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Abstract

The failure of development as expressed in the high level of poverty in African states and the consequent emphasis of bilateral and multilateral aid agencies on participatory development and decentralization has brought to the fore the role of Non-governmental organization, of which Faith-based organizations (FBOs) are among the most useful, in the development process in Africa. Not much is known about FBOs and their development activities. This paper explores the various forms and dimensions of FBO engagement with development in Nigeria and their interaction with other development aid actors in Nigeria. Most importantly, it examines their interaction with donors and the Nigerian state. It concludes that FBOs are important but silent actors in development whose success is closely tied to their religious nature and whose activities can be further enhanced if the constraints arising out of their religious nature can be reconciled with the logic of the state.

Keywords

development, Faith-based organization, Nigeria, NGO, state

Introduction

Since independence, the state in Africa has had to meet the demands of its citizens in conditions of particularly low capacities and severe obstacles. The mismatch between state capacity and the increasingly new and wide demands of its citizens, as reflected in the high level of poverty in African states, has promoted the advocacy by bilateral and multilateral aid donors of decentralization incorporating participatory development involving non-state actors such as Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and Faith-based organizations (FBOs) as alternatives to the state as models for ensuring development in Africa.

Though widely present and acknowledged as important actors and providers of essential development services (education, health and conflict resolution) in Africa¹, FBOs and their activities are treated with a lot of caution both by the state they are supposed to be assisting and external aid agencies.

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Such caution is linked in the main to the secular orientation of the modern state expressed in a strict separation of state and faith with donors withholding funds due to fears of funding denominations or sectarian organizations in violation of their national constitutions/laws.

More important is the fear, of most states in Africa, of the immense capacity of religion to mobilize and constitute by and in itself an independent and legitimate arena of political action possibly in opposition to the state. The result has been a paucity of detailed analysis, outside the fields of health services (HIV/AIDS), of the developmental activities of faith-based organizations, especially policy-oriented studies.

Such is contrary to the situation in countries such as the United States of America and Great Britain where there is a growing recognition of the activities of FBOs and their contributions to development in the form of the 1996 'Charitable Choice' legislation², the Executive Orders of Presidents George Bush of 29 January 2001³ and Barack Obama of 5th February 2009⁴.

The various legislations and executive orders have expanded the access of FBOs to state funding and recognized their indispensability in meeting the needs of poor Americans and distressed neighbourhoods as section 1 of the Executive Order 13199 of 5 February 2009 clearly shows:

Faith-based and other neighborhood organizations are vital to our Nation's ability to address the needs of low-income and other underserved persons and communities. The American people are key drivers of fundamental change in our country, and few institutions are closer to the people than our faith-based and other neighborhood organizations. It is critical that the Federal Government strengthen the ability of such organizations and other nonprofit providers in our neighborhoods to deliver services effectively in partnership with Federal, State, and local governments and with other private organizations, while preserving our fundamental constitutional commitments guaranteeing the equal protection of the laws and the free exercise of religion and forbidding the establishment of religion. The Federal Government can preserve these fundamental commitments while empowering faith-based and neighborhood organizations to deliver vital services in our communities, from providing mentors and tutors to school children to giving ex-offenders a second chance at work and a responsible life to ensuring that families are fed.⁵

Such recognition is backed up by copious and rigorous research evaluating the activities of FBOs in welfare delivery and urban regeneration.⁶

FBOs play a key role in day-to-day poverty alleviation in developing countries. For example, FBOs provide 40–50% of healthcare in developing countries.⁷ Also, one in five organizations working on HIV programmes in Africa are faith-based (World Health, 2004).⁸ Specifically, in Nigeria, the Christian Health Association of Nigeria (CHAN), which operates throughout Nigeria through its 400 members/institutions, provides about 40% of health care in Nigeria, especially in rural areas.⁹ It is therefore of great importance that a detailed examination of the faith-development discourse and its practice in Africa is undertaken using Nigeria as a case study, and that its implications for development are assessed. This paper is a step in such a direction.

The paper is in two sections. Section one undertakes a detailed examination of the nature, features and the role faith plays in the development practice of FBOs in general, and of FBOs in Nigeria in particular. Section two examines the prospects and constraints on faith-based development work in Nigeria and proffers solutions on how to integrate FBOs into development policy and practice in Africa using the Nigerian example.

Methodology

The methodological approach followed is qualitative. This paper emerges from a policy engagement¹⁰ experience with FBOs and development in Nigeria, and an on-going project on FBO

accountability and International Development. It also draws upon fieldwork/participant observation (most especially) of activities and services provided by the Adventist Church, Nigeria,¹¹ and informal contacts with its staff and members. The paper also relies on an analysis of secondary sources on FBOs generated by research centres and programmes such as the Religion and Development programme (University of Birmingham),¹² the ESRC Non-governmental Public Action Programme (University of Birmingham),¹³ and the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs (Georgetown University).¹⁴ It is worth noting that due to their prominence and diversity, the examples and experiences relied upon in the paper are mainly those of Muslim and Christian FBOs in Nigeria, while the FBOs affiliated to other faiths are underrepresented.

Why FBOs?

Faith-based organizations are not new in the development game. FBOs have been important actors in the social, economic and political life of developing countries since the colonial period when they 'partnered the colonial state in providing vocational training centers, hospitals, health clinics in the colonies'.¹⁵ They became more or less invisible in the development field with the end of the Second World War, the rise of the nation-state and state-led development paradigms in Africa and Asia. In recent times, there has been an acknowledgment by development-practitioners and policy-makers that understanding the logic, strategies and dynamics of civil society anywhere in the Third World requires the incorporation of the transcendental into development policy and practice, leading to a reassessment of the role of faith in development and a move from 'estrangement to engagement'.¹⁶

According to Katherine Marshal, the World Bank now recognizes that: we cannot fight poverty without tending to people's spiritual dimension and its many manifestations in religious institutions, leaders and movements.¹⁷ Similarly, Governments commitments at UN conferences to a) 'spiritual development' (UN Conference on Environment and Development 1992); b) initiatives that require a spiritual vision' (Habitat Agenda 1996); c) 'addressing spiritual needs' (Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development 1995); and d) recognizing that 'religion, spirituality and belief play a central role in the lives of millions of women and men' (Platform for Action 1995) has led to a reassessment of the role of faith in development and a move from 'estrangement to engagement'.¹⁸

Within the changed context of donor approach to faith, FBOs are seen, even more so than secular NGOs, to possess a greater level of independence, flexibility, and creativity that give them the potential to 'add value' to development in a number of ways: provide efficient development services; reach the poorest at the grassroots; have a long-term, sustainable presence; be legitimate and valued by the poorest; provide an alternative to a secular theory of development; and elicit motivated and voluntary service and encourage civil society advocacy.¹⁹

What are FBOs?

A faith-based organization is 'any organization that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within the faith'.²⁰ At a minimum, FBOs must be connected with an organized faith community either in the form of a particular faith ideology, drawing of staff, volunteers or leadership from a particular faith denomination.²¹ Other qualities that qualify an organization as 'faith-based' are religiously-oriented mission statements, the receipt of substantial support from a religious organization or the initiation by a religious institution.²² What is crucial to note is that the FBOs are influenced in their development work by the philosophies of their sponsoring religious organizations.

FBOs can be classified on a number of criteria. The first is on the basis of objective' or 'function'. Clarke²³ has developed a five-fold typology of FBOs on the basis of function and/or objectives:

- 1 *Faith-based Representative Organizations or Apex Bodies*: govern the faithful and represent them through engagement with the state.
- 2 *Faith-based Charitable or Development Organizations* which mobilize the faithful in support of development initiatives and fund and manage poverty alleviation programmes. They are mostly subsidiaries or associated with faith-based representative organizations. They are the most visible form of FBOs in developing countries.
- 3 *Faith-based socio-political organizations* which interpret and deploy faith as a political construct, organizing and mobilizing social groups on the basis of faith identities but in pursuit of broader political objectives, or, alternatively, promote faith as a socio-cultural construct, as a means of uniting disparate social groups on the basis of faith-based cultural identities.
- 4 *Faith-based missionary organizations* which spread key faith messages beyond the faithful, by actively promoting the faith and seeking converts to it, or by supporting and engaging with other faith communities on the basis of key faith principles.
- 5 *Faith-based radical, illegal or terrorist organizations* which promote radical or militant forms of faith identity engage in illegal practices on the basis of faith beliefs or engage in armed struggle or violent acts justified on the grounds of faith.

FBOs are also classified according to their implicit or explicit connections to faith. FBOs are seen to vary in the level of faith or religion that is incorporated into their mission, programmes or identity. Attempts to classify organizations according to the criteria of faith influence in activity of FBOs have highlighted four factors: the *environmental* (include the physical characteristics of the facilities in which FBO services are provided), *administrative* (the mission, management and staffing practices of the organization), *funding* (concerns the distribution of financial resources across secular and religious sources) and *programmatic elements* (which specific religious components of FBO activities/services and the extent to which these components are mandatory or voluntary in nature) associated with FBOs.²⁴ FBOs exhibiting high-level of religious involvement in their activities can be referred to as 'faith-saturated', while FBOs exhibiting low-level of religious involvement in their activities are referred to as 'faith-secular partnership'.²⁵

FBOs can differ on the basis of organizational size and geographic area of service. In terms of size of the organization and the size of the geographical area for which they provide services, two typologies exist. The first is the *Cnaan typology*²⁶, made up of *local congregations*, *interfaith agencies* and *ecumenical coalitions*, *citywide or region-wide sectarian agencies*, *national projects and organizations under religious auspices*, *para-denominational advocacy and relief organizations* and *religiously affiliated international organizations*.

The second is that of McCarty and Castelli²⁷ which combines geographical coverage and denominational independence to produce a three-fold typology of:

- a) *Congregations*: locale specific community organized around religious worship;
- b) *National Networks*: the social service components of major denominations; and
- c) *Free-standing religious organizations*: service organizations that are separate from any congregation or religious denomination. They have broad geographical scope ranging from neighbourhood-based emergency food and welfare agencies to large national organizations.²⁸

Faith and Development in Nigeria

Nigeria, with an estimated population size of 130 million, is Africa's most populous nation. Its population is composed of at least 250 ethnic nationalities which are organized into a federation of 36 states and a federal capital, Abuja. Nigeria's major revenue earner is Petroleum which generated 20% of GDP, 95% of foreign exchange earnings, and about 65% of budgetary revenues. Nigeria presents a disappointing development profile. It has a relatively low human development index: 148 out of 173 countries. Life expectancy at birth is 51.7 years; adult literacy rate is 63.9% with a combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio of 45%. GDP per capita is US\$896 (at purchasing power parity).²⁹ In addition, 70.2% of the population is below the income poverty line of US\$1.

Fortunately, there are actors other than the state interested in providing efficient delivery of public services in Nigeria. They are the Non-state service providers, or the NSPs.³⁰ Non-state providers of services include all providers existing outside the public sector, profit or non-profit. NSPs may be communities, non-governmental organizations, faith-based organizations, private companies, small-scale informal providers and individual practitioners. Prominent amongst NSPs in Nigeria are the FBOs. The prominence of FBOs in the development landscape is linked to a) the size of adherents commanded by the principal faiths Islam (50%), Christianity (almost 50%) and Traditional Religion (1%); b) the key role religion plays, most especially in the political sphere, where for a long time in the history of the post-colonial state it was the only means available to the citizens of Nigeria to participate in the public affairs of their country, and c) the sheer size, scope, variety and penetration of religious development organizations in the country.

Faith-based Organizations (FBOs) in Nigeria: Features

The FBO landscape is a very complicated one as the organizational forms identified in the typologies are closely integrated thus making it difficult to identify organizations performing or focusing on specific objectives. For example, in Nigeria where religion is closely associated with ethnic identity and acts as a marker of access or lack of access to state resources in a context of repressive state-society relations, FBOs can take up strongly political identities³¹ and pursue political goals objectives through a mixture of development, missionary and radical organisations.³² What can be said of FBOs in Nigeria is that they can be found to be engaged in one or more of the following development activities:

- a) Provision of basic need services: emergency food, clothing, shelter, or financial aid;
- b) Family support services: after-school programmes, childcare, domestic abuse programmes, day-care for older adults, counselling, or programs for prisoners;
- c) Educational services: pre-schools, schools, training colleges, universities;
- d) Health services: clinics, hospitals;
- e) Advocacy and Community organizing: living wage campaigns or welfare rights advocacy; and
- f) Community development: employment training, business recruitment, housing development.³³

In providing development-oriented services, FBOs vary in:

- **Size** from huge organizations such as FOMWAN (Federation of Muslim Women Associations, a national coalition of 500 Muslim women associations spread across the country) and JDPC/CARITA (The Justice Development and Peace Commission of the Catholic Church based in the 49 diocese of the Catholic Church in Nigeria) and the Christian Health Association (400 Member institutions and 4,000 health outlets), to middle-sized ones such

as the Nasral-Lahi-Fathi Society of Nigeria (NASFAT) and congregation-sized FBOs such as Pro Labore Dei and Daughters of Divinity Charity.³⁴

- **Geographical scope of service delivery** with FBOs like FOMWAN and JDPC and CHAN having a service delivery scope that is national in nature with services been provided in all states of the federation to organizations while others such as such as Glory Skills Acquisition Programme GSAP based on a local congregation the Glory Tabernacle Church, Ibadan provide a neighbourhood or at most city-wide service delivery scope.
- **Services offered:** Single congregation-based organizations such as GSAP offer just one type of service, 'Training for Skills Acquisition', due to its restricted size and funding, whereas FONWAN and JDPC, which are national in nature, offer a very rich bouquet of services in areas such as Agriculture, Education, Trade Development/Handicraft and Health. For example, FOMWAN is able to give multiple services because its various members offer different services simultaneously in all locations, whereas JDPC, because it is linked to a church with a national spread, is able to access funds and skills essential to development actions in many fields simultaneously in all its locations nationally.³⁵
- **Faith commitment:** the services provided by FBOs in Nigeria range from 'faith-saturated' to 'faith-secular' in content. For example, in terms of faith commitment, JDPC can be classed as a 'faith-secular' partnership in orientation because of its low use of religious symbols in its name, and mission statement, low religious bias in the choice of personnel and the non-mandatory use of spiritual technologies in its programmes,³⁶ whereas GSAP and FOMWAN can be classed as 'faith-saturated' because of the high use of religious symbols in their names and mission statement, high religious bias in the choice of personnel (personnel come mainly from adherents of faith) and the mandatory use of spiritual technologies in its programmes.

From the above features of FBOs in Nigeria, the faith-development architecture in Nigeria can be visualized as a four layered structure (see Figure 1) with:

- **Apex organizations:** Christian Association of Nigeria and Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs at the top. The apex organizations are composed of the national bodies of the various denominations which control in their own individual capacities National networks which are the social service components of major denominations. Such denominational development networks operate at regional, state, local, district and ward levels all over Nigeria and are very powerful. Examples include JDPC (Catholic), People Oriented Development (ECWA).
- Below them are **interfaith agencies and ecumenical coalitions** such as the *Inter-faith Coalition on HIV/AIDS Council of Nigeria*, national projects and organizations under religious auspices such as Christian Health Association of Nigeria (CHAN), JDPC (Catholic Church) and People Oriented Development (Evangelical Churches of West Africa) along with free-standing religious organizations such as FOMWAN and the Catholic Women Organization which have national spread.
- At the third level are the **citywide or region-wide sectarian agencies** such as the Ahmadiyya Movement, the Vine Branch, *Nasral-Lahi-Fathi* Society of Nigeria (NASFAT), Almiraj, Marist Brothers and Para-denominational advocacy and relief organizations such as the Salvation Army.
- At the lowest rung are the **congregations** (churches, mosques, madrasas), missionary and lay people organizations such as Pro Labore Dei and Daughters of Divinity Charity, hospitals, Christian rural health centres, etc.
- Operating in parallel to the FBO-development architecture are the **Religiously-affiliated International Organizations** such as World Vision International, Catholic Relief Services,

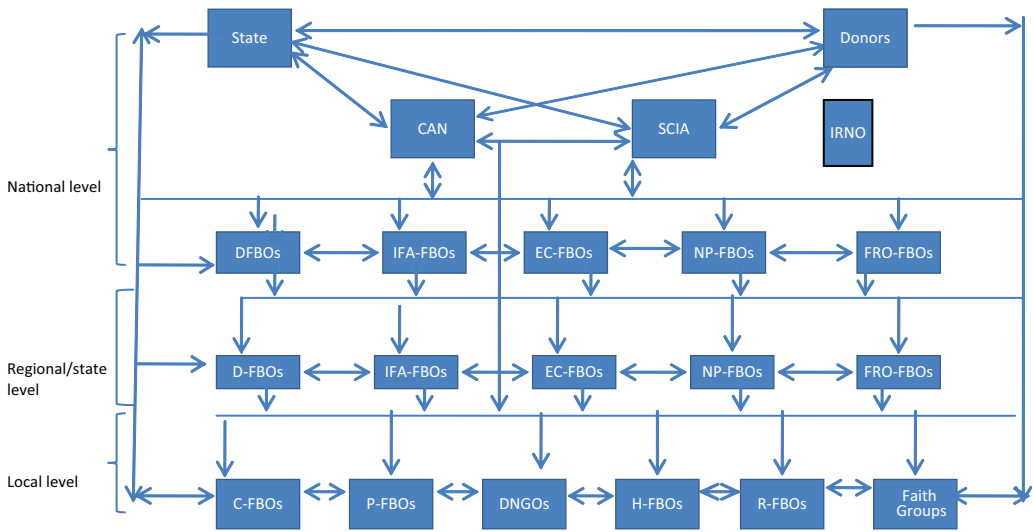


Figure 1. Faith-Development Architecture in Nigeria

Glossary. **CAN:** Christian Association of Nigeria; **C-FBO:** Congregation-based FBOs (GSAP-Glory Tabernacle Church); **D-FBO:** Denominational FBO such as JDPC (Catholic), People Oriented Development (ECWA); **DNGOs:** Missionary-based FBOs; **Donors:** USA/UK/DFID/USAID; **EC-FBO:** Ecumenical Council FBDOs such as CIFA/Nigeria Inter-faith Association; **FRO-FBO:** Free-Standing Religious Organization: FOMWAN, Salvation Army; **H-FBO:** Hospital-centered FBOs: Various Adventist Hospitals in Nigeria; **IFA-FBO:** Inter-faith Agencies FBDOs such as Interfaith coalition on HIV/AIDS Council of Nigeria; **IRNO:** International Religious Non-Governmental Organizations; **M-FBO:** Missionary-based FBOs such as Pro-labore Deii, Marist Brothers; **NP-FBO:** National Projects such as Christian Health Association of Nigeria CHAN; **P-FBO:** Parish-Based FBOs (JDPC at Parish level); **R-FBOs:** Rural (clinic-centered) FBOs; **SCIA:** Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs.

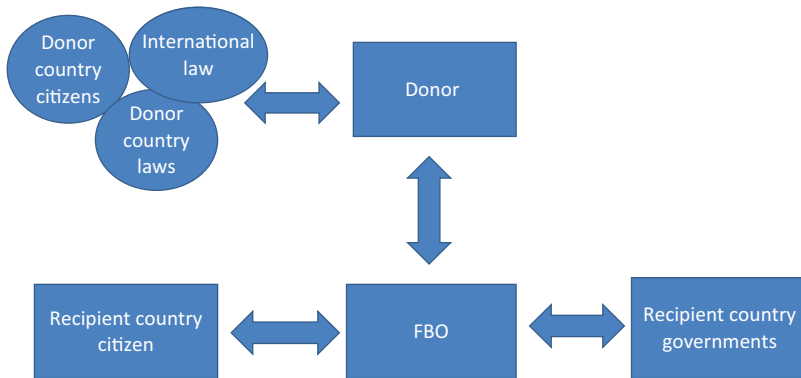


Figure 2. State-Donor-FBDO relations in Nigeria. Adapted from Flanigan (2007).

Adventist Health Services which actually work through the development FBOs at the various levels of the development architecture (see Figure 2).

- **Donors:** mostly foreign states and their associated development organizations such as USA/USAID, UK/DFID. Others include the UN in the form of UNICEF, UNDP, UNFPA. They fund development activities of domestic FBDO in areas such as health, education, sanitation, population and micro-finance (see Figure 2)

The state is a key actor in the architecture of faith-based development organizations in Nigeria because it is simultaneously a donor to faith-based organizations and is charge constitutionally to regulate the activities of all the other development actors operating within Nigerian territorial space and protect the interest of their clients: the Nigerian citizen (see Figure 2).³⁷

All the components of the faith-development architecture are linked and work in a collaborative fashion. For example, the JDPC is the development arm of the Catholic Church in Nigeria and it is a unit of the Department of Church and Society in the Catholic secretariat. Its director reports to the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria. It operates nationwide through the nine provincial offices and 51 diocesan offices of the Catholic Church in Nigeria. It cooperates with and executes projects funded by Catholic international FBOs such as Catholic Relief Services and CARITAS through its various diocesan offices and local catholic congregations.

Similarly, the CHAN was founded by the Catholic Bishops conference on Nigeria, The Christian Council of Nigeria and the Northern Christian Medical Advisory Council. It facilitates cooperation on health matters amongst its members from 23 major churches at local, state and federal level. The member institutions (MI) of CHAN are autonomous and free to adapt the CHAN guidelines on health service provision to their own service delivery and operational situation. CHAN currently has almost 400 member institutions comprising 140 hospitals, 187 clinics delivering maternal and primary health care, 23 rural health programmes and 4 leprosy clinics. Member Institutions of CHAN operate 400 outreach health facilities mostly situated remote rural areas of Nigeria.

The cement holding the diverse actors composing the faith-development architecture together in Nigeria is 'faith'. Briefly put, faith orientation determines the areas of specialization of the various FBOs and most importantly the manner of their collaboration with each other and with secular donors. For example, the apex organizations along with the interfaith agencies and ecumenical coalitions, the national projects and organizations under religious auspices and the free-standing religious organizations produce a discourse that balances the secular orientation of governments and donors and the faith-saturated orientations of development FBOs at regional and local levels.

The mission statements of apex organizations, national projects and organizations under religious auspices and the free-standing religious organisations provide examples of the 'bridging faith discourse that proves so important for the integration of the components of the faith-development architecture in Nigeria'. Thus FOMWAN's mission is to 'propagate the religion of Islam in Nigeria through da'awah, establishment of educational institutions and other outreach activities'.³⁸

While CRUDAN envisions that 'in collaboration with the church in Nigeria, Christians (both organizations and individuals) can be enabled to efficiently serve the holistic needs of the people and their communities, that the growth of the community will be enhanced and that the poor and their communities will be empowered to be and do as God intended for them in his kingdom',³⁹ the JDPC seeks to 'promote the dignity and fullness of human life through the facilitation of community participation, towards the attainment of human needs, inspire civic responsibilities, care and projection of God's creation and work in the spirit of collaboration with all others who strive for Justice, Peace and Development'⁴⁰ while CHAN's mission is to assist its member institutions in 'reaching more people, especially the unreached, with health services in Nigeria that are good quality, affordable and patient friendly'.⁴¹ Its members therefore see themselves as 'continuing the healing ministry of Christ through providing good quality and affordable health services for all who need them irrespective of their religious affiliations'.⁴²

The balanced faith discourse of the apex and interfaith agencies and ecumenical coalitions, the national projects and organizations under religious auspices, and the free-standing religious

organizations FBOS is central to the success of the faith-development architecture in Nigeria as their discourse with its emphasis on issues of justice, peace, health service provision, rural development and education makes them attractive to donors who are wary, due to demands of secularity, of using tax-payers' money to fund religious organizations. On the other hand, their discourse given its religious tone makes them accessible to the more strict faith-saturated congregations at the state and local levels.

The result is that donor funds can be channelled through the apex and interfaith agencies and ecumenical coalitions, the national projects and organizations under religious auspices and the free standing religious organizations to the more faith-saturated FBOs such as churches, mosques, madrasas and faith-based hospitals which are in direct contact with the people who need development services. As a consequence, development service users are better served and the development interests of donors are met in a manner that respects the separation of church. More importantly, especially from the perspective of the donors, is that there are clear opportunities of ensuring proper accountability of the funds disbursed and for monitoring and evaluation of services provided.

Constraints to Efficient Utilization of Faith in Development in Nigeria

FBO–state relations in Development Policy & execution is fundamentally constrained by the following factors:

- **Nature of the Nigerian State:** In Nigeria, the nature of the state itself is under debate with the major religions having different definitions of 'Secular'. Section ten of the 1979 and 1999 Constitutions have a very short prohibition section, which states that: 'The Government of the Federation or of a state shall not adopt any religion as a State Religion'⁴³. Christians have argued that the interpretation of this provision is that the country is secular, a position that Muslim activists have rejected. The major problem with the provision is that it appears to allow for preferential treatment to be accorded to particular religions without formally adopting the said religion as a state religion.
- **Leadership:** The spiritual nature of the leadership/governance structures of religious institutions is seen as a veritable limitation to accountability as it confers on leaders' huge capacity to effect of block change without necessary commensurate empowering of members to hold them to account.
- **Close relationship between FBOs and sponsoring Religious Institutions:** The closer the relationship between FBOs and their 'mother' religious institutions, the more difficult it will be to ensure accountability in the use of donor funds. The case of the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria and the Justice and Peace Commission, especially as it related to the commissions reports on the 2003 and 2007 elections in Nigeria is a very good example of the negative effect of close relationship between the FBOs and the sponsoring organization.⁴⁴
- **Organizational capacity:** Flowing from the above is the problem of staffing of FBOs. The close relationship between the FBO and the mother-church and the spiritual empowerment of leaders provides the opportunity for indiscriminate selection of staff and mismatch of skills and functions and the attendant problems such generates for accountability most especially hierarchical and supervisory accountability.
- **Development Strategy:** The high faith content of the services of some FBOs can be a limitation as giving that it might lead to discrimination in provision of services to clients and

manipulation or diversion of resources to ends that are different from that envisaged by the donor, e.g. faith conversion.⁴⁵

- **Regulation:** From the above issues of the nature of state-faith relations flows that of regulation. An uneasy relationship means that adequate attention is not given to the special qualities of FBOs as enumerated in the section above. They are regarded as part of the civil society groups and regulated as such. The problem of such regulation is that in not taking into cognizance the special demands of FBOs, the state alienates the very organizations that have the capacity to penetrate and carry its message and programmes to the grassroots and have such accepted because of their moral sanctions.

Prospects

While the various limitations to the accountability of FBOs in the delivery of aid are important and worth noting, they are not incapacitating and can be addressed in the following ways:

- Development of criteria for partners' selection;
- Clearly identified objectives and strategies for implementation of objectives;
- Advocacy/sensitization meetings/workshops;
- Capacity enhancement through organizational needs assessment and agreed scope of work;
- Involvement in staff recruitment;
- Clear identification of evaluation mechanisms for follow-up;
- Sensitivity to the local context within which the FBO operates, especially state-faith relations.⁴⁶

Furthermore, the broad-based nature of the discourse of apex and FBO alliance and ecumenical organizations, as well as the collaborative relations that such a discourse generates within the evolving faith development architecture in Nigeria, and between state, development donors and FBOs, helps in reducing the problems associated with State-FBO collaboration in development interventions in Nigeria and has been crucial to the success of current FBO development actions especially in the areas of health (HIV/AIDS, primary health care) and education.

The discourse is broad enough to satisfy state concerns about equitable access to development services, in other words, state secularity, while been sensitive enough to the doctrinal concerns of the faith-based organizations. The resultant collaborative relations between the state and FBOs helps to reduce the ambiguous status of FBOs, the sense of insularity which such ambiguity generates and the expansion of FBO developmental interventions beyond their adherents and faithful.

Conclusion

The Nigerian case has shown that FBOs are important organs of development in Africa. Their spread, high societal penetration and flexibility of programmes inspire trust among the recipients of development aid. The state, with its double burden of poor finances and weak legitimacy born of its inability to ensure social service for its citizen, requires the support of FBOs. An efficient interface is required for the proper coordination of relations between the state and FBOs on the issue of development. The specificities of FBOs must be reconciled with the logic of the state in order to ensure successful poverty alleviation and societal regeneration. The Nigerian example

has shown that the development of an FBO-development architecture that can produce a discourse that is capable of generating collaborative relations between various forms of FBOs, and between FBOs and the state, is central to the success of FBO-directed development interventions in fragile states.

The state, though financially incapacitated, is the legitimate controller of public space. In order to be effective, FBOs have to recognize and accept such a fundamental fact. Simultaneously, the state must also recognize the importance of FBOs and design its development policies in a manner that allows FBOs to find a role that satisfies their religious philosophies while meeting the needs of as large a number of people as possible.

Notes

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