related programmes, some of which are being implemented partly or wholly by FBOs, are a good contemporary example.

As also discussed in Section 2, NGOs are a much more recent phenomenon. Until the 1980s, there were relatively few such organizations in the country. Since then, however, their numbers have increased greatly. This increase has been attributed to two main factors. First, it is seen as a response to the increasing gaps in service delivery left by the poor state performance which is partly attributable to changing international views about the role of the state and policies such as structural adjustment. Second, it is seen as a response to donor preferences for funding NGOs rather than state agencies, based on their assumed comparative advantages, resulting in greatly increased funding flows available to NGOs during this period. Consequently, much of the NGO scene in Nigeria (as elsewhere) is seen as a creature of international aid, and many of the criticisms levelled at NGOs arise out of that perceived reality. NGOs are involved in a wide range of development activities, including charitable and humanitarian aid, social and economic development, advocacy, conflict resolution and capacity building, with a perceived evolution from the former to the latter, reflecting the evolution of international donor development agendas and strategies.

FBOs and NGOs are perceived by study informants to have both competitive relationships with government bodies, in that they may compete for funds, and collaborative relationships, with respect to implementing development projects. In addition, traditional Muslim religious leaders and Muslim FBOs are perceived to play an important gate-keeping function for NGOs wishing to work with local communities, at least in Muslim-majority Kano State.

All levels of government appear to be generally supportive of the humanitarian, charitable, service delivery and conflict resolution roles of both NGOs and FBOs, but have more difficult relationships with NGOs and FBOs that have advocacy agendas around issues such as human rights or political agendas. Relationships between governments in Kano State and Christian FBOs are also difficult, as seen in Section 4, a finding that might also be the case in the other mainly Islamic northern states. However, the function of government with respect to FBOs and NGOs appears to be mainly one of setting development agendas and providing frameworks and mechanisms for coordination, rather than providing direct NGO or FBO funding, most of which appears to come from other (international) sources, as well as local funds raised from members, associated religious congregations and other activities in the case of FBOs.

6.1.2 Development aims, values and activities

The second research question seeks to ascertain similarities and differences between the aims, values and activities of FBOs and NGOs, and the third to assess whether FBOs approach development any differently from their secular NGO counterparts.

The study did not reveal many significant differences between the development aims, values and activities of NGOs and FBOs. One unsurprising difference is that NGO aims, values and development practices are expressed using a secular humanitarian development discourse, similar to the international development discourse, whereas the aims, values and activities of FBOs are couched in the discourses of their own faith/religion.

This leads to a difference between the material focus of NGOs and the combined material and spiritual focus of FBOs, which was perceived as significant not just by staff and members but also by many of the programme beneficiaries interviewed. Most of the latter prefer the FBO approach, even though they do not necessarily consider it more effective for every purpose. Furthermore, differences between organizations' secular/humanitarian or religious motivations influenced the design, implementation and evaluation of the HIV/AIDS programme activities studied. This was notable in terms of target populations, for example, the apparent exclusion by FBOs of particularly at-risk groups of whose behaviour they disapprove; willingness to advocate condom use, especially for the unmarried; and the criteria by which their activities are assessed - target and indicator-based for NGOs, but based on compliance with religious values and injunctions for some of the FBOs studied (although the absence of rigorous evaluation of programme outcomes and impacts in all cases is also marked).

However, such differences were not always discernible. For example, the way in which the Christian FBO operating in Kano State tones down overt expression of its faith motives and identity as much as possible and confines its activities to Christian-majority villages was discussed in Section 4. This was attributed partly to the difficult operating climate in the largely Muslim context of Kano State, and partly to enable it to access secular development funding sources. Similarly, Section 3 shows how an Islamic FBO studied is obliged to adopt standard international secular approaches to evaluation of its programme, because this is a requirement of the US-based international organization through which

external funds for the services it provides are channelled, and the same is true of RAPAC, one of the Christian FBOs studied in Lagos State. Nevertheless, the former partnership worked well because the views of the recipient (Muslim) and donor (Christian) organization on programme design and implementation were compatible (i.e. a focus on abstinence and behaviour, rather than condom use).

6.1.3 Faith manifestation in FBOs

The study revealed many differences between the organizational characteristics of the FBOs and NGOs studied. Apart from their mission statements and objectives, this is where the influence of faith manifested itself most obviously and clearly. The main examples are in the areas of recruitment, funding sources and the use of religious practices and symbols in daily organizational practices. All the FBOs studied recruited only from within their own faith, at least for senior and management positions, and in some cases for lower level positions also. However, others recruit from other faiths for lower level positions and make use of volunteers from other faiths when working in communities where another religion is prominent. Congregational sources of funding are significant for most of the FBOs studied. However, several also rely significantly on international donor funding and, in one case, on income from its own business investments. In terms of daily organizational practices, the FBOs displayed symbols of their religion in the dress of their staff, in their facilities and on their vehicles. They (like at least one of the selected NGOs) also observe daily prayer rituals, quite strictly in some cases.

6.1.4 Perceived performance outcomes

Most respondents, including beneficiaries, perceived the performance of all the studied NGOs and FBOs very positively. This is perhaps unsurprising, because well-established organizations with good reputations were chosen for study, and also beneficiaries might have been constrained in expressing dissatisfaction in the presence of programme staff, as already noted in Section 1.

With reference to specific activities related to HIV/AIDS prevention and support for PLHAs, while some feel that the NGO approach advocating condom use is likely to be more effective, others prefer FBOs' focus on abstinence and behaviour and also prefer the way FBOs use moral and religious language, values and messages for HIV/AIDS education work. Most respondents also prefer what they perceive as the more holistic material and spiritual approach adopted by FBOs. However, what appears to matter most to external respondents is the perceived quality of service, which has to do with things

like the extent and duration of local presence, frequency of contact with intended beneficiaries and the nature of the service provided. On the whole, significant differences in the performance of the case study FBOs and NGOs were not identified by beneficiaries and external key informants.

Nevertheless, many beneficiary respondents feel that FBOs, in general, have several comparative advantages over NGOs in general, for example, a long term and ongoing presence in local areas, frequent and positive contacts with residents, higher levels of trust, greater financial independence and associated autonomy in setting their own more locally responsive development agendas, confirming assertions made in some of the existing literature discussed in Section 2. The apparent advantages of FBOs must not be over-simplified, exaggerated or generalized on the basis of the relatively limited number of case studies conducted for this research. For example, one of the studies suggests that both NGOs and FBOs have advantages with respect to activities related to HIV/AIDS: NGOs are considered to be more effective in prevention campaigns, while FBOs are considered to be more effective in the provision of care and support to PLHAs.

As explained above, this study did not find any significant perceived differences in performance outcomes between the selected FBOs and NGOs (although there is a preference for the more holistic approach often adopted by the FBOs). The study intended to look at perceived performance, focusing both on what different respondents see (and value) as good performance (and by what evidence they think it can be judged) and on their perceptions of the performance of the various organizations studied. Taking a standard development practice/organizational management perspective, what the evidence shows is that mostly organizations and their staff monitor progress with delivery and a few outputs (with occasional mention of an impact), with apparently very little evaluation of outputs and impacts (or understanding of what methodology might be needed to do this). What is not clear from this study is whether their attitudes can be attributed to lack of understanding of this model, that they are working in an amorphous area like HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention, or they have different ideas about criteria and methods for judging performance.

To the extent that the more general perceived comparative advantages of FBOs might make a difference to performance outcomes, any such difference can reasonably be attributed to those perceived comparative advantages. However, beneficiary perceptions of other factors that may

influence performance outcomes, such as levels of funding and organizational/staff capacity, varied between the Lagos and Kano State studies. For example, some respondents in one of the Kano State studies felt that NGOs in general benefit from larger (international) volumes of funding. One of the Kano State focus groups also perceived the FBO studied there to be short-staffed and in need of more money. However, some of the respondents in the Lagos State study believe that some FBOs benefit from larger and more reliable local (congregational) funding streams. In addition, one of the Kano State study researchers observed that NGO staff tend to have a higher level of formal education and training. However, these perceptions and observations do not allow any more general conclusions to be reached on this question.

6.1.5 Some comparisons between the findings of the three studies

Most of the findings outlined above were consistent across the three studies. There was, however, one significant difference between the findings of the two Kano State studies and a further difference between the findings of the Kano and Lagos State studies.

The first relates to the difficulties of working as a Christian FBO in Kano State, a mainly Muslim state (see Section 4). Neither Christian nor Muslim organizations considered themselves to be operating at a disadvantage in Lagos State, a much more religiously mixed state. This helps to explain why, as noted above, the Christian FBO studied in Kano State sought to tone down some of the overt ways in which its faith is manifest in both the organization and its work (see Section 6.1.2 above and Section 4 for details). The staff of the Muslim FBO studied in Kano State, in contrast, clearly felt quite comfortable about being open and explicit about its self-perceived status as an Islamic FBO and the perceived advantages it gave the organization (see Section 3 for details).

The second significant difference relates to the important role that traditional religious leaders have in Kano State, in politics and local government, but also in terms of their willingness to assist NGOs gain access to, and trust from, local communities, a role that Muslim FBOs may also play (see Section 4 for details). This helps to explain the existence of various collaborative arrangements between NGOs and FBOs in Kano State (see Section 3 for details), which were not found in the LGA studied in Lagos State. In religiously mixed Lagos State, Christian and Muslim religious leaders and FBOs do not appear to play equivalent roles. Nevertheless, some of the FBOs studied (in both states) appear to

prefer relationships with other FBOs, of their own faith and, in some cases, FBOs from other faiths. Adding to the complexity, some NGO respondents in Kano State felt that some FBOs are more restricted and/or self-restricting, in terms of who they can partner with, than NGOs.

6.2 Implications for policy and practice

The findings of this study may have implications for the policies and practices of several development stakeholders: different levels of government, international official and non-governmental donors, NGOs and FBOs operating in Nigeria, and religious bodies more generally. However, to identify them with any confidence, further discussions with these potential users of the research are needed. Some of the implications indicate what not to do, rather than what should be done.

As noted at the start of this report, NGOs and more recently FBOs became favoured development organizations, partners and recipients of funding from sources other than their own members relatively recently and much international donor funding is channelled to them, especially for tackling HIV and AIDS-related issues. It has also been suggested that FBOs have comparative advantages over secular organizations in some contexts. Perhaps the most important implication of the findings presented here is that donors and policy makers should avoid any standardized prescriptions and approaches in relation to FBOs. Chapter 2 has shown how a standardized preference for NGOs, based on their assumed comparative advantages over governments, has led to the emergence of many less than ideal and corrupted types of NGOs, as well as criticisms of them for their donor dependence and adoption of external 'western' or 'Christian' development agendas (especially in the Muslim-majority context of Kano State). Often, NGOs are not considered to be responsive, accountable and locally 'embedded' development actors, although there are exceptions. There is a risk that if it is assumed that FBOs have comparative advantages over either government agencies or secular NGOs, the perverse incentives arising from donor favouritism will have the same results. Although there is some evidence from this study to support the view that FBOs are both distinctive and have some comparative advantages (though the evidence for superior performance is ambivalent), the study also shows both how different each FBO and NGO studied is and how at least some of their characteristics are context specific. Donors and policy makers should, therefore, base decisions on whether and how to engage with FBOs on a case by case analysis of individual

organizations, including an understanding of the relevant historical and contemporary context in which each operates.

Both NGOs and FBOs have strengths (and weaknesses), although care must be taken not to attribute these to their 'secular' or 'religious' nature when they may be due, for example, to scale of operation, exposure to international ideas and ways of operating, or the capacity building that may accompany external donor funding. Development policy makers and donor agencies should explore how to harness the strengths of both FBOs and NGOs in specific contexts. For example, NGOs with international links to other development organizations may have greater expertise and technical capacity in certain programme areas. However, both the Kano State studies show that NGOs can be more effective in delivering services in areas where religiosity is high and religion sensitive by enlisting the support of partner FBOs, as well as religious and traditional leaders. Relationship between NGOs and FBOs can be cordial, and in certain contexts, development programmes can be more effective if FBOs and NGOs collaborate. This suggests that in such contexts, partnerships between NGOs and FBOs should be encouraged, rather than regarding them as alternative partners in development.

The findings from this provide some interesting insights into the similarities and differences in the motivations, mission, approaches and perceived performance of reputable, relatively large indigenous Muslim and Christian FBOs and NGOs operating in two different contexts in Nigeria. However, the number of case studies was limited, precluding comparisons between these types of organizations and either international FBOs and NGOs operating in Nigeria or smaller and less reputable organizations. In addition, broad generalizations about the influence of local religious, political, cultural and geographical contexts on the activities and performance of FBOs and NGOs cannot be made from the limited number of LGAs in which the research was conducted. The findings from this study need further testing in other states and localities and with larger samples of case study organizations. Not only did this research concentrate on organizations engaged in activities related to HIV/AIDS, but also some aspects of their operations were not examined in depth, for example gender relations. The sector in which organizations operate may influence their activities and approaches, so comparative research should examine organizations operating in other important development sectors. In terms of methodology, longer term and in-depth studies, using ethnographic and/or more participatory approaches, would be a useful complement to studies such as this one. An action-

oriented approach would also be useful in future studies, to provide an immediate and direct platform for the organizations themselves to act on the findings.

Finally, this study did not set out to assess outcomes and impacts, partly because it was interested in what different organizations and stakeholders value in terms of performance, partly because of the methodological difficulties and partly because of its limited resources. As suggested at the outset, FBOs claim a number of advantages, and it is likely that organizations with different characteristics do perform differently. However, further research would be needed to systematically evaluate and explain organizations' achievement of outputs, outcomes and impacts, to assess whether and when FBOs of different types are more successful than NGOs of different types.

Appendix 1

Interview guide questions

Research Question 1

What is the history and relationship between the organizations operating in the selected and evolving institutional contexts?

No	Questions	Source of Information	Method
1	What constitutes FBO and NGO in the context of the LGA?	Community Relations Officer in the LGA	KII
2	What sectors of development are they active?	Community Relations Officer in the LGA and relevant LGA report	KII and docur
3	How do you describe the spread of their activity in the LGA, in particular urban and rural areas of the LGA?	Community Relations Officer in the LGA and relevant LGA report	KII and docur
4	What is the relative importance and balance of FBOs and NGOs working in the LGA?	Community Relations Officer in the LGA and relevant LGA report	KII and docur
5	How are you going to judge if an organization is performing well?	Community Relations Officer in the LGA	KII
6	In what ways do the different FBOs and NGOs contribute to development in the LGA?	Community Relations Officer in the LGA and relevant LGA report	KII and docur
7	How has the nature of different FBO and NGO contributions to development changed over the last 20-30 years? Why?	Community Relations Officer in the LGA.	KII
8	What kind of relationship currently exists between	Community Relations Officer in the LGA	KII

No	Questions	Source of Information	Method
	Describe development indicators: health, education, employment, HIV/AIDS, maternal mortality	Community Relations Officer in the LGA	KII
	Describe environmental challenges in the LGA e.g desert encroachment, flood	Community Relations Officer in the LGA	KII
	Describe the relationships of all actors discussed between FBOs/NGOs/Government/Private and Public Sectors. Also, funding/collaboration/partnership working, etc. and What kind of projects are they engaged in? What are the factors influencing the relationships? Is it funding-driven, issue-driven, etc?	Interviews with local council officers, CBO representatives, representatives of large NGOs, Project reports, annual reports, Community Development Officers (CDOs).	KII and docu
	Which are the FBOs/NGOs working in this LGA?	Promotional leaflets from FBOs/NGOs, Strategic planning documents, CED departments, Government agencies	KII and docu
	What activities are they engaged in, in the area?	As above	KII and docu

Research Question 2

What differences and similarities exist in the development aims, values, activities, and organizational characteristics of the organizations?

No	Questions	Source of Information	Method
	Development aims		
1	What is the objective of your organization?	Staff members/document	Interview/ cont
2	What constitute development for your organization?	Staff members	
3	What is the mission of your organization	Staff members/document	Interview/ cont
4	Why did your organization decide to pursue the chosen objectives?	Staff members/document	Interview/ cont
5	What are your development goals?	Staff members/document	Interview/ cont
6	Who are the target beneficiaries of your development activities?	Staff members/document	Interview/ cont
	Values		
7	What motivated the founder to establish the organisation?	Staff members/document	Interview/ cont
8	What are the beliefs/ideals of the organisation?	Staff members/document	Interview/ cont
9	What are the core organizational values? (past	Staff members/document	Interview/ cont

No	Questions	Source of Information	Method
	Development aims		
19	How many projects or programmes does your organization currently have?	Programme Staff	Interview
	Do you have network with other organizations? If yes, describe	Programme Staff	Interview
	Do you have partnerships with other organizations for any of your programmes? If yes, describe	Programme Staff	Interview
	Do you have partnerships with government for any of your programmes? If yes, describe	Programme Staff	Interview
20	What is your organizational legal status?	HR Staff /document	Interview/ cont
21	How is the staff recruited? (prompt whether on the basis of religion)?	HR Staff /document	Interview/ cont
22	Describe the communication pattern in your organisation?	HR Staff /document	Interview/ cont
23	How do you manage funds in	Finance Staff/document	Interview/cont

Research Question 3

What is the nature of faith manifestation in the selected FBOs?

No	Questions	Source of Information	Method
1	How does the organization describe what it stands for? (note not just mission statement)	Staff members/documents	KII and docum
2	What is the religion of the founder (s)? and in what ways does faith affect the founding of the organization?	Founder or representative/document	KII and docum
3	What is the religion of the organization's management leaders and what role does faith play in their recruitment and promotion?	Member of Senior management/ document	KII/document ε
4	What is the religion of the organization's staff and volunteers and what role does faith play in their recruitment and promotion?	Staff member	KII
5	What role does religion play in the source of funds and their utilization in the organization?	Programme officer/document	KII/document ε
6	What aspect of religious practices are staff members	Programme officer	KII and Observ

Research Question 4

Do FBOs approach development any differently from their secular counterparts?

No	Questions	Source of Information	Method
1	Describe how muslim FBOs generally undertake their development project in the community?	Community beneficiaries, LG staff, document	Interview
2	Describe how Christian FBOs generally undertake their development project in the community?	Community beneficiaries, LG staff, document	Interview
	Describe how secular NGOs generally undertake their development project in the community?	Community beneficiaries, LG staff, document	Interview
3	From your perception, what are the differences in the FBO and NGO approach to development work?	Community beneficiaries, LG staff, document	Interview

Research Question 5

What are performance outcomes of the selected FBOs and NGOs?

No	Questions	Source of Information	Method
1	How will you define performance for FBOs/NGOs?	Community beneficiaries, FBO/NGO staff	FGDs, Interview
2	Describe what you consider to be specific indicators of performance for FBOs/NGOs?	Community beneficiaries, FBO/NGO staff	FGDs, Interview
3	How will you describe the performance of this organization?	Community beneficiaries, FBO/NGO staff	FGDs, Interview
4	Describe ways through which this organization assists development in this community? Is this different from other FBOs and NGOs working in similar sector in this community?	Community beneficiaries, FBO/NGO staff	FGDs, Interview
5	How can you describe the outcome of the service that this organization perform for the beneficiaries?	Community beneficiaries, FBO/NGO staff	FGDs, Interview
6	How will you describe the quality of service that this	Community beneficiaries, FBO/NGO staff	FGDs, Interview

Research Question 6

If FBOs differ from secular NGOs in their performance outcomes, what mechanisms generate the differences?

No	Questions	Source of Information	Method
1	Is there a difference in the performance outcome of this FBO when compared to other NGOs in this community working in this same sector? (if yes, describe the difference)	Community beneficiaries, FBO/NGO staff	FGDs, Interview
2	If yes, describe the possible reasons why the FBOs perform differently from the NGOs	Community beneficiaries, FBO/NGO staff	FGDs, Interview

Appendix 2

List of interviews and focus group discussions

Section 3 *Al Noury Hospital and CSADI*

A *CSADI interviewees*

Hajiya Zainab Suleiman, Executive Director, CSADI, Kano
 Mr. Tijani Mohammed Lawan, Finance/Admin Officer, CSADI, Kano
 Adam Usman, Coordinator, OVC programme, CSADI
 Abdulahi Mohammed, M & E Officer, CSADI, Kano
 Aminu Tijani, Project Officer, CSADI
 Yaqub Yahya, Vice-President, MUNAFATA, CSADI Support Group
 Nura Musa Suleiman, Youth Coordinator, CSADI
 Abdulahi Umar, Board member of CSADI
 Sadiq Musa, Member Youth Friendly Centre, CSADI, Kano
 Mrs Muttiat Oyagbile, Counselor, CSADI, Kano
 Adama Aliyu, Counselor, CSADI, Kano
 Mrs. Blessing Ago, CSADI Beneficiary, Kano

B *Al Noury Hospital interviewees*

Mallam (Mr) Muazu Shuaibu, Secretary, Islamic Foundation of Nigeria, Kano.
 Hajiya Bilkisu, Matron, Al-Noury Specialist Hospital, Kano.
 Reyya Abba, Adherence Officer, Al Noury Hospital, Kano
 Sanuna Mohammed Adah, Member, Haske Support Group

C *Local Government Council interviewee*

Mr. Abubakar Lawan, IDI Officer, Tarauni LGA, Kano

D *Other interviewees*

Alhaji Bala Muhammad, Director, Kano State Agency for Social Reorientation
 Dr. A. Shehu, Coordinator, SACA, Kano State
 Mallam Ibrahim Muazzam, Bayero University, Kano
 Prof. Haruna Wakili, Centre for Democratic Research and Training, Mambayya House, Kano

E *Focus group discussions*

Other members of the Haske Noury Hospital Support Group
 Twelve members of the CSADI Munafata support group
 Four members of the CSADI Youth Friendship Centre (who did not consent to be named)

Section 4 SWAAN and POD-ECWA

A SWAAN

Hajia Z. Suleiman, Chairperson
Mallam K. Dahiru Muhammad, Project Manager
Mallama (Miss/Mrs) Florence Onazi, Assistant Programme Officer
Mallam A. Adamu, Monitoring and Evaluation Officer
Mallam D. Umar Sanda, Accountant
Mallama E. Ajayi, Lab Technician
Mallam A. Abdullahi Ya'u, Counselor
Mallam Y. Ado Ya'u, Support Staff

B POD-ECWA

Mr J. Dasai, Programme Officer
Mallam S. Barau, Programme Facilitator
Mallam S. Dauda, Project Manager
Mallam M. Rabo, Project Officer
Mallama H. Saidu, Community Development Officer
Mallam I. Dan-Mallam, Support Staff
Mallam E. Musa, Support Staff
Mallama H. Husaina, Support Staff

C Nassarawa Local Government Council

Alhaji N. Ahmad, Director of Personnel Management
Hahia U. Bala Umar, Co-ordinator, Primary Health Care (PHC)
Alhaji A. Abdullahi, Deputy Coordinator, PHC.
Alhaji K. Ado Kadani, Assistant Coordinator, Health Education
Mallam S. Sayi, Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Officer
Alhaji H. Bala, Community Development Officer, Local Government Action Commission on Aids
Alhaji K. Garba, Deputy District Head

D Tudun Wada Local Government Council

Dr A. Musa Hamza, Chairman
Alhaji S. Kadani, Coordinator, Primary Health Care (PHC) Alhaji K. Shehu, Deputy Coordinator PHC
Mallam B. Ashiru, Ward Focal Person
Mallam M. Galadima, Social Mobilisation
Mallam M. Datti, Liaison Officer
Mallam J. Abdullahi, Community Development Officer
Hajia H. Abdullahi Dan-Asabe, President, Traditional Birth Attendants Association of Kano State and Fulfude Development Association of Nigeria (FULDAN)
Mallam W. Isa, Secretary, Traditional Barbers Association
Mallam S. Zakaria Isa Burji, Public Health Nursing Officer, Tudun Wada General Hospital
Alhaji A. M. Dankadi, Hakimin Tudun Wada (Traditional Religious Chief)

E ***Focus group discussions***

Focus Group Discussion (Adult participants) held in Gama Ward, Nassarawa LGA

Mallam Salisu Umar
 Mallam Kabir D. Mohamed
 Mallam Nasiru Muhammadu
 Mallam Salisu Miko
 Mallam Adamu M. Dabo
 Mallam Yahaya U. Ado
 Mallam Adamu Rabiu
 Mallam Adamu Abdulhamid
 Mallam Usman M. Fari
 Mallama Halima Abjullahi
 Mallama Habiba Muhammad
 Mallama Nana Asullah
 Alhaji Ishaku, Village Head of Gama ward

Focus Group Discussion (Youth participants) held in the Tudun Wada Ward of Nassarawa LGA

Mallama Maryam Aminu
 Mallama Sainab Aliyu
 Mallam Ishyaku Adamu
 Mallam Shehu Abdu
 Mallam Mushahu Aminu

Focus Group Discussion (POD-ECWA beneficiaries) held in the village of Katsinawa,

Tudun Wada LGA

Mallam Solomon Dauda
 Mallam Dan Mallam
 Mallam Mati Rabo
 Mallama Habiba Saidu
 Mallam Ezekiel Masa
 Mallama Tabitha Yusuf
 Mallama Hannatu Matiu
 Mallama Laratu Sama'ila
 Mallam David Sani
 Mallam Mohammed Sani
 Reverend Habila Galadima
 Mallam Sule Sani
 Reverend Waziri Nabaji
 Mallama Hanna Hussein
 Mallam Yahaya Hussein
 Mallam Asema Simon
 Mallam Ibrahim Auta

Section 5 HUFFPED, RAPAC, NASFAT and the Methodist Church

A FBO/NGO staff

Director of Programmes, RAPAC
Programme Officer (RAPAC)
Mrs. Kemi Adeyeye – Director (HUFFPED)
Programme Officer (HUFFPED)
Pastor John Ade
Mr. Azeez Oyewole (NASFAT, General Secretary)
Mr. Fatai Durojaiye (NASFAT, Admin Secretary)
Mr. Mikaheed Agbaje (NASFAT National officer)
Very Rev. M.O. Ogunsiyi (Methodist Church, Leader)
Rev. Gbadeola Oladeyi (Methodist Church, Leader)
Mr. Ayo Ogundele (Church leader)

B Ikorodu LGA officials

Community Officer (Ikorodu LGA)
Medical Officer of Health (Ikorodu LGA)
Local Government Action Committee on AIDS Officer
Field Superintending Officer

C Beneficiaries met individually

Mrs. Ayeni – Coordinator, People Living with HIV/AIDS
Two female and one male person living with HIV
One female and one male youth
One NASFAT widow group member

D Non-beneficiaries met individually

Mrs. Sylvester Odigie
Alhaja Motunrayo Adaranijo
One male and one female community leader
Mr. Odugade-male market leader
NASFAT youth leader
MCN youth leader

E ***Focus Group Discussion with beneficiaries***

Mrs Idowu
Mrs Fatunbi Lawal
Mrs Seye Kemi Akinwande
Miss Odebo Adetanwa
Mr. Adeyinka Olukoya
Mrs Modupe Salami
Mr. Kehinde Oluwadare
Mr. Francis Ojo
Mr. Kolawole Martins
Mr. Remi Fadoju
Mr. Pius Kolawole
Mr. Olu Dada
Mr. James Ogundare
M/s Helen Okwor
Ayo Samson
Bode Kassim
Supo Daodu
Mr Adeboye Emeriola
M/s Sola Okunola
M/s Wasilat Okikiolu
M/s Tolani Daodu
Bola Ashafa
M/s Banke Ogugade
Mr Ebenezer Jadeola
Mr Bayo Ogun
Yoloye Otegbye
John Egakide
Bolatito Samson
Timehin Ogunrotifa
Banke Fasesin
Mrs Olugbayo
Tunde Sosan
Dada Ologun
Eljjah Oluwo
Banwo Babarinde
M/s Sogo Otolorin
Mr Bayo Shobanjo
Bade Okesesein

Notes

¹ <http://www.rbm.who.int/keyfacts.html>

² This is the impression the researcher got during a related preparatory study in Kano State.

³ This trend is changing considerably. During consultations with NGOs for a related study, Ukiwo found that most NGOs in Kano are managed and run by 'sons and daughters of the soil'.

⁴ Both Christians and Muslims believe that they should witness to their religion through their lives, including providing service to others. In addition, because both believe that theirs is the true religion, many actively seek to convert others. Both attempts to convert others and the terms used are sensitive and contested. Christians generally use the term evangelism (or mission) to refer to the relaying of information about their beliefs to those who do not hold those beliefs. Proselytizing also refers to attempts to convert people to another religion (or another Christian denomination). Unlike evangelism, it has connotations of coercion, the use of material or other inducements, and denigration of the beliefs of others. Muslims are enjoined to engage in *da'wah*, implying both encouraging other Muslims to pursue greater piety in all aspects of their lives and preaching Islam verbally or by example in order to produce converts.

⁵ <http://www.drpc-ng.org/hiv aids.htm>

⁶ Organizations profiled during the preparatory study included Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO), Federated Muslim Women's Organization of Nigeria (FOMWAN), Youth Society for the Prevention of Infectious Diseases and Social Vices (YOSPIS), Centre for Human Rights in Islam, Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITAD), Adolescent Health and Information Projects (AHIP) and Youth Empowerment and Human Development Initiative (YEHD).

⁷ Population figures are based on the 2006 census. Other sources put the population at 81,200 and 200,000. See Aminu M. Salihu, *The Role of In-service Training and Seminars in Local Government Administration: The Case of Tarauni LGA in Kano State*, Unpublished Bachelor's dissertation, Bayero University, Kano.

⁸ A local council official, while acknowledging he had no knowledge of health issues, claimed that the prevalence rate is very low. However, as he also claimed that maternal and infant mortality rates are low, it suggests that this was a public relations response.

⁹ Interview. IDI Community Officer, Tarauni LGA.

¹⁰ *Dawah* or *da'wah* (call) "God's way of bringing believers to faith and the means by which prophets call individuals and communities back to God." The term has several interpretations. Historically it was associated with missionary activity, as well as the Islamicization of laws, societies and states. In the 20th century it also became the foundation for social, economic, political, and cultural activities. It is considered the responsibility of a Muslim state, organization or individual <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e511> accessed 10th Nov. 2010.

¹¹ Interview, Malam Muazu Shuaibu, Secretary, Islamic Foundation of Nigeria, Kano.

¹² Interview. Hajiya Bilkisu, Matron, Al-Noury Specialist Hospital.

¹³ Alms giving, which is one of the pillars of Islam, mandatory for Sunnis, requiring Muslims to give 2.5 per cent of their wealth annually.

¹⁴ Interview Hajiya Bilkisu, Matron

¹⁵ Interview. Hajiya Bilkisu. Matron.

¹⁶ Interview. Malam Shuaibu.

¹⁷ In its drive to encourage PLWHA, Al-Noury Specialist Hospital has provided office space for different organizations of PLWHA in its complex.

¹⁸ Interview. Hajiya Bilkisu, Matron. FGD with members of Haske Support Group.

¹⁹ Interview. Hajiya Bilkisu, Matron; FGD, Haske Support Group.

²⁰ Interview. Ibid. FGD, Haske Support Group.

²¹ Interview.

²² Profile of CSADI.

- 23 Interview. Hajiya Zainab Suleiman.
- 24 Interview, Hajiya Zainab Suleiman.
- 25 Interview, Hajiya Zainab Suleiman.
- 26 Interview, Hajiya Zainab.
- 27 Interview, Hajiya Zainab.
- 28 Interviews. Hajiya Zainab and Aminu Tijani, Project Officer.
- 29 See CSADI project reports 2005-2009.
- 30 Interview, Tijani Muhammed Lawan, Finance and Administration Manager.
- 31 Interview. Hajiya Zainab
- 32 Civil society led programmes on HIV/AIDS were supported by donors. For instance, until the middle of 1999, most of the US government support for HIV/AIDS prevention was channeled through civil society groups (USAID, 2002).
- 33 Kano, Anambra, Lagos and Nassarawa were selected as focal states because of the relatively high HIV/AIDS prevalence rate in these states and perceptions that they were high risk settings (Emah et al, 2000, p.7).
- 34 Interview. Dr. Shehu, Kano.
- 35 Participant, Focus Group Discussion with Haske (Light) Support Group, Al-Noury Hospital.
- 36 Interview, Hajiya Bayero.
- 37 Interview, Hajiya Bayero.
- 38 Focus Group Discussion, Munafata (Hope) Support Group.
- 39 Interview, Hajiya Bayero, Muslim Sisters Organization.
- 40 Interview with Alhaji Bala Muhammad.
- 41 Bishop Foster Ekeleme is Bishop of Methodist Church and chairman of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) in Kano. It seems that the management of the organization wished to highlight the non-religious (or multi-religious) identity of CSADI by appointing a prominent member of the Christian clergy to its Board.
- 42 Interview, Dr. Asmau.
- 43 Interview Hajiya Bilkisu, Matron.
- 44 Interview, State Director of SACA.
- 45 Interview. Secretary, Islamic Foundation of Nigeria.
- 46 Interview. Matron. The matron said that little or no funding is sourced from zakat to run the HIV/AIDS programme.
- 47 For more information on the history of Nigeria, see Odumosu et al (2009).
- 48 Interview, J. Desai, POD-ECWA, 2009.
- 49 Interviews and focus group discussions, 2009.
- 50 Interview with Mr Obi, ECWA Headquarters Jos, (June 2009).
- 51 Interviewees, 2009.
- 52 This description of Nassarawa draws on Nassarawa Local Government, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, n.d. and interviews.
- 53 Interviews, November, 2009.
- 54 Interview, Hajia U. Bala Umar, November 2009. The large amounts of revenue are generated through taxes imposed by the local government on the variety of business activities managed by the multi-ethnic groups operating in the area.
- 55 This section draws on Tudun Wada Local Government 2009, n.d.a, and n.d.b, and interviews.
- 56 Interview, 2009.
- 57 Interview, 2009.
- 58 Interview: Mallam B. Ashiru, Ward Focal Person, Tudun Wada LGA, November 2009.
- 59 Interviews: B. Ashiru, M. Galadima, November 2009.

- ⁶⁰ Interview: Suleiman, 2009.
- ⁶¹ Interview, H. Suleiman, 2009.
- ⁶² Quick and easy divorce is prevalent in Hausa-Muslim society and culture. Interview: Z. Auwalu, 2009.
- ⁶³ Purdah signifies the segregation of married Muslim women in secure compounds. Women in purdah are generally not permitted to go out without a male escort, and must wear a hijab or a veil to cover their faces.
- ⁶⁴ Interview, H. Suleiman, 2009.
- ⁶⁵ Interview: Abdullahi Ya'u, 2009.
- ⁶⁶ Interview: H. Suleiman, 2009.
- ⁶⁷ Traditional barbers are found in nearly all parts of northern Nigeria, including villages and towns, especially among the Hausas. Their roles include the shaving and cutting of hair and beards. They also carry out male and female genital circumcision. They are often found in markets on set market days, but can also be seen hawking their services around towns and villages. They use crudely made knives and other implements to carry out their work, unwittingly spreading HIV, which is why they were targeted for basic hygiene training and education by SWAAN.
- ⁶⁸ Interviews: M. Suleiman, 2009.
- ⁶⁹ Interview: F. Onazi, 2009.
- ⁷⁰ Interview: K. Dahiru, Project Manager, 2009.
- ⁷¹ Interview: A. Adamu, 2009.
- ⁷² Interviews: H. Suleiman, Chairperson, 2009.
- ⁷³ See, for example, SWAAN (2007).
- ⁷⁴ The amount of money received from National SWAAN was not revealed at the interview.
- ⁷⁵ **www.ECWAng.org**
- ⁷⁶ J. Kasai, Programme Officer, 2009.
- ⁷⁷ Interview: Project Coordinator, 2009.
- ⁷⁸ POD-ECWA, 2007; Interview: J. Kasai, 2009.
- ⁷⁹ Interview: J. Kasai, November 2009,
- ⁸⁰ These committees are established by POD-ECWA with members of village communities, to initiate project ideas.
- ⁸¹ Interview: Project Coordinator, 2009.
- ⁸² Interview: Project Facilitator, Mallam Barau
- ⁸³ Interview: S. Barau, November, 2009.
- ⁸⁴ Interview: S. Barau, November, 2009.
- ⁸⁵ Interview: S. Barau, Project Coordinator, 2009.
- ⁸⁶ Observation and interactions with staff, 2009.
- ⁸⁷ Interviews with informants, site visits and observation, November 2009.
- ⁸⁸ Interview: J. Desai, Programme Officer, POD-ECWA, June 2009.
- ⁸⁹ Interview: Project Coordinator, 2009.
- ⁹⁰ Interviews, site visits and observation, November 2009.
- ⁹¹ The POD-ECWA focus discussion group was comprised of both men and women from the village of Katsinawa, near Tudun Wada, (November 2009).
- ⁹² SWAAN FGDs, November, 2009.
- ⁹³ A. Adamu, SWAAN, 2009.
- ⁹⁴ FGDs, November, 2009.
- ⁹⁵ Although POD works with both Christians and Muslims, the villages where POD operates are populated mainly by Christians.

- ⁹⁶ The research found from the FGDs that the secular NGOs are reluctant to help POD-ECWA beneficiaries because they are Christian (2009).
- ⁹⁷ The FGDs confirmed that the organizations selected for the study are well known, successful and grassroots-oriented (FGDs, 2009).
- ⁹⁸ This theme is analyzed in the next section.
- ⁹⁹ 'FBOs' here means mosques, churches and NGO-like organizations affiliated with them (Interview with SWAAN Community Worker, November 2009).
- ¹⁰⁰ <http://www.ahmadiyyang.org/amjn-early-period.php>
- ¹⁰¹ MMS history Project: Gazetteers of Methodists Mission-West Africa, <http://www2.div.ed.ac.uk/other/mms/GazWestAfrica.htm>

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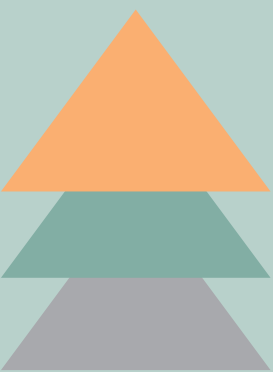
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