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## Survey of Muslim Groups in Plateau State of Nigeria

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## Abstract

Plateau State has been one of the places in Nigeria where there has been serious ethno-religious conflict in recent years. This paper first gives an overview of the Muslims resident in the state, discussing who they are ethnically, what percentage of the population they might be, what they do, what denominational groups they belong to, and how they are educated. The discrimination they feel they experience from the indigenes and government of the state is touched on in various places. The paper then moves to a discussion in some detail of six important Muslim groups active in the state, including the anti-Sufi group Izala and the ostensibly “Shia” group the Brothers Movement. The paper ends with brief biographies of four influential Muslim scholars resident in the state.

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# Survey of Muslim Groups in Plateau State of Nigeria

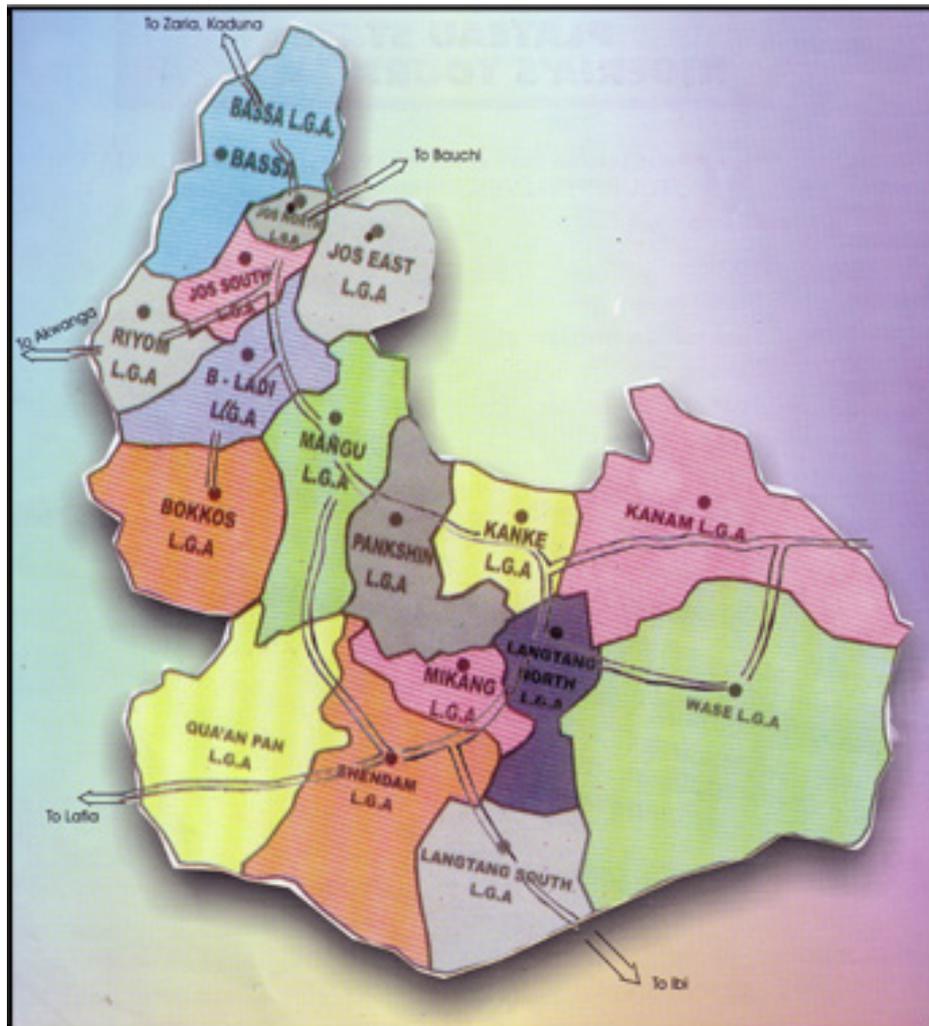
Muhammad Sani Adam Modibbo

## 1. Overview of Muslims in Plateau State

### 1.1. Ethno-religious conflict in Plateau State

Of all the states of the North Central geo-political zone of Nigeria, Plateau has experienced the most ethno-religious conflict, the main flash-points being in Jos North and Jos South Local Government Areas (LGAs) in the north and Shendam LGA in the south, but by no means there

Map of Plateau State showing the 17 Local Government Areas<sup>1</sup>



only (see Human Rights Watch 2005). Everyone agrees that ethnic difference, and competition among ethnic groups for control of local resources including land and the governments of the LGAs themselves, are at the root of the conflicts; but as religious difference often coincides with ethnic difference, religion comes in as well. Ethnic and religious differences often also go with another distinction important in Nigeria, between “indigenes” of particular localities and “settlers” there.

<sup>1</sup> Source: <http://www.plateaustategov.org/history/geo-info.html>.

The Methods and procedures used for conducting this study included library, fieldwork and observation (personal experience, interactions and discussions with stakeholders). The target population was selected from 6 local government areas that two LGAs from each of the three senatorial districts of Plateau state. Therefore the selected organizations, influential scholars and those interviewed are fairly representatives of different Muslim denominations, ethnics, opinion leaders, civil servants and traditional rulers. This process helped and guided the researcher in justifying and analyzing the findings obtained from the various sources.

### 1.2. Who are the Muslims ethnically

The Plateau Peace Conference held in 2004 officially recognized 54 different “ethnic nationalities [*indigenous* to] the State”, plus a number of “other major Nigerian ethnic nationalities *resident* in the State”, i.e. “settlers” there, namely Fulanis, Hausas, Igbos, people from the “South-South” (Urhobos, Ijaws, etc.), and Yorubas; the latter are the main settler groups, but of course there settlers from all over the country particularly in the larger cities and towns (Plateau Peace Conference 2004: 9-11). The classification of some people as “indigenes” and others as “settlers” has economic and social consequences and is much contested, particularly by the Hausa/Fulani communities of the Jos area who have resided there for generations but are still treated as settlers; but that is another question (see Human Rights Watch 2001 and 2005; Ostien 2009). The following table is the author’s attempt to identify who are the Muslims by ethnic group in each of Plateau’s 17 LGAs (approximately from north to south):

**Table 1: Muslims by ethnic group in Plateau State’s LGAs**

LGA	Muslims by ethnic group
Bassa	Majority of Muslims are Fulani with some indigenes and few Hausa.
Jos North	Majority of Muslims are Hausa/Fulani followed by Yoruba and few others.
Jos South	Majority of Muslims are Hausa/Fulani with some few indigenes.
Jos East	Majority of Muslims are Fulani with some indigenes and few Hausa.
Riyom	Majority of Muslims are Fulani. Very very few Muslim indigenes.
Barkin-Ladi	Majority of Muslims are Fulani and few Hausa and Kanuri. Very few indigenes.
Bokkos	Majority of Muslims are Fulani. Few Hausa and indigenes.
Mangu	Majority of Muslims are indigenes followed by Hausa and Fulani.
Pankshin	Very very few indigenes are Muslims and followed by few Fulani.
Kanke	Majority of Muslims are indigenes followed by few Hausa /Fulani.
Kanam	Majority of Muslims are indigenes followed by Hausa and Fulani.
Quampan	Majority of Muslims are indigenes followed by Hausa and Fulani.
Shendam	Majority of Muslims are indigenes followed by Fulani and Hausa.
Mikang	Majority of Muslims are Fulani with very very few indigenes.
Lantang North	Majority of Muslims are Fulani with very very few indigenes.
Lantang South	Majority of Muslims are Fulani with very very few indigenes.
Wase	Majority of Muslims are Fulani or Hausa/Fulani now counted as indigenes in Wase LGA, and few others.

### 1.3. Percentage of Muslims

Table 1 of course does not estimate percentages of Muslims among the populations of the LGAs. This would be very difficult and highly contested. One might try to form some idea of this by investigating numbers of Muslims elected to positions in the Local Government Councils. In Jos North LGA, for example, there are 20 wards each of which elects its own representative to the Local Government Council. In the local government elections held in November 2008 (see Ostien 2009), 9 of those wards elected Muslims, 11 elected Christians,

and the whole LGA elected a Christian Chairman. Although rigging was said to be rampant, this gives some indication of percentages of Muslims and Christians in Jos North, where religion is an important factor in who people vote for. But it has not been possible for this research to investigate the composition of each Local Government Council in Plateau State. What can be said about the whole state is the following:

- The incumbent Governor and his Deputy are Christians.
- The House of Assembly which consists of 21 elected members has only 4 Muslim representatives.
- Of the 17 elected Local Government Chairmen two are Muslim.
- The Executive Council which consists of 18 commissioners has two Muslims only while the rest are Christians.
- Out of 28 Permanent Secretaries in the various Ministries and Parastatals, only two are Muslim.
- All three of Plateau's senators are Christians, as are six out of eight of its Representatives.

Using these figures to estimate the percentage of Muslims among the population would result in a very low score, certainly lower than the actual percentage of Muslims in Plateau State, which many Muslims estimate to be above 40%. But these are highly contentious matters on which no more can be said here.

#### **1.4. Occupations of Muslims**

The Muslims in Plateau State are predominately traders, cattle-rearers (Fulani), transporters and, among the indigenes, farmers, while the Christians dominate the civil service and agricultural activities and also with a good numbers of Christian-settlers-traders (mostly Igbo and others). Among the Muslims there are also substantial numbers of malams and their Qur'anic students, i.e. *almajirai*, discussed in section 3.1 below.

#### **1.5. Denominational categories of Muslims**

It is very difficult to give accurate numbers of Muslims by sectarian affiliation. Here however is my best estimate.

- Sunni Muslims are about 95% of all the Muslims. This includes
  - Sufis: Tijaniyya and Qadiriyya, mostly Tijaniyya;
  - anti-Sufis: Izala and Salafiyya/Yan-Madina, mostly Izala; and
  - neutral, mostly moderate-salafi;
- "Shia" 2-3% and Qur'aniyyun/Qala-Qato/Yan-Tatsine, 1-2%.

Most of the Muslim indigenes are Sufi or neutral, as are most of the Yoruba. Many of the Hausa/Fulanis particularly of Jos, where Izala was founded, are Izala. Izala is discussed in detail in section 4.3 below. The "Shia", under the name of the Brothers Movement, are discussed in section 4.4.

## **2. Muslim agencies of government**

### **2.1. Traditional rulers**

The term "traditional ruler" is generally applicable to the array of traditional office holders at various levels of community organisation. The traditional institution is not democratic as succession to the offices is governed either by heredity or by election by small classes of local "king-makers". Plateau state has two levels of traditional councils. The first is the Plateau State Council of Traditional Rulers, which has all first class chiefs, emirs and chieftom chairmen in the state as members. The Gbong Gwom Berom (Gbong Gwom Jos) (a

Christian) is its permanent presiding Chairman. Over 90% of this Council are non-Muslim, although Plateau's two first-class emirs, of Wase and Dengi, are members. Then at the second level, there are Local Government Councils of Chiefs which comprise all District-Heads, Village-Heads and Senior Wards-Head and others. All 13 such chiefdoms have been dominated by non-Muslim rulers. It is the State and Local Governments that pay the salaries of traditional rulers and other logistic allowances. The main functions of the traditional rulers include advising the government on security matters, land and boundary issues, and tax collection, and mobilization of the general public on health matters, civil obligations government programmes generally. The authority and influence of the traditional rulers have continued to change from time to time since independence. For further information consult Awe (1986).

## **2.2. Muslims in government**

The numbers of Muslims in various positions in government in Plateau State are discussed in section 1.3 above.

## **2.3. The Sharia Court of Appeal and the Muslim Pilgrims Welfare Board**

Like all other northern states except Benue, Plateau has a Sharia Court of Appeal, hearing appeals from the Area Courts in cases decided under Islamic personal law. There is also a Customary Court of Appeal hearing cases decided in the Area Courts under the customary laws of the many ethnic groups. Again like most other states in Nigeria, Plateau has a Muslim Pilgrims Welfare Boards and a Christian Pilgrims Welfare Board, responsible for coordinating the pilgrimages of Muslims and Christians to Saudi Arabia and Israel respectively.

# **3. An overview of Islamic and conventional education in Plateau State**

## **3.1. Qur'anic education**

Traditional Islamic education in Nigeria has been studied by many scholars; two works the author would refer to are Abdurrahman and Canham 1978 and Sulaiman 2006. Islamic education is set to achieve two goals (*al-falah*), a religious aim and a practical worldly aim. It starts at the Qur'anic traditional school. This school continues to be a gathering of pupils of both sexes and of various ages who assemble for learning Qur'an in designated places which may be a teacher's personal house or someone's residence or at mosque. The aims, contents, curriculum and methods are different from those of Islamiyya schools. In traditional Qur'anic schools the curriculum is centred on reading, writing and memorization; to make children become fully inducted into Islamic moral values in all behaviours. There are three types of these schools namely, mobile A, mobile B, and *tsangaya*. In mobile A, a teacher moves with his pupils (*almajirai*) from one town to another. Mobile B is a system where a teacher and *almajirai* will go outside the city after harvest to make a tent ( is called *qisqadi*). Students and teacher recite Qur'an from morning to evening (Saturday to Wednesday). The third type is called *tsangaya*. This is also camped near a town or village from which *almajirai* eke out a living often through begging (today they exist in towns or the towns have reached them). Children are admitted into the basic Qur'anic schools at age 4/5 and graduate at completion of the reciting the whole Qur'an (*saukar zuku*). A student may advance to the next three stages if he wishes to become (1) *Alaramma* (a person who memorized the entire Qur'an), (2) *Goni* (well-verse in Qur'anic memorization) or finally (3) *Gangaran* (a professor in Qur'anic memorization). The schools are run by sole-proprietor malams who do not have a regular pay (salaries) but depend on token *sadaka* (charity) given by parents of the pupils and good will of wealthy individuals; but nowadays in some schools token fees are paid by each pupil on a weekly basis (*kudin laraba*). In all traditional Qur'anic schools pupils are enrolled

irrespective of their ethnic groups. Curriculum: in these schools in the first stage pupils memorize some chapters of the Qur'an, in the second stage, they develop basic literacy in Arabic while continuing with more memorization and copying Qur'an, in the third stage pupils continue to commit the Qur'an to memory, recite it again and again and copy it down by heart in varying levels of completeness.

There has been tremendous growth of Qur'anic schools in Plateau since 1960. In 1960 there were only 50 schools in Plateau division of the Northern Region (Sulaiman 2006). This year (2011) the statistics show that there are 360 Qur'anic schools and 80 *tsangaya* with an enrolment of 266,000 pupils.<sup>2</sup> Further information about numbers of schools of different types is given in section 3.4 below. The proprietors of Qur'anic schools continue to blame the Plateau State Government for its indifferent attitude towards Qur'anic education in the state.

### 3.2. Public primary and secondary education

Public (conventional) primary schools are the educational institution which provide secular education for children aged 6 to 11. Some of the Primary Schools have a section for pre-primary education for children aged 3 to 5; this is often referred to as play class while other classes may be designed as nursery 1 and nursery 2. Secondary education is received by children who successfully completed their primary education and is designed into two categories, junior and senior and is tuition-free in public school. During the three-year junior secondary school program students are taught vocational and academic subjects while at the senior level they receive a comprehensive sciences or social sciences or vocational training. After successful completion of secondary education students may take the Junior and Senior School Certificate Exams (JSCE and SSCE) administered by the National Examinations Council (NECO) or the West African Examinations Council (WAEC). If they make satisfactory scores on these tests they may apply and get admission into tertiary institutions for furthering their education. Tertiary institutions in Plateau offer courses leading to the award of Diploma, NCE, Bachelors and Masters Degrees, and up to Ph.D. The state has 637 Primary Schools, 289 Secondary Schools and 18 Tertiary Institutions.<sup>3</sup>

According to the National Policy on Education, every Nigerian irrespective of gender, ethnicity, location or religion has the right to free primary education in public schools and also enjoys equal consideration (access to higher education) into institutions and other equivalent private institutions (Federal Ministry of Education 2004).

### 3.3. Islamiyya education

The flourishing and transforming of Islamiyya schools was as a result of the arrival of the British administration which imposed a number of challenges to Islamic education system. This situation compelled individual organizations and *ulama* (Islamic scholars) to carry out reformation in the Islamic education system in order to protect it from total distortion on the one hand, and to work out the possibility of integrating *ilimin boko* (secular subjects) into its curriculum. Islamiyya schools are formally structured compared to traditional Qur'anic schools. In the latter are usually no benches, desks, or blackboards; students sit on the floor and wear no uniform; a teacher (malam) is usually assisted by senior students in teaching and controlling the students; the Qur'an is the only text. Islamiyya schools are formal: the students wear uniforms, sit at desks, rotate through a number of classes in different subjects during the day, and use textbooks. Admission is not founded on ethnicity except for the few

<sup>2</sup> Per interview in early March 2011 with Ustaz Umar Abubakar Yakubu, Secretary Tsangaya Association Plateau State.

<sup>3</sup> Per Plateau State Government at <http://www.plateaustategov.org/about/edu.html>.

are established by Yoruba in Jos. Initially Islamiyya primary schools are established to give young children both Qur'an and other Islamic subjects. Some of these schools were taken over by government in 1974. What distinguishes them from those not taken over by government, is the curriculum. In the former Arabic and Islamic subjects are equally given emphasis along with secular subjects and government pays the staff salaries and cost of management.

Islamiyya secondary schools are the institutions where children go after primary education and before the tertiary stage. Indeed a good deal has been done by some individuals and certain Muslim groups and organizations who have established, improved and promoted this type of Islamic education in Plateau state. Currently there are two categories of these schools existing in Plateau State. In one category are Schools for Higher Islamic Studies. These have their curriculum designed for advanced Islamic studies. Arabic Language is used as the medium of instruction as provided and approved by Institute of Education ABU Zaria. Their objectives are to provide qualified Arabic and Islamic teachers for Islamiyya primary schools and Imams. The first type of this school was established in Kano (1938) and Plateau state (1988) by Malam Musa Sagagi. The second category are the Islamic secondary schools, also established by private initiative, to meet the demand for Muslim children who completed public and Islamiyya primary schools and wish to continue with secondary school in an Islamic environment though still reading secular subjects and going on to take the exams administered by NECO and WAEC. Some of these types of schools have duly been approved and registered by Plateau State Government, WAEC and NECO. However, none of the Islamiyya schools in Plateau enjoys any government grant.

### 3.4. Summary of data on Muslim schools in Plateau State

The following table summarizes the information gathered on numbers of Muslim schools of various types in Plateau State.<sup>4</sup> A number of the Muslim groups and individuals discussed in sections 4 and 5 below are actively involved in these types of education so there is further discussion of them there.

**Table 2: Types and numbers of Muslim schools in Plateau State**

Type of School	Description of programme	Number in Plateau
Traditional mobile Qur'anic	Beginning memorization and writing of Qur'an; preparation for further Qur'anic studies	360
Tsangaya	Continuing memorization and writing of Qur'an	80
Makarantun <i>zauru/ilimi</i>	Studying Arabic, Hadith, <i>tafsir, fiqh</i> and other Islamic sciences through mastery of their texts	120
Mua'ssasih Tahfiz Schools (modern Qur'anic schools)	Memorization and writing of Qur'an, and study of the Islamic sciences	50
Islamiyya Primary Schools	Preparing students for Junior/Senior Islamic Secondary Schools	293
Schools For Higher Islamic Studies	Secondary schools preparing students for examinations for Junior and Senior Islamic Certificates and Diplomas	20
Islamic Secondary School/Colleges	Secondary schools preparing students for Junior/Senior JSCE/WAEC/NECO and NCE exams	47
Adult Islamiyya Schools	Teaching Arabic and English literacy and Islamic and secular subjects	150

<sup>4</sup> Sources: Tsangaya Association Plateau state; Board of Arabic and Islamic Studies Plateau State Chapter; Association of Principals of Islamic Private Schools of Plateau State; Izala National Directorate of Education; Organization of Islamiyya Schools of Plateau State.

#### 4. Short notes on selected Muslim groups in Plateau State

Plateau like any other state in the North Central geo-political zone has a good experience of the plurality of Islamic organizations and movements of various types. Recently a research has revealed that there are over 40 Islamic groups in the state.<sup>5</sup> The present author's Ph.D. dissertation gives details of some 19 *da'wah* organisations alone (Modibbo 2010, Chapter 3). Some have registered with Corporate Affairs Commission while others have not or are in the process of registration. A few of the selected influential groups in Plateau State are as follows:

##### 4.1. Nuruddeen Society of Nigeria<sup>6</sup>

Nuruddeen Society of Nigeria is an Islamic voluntary organization. The society was founded in 1948 and has over 50 branches in Nigeria. The Jos branch was formed in 1953. Nuruddeen is made up mainly of Yoruba members. Article 4 of the constitution of the society enumerates the aims and objectives of the society, which include:

- (1) To maintain library for use of members, student and the public;
- (2) To encourage literary and intellectual pursuits among the members and the public;
- (3) To encourage any individual or other institutions that may wish to further their education and or to establish Islamic centre;
- (4) To eradicate all forms of evils and corruption and to foster feeling of brotherhood among all members of the Muslim community;
- (5) To establish and maintain media houses which shall operate inter alia periodicals and newspapers devoted to the interest of Islam and advocate Muslim culture generally;
- (6) To undertake the translation of the Holy Qur'an and other Islamic books into any language, publish and circulate same among Muslims as well as non-Muslims;
- (7) To organize Islamic lectures, exhibitions, conferences, classes, seminars, workshops and volunteer service courses for the Muslims etc.

Nuruddeen Society of Nigeria has two distinct components: national organization and zonal branches. At each level the following committees and a board would obtain: Executive Committee, Committee of Elders, Education Committee, Welfare Committee, Social and *Tafsir* Committee, Finance Committee and *Irshad* Board. Women, Youths Wings and First Aids Group also exist. There are appointed and elected officers to oversee the general affairs of the Society.

The programs of the society in the state include teaching of Arabic and Islamic studies, conducting *tahfiz* (Qur'anic memorization) fortnightly in Jos for its members. Organizing *nikah* (marriage) and naming ceremonies for her members within and outside Jos. Giving annual and monthly *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis). The group has its branches in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Bassa Local Governments. It generates its funds through collection of *zakat* and *sadaqat* (alms and charity) to finance its programs. The society in the state has a cordial relationship with all Islamic groups and individual Muslims in Plateau state government. The society established many Islamiyya primary and secondary

<sup>5</sup> Per interview 2 March 2011 with Ustaz Amin Sadis Abdullahi, Secretary, Jama'atu Nasril Islam Jos and Deputy Director, State Universal Basic Education (SUBE) Jos.

<sup>6</sup> Much of the information in this subsection based on an interview with Alhaji Abdul-Aziz Zakariyya, Secretary General, Nuruddeen Society of Nigeria Jos branch, conducted on 8 July 2009.

schools, with over 4,000 pupils and students enrolled in the in the following schools: Nuruddeen Islamic/Arabic Primary School, Nuruddeen Nursery-Primary School, Nuruddeen Teachers Training College, Nuruddeen Adult classes. All the schools have been approved by the government and other examination agencies.

#### 4.2. Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI)<sup>7</sup>

Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI), popularly known as Jama'atu in Plateau State) was founded on the 5<sup>th</sup> Jan., 1961 in Kaduna by prominent government officials, politicians, emirs and chiefs, and renowned Islamic scholars of the defunct Northern Region which included late Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto, late Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi, late Alh. Ribadu of Yola, late Sheikh Nasiru Kabara, late Sultan of Sokoto Sir Abubakar III and others. The Plateau State Branch of the Jama'atu was formed in 1967 under the late Sheikh Ahmad Arabi. After his death the leadership went to the late Emir of Nasarawa Alh. Jibril Mairiga, then to the Emir of Lafia Alhaji Isa Mustapha Agwai, and now to the current Emir of Wase HRH Alh. Muhammad Sambo Haruna. Membership of the Jama'atu is open to all Muslims irrespective of their sectarian, tribal or sectional differences. All Muslims in Nigeria and Muslims living abroad could be members if interested. The current state *murshid* (chief preacher) and administrative secretary, Sheikh Abdul-Aziz Yusuf, is Yoruba.

JNI has the following components: (a) National Headquarters (b) Branches (c) Sub-branches. The National Headquarters is comprised of the offices of the Grand Patron, the Chairman, the Secretary General Treasurer and Auditor General. The state branches have their executive officials who run the affairs of Jama'atu while the sub-branches are constituted at LGA level. It is the responsibility and power of the state chairman to appoint a chairman and a secretary of sub-branches in order to facilitate the smooth running of its functions. The following committees are allowed to be established: Central General Purposes, Central Finance and Resources, and Central Education and Propagation; and other committees as may be considered necessary. The aims and objectives of Jama'atu include propagation of Islam and in so doing to strive to win adherents from non-Muslims, to revive and maintain Islamic morals among Muslims of all ages and sexes, to encourage intellectual religious activities, and to promote friendly relations among Nigerian Muslims in particular, and world Muslims in general. It is also aims at establishing schools where students can be taught Islamic religion and its cultural values, and other subjects of general education and above all to ensure unity and cooperation among Muslims and to bring together all the Islamic organizations within Nigeria under one common umbrella.

As a matter of fact, Jama'atu is the only organization that propagates Islam in the state with special attention to non-Muslims. The preachers under Jama'atu visit town to town and village to village to conduct open-air preaching and to hold dialogue with non-Muslims. However such preaching tours had been restricted to the mosques in some parts of the state as a result of incessant crises that engulfed the state. Jama'atu serves as a network through which government and international agencies communicate with other Islamic organizations. It also represents Muslims on various conflict and peace resolution committees organized by the state or other organisations; for instance JNI had a seat at the 2004 Plateau Peace Conference mentioned in section 1.2 above. The fact that its *da'wah* covers both Muslims and non-Muslims has made people come to respect Islamic culture and values, committed as they are to peaceful coexistence and social service to humanity. Jama'atu exists in all 17 LGAs in

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<sup>7</sup> Much of the information in this subsection based on an interview with Sheikh Abdul-Aziz Yusuf, Administrative Secretary, Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI) Plateau State, conducted on 29 March 2011.

Plateau State. Its most notable achievement is that it serves as an umbrella of all Islamic organizations and movements in Plateau State

Despite its close relationship with governments, yet the Plateau State government at times has deliberately refused to involve it in matters that directly affect Muslims and Islam like appointment of an adviser on religious affairs and chairman of Muslims Pilgrims Board. Plateau State government does give Jama'atu financial grants for its schools. Jama'atu's Aid Group is open to both males and females for enrolment.

#### **4.3. Jama'atu Izalatil Bid'a wa Ikamatis Sunnah (Izala or JIBWIS)<sup>8</sup>**

Izala movement was initiated and launched in Jos in 1978. The movement was started as a purely reform movement through the preaching of late Sheikh Ismai'la Idris. His preaching focused direct attack on the Sufi's *aqeedat* (doctrines) and all sorts of innovations and magical practices that according to Izala contradict the Sunnah of the Prophet. Sheikh Idris started the reform activities long before he was appointed as an Imam in the Nigeria Army. He continued with public preaching while in the Army service which subsequently led to his resignation. When he resigned his sympathizers proposed the formation of an organization under which he would continue to propagate Islam and its reform activities. Hence, Jama'atu Izlatul Bid'a Wa Ikamatis Sunnah (Society for Removal of Heresy and Establishing the Tradition) was launched on the 25th May 1978 at Jos township stadium. The movement is silent over the qualifications or conditions for admission of members but in section 4 of the constitution Izala warns all members of the movement "To protect the dignity of this Society (JIBWIS) and sovereignty of the nation". The movement has categorically denied the active membership of women in running its affairs and/or as Aid Group members as doing so contradicts Sunnah. It preaches peaceful coexistence and gives much emphasis on Islamic and Western education.

Izala is a formally structured organisation with a written constitution. It has two councils at the top namely executive (comprised of elders and patrons) and *ulama* councils. The executive organ of Izala was first headed by Alh. Musa Muhammad Maigandu while the Ulama Council was led by the late Sheikh Ismail Idris. The movement has established its Aid Group (*'yan agaji*) which works hand in hand with working and organizing committees of the movement. There are other important committees like a working committee which is responsible for organizing *da'wah* activities. Other important offices of Izala include the Secretaries (General Secretary, Administrative Secretary, Judiciary, Educational, Finance and Publicity), Treasurer and Auditors, both at the state, local, district and ward levels.

The main purposes of forming the movement have been given in section 3 of its constitution and can be summarized as follows:

1. To unite all Muslims as stated by God in the Holy Qur'an;
2. To enlighten the people about the activities of some so-called Muslims who have been distorting the true teachings of Islam;
3. To alert all Muslims so as to be aware of books written by unscrupulous Malams just to bring confusion in Islam;
4. To show all Muslims that the Prophet Muhammad (PBH) before his death revealed the message he received from God;
5. To make it clear to all Muslims that anybody who claims prophecy or that Muhammad (PBUH) has been visiting him, should be regarded as a lair.

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<sup>8</sup> Much of the information in this subsection based on an interview with Alhaji Idris Malwa, Plateau State Secretary of JIBWIS, conducted on 17 August 2009.

Its *da'wah* activities are conducted under the council of preaching with the help of the executives, elders and patrons of the movement. Teaching and preaching have been recognized as the major programs of the society. It organizes ward, local, state and national open air preaching throughout the state. It offers sermons during Friday congregation, *walimah* (wedding) gatherings and Sallah festivals. Apart from that, it conducts preaching at any given time as requested by a branch in the state. There is also a study circle between *Salat al-Magrib* and *Isha'* and after *Salat al-Subhi*, where Hadith, Qur'an and *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) are studied.

The movement in Plateau has established schools for Higher Islamic Studies which offer both ordinary and diploma certificates in Arabic and Islamic Studies. It has also established technical and science secondary schools, and nomadic education schools in Barkin Ladi and Mangu Local Government Areas of Plateau State. In the area of health care, the movement has five primary health care centres and a Sunnah Hospital. It also commissioned branches in 14 local government headquarters in the state.

The movement in the state has been confronted with some problems, two of which are:

1. The division of Izala: Izala which started as a single body in Jos is today split into two groups, known as Izala 'A' and 'B'.
2. The misunderstanding between Izala and Sufis is still a problem even though the gravity of the situation has reduced extensively since there is no longer any physical violence as used to be experienced.

The relationship between Izala, Sufi groups, Shia and Plateau State government as matter of fact is nominal, as they mostly have very little to do with each other.

#### 4.4. Brothers Movement<sup>9</sup>

The name of the movement is not certain because it is not a structured organization. According to its leaders, the movement is neither a society nor an organization that might need to be registered with secular government as have the Jama'atu and Izala. They could be identified as Muslim Brothers (*Yan'uwa Muslim*). The membership of the movement is opened to all Muslims irrespective of their sects or sex provided that one is committed to their struggle for actualization of sharia in Nigeria. The tendency that facilitated the existence of the movement was the influence of the decisive victory of the Islamic revolution of Imam Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran in 1979. The revolution made a great impact in Nigeria along with lectures of the leaders of *Ikhwan al-Muslim* of Egypt. The Muslim youth particularly those in tertiary institutions got in touch with these Islamists through revolutionary literature, video and audio cassettes most of which were widely circulated on campuses, free of charge by the government of Iran and other international Islamic foundations. In one of these publications the revolutionary leader Ayatollah Khomeini urged the Muslims worldwide to support his revolution. He highlighted that the revolution is for Islam and Muslims worldwide and the revolution for the sake of Islam cannot be restricted to one country or even Islamic countries, Muslims must awake and fight the *kufri* (unbelievers) system wherever they are.

Imam's speeches enticed the minds of Muslim youths especially students (see Modibbo 1992). At one meeting, Malam Ibrahim Yakubu El-Zakzaky, the pioneer and National Leader (champion) of the movement without any hesitation responded to the call and declared before the Muslims Students Society's meeting held at Ahmadu Bello University Zaria (ABU) saying:

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<sup>9</sup> Much of the information in this subsection based on an interview with Malam Adamu Tsoho. *Amir* (Leader), Muslim Brothers Movement Plateau State, conducted on 29 July 2009.

I hereby declare, with Allah as my witness, I'm disbeliever of Nigeria constitution, its laws and leadership. I recognized none of these, instead I reaffirm my total faith in the book of Allah, his Shari'ah and leadership of his messenger (peace be upon him).<sup>10</sup>

There and then, the movement vehemently rejected the clause of the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria declaring the constitution supreme and any law inconsistent with it to be void (Art. 1). El-Zakzaky started his *da'wah* activities at ABU (1978-80). His preaching was expanded to other schools in Zaria city and environs. In fact, his sermons had been admired by a lot of youth who supported his opinion and joined his struggle against anti-Islamic forces all over the Northern states. In the same period, the Plateau chapter of the movement started. It used Muslim Student Society of Nigeria (MSSN) as an umbrella to reach out to other students. Most of their speeches emphasized on exposing Western conspiracy against Islam and Muslims, pointing to the success of Iran's revolution, Palestine/Israel religious-political conflict, American support to Iraq against Iran and the failure of the democracy, communism and military system in the world in general and Nigeria in particular.

The main objective of the movement is to create an Islamic environment that is independent of the western influence as Khomeini did in Iran. It is aimed to educate Muslims against the Western ideologies be it political, economic or military domination. The leaders argue that it is only a fully operated Islamic system which would serve as a panacea to the nation's multiple problems since military and democratic governments in Nigeria had failed woefully to provide justice and other social needs of the citizens. The movement's constitution is the Book of Allah and the Hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). The movement has numerous *da'wah* programmes in the state which include: organizing Unity Week annually, *Quds* Day procession on the last Friday of the month of Ramadan, *Shuhada* Day the last Saturday of every Rajab; *Ashura* Day 10<sup>th</sup> Muharram; lectures on Islamic issues are given during this day in addition to the procession. This is a three day seminar where Islamic scholars are invited to give lectures on different current matters and *Daura* and *Ta'lim* (study cycle and workshop) throughout the state.

The movement substantially made an impact on Muslims sisters not to always be appearing in indecent dress on school campuses. It distributes pamphlets to Muslims free of charge. It has also established a Nursery-Primary school in Jos. The movement conducts an annual lecture which demands serious attention of Muslim, called *Makon hadin kai* (Unity Week). The theme of the lecture is usually on fostering unity, love and prosperity among Muslims. It is the only *da'wah* movement in Nigeria that does not compromise on its Islamic activities with secular government. According to its Plateau State Amir, Brothers movement never solicits for any financial assistance from government and its cohorts.

The movement has continued to be facing persecution and humiliation of its members by the security agencies. Another challenge which is internal is the misconception of some Muslims that the movement is indoctrinating Shia doctrine among Nigerian Muslims; this misconception has been a stumbling block towards its *da'wah* program as many Sunni youths are still hesitating to support its struggle. This misunderstanding is a result of the fact of its admiration of Imam Ayatollah Khomeini as a model in its *da'wah* activities.

#### **4.5. Federation of Muslim Women Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN)<sup>11</sup>**

<sup>10</sup> *Crescent International*, vol. 18 no. 20 (1989), front page.

<sup>11</sup> Much of the information in this subsection based on an interview with Hajiya Lawal Musa, *Amirat*, Federation of Muslim Women Association in Nigeria (FOMWAN) Plateau State Chapter, conducted on 13 July 2009.

The organization was formed in Lagos in October 1985 through the efforts of some Western-educated and working class Muslim women. Plateau State chapter of the association was launched in 1987. The mission of the association was clearly stated in the constitution of FOMWAN that:

To propagate the religion of Islam in Nigeria through Da'wah (propagation), establishment of educational institutions, and other outreach activities. To improve the socio-economic status of the populace especially women, youth and children through training, provision of qualitative education, health and humanitarian service, micro enterprises schemes and functional advocacy.

FOMWAN has a Board of Trustees, Executive and Education Committees, Health, Publicity, Finance, Welfare and Disciplinary Boards at the national, state and local government levels. At the head of the executive committee is a national *Amirat* (leader) who has a *Na'ibat* (deputy), Secretary-General, Financial Secretary, Publicity Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, Preaching and Welfare Officer, Public Relation Officer and Legal Adviser. These offices are also maintained at all levels of FOMWAN branches.

Membership of FOMWAN is made up of two types, the first type is open to every Muslim organization in Nigeria provided such an organization has satisfactorily shown itself to be bound by the rules and regulations of the federation's constitution, and the second one is by honorary membership that may be conferred on a non-member of the association without application and such member shall be entitled to all rights and privileges of ordinary member. Honorary membership is free and she is not required to pay annual due to the association. Most of their members are working women.

The activities of FOMWAN in the state include teaching of Islam, enlightening women on the danger of divisions on sectarian and ethnic beliefs which in most cases keep Muslims apart and become a setback to Islam. The association extends its *da'wah* to the visitation of sick people in hospitals, clinics and rehabilitation centres to offer them relief materials, prayers and words of encouragement. It organizes seminars and symposiums where both men and women present papers. The association encourages Muslim women to live in accordance with the tenets of Islam. Through its activities the association has reduced the wide gap of misconception that the association is out for women only, or is sponsored by some non-Muslim agency to destabilize Islamic culture and moral values. It is now accepted by other non-Yoruba Muslim women as its leaderships at present are made up of all tribes. It has branches in Jos South, Barkin Ladi, Pankshin and Wase LGAs in addition to Jos North. The major problem of the Plateau chapter of FOMWAN since its inception is that it has not been able to open a state secretariat and most of its members are not regular at meeting and other activities organized by FOMWAN. The Plateau Government has never allocated *hajj* guide seat to the association despite the fact that it was fully participating in orientation and guiding women pilgrims here in Nigeria and in Holy Land and its role as an umbrella of all Muslim women groups in Plateau State.

#### **4.6. Council of Ulama/Elders Jos<sup>12</sup>**

The Jos Council of Ulama and Elders was formally established in 2003. The council's coordinator and its secretary have given an insight into problems that Muslims, particularly those considered to be "non-indigenes", particularly the Hausa/Fulani of Jos, are facing in Jos

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<sup>12</sup> Much of the information in this subsection is based on interviews with Alhaji Danjuma Khalid and Barrister Ahmed Garba, the Coordinator and Secretary of the Ulama/Elders Council Jos respectively, both conducted on 10 March 2011.

and Plateau State at large. For instance, Jos North has deliberately denied Hausa/Fulani Muslims certificates of indigeneship and rejected the appointment by the federal government of Alh. Mukhtar Muhammad (former elected Executive Chairman of Jos-North LGC) as a NAPEP Coordinator of Jos North. The state government also refuses to approve certificates of land ownership to the Muslims (Hausas) and political appointments at all levels. The historical records also had it that, in 1979 and 1980 general elections all seats to the Plateau State House of Assembly from Jos and to the House of Representative representing Jos-Bassa constituency were won by Muslims (Hausas) but unfortunately during the 1999 election the case was reversed. As a result of failure of Muslim politicians, sharp division and disunity among them, self-centeredness, and power ambitions led to the call of the formation of Council of Ulama/Elders by some concerned Muslim youth. Membership of the council is drawn from Islamic organizations/movements and politicians that are believed to have deep concern and keen interest of Muslim in Jos. The current members of the council include the Turakin Jos; Chief Imam of Jos; Murshid of Jama'atu Jos North (Dr. Abdur-Rahman Lawal Adam); Alh. Sale Hassan; Chairman Ulama Council of Izala A (Sheikh Muh. Sani Y. Jingir); Chairman Ulama Council of Izala B (Sheikh Al-Hassan Sa'eed); Imam of Fiber Mosque (Sheikh Khalid A. A.); Mal. Ibrahim Kakaye; Khalifa Inuwa Tanko Waziri; Chairman JNI Jos North Alh. Abdulqadir Abubakar and a few others.

The council has three chairmen, Sheikh Balarabe Dauda Chairman I, Sheikh Sani Yahaya Chairman II and Sheikh Sa'eed Alhasan Chairman III. It has two secretaries and a coordinator. The council is formal but not structured as previous groups. It maintains a good relationship with others Islamic groups, Emirs, Chiefs some individuals within the state and Nigeria. The coordinator highlighted that the objectives of the council include:

1. To defend and safeguard the rights of Muslims religiously and politically in Plateau state;
2. To create a forum whereby Muslims irrespective of their sectarian affiliation or organization could meet and discuss religious and socio-economic challenges facing them in Jos in particular and Plateau State in general;
3. To provide a sense of direction to Muslims and Muslim politicians generally.

The activities of the council focus on political and social enlightenment on the rights of Muslims in the state. It also preaches and encourages unity and brotherhood among Muslims irrespective of tribal groups or political affiliation or sectarian beliefs. The council continues to be the single voice of Muslim *ummah* in Plateau State and it is also highly respected by Muslims within and outside, and by international/national NGOs for its sincerity and determination. State government (Jang's administration) sees it as it as an opposition tool, whereas its objectives are to create an enabling environment so that all the denizens of Plateau state will work together for the development of the state by maintaining peace.

#### 4.7. Aid Groups established by the groups discussed

Table 3 describes the Aid Groups was established by the first four Islamic organizations discussed above:

**Table 3: Four Aid Groups active in Plateau State**

Organization	Uniforms and symbols	Functions	Recruitment
Nuruddeen	Dressed in blue shirt and trousers with crossed white line on right and left sides of the trouser and shirt.	To assist in organizing congregations at Friday mosque and other meetings, serve as ushers and guides, provide	Free, men and women.
JNI	Dressed in white shirt and trousers with green belt and beret and white		Free, men and

	shoes (canvas). Badge with crescent and star in the centre.	security for participants and their property, and to render first aid as needed.	women.
JIBWIS	Dressed in brown shirt and trousers with white belt and blue beret and white shoes (canvas). Badge with two crossed swords and a date palm tree in the centre.		Free, men only.
Brothers	Dressed in black shirt and trousers, although some appear in white while others appear in brown, depending on the type of outing.	In addition to the above they lead in procession ( <i>Muzaharat</i> ) and demonstrations carrying flash-cards and flags.	Free, men and women.

It should be noted that the information given in Table 3 about uniforms relates to men only. The uniforms for women are different from their men counterparts in each group. Women strictly adhere to the Islamic code of dress. Again, the Nuruddeen and JNI Aid Groups often extend their services to Islamic activities outside their fold, but JIBWIS and the Brothers restrict themselves to the activities of their own groups only.

## 5. Short biographies of four influential Muslim scholars in Plateau State

### 5.1. Sheikh Muhammad Sani Yahaya Jingir<sup>13</sup>

Sheikh Jingir is the Chairman of the Ulama Council of JIBWIS A, headquartered in Jos. He was born in Gurum, Bassa Local Government Area of Plateau State on the 1<sup>st</sup> January 1950. Attended Katako Amo Primary School from 1954 to 1959, after which he went for Arabic Grade II programme in Maiduguri College of Legal Studies from 1978 to 1982. He then proceeded to Bayero University Kano for Diploma in Hausa, Arabic and Islamic Studies from 1984 to 1987. He obtained B.Ed. Language Arts in the year 2000 and M.Ed. in Guidance and Counselling in 2004 both from University of Jos. He had read Qur'an and *fiqhu* for knowledge before he left his home town. He assumed the national leadership of Ulama Council of Jama'atu Izalatil Bid'a Wa Ikamatis Sunnah (JIBWIS) after the death of its founder Sheikh Ismail Idris in 2000.

He has been serving Islam in various capacities both at state and national level with outstanding performance. Some of these include Co-Chairman, Ulama/Elders Council Jos; Mufti (Adviser) of Amir Hajj Team; Member, Board of Trustees, National Mosque Abuja 2002 till date; Member, National Ulama Council of Nigeria from 2004 till date. He is widely travelled within and outside the country in propagating of Izala doctrines. The theme of his preaching is calling Muslims to return to the pure monotheism (*tawheed*) and sincere emulation of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW); and to uphold Islam in its entirety. He frowns at Sufism for innovating unacceptable acts of worship in Islam but he is moderate compared to his predecessor. Apart from preaching he is also engaged in research and writing, and has four books in circulation. He is subtle and kind-hearted. He is an optimist and cherishes hard work and diligence. He is married to four wives and has over thirty sons and daughters with many grand children.

### 5.2. Sheikh Abdullahi Mukhtar Adam<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Much of the information in this subsection based on an interview with Sheikh Jingir, conducted on 3 March 2011.

<sup>14</sup> Much of the information in this subsection based on an interview with Sheikh Abdullahi Mukhtar Adam, conducted on 1 March 2011.

Sheikh Abdullahi Mukhtar Adam is an astute Islamic preacher and founder of Ibadur-Rahman (Islamic group) and highly respected Sufi scholar in Plateau State. He was born in Jos on 7<sup>th</sup> September, 1955. His father was a native of Wase, Plateau State. He was taught Qur'an by his father before he sent him to Makarantan Malam Mu'azu for advanced Qur'an and jurisprudence studies. Then he was sent outside Jos to Kebbi and Kano for further studies in Islamic theology and jurisprudence. While in Kano, he was admitted into the School for Arabic Studies (SAS) 1972-1976 and Bayero University Kano (BUK) for Diploma in Hausa, Arabic and Islamic studies, 1977 to 1980. He obtained his B.A. (hons) in Islamic Studies from University of Jos in 1989, and Postgraduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) from National Teachers Institute, Kaduna 2005.

His working experience is vast. He worked as a teacher in Kano. While teaching he also engaged in preaching and other Islamic activities in Kano along with his colleagues and disciples of Malam Isa Na Kofar Mata Kano. Later on he decided to come back home (Jos) where he applied for teaching job with the Ministry of Education Plateau State. He was appointed, and has served in various capacities ranging from a class teacher, up to the rank of principal, and currently is the Ministry's Deputy Director in charge of Arabic and Islamic Studies and the upgrading of schools. He has continued preaching for the past three decades. He is the State *Murshid* (Chief Preacher) *Fityanul-Islam* (Muslim Young Congress of Nigeria); Coordinator State Qur'anic Recitation Competition Committee; and Chairman Ibadur-Rahaman (an Islamic movement). He obtained *al-ijazah* (license for preaching) from three distinguished Islamic scholars in Kano. He was given an honorific title *Bahru* (meaning, a sea of knowledge). He has translated a number of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) text books from Arabic into Hausa. By virtue of his position and his ideal character he maintains good relationships with other Islamic scholars in the state including the anti-Sufi scholars, and Christian colleagues and clerics. He succeeded in attracting as listeners many Sufi youth and many non-Sufis who admired his eloquent and intellectual discourse on Islamic philosophy on the electronic media. Despite his official schedule he continues to offer *fiqh* (jurisprudence) lessons at his home and delivers talks at seminars and workshops and conferences. He also gives annual *tafsir* at the Jos Central Mosque and other places during the month of Ramadan. He can be best described as an Islamic philosopher of his contemporary time. He has received awards within and outside Jos. He is married with children and many grandchildren.

### 5.3. Sheikh (Dr) Abdur-Rahman Lawal Adam<sup>15</sup>

Sheikh (Dr) Adur-Rahman Lawal Adam is a lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies, University of Jos. He a member of the Jos Council of Ulama and Elders. His *da'wah* makes a great impact on the Muslim youth in Jos. He is generous and charitable and is respected by both Sufis and anti-Sufi scholars. He was born on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1955 in Jos. He started his educational career at traditional Qur'anic school at the aged of five and he completed recitation of the Qur'an from memory (*sauka*). He then joined *makarantar ilimi* (for *fiqh* and other Islamic sciences). While attending *makarantar ilimi* he was simultaneously going to conventional primary and secondary schools 1960-1973. Between 1973 and 1980 he combined both scholarship and business, obtaining a Grade III certificate in Arabic. He attended Bayero University Kano in 1980 and the College of Arabic and Islamic Studies Jos 1982-1986. He obtained his B.A. (1990), M.A. (1993), and Ph.D. (2010) in Arabic from University of Jos. As a preacher, a teacher and educational counsellor he also

<sup>15</sup> Much of the information in this subsection based on an interview with Sheikh Dr. Abdur-Rahman Lawal Adam, conducted on 29 February 2011.

attended a professional course, where he has successfully completed Postgraduate Diploma In Education (PGDE) in 2000.

He is an intellectual, scholar and an academic. That made him to be a member of various learned associations and professional bodies. He is a pioneer Chairman of the Board of Arabic and Islamic Studies Plateau State; member of the National Association of Arabic and Islamic Studies Teachers; Director Muslim Education Centre Rikkos Jos; *Murshid* (chief preacher) JNI Jos North; and Editor-in-Chief *Irshad* newspaper. He has taught at all educational levels from Primary to University (where he now teaches). He has attended many seminars, workshops and conferences. He has a number of his articles published and being accepted for publication. He is patron of five NGO's in Plateau State. As an achiever, he received eleven awards and commendations by schools and NGO's. He works tirelessly for the cause of Islam and Muslim *ummah* for which he never compromises. As a civil servant he maintains good working relationship with his employer and colleagues in the Department of Religious Studies, University of Jos. He is married with children and grandchildren.

#### 5.4. Sheikh Abdur-Rahim Muhammad Sunusi Adam<sup>16</sup>

Sheikh Abdur-Rahim was born in Ogbomosho of Oyo State in 1962. He is an ardent Muslim Yoruba scholar, Salafi (Dan-Madina) by doctrine, a renowned Islamic Yoruba preacher in Plateau State. He started his educational career at Gusau primary school in 1970, then proceeded to Government Secondary School for WASC. While attending conventional school, Sheikh also enrolled for Arabic and Islamic Studies in Gusau. His thirst for Islamic knowledge prompted him to apply, and he was offered admission to study Sharia Law in Islamic University Madina 1982-1987. After he obtained his first degree in Sharia he furthered his struggle for knowledge in the University of Jos where he obtained M.A. Islamic Studies and Postgraduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) in the years of 2000 and 2005 respectively.

Sheikh Abdur-Rahim has close association with different scholars in Plateau. He participates in many community and religious services. He has first served as an Imam of Tuur Mosque Madina Saudi Arabia 1986-1987, and currently Chief Imam/Murshid Nuruddeen Juma'a Mosque Jos. He also served as Treasurer for the National Board for Arabic and Islamic Studies Plateau Chapter and Vice Chairman Arabic and Islamic Teachers Association Plateau State Chapter. He is a Pilgrim's Guide Cleric in the Holy Land. He is a member of the panel of Judges of Plateau State Qur'anic Recitation Competition (NQRC).

He worked at various schools as Arabic/Islamic teacher and school administrator from 1987-2008. He is currently a Lecturer in the Department of Islamic Studies, Abba Bukar Ibrahim University, Damaturu, Yobe State of Nigeria. He delivers annual *tafsir* in Yoruba language and in Hausa. As Salafi he maintains cordial relation with government and other Muslim groups and scholars.

Another important issue that has risen by these Scholars was the discrimination by the incumbent administration against Muslims particular Hausa and Fulani.

## 6. Conclusion

None of the Islamic groups or individuals discussed above has a political affiliation with any party or individual politician or ethnic orientation in the State. Nevertheless their influence is evident from the fact that most of the politicians vying for elective positions have to visit them for their prayers and canvassing votes of their adherents. All except the Brothers

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<sup>16</sup> Much of the information in this subsection based on an interview with Sheikh Abdur-Rahim Muhammad Sunusi Adam, conducted on 4 March 2011.

(“Shia”) have outwardly recognized and respected the constituted authority despite their grievances of being discriminated by the indigenes and government of Plateau State. Religious tolerance, Islamic education, non-violent struggle and peaceful coexistence have been the common characteristics of the groups and the scholars because the groups always are encouraging their followers to discharge their civil obligations and to strive for knowledge, and are practically pursuing their political, religious and social rights through peaceful means and legal action whenever and wherever the need arises.

All the groups their members and sympathizers from different categories of Muslim civil servants, businessmen and women, farmers, and nomad Fulani, students, contractors, the unemployed, arts and craftsmen, young and old irrespective of gender or ethnic background. However, women are not allowed to be active members or participants in Izala and Jama’atu; but in Jama’atu women are being brought in on Aid Group activities.

In some states especially in far north, not only philanthropic groups and individuals but also the state and local governments have supported the Qur’anic and Islamiyya schools by with infrastructure, materials and funds. In Plateau, only Muslim philanthropic groups and individuals are doing this, except that the state government does support Jama’atu with funds for its schools. Finally, Plateau State has maintains only two official Muslim organizations namely the Sharia Court of Appeal and the Muslim Pilgrims Welfare Board.

## 7. List of interviewees

S/N	Name	Address	Date interviewed
1.	Alhaji Abdul-Aziz Zakariyya	Nuruddeen Mosques, Jos	8/7/2009
2.	Barrister Hajiya Aminat Lawal Musa	Ministry of Justice Complex-Jos	13/7/2009
3.	Barrister Adamu Sabo	Shari’a Court of Appeal, Jos	15/3/2011
4.	Alhaji Idris Malwa	Izala ‘A’ Headquarters Jos	17/8/2009
5.	Malam Adamu Tsoho	Aguwan Rogo, Jos (his residence)	29/7/2009
6.	Sheikh (Dr) Abdur-Rahamn Lawan Adam	Irshad Dept. JNi Jos North	29/2/2011
7.	Sheikh Abdullah Mukhtar Adam	Ministry of Education Hqtrs. Jos	1/3/2011
8.	Malam Umar Abubakar Yakubu	Tsangaya Filin Lilo Sabon Fegi Jos	2/3/2011
9.	Sheikh Muh. Sani Yahaya Jingir	Izala ‘A’ Headquarters Jos	3/3/2011
10.	Alhaji Ayuba Kwande	Muslim Pilgrims Board, Jos	8/3/2011
11.	Sheikh Abur-Rahim Sunusi Adam	Nuruddeen Headquarters Jos	4/3/2011
12.	Alhaji Danjuma Khalid	JNi First Aid Group Office Jos	10/ 3/2011
13.	Barrister Garba Ahmad	‘Yantifa Bauchi Road, Jos	10/3/2011
14.	Hajiya Zainab Zakari Wase	Jos LGEA	12/3/2011
15.	Mal. Amin Sadis Abdulahi	Universal Primary Education Commission (UBEC), Jos	16/3/2011
16.	Justice, Qadi Muhammad Adam Farar-Kasa	Sharia Court of Appeal, Jos	20/3/2011
17.	Alhaji Sani Muhammad	Gero Road Bukuru Jos-South	21/3/2011
18.	Malam Mahmood Tsoho	Nigeria Association of Arabic and Islamic Studies (NATAIS) office Jos	5/4/2011
19.	Dr. Ibrahim Haruna Hassan	Liberty Quarters Jos	22/3/2011
20.	Mr. John Ngar	National Population Commission, Jos	23/3/2011

21.	Hajiya Mayam Abu	Barkin Ladi (her residence)	24/3/2011
22.	Malam Huasini Garga	Dengi (his residence)	25/3/2011
23.	Malam Kabiru Bappa	Gindiri (his residence)	26/3/2011
24.	Ardo Dahiru Manga	Bokkos (his residence)	27/3/2011
25.	Malam Bala Ishaka	Kurgwi (his residence)	28/3/2012
26.	Malam Usman Muhammad	Min. of Information Plateau State	29/3/2011
27.	Malam Yussu Muhammad	Nigeria Television Authority, Jos	29/3/2011
28.	Alhaji Abba Danborno	Yantaya Jos	30/3/2011
29.	Engineer Amin Muhammad	University of Jos	30/3/2011
30.	Alaramma Sai'd	At his Tsangaya Rikkos Jos	31/3/2011
31.	Hafiz Sulaiman Sadis	Nasarawa Gwong Jos	31/3/2011
32.	Malam Mikai'l Secretary	Usama Sec. School, Jos	2/4/2011
33.	Alhaji Yusuf Yahaya	Organization of Arabic and Islamic Primary Schools Teachers P/state, Jos	3/4/2011

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