

**WORLD CHRISTIANITY IN CRISIS: GLOCALIZATION,
RE-TRANSMISSION, AND *BOKO HARAM'S*
CHALLENGE TO NIGERIAN
BAPTISTS (2000-2012)**

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of

The Fish School of Evangelism and Missions

Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

In Partial Fulfilment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Moses Audi

December 2016

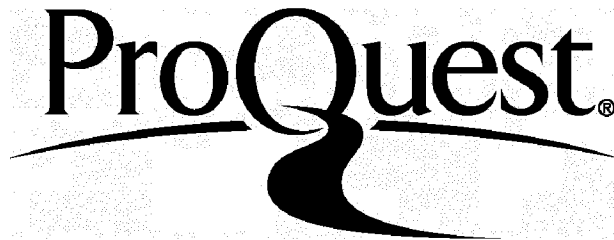
ProQuest Number: 10310983

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10310983

Published by ProQuest LLC(2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346


Copyright © 2016 Moses Audi

All rights reserved. Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary has permission to reproduce and disseminate this document in any form by any means for purposes chosen by the Seminary, including, without limitation, preservation or instruction.


APPROVAL SHEET

**WORLD CHRISTIANITY IN CRISIS: GLOCALIZATION,
RE-TRANSMISSION, AND *BOKO HARAM'S*
CHALLENGE TO NIGERIAN
BAPTISTS (2000-2012)**

Moses Audi



Keith Eitel, D. Theo, D. Miss., Dissertation Supervisor



Dean Sieberhagen, D. Theo., Second Reader



Matt Queen, Ph. D., Third Reader, Associate Dean of
Doctoral Programs

Date December 15, 2016

Abstract

World Christianity in Crisis: Glocalization, Re-Transmission, and *Boko Haram's* Challenge to Nigerian Baptists (2000-2012)

This dissertation argues that *Boko Haram (BH)* has affected the image of the Church, and hindered effective glocalization and retransmission of the gospel in Nigeria. This development has provoked Nigerian Baptists towards violent response, departing from biblical precedence of spirituality and abandonment of missions with far reaching implication locally and globally.

The study employed library and oral history techniques studying the subject from present to its historical roots. The entangled history of Nigeria, NBC, and insurgency has disclosed a long standing desire to Islamize Nigeria by establishing *Sharia* law and running a Caliphate in Nigeria.

Nigerian Christians need to accept *BH* challenge as persecution and see Muslims as in need of the gospel. This challenge is a clarion call for the Church to persevere, build character and await the hope that never fails (Romans 5:3-4) as the ultimate *raison d'etre* of the Church after the example of the early Church. Apparently, persecution opens the door to the gospel and empowers the Church for missions as the church's ultimate response that can result in glocal impact through a revitalization of the Church's life and witness.

This study identifies seven areas for further studies. They are: the need to investigate causative factors for the drastic change in the response of the Nigerian Church from perceiving Islamic challenge as persecution to current tendency towards violence and political vindictiveness; identify the role of theological institutions and task them to provide effective theological education and pastoral leadership that can sustain Biblical Christianity in the midst of growing persecution along with any other available alternatives; the need to study the hindrances to gospel re-transmission in Muslim Context; the need to appraise missions as the church's greatest asset for appropriate response; the need for assessment of mission strategies; effective collaboration between theological institutions, pastors and mission boards; and the need to study the various forms of persecution that world Christianity faces today.

Search words for this research include: World Christianity in crisis, Christian response to Boko Haram, Glocalization, gospel retransmission, Persecution in Nigeria, and Baptists in Northern Nigeria.

Moses Audi, *Ph.D.*
Advisor: Keith Eitel, *D. Miss, D. Theo.*
Fish School of Missions
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2016

WORLD CHRISTIANITY IN CRISIS: GLOCALIZATION,
RE-TRANSMISSION, AND BOKO HARAM'S
CHALLENGE TO NIGERIAN
BAPTISTS (2000-2012)

Copyright	
Approval Page	
Abstract	
Table of Content	
List of Abbreviation.....	ix
List of Figures.....	xi
List of Tables.....	xii
Preface.....	xiii
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Thesis Argument.....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	2
Purpose of Study.....	10
Theoretical Framework.....	11
Methodology.....	13
Delimitation of Study.....	14
Definition of Key Terms.....	15

Summary.....	20
Chapter Two: Missions and Insurgency in Nigeria: A Baptist Historical Survey.....	21
Nigeria’s History in Brief.....	22
Roots of Insurgency in the Entangled History.....	41
Historical Fusion of Religions, Politics, Ethnicity And Economics.....	53
The <i>Sharia</i> Question.....	59
Nigeria and OIC Membership.....	61
Developments of Religious Crises in Northern Nigeria.....	65
Religion and Political Development in Nigeria.....	79
Development of NBC’s Missions: Northern Nigeria.....	82
Insurgency and NBC’s Churches.....	98
Summary.....	103
Chapter Three: <i>Boko Haram</i> and Glocalization of Nigerian Baptists.....	109
Biblical Antecedent of Glocalization and Violence.....	109
Glocalization of the Early Church.....	116
<i>Boko Haram</i> , Nigerian Baptists’ Suffering and Response.....	124
The Glocal Impact of Nigerian Baptists.....	141
The Early Church Confronting Nigerian Baptists.....	152
Summary.....	155
Chapter Four: <i>Boko Haram</i> and the Nigerian Christian Experience.....	157
<i>Boko Haram</i> and Incarnational Christianity.....	157

Missional Commitment of the Nigerian Baptists.....	170
Revisiting Religiously Motivated Violence.....	180
The Crisis of World Christianity.....	192
The Implications of the Nigerian Experience.....	194
Terrorism as a Model of Persecution.....	204
Summary.....	206
Chapter Five: Conclusion.....	208
Summary.....	208
The Future of Christianity.....	211
Recommendation.....	212
Appendixes.....	216
Appendix 1 A-B.....	216
Appendix 2 A-I.....	219
Appendix 3 A-B.....	330
Appendix 4.....	334
Bibliography.....	339

Table of Abbreviation

AIT – African Independent Television
APC – All Progressive Congress
AR – African Religion
BACTSIN – Baptist Accrediting Council for Theological Schools in Nigeria
BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation
BETFA – Biblical Evangelical Theological Forum for Africa
BH – Boko Haram
BMN – Baptist Mission of Nigeria
BTSK – Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna
CAN – Christian Association of Nigeria
CAPRO – (Calvary Production) Calvary Ministries – non-denominational mission organization based in Nigeria.
CPC – Conscience People’s Congress
DSS – Department of Security Service
ERT – Evangelical Review of Theology
EYN – *Ekilisiyar Yan’uwar a Nigeria* (Church of the Brethren in Nigeria)
FCT – Federal Capital Territory
GICK – Gray International College Kaduna
GMB – Global Mission Board
HQ – Headquarter
IBB – Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida
IDP – Internally Displaced Persons
IMB – International Mission Board
ISIS – Islamic State of Iraq and ash Sham (Also referred to as IS and ISIL)
JCMWA – Joint Christian Ministry in West Africa
JNI – Jama’atu Nasril Islam
LLC – Love Language Committee
MMU – Men Missionary Union
NBC – Nigerian Baptist Convention
NDA – National Defense Academy
NEMA – Nigerian Evangelical Mission Association
NIV – New International Version
NOVAD – Non-Violence for African Development
NPN – National Party of Nigeria
OIC – Organization of Islamic Conference (now Cooperation)
OJOT – Ogbomoso Journal of Theology
PDP – People’s Democratic Party
SBC – Southern Baptist Convention

SDP – Social Democratic Party
UPN – Unity Party of Nigeria
WMU – Women Missionary Union
DNA – Deoxyribonucleic Acid of the Church

List of Figures

Figure 1: Geo-Political Division of Nigeria.....	25
Figure 2: Map of Nigeria with 19 States.....	31
Figure 3: Historic Map of Nigeria with Three Regions.....	32
Figure 4: The North and South Divide of Nigeria.....	36
Figure 5: Pre-Colonial West Africa.....	38
Figure 6: Map Reflecting 2011 Elections.....	47

List of Tables

Table 1: Historical Developments in Nigeria.....	79
Table 2: Current Home Missions Fields in Northern Nigeria.....	84
Table 3: Impact of <i>BH</i> on Baptist Church in Northern Nigeria.....	87
Table 4: Nigerian Experience – Political Leadership.....	107
Table 5: Christian Response to Violence in Nigeria.....	132
Table 6: Nigerian Church Compared with Early Church.....	153

Preface

All praise to God for the opportunity and grace granted me to undertake this research. I am very grateful to Prof. Paige Patterson, the President of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth. I appreciate the scholarship granted me for this study and the many other privileges. I am indebted to my supervisor, Prof. Keith Eitel, for his painstaking guidance through this study. I appreciate the co-supervisor, Dr. Dean Sieberhagen, as well whose comments were very helpful. I appreciate the privilege of the closer work with all the faculty of the Fish School, especially Dr. Matt Queen, Associate Dean of the Doctoral Studies and third supervisor, Dr. Dietmar W. Schulze, Dr. John David Massey, Dr. Mike Morris, and Brandon Kiesling for their contributions.

I also express my appreciation to all the individuals who granted me oral interviews. They are Dr. S. Ademola Ishola, Dr. John Oluwafemi Adewumi, Dr. Joseph Audu Reni (his personal library was also very helpful), Prof. John Ade Ajayi, Rev. Saul Danzaria, Rev. Zacharia Ako, Rev. James Vandiwghya, Rev. Joseph J. Hayab and Rev. Thimnu Enima Babagunda.

I am indebted to various libraries as well. The libraries include: Robert's Library of SWBTS, Ibrahim Danin Library of Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna, Southern Baptist Convention Archives Richmond. I am especially indebted to Archive staff, Jim Berwick who uploaded invaluable material for this study.

I appreciate the financial and moral support of Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna and the president, Dr. R. I. Chuga, Rev. David Dagah, Rev. Bode Oke, and Prof. John Ade Ajayi. I thank my wife and children who assisted me with managing the transcripts as well. How that Pastor Amusa Iyanda Lawuyi would have seen the completion of this program with me? He hosted me in Lagos for all of my trips to and from the US.

I specially appreciate Dr. and Mrs. Keith Eitel for being family far away from Nigeria. I am eternally grateful to you all.

Moses Audi
Fort Worth, Texas
December 2016

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Thesis Argument

This thesis investigates the religious, political, and ethnic tensions resulting from *Boko Haram's* (BH's)¹ activities in order to assess the resultant impact on Nigerian Baptist Convention's² image, *glocalization*³ and re-transmission⁴ of the gospel in Northern Nigeria.⁵ It studies how BH complicated the sustenance of religious liberty alongside religious particularities and the attendant inter-religious hatred. This is thus anticipated to reveal an impact on mission theory and practice of Nigerian Baptist Convention churches; Christian pastoral and missionary commitments with especial interest towards reaching Muslims.

¹*Boko Haram* is an Islamic fundamentalist group that derived its name from its agenda to outlaw everything Western in Nigeria. The name *BH* literally means *Western education, religion, and civilization is sinful*. See section on definition of terms. Subsequently, the term will be represented as *BH*.

² The Nigerian Baptist Convention henceforth is referred to as NBC. Also, a fuller definition is provided under definition of term. NBC represents the Baptists in this work.

³ Definition of *glocalization* is provided below.

⁴ Re-transmission is defined below, as well.

⁵ Northern Nigeria will be represented as NN subsequently. Northern Nigeria represents two-thirds of the land mass of the country from below the rivers Niger and Benue. It comprises three geopolitical zones of Nigeria namely – North East, North West and the Middle belt. It constitutes 19 states and the FCT (Federal Capital Territory) of the 35 states of the Federation. The North is bordered on the south by Kwara, Kogi and Benue states. See map in Chapter two.

Statement of the Problem

BH is an Islamic insurgence that resembles an earlier group known as *Maitatsine*.⁶ One commonality is their commitment to violent implementation of the Islamic law - *Sharia*. The shared goal and approach between the two groups constitute a challenge for establishing the difference between them. Both have inflicted violence on the Nigerian society, especially in Northern Nigeria, and have called for forceful implementation of the *Sharia*. *BH* which literally means "Western education is illegal and sinful" is a homegrown fundamentalist group with external links and support.⁷ *BH* interprets Christianity as an essential part of "Western education" (*Boko*).⁸ For the Muslims in general, fighting Western influence will involve fighting Christianity and vice versa. For *Sharia* to be implemented there must be a Muslim government in place. Since the current Nigerian government is not Islamic per se, *BH* fights Western education, Christianity, and the Federal Government. Its aim is to Islamize Nigeria so as to implement *Sharia*.⁹

⁶*Maitatsine* was an Islamic insurgence in 1989 that attempted to eradicate Christianity in Northern Nigeria in order to establish Muslim leadership over Nigeria with *Sharia* and join Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC).

⁷"Northern Leaders Looked Sideways When Boko Haram Members Were Being Trained by Al Qaeda, Says Emir Who Opposes Amnesty," (accessed March 14, 2013), <http://tinyurl.com/j3cqeah>.

⁸See Peter Kazenga Tibenderana, "The Emirs and the Spread of Western Education in Northern Nigeria, 1910-1946," *The Journal of African History* 24, 4 (1983): 517-519. And, Anthony L. Bature, "The Role of Faith-Based Schools in the Promotion of Peace and Justice in Ethno-Religious Conflict-Driven Taraba State, Nigeria" (PhD Dissertation, Fordham University, 2012), accessed April 2, 2013, ProQuest Ebrary.

⁹The Muslims in general have wished and worked consciously toward Islamizing the whole country. They are trying to ensure Muslim leadership at all state levels and ensure Islamic candidates for the presidency as well as all important heads of government and private

The desire for an Islamic state among Nigerian Muslims in general elicits sympathy for *BH* and appraises their course as noble even if not publicly. The said agenda empowers *BH* to call for support from all Muslims for their course, calling it *Jihad*.

The implication is that anything non-Islamic has to be rooted out of Nigeria before their agenda can be achieved. It is no surprise, therefore, that Sheik Gumi of Kaduna affirmed the difficulty of distinguishing between a fight against *BH* and a fight against Islam. According to Gumi, the Nigerian government should tread carefully in addressing the problem of *BH* in Nigeria and the insurgency in Mali. He was reported as saying:

Today Nigerian troops are committed in Mali to fight 'Islamic terrorists' without intellectually looking at the repercussion of such an adventure. We all know that the 'war against terror' which Islam also fights can easily be turned into war against Islam. There is a thin line between the two. And if caution is not taken, the situation can seriously be dangerous for the nation and more so for the government. 'One thing is very clear. No nation on earth can fight Islam and succeed.'¹⁰

Earlier Gumi asserted, ". . . that the late governor of Kaduna state, Mr. Patrick Ibrahim Yakowa perished along with former National Security Adviser, General Andrew Azazi while strategizing against Northern Muslims."¹¹ No one has been able to name

establishments. The progress in this direction was evident in the governorship elections in Northern and Southwestern Nigeria and the lobbying for federal government appointments.

¹⁰"Sheik Gumi Explodes: Nigerian Govt. Is Fighting Muslims By Sending Troops To Mali, Labels Ihejirika SS & SE COAS," Posted by Daniel on January 20, 2013, (accessed January 22, 2013), <http://tinyurl.com/j3sd2zw>.

¹¹"Sheik Gumi: 'Yakowa and Azazi Perished while Planning Against Muslims' " Posted by Foluso on January 17, 2013, *Nigerian News Online* (accessed January 18, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/o4tw3qf>.

such strategy that the two were planning. While some argue that *BH*'s agenda is not religious¹² and its members not known,¹³ deductions can be made from assertions by Muslim leaders¹⁴ and from statements attributed to *BH* leaders that the group is religiously motivated and some members of the group are known.¹⁵ While this research is not focused directly on the agenda of *BH*, this agenda helps explain the nature of its impact on Nigerian Christian communities. If this is so, the need to analyze the far reaching implications and effects of *BH* on *glocalization* and re-transmission of the gospel is apparent.

¹²"How to End Insecurity in Nigeria - CBN Governor," Posted by Channels Television on 24 April 2013, (accessed April 24, 2013), <https://tinyurl.com/jx3alxg>. This statement is made by the Central Bank Governor, Mallam Sanusi Lamido Sanusi and "Nigeria, NSA Blames Insecurity on Climate Change," Posted by Onwuka Nzeshi on April 24, 2013, (accessed April 24, 2013), <https://tinyurl.com/bpdx86x>. This second news report is of the National Security Adviser, Col. Sambo Dasuki (Rtd). Both of these are Muslim government officials who are giving the masses the impression that reasons other than religion are responsible for the violence in various parts of Nigeria including the *BH*. The president of the country, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, was also earlier reported to be saying that the *BH* are not Muslims - "Boko Haram are not Muslims – Jonathan," (accessed March 3, 2013), <https://tinyurl.com/hsdnhnc>.

¹³"Presidency Distances Jonathan from Purported on-going Boko Haram, Govs Talk," Posted on informationnigerianews.org, (accessed on March 16, 2013), <https://tinyurl.com/zwdyt8x>. This news item claims that they are faceless and are not worth dialoging with.

¹⁴There is a surprising reversal initiated by the meeting of the Northern elites here in Kaduna leading to the plea for amnesty by the Sultan of Sokoto. "Sultan Seeks for Pardon for Boko Haram Members," *punchnewsonline.com* (accessed March 6, 2013), <https://tinyurl.com/jfsrf8l>. It is later revealed that it was an agreed statement he made when the Emir of Anka in Zamfara opposed the statement and was accused of betraying the Emirs as a participant in the meeting. "Northern Leaders Looked Sideways When B'Haram Members Were Being Trained by Al-Qaeda, Says Emir Who Opposes Amnesty," (accessed March 14, 2013), <https://tinyurl.com/j3cqeah>.

The activities of this group have seriously affected northern Nigeria. Many churches were burned and individual businesses destroyed. Schools and medical settings are not left out. Expatriates, especially Western personnel in Nigeria, believed to be Christian, remain targets also. The government and security agencies remain part of the agenda for destruction. In all these, there is evidence that the insurgency is politicized and Northern Muslim elites are speaking in ways that neither affirm nor condemn the activities of the group.¹⁶

The concern for this research is the effect of this violence on global Christianity, especially African Christianity and Muslim evangelism. The manner in which the Nigerian Baptist churches respond to the insurgency raises questions. The response potentially brings changes to mission theology and practice as well. In light of the above, assessing the perception of and response to violence becomes imperative.

The current governor of Kaduna State, Mukhtar Ramalan Yero stated,

Kaduna town is divided into two, it wasn't like this before. For some years now, the town has been divided. The town is divided from the River Kaduna Bridge. The Muslims are staying on one side while the Christians are staying at the other side. This is not good for development. This thing is not going to help us. Right now, any Christian who is coming from the other side to where the Muslims are will dress in Muslim attire. Likewise, any Muslim, who is going to the Christians dominated side, will have to wear cloth that will portray him/her like one of them.

¹⁵"We'll Not Stop until We Establish an Islamic State - N/Boko Haram Message Denies Ceasefire, Dialogue with FG," Posted on *Informationnigeria.org* (accessed March 3, 2013), <https://tinyurl.com/zcuu7s8>.

¹⁶See comments by Gumi above. Also, the amnesty calls by some Emirs of Sokoto illustrate the point.

This is not going to help us. It is high time we go [*sic*] back to the way we were. We lived together peacefully before now.¹⁷

Yero made the above statement when a delegation of the inter-faith mediation center of the state visited him. It reflects the development caused by the insurgence of religious violence represented by *Boko Haram (BH)* in Nigeria. Churches are relocating to the Christian dominated areas within or outside the affected States.¹⁸ Agencies are recalling their missionaries and assigning them to new fields¹⁹ and Christian bodies are reconsidering venues for gatherings.²⁰ This has raised challenges for the Nigerian Baptist Convention (NBC) in different directions.

First, tension is raised between the indigenes and the non-indigenes of Northern Nigeria. Sometimes, the non-indigenes have felt they are the target of *BH* with exclusion of the indigenous northern Christians encouraging uncomplimentary reactions in words

¹⁷Mukhtar Ramalan Yero, "Kaduna State Gov. Laments Muslims/Christians Dichotomy... Sues for Peace, Unity," Posted by Daniel, *Information Nigeria* (accessed February 12, 2013), <https://tinyurl.com/z4z5fgp>. Yero's assumption of office made the Muslim youth in the state jubilate that a Muslim governor has re-emerged after the death of his boss in late 2012.

¹⁸Significant numbers of Baptist churches in Kaduna have relocated from Muslim dominated areas. For example, Nazareth Baptist Church moved from Kawo to Mando, and Rahama Baptist Church from Kawo to Farin Gida. One student laments in a mission class, "If I tell my members to come to our former place to worship, I will be the only person in that service" (March 6, 2013).

¹⁹The International Mission Board of the SBC (Southern Baptist Convention) recently recalled all new missionaries serving in Northern Nigeria as a result of the threat against expatriates in Nigeria (Missionaries on ground much longer were not affected by this decision). One newly appointed missionary had just completed language study in the seminary here in Kaduna and was re-assigned to a Baptist seminary in Ghana.

or action from either party. In some cases, the non-indigenes in northern Nigeria have relocated to the South.²¹ The Southerners residing in the North constitute a significant work force in Christian ministry; hence, relocation of some of them adds to the tension regarding doing ministry together. This tension is complicated with calls for non-Northerners to return to their regions by political office holders.²²

Second, the developments affect the content of and commitment to mission. The rise of *BH* affects the content and commitment to mission in various forms. The impact of *BH* adds to the existing challenge of inadequate missionary zeal.²³ Circumstantial nature of missions in northern Nigeria may have informed the inadequate zeal observed.²⁴ In addition to the evidence from research, some practical experiences reveal the decline in

²⁰The 2013 general annual session of the Nigerian Baptist Convention (NBC) was to hold in Abuja. This venue was shifted because of what the NBC's president described as avoiding the risk of taking NBC family members to a "war zone." He sent a representative to explain the need for this change in light of the security advice in October 2012.

²¹Rev. Noah Adedokun, Coordinator of Home Missions for the Global Mission Board (GMB) urged the Northern brethren to take up missionary responsibility in the North as the Southern ministers are no longer willing to come to the North. He said this during the Baptist Ministers' Conference of Baptist Theological Seminary, Kaduna held at Bethel Baptist Church, Kaduna October 7-11, 2013.

²²Theodore Orji, "Killings in the North: Return Home if They Don't Want You, Orji Tells Ndi Igbo," (accessed April 5, 2013), <https://tinyurl.com/jlhkbjq>. This call to come home was made by the Abia State Governor.

²³Isaiah Oluwajemiriye Olatoyan, "The Local Church and the Great Commission: A Biblical Perspective on the Practice of Evangelism and Missions among Churches of the Nigerian Baptist Convention," (D. Miss. Dissertation. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary: Louisville, KY, 2011), accessed April 10, 2013. ProQuest Ebrary.

²⁴ While Olatoyan acknowledged the lack of missionary zeal, Ezekiel A. Bamigboye, *The History of Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria - 1901 to 1975* (Ibadan: Powerhouse Press and Publishers, 2000) notes that the Baptist work in the North was circumstantial on the trade activities in the North.

commitment to the missionary work.²⁵ Many churches and individuals have developed opinions that consider Muslims in general as enemies who do not deserve to hear the gospel. This coincides with a development that encourages people to pray against their enemies for destruction.²⁶ Instead of preaching love, many would pray for the destruction of the *BH* and anyone associated with it. On the other hand, some reprisals have been witnessed. While the reprisals were not necessarily organized by the churches, those who were involved claim affinity with the church and were doing so as a result of the action of *BH*. Some experiences of this nature occurred in Jos and southern Kaduna in 2011 and June 2012. Many churches would not have anything to do with evangelism anymore. They will instead stop evangelizing for the fear that they will be attacked in the bid to evangelize. In some other context, the Muslims have relocated away from Christian dominated areas and the Christians likewise, estranging the relationships further.

Regarding this challenge, one pastor in southern Kaduna notes:

The people were furious and angry – any Muslim, no matter the tribe or region, they do not want to see them. Markets are split between religious groups. It affected social interaction. They see no reason to reach out. They are hurt and full with the spirit of vengeance. It affected the long standing relationship that existed. The communities compelled the Muslims to leave. It was not good that they made

²⁵Affirming this, one pastor serving in the North notes that he came to the North to look for money when God called him and that is the reason he does not understand the Hausa language (during an appreciation service of Rev. Segun Aderibigbe of Ife-Oluwa Baptist Church, Kaduna on June, 23, 2013). As pastor to a Yoruba congregation, he does not think learning the language of the peoples of the North concerns him.

²⁶See L. E. Ugwueye and E. N. Uzuegbunam. "An Appraisal of the Use of Psalm 35 as 'Dangerous Prayer' in Mountain of Fire and Miracles (MFM) Church," *African Research Review* 7, 1 (28 January 2013): 14-33, accessed June 25, 2013, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/afrrrev.v7i1.2>. AJOL: 88227-219339-1-PB.pdf.

them leave. The Christians will gain more in missions if they stayed and if the Christians will forgive and reach out to them.²⁷

The people to evangelize are no longer within reach even though many do not think it wise to do even if the prospects are within reach. Those who think it is unwise to evangelize the Muslims thought so because of the underlying anger and suspicion along the religious divide strengthened by the insurgency.

Third, the developments raise challenges towards glocalization.²⁸ The insurgency of religious violence is today a global phenomenon. Mission studies have actually named the challenge of Islam as one of the current trends.²⁹ With the history of Christianity in Nigeria, other nations, especially in Africa, will want to seek insight from the Nigerian experience. The resultant expression of Christianity in Nigeria will affect Christian ministry inside and outside the country. This will affect the glocal impact of the Nigerian church as well as its transmission of the gospel.

Observable impact of this insurgency on the church in Nigeria includes deaths, destroyed places of worship, security posts on roads and at all Christian worship places on Sundays, decline in attendance at worship, and relocation of churches. The people are

²⁷Interview with Solomon Joseph Munga, Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013. Munga is pastor of Alheri Baptist Church, Kafanchan, southern part of Kaduna State.

²⁸“*Glocalization*” means consciously developing a church that is true to its local and global self-image as defined by the Bible. This word is used to point to the nature of the church as greater than simply contextualizing within a given context to include its global image.

²⁹See Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, 3rd Ed. (Oxford: University Press, 2011), 204-205.

living in fear that affects every aspect of community life. The study of this subject becomes necessary for the Church.

Though the impact of *BH* affects the Nigerian church as a whole, its effect on the NBC constitute the focus of this study. NBC is considered a representative sub-set of evangelical Christianity in Nigeria. This study examines how *BH* affects re-transmission³⁰ of the gospel to Muslims, what attitudes it nurtures among Christians toward Muslims and ethnic groups that are predominantly Muslim, its effect on the self-image of the Nigerian church in local and global vision, and its overall effect on the goal of reaching the unreached.

Purpose of Study

This study, therefore, investigates the effect of *BH* on NBC's mission theory and practice in northern Nigeria with a view to draw implications that will contribute to understanding World Christianity from the Nigerian Baptist experience among Muslims. It will assess NBC's mission practices and evaluate the global impact of its mission policies in reaching Muslims, authentic Christian living, and brotherhood among its own members.

³⁰Re-transmission signifies the proclamation of the gospel by the second generation and beyond.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework in this study stems from two angles – the expectation of transformation that engenders incarnational faith and obedience to the great commission. It therefore answers two questions. First, does the Bible anticipate a *glocal* Church? Second, what are basic assumptions necessitating this study?

Biblical Antecedent of *Glocalization*

While there were challenges regarding the Corinthian church, most of the Early Church records reveal that they experienced transformation and were true to the Bible and cultures of their time. Paul and the Apostles in Jerusalem reiterated the need to allow the Gentiles to become Christians without first becoming proselytes to Judaism (Galatians 2:1-10; Acts 11:19ff; 15:22-24; and 2 Corinthians 5:17). The Early Christians saw the need to fulfill the cultural mandate in the light of biblical expectations. In doing so, the Early Christians experienced transformation of culture and life. Andrew Walls relates the history of Christian expansion to a perceivable difference for a visitor coming to earth at different points of its history of transmission which are consequent to contextual coloration of the faith. The difference, yet the sustainability of the faith through the different historical periods are striking.³¹ While this might lead to the conclusion that *glocalization* will occur automatically, it is deduced here that conscious

³¹Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996), 16-18.

reflection on the development in the relationship between faith and culture can enhance and sustain incarnational faith.³²

Assumptions of the Study

First, the gospel is for everyone. The Church has the responsibility to proclaim the message of salvation to all peoples of the world. As a result, Muslims are in need of evangelization. The rise of *BH* challenges the universal character, and design of the gospel of Christ. This study therefore, assumes that the universality of the message remains imperative for Nigerian Baptists in spite of its current circumstances.

A second assumption is that local expressions impacts global expressions. What happens to the Nigerian Baptist Convention, or any other local expression, regarding glocalization and re-transmission of the gospel will affect emerging global Christianity and Christian historiography. Mission crises among Nigerian Baptist Convention churches affect global Christianity particularly in the light of this changing historiography.³³

³² Paul G. Hiebert, "The Gospel in Human Context: Changing Perceptions of Contextualization." in *Missionshift: Global Mission Issues in the Third Millennium*. Ed. David J. Hesselgrave and Ed Stetzer, (Nashville: B & H Publishing Group, 2010), 89-91. Further reading of Paul G. Hiebert's concept of "critical contextualization" and "missional theology" he noted the relationship between sustaining culture and scriptural authority, maintaining the superiority of scripture and importance of culture.

³³ Allan L. Effa, "Releasing the Trigger: The Nigerian Factor in Global Christianity," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 37, 4 (2013): 214-216. See also Hyung Jin Park, "Journey of the Gospel: A Study of the Emergence of World Christianity and the Shift of Christian Historiography in the Last Half of the Twentieth Century," (PhD. Dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, May 2009), accessed May 12, 2012), ProQuest Ebrary.

In the third place, transformation is expected in the life of everyone who accepts Jesus as Savior. As reflected under the biblical antecedent above, the changes in life and attitude of a Christian lead to love for the unsaved. The desire to evangelize and to consider opposition to the gospel as resulting from ignorance overrides the consideration to get even. When transformation takes place, it affects the approach to re-transmission. Life becomes characterized by accommodation, love, forgiveness and seeking the good of others. Such transformation becomes ground for the credibility and positive impact of re-transmission and experience of effective *glocalization*.

Methodology

An analytical historical approach is employed in this research. Library, historical fusion, World Christian Studies and oral history research approaches are used. Published articles, books and internet sources (library) provide the basis for previous knowledge and the map for this study. The historical fusion approach is used to identify various factors affecting Nigerian Christianity and by implication, world Christianity.

World Christian Study approach encourages the study of world Christianity from indigenous points of view. Such study, while being unique, is impacted by past and present antecedents. It also informs the prospective Christian historiography. This way, local expressions are preserved and represented from an insider perspective while remaining a significant part of global Christianity. An oral history approach is used to collect primary data using focus interviews with selected stakeholders. The goal is to identify the actual impact of *BH* on the Nigerian Baptists Convention.

Focused interviews of selected stakeholders provide primary data for the developments among the Nigerian Baptist churches relating to the insurgence. Two sets of interview questions are drawn for Baptist targets. One set will be designed for church and denominational leaders relating to *glocalization* of the church and the other for mission leaders and field workers relating to re-transmission of the gospel. Each set is designed to test the perspectives and relationship between *glocalization* and re-transmission as well.

Another set of interview questions are designed for political office holders, security agencies where possible, converts from Islam and Muslims who will be open enough to share their views. It will augment published reactions/ responses on the facts and impact of *BH* on Nigeria.

Observation by the writer will be used in conjunction with the interview. The observations are tested with oral interviews to ascertain the impact of *BH* on Baptist witness. Guidelines for the observation are drawn to take note of changing attitudes, expressions, and context of the Church's life as well as any other impact at the regional and national levels of Nigerian society.

Delimitation of Study

Concerning delimitation of study, selected places in northern Nigeria mostly affected by the *BH* and other earlier religious insurgencies are taken as representative of the entire region. Kaduna, Kano, Bornu, Plateau and Bauchi states are the most affected by insurgence during the period under review. Most of the field data will be from Kaduna

state for the reason that it is a strategic center for northern Nigeria religiously³⁴ and politically.³⁵ Evidence from the other states is used as support. Secondly, Kaduna is seen as the geo-political capital of northern Nigeria which also has a large indigenous Christian population to the regret of Muslims in general. Thirdly, any of the violence that starts in Kaduna State usually spreads to other regions of the North while some of the violence outside Kaduna has had limited effect on small areas of the northern region of the country. The history of religious insurgences has always had some link with Kaduna State since independence of the nation. The situation in Jos, on the other hand, has other factors like ethnic conflict in the interplay other than *BH* especially in light of current developments in Plateau State.

Definition of Key Terms

Five terms are defined here for this study – they are *glocalization*, gospel retransmission, domestication, Nigerian Baptist Convention (NBC) and *Boko Haram* (*BH*).

³⁴Kaduna State is strategic for the Muslims in Nigeria. This is encouraged by the inseparable relation of the state and Islam. Strategic Islamic meetings and pronouncements are made from there and informs Muslim agitations to ensure the state leadership remains Muslim. Kaduna State is also strategic for NBC witness in Northern Nigeria with its first home mission field and a seminary.

³⁵ Kaduna was also the defunct capital for Northern Protectorate and economic nerve for Northern Nigeria.

Glocalization/ Glocal

Christianity is today a *glocal* religion. The term *glocal* is derived from economy. It combines the idea of being global and local.³⁶ The use of the term in missiological studies can be understood in the following: “The Church-in-mission is today primarily the local Church everywhere in the world. This local Church is part of the Church universal (hence, the Church is *glocal*).”³⁷

'In the twenty-first century, the Church of Jesus Christ needs to be self-consciously what it in fact already is: a *glocal* Church' This means, 'It is active simultaneously in global and local mission that dynamically fosters the *glocal* interaction between the global and the local.'³⁸

Glocalization is therefore used in the sense of the Church becoming truly local and global at the same time.

Gospel Transmission/ Re-transmission

The process of primal movement of the gospel from the Apostles is transmission of the gospel. Re-transmission refers to the movement of the gospel by those who have received it in one context who then in turn transmit it into a new context. In essence,

³⁶Margaret Rouse, “Definition: *Glocalization*” September 2005, accessed December 11 and 15, 2012, <https://tinyurl.com/z9rf75k>.

³⁷Knud Jørgenson, “Edinburgh 2010 in Global Perspective,” in *The Church Going Glocal* (Regnum Edinburgh 2010 Series), eds. Knud Jørgenson, Kirteen Kim, Wonsuk Ma and Tony Gray (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2011), 12.

³⁸Tormod Engelsen, “The Church as both Local and Global: A Missiological Perspective” in *The Church Going Glocal* (Regnum Edinburgh 2010 Series). Eds. Knud Jørgenson, Kirteen Kim, Wonsuk Ma and Tony Gray (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2011), 68, citing Charles E. Van Engen, “The *Glocal* Church: Locality and Catholicity in a Globalizing World.”

transmission is the initial movement of the gospel while re-transmission stands for all subsequent movement of the gospel from one context to another. Transmission and re-transmission maintain both universal traits of the gospel as well as the impact from a given cultural setting.³⁹ The influence of the culture is where tension exists. Whole texts are devoted to various aspects of the discussion as follows: This is the context where some talk about incarnation,⁴⁰ transformation⁴¹ and translation⁴² of the faith and others talk about contextualization and indigenization.⁴³

In the course of transmission and re-transmission there comes transformation. The Biblical affirmation is the expression in 2 Corinthians 5:17, "If anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation, the old has gone, the new has come (NIV)." Effective re-transmission of the gospel takes place when the experience of transformation takes place. It leads to the transformation of life and culture. The impact of transformation on attitudes is also evidence of effective re-transmission.

³⁹Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*. Several of Walls' writings addressed this. The recording of a discussion at Yale by Walls and World Christian Study group did raise this concern also. In *Mentor Tutorial 1* (WCSTU 7412) seminar on 1st of April 2013 Keith Eitel also noted that probably only the disciples actually could have transmitted the gospel and every subsequent experience could be referred to as re-transmission.

⁴⁰Osadolor Imasogie, *Guidelines for Christian Theology in Africa* (Ibadan: University Press, Limited, 1986).

⁴¹Keith E. Eitel, *Developing a Biblical Ethic in an African Context* (Nairobi: Evangel Publishing, 1987).

⁴²Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*, 2nd Edition (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2009).

⁴³David J. Hesselgrave and Ed Stetzer, eds. *Missionshift: Global Mission Issues in the Third Millennium* (Nashville: B & H Academic, 2010).

Domestication of Christianity

Domestication is seen here as acculturation in which appropriate transformation does not take place; referring to an expression in which the culture dominates the Bible. Domestication is that expression in which religion is reduced to purely private affair that soothes the yearning of culture.⁴⁴ Domestication is a synonym for adoption or adaptation theologies.⁴⁵

Nigerian Baptist Convention (NBC)

There are several Baptist denominations in Nigeria. The Nigerian Baptist Convention is the oldest. It came into existence through the missionary work of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1848. It is also the largest of the Baptist Conventions in Nigeria with the oldest theological institutions of higher learning. It has grown to have

⁴⁴There is a plurality in the use of the term domestication among World Christian Studies writers. Scholars like Andrew Walls (see Andrew Walls, "Globalization and the study of Christian History," In *Global Theology*. Eds. Criag Ott and Harold Netland (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), loc. 6125, (Kindle.) and Lamin Sanneh (see Lamin Sanneh, "The Significance of the Translation Principle," In *Global Theology in Evangelical Perspective: Exploring the Contextual Nature of Theology and Mission* Eds. Geoffrey P. Greenman and Gene L. Green. (Downers Grove: IVP, 2012), loc. 392) see domestication as synonymous with translation of the gospel, contextualization and indigenization. Leslie Newbegin, *The Gospel in a Pluralistic Society* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989), 3, 11, 95-96, 144 and 152 (Kindle), on the other hand sees domestication as the unconscious and uncritical introduction of our contextual identities into our religious expression. The plurality necessitates the definition of the term. Also, World Christian Studies discourages derogation of the expressions in context different from our own, making domestication more appropriate to a term such as syncretism.

⁴⁵See Imasogie, *Guidelines for Christian Theology in African*, and Eitel, *Developing a Biblical Ethic in an Africa Context*. Incarnation is argued for as the most authentic form of contextualization.

churches in every part of the country grouped into conferences and associations with a cooperative program.

Boko Haram (BH)

The real name of the group is *Jama'atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda'wati Wal Jihad* which literarily means “People Committed to the propagation of the Prophet’s Teachings and *Jihad*.”⁴⁶ Indeed, *BH* is fighting *Jihad* to establish Islamic Caliphate.⁴⁷ *BH* is an Islamic fundamentalist group that derived its name from its defined agenda to outlaw everything Western or non-Islamic from Nigeria. The word *BH* literarily means *Western influence (education, religion and civilization) is sinful (unclean)*. In the past few years they have attempted to associate their activities of killing, bombing and destroying lives and properties with any symbol reflecting Western influence in Nigeria. These include churches, government structures, diplomatic centers, market places, hotels, and individuals.

⁴⁶ Gabriel Olayiwola Akingbade, “Divine Sovereignty in Habakkuk 2:1-5; 3:16-19 and Ecclesiastical Response to Challenges of Boko Haram Insurgence in Nigeria” (Ph. D. Diss., Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2015), 107.

⁴⁷ See Peter Ropo Awoniyi, “The Phenomenon of Islam in Contemporary Nigeria and National Development: A Christian View,” *The Unifier* 3, 2 (April 2013): 8. See also Moses Audi, *The Gospel to the Muslims in Africa: An African Approach* (Jos: Stream Christian Publishers, 2001), 5. The definition of *Jihad* is use of any means to establish Islam.

Summary

Because of the insurgence of *BH*, there is a decline⁴⁸ in accepting pastoral and missionary assignment to Northern Nigeria from other parts. Churches, indigenous mission and international mission bodies are withdrawing from pastoral and missionary engagements in Northern Nigeria. This development leaves the Northern Christians with declining commitment towards Muslim evangelism, tendencies of compromising Christian particularity, and re-grouping into sectors informed by religious, political and ethnic affinities.

Christianity is therefore, becoming domesticated, regionalized and individualized; hence, affecting the characteristics of Christian expression and mission practice in Northern Nigeria. This will have a direct impact on the NBC's involvement in mission to Muslims and the involvement of other groups that are familiar with the Nigerian story. Those who are touched by the Nigerian story while on the increase both within and outside the continent of Africa, mission agencies have to make decisions that will affect Christian witness in Northern Nigeria and the world at large.

This chapter defined the tasks. It identified the causes, characteristics, and impact of *BH* on Nigerian Baptists. The religious, political and ethnic factors characterizing ethno-religious tensions and their impact on the response of the Church are also presented. The next chapter will discuss the developments in Northern Nigeria.

⁴⁸Relocation is evident in reports at Baptist associations and conferences in North. The Global Mission summit held at Bowen University, Iwo July 15-19, 2012 revealed that most non-indigenous Baptist pastors and their congregation have relocated leaving only one indigenous pastor.

CHAPTER 2
MISSIONS AND INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA:
A BAPTIST HISTORICAL
SURVEY

The missions' enterprise of the Nigerian Baptist Convention (NBC) has faced the rise of Islamic insurgency over the years. The continued missionary activities of the NBC have, therefore, been affected in various ways. While it could be affirmed that the effect has both opportunities and challenges, the latter is becoming so overwhelming that the opportunities are becoming bleak. These opportunities include strengthening the Church to take its life and mission seriously that deepens the spirituality of members. It also opens the evangelism door to the Islamic groups in several ways. The challenge on the other hand is the victimization of Christians on individual and collective levels. The deprivation, violence, displacement, intimidation expressed towards Christians lead to fear, hatred, resentment towards the Muslims, and abandonment of missions. It affects the mode of prayer, Christian living, and responsibility in society. The impact of Islamic insurgency is also breeding sectarianism both outside and inside the Church thereby breaching the internal support system of the Church. The breach is widening because of the impact of homogeneous systems growing in the Nigerian Church.¹

¹ Moses Audi, *An Evaluation of the Homogeneous Presupposition in African Mission* (Ibadan: O'dua Printing Press, 2003). The entire book evaluated homogeneity as it affects NBC. The homogeneous systems include the establishment of tribal churches in pluralistic

Chapter two therefore surveys the rise of insurgency, especially *BH*, and the development in NBC's missions particularly in Northern Nigeria. The chapter establishes the influence of Islam and call for Islamization, especially the call for the establishment of *Sharia* and how it informs the rise of religious violence in Nigeria. The study notes that the tools used in the pursuit of Islamization agenda include religion, politics, ethnicity and economy. While the subject of study concerns *BH* insurgency between 2000 and 2012, the historical trend from pre-colonial Nigeria has informed today's experience. The discussion proceeds below with highlights of Nigerian history.

Nigeria's History in Brief

This section gives an outline of Nigerian history with focus on the key political changes in the North. The history is discussed under five main blocks: the present, post-independence, decolonization, colonial and pre-colonial.² These will become reference points for understanding the nature of the developments and concern of this chapter stated above.

communities, tribalization of the associations and conferences, appointing missionaries to their tribal groups, calling pastors to their tribal churches, etc.

² The reverse order of discussing history is informed by historical fusion approach which identifies current situation and work backwards in search of the causative factors. This approach starts with the known in the present and helps provide clearer interpretation of history from its contemporary relevance.

Northern Nigeria Today

Nigerian constitution provides “right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.” It notes that there is no compulsion to religion; there is freedom to express and teach one’s religion; but denounces membership to “secret society.”³ Article VII addresses issues of judicature. There are six levels of courts at the Federal level and three at the State levels. The *Sharia* Court is fifth at the Federal level and second at State level – the *Sharia* Court of Appeal, FCT and the *Sharia* Court respectively. The *Sharia* Courts are rated higher than the Customary Courts.⁴ The provision for *Sharia* court at Federal and State levels are similar. *Sharia* courts are for those who require it. These courts must be administered by those having training and experience in Islamic law. The administrators are to be appointed subject to the President, The National Assembly, and provisions of the Constitution.⁵

Sharia Courts are to address matters between Muslim parties relating to personal law, marriage, gifts, inheritance, relationships, etc. They are to handle matters judicated in a *Sharia* court or by Islamic law.⁶ Provision regarding minor state: “Any question of

³ *1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*, no. 24, Article IV, Section 38, LL 40.

⁴ “Judicature,” *1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*, Article VII, parts 1 & 2. The Federal Courts are: (a) Supreme Court, (b) Court of Appeal, (c) Federal High Court, (d) High Court of FCT, (e) *Sharia* Court of Appeal, and (f) Customary Court. The Courts at State levels are: (a) High Court, (b) *Sharia* Court, and (c) Customary Court, LL 188-140.

⁵ *Ibid*, Article VII, Part 1 Sections 260-264 and Part 2 Section B Subsection, 275-279, LL 131-133, LL136-138.

⁶ *Ibid*.

Islamic personal law regarding an infant, prodigal or persons of unsound mind who is a Muslim or the maintenance or guardianship of a Muslim who is physically or mentally infirm....”⁷ Current *1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* is an amendment of the 1979 constitution, the first time *Sharia* court were introduced into the National legal system.⁸ This singular act formed the justification for the Islamic agenda in Nigeria in the mind of the Muslims. If *Sharia* is acceptable at all, why would it not be considered the sole legal system for Nigeria?⁹ Christians on the other hand argue that *Sharia* is a provision for Muslims only in regards to their religious matters, not the whole country.¹⁰

In 1997 Nigeria became thirty-six states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). These states are grouped into six geo-political zones, three in the north and three in the south. The area designated as north is large, about three-quarters of the land mass of the country. From left to right, Kwara, Kogi and Benue states border the northern and

⁷ Ibid, Article VII part 2 Subsection B, 277. For the Federal, Part 1 Subsection 262, 2d, LL 138, and LL133.

⁸ Matthew Hassan Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1993), 118-136.

⁹ Jan H. Boer, *Muslims: Why Muslim Sharia Law?* Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations, vol. 6 (Belleville, Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2007). This volume is dedicated to the centrality of *Sharia* to Islam and the crisis in Nigeria from the Muslim perspective.

¹⁰ Jan H. Boer, *Christians: Why We Reject Muslim Law*, Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations, vol. 7 (Belleville, Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2008). See also Joseph Kenny, “*Sharia and Christianity in Nigeria: Islam and a ‘Secular’ State*,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 26, 4 (November 1996): 360-362, accessed March 31, 2013, <http://www.jstor.com/stable/1581837>.

southern divide as indicated on the map below. They fall below the Niger and Benue Rivers.

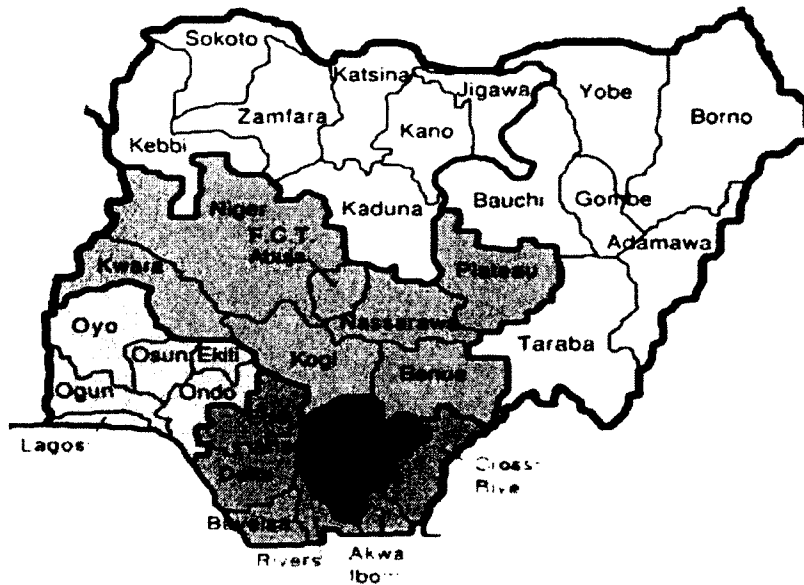


Figure 1: Geo-Political Division of Nigeria¹¹

Twelve of the nineteen states in northern Nigeria, comprising all the states in the Northwest, four of six states in the Northeast, and one state in the Middle-belt, declared as *Sharia* states in 1999. The twelve states are: Sokoto, Kebbi, Zamfara, Katsina, Kano, Kaduna, Jigawa, Niger, Bauchi, Yobe, Gombe, and Borno.¹² The declaration means that *Sharia* courts are the only legal courts for the states and assumes that all the people in the states are Muslims or must be subjected to Islamic law. It was the year Olusegun Obasanjo, a Christian, won Presidential elections. It could be the only reaction to show

¹¹ "Historical Maps of Nigeria," accessed May 2, 2014, <http://tinyurl.com/o74vynb>.

¹² John Oluwafemi Adewumi, "Towards Developing a New Approach to Evangelism in Northern Nigeria" (M.Div. Essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2006), 1.

their displeasure to a Christian as the apex leader for the country. Declaring *Sharia* would also mean that the Christian president cannot appoint the leaders of the courts in those states. Throughout the reign of Obasanjo, these states continued to fight for the implementation of *Sharia* at the national level. Some factors prevented the revival of *Sharia* thereby averting crisis that could lead to the disintegration of the country. First, Obasanjo was in power during the *Sharia* debates that gave *Sharia* a parallel status to the nation's judicial system and he doused the fire by affirming that this is not new to the country.¹³ Second, as a respected retired general who was senior to all the northern serving generals, they knew to tread softly.¹⁴

In the third place, the Muslims in those states are also divided. Some Muslims understand secularity as different from Secularism and preferred it to religious state. Those in this category are opposed by those who see secularity to be the same as secularism.¹⁵ A few of the instances where the *Sharia* was implemented in Zamfara and Niger states affected the Muslims. This opened the eyes of those supporting the move blindly to tacitly withdraw.

¹³ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 118-121, 126. More will be noted later during the post-independence.

¹⁴ As a retired general, he has served before the second military intervention after the second republic. Olusegun Obasanjo has suffered political imprisonment, yet he emerged as Nigeria's president in 1999 and served for two terms.

¹⁵ See Kenny, "Sharia and Christianity in Nigeria," 357-361.

Discussion on implementation of *Sharia* became weak when Musa Yar'Adua, a Muslim, became president.¹⁶ His death before the end of his first term in office made Ebele Goodluck Jonathan, a Christian, acting president in 2010 and officially elected to office in 2011. The revitalization of *Sharia* talk arose in 2009 during the height of the illness of the president (Yar'Adua). There was a feeling that he might not be able to continue in office because of his health challenge. The *BH* precedes 2009. It began to be noticed since that year;¹⁷ and, their attacks with explosives started on June 16th and December 25th 2011, months after Jonathan was sworn in.

2011 Election brought for the first time four Christian governors in northern Nigeria (Kaduna, Taraba, Plateau, and Benue). For Muslims, most worrisome was the emergence of a Christian governor Patrick Ibrahim Yakowa in Kaduna State which had declared *Sharia* in 1999. Yakowa became governor because the elected governor was picked as Vice President to Goodluck Ebele Jonatan, a decision that displeased northern Muslims. His death in a plane crash in December of 2012 was celebrated by the Muslim Youth.¹⁸ Yakowa was replaced by his Muslim Deputy, Ramalan Yero. This development

¹⁶ Musa Yar'Adua became president in 2008 until his death in late 2010. Some of the Muslims began describing *Sharia* as political. There were no insurgent attacks within the period. Yar'Adua's sickness lasted for a long time, but when it became obvious that his deputy would take over in the case of demise, *BH* started gathering momentum to fight what is identified as Western dominance in a Christian leader that would emerge.

¹⁷ Daniel Egiegba Agbiboa, "Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective," *African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review* 3, 1 (Spring 2013), 1, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/npl2d4d>.

¹⁸ "Kaduna Muslim Youths Celebrate Governor's Death." Posted by Foluso, (December 16, 2012), accessed December 17, 2012, <http://tinyurl.com/pf3dtb5>.

brought a decline to the tension in Kaduna. Earlier in November 2012 Governor Yakowa was asked to resign by *BH* but he refused; only for him to lose his life the following month.¹⁹ After his death, Sheikh Ahmad Mahmud Gumi, a Muslim cleric, was reported to accuse Governor Yakowa and Andrew Azazi²⁰ of fighting Islam and associating their deaths to it.²¹ Their deaths raised suspicions of assassination and several groups called for an investigation.²² No information came out of the investigation to the public.

Earlier the same year, the Christian Governor of Taraba had a plane accident and could not return to office. His Muslim deputy also took his place. While his accident was not associated with insurgency, it has made the non-Muslims also try to force him back to power while he was not able.²³ By the close of 2014, there are only two Christian and

In response, the Governor of Niger State, though a Muslim condemned the celebration at Yakowa's funeral. "Gov. Aliyu Describes Action of Those Celebrating Yakowa's Death As 'Inhuman.'" Posted by Daniel (December 20, 2012), accessed December 13, 2012, <http://tinyurl.com/nad5b52>.

¹⁹ "Kaduna State Governor Dares Boko Haram, Says, '...I Will Not Resign,'" posted by Daniel (November 1, 2012), accessed December 12, 2012, <http://tinyurl.com/nwvhngn>.

²⁰ Andrew Azazi was Adviser of Government on Security Matter who died in the same helicopter mishap with Yakowa.

²¹ "Sheik Gumi: 'Yakowa and Azazi Perished While Planning Against Muslims,'" in *Nigerian News 24 Comments*, posted by Foluso (January 17, 2013), accessed January 18, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/o4tw3qf>.

²² Emeka Umeagbalasi, "Nigeria: Religious/Political Fundamentalism & Failed Security & Investigative Intelligences Killed Patrick Yokowa, Haruna John & Others," accessed December 17, 2012, <http://tinyurl.com/ntzwn7y>.

²³ Jan H. Boer, *Muslims: Why We Rejected Secularism*, Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations, vol. 4 (Belleville, Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2005), 100. Christians and Muslims relate variously. If the governor or president is Muslim, he will pick a Christian deputy. In the event that he will not complete a term in office, the deputy takes over as provided for by *1999 constitution*. When Yar'Adua died, Jonathan was sworn in; when Jonathan took Namadi Sambo,

seventeen Muslim governors in the North. Governorship elections in 2015 produced three Christian Governors in northern Nigerian: Benue – Samuel Otom, Plateau – Simon Bako Lalong, and Taraba State – Darius Ishaku.²⁴

BH violence also heightened in 2014 more than in years before. Religious tension has always arisen at the turn of a political dispensation. While a study needs to be carried out to justify this claim, the religious atmosphere among Christians and Muslims charges and informs the political trends that ensues. The pursuit of the political control and implementation of *Sharia* inspired insurgencies and hardens the commitment of the non-Muslims in the country to stay on the political battle front.²⁵ Evidence is affirmed first in the post-independent Nigeria.

Post Independent Nigeria

The desire and optimism of the North to control Nigeria after independence was nurtured by the privilege of indirect rule they enjoyed during the colonial times. Furthermore, the political structure of three regions remained the same until the end of First Republic,²⁶ seven years after independence. New states were created periodically

Muslim governor of Kaduna State as his deputy, Sambo's deputy, Patrick Ibrahim Yakowa, a Christian took the oath of office as first Christian governor of Kaduna state.

²⁴ Max Siollun, "Nigeria's Governors-Elect: All 36 States – Nigeria Decides," posted on May 15, 2015, accessed on January 22, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/j6jgnv3>. And "List of ministers of the Federal Capital Territory (Nigeria)" (Accessed on January 22, 2016), <http://tinyurl.com/herl5o9>.

²⁵ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, xii, 48-49, 264.

²⁶ The First Republic was 1960-1966. See table 4.

over the years. The division of the country into regions and later into states, from the colonial period to the present, was determined by religious, political and ethnic identities. More states were created in 1967 to become twelve (12) with the north having six and the south also six. Matthew Hassan Kukah noted that the northern religious leadership wanted to control the political developments as well. Hence, they tried to insist on determining the creation of states or be consulted before the federal government will do so.²⁷

Additional states were created in 1975 raising the number to nineteen (19) with ten in the north and nine in the south. At this time, a plan was laid to take the capital to the center of the country (Abuja).²⁸ However, the cost of re-settlement prevented this from happening.²⁹ This plan was made during the military regime and was implemented in 1991 during another military regime. Significant changes that have religious motivation usually took place during the Military regimes because they have less structural processes in enacting a law.

²⁷ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 41-42, 44, 47.

²⁸ *Ibid*, xiv.

²⁹ "Report of Proceedings at the Constitutional Conference," *AIT Reports*, May 6, 2014.

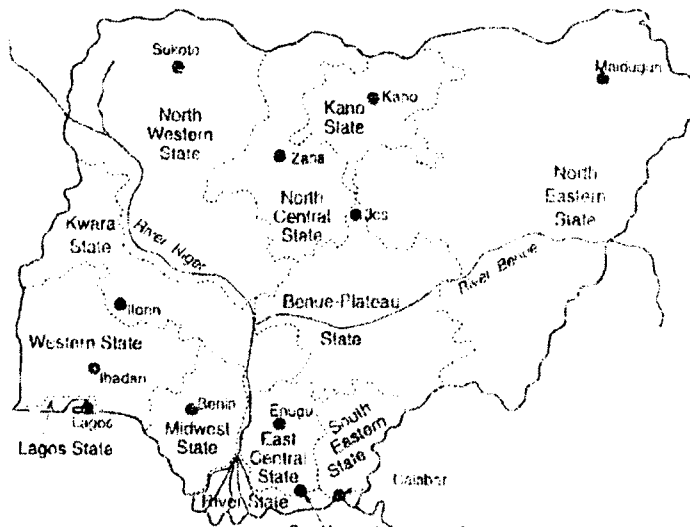


Figure 2: Map of Nigeria with 19 States³⁰

Figure 2 describes Nigeria from 1967 to 1975. Number of the states was raised to twenty-one (21) in 1987 with eleven states in the north. By 1991 Nigeria had thirty (30) states.³¹ In 1997 the six geopolitical zones had six states each except Southeast zone which has five states. There is currently a call to create one more state for that zone. This call is coming up as a result of feeling that the zone is under-represented in comparison to the other zones in national politics and the sharing of the national cake³² (See Figure 1, above). Political and economic ambition was the direct dividend of the decolonizing

³⁰ "Historical maps of Nigeria," accessed on May 2, 2014, <http://tinyurl.com/pjm5par>. Nigeria became 12 states in 1967 through 1975.

³¹ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, xiv.

³² "Report of Proceedings at the Constitutional Conference." The agitation for the additional state came where serving President was from that region. With elections behind, the subject is no longer on the table.

period which raised the hopes of the non-Muslims to liberate themselves from Islamic dominance as discussed below.

Decolonizing Period

1947 to 1960 is considered the decolonizing period. It was the time the Nigerians began showing keen interest to become independent. The country became three regions in 1947 and remained that way until 1967, the eve of the civil war as indicated in Figure 3.

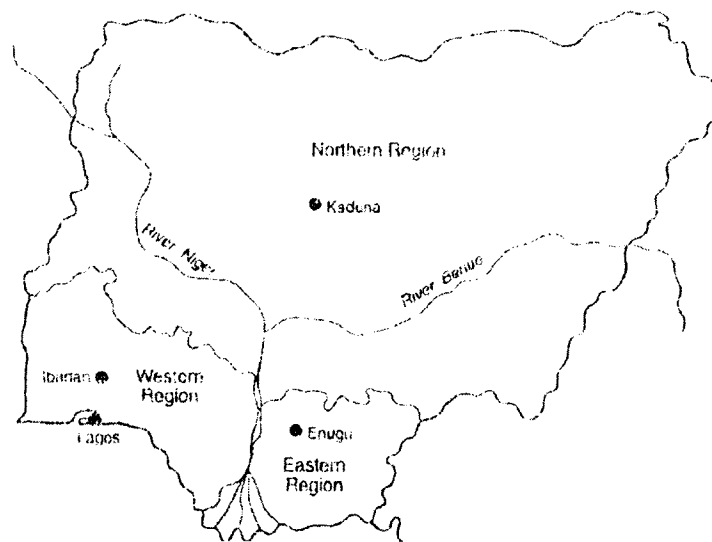


Figure 3: Historic Map of Nigeria with Three Regions³³

Post World War II brought a new trend to decolonization. The rising consciousness of the Africans for independence brought by the participation of the indigenous peoples to defend their colonizers encouraged African revivalism. It kindled

³³ "Historical Maps of Nigeria."

hope in the African to take up responsibility but also re-awakened the African worldview and religion. World War II brought exposure to the indigenous peoples. They gained greater understanding of the colonial rulers. They understood their rights and the possibility of fighting for it. The experience built trust between the colonialists and the colonies and the colonies gained courage to assume responsibility in their homelands. The colonial rulers also began to accept the fact that their control over the territories would have to decline.³⁴

The wake of this period brought with it desire for liberation. While both the northern and southern parts desired independence, the northern ruling elites wanted to see a colonial handover to the Caliphate and northern supremacy. The southern parts and the non-Muslims in the North wanted to see liberation and independence from the control of northern Muslim rule. The southern parts and non-Muslims also wanted to see the establishment of true federalism with equal participation from all parties.³⁵

Non-Muslims in the North became more worried over the control of the northern Muslims and the support of the colonial rulers they enjoyed. During this period, political associations were formed along religious, ethnic and regional lines. These associations

³⁴ Niel Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria: A Study of Middle Belt Christianity* (London: British Academic Press, 1994), 67-69.

³⁵ Niels Kastfelt, *The Politics of History in Northern Nigeria*, Occasional Papers (Copenhagen: Centre of African Studies, September 2007), 39. See Also Holger Weiss "Variations in the Colonial representation on Islam and Muslims in Northern Ghana, ca. 1900-1930" (WOPAG – Working Papers on Ghana: Historical and Contemporary Studies 2 (January 2004), 1-7, www.helsinki.fi/project/wopag/wopag2.pdf).

were used to fight perceived political oppression.³⁶ Commitment to fight for control arose from the long history of perceived oppression by Muslim rulers from the pre-colonial period through to the colonial era.

This period also witnessed the first strong *Sharia* debates in the country.³⁷ With the system of indirect rule in favor of the North, they had hoped to see the restoration of the *Sharia* law which was displaced by Western judicial system in use during the colonial period. All attempts to re-institute the *Sharia* during the colonial control failed until it featured in the constitutional debates of 1977/78 and gained inclusion into the 1979 constitution.³⁸

The Colonial Period

The period to be considered as the colonial period is 1900 to 1960. The later part of this period is captioned decolonization period (1947 to 1960) as discussed earlier. Between 1900 and 1914, the North and South were administered separately as Northern and Southern Protectorates.³⁹ In 1914, there was the amalgamation of the two as North and South regions as the map in figure 4 indicates. Since amalgamation, the country has

³⁶ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 5-8. See also Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*.

³⁷ See discussion under the rise of insurgency coming up later in this chapter.

³⁸ Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 115-144.

³⁹ Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*, 69-70.

been considered as North and South. From 1947,⁴⁰ the Southern Region was divided into two along the dominant language grouping of the Yoruba and Igbo forming the Southwest and the Southeast regions respectively as in figure 3 above.

The pre-existing political structure in the North, born out of Islamic civilization, encouraged the indirect rule system. The indirect rule gave powers to the northern ruling elites which they enjoyed until after independence. This system made the colonial rulers protectors of the control of the North. Any agitation by the northern ruling class was addressed in a manner to appease the Caliphate, but the Muslims never considered it adequate.⁴¹ The non-Muslim northerners usually suspected it and the southerners never really consider it then.

⁴⁰ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, xiv.

⁴¹ Matthew Hassan Kukah, *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 199), 99-100. See also Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*. Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 2-3.



Figure 4: The North and South Divide of Nigeria⁴²

There was no other creation of regions or states until after independence. While religion has never been the primary factor for region and later state creation, it plays a key role in the fight for the political center.⁴³ Development in this period was informed by the pre-colonial control of the Muslim elite ruling class over Traditional Religious groups which were not literate. This later group was empowered by the colonial system and missionary service, bringing about western civilization and the rise of the minority group to political prominence⁴⁴ through education and Christianization which *BH* refers to as *Haram*.

⁴² “Nigerian Maps of North and South Divide” accessed May 3, 2014, <http://tinyurl.com/pydcz2u>.

⁴³ Agbibo, “Why Boko Haram Exists,” 3.

⁴⁴ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 3-14.

The Pre-Colonial Situation in Northern Nigeria

The nation called Nigeria today has an intriguing pre-colonial history. It was a region of Sub-Saharan Africa with several independent kingdoms. Outstanding among them were Kanem-Bornu Empire, Songhai Empire, and Sokoto Caliphate in the North. Oyo Empire and Benin Empire were in the South.⁴⁵ There were other smaller kingdoms in between struggling for survival with alliances and inter-ethnic, intra-tribal wars. The map below reflects an early period including the following kingdoms in the region known as Nigeria today: Songhai, Gobir, Borgu, Zamfara, Oyo, Nupe, Benin, Igbo States, Calabar, Jukun, Ningi, Igala, Shira, Kano, Katsina, and a few other unnamed kingdoms dating back to 1625.⁴⁶ See Figure 5 for detail.

⁴⁵ Northern Nigeria today comprises of three geopolitical zones: Northeast, Northwest and the Middle-belt; while the South also consist of three geo-political zones: Southeast, South-south, and Southwest. Sometimes the North is subdivided into two as reflecting religious demography - the core North (North, East and West) and the Middle-belt. Islam is associated with Core North while the ethnic groups in the Middle Belt were of the traditional religion.

⁴⁶ "Nigerian Traditional Rulers," accessed August 18, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/nex83z3>.

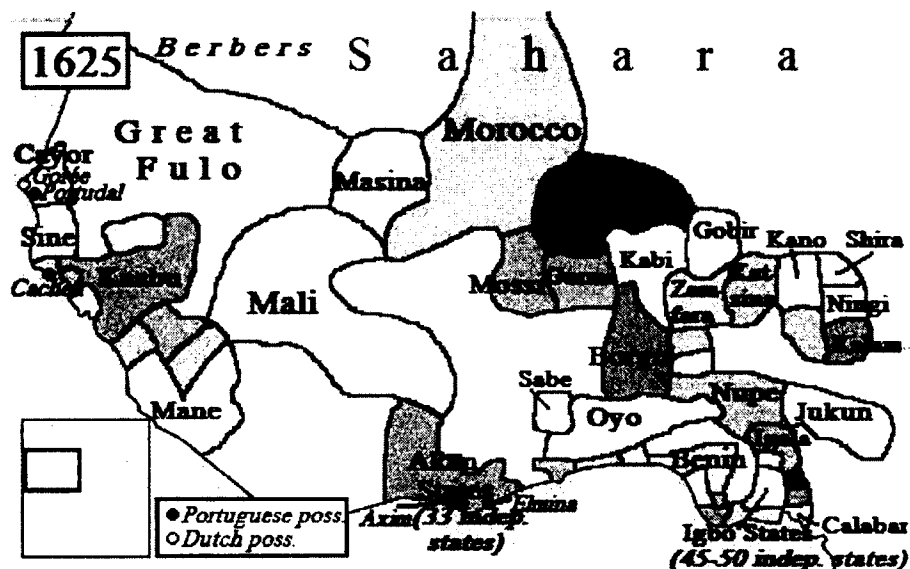


Figure 5: Pre-colonial West Africa⁴⁷

The fall of these kingdoms was mainly through the *jihads*⁴⁸ and later, the advent of colonialism.⁴⁹ The colonial advent and the romance between the kingdoms and the colonialists did not dissolve all the tensions and divergent interests of the factions that now constitute one nation.

Islam preceded Christianity in Nigeria. Historical records show evidence of Islam in Nigeria since the eleventh century through trade relationships. This came from Arabia

⁴⁷ "Nigerian Traditional Rulers," accessed August 18, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/pf9re74>.

⁴⁸ This probably explains why the colonial rulers did not disrupt the rule of the North and motivated the indirect rule system they adopted.

⁴⁹ Weiss, "Variations in the Colonial representation on Islam and Muslims in Northern Ghana," 1-7. The current maps of African countries were the impacts of colonization which did not take the historic pre-colonial map of the kingdoms, but informed by the interest of the colonizers.

through Kanem-Bornu Empire (Northeast) sometime between 1085 and 1097 AD.⁵⁰ All the while, Islam spread to the major cities in northern Nigeria through trade relations and in very peaceful manner.⁵¹ By the advent of British colonial control, the North was already literate with Arabic civilization. This informs the marriage of Arabic civilization with Islam as the only constituents of godly and acceptable civilization. For the northern elites, there can be no suitable alternative. The *Sharia* is superior to the State, hence, the desire to implement it nationwide.⁵²

Jihads were under the directive and command of Uthman (Usman) Dan Fodio in early 1800s. This could be considered the first radicalization of Islam in this part of the world. It brought Islam to limelight and a rapid expansion through conquest. The Fulbe⁵³ were vanguards of Islam on every side of the North as far down as Ilorin and other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. They were the ruling class and prided themselves as the custodians of a monotheistic religion. The jihads made many of the smaller kingdoms accept Islam from the far North down to the city of Ilorin with exception of kingdoms the

⁵⁰ M. O. A. Abdul, *The Historical Origin of Islam* (Lagos: Islamic Publication Bureau, 1978), 120-121; J.S. Trimingham, *A History of Islam in West Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 104-115, 129-136. See also Peter Ropo Awoniyi, "The Phenomenon of Islam in Contemporary Nigeria and National Development: Historical Background and Survey," *The Unifier* 3, no. 2 (April 2013): 3.

⁵¹ Awoniyi, 3-6. Moses Audi, "Evangelism among the Fulbe in Nigeria" (B.Th. Essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 1993), 16-17, 1-20.

⁵² Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 115-116, 135.

⁵³ The common name is the Fulani but the people call themselves Fulbe. For this reason, except for a direct quotation, the name Fulbe will be used subsequently.

jihadist could not conquer like Igala Kingdom.⁵⁴ The jihads were the key factors that made an average Nigerian to associate the Fulbe and the Hausa or even the North with Islam. These two culture groups also claim to be the first custodians of Islam in Nigeria. The motivating factor to the jihads was their desire to rid the Nigerian society of Idolatry and to purify the religion of Islam.⁵⁵

These jihads were fought before British colonization. While there were trade relations with parts of Nigeria in the fifteenth century, it was not until 1861 that some form of British colonial control was seen in the region known as Nigeria. Lagos was made an annex to colonial control between 1861 and 1900; the North and South protectorates were so designated in 1900 with Lagos as part of the Southern Protectorate. The amalgamation of the two regions was effected in 1914, though the name Nigeria was suggested in 1898.⁵⁶ Therefore, the history of Nigeria would be dated to 1914. So, Islam in Nigeria would be considered peaceful until the decolonization period when debates about *Sharia* emanated as discussed above.

⁵⁴ Awoniyi, "The Phenomenon of Islam in Contemporary Nigeria and National Development," 3.

⁵⁵ Ibid. See also Audi, "Evangelism among the Fulbe in Nigeria."

⁵⁶ I. J. Ebong, "The Birth of the Federation of Nigeria," *African Affairs* 59, 238 (1961): 52-55, accessed December 12, 2015, <http://tinyurl.com/zcfhpkq>. See also Ralueke Chukwunedum Ufodike, "The Politicization of Religion in Islam and Its Impact on Christian-Muslim Relations in Nigeria" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 2014), 120-137, accessed August 25, 2014, ProQuest Ebrary.

Roots of Insurgency in the Entangled History

This section looks at the four main factors that constitute the root of religious crisis – religion, politics, ethnicity and economy. Each of these will be discussed taking a comprehensive view of the history of Nigeria already discussed.

The Religious Root

Islam was the state religion and became associated with nobility, morality and godliness. Muslims perceive African Religions (AR) as simply characterized by rituals and taboos. Peoples that practiced these religions can only serve as slaves to the nobles. They are not capable of serving in leadership position because of their low state of mind and life.⁵⁷ This may sound similar to colonial rulers and even missionaries in the past.

Nigerian Islam has the longest uninterrupted history since the nineteenth century in comparison to Christianity and AR. In the pre-colonial era, it was the only recognized religion. During the colonial era, it was given legitimacy by the colonial rulers through the practice of indirect rule.⁵⁸ They set up the political structure as a convenient arrangement for Islam's advantage. The Muslim ruling class in the North expected to continue undisrupted in giving political leadership and maintaining Islam as the religion of the country even after the amalgamation of the North and South Protectorates in 1914. This, therefore, constituted one of the key factors explaining the failure of the first

⁵⁷ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 5-14, 42-43.

republic⁵⁹ and the Nigerian civil war⁶⁰ shortly after independence.⁶¹ The failure of the second republic⁶² also was connected with the desire to place Islam at the center of Nigerian politics. The same can be said of the current republic which is the fourth and the longest democracy.⁶³

Sharia is central to Islam and its teaching.⁶⁴ It is the legal system of governance believed to be given to them by Allah (God). Implementing it is an act of obedience and source of blessings. *Sharia* sets the Muslim in a class of his own and every other person comes in second.⁶⁵ This law code has continued to play a key role along political changes in the nation. The Muslims have always worked towards ensuring the implementation of

⁵⁸ Jan H. Boer, *Christians: Why This Muslim Violence?* Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations, vol. 3 (Belleville, Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2004), 3, 87. Indirect rule preserved the religio-political structure and continuity of the ruling class in governance.

⁵⁹ Period of the first republic was 1963-1966.

⁶⁰ The Southeasterners also were dissatisfied with colonial legacy that gave northern elites an upper hand in governance leading to the civil war of 1967-1970.

⁶¹ I. RotGak Gofwen, *Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building: The Throes of Two Decades 1980-2000* (Kaduna: Human Right Monitor, 2004), 132-136. Nigeria got her independence on October 1st 1960. Religious and political dissatisfaction of the North was a major factor for the collapse of the first republic. For detail see table 4 below. More is discussed under OIC membership as well.

⁶² The second republic was 1979-1983.

⁶³ Ibid, 124-136. The fourth is the longest from 1999-date. See table 4.

⁶⁴ Boer, vol. 6, 220ff. This volume is dedicated to the centrality of *Sharia* to Islam and the crisis in Nigeria from the Muslim perspective. Boer, Vol. 7, represent the Christian objection to *Sharia* implementation in Nigeria. Also Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*, and Gofwen, *Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building* note *Sharia* as central to Nigeria's predicament.

⁶⁵ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, xi.

Sharia through every political dispensation. This is based on the presumption that only a Muslim leader can implement it. While they try to ensure a Muslim emerged as the head of the country or given states they presume to be the majority for the purpose of implementing *Sharia* law, the emergence of a Christian head at state and national levels has been received with displeasure by the Muslim community in Nigeria. Muslim clerics make utterances to this effect. Gumi was reported as saying, "I don't think we can accept a Christian to be our leader unless we are forced."⁶⁶ This statement has been proven true each time a Christian emerged as president.

Emergence of Christian leadership in government has always faced two challenges. First, Muslims pressure government to implement aspects of *Sharia* indirectly or approve principles for subsequent implementation.⁶⁷ In second place, such government must rise up to deal with religious unrest for the whole tenure of his or her leadership.⁶⁸ Each time the leadership of Nigeria changes, the tussle re-opens.⁶⁹

Regional sentiments are also implicated. It seems the Muslims in the North do not accept Muslims from the south as capable of representing them. For instance, while the election towards the aborted third republic in 1993 bore the religious sentiments, the resentment of a southern Muslim in leadership is a major factor for the annulment of the election. It appears that the North did not expect the candidate to win because of the

⁶⁶ Boer, vol. 3, 80.

⁶⁷ For further explanation see section on "Nigeria and the OIC Membership" below.

⁶⁸ See section on "Developments of Religious Crises in Northern Nigeria" in this chapter.

⁶⁹ See Boer, vol. 3, 136.

Muslim-Muslim ticket. Joseph Kenny noted that by the deputy from the Northeast appealed to the Nigerian populace because of his statement on their party's commitment to secularity in governance over the statement of a Christian deputy from Southeast which sounded sectarian.⁷⁰ But when the un-expected happened, the Military leadership added political twist of annulling the election and establishing an interim government with a Christian from the same southern state as the president who served for only a few days.⁷¹ The decision to install him by IBB was motivated by religion, politics and ethnic considerations.⁷²

The Muslims see Islam as the only true religion. They equate Christianity with secularity and westernization. To them, Christianity threatens Islam and marginalizes Muslims. Hence, they do not believe in a secular state.⁷³ The development of political parties took strong religious coloration with the attempt to maintain northern spiritual leadership as the king-making entity.

Religious appellation on political parties represents public opinion which politicians are not comfortable with. But, religious affiliation of the party's presidential candidate is often the religion of the king makers in the party even though all members of

⁷⁰ Kenny, "Sharia and Christianity in Nigeria," 362.

⁷¹ See Table 4 below. It appears that the Northern Muslims would prefer a southern Christian to a southern Muslim at the helms of affairs.

⁷² The elect and interim candidates are same ethnic group and town; elect a Muslim and interim a Christian. As it were, he took the battle to the South. He achieved a political goal of evading a southern Muslim presidency.

⁷³ Jan H. Boer, *Muslims: Why the Violence?* Studies in Christian Muslim Relations, vol. 2 (Belleville, Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2004), 2, 65. Citing *New Nigerian*.

the party may not be of the same religion. Often time the parties feature people from the same religion for the first and second position in government which never goes unnoticed.⁷⁴ The parties became either southern and Christian or northern and Muslim represented by Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) and Nigeria People's Party (NPN) in the second republic and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressive's Congress (APC) in the fourth republic respectively.⁷⁵

For Muslims, secularity is ungodly and Islam is supreme. Northern Muslim elite were not prepared for the influx of Western education that raised the commoners as competitors for the country's political center. They were not also interested in Western education as they equate it with secularism. So, they paid lip service to the establishment of western education in the North that has left the region educationally backward especially among Muslims because it was an epitome of westernization and desecration. Each time a Christian president emerged, the question of *Sharia* emerged also. This explains why the Muslims in Nigeria have attempted joining the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) both during the civilian rule and military interventions.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ When it became obvious that the emerging candidate for Social Democratic Party, (SDP) was southern and Muslim, a northern Muslim was named his running mate. From previous experience, this would not get Christian support; but because of regional sentiments the party emerged the winner to the surprise for all. See Ochereome Nnanna, "Muslim-Muslim Ticket is Political Arrogance," *People and Politics*, posted on April 17, 2014 accessed January 23, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/z2xax7g>.

⁷⁵ Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*, 83-111; Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 5-14, 75, 146-150.

⁷⁶ Boer, vol. 3, 100-101; Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 185, 230-239. More will be discussed on this later.

The non- Muslim northerners also have religious precursors. AR was the sole religion before the advent of Islam. Muslims do not recognize it as religion at all. When Christianity came to the region, it was first the religion of the ‘alien’ or traders. The trade was welcome for economic development but the religion of the traders and the Europeans was not to be considered.⁷⁷ Missionary work in northern Nigeria remained among the adherents of AR. Generally, the downtrodden and marginalized of the society remained the adherents of AR and their brothers who embraced the missionary message.⁷⁸ Western civilization was strongest among the Christianized of the three groups. They wanted independent rule. Mutual hatred among the religious adherents and ethnic affiliations was strengthened.⁷⁹

The Political Root

Political restructuring after the civil war brought about the creation of states, but geo-political boundary lines remained (North, South and East). The Middle-belt, which is part of the North historically and by earlier geopolitical zone, determines the shift of power between North and South. The North appeals to the Middle-belt for support against the South with promise to fight for the northern agenda; while the South appeals to them with religious affinity (Christianity and AR) and promise to help them out of

⁷⁷ Kukah, ix, 1-2.

⁷⁸ Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*, 22-23.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 23-25, See also Gofwen, *Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building*, 124-125.

marginalization by the northern ruling class.⁸⁰ See figure 6 below for illustration from the 2011 election results.

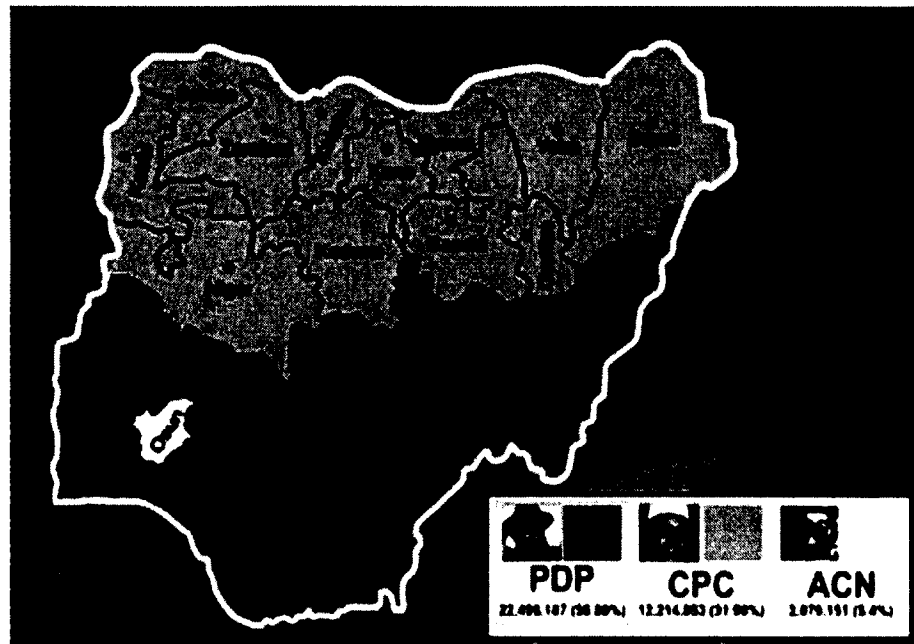


Figure 6: Map Reflecting 2011 Elections⁸¹

Sharia states voted CPC which had a Muslim candidate from core north and a *Sharia* state. CPC was identified as a Muslim Party by most Nigerians even though the presidential candidate picked a Christian clergyman as running mate. The PDP with the Christian candidate had its majority votes from the south and the non-*Sharia* states of the north. ACN had greater affinity to AR than to Islam or Christianity with a northern

⁸⁰ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, xiii. Most people refer to everything northern as Hausa-Fulani which is not true. The northern leaders appeal to this sentiment to win political war against the South. The northern agenda simply represents the sentiments for northern political control which the south detests. The North detests the Middle-belt and Northeastern states on religious grounds, which are TR and Christian; but they appeal to them with regional sentiments for political reasons.

⁸¹ "Historic Maps of Nigeria," <http://tinyurl.com/o74vynb>.

Muslim candidate from Adamawa, part of the defunct Middle-belt and now Northeast. Osun is the only state with a strong call for the revival of AR. Today, Osun state has a Muslim governor who has established *Ifa*⁸² studies at the university level. It is one reason the northern Muslims despise the integrity of converts to Islam from the South or AR groups of the North and questions the authenticity of their religious practice. Also, the practice of AR and Christianity is not devoid of the traditional cultures which expresses what Muslims identify as ungodly attitudes and practices like dances, eating unholy things, and inappropriate dressing.⁸³

Nigeria evolved a federal character structure in an effort to attain equity. The structure puts in place a quota system, regional representation, Youth service, unity schools, federal appointments, catchment areas for universities, creation of states, etc. These structures have become tools to fight for political, resource, religious, military or even regional control and fight against marginalization. These structures have sometimes been used to jettison performance or standards.⁸⁴

Two recent instances illustrate this. When the military headquarter in Jaji, Kaduna was bombed in 2012, the Muslim community accused the military of victimizing the

⁸² *Ifa* is the core of Yoruba Traditional Religion that can be described as divination.

⁸³ Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*, 138-152, See also Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, ix, 39,218, Boer vol. 2, 55-64.

⁸⁴ Gofwen, *Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building*, 26-31, Kukah 262.

Muslim officers who were heading the place by replacing them with Christians.⁸⁵ *BH* did not officially claim responsibility, but one of the suspects arrested claim to be working for them. The target also bears the mark of *BH* – the Protestant Church in the barracks (a Christian and government establishment). Furthermore, an investigation revealed that one of the heads of the place who is a Muslim was involved in the attack.⁸⁶ Secondly, when the National Defense Academy (NDA) recruited candidates for the 2013 session, the Muslim body cried foul on behalf of the Muslim aspirants.⁸⁷

The state motto for Sokoto is “born to rule.” While this slogan has been applied to the whole of the North by the Southerners, it has pictured the general feeling of Nigerians.⁸⁸ Use of this motto aggravates national politics. Though it seems to have originated from the affirmation of the Sultan of Sokoto (still referred to as Caliphate) as the supreme leader of Muslims in Nigeria, a political structure similar to Iran, it connotes

⁸⁵ “JNI, CAN in War of Words over Removal of Jaji Military Commandants,” posted by Daniel, (December 5, 2012), accessed December 6, 2012, <http://tinyurl.com/qflsz5k>.

⁸⁶ Soni Daniel and Chris Ochayi, “DSS Parades Bombers of Jaji Cantonment Church,” *PMIN News*, posted on (January 18, 2013), accessed January 23, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/a5fyb8y>. And, Ubong Ukpung, “Jaji bombing: Report indicted ex-commander –Army Hq” *The Sun: Voice of the Nation*, posted on (February 12, 2013), accessed on January 23, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hz2fy3t>.

The first hit the Church building shortly after service and the second hit few minutes as people came to help which took more lives. Most of the people affected were chaplains – one student at Baptist Seminary Kaduna and a recent graduate from the school.

⁸⁷ Isaiah Benjamin, “Armed Forces: Sharia Council Alleges Marginalization of Muslims.” (October 13, 2013), accessed October 15, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/qjdp4mo>. See also Maryam Ahmadu-Suka, “Nigeria: NDA Recruitment - Muslim Bodies Express Concern over Marginalization.” (October 13, 2013), accessed October 15, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/opu327a>.

⁸⁸ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, xi-xiii, 39, 49, Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*, 23-29, 83-111.

spiritual leadership for the Nigerian State which is not reflected on the national legal apparatuses.

The Ethnic Root

Nigeria is culturally diverse. It has been described as the most pluralistic country in Africa with over 400 cultures.⁸⁹ Within this plurality, three languages have dominated; one each to the first three geopolitical zones – Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. Four hundred cultures subsumed into three political spheres. Religious and political elite of the North are Hausa and Fulani (Fulbe). The Kanuri are also Northern and predominantly Muslim and claims to hold a purer version of Islam.⁹⁰ All other hundreds of northern tribes are AR or Christian. However, the northern religious and political elites invoke ethnicity to include all these groups as Hausa for political gains. Hausa as a common language of the North, northern caliphate mentality, and the presumption that everything northern is Islamic, encourage northern Muslim politicians to appeal to ethnic identity for political ambition.⁹¹ Some from the non-Muslim northern cultures present themselves as Hausa-

⁸⁹ Patrick Johnstone, *Operation World: Day-to-Day Guide to Praying for the World* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993), 421.

⁹⁰ *BH* and its antecedent, *Maitatsine* are predominantly Kanuri and sees themselves as the first Islamic group, practicing the purer Islam. They are committed to that purity as well. More will be explained in later chapters.

⁹¹ Kastfelt, *The Politics of History in Northern Nigeria*, 9. See also Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, xiv, 41-42, 117. Recent research reveals that Nigeria has over 500 ethnic groups. "Nigeria" accessed June 7, 2014, <http://tinyurl.com/qj2p2de>.

Fulbe in search for religious, political or economic legitimacy. Therefore, the ethnic appeal sometime took regional traits to the advantage of northern Muslim elites.

Since this study concerns northern Nigeria, that sector is used to describe this subsection. The Muslim affiliated cultures in the north are the Fulbe, Hausa and Kanuri. Hundreds of other tribes in the north feel marginalized by the Fulbe and the Hausa in dealing with life within the region. When the issues become national the ethnic umbrella takes in all the other cultures residing in the old northern protectorate. All the groups in the region are generally and erroneously referred to as the Hausa.

Before British colonialism, Fulbe hegemony was in place. During this period, the Fulbe were the sole religious and political power of the northern caliphates. The rise of the Hausa religio-political power in the North encouraged a synergy of the two in order to maintain political sovereignty over the region in what came to be known as Hausa-Fulani hegemony. At the advent of colonialism, indirect rule preserved this Hausa-Fulbe hegemony; while after independence it moved from the Hausa-Fulbe hegemony to northern control in the effort to widen its constituency to defend its legitimacy.⁹²

⁹² Kukah, 1-8.

The Economic Root

Trade is one of the chief characteristics of both Nigerian Islam⁹³ and Christianity.⁹⁴ When the Colonial rulers came, the northern oligarchy was ready to trade with them. Yoruba and Igbo⁹⁵ traders are also a major source of the presence of Christianity in northern Nigeria. They came to the North to trade. In the course of trading, they provided places of Christian worship for themselves.⁹⁶

Economic power is an important factor in political power. The country's resources are controlled from the center; hence, everyone wants to be at the center so they can control the flow.⁹⁷ When the country's economy was dependent on agriculture, each region had exports. The South produced cocoa, rubber, and palm oil while the North produced grains, cotton and groundnuts. With the discovery of oil, one of the country's refineries was built in Kaduna far from the oil wells. The northern political control gave them economic power as well. The southern peoples feel that the northern peoples rob

⁹³ Awoniyi, "The Phenomenon of Islam in Contemporary Nigeria and National Development," 3.

⁹⁴ E.A. Bamigboye, *The History of Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria - 1901-1975* (Ibadan: Powerhouse Press and Publishers, 2000), 59-127.

⁹⁵ The Igbo are predominantly either of Catholic or new churches and are not part of the focus of this study. Most subsequent reference to Christian traders in Nigeria will be focused on the Yoruba.

⁹⁶ Bamigboye, *The History of Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria - 1901-1975*.

⁹⁷ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, ix.

them of their rights and empower economically and in terms of infrastructure.⁹⁸ This concern is one element of the root cause for militancy in the Niger-Delta, the oil region. Control of resources is essential. This informs why the southeast would generally like to secede and the North will like to maintain unity government and be in control.

Historical Fusion of Religions, Politics, Ethnicity and Economics

Niel Kastfelt notes that political conflicts in Nigeria are always characterized by religious and ethnic interests. The political and ethnic interests are observable on both Christian and Muslim divide of the conflicts exemplified in the Bauchi 1991⁹⁹ and Zangon Kataf of 1992.¹⁰⁰ The same could be said of the crises in the 1980s.¹⁰¹ Each time there is a conflict, it wears religious coloration and the fight of the marginalized who happen to be Christians seeking to liberate themselves from the domination of the Muslims Hausa-Fulbe control. Each time the violence erupts, each of the factions will use religion to elicit sympathy and support.

⁹⁸ Constitutional Conference news report of proceedings, *African Independent Television (AIT)*.

⁹⁹ There was a claim that a Christian sold meat to a Muslim which was unholy since it is not slaughtered by a Muslim; some even claimed it was pork. This became a reason to attack Christians and destroy churches.

¹⁰⁰ Zangon Kataf riot started in order to fight economic dominance of the Hausa Fulani and it ended up as religious unrest between Christians and Muslims which spread through the whole state of Kaduna.

¹⁰¹ Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*, ix-x. See also Jan H. Boer, *Nigeria's Decade of Blood*, Studies in Christian Muslim Relations, vol. 1 (Jos: Stream Christian Publishers, 2003).

Political trends since independence have left the average Nigerian feeling the North has dominated Nigerian politics. This is significantly due to the upper hand given to the Northern Protectorate, and probably, the impression created among Christian populations that politics is evil. For the Muslims, religion and politics are inseparable. It therefore flows naturally that the Muslims will do all possible to control the politics. This notion of the inseparability of religion and politics is not far from the traditional African worldview also.

By this token, the Christians were not keen for politics until the emergence of attempts to enforce Islam in the country. Though the Muslims are mesmerized and aggrieved by the realization that Christian principles characterized the Nigerian constitution as a secular state, they have tried to find ways to enforce Islam and its laws through governance. This motivated Christians into politics, thereby leading to politicizing religion.¹⁰²

On the Muslim side, they equate Christianity with secularity and Western influence which should be opposed. The religious crisis in Nigeria is, therefore, having a strong political motivation. More of this was addressed under the decolonization period above. On the Christian side, they accuse Muslims, of political and religious domination. These dominated Christians are encouraged to enter politics. Since the African worldview would also not separate religion and state, Christian groups, especially the Baptist, expressed themselves in ways that question the doctrine of separation of church and state.

¹⁰² Ibid.

While the Baptists teach separation of church and state, it remained difficult to stand by it in a country where the Muslims want to see politics as synonymous or inter-twined with religion as well as use government funds to fight religious causes. This is responsible for the religious crisis that touches on politics, religion and ethnicity.¹⁰³

For Muslims, decolonization would imply eradication of everything Western and that includes Christianity and secularity. Muslims want to see Islam as a state religion and Christianity a sideline religion to be simply tolerated.¹⁰⁴ For Christians on the other hand, decolonization includes taking the African worldview into cognizance. This has implications on the doctrines of the Church. In this regard, the Church including the Baptists suffered from two angles. The challenge from the Muslim side questions the doctrine of separation of church and state (expressed by government sponsored visits to Jerusalem, government's support for mission schools),¹⁰⁵ polygamy, cult and moral issues.¹⁰⁶ The challenge from the Traditional Religious angle also questions the legitimacy of Baptist distinctive such as believers' baptism by immersion, autonomy, soul competency and democracy.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ See Ibid, 65-124.

¹⁰⁴ Emmanuel Tagi Njidda, "Fulbe Evangelism on the Mambilla Plateau: How Far, Difficulties and Future Prospects" (B.Th. Essay, Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2001), 17.

¹⁰⁵ S. Ademola Ajayi, *Baptist Work in Nigeria 1850-2005: A Comprehensive History* (Ibadan: Book Wright Publishers, 2010), 289-290, 304.

¹⁰⁶ P. O. Ebhomielen, *Reflections: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Baptist Work in Nigeria* (Benin City: Ambik, 2001), 27.

¹⁰⁷ Ajayi, *Baptist Work in Nigeria 1850-2005*.

On another side, the ethnic diversity between the North and South of Nigeria complicates the issue. It is a common notion that the North is Muslim and the South is Christian. Every media report on the crisis in Nigeria has made such statements.¹⁰⁸ It is not as straight forward as is often presented. It is believed by the southern part of the country that everyone from the north is Muslim or from Muslim background which is not always true. Generalizations of this nature are made about the southern part as well that all are Christian. When crisis erupts with a religious undertone, it invariably becomes ethnic as well. While people have settled across the region of their origins, they are perceived as alien especially with the emphasis on 'state of origin' within the nation's polity. This has direct effects on Christian missions in northern Nigeria. More on this will be discussed under the beginnings of Baptist work. The first time the myth was questioned by census (1991) was the last religion was included in National census and global statistical documentation. Such documentation continues to use the myth as sold to them by Nigerian leaders who want to use it to legitimize their drive for Islamization.

Violent radicalization of religion became evident in the 1980s and is due to politicization of religion.

Ever since southern and northern Nigeria were united into one state in the early colonial period, the different religious orientation of the country's regions have been inseparable from their political interests and strategies. What is new is the violent radicalization of religion which has taken place since the beginning of the 1980s. Historical roots of this tragic development, which has threatened to tear Nigeria apart along religious lines, are partly to be found in the 1950s with the emergence of constitutional regionalism and regionally based political parties.

¹⁰⁸ See Gofwen, *Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building*, 72.

Since then, ethnic, religious and regional loyalties have been decisive and formative elements in Nigerian politics.¹⁰⁹

Kastfelt further acknowledged that the ethnic minority in the Middle-belt with strong Christian political leadership had to contend to maintain their independence from the "Hausa-Fulani hegemony" since the 1950s as a result of politicization of religion.¹¹⁰ The marriage between politics and religions being discussed led to "the rise of ethnic associations, political parties, new symbols of cultural autonomy and increasing political use of the Churches."¹¹¹ It also affected the Nigerian society at the three tiers of governance – federal, state and local levels.¹¹²

This historical notation is revealing. First, the ethnic minority in the Middle-belt has been lumped together with the far North and labeled Muslim and Hausa-Fulani in spite of its wide cultural variety. Secondly, the fact that these minorities in the Middle-belt were Christian disclosed and confirmed that the missions in the North in general were targeting the AR groups in their Missions. The same is true with the Baptist work as well.¹¹³ This is the reason that when *Operation Basecount*¹¹⁴ was conducted in Nigeria, the North was predominantly unreached with the Fulbe, Hausa and Kanuri listed among

¹⁰⁹ Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*, ix.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 2.

¹¹² Ibid, 4.

¹¹³ Ibid, 22-23.

¹¹⁴ *Operation Basecount* was missionary research conducted under the leadership of the IMB on the reached and unreached ethnic groups in Nigeria.

the top ten unreached groups in Nigeria¹¹⁵ yet Baptist churches are spotted in every city or town in the North.

While the country was happy with independence, no one anticipated the domination of northern oligarchy and the menace of Islamic insurgence. The inability to manage this led to the three year civil war. It was to be a North versus South war but it ended up being a war against the Igbo people of the Southeast. Travis Collins noted that the civil war was a mixture of tragedy and opportunity for the Baptist Mission of Nigeria. When the USA offered humanitarian support for Biafra and denied the government, it affected their work in the country, especially northern Nigeria. However, the humanitarian situation created opportunities for the ministry in the Southeast.¹¹⁶

The economy also has informed the developments. Trade, not missions, has taken people to other regions other than their state of origin. Many consider their present residence more as home than place of origin. While Islam encourages the use of country's resources for religious causes, the Christian feel they must share their quota of same resources as well.¹¹⁷ One area in which Christians succeeded with sharing government resources for religious purpose is sponsorship for pilgrimage.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ "West Africa People Groups: Unreached People Groups" *IMB/SBC Archive Document* 6. See also Festus Ndukwe, "Still Haunted by Their Cry," *Occupy* 27, no. 2 (2008): 7-9.

¹¹⁶ Travis Collins, *The Baptist Mission of Nigeria 1850-1993* (Ibadan: Nigerian Baptist Bookstores, Ltd., 1993), 70-72.

¹¹⁷ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 43.

¹¹⁸ Shehu Shagari initiated sponsorship to Mecca by government and Christians argue that they should also be sponsored to Jerusalem. This current government is stopping this

Today there is the fight for economic control as well. The South-south of Nigeria claims that they are the resource nerve of the country and deserve higher derivation. There is also the allusion to the deprivation of the North as one factor that informs the rise of *BH*.¹¹⁹

The *Sharia* Question

The use of religio-political apparatus to revert Nigeria to a religious State from the secular State during the colonial rule took various forms. Starting with raising the *Sharia* question in the Constitutional Conference of the 1950s, the northern political leaders sought every means to legitimize Islam for Nigeria from its cradle. In an effort to please the northern divide of the country to avert crisis, the colonial rulers ensured a soft spot for the northern interest towards Nigeria's independence. The non-Muslims in the North were not comfortable with it, while the Southerners did not understand the real implications and objective of the northern elites.

This uneasy situation made the non-Muslims hopeful that Nigerians will run true federalism at independence. The Muslim elites in the other hand softly nurtured the dissatisfaction and brought the *Sharia* questions each time an opportunity arose. Nigeria was given her independence on this explosive situation that scuttled the first republic in a bloody civil war. It is no surprise therefore that anyone who gave support to the

sponsorship on the ground of economic hardship as they claim. A Christian head of State would not have been able to do this.

¹¹⁹ Agbiboa, "Why Boko Haran Exists," 151.

Southeastern region was seen as against the Nigerian Government to which the North lays claim.¹²⁰

Aware that any soft acceptance of *Sharia* will create the platform to achieve their goal, they ensured favorable national political leadership. Where this fails, they lobbied to use the non-Muslim leadership to accent to *Sharia* implementation.¹²¹

What led to the civil war was the dissatisfaction of the North to have a Southeasterners at the helms of affairs for Nigeria. Nnamdi Azikiwe and his successor Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi as heads of the nation are of the Southeastern section of the country; yet they acted as if they did not know the ill will against their government and also acted in ways that will dissociate them from Biafra agitation of the Southeast. Those of them in government at the central level do not want to be seen as the initiators or supporters of the war.¹²²

Muslim aversion to Western education brought the non-Muslims to political power by the time of colonial handover. The Northern elites therefore were fighting to regain control they had. Even during the civil war, the northern Muslims do not have Western educated or military individual who will take up leadership. The bloodless coup of the first republic brought another Southeasterner to power. The Northern reaction to

¹²⁰ Collins, *The Baptist Mission of Nigeria 1850-1993*.

¹²¹ "Nigeria History with the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC)," accessed December 24, 2015, <http://tinyurl.com/j31qwq6>. Some documents indicate a modification of the meaning of OIC as Organization of Islamic Corporation (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Organisation_of_Islamic_Cooperation).

¹²² Alexander A. Madiebo, *The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafra War*. (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. Ltd, 1980), 29-59.

this officer's leadership brought a non-Muslim Northerner as Military head (Gen. Yakubu Gowon).¹²³

At the close of the war, Gen. Muritala Mohammed came to power as a Muslim from Northwest. His Islamization agenda led to his assassination and General Olusegun Obasanjo took over government. As a southwestern Christian with probably little understanding to the Islamization agenda, *Sharia* received a parallel status of the nation's judicial system. Obasanjo prepared ground for second republic. It started well with a northern Muslim, Alhaji Shehu Shagari as President. The second term failed because of the tension that a southern Christian, Obafemi Awolowo won the election.¹²⁴

Nigeria and OIC Membership

Islamization agenda in Nigeria include the establishment of *Sharia*, Islamic caliphate, OIC membership, contending Western education, and outlawing Christianity. Membership of the OIC is an easy way to achieve this stride.¹²⁵

The criteria for affirmed OIC membership include having a Muslim head of State, payment of membership dues consecutively for ten years, practicing full *Sharia* as the only legal system, outlawing Christianity and removal of Christian worship centers or

¹²³ *Leadership in Nigeria to Date: An Analysis*. Enlightenment Series, vol. 1. (Kaduna: CAN Northern Zone, n. d.), 13-14. Madiabo, *The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafra War*, 29-59. The entire book addressed the displeasure of the North over political control that led to the civil war.

¹²⁴ "Flashback: The Major Players in Nigeria's OIC Membership," *Nairaland*, accessed December 24, 2015, <http://tinyurl.com/zkamjtf>.

¹²⁵ See Kenny, "Sharia and Christianity in Nigeria," 349-357.

relegating them to obscurity, etc.¹²⁶ None of these has been achieved; but its pursuit was the genesis of some of the religious crises in the country.

Religious unrest has direct bearing to OIC membership as was evident since 1980s. The crises in the 1980s aimed at showing the world that Christianity has been wiped out of Nigeria. The report on the damage revealed the enormous Christian presence in northern Nigeria reducing the chances in OIC full membership.¹²⁷ Zaria alone reported the destruction of more than 30 churches in 1983. In 2000, two theological schools, 100 churches, pastors, Christian schools, and other establishments were reported, as well.¹²⁸

There are specific notable developments during Muslim leadership of the country. They include the following: First there has always been frantic effort to ensure a Muslim emerge as president each election season.¹²⁹

During the Military intervention, General Mohammadu Buhari submitted the request for full membership to OIC; while General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida (IBB) signed Nigeria into full membership in 1986. While IBB remained in power, he used

¹²⁶ Ibid. While the criteria are clearly stated in a single list, reading the organization's charter, about *Sharia* and research on Islam will spell them out. See "Charter of the Organization of Islamic Conference," March 14, 2008, accessed July 14, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hvcsram>. Ogedi Prince-Oche Omenyinma, "Christian/Muslim Relations in Nigeria" Ph. D. Diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2000, accessed August 25, 2014. ProQuest Ebrary, 156-167.

¹²⁷ See Boar, vol. 1 and 2.

¹²⁸ Ajayi, *Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria 1850-2005*, 309-312.

¹²⁹ Each time a Muslim emerged as president, they tried to preserve it. After eight years of Obasanjo's leadership they felt a sigh of relief when Musa Yar'Adua emerged. When he died, they tried everything possible to deny Jonathan leadership claiming it is their turn.

other subtle measures to prepare the grounds for Islamization. Steps he took include: outlawing theological education, reducing the strength of the Christians in the Nigerian Military, guided political appointment and scheming with an agenda of Islamization. He also annulled the election that would have birthed the third republic.¹³⁰ The third republic finally came and lasted for only 83 days. The military control continued until the birth of the fourth republic that brought Olusegun Obasanjo.¹³¹

Nigeria has been involved in sponsoring *haji* since 1953. This development brought a reaction from the Christians leading to the establishment of a pilgrim's board that sponsors Christian also to Jerusalem. Prior to 1953, Kanem-Bornu Empire was providing this service for the Muslims.¹³² Immediately following the civil war, Muritala Mohammed was assassinated within the Military on the notion that he set out to Islamize Nigeria.

Nigeria made great progress towards OIC membership during the leadership of the non-Muslims as well. Yakubu Gowon authorized Nigerian representation at the maiden OIC meeting in 1969 whose delegation was led by Alhaji Abubakar Gumi. This earned her an observer status. This status is a compromise between the North and South divide and the respective interests. In 1979 during Olusegun Obasanjo's first regime, -

¹³⁰ "List of Heads of State of Nigeria."

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Abu-Bakr Imam Ali-Agan, "The Concept of Al-Istita'ah and Hajj Sponsorship in Nigeria," *Ilorin Journal of Religious Studies* 3, 1 (2011): 7-9. Note that this was not sponsorship by Nigerian government. The rejoin was able to sustain such sponsorship because they had a free hand to run. The first time Nigerian government took up this responsibility as a nation was late 1979 under Shehu Shagari's leadership.

Sharia was accepted into Nigeria constitution. In 2001 during Obasanjo's second regime, Nigeria made first payment of membership fees and sent a delegation to OIC meeting. In reaction to this development, Danjuma Byang quotes Kabiru Yusuf as saying:

Ironically, Nigeria has become more active in the OIC since this government, led by a born-again Christian, came to power. May be this is because President Obasanjo understood and is pre-occupied with international relations more than most Nigerian leaders. Also, he had greater freedom for action, for who can suspect him of any attempt to islamise (*sic*) Nigeria!¹³³

G. E. Jonathan was said to have led a delegation to OIC in 2013 and paid membership fees three years in a role thereby moving the country closer to fulfilling OIC obligations.¹³⁴

Other contributions of Christian leaders to Islamization in Nigeria include government takeover of Christian schools during Yakubu Gowon's regime. For him, it was to promote education in the country but this served later governments to curb Christian missions and reduce the vibrancy of Western education in northern Nigeria. Also in Obasanjo's second regime as civilian, twelve states declared for *Sharia* as a protest to his victory as president of Nigeria in 1999. The government under Goodluck Ebele Jonathan re-established and modernized Islamic schools in the North, and

¹³³ "Flashback," 14, Danjuma Byang citing Citing Kabiru Yusuf "Nigeria in OIC." See also Bede E. Inekwere, "A History of Religious Violence in Nigeria: Grounds for a Mutual Co-existence between Christians and Muslims" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of the West, 2015), accessed October 9, 2015, ProQuest Ebrary, 60-63.

¹³⁴ "Flashback" These were all Christian heads of States. See also the table 4.

appointment of Muslims into many important government leadership positions.¹³⁵

Besides this political approach, the second side was the insurgency approach addressed in the next section.

It is discernible that OIC membership is central to insurgents' agendas in light of the links between various insurgents and the country's Muslim reaction to perceived insults on Islam globally. The manner of how OIC membership implicated *Sharia* and Islamization agendas resonates in similar principles and the preoccupation of Islamic insurgency in Nigeria. In the discussion below, OIC criteria are the same with the stated objectives of *BH* and its antecedents in Nigeria.

Developments of Religious Crises in Northern Nigeria

The segmentation of Muslim and Christian communities is not helping matters; in fact, it has degenerated to the extent that our children do not attend the same schools any longer. These portend danger in future because our children will not have the opportunity to associate with their peers from other faiths.¹³⁶

The lament above represents the feelings of most well-meaning Nigerians whether Christian or Muslim. While it is difficult to affirm the sincerity of most people, the concern is real for a keen observer of the Nigerian situation. This section of the chapter therefore looks at the development that brought Nigeria to this.

¹³⁵ Ibid. It appears the non-Muslim Presidents undertook these noble actions to promote education and development, but the Muslim North which never really wanted any of it, took advantage of the actions to promote Islamization.

¹³⁶ "Christian Muslim Segregation in Kaduna Portend Great Danger, Says Gov. Yero." Posted by Daniel (October 4, 2013), accessed on October 4, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/pbhylqw>.

The cardinal points to note in this section are as follows. The jihads of 1800s, the constitutional conference of the 1950s, the *Sharia* debates of the 1970s, the insurgence of the 1980s to 2000, renewed *Sharia* debates and northern states declarations of 1999 following and the *BH* from 2009 following. The pattern of discussion is structured in a reverse order starting from today and moves through historical development to the pre-colonial era.

The *Boko Haram*

BH means “western education is a sin.” It has been called other names, some of which include: Nigerian Taliban, Yusufiyah sect, and *Ahlusunna wai'jama'ah higrā*.¹³⁷ It is also known as *Jama'atul Ahul Sunnah Lidda'wati Wal Jihad*.¹³⁸ *BH* arose as a movement in 2009 when it became obvious that Umaru Musa Yar'Adua would not be able to finish his term in office and the inevitability of his Christian deputy taking his place in the eventuality that he could not get to the election period. There was also the fear that if the deputy took the leadership, he would likely emerge as the next duly elected president since he would contest as the incumbent.

In *Factsheet* the United States (US) declared Nigeria as “country of particular concern (CPC)” as a result of sectarian religiously motivated violence since 1999 in

¹³⁷ Iro Aghedo, and Oarhe Osumah, “The Boko Haram Uprising: How Should Nigeria Respond?” *Third World Quarterly* 33, 5 (2012): 858, <http://tinyurl.com/p6merzl>.

¹³⁸ Gabriel Olayiwola Akingbade. “Divine Sovereignty in Habakkuk 2:1-5; 3:16-19 and the Ecclesiastical Response to the Challenge of Boko Haram Insurgence in Nigeria” (PhD Dissertation, Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2015), 107-108.

states in the North and Middle Belt of Nigeria and the implementation of *Sharia* in twelve states. Religion is used to raise “political, economic and/or ethnic discord” in north and middle belt of Nigeria.¹³⁹ “Boko Haram is driven by a will to power, and the religious and temporal dimensions should be equally taken into account.”¹⁴⁰ *BH* is motivated by fanatical Islamic practice, opposition to Western education, democracy and bad leadership, as well as support for poverty alleviation.¹⁴¹ *BH* agitates a return to Islamic rule of old, blaming lack of performance on secularity. They do this by the call for *Sharia*. Both the military rulers and the emirate leaders want to hold on to power from the middle belt or south of the country.¹⁴² “In his video messages, (Abubakar) Shekau¹⁴³ said, the group wants to impose Islamic law and rescue imprisoned members. ...Like their latest video, their real motivation have (sic) never been entirely clear to

¹³⁹ “Nigeria: Boko Haram Religiously motivated attacks” *Factsheet: Nigeria*, accessed August 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/qfuqqse> Cover page, 1.

¹⁴⁰ Koninklijke Brill, “The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-radicalism in Nigeria: A Case Study of Boko Haram” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 42 (2012): 118.

¹⁴¹ Aghedo and Osumah, “The Boko Haram Uprising,” 858, 860.

¹⁴² Zach Warner, “The Sad Rise of Boko Haram.” *New Africa* (April 2012): 39-40.

¹⁴³ Abubakar Shekau is the leader of *BH*. He deputized for Mohammad Yusuf, the founder of the group who was killed in 2009. The group has become more violent during Shekau’s leadership.

outsiders.”¹⁴⁴ Another source noted that *BH* is motivated by economic, political deprivations, religious factors and intellectual orientation.¹⁴⁵

BH membership is composed of Muslim clerics, professionals, university students of Yobe and Bornu, polytechnic students, and school dropouts. Some past top government officials from the north have been accused as well as were security agencies that help them with training.¹⁴⁶

BH has crippled the security and socio-economic activities of the country by their attacks, especially through bombs.¹⁴⁷ The activities of the group range from destruction of lives and properties, suicide bombing, and kidnapping. Its modus operandi is primarily direct attacks. It gives some effort in sensitization and gives little consideration for dialogue.¹⁴⁸ Since 2009 the group has attacked government establishments, churches, schools, mosques, markets, international organizations and media houses,¹⁴⁹ individual Christians, Muslim critics and persons involved in what they term un-Islamic practices, northern elders, police stations, news stations, and banks. Their specific targets since 2012 include fifty churches, thirty-one separate attacks on individual Christians and

¹⁴⁴ Abdulkareem Haruna and Ardo Hazzad, “Despite Army Operations, No Letup in Nigerian Militant Attacks,” accessed August 13, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/q72jjj9>.

¹⁴⁵ Brill, “The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-radicalism in Nigeria,” 119.

¹⁴⁶ Aghedo and Osumah, “The Boko Haram Uprising,” 858.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 854.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 862.

¹⁴⁹ Haruna and Hazzad, “Despite Army Operations.”

Southerners perceived to be Christian, Islamic clerics and senior figures believed to be critics of *BH*, twenty-one un-Islamic institutions or persons engaged in what they term un-Islamic behavior.¹⁵⁰ States of the federation attacked include Bornu, Yobe, Gombe, Adamawa, Kano, Bauchi, Plateau, Kaduna, Niger, Kogi, Benue, and Federal Capital Territory (FCT). Many lives and properties have been lost.¹⁵¹

The attacks are sophisticated, genocidal, daring, coordinated campaigns, and have suicide bombing approach. It also acts in a faceless manner.¹⁵² Two influential individuals from younger generation of *Izala B*,¹⁵³ one of them Ja'far Adam well educated in Islamic university and vast in *Salafi*¹⁵⁴ doctrines, attracted many followers. The other, Mohammed Yusuf, followed the *Salafi* doctrine informally and holds these two distinct positions against other *Salafi*. 1) Forbidding Western education to Muslims, and 2) forbidding acceptance of government employment to Muslims.¹⁵⁵ The man Mohammed Yusuf (1970-2009) started his faction in 2003, critical of western style

¹⁵⁰ "Nigeria," 1-5. This source gave specific list of some of these attacks.

¹⁵¹ Aghedo and Osumah, "The Boko Haram Uprising," 859.

¹⁵² Ibid, 859, and 854.

¹⁵³ *Izala B* is a name given to a faction of the *Izala* movement out of which the radical movement that became *BH* arose. Their doctrines are briefly stated below. It is simply radicalization of religion.

¹⁵⁴ *Salafi* is another name for Wahhabism. It is the root for both mild and radical expression of Islam. This group broke into two – *Izala A* and *B* with the latter being more radical, holding essentially two differing points between them and indicated below.

¹⁵⁵ Brill "The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-radicalism in Nigeria," 122.

education, rejects Nigerian state, rejects any cooperation with Nigerian state, and enjoys popular support for fighting corrupt people.¹⁵⁶

Coincidentally, both Ja'far Adam and Mohammed Yusuf died violently. Unknown assassins gunned down Adam while he was leading congregational prayer in his mosque in Kano. Yusuf was killed in the violent confrontation between his followers and Nigerian security forces in Maiduguri. Their tragic deaths demonstrate the violence that has become part of religious factionalization and power politics in Nigeria.¹⁵⁷

The doctrine of this religious group include reforming Islam and fighting of doctrinal modification, advocating Islamization, encouraging modern Islamic education, and seeing local customs as un-Islamic and critical of Sufism.¹⁵⁸ Iro Aghedo and Oarhe Osumah noted that the insurgency enjoyed some popular support, and co-militant support. The insurgency also took advantage of the weakness of security operatives, religious beliefs, and foreign support.¹⁵⁹ They continued to fight “to prove the Nigerian security wrong,” and “debunk their claim that (they) have been weakened by the military crackdown.” They wanted to affirm that “the Nigerian state and Christians are (their) enemies.” They continued to launch “attacks on the Nigerian state and its security

¹⁵⁶ “Nigeria’s Boko Haram Targets State and Church” *Religion Watch*, (November-December 2012), 8.

¹⁵⁷ Brill, “The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-radicalism in Nigeria.”

¹⁵⁸ “Nigeria’s Boko Haram Targets State and Church.”

¹⁵⁹ Aghedo and Osumah, “The Boko Haram Uprising,” 863-864.

apparatus as well as churches until (they) achieve (their) goal of establishing an Islamic state in place of the secular state.”¹⁶⁰

The consequences of the insurgence include declaring a three month-state of emergency in all six of the north-eastern states. The emergency was extended for another three months in Adamawa, Bornu and Yobe States.¹⁶¹ Suggestions made regarding solution to the insurgency include, amnesty, dialogue, increase security operation, monetary compensation for the victims, employment generation, and poverty alleviation, close borders and check influx of illegal aliens.¹⁶² Aghedo and Osumah noted that amnesty will not work because the motivation is religious as it cannot settle the yearning of *BH*.¹⁶³ Dialogue also may not be feasible because they are not interested in it. They are also not interested in negotiation but a full reversal to Islamic law for the nation at all cost.¹⁶⁴ The development under consideration finds its roots in the declaration for *Sharia* in some states in the decade before as revealed below.

¹⁶⁰ “Why We Attack the Churches’ – Boko Haram,” *Osun Defender*, accessed August 13, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/nsvbdha>.

¹⁶¹ “Nigeria,” 2.

¹⁶² Aghedo and Osumah, “The Boko Haram Uprising,” 864.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 854.

¹⁶⁴ Warner, “The Sad Rise of Boko Haram,” 40.

Declaration of *Sharia* in Some Northern States

The 1990s witness the rise of *Sharia* debates. The emergence of Olusegun Obasanjo as president of Nigeria revived the battle to enforce *Sharia* on Nigeria. The Muslims felt they had lost out and now an 'infidel' has become Head of State. This led the nation into a circle of violence with several states of the north with Muslim governors declaring *Sharia* for their states. The champion of this call was the governor of Zamfara, Ahmed Sani Yerima. Twelve of nineteen states in the north declared *Sharia*.¹⁶⁵

In the 1990s during the protracted military control, an election was conducted. The election was annulled though a Muslim from the South won. The military leaders had been from the North from mid 1980s to late 1990s. Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar organized for the elections in 1999 which saw Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo emerge as winner.¹⁶⁶ Throughout Obasanjo's two terms the call for the implementation of *Sharia* raged because the Muslims felt a non-Muslim cannot rule the nation where you have Muslims. Their opposition was against democratic rule and the non-Muslim leadership.¹⁶⁷

Many churches and the Baptist Seminary, Kaduna suffered great setback owing to destruction from the defenders of the Islamic faith. It was the year 2000 that the Baptist Seminary Kaduna was burnt down by the Islamists and lives lost. Rumor has it

¹⁶⁵ Boer, He discussed at length the Muslim view in volume 6 and the Christian reaction volume 7. Adewumi, "Towards Developing a New Approach to Evangelism in Northern Nigeria," 44. The non-*Sharia* states in the north were: Plateau, Adamawa, Taraba, Nassarawa, Benue, Kogi and Kwara.

¹⁶⁶ See Gofwen, *Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building*, 144-145.

¹⁶⁷ Brill, "The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-radicalism in Nigeria," 121.

that they were putting a price tag on Christian leaders, especially pastors. *BH* found inspiration for this action from governors and religious motivation through their preachers of the likes of Gumi.¹⁶⁸

At the close of the two terms from Obasanjo, a northern Muslim, Musa Yar'Adua, emerged as president. *Sharia* debates died down until his death when Ebele Goodluck Jonathan emerged in his place. *Sharia* debates returned under the umbrella of *BH* in 2009. The first peak of *BH* activities was 2011, the election year. The current peak is 2014 with some state elections and in preparation to the federal elections in 2015.

The Maitatsine

The first prominent insurgence was the *Maitatsine* movement. Their goal was to cleanse Islam of impure practices and compromises. Jan H. Boer notes that it was an intra-Muslim crisis at the most. While more Muslims were killed than Christians, Christians were also killed and churches burnt.¹⁶⁹ From the general expression observed by Nigerians and the international struggles of the time, the Muslims were so involved against each other because the *Maitatsine* felt some Muslims have compromised, hence

¹⁶⁸ See *Ibid*, 120-121.

¹⁶⁹ Boer, vol. 1, 38f. Boer also notes that some Muslims denounce the group and gave the example of a Muslim cleric, Sheik Gumi who a leader of the *Izala*. The fact of the inter-Muslim tension arose from the dominance of the northwest over northeast through the colonial influence and the impact of Dan Fodio-led jihads on the Muslims in Nigeria even though Islam is older in the northeast. (Warner, "The Sad Rise of Boko Haram," 38-39), Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 154-156.

they are as infidel as the Christians.¹⁷⁰ This group inflicted violence in 1980 in Kano, 1982 in Kaduna, and 1985 in Yola.¹⁷¹

Maitatsine movement's goal was to ensure *Sharia* implementation in Nigeria. The movement was violent on any violation of the Islamic law. It claimed spirituality and positioned itself to Islamic revival. Anyone who does not support the Islamic law is to be opposed. While the violence of the *Maitatsine* could be rated lower than the *BH*; it, nonetheless, held the same principles and engaged in similar activities. The loss of the election by Shehu Shagari (northern Muslim) to Obafemi Awolowo (southern Christian) coincided with the rise of *Maitatsine*. The complication that came with this led to a military take-over.¹⁷²

The group continued to inflict violence on the non-Muslims in northern Nigeria. In spite of the Military take-over, this period was marked with the introduction of affiliating all theological schools to the Nigerian universities. Many churches were burnt in Kaduna and Kano. This was the period Boer called the decade of blood.¹⁷³ The circles

¹⁷⁰ Some news in the air was that the crisis erupted to show Muslim dominance in the country hoping that such move will facilitate the acceptance of Nigeria into the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC). On the contrary, the report that thirty-one churches were burnt down in Kano alone discredited Islam as a dominant religion making Nigeria's member to OIC more difficult.

Violence on fellow Muslims here, I suppose, can be described in terms of honor killing for those who choose to connive with infidels, a view pronounced in Islam.

¹⁷¹ Boer, vol. 1.

¹⁷² Aghedo and Osumah, "The Boko Haram Uprising," 857. See also Brill, "The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-radicalism in Nigeria," 120-121. Boer and Kukah both discussed the *Maitatsine* as well.

¹⁷³ Boer, vol. 1.

of violence subsided during the long military control. *BH* was an offshoot of the *Maitatsine* movement. The leader of the *Maitatsine* was from the Northeast and the group's leaders were the teachers of the *BH* leaders.¹⁷⁴ The *salafi* doctrine was the inspiration for *BH*.

The Earlier *Sharia* Debates

Besides the pre-colonial *jihads*, the first evidence of Islamic fundamental tendencies was during the decolonization period in the 1950s. The Kano riots of 1953 were the first North-South politically motivated conflict with a clear religious undertone. It was all about the place of Islamic law in governance. There were similar riots in 1960 and 1964. These riots were a major reason for the termination of the First Republic in 1966 and the start of the civil war.¹⁷⁵ *Sharia* was invoked until 1955 as an outcome of indirect rule giving the caliphate legitimacy to serve, as it were, as the king makers. Some debates on the *Sharia* arose with a constitutional conference in 1957.¹⁷⁶

Another series of debates were in 1976-77. At that time, there were some Muslims in the North who had both Western education and the Islamic education to spice

¹⁷⁴ Brill, "The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-radicalism in Nigeria," 120.

¹⁷⁵ Aghedo and Osumah, "The Boko Haram Uprising," 856-857.

¹⁷⁶ Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 116-117.

the debates. They also sensitized groups in the North toward the debates to strengthen their arguments.¹⁷⁷ Kukah described the outcome of the debates as follows:

There shall be a Federal Sharia Court of Appeal which shall be an intermediate court of appeal between the State Sharia court of Appeal and the Supreme Court of Nigeria.

The court shall be composed of the grand mufti and such a number of muftis (not less than three) as the National Assembly may prescribe.

In each state of the federation that so desires, there shall be a sharia court of appeal to be established by the constitution of the state.¹⁷⁸

Kukah further had a diagram describing the final outcome of making the *Sharia* a parallel judicial system in Nigeria.¹⁷⁹ The full implication of accepting this final outcome was not grasped by the non-Muslims because of the shallow understanding of Islam.

The second was the indirect rule which gave support to Islamic dominance.¹⁸⁰ Political and religious leadership were in the hands of the Emir of Sokoto and the Muslims tried to maintain it even after independence. The non-Muslims tried to resist the dominance of the northern Muslim elites by forming associations. At its inception, these associations gave legitimacy to the Sultanate because of the posture of the Sultan as the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 118-136.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, Citing "Report of the Constitution Drafting Committee Containing the Draft Constitution," 118.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 119.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 2-5. Also Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*; Gofwen, *Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building*, noted that the indirect rule gave the Hausa-Fulani hegemony superiority and maintained the non-Muslim in the North as perpetual followers, a status they vigorously detested.

political and spiritual leader of such associations. This led to re-modeling of the association that brought about the formation of the Non-Muslim League in 1952.¹⁸¹

All along the northern ruling elites did not like western education though it was not given to them. So, in the early republic, the educated non-Muslim elites in the north were “conscripted” to fight the domination from the South as a result of Western education. Kukah reports about Dan Agbase as saying (in Kukah’s word) Agbase “believed that if Sardauna had the chance, he would have outlawed Western education in northern Nigeria and promoted Quranic education instead.” Any writing with Arabic script makes it sound right more than one without.¹⁸²

The Sultan had continued his campaigns for the spread of Islam as well. He encouraged the building of mosques, Quranic schools and propagation of Islam. He sought ways to discourage western education. This had implications in the political developments in the country.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 47, 7-8. The posture of the Sultan is similar to the role of Ayatollah of Iran. It seems that was the model of governance that the North wanted to see.

¹⁸² Ibid, 6. See also Andrew E. Barnes, “‘Some Fire behind the Smoke:’ The Fraser Report and Its Aftermath in Colonial Northern Nigeria,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 31, 2 (1997): 203-204, accessed March 31, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/486179>. As marker to the centenary of Nigeria in 2014, the Federal Government approved the new 100 Naira note without Arabic writing on it. This was very offensive to Muslims.

¹⁸³ Kukah, *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria*, 99-100. Also Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 20-24., 42-43. When the current governor of Kaduna State assumed office, he discovered that the public schools has lost their properties to rich Muslim leaders, yet receiving government sponsorship and salaries without teachers and students.

Jihad and Its Impact on Northern Nigeria

During the pre-colonial period, the jihads were the first radical expression of Islam.¹⁸⁴ The jihads were fought between 1754 and 1817. This brought about the Fulbe hegemony. The Fulbe hegemony gave way to Anglo-Fulbe and further to Hausa Fulbe hegemony. All through these changes Islam remained the legitimacy of the ruling class.¹⁸⁵

Islamic education and the already established Islamic rule in the North before colonialism and the realization that if it were disrupted the region would be difficult to control led the colonialists to maintain what already existed. This had lasting impact on Nigerian politics. The history is represented below in this table:

¹⁸⁴ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 1-2.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 1, 3-4. See Also Awoniyi, "The Phenomenon of Islam in Contemporary Nigeria and National Development," 3.

Year	Developments	Outcomes
2009-Date	Boko Haram	Terrorism
1999-2009	Northern States declare for <i>Sharia</i>	Victimization of Christians in the North and in politics, violent crisis in northern Nigeria
1980-1989	<i>Maitatsine</i> movement and membership to OIC	Heated religious and political tensions, definite effort to Islamize Nigeria
1975-1979	<i>Sharia</i> debates and legalizing <i>Sharia</i>	Provides legal basking for Islamization
1953-1957	Early <i>Sharia</i> debate	Effort to pacify the North through political negotiations and appointments
1900-1947	Indirect rule and changes informed by WW II (1939-19450)	Toleration of civil law and colonial control

Table 1: Historical Developments in Nigeria ¹⁸⁶

Religion and Political Development in Nigeria

In light of the historical developments, the rise of the insurgencies followed the political trends. When a Muslim is on the throne, the insurgence abates. When a non-Muslim ascends the throne, the insurgence intensifies. It, therefore, follows that religion and politics are very cardinal in the religious unrest in Nigeria.

As noted earlier, each political dispensation had a direct tussle that saw the rise of an insurgence. In the pre-colonial times, the feeling that there were some who were compromising the standards of Islam in northern Nigeria gave rise to the *Jihads*. The attempt to fight the *jihads* in Kano and the Northeast encountered resistance by pointing

¹⁸⁶ Table drawn by researcher.

to the earlier presence of Islam. This internal tension has remained with the Muslim circles in the North.

The indirect rule gave rest of mind to the northern nobilities during the colonial times and early years of independence (1900 – 1966), and they continued to uphold Islam as the religion of the region. The Muslim ruling class encouraged trade relations with the British while warning their constituency from loving them or accepting their religion.¹⁸⁷

Kukah reported that Yusuf Turaki, a Christian clergyman, noted:

The introduction of the indirect rule institutionalized the inferiority status for the non-Muslim peoples of the Middle Belt. Not only did it enhance the status and the unchecked powers of the Emirs, it disillusioned the common people on both sides who had gallantly fought on the side of the British and believed (wrongly) that the victory of the British over their age-old oppressors would terminate their sufferings.¹⁸⁸

Each time the Muslims noticed the teaching of Christianity, they ensured that the colonial leadership defend their course against Christian missions. The situation during this period remained the same as that of the earlier period.

The concern for the fate of Islam and their continual place of leadership faced a greater challenge during the First Republic (1960-66). Early in this period there were three regional governors with the North retaining the role of the Prime Minister in the person of Tafawa Balewa. This first set of leaders called for a true federalism and the battle for the political center arose which led to the civil war. The East did not like the

¹⁸⁷ Innocent Ugochukwu Owutu, “Ethno-Religious Conflict and the Search for Peace and Security in Nigeria,” (Papers Presented at Samuel Ademoyega University, Ogwa, Delta State, Nigeria. June 17th – 20th, 2012): 1-2. Also Kukah, *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria*, 99-100.

¹⁸⁸ Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*.

northern domination and attempted to secede with Southwest. The military took over government. Through the military regime, the Islamization agenda was suspected and the period witnessed several coups.

Second Republic rose with the North providing leadership again in the person of Shehu Shagari (Pullo northerner) under the umbrella of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). When the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) flag bearer Obafemi J. O. Awolowo (southern Christian) was rumored to have won the election, the republic was disrupted again and the military took over. The military leadership changed from one Muslim general to another.¹⁸⁹

Fourth Republic is the longest democracy. During the Obasanjo regime some northern states declared for *Sharia*, Christians and southerners were generally victimized in continuation from the Abacha regime. This gave rise to the insurgence of *BH* since 2010 after the incidental death of their leader. The future at this point cannot be determined. Christians are disturbed with the developments. There are attacks and counter attacks. The *BH* is being described by such terms as gunmen, herdsmen, Fulani herdsmen, Fulani *BH*, Hausa *BH* and Kanuri *BH*.

¹⁸⁹ They are: General Mohammadu Buhari, General Ibrahim Babangida, General Sani Abacha, and General Abdulsalami Abubakar.

Development of NBC's Missions: Northern Nigeria

This last main part of chapter two studied the growth of Baptist work in Northern Nigeria in the face of *BH* insurgency. It considers the historical development of Baptist ministry in order to raise the foundation for discussing the translation, and transformation of the church as expressed in its *glocalization* and re-transmission of the gospel. The goal is to identify and describe the impact of religious insurgency on the church's *glocalization* and attitude towards re-transmission of the gospel. It also sought to identify internal factors that shaped the response of the Church to ethno-religious violence in the country.

Questions to ask at this point are: what led to the growth of the Baptist work that we see? What is the nature of this growth? What informed the nature of this growth and the Christian response to ethnicity and religion? The desire is to survey the developments, observable changes in patterns, self-expression of the church, and involvement in missions to the Muslims.

The constitution of the Nigerian Baptist Convention (NBC) has the following provision regarding missions:

Vision: To be foremost Christ-like missionary organization in Nigeria, Africa and the whole world.

Mission: To be a community of believers that represents Christ by proclaiming the gospel, discipline believers, caring and developing churches to be involved in holistic ministries – evangelistic, social and healing – and collaborating with other Christian agencies across the globe.

The Great Commission: The Nigerian Baptist Convention exists to fulfill the great

commission of the Lord Jesus Christ. I.e. carry the gospel message to the ends of the world.¹⁹⁰

The *Constitution* further notes that the Global Missions Board (GMB) is to coordinate evangelism, church growth and mission work through churches, nationally and internationally.¹⁹¹ The Men Missionary Union (MMU) and the Women Missionary Union (WMU) has defined missionary roles.¹⁹²

Expansion to the North: Baptist Work Today

Several land marks of Baptist work are evident in northern Nigeria. This region has thirteen of thirty-one Baptist Conferences of Nigerian Baptist Convention (NBC).¹⁹³ There are several Baptist Health Centers; one in Plateau, one in Kwara, two in Katsina and two in Kaduna States (a total of six).¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ “Vision, Mission Statement and Core Values” *The Constitution and Regulations of the Nigerian Baptist Convention* As Amended by the General Session of the Convention in April 2013 in Oshogbo, Osun State, Article II, Section A, B, and C9, 3-4.

¹⁹¹ “Duties of Officers,” *The NBC Constitution*. Article III, 28-29.

¹⁹² *NBC Constitution*, Articles X and XI, 10.

¹⁹³ Baptist Conferences are made up of several Baptist Associations and each Association is made up of several local churches. An association may have between eleven and thirty Churches, and a Conference may have up to ten Association and more. While I have not laid hands on a document that give the accurate statistics, a conference may have between one hundred and four hundred Churches. I will need to do some more findings in this regard for the Northern Baptist Conferences. There are eleven Conferences in the South-West and seven in the South-East.

¹⁹⁴ GMB Information Booklet, 2013, 29-30.

The Global Mission Board has specialized ministry stations in Kwara and Gombe States and eleven home missions fields. A field each, in Adamawa, Kogi, Taraba and Yobe States; two field in Benue and Kebbi States and three fields in Niger State. By implication, more than half of the home fields of the GMB are in northern Nigeria.¹⁹⁵

S/ N	Year of estab. in 2005 records	2004	2005	2007	2010	2011	2013
1	2001	Bassa	Bassa	Bassa			Niger
2	2001	Dukawa	Dukawa	Dukawa	Dukawa		Kebbi
3	1998	Kamuku	Kamuku	Kamuku		Kamuku	Niger
4	2001	Ngara	Ngara	Ngara		Ngara (Yobe)	Yobe
5	??		Kanuri				
6	??	Ohori**					
7	??				Guffanti	Guffanti	Niger
8	??				Benue/ Tiv	Benue	Benue
9	??					Adama- wa	Adama- wa
10	??					Kogi/ Igala	Kogi (Igala/B assa)
11	??					Kyenga- wa	Kebbi
12	??						Taraba

Table 2: Current Home Mission Fields in Northern Nigeria¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Moses Audi, "The Mission Enterprise of the Nigerian Baptist Convention: Review and Suggestions" in *A Century of Nigerian Baptist Convention: A Call for Celebration and Renewal* (Ogbomosho: NBTS, 2014), 499-500.

¹⁹⁶ Reworked table from Audi, 500. See Appendix A for international fields with high Islamic presence.

In the table above, the 2005 records specified the starting years of the field in the first column. Those with question marks are not specified anywhere. The columns where they appeared are years within which some report of the fields were given at the Convention in Sessions by the names represented. It is worthy of note that the Kanuri field report appeared only in the 2005 record. It is indicative that there is probably no missionary in the field for the other years which explains the lack of report. The place with (**) had no missionary and no contact person.

There is also a Seminary in Kaduna established in 1948¹⁹⁷ and two¹⁹⁸ Baptist Pastors' Schools - one in Lamingo, Plateau State and one in Gombi, Adamawa State.¹⁹⁹ These schools have provided significant man power for the ministry especially in Northern Nigeria. The Baptist Seminary especially have contributed to the growth of the then Bethel Baptist Conference to three conferences now - Kaduna, Kafanchan and Niger-Kebbi Conferences. See Appendix C2 for the list of Conferences in northern Nigeria.

¹⁹⁷ Laurence E. Tata, *BTSK at 60: A Hindsight of God's Faithfulness 1940-2008* (Kaduna: BTSK, 2008). He discussed the details of the history and challenges the institution faced over the years.

¹⁹⁸ There is a third established since 1990 in Boshikiri which the NBC asked BTSK to visit and report to its Ministerial Training Board because it has not enjoyed the sponsorship of the NBC over the years.

¹⁹⁹ Recently, the Ministerial Training board, through the Baptist Accrediting Council for Theological Schools in Nigeria (BACTSIN), has mandated Baptist Theological Seminary, Kaduna (BTSK) to supervise the schools in Lamingo which is now a College of Theology and the Baptist Pastors' School, Gombi to which one of the teaching staff was appointed Principal beginning January 2015.

There are so many Baptist Schools of different educational levels also. While some were taken over by the Government, more have since been established by individual Baptists and local Baptist Churches. These Christian established schools have high reputation for quality education all over the country. Ezekiel A. Bamigboye noted that as at 1966, there were 70 primary schools, 4 secondary schools and 2 teacher training colleges – all mission schools – In the North and Mid-Western regions.²⁰⁰

The Baptist Church in northern Nigeria is faced with the challenge of Islamic insurgency, affecting every aspect of the society. The *BH* menace have affected church membership, increased inter-ethnic tension and insecurity in the nation. The Church in northern Nigeria worships under fear and is declining in evangelization. The Christians in the North suffer from suspicion from the Christians in the South. On the other hand the Southerners in the North who are Muslims are not so accepted by the northern Muslims.²⁰¹ The experience of the northern Church is expressed below.

The President of Fellowship Baptist Conference notes, *BH* insurgency has affected the worship and mission life of the churches in Bornu State. There is decline in Church membership, cancelation of some programs of the Church, attending church without Bibles for fear of being attacked in the streets, Fear of going to farms for the

²⁰⁰ Bamigboye, *The History of Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria - 1901-1975*, 162.

²⁰¹ Moses Audi, "The Challenge of Ethno-Linguistic Crisis to Missions Effort in Nigeria," *Missiologue* 1, 2 (November, 2011): 4-8.

same reason, displacement and hunger, destruction of church buildings and lives, etc.²⁰²

From this document, the impact on some churches are tabulated below.²⁰³

S/N	Name of Church	Prior to 2009 BH Insurgency		2012 following	
		members	Pastor	Members	Pastor
1	Hosanna B. C. Railway, Maiduguri	250-300	Yes	35-40	No pastor
2	Hanyar Rai B. C. Jajeri, Maiduguri	100-150	Yes	50-60	New Pastor
3	Bishara B. C. Maiduguri	180-200	Left in 2009	65-80	New Past in 2012
4	First B. C. Maiduguri	900-1000	2 Pastors	300-400	1 pastor*
5	Salama B. C. Bulumkutu, Maiduguri	150-200	Pastor left 2009	One family	No Pastor
6	Victory B. C. Alemderi, Maiduguri	100-150	Pastor killed 2010	30	New Pastor
7	Zion B. C. Gwange, Maiduguri	600-700	Past. Left 2008	100-150	Nil
8	First B. C. Bama	100-150	Did not know the whereabouts	Town in ruins	None
9	First B. C. Gwoza	100-120	Encountered stroke & left	c. 40	None

Table 3: Impact of BH on Baptist Churches in Northern Nigeria

* The situation worsened since 2012. The one pastor left the area in 2013 also.

²⁰² Zacharia Joshua Ako, "The Havoc of Religious Intolerance in Fellowship Baptist Conference" (Paper presented at "Go North" Summit of Lagos East Baptist Conference), 22 March 2014, 10-11.

²⁰³ Ibid, 5-9. Table drawn by Moses Audi.

Today there is not a single pastor or church worshipping in these Churches. Murder and incessant attacks have led to the closure of Baptist churches in Kauri, Awulari, Sabon Tumbu and Bulabulin.²⁰⁴

Beginnings of Baptist Work

Baptist Work in northern Nigeria dates back to the colonial period. While there were some missionary activities in northern Nigeria before the Baptists came, the amalgamation of the country in 1914 by Lord Frederick Lugard, the Colonial head of Nigeria at the time, further encouraged movement and trade between the North and South. The civil servants from the South were moving to the North. Those from the South who were Baptist played key roles in the establishment of the Baptist work in Northern Nigeria.²⁰⁵

1914 had a second significance. It was the year Yoruba Baptist Association was formed. By 1917 a church was opened in Sapele and the Niger Delta region (South-East and South-South parts of the country respectively). The Yoruba traders in the North also started churches in various places. This motivated a name change in 1919. The Yoruba Baptist Association became the Nigerian Baptist Convention to accommodate the developments in the other parts of the country.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 9.

²⁰⁵ Bamigboye, *The History of Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria - 1901-1975*, 36-38; Ebhomielen, *Reflections: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Baptist Work in Nigeria*.

²⁰⁶ Bamigboye, 38. See also Ajayi, *Baptist Work in Nigeria 1850-2005*, 131-134.

Entry of Baptist work into Northern Nigeria can be grouped into three: The effort of the Yoruba traders, the Baptist Mission of Nigeria, and the Global Mission Board of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. There is evidence that the Yoruba Christian traders started gathering for worship by 1907.²⁰⁷ While the Yoruba traders at inception established Churches for themselves in the North, there were some missionary activities. The method they employed included accepting Islamic opposition as challenge by holding on to Christianity as their own religion in spite of accusation that they are infidels. They made use of social relationship, giving of gifts and using gramophones in sharing the gospel in their neighborhoods.²⁰⁸ They were not proactive in mission among the indigenes at the onset until they saw the need to call pastors to head these Churches. In 1925 the first pastor was nominated at the request of the church in Kaduna in person of Rev. I. A. Adejumobi. Rev. E. O. Akingbala was the second pastor to Kaduna in 1942.²⁰⁹

Yoruba Baptist Churches were established in many cities of the North. The places include Zungeru, Kaduna, Kano, Jos, Kotangora, Zaria, Bauchi, Minna, Jebba, Bida, Makurdi, Yola, Katsina, Yelwa, Lokoja, Birnin Kebbi, Gusau, Sokoto, etc.²¹⁰ Almost all of the First Baptist Churches in Northern Nigeria are Yoruba speaking Churches.

²⁰⁷ AJayi, 120-121, 204-205, 208-211. See also Bamigboye, 63-64.

²⁰⁸ Bamigboye, 56-58. See also AJayi, 120-121.

²⁰⁹ Bamigboye, 77-79.

²¹⁰ Ibid, 59-74. See also Collins, *The Baptist Mission of Nigeria 1850-1993*, 42-43. In a sense most of these churches were diaspora.

Baptist Mission of Nigeria received request for missionary for the North in 1931 but appointed its first missionary to the region in 1947. Rev. Charles Knight and his wife, Elsie arrived Kaduna and with Ayo Bello began to teach courses on doctrine in 1947 which eventually became a Bible School. Ferrell Runyan arrived in 1950 and became the first principal of the school.²¹¹ In 1954 Miss. Bonnie Moore, E. O. Akingbala, D. D. Adamu and J. A. Keku joined the faculty.²¹²

Baptist Mission of Nigeria used the educational model for their missionary endeavor. They established primary and secondary schools almost everywhere they have missionaries or Baptist congregation. They also established tertiary institutions in various parts of the country.²¹³ There were International Mission Board (IMB) missionaries in several cities and towns in the North including Keffi and Kotangora with medical missions. Other cities with the missionaries include Kano, Zaria, Minna, Jos, Gombe, Mubi, Jalingo, Maiduguri, Yola, and Kaltungo.²¹⁴ In most of the cities, there has been Yoruba Churches established by the traders acknowledged by most of the history sources consulted for this study.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Collins, 42-43. This is the start of Baptist Seminary in Kaduna today

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid, 45.

²¹⁴ Ibid, 43-44.

²¹⁵ Paul O. Ebhomielen, *Forty Years of Nigerian Baptist Convention Missions* (Benin City: Christian Network Organization, 1993), 39-41; Collins, 42-43; Bamigboye, *The History of Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria - 1901-1975*, 49-51; Ajayi, *Baptist Work in Nigeria 1850-2005*, 186-193.

The Global Mission work started as a result of the missionary need observed by the Convention delegates to Jos. This need was the last straw that led to the formation of an indigenous board in 1953. Beginning with the field in Kafanchan in 1954 to 1960 and the support of the Yoruba churches in Kaduna enabled the work in Kafanchan area to grow. Several fields of missions came to be established in northern Nigeria.²¹⁶ The Yoruba traders were in Batonu land since mid-1930s, the Baptist Mission since 1940s and the GMB took the field up in 1954.²¹⁷ This field has grown to an Association with about thirty Churches. Other GMB field in the North include Shendam 1961 has grown to three Associations by 1986.²¹⁸ The Idoma field was opened by the First Baptist Church, Kaduna in 1955 but it became GMB field in 1983. Funtua was opened in 1984 though there has been Baptist witness in the area since 1920s. This field has suffered Islamic and Traditional Religious opposition.²¹⁹ Abuja became a mission field in 1986. This was motivated by the designation of Abuja as Federal Capital Territory under the Military President, Gen. Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida.²²⁰ This field has three Associations today.

²¹⁶ Ebhomielen, *Forty Years of Nigerian Baptist Convention Missions*. 33-34, 39-41, 53-57.

²¹⁷ Ebhomielen, 35-36. See also Ajayi, *Baptist Work in Nigeria 1850-2005*, 120-121, 204-205, 208-211.

²¹⁸ Ebhomielen, 39-41.

²¹⁹ Ebhomielen, 53-56; Ajayi, *Baptist Work in Nigeria 1850-2005*, 208-211.

²²⁰ Ebhomielen 57.

Katsina became GMB field in 1992. Vocational training school and adult literacy is being used as mission approach in this field.²²¹

Two developments that encouraged the growth of Baptist work in northern Nigeria were *New Life for All*²²² in the 1970s and *Operation Reach All*²²³ movements in the 1980s. There were also simultaneous revivals and vacation Bible schools in different parts of the North.²²⁴

The notion that the North is Muslim and the South Christian affect missions greatly. Northern Christians are not recon by southern Christians and their involvement in ministry to the non-Muslims in the North, almost accidental. The division of the country to various foreign mission bodies compounded the challenge. Since the southern Christians living in the North are there primarily for business, missions were never a priority.²²⁵ In this way, the challenge of the Christians in the North did not enjoy concrete intervention from the southern brethren. Similarly, the Christians in the North are despised by the Muslims as well, having the notion that all southerners are Christian and despising the southern Muslims as well. This development therefore preserved the ethnic

²²¹ Ebhomielen, *Reflections*, 61; Ajayi, *Baptist Work in Nigeria 1850-2005*, 204.

²²² *New Life for All* is an interdenominational missionary movement similar to AD 2000 Movement. It is the oldest missionary movement in Nigeria.

²²³ *Operation Reach All* is the NBC's version of AD 2000 Movement.

²²⁴ Ebhomielen, 29.

²²⁵ See Isaiah Oluwajemiriye Olatoyan, "The Local Church and the Great Commission: A Biblical Perspective on the Practice of Evangelism and Missions among Churches of the Nigerian Baptist Convention," (D. Miss. Diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2011), 162-165, 187, accessed April 10, 2013, ProQuest Ebrary.

tension of the kingdoms prior to colonization which continued to fuel any religious or political tension. The last census taken with the desire to record the religious divide in the country was in 1991 which revealed high Christian population to the dismay of the northern religious and political leaders. Religions have since been ignored in census with the Muslims claiming a higher percentage as grounds for Islamization.

Colonial Era and the Baptist Work

During the colonial era, the North was protected from missionary activities by the rulers. Islam and Arabic literacy was established in the North before colonial invasion. Colonial masters have been blamed for the strong hand that Islam have in the government and northern part of this country. The protection softened after the amalgamation in 1914 allowing migration and the flow of trade between the North and South.²²⁶

Also, mission agencies carved out territories for themselves that confined the Baptist to Southwest of the country. It was the amalgamation therefore that gave impetus to the spread of the Baptist work to northern Nigeria. It is no surprise therefore that the Yoruba were the first group among whom the Baptist work grew strongest and they were involved in the missionary work in other parts of West Africa.

For some reasons, mission agencies gave the impression that Muslims already believe in one God therefore they do not need the gospel.²²⁷ The missionaries were

²²⁶ Ajayi, *Baptist Work in Nigeria 1850-2005*, 120.

²²⁷ Njidda, "Fulbe Evangelism on the Mambilla Plateau," 13, 15.

friendly to the Muslims as well for reasons that could have made the colonial masters to protect the Muslims from being evangelized and from not disrupting the rule in the region. As early as the Edinburgh 1910,²²⁸ Islam was never considered a challenge to mission until the post-modern period.²²⁹ While the missionaries enjoyed the protection of the colonial rulers and would not want to go against the law, they were also careful in their relationship with the state in ways to maintain the separation of Church and State.²³⁰

These relationships played themselves in a way that made the Baptists not to develop interest in politics. The Muslims have controlled politics since the time of the Colonial rulers. It is the uprisings that have awakened the Christians in the nation to politics in general. Even today, Christians have mixed feeling as to whether a genuine Christian should get involved in politics.²³¹

Because the Muslims do not hold a dichotomous worldview between politics and religion, they are unable to depoliticize religion. This is compounded by the realization that the constitution of the country had more of Christian principles as a secular state.

²²⁸ Edinburgh 1910 was the first globally represented mission Conference to discuss the challenges facing the expansion of Christian missions.

²²⁹ Weiss, "Variations in the Colonial representation on Islam and Muslims in Northern Ghana, ca. 1900-1930," 1-7.

²³⁰ Niel Kastfelt. *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*, 20-24. Baptist Missionaries actually warned Nigerian Baptist of accepting grant for their schools because of the strong sense of separation of Church and State. Their fears were later proved right when the grants became the reason for Muslim heads for Christian schools and government takeover.

²³¹ *Ibid.* The motivation into politics was a general phenomenon for the non-Muslims, in general.

This has motivated the agitation for the implementation of the *Sharia* on the nation.

Almost all the uprisings in the nation have connections with the *Sharia*.²³²

Muslim Target in NBC's Missions²³³

From the historical development discussed above, the Global Mission Board of the Nigerian Baptist Convention did not have a specific mission to Muslims in Nigeria until very recent. Baptists' mission work had focused on the rural, less educated, and Traditional Religious groups across the country. While most of the culture groups in northern Nigeria are referred to as Hausa, they are not; but, may use the Hausa language as lingua franca. Since the 1980s when target mission came to limelight, The Muslim culture groups were identified as unreached people groups. This gave rise to selecting some of these groups as mission targets. Among culture groups in this category selected by the NBC were the Fulbe, Kanuri and the Hausa.²³⁴ These groups are being targeted as culture groups rather than religious group.

Ministry toward these Muslim groups among the Baptists has been stronger outside the core north of the country. The effort in northern Nigeria among the Fulbe has

²³² Boer, volumes 6 and 7. Other sources such as Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria* also noted this.

²³³ Most of the expressions in this section are not documented. The involvement of the researcher in the development is the primary source of information. He carried out a research early in 1990s and had direct dealings with the missionaries and their work. See Audi, "Evangelism Among the Fulbe in Nigeria."

²³⁴ "GMB Report" *NBC 98th Annual Session Book of Reports* Held at Ogbomoso: Beulah Baptist Center, May 7-12, 2011, 253. The report noted the choice of five unengaged groups and these happen to be people groups in Islamic context.

been anchored by SBC missionaries such as Rev. and Mrs. Bliar , Rev. and Mrs. Maurice Tinking in the early 1990s in Billiri and Kaltungo area of Northeast of Nigeria. Rev. and Mrs. Femi Adewumi,²³⁵ a veterinary doctor worked in this area also at a later time. He and another SBC missionary, Dr. and Mrs. Ron Holcomb, worked in Jos area with the Fulbe in the early 1990s. Dr. and Mrs. Paul Burkwall worked in Okuta area of Kwara State in the 1980 among the Fulbe and later in the 1990s in Kaduna as a part time lecturer at the Baptist Seminary and missionary to the Fulbe.²³⁶ Also Miss. D’anna Shott works among the Fulbe till date in addition to her responsibility as Librarian at the Baptist Seminary Kaduna. Rev. and Mrs. Chris Wilkinson are designated missionaries to the Muslims in the Northeast of the country, especially the Kanuri. Today, they are only able to operate from Jos because of increased risk and the rise of *BH* violence.

There is significant achievement with response to the gospel among the Fulbe in Baptist missionary work. Right now, the Baptist has the largest response to the gospel among various denominations in Nigeria with most of the responses from Kwara, then Kaduna states. There are several Fulbe with pastoral training today out of the ministry of the Baptists.

Regarding ministry to the Kanuri, there is very little effort. This group lives in the heart of the Northeast of the country most affected by *BH* today. The GMB has a target to

²³⁵ Adewumi, “Towards Developing a New Approach to Evangelism in Northern Nigeria,” and, Eunice Temilola Adewumi, “The Effect of Islam on Evangelizing Women in Northern Nigeria” (M. Div. Essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2006).

²³⁶ Audi, “Evangelism among the Fulbe in Nigeria.” In the course of this research, Audi interviewed most of the missionaries involved in Fulbe ministry in Northern Nigeria listed above.

this group also which was established in 2005. An additional field was identified as Adamawa in 2011 and another, Taraba in 2013 records of the GMB.²³⁷

The field that could be said to be a target to the Hausa is Katshina opened in 1992.²³⁸ This field uses vocational training approach and does not seem to have direct impact on the Hausa people as much as it does Hausa speakers.

It is observable that the missionary work in northern Nigeria has been among the Traditional religious groups than among the Muslim groups. This has compounded the challenge the Church faces. It gave room to politicizing and ethnic solidarity in the ministry on one hand; and made Muslims see Christian missions as targeted to Traditional Religious groups. The later has also encouraged the equation of Christianity with Traditional religion consciously or unconsciously because of some observable contextualization or domestication of the gospel.²³⁹

²³⁷ Audi, "The Mission Enterprise of the Nigerian Baptist Convention: Review and Suggestions," 499-500. At the moment, there is no missionary in these fields. At 2012 GMB Mission summit held at Bowen Baptist University, Iwo, No one was willing to go to any of these fields in the north-east. One Pastor from the regions attending the summit noted that all pastors have left the area as they were from southern part of the country. He states that they have no other place to go. However, the crisis of 2014 has displaced even those who are from the region as a result of the intensity of violence, and kidnapping.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ E. P. T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, with Update by Musa A. B. Gaiya (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 2004), 66-72, 45-56. The observance of rites of passage, mode of dressing and other cultural self-expression like eating unclean animals are observable among the Christian groups by the Muslims. Hence they equate them all.

The Insurgencies and NBC's Churches

The country (Nigeria) has passed through series of difficult times with its resultant negative effects on churches and Christians in particular especially in the Northern part of the country. As a result many churches, Christians and Christian homes had either been destroyed, (people) killed or (properties) vandalized such that in one way or the other our beloved Association was not left out (sic). ... In view of these, I humbly extend special comfort and condolences to all who had experienced loss of lives, family members, properties both personal and churches (sic).²⁴⁰

This was a statement to the delegates of Kawo Baptist Association in Kaduna city reflecting the religio-political Challenges northern Nigeria²⁴¹ is facing. The Church in which this meeting held was once in Kawo area but had to relocate to Farin Gida area of the city because their church was burnt down during the crisis. The crisis affected churches' ministry and commitment as reflected in the report given at same Associational meeting by the youth leader as follows.

Due to the security challenges within the State and Nation at large, the commitment of our youth is actually low, and some of them said it is as a result of the relocation of their churches while others it is due to lukewarmness in the spirit.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ S. N. Matabof, "Moderator's Maiden Speech/Address at the First Quarter Associational Meeting of Kawo Baptist Association Holding at Nazareth Baptist Church, Farin Gida on Saturday 13th April 2013," *Kawo Baptist Association: 1st Quarter Congress Meeting*. Farin Gida: Nazareth Baptist Church, April 2013, 3-4.

²⁴¹ Northern Nigeria comprised nineteen (19) states from the boundary states to Rivers Niger and Benue. While this region is very wide, only common denominators and peculiar issues will constitute the emphasis in this research. In the context of this paper, the reference to Northern Nigeria will be minimized as much as possible by simply speaking of the Baptists or Nigeria except where it is inevitable.

²⁴² "Youth Fellowship" *Kawo Baptist Association: 1st Quarter Congress Meeting*. (Report by Association's youth President) Farin Gida: Nazareth Baptist Church, April 2013, 8.

It is difficult to be precise about the cause of lukewarm attitude from the statement above but it is likely connected with the experience the church in northern Nigeria is facing. The experience of the Church in northern Nigeria since inception is greatly impacted by ethnicity, Islam, and politics. The rise of charismatic renewal movements have also played its role of influencing the development of the Baptist Church just as the tendency to ecumenism have continued to grow as a way to succor the effect of the ethno-religious challenges facing the nation.

From the Interviews conducted, D. D. Dagah noted that since the religious crisis in Northern Nigeria especially in Kaduna, the mood and ministry approaches have changed. Before now, one could hold large evangelistic rallies in stadia or public centers. This is no longer possible for the fear of opposition and violence. Not many will have the courage to do so.²⁴³ It was as if there is no motivation to reach out again to the Muslim community. In the Kafanchan area where the Christian population is higher, the Muslims no longer live there. Solomon Joseph Munga, Pastor of Alheri Baptist Church and moderator of an association in Kafanchan Conference notes that the religious crisis affected interpersonal relationships killing the interest in evangelization even if the Muslims were to be there. Many do not see the need to reach out and are infuriated with anyone identified as Muslim. Markets are split between Christian and Muslims. This has

²⁴³ David. D. Dagah, Interviews, Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013. All the interviews used here were conducted during the Baptist Workers conference that held in this venue for Northern Baptist Conferences. Rev. Dagah is the current Conference President for Kaduna Baptist Conference.

also taken toe on the inter-tribal relationships.²⁴⁴ The 2011 crisis in Kafanchan, two pastors' homes were burnt down, no Baptist churches were burnt but the impact affected all the Christians in the area. There were betrayals among those with cross-cultural marriages on the grounds of religious differences.²⁴⁵

For Katsina State, worship is done under security guards for Churches and pastors' homes. Many Christians are frustrated with the developments and some would not go to church for worship as a result of the fear. However, the *Shiite* Muslims also felt frustrated with the *BH* that they came to the Churches to dissociate themselves from the *BH*. They are still under the effects of the 2011 crisis.²⁴⁶ This experience has encouraged the church to doing some discipleship he said.²⁴⁷

In Kano, there are bombings of government settings like Police stations, markets and individual homes of those from other parts of the country on the notion that they are Christian. Its effect brought low attendance, relocation of members and some who will not want to identify themselves as Christian any longer. It affected Church activities with no evening programs and most mid-week programs paralyzed.²⁴⁸ From the experience in

²⁴⁴ Solomon Joseph Munga, Interviews, Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013 and Samuel Shekari, Interviews, Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013.

²⁴⁵ Munga, Interview.

²⁴⁶ Dauda Danjuma Gata, Interviews, Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013.

²⁴⁷ Gata.

²⁴⁸ Bala Haruna Gukut, Interviews, Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013.

Suleja area, non-indigenes have left the area and even those who are Christian from the South do not readily welcome other Christians from other tribe especially the North for the fear created as a result of the ethnic undertone to the religious crisis.²⁴⁹ Same was reported of Jos.²⁵⁰ These experiences are replicated in many places.

There are evidences that the Church is responding to these challenges. In 2004 John Ade Ajayi provided some statistics of the response of Christians to ethno-religious crisis in Jos at the time as follows. 14% opted for physical violence, 20% conciliatory approaches, 54% prayer and 2% legal approach.²⁵¹ This statistics have changes swinging towards violence in areas where the ethnic undertone overrides the religious. While this swing is not authenticated by research, the reaction observed in the event of some crisis reveals an increasing readiness to turn violent.²⁵²

On a more positive side, there are significant efforts and what could be called authentic Christian response to the situation. Some are simply tolerant and careful how

²⁴⁹ D. Madaki Ashere, Interviews, Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013.

²⁵⁰ Rev. Musa shared his experience of rejection at worship in Jos by Northern Christians because he was a Pullo at Fulbe National Consultation, Organized by Nigeria Evangelical Mission Association (NEMA), Jos: NEMA Headquarters, 17-20 April 2012.

²⁵¹ J. A. Ajayi, "Missiological Implications on the North African Christianity for the Nigerian Christians: A Case Study of the Jos Plateau Church" (M.Div. Thesis, Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004), 63.

²⁵² In some instances those affected have often said they do not have a second chick to turn any longer. There are also instances of reprisals in the media (like the situation in Kaduna in 2011). For instance, I tried to interview Freeman Dauda, a Pastor; he would not like to speak with me knowing I am a Pullo. While he knew me well enough would not want to express his true feelings so he gave some excuses for not granting the interview. Some of the issues like this are not easy to document, but understandable, and indicative of the effects these experiences had on people.

they speak not to offend.²⁵³ Some pastors feel that the situation is not good that the Muslim in their communities had to leave and they are trying to preach the message of forgiveness and love. This is difficult because the insurgency is continuous, one experience after another.²⁵⁴ Many in this category do acknowledge that this is easier said than done.

Some seminars, consultations and conferences²⁵⁵ are being organized consciously to discuss how Christians should go about handling these challenges. Some groups are formed also to proffer solution to the developments.²⁵⁶ Forums are created to educate the masses on the appropriate Christian response.²⁵⁷

Nigerian Baptist Convention's Models of Ministry to the Muslims

Abodunde Sunday Bonibaiyede-David noted thirteen approaches to evangelizing Muslims in northern Nigeria. Tent making approach, the pioneer evangelism model, friendship evangelism, mentorship, life-style evangelism, contextual evangelism, visiting

²⁵³ Bala Gukut, Interview.

²⁵⁴ Munga, Interview.

²⁵⁵ Global Mission Board held a consultation/ Seminar of reaching the Hausa and Fulani in Northern Nigeria in light of the religious uprising July 15-19 2012, NEMA Consultation on Reaching the Fulbe April 17-20, 2012.

²⁵⁶ Pilgrim Light House Foundation for strategic leadership Development, and a group working with Christian Information Centre of Nigeria, Abuja.

²⁵⁷ Examples are: *The Unifier* 3, no. 2 (2013). A Magazine of the Association of Nigerian Baptist Theological Students was dedicated to Boko Haram, terrorism, and Islam; *The Missiologue* 1, no. 2, November 2011).

tourist approach, decision making approach, worshipping like Muslims approach, small group approach, translation of the Bible and distribution, visitation, and, prayer and the work of the Holy Spirit.²⁵⁸ Following this research, Bonibaiyede-David served in one of the northern mission field where he demonstrated some of the strategies.

Moses Audi identified the mostly used methods for re-transmission of the gospel as: Traditional rescue mission, verbal approach, visual aids, media programs, visitation, learning indigenous language and culture, targeting the elders, Christian worship in Islamic model (this is called the Camel method today), one-on-one approach, and large group approach (called evangelistic rallies).²⁵⁹ One unwritten policy has been that the missionary should be indigenous to the field. This has affected GMB missions because, for the unreached, unengaged groups, there is virtually no one to send or you may find that a new believer is given ministerial responsibility.

Summary

Islam has been central to the political history of northern Nigeria from pre-colonial times. Arabic literacy and civilization came with the spread of Islam. The strength of Islamic civilization informed the indirect rule by colonial leaders thereby preserving Islam in the region. When Nigeria became a republic, the northern ruling class felt that secularity threatened Arabic literacy and religious law. The unwillingness to let

²⁵⁸ Abiodun Sunday Bonibaiyede-David, "Church Planting Strategies in Closed-Door Countries: A Necessity for NBC Missions," (M. Div. Essay, Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2002), 39-49b.

go has questioned the legitimacy of Western civilization and its secularity. The struggle to return to Islamic structure finally came to limelight in 1976-1977 with open debates which resulted into the return of *Sharia* system as parallel to the civil judicial system in the country.²⁶⁰ Each time a Muslim is on the throne, the issue of *Sharia* goes silent; and, each time a non-Muslim is on the throne, the debates returns.

Tapestry of Nigerian history weaves together religion, politics, ethnicity, and economy. The political arrangement is always influenced by religious, ethnic and economic interests. Each segment sought an advantaged point of power and control. Each one appeals to whichever of the factors that will provide an advantage. This trend is not only a matter of national polity but also applicable to religious and non-religious organizations.

Colonial rule increased the tension between North and South. The political, religious, and legal system in northern Nigeria was not affected until 1967. The non-Muslims in the northern and the southern part of the country have been agitated with the northern control and the colonial support it enjoyed since Nigeria came under their control in 1900. The feeling of dominance even predates the advent of colonialism. Therefore the non-Muslims in Nigeria hoped that the colonial control would help them come to the platform to share on the political table with those who had dominated them. Because of the disdain of Western civilization by the northern Muslims, they refused to

²⁵⁹ Audi, "Evangelism among the Fulbe in Nigeria," 27-31.

²⁶⁰ Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 118-124.

embrace Western education and Christianity, but maintained Arabic schools in their pre-colonial form. Most of the northern states have continued to grant scholarships to their constituencies to study in the Islamic universities of North Africa and the Middle-East.²⁶¹ This development preserved worldview differences that make effective communication very difficult.

From 1980 to 2000 AD was when the agitation for *Sharia* implementation took to violent forms including terror acts. The primary cause was the desire to implement Islamic law in governance and the ambition of purifying the religion of Islam. Religious riots in Nigeria are complex. Boer notes that the 1977 debates about the *Sharia* led to the riots in 1980s. They were sometimes Muslims versus Muslims,²⁶² Muslims versus Christians or Muslims versus government.²⁶³ Most times the conflicts were against any persons, structure, system or thing that opposed Islamic religion or its laws.

While it is difficult to establish a continuation of insurgency from the early history of Nigeria, studies here have shown that the sustenance of *Sharia* and political control in Nigeria especially in the North is central to all the insurgencies. First were the *jihads* which aimed at political and religious conquest as well as purification of Islam.

²⁶¹ Brill, "The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-radicalism in Nigeria," 121ff. "Sokoto state currently gave scholarship to 164 medical students to Sudan," accessed June 11, 2014, <http://tinyurl.com/jndtj8m>. There are several who go to such places on their own.

²⁶² Much attention is not given to Muslim-Muslim conflict here. It is important to note here, however, that some Muslim groups blame others within for not being pure enough or for compromising with Christians or governments.

²⁶³ Boer, vol. 1, 36, 37-38.

After that were two seasons of *Sharia* debates, one during the decolonization periods when everyone was trying to take their seats at the political table as a result of the renewed self-consciousness and a search for political independence. The second was the post independent debates that saw the establishment of *Sharia* as a parallel legal system. The next season was the rise of the *Maitatsine* movement in the 1980s. Next were the renewed *Sharia* debates of the 1990s. The last season was the rise of *BH* since 1999. Each of these seasons coincides with the change in political history or the rise of a non-Muslim to power. The following table sums up the Nigerian experience.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ “List of Heads of State of Nigeria,” accessed June 7, 2014, <http://tinyurl.com/qjstrx4>. Table drawn by Moses Audi using the source acknowledged here along other historical information of sources used in this research.

S/ N	Nomenclature	Name	Office	Term/Reign		Religious affiliation of leader	Geo-political zone of leader	Religio-political situation	Mode of exit
1	Monarchy	Queen Elizabeth II	Queen of Nigeria	1952-1961	11 Years	Christian	British	Indirect rule (Prime Minister – Tafawa Balewa) / <i>Sharia</i> debates & constitutional conference	
				1960-1963					
2	Governor-General	Sir James Robertson	Chief Justice	1960	46 days	Christian	British		Bloodless Coup
		Nnamdi Azikiwe	Chief Justice	1960-1963	2 years, 319 days	Christian	Southeast		
3	First Republic / Civilian		Senate President	1963-1966	2 years 107 days				
4	Military Regime / Military ruler(s)	Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi	Head of State	1966	177 days	Christian	Southeast	Northern reaction to Christian leadership	Deposed
		Yakubu Gowon	Head of State	1966-1975	8 years, 362 days	Christian	Middle Belt (North)	Civil war, pursuit of northern agenda & takeover of Christian schools	Deposed
		Muritala Mohammed	Head of State	1975-1976	199 days	Muslim	Northwest (<i>Sharia</i> state)	Islamization agenda led to coup	Assassinated
		Olusegun Obasanjo	Head of State	1976-1979	3 years, 258 days	Christian	Southwest	<i>Sharia</i> system as parallel	Resigned
5	Second Republic / Civilian	Shehu Shagari	President	1979-1983	4 years 91 days	Muslim	Northwest (<i>Sharia</i> state)	Northern Nigeria calms & subtle Islamic control	Deposed
6	Military Regime / Military Ruler(s)	Mohammadu Buhari	Supreme Military Council	1983-1985	1 year, 239 days	Muslim	Northwest (<i>Sharia</i> state)	Islamization & rise of Maitatsine	Deposed
		Ibrahim Babangida	Armed Forces Ruling Council	1985-1993	7 years, 364 days	Muslim	Middle-belt (<i>Sharia</i> state)	Subtle Islamization, affiliation of theological schools & religious politicking/killings	Resigned / Step aside
7	Interim (Third Republic) / Civilian	Ernest Shonekan	Interim President - appointment	1993	83 days	Christian	Southwest	Military frustration under Abacha	Deposed
8	Military Regime / Military Ruler(s)	Sani Abacha	Provisional Ruling Council	1993-1998	4 years, 203 days	Muslim	Northwest	Political killings & subtle Islamization	Died in office
		Abdulsalami Abubakar	Provisional Ruling Council	1998-1999	355 days	Muslim	Middle-belt (<i>Sharia</i> state)	Preparation for civilian rule	Resigned
9	Fourth Republic / Civilian	Olusegun Obasanjo	President (PDP)	1999-2007	8 years	Christian	Southwest	Declaration of <i>Sharia</i> states	Election handover
		Umaru Musa Yar'Adua	President (PDP)	2007-2010	2 years 341 days	Muslim	Northwest	Re-assessing <i>Sharia</i> & rise of BH	Died of ill health
		E. Goodluck Jonathan	President (PDP)	2010-date	Over 4 years	Christian	South-south	BH menace	Still in office

Table 4: Nigerian Experience – Political Leadership²⁶⁵

BH attacks have led to deaths, destruction of Churches, displacement of Christian and destruction of the means of livelihood for many Christians and non- Muslims in

northern Nigeria. It has created psychological trauma and encourage consideration of vengeance and decline in involvement in Christian missions. It has encouraged violent prayers that ‘call down fire from heaven’ to destroy the enemies of the Church; encouraged politicizing religion and the Church; and, affected the worship and mission of the Church.

Baptist work in northern Nigeria has survived in spite of the insurgencies. While there are great challenges in some parts of the North like the Northeast of the country, Christianity have continued to grow. The increase in displacement of the Christians in northern Nigeria, mission effort in some parts has halted. The attitudes have begun to change also, especially toward reaching the Muslims with the gospel. The approaches of missions and worship need to be revisited in the light of the present challenge. The churches in northern Nigeria need the support of the churches from the other parts to be able to stem the spate of displacement and destruction of life and property.

²⁶⁵ Table drawn by M. Audi from sources especially “List of Heads of State of Nigeria.”

CHAPTER 3

BOKO HARAM AND GLOCALIZATION OF NIGERIAN BAPTISTS

Chapter three affirmed that the church is a *glocal* community. Its life, self-image and ministry are impacted by the immediate context and inform both its local and global self-expression. Therefore the basic question investigated is: how has *Boko Haram (BH)* affected the life and ministry of Nigerian Baptist churches and by extension, world Christianity? Three angles investigated are the self-image and self-perception of the church; gospel re-transmission; and *glocal* impact. The yardstick for this investigation is biblical precedence of *glocalization* in the face of persecution which is starting point below.

Biblical Antecedent of *Glocalization* and Violence

How the early Christians perceived themselves in the face of persecution or violence and how they went about transmitting the gospel at such times is the subject of this section. The church's self-perception and ministry locally and globally, are observable in the New Testament are discussed below starting with reflection on the teachings of the Bible on persecution.

Biblical Teaching

Suffering for the sake of the faith was anticipated from the beginning of salvation history. Robert A. Morey notes that persecution has been from of old in the following. “These brave men and women (Patriarchs and prophets in the Old Testament) faced the same situations we face today. They faced tyrannical governments who were determined not only to rule the whole world, but to destroy their faith.”¹ For the sake of example, some Old Testament cases include the experience of Elijah (1 Kings 19), Jeremiah (Jeremiah 26), Daniel and the three young Hebrews (Daniel 3 and six).

The teaching of the Bible on persecution and violence came in two ways – admonition and actual experience of the believers. By way of admonition, Jesus told his disciples that suffering for their faith is inevitable.

Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to the earth. I did not come to bring peace, but a sword. For I have come to turn ‘a man against his father, a daughter against her mother, a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law – a man’s enemies will be the members of his own household.’ Anyone who loves his father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; anyone who loves his son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me; and anyone who does not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me. Whoever finds his life will lose it and whoever loses his life for my sake will find it (Matthew 10:34-39).²

The passage above indicates that Jesus prepared his disciples to expect persecution. The opposition believers will face from the text above could be from family members and

¹ Robert A. Morey, *When is it Right to Fight?* (Minneapolis: Bethany House Publishers, 1985), 15.

² All direct quotations from the Bible are from the NIV except otherwise stated.

neighbors. Faithfulness to Christ will not only elicit opposition but also require being resolute in preference to Christ.

Jesus made known to his disciples that: "...you will be handed over to be persecuted and put to death, and you will be hated by all nations because of me.... But he who stands to the end will be saved" (Matthew 24:9-13). The opposition the believers will face could also come from governments and political leaders at all levels of society – local, national and international. The hatred and rejection they will face was first expressed against him. The Church will therefore be persecuted as Christ was. The believers will face opposition because of Christ. The world will hate the believers because they are not of the world and the world does not know the Father who sent Jesus (John 15:18-21).

Jesus was further reported as saying: "They will put you out of the Synagogue; in fact, a time is coming when anyone who kills you will think he is offering a service to God (John 16:2)."³ Religious groups and leaders would be sources of Christian opposition. This kind of opposition came from the leaders in Judaism for the early Church. They are people who believed in one God. The distinct way of life of the believers set them against Judaism and the opposition of the Christians became virtue and pietistic practice in Judaism associated with following the injunction to purge the community of evil, a claim of obedience to divine injunction (Deuteronomy 13:1-11; Leviticus 24:13-16; see also Deuteronomy 20:1-2).

³ See Matthew 5:11-12. It encourages the disciples to rejoice when they suffer for their faith.

Similarly, Paul reminded the Corinthians of this expectation using his experience.

If we are distressed, it is for your comfort and salvation; if we are comforted, it is for your comfort, which produces in you patient endurance of the same suffering we suffer. And our hope is firm, because we know that just as you share in our sufferings, so also you share in our comfort (2 Corinthians 1:6-7).

Believers were to expect suffering for their faith as they see in Paul's experience.

Christian suffering was to produce endurance and warrant dependence on God. It was to encourage believers to pray and praise God for answered prayer (2 Corinthians 1:8-11).

Paul further admonished: "For it has been granted to you on behalf of Christ not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for him, since you are going through the same struggle you saw I had and now hear that I still have" (Philippians 1:29-30).

By way of experience, much could be discussed in the life of Jesus as well as the early Christians. The suffering of Jesus especially in the Passion Week affirmed again the admonition he gave about suffering for his sake. He suffered to the point of death on the cross (Luke 22:47-23:49). It was the will of God for Christ to suffer because of the vicarious essence of his life, ministry, death and resurrection revealed in his prayer at the Garden (Luke 22:39-46).

The early Christians faced various shades of violence from those who oppose their faith. The suffering of the early Christians is further represented in the following.

We are hard pressed on every side, but not crushed; perplexed, but not despair; persecuted, but not abandoned; struck down, but not destroyed. We always carry around in our bodies the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be revealed in our body. For we who are alive are always being given over to death for Jesus' sake, so that his life may be revealed in our mortal body. So then, death is at work in us, but life is at work in you (2 Corinthians 4:8-12).

Discussion in the Bible about persecution is one that prepares the believers and refers them to eternal hope. It is revealing that in giving the people hope and encouragement to hold forth, the fact of persecution was always stressed. The brevity of the time of suffering was often contrasted with the eternity that awaits the believer in Christ even when such suffering is a lifetime experience (Philippian 3:8; Hebrews 11:37-40). They were encouraged to rejoice when they suffer (Matthew 5:11-12; 1 Peter 4:13) for Christ and they did rejoice in suffering (Romans 5:1-5; Acts 5:41; 2 Corinthians 6:10).

In most settings, persecution broke out immediately the Apostles shared the gospel as was the case in Thessalonica. Paul had to go to Athens because of the intense nature of the persecution that broke out but some of his companions had to visit them and bring the news back to Paul who could not stay. Relating to this, Paul wrote in part: "We sent Timothy, who is our brother and God's fellow worker in spreading the gospel of Christ, to strengthen and encourage you in your faith, so that no one would be unsettled by these trials" (1 Thessalonians 3:2-5). Suffering of the early Christians did not jeopardize their faith. They expressed a life that reflects transformation in spite. They sought "to know Christ ... and the fellowship of sharing in his suffering" (Philippian 3:10).

Eschatological expectation also reveals that the church will reach its goal through suffering (Hebrews 12:7; 2 Timothy 2:3; 4:5; 2 Corinthians 6:4-5). The Epistle of James encouraged the believers to rejoice in the face of trials because trials produce perseverance and it is a way of testing believers' faith (James 1:2-3). This in turn brings maturity in Christ (James 1:4). James further noted: "Blessed is the man who perseveres

under trial, because when he has stood the test, he will receive the crown of life that God has promised to those who love him” (James 1:12. See also Hebrews 10:19-39). The relationship between suffering and eschatological hope of the church is very clear in scripture. Note one of such expressions: “You need to persevere so that when you have done the will of God, you will receive what he has promised” (Hebrews 10:36).

The life of the writer of Revelation illustrates this further when he said: “I, John, your brother and companion in the suffering and kingdom and patient endurance that are ours in Jesus, was on the island of Patmos because of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus” (Revelation 1:9)⁴ There is a clear teaching from the foregoing that persecution is part of the Christian life. Paul says to Timothy, “In fact, everyone who wants to live a godly life in Christ Jesus will be persecuted” (2 Timothy 3:12). The next question then is: Was the church intended to be a *glocal* community?

Expectation of a *Glocal* Community

The plan and purpose of God in the coming of the savior anticipates the *glocal* church. God plans to save the ‘world’ through the Son as revealed in the Bible.⁵ The Gospel according to John reports Jesus as re-iterating the great love of God towards the

⁴ See also Revelation 2:3 describing the church in Ephesus as “enduring hardship... and have not grown weary.”

⁵ God’s plan from “before the foundation of the world” is reflected in many passages of the Bible – Ephesians 1:4; Hebrews 4:3; 9:26; Matthew 13:35; 25:34; Luke 11:50; John 17:24; 1 Peter 1:20; Revelation 13:8 and 17:8.

world “that he gave his one and only Son,” for the salvation of all who believe (John 3:16). The emphasis on “whoever believes” reflects the global expectation.

The Great Commission passages provide the glocal expectation of the church as well. The power of the Holy Spirit was to make believers “witnesses in Jerusalem, and in Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth” (Acts 1:8). The same inference can be drawn from the Gospel according to Matthew 28:19-20 – stressing the need to win, teach “and make disciples of all nations....” From the foregoing, it is expected that the church will take every human constituency as context of ministry.

Furthermore, the local impact of believers in Christ in the Bible is expressed in the following: “You are the salt of the earth.... You are the light of the world.... In the same way, let your light shine before men, that they may see your good deeds and praise your Father in heaven” (Matthew 5:13, 14, 15). The believers in Christ are expected to live Godly lives home and abroad.

The early Church was both a *glocal* and suffering church. In the foregoing, persecution and *glocalization* come hand in hand. It is therefore no surprise that a saying would later arise about this namely: “The blood of the Martyrs is the seed of the gospel,” originating from Tertullian in second century AD.⁶ Self-image of the church, gospel transmission and re-transmission, as well as local and global impact that transform has always co-existed.

⁶ Peter Falk, *The growth of the Church in Africa* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979), 39, reporting Tertullian. See also Johannes N. Vorster, “The Blood of Female Martyrs as the Sperm of the Early Church,” *Religion and Theology* 9, 1 & 2 (2002): 10. “The Blood of the Martyrs is

Aware of it or not, what the church is everywhere in the world is an open secret to anyone who cares to know and has potential to influence Christian response to the situations around the globe. The church is local and global at the same time and it has been so intended. While human idiosyncrasies develop through the interplay of hermeneutics, theology, worldview, experiences, and aspirations; its outward expression is observable and contagious. It is no surprise, therefore, that early Church believers were called by a name that directly connected them to Jesus Christ (Acts 11:26). Then the question to ask is this, what was the resultant *glocalization* of the early Church? And, how has the Bible provided the context for *glocalization* of the Church?

Glocalization of the Early Church

The interplay between the church's image, gospel transmission, and its glocal impact is studied below. This tri-dimensional nature of the church is studied in light of the persecution the church faced since its inception.

Image of the Early Church

The formation of the image of the early Church through suffering which in turn informs the management of suffering is investigated below. The early Church was a resilient community. The following factors characterized them. First, they accepted suffering as a part of their faith experience. Second, they were a forgiving community.

the Seed of the Church: The Life and Martyric Death of Saint Herman of Alaska Brotherhood," *Orthodox Word*. 45, 5 (2009).

Third, they saw lostness as the root of the opposition they faced. Fourth, they had a sense of responsibility towards those who did not hear the message of salvation. Fifth, they provided support for one another in suffering (Philippians 2:19-30). The need of the individual was the need of all (Philippians 4:10-19). And sixth, they prayed for each other.⁷ They were conscious not to become stumbling blocks to fellow believers, especially to the weak and young in faith (Romans 14:1-15:13).

Another characteristic of the church relates to its stance on vengeance. They encouraged each other not to revenge, but to pray for their persecutors.

Be joyful in hope, patient in affliction, faithful in prayer. Bless those who persecute you; bless and do not curse. ... Do not repay anyone evil for evil. Be careful to do what is right in the eyes of everybody. If it is possible, as far as it depends on you, live at peace with everyone. Do not take vengeance, my friends, but leave room for God's wrath, for it is written: 'It is mine to avenge: I will repay,' says the Lord. On the contrary: 'if your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him something to drink. In doing this, you will heap burning coals on his head.' Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good (Romans 12:12, 14, 17-21).

The early Church did not see revenge as appropriate response to opposition. They were to live such lives that will invite the unbelievers. During the later life of the church, they were accused of all things, but those who knew them and watched their suffering desired to be like them.⁸ In spite of their suffering recorded in Acts 3-5, the disciples increased in number that they had to devise the means by which to provide care for members in the

⁷ Acts 12:12; Philippians 1:3-11, 19. The church was praying for Peter who was arrested and imprisoned. They also asked for prayer towards ministry responsibilities Colossians 4:2-3

⁸ Philip Jenkins, "Is This the End of Mideast Christianity?" *Baylor* (Winter 2015), accessed May 28, 2015, <http://tinyurl.com/gqeh6gk>.

most appropriate manner (See Acts 6:1-7 recording increase such that the Church initiated the office of deacons).

On the other hand, the suffering prevented those who are not serious and resolute about their faith from fellowship. It took those who have genuine experience with Christ to identify with the believers (Acts 5:13). They could boldly assert that nothing will separate them from the love of Christ (Romans 8).

They admonished each other not to constitute a stumbling block to others. They were to live as citizens of heaven living on earth. This self-image will help them not to regard earthly challenges as anything to demoralize them. Peter notes:

Dear friends, I urge you, as aliens and strangers in the world, to abstain from sinful desires, which war against your soul. Live such good lives among the pagans that, though they accuse you of doing wrong, they may see your good deeds and glorify God on the day he visits us (1 Peter 2:11-12).

In several ways, the early Church reminded themselves that they are not of this world and they will experience suffering. The early Church exhibited a sense of being ‘called out.’ It was a true community. It expressed eschatological hope, catholicity, apostolicity, and holiness – a community of the saved.⁹ It also projected signs of a pilgrim conscious church such as: accepting to suffer gladly for the sake of the gospel; always conscious of heaven; took the gospel seriously; not afraid of dying or of Satan; obedient to God no matter the cost; had mutual concern for one another in all areas of life.¹⁰ How then has

⁹ Moses Audi, *The Church as a Pilgrim Community* (Kaduna: Soltel, 2015), 177-185.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 185-188.

persecution affected transmission of the gospel in the early Church through the biblical record?

The Early Church Transmitting the Gospel in Suffering

What did the early Church do about transmitting the gospel when they faced violence? Even though the Church in Jerusalem scattered as a result of persecution, they did not stop sharing the gospel. From the very beginning, the believers encountered persecution. The Pentecost event reveals verbal insults to which the Apostles responded kindly (Acts 2). The healing at the beautiful gate received stern warning (Acts 3-4). They were beaten, yet they asked for grace to continue preaching. The persecution became stronger leading to arrests (Peter, and the Apostles – Acts 4:1-22; 5:17-42; 12:1-19) and deaths (Stephen and James as examples – Acts 7:54-60; 12:2). They were resolute regarding their love for Christ and its implication. Paul asked: “Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall trouble or hardship or persecution or famine or nakedness, or danger or sword” (Romans 8:35)? Their message remained a message of love. They saw their persecutors as acting ignorantly (Acts 3:17) or acting in fulfilment of what God has ordained would happen (Acts 4:28).

The persecution that led to the death of Stephen promoted the church throughout the Roman world. They “preached everywhere they went” (Acts 8:4). Paul's missionary journeys were characterized by imprisonment, beating, and perils of different kinds (2

Corinthians 11:24-25). Most of his letters were written from prison.¹¹ John also wrote from his banishment at Patmos.¹² It is no surprise that Paul will conclude his ministry with two strong expressions - the gospel was not hindered because of suffering (Acts 28:31); and, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished the race..." (2 Timothy 4:7).

In essence, Acts and the Epistles revealed how the church continued to propagate the gospel. Suffering was a necessary part in preserving the church through the ages. Suffering was a major factor that moved the Christians from Jerusalem to other places in the world. Their resolute love for Christ on the other hand preserved its "pilgrim and indigenous"¹³ elements that resulted in world Christianity. Ultimately, suffering did not hinder the growth of the church, but strengthened it. God uses suffering to restore and make his Church "strong, firm and steadfast (1 Peter 5:10).

While we could observe several points of difference between the early Church and today, their experience is a prototype for all Christians. Characteristics of both experiences include religious opposition, threat to life, and the tendency to nurture hatred, enmity, and abandon missions. More will be discussed later under the experience of the NBC.

¹¹ See D. A. Carson, Douglas J. Moore, and Leon Morris, *An introduction to the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992), 307.

¹² Ibid, 473.

¹³ Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996), 3-15.

Local Impact of the Early Church

Drawing from above, persecution drove the believers to new places. One of the early places was Antioch. Believers were taught to live exemplary lives. The church felt a divine call to set apart Paul and Barnabas to take the gospel to new lands (Acts 11 and 13). In the bid for the church to be truly local, Paul and his companions needed to go to Jerusalem. The result of this visit was the development of guidelines for incarnational Christianity that is local and global at the same time (Acts 15).

As the gospel travelled to new lands, it confronted local cultural expressions and challenged the expressions of the bearers of the gospel as well. Paul's writings to the Gentile churches confronted concerns regarding circumcision (1 Corinthians 7:17-20), meat offered to idols (1 Corinthians 8:1-13; Romans 14:1-21), and cultural diversity among believers (Romans 10:11-13; Ephesians 2:14-22). The resolves regarding these concerns made the church relevant to both sending and receiving cultures of the gospel.

Regarding local impact on the Gentile Churches, circumcision was not required (Ephesians 2:11-13). The law of God written on their consciences was the reference point for the expression of their faith (Romans 2:12-16). This was affirmed by the Jerusalem Council at the visit of the Church from Antioch (Acts 15:1-35).

The resolution on the meat offered to idols made the Gentiles and the Jews in Rome all feel at home in their faith expressions. Their expressions were to take into cognizance the effects on believers or even unbelievers before whom such expressions were made (1 Corinthians 8 and Romans 8 referred to earlier).

On the other hand, the Jewish believers were to express their faith in its unique sense that gives appropriate consideration of their religio-cultural context which preserved the particularity of the Christian faith. While the Jews were to maintain their cultural heritage and the Gentiles theirs, both were to be conscious of the impact of their expressions on the faith of those who differ (See Acts 15; 21:17-26).

Each new context of the early Church was truly local. The newly received faith transformed their contextual distinctive thereby characterizing Christian living with both indigenous and pilgrim elements. The result was incarnational Christianity (Ephesians 4:17-24; 2Corinthians 5:17). It brings to light Andrew Walls' 'pilgrim and indigenous' principles of gospel re-transmission.¹⁴ This leads to further discuss the global early Church.

Global Early Church through Suffering

The early Church became global first by its geographical spread to new lands. Christianity which started as a Jewish sect soon became a major religion in the Roman world.¹⁵ From biblical records, Christian faith was introduced to Samaria (Acts 8:4-25), Africa (Acts 8:26-39),¹⁶ Asia Minor (Revelation 2:1-3:22), Damascus (Arabia- Acts 9:1-

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ See "The Roman Empire in the New Testament Times," *NIV Study Bible*, ed. Kenneth Barker (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985), map no. 14.

¹⁶ Later history records Alexandria, Cyrene, Ethiopia, etc. as Early Christian centers.

31),¹⁷ and Western Europe (Acts 28:11-22). This geographical expansion made Christianity a global faith.

The globality¹⁸ of the Christian faith is also observable in the preservation of its 'pilgrim element.' This element transforms the 'indigenous element' to the point that it impacts the faith at the global level. The local impact of the church expressed above also had global impact. The Gentile management of meat offered to idol for instance had impact on the Jewish expression of faith (Galatians 2:11-16, see Romans 14:13-21). The Jewish expression of the law on the other hand had impact on the Gentile Christian living (Galatians 4:8-11). What was happening in distant lands impacted the local self-expression of the Church. The Jewish Church learned that the law cannot save and the Gentile Church learned that they should not constitute stumbling block for believers in Christ by the exercise of their freedom. The local and global expressions made Christian faith wholistic and incarnational at the same time.

If the church had not experienced suffering; it could have remained confined in Israel if it survived at all. In the face of challenges, the early believers upheld their identity and commitment to please God and take the gospel to home and abroad. Peter represents their resolve in Acts 5:29: "We must obey God rather than men!" The apostles rejoiced for being counted worthy to suffer disgrace for Christ's sake (Acts 5:40-42). While the disciples scattered because of the persecution that led to the death of Stephen,

¹⁷ See *NIV Study Bible* footnotes. Damascus was inroad to many places including Arabia.

¹⁸ This word is used to express the idea of being global.

they went everywhere sharing the gospel. It was said of them – they have turned the world upside down (Acts 17:6 *KJV*). They experienced transformation and it was seen in their way of life. It is in place to note that they did not think the message was for the entire world in the beginning, but their experience of divine intervention gave them confidence that the message was meant for the whole world in accordance with the teachings of the Bible which they did not understand beforehand (Acts 10 and 11). The message of the gospel reached the entire Roman world of their time.¹⁹

The church became truly *glocal* as it spread from Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria and the ends of the earth which climaxed with the Jerusalem council in Acts 15. The suffering of the church did not hinder its *glocalization*. It has been noted that “the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the gospel,”²⁰ which goes to affirm that persecution actually made the early Church *glocal*. This study now turns to contemporary Christian experience in Nigeria.

Boko Haram, Nigerian Baptists’ Suffering and Response

The suffering of the Nigerian Baptist Churches as a result of *BH* insurgency and their response is fundamental to understanding *BH*’s impact on the glocalization of

¹⁹ Robert A. Baker, *A Summary of Christian History* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1959), 8-11. See also James 1:1b and Acts 8:4. These two texts were corroborated by history documents that by the end of the first century, Christianity was found in the major cities of the then known world.

²⁰ “The Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Church,” 209-236. See also Christof Sauer, “Theology of Persecution and Martyrdom: An Example in Globalizing Theology,” *ERT* 37, 3 (2013): 267-274.

the church. This section will give a summary of the suffering experienced by the Church, the response given and the effect on glocalization with a goal to assess the appropriateness of the response.

Suffering of Nigerian Baptists

The Nigerian Baptist churches have suffered in various ways in the hands of the insurgents. The hardships inflicted on Nigeria have led to the destruction of churches, killing of Christians, and displacement of so many people, especially those living in Northeast. The interviews conducted²¹ report various aspects of the suffering of the Baptist churches, starting with the challenge of displacement. Many had abandoned their homes, businesses, and farms. Most of the displaced left hoping to return shortly, but ended up having to seek camps for refuge. They are affected spiritually, physically, psychologically, and economically.²² The displacement “has caused untold hardships on both children and adults in Nigeria.”²³

S. Ademola Ishola notes that the indigenous northern Christians have suffered the most. They have no place to go compared to Christians from southern parts living in

²¹ Information about those interviewed is found in appendix 2, 207-208. Nine people were interviewed. (Additional information about each of them is found in the pages containing interview transcripts in the appendixes as follows: Rev. Zacharia Joshua Ako – 210, 217; Rev. Dr. S. Ademola Ishola – 219; Rev. James Vandiwghya – 228; Rev. Saul Anana Danzaria – 235; Rev. Joseph J. Hayab – 246-249; Rev. Thimnu Babagunda – 266; Rev. Prof. John Ade Ajayi – 278-282; Rev. Dr. Oluwafemi Adewumi – 291-292 and, Rev. Dr. Joseph Audu Reni – 299-300).

²² James Vandiwghya, Interview Transcript, December 20, 2014, 229.

²³ Zacharia Joshua Ako, Interview Transcript, November 23, 2014, 211.

northern Nigeria. The later have the option of relocating to their states of origin outside the region affected by *BH* insurgency. The challenge facing Christians of northern origin includes the need to re-establish their homes and means of livelihood at the end of the insurgency.²⁴ This is indicative that the dispersion here is not like the early Church experience discussed above.

Earlier the complexity of the challenge facing northern Christians was expressed. They are faced with the challenge from the Muslims and from the Christians from other parts of the country as well. They do not readily receive the support from fellow Christians.²⁵ They are also not welcome to some Christian fellowships.

Discrimination against the northern Christians by Christians from other parts of the country is not easily captured in literature. Below are two examples from day to day experiences for northern Christians. During one of the tense periods, a Pullo²⁶ pastor went to a church in the city of Jos. His presence raised a reaction from members of the church including the church pastor who said to him “We will allow you worship with us today but do not come back here again.”²⁷

²⁴ S. Ademola Ishola, Interview Transcript, December 23, 2014, 220-221.

²⁵ Moses Audi, “The Challenge of Ethno-Linguistic Crisis to Missions Effort in Nigeria,” *Missiologue* 1, 2 (November 2011): 5-6.

²⁶ Pullo is singular of Fulbe and commonly known as Fulani. They are associated with Islam, jihad and northern political control along with the Hausa people.

²⁷ Names of persons left out intentionally for reason of security. The Pastor who was a victim of this experience share this with a small group during Joint Christin Ministry in West Africa (JCMWA) meeting in Jos, Nigeria on September 26, 2013 at *Ekklisiyar Yan'uwa a Nigeria* (EYN – Church of the Brethren) Headquarters, Jos.

This researcher had an experience that further illustrates this reality. At Northern Baptist Pastor's Conference held in Kaduna in January of 2013, he made some preliminary interviews. One of the selected pastors from a crisis area refused to grant the interview because of the ethnic affinity of the researcher and the subject of Muslim caused crisis and its impact on evangelism.²⁸ Expressions of this nature abound for northern Christians who reside in the south. Each time there was a crisis of religious nature; Hausa speaking Churches in the south of the country faced challenges from the southerners who claim to be Christians.²⁹

The economy of the people was also affected. The insurgency brought famine, compounding the challenge between crop farmers and herdsman.³⁰ The destruction of businesses was selective against Christians by the insurgents; so also the killings and maiming.³¹ Several social events had brought members of community together cutting across religious, ethnic and regional lines. Since the rise of *BH*, these are no longer possible as a result of suspicion, hatred and fear of volatility arising from such occasions. The memories of the destruction of churches, killings and displacement caused by a

²⁸ The failed interview was to be conducted with Freeman Dauda, in spite of a longtime acquaintance with interviewer

²⁹ Adelani Akande who was pastor of Sabo Baptist Church Ogbomoso had to intervene often time in defense of Hausa speaking churches partly because his church was planted to target the northerners living in Ogbomoso and was coordinator of Hausa speaking churches in the area.

³⁰ Vandiwghya, 229.

³¹ Saul Anana Danzaria, Interview Transcript, December 20, 2014, 236.

group claiming religious allegiance has weakened opportunities for gospel re-transmission.³²

The Baptist work in Northeast occupies two states, Adamawa and Bornu with over 200 local churches and 138 pastors. Only two church buildings were still standing at the time of the interview. Most members and pastors were killed or displaced.³³ Evangelism came to a standstill. Most churches that still hold fellowship were simply providing solace for the survivors. Many have resolved not to return to the region because of fear, threat to life and being minority by religions and ethnic affiliation.³⁴

Similar to the information from Zacharia Ako,³⁵ Saul Danzaria notes the statistics of the churches with drastic decline of membership.³⁶ In some instances, *BH* killed worshipers and burnt down churches during worship services. Those who escaped and dared to return are killed as well. In many ways, the Northeast has become a mission field once again. Some of the victims' bodies were never found.³⁷ Of 138 pastors in the

³² Vandiwghya.

³³ Danzaria, 236-237. Vandiwghya, Transcript.

³⁴ Enima Thimnu Babagunda, Interview Transcript, May 27, 2015, 268-269.

³⁵ This is reflected on table 3 in chapter two, 81.

³⁶ S. A. Danzaria, "The Christian Response to Religious Persecution 1 Peter 4:12-19," Golden Gate Baptist Church: Annual Session of Fellowship Baptist Conference, February 21-23, 2013, 9-11.

³⁷ Danzaria, Transcript, 236-237. And Babagunda, Transcript, 267-268.

Conference, only about 10 of them are in Maiduguri metropolis. The members of all others have either been killed or displaced to other states.³⁸

The Muslims in Nigeria have expressed the sentiments of the agenda of *BH* since the 1950s revealed through the attempts to enshrine *Sharia* into Nigeria's legal system.³⁹ Matthew Hasan Kukah reports Sir Norman Anderson, a member of the Jury set up in 1958 to look at the drafting of Nigeria's law following a Constitutional Conference in 1957 as saying,

Our findings and recommendations were to be drafted in such a way as not to offend the basic tenets of Muslim law, but also be of such quality as to win universal acceptance.... We initially planned to make radical changes in the legal system in northern Nigeria, but our Nigerian colleagues were suspicious of our intentions.⁴⁰

The struggle to make *Sharia* the law for the whole country has remained central to the Muslims in Nigeria ever since. *BH* has continued with the agenda Nigerian Muslims groups fought for and became more aggressive than the earlier ones.

The real name for *BH* is *Jama'atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda'wati Wal Jihad* which literally means "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and *Jihad*." Indeed, *BH* is fighting *Jihad* to establish an Islamic Caliphate.⁴¹ They considered

³⁸ Ibid, 236-238, 243-244. Babagunda. Ajayi, Transcript, 283, 285. Some of these were discussed in chapter two narrating the history of mission experience with *BH*.

³⁹ Matthew Hassan Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd., 1993), 115-118.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 117.

⁴¹ Gabriel Olayiwola Akingbade. "Divine Sovereignty in Habakkuk 2:1-5; 3:16-19 and the Ecclesiastical Response to the Challenge of Boko Haram Insurgence in Nigeria" (PhD Diss., Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2015), 107-108.

Christianity as Western, hence the short form of their name *BH* meaning ‘everything Western is abomination.’ *BH* has targeted Christians, churches and establishments owned or headed by Christians. In the recent past they have targeted some Muslims and Mosques, but these targets were made on those who speak ill of them or fail to support their course.⁴²

The unmistakable target of Christians and everything associated with them have raised reactions from all sectors of the Nigerian society. Affirming this, Danzaria noted that when *BH* started targeting Muslims, Muslim leaders like the Sultan says, “no they shouldn’t kill Muslims.” Furthermore, in the time of insurgent uprising people caught are asked to state their religious affiliation. Those who claim Islam are spared while those who claim Christianity are often executed. It takes divine intervention for those who claim Christianity to sometimes be spared.⁴³

Muslim leaders have always expressed surprise that *BH* is killing fellow Muslims which they did not expect. The sponsors are Muslims. *BH* sometimes targeted Muslims for abandoning them midstream. Sometimes it is because they are seen to be defending the Christians or government cause at the expense of Islam.⁴⁴

⁴² Islamic cleric and his family in Zaria were killed recently after Friday Prayer because he spoke against them.

⁴³ Danzaria, Transcript, 240. It is no surprise that Danzaria titled his paper “The Christian Response to Religious Persecution 1 Peter 4:12-1” in calling to the church to address the challenge of *BH*.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 239-240. Muslims see everything not Islamic or Arabic as Christianity and Western. See Jibrin Ibrahim, “Religion and Political Turbulence in Nigeria,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 29, 1 (1991): 116-121, accessed March 31, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/160995>.

BH insurgency has implicated religion, ethnicity and regional divide of the country both within and outside the church.⁴⁵ It created hatred between Christians and Muslims, reducing interest and commitment to Muslim evangelism.⁴⁶ The next section discusses how Nigerian Baptists are responding to the insurgency.

Nigerian Baptists Responding to Boko Haram Insurgency

The church is responding in many worldly ways. Noted among the responses are self-defense, offense, misinterpretation of the Bible, violent prayers, and commitment to give the church what their itching ears want to hear. In 2004 John Ade Ajayi noted the growing Islamic violence in Nigeria and warned of the danger it portends for Nigerian Christianity as was the case of Egypt in History. He noted four basic responses of the Nigerian Church at the time represented in the table 5 below.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Online reaction to the arrest of herdsmen with weapons reveals such sentiment. See "Soldiers Arrest 92 Armed Herdsmen in Abuja," Accessed April 19, 2016, <http://www.punchng.com/soldiers-arrest-92-armed-herdsmen-in-abuja/>.

⁴⁶ Ako, Transcript, 211. Vandiwghya, Transcript, 229-231, 233. Joseph J Hayab, Interview Transcript, May 26, 2015, 250-253.

⁴⁷ John Ade Ajayi, "Missiological Implications on the North African Christianity for the Nigerian Christians," (M.Div. Thesis, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2004), 63.

S/N	Description of Christian Response	Percentage
1	Physical violence	14
2	Conciliatory approach	20
3	Prayer	54
4	Legal	2

Table 5: Christian Response to Violence in Nigeria⁴⁸

It is unclear if the responses provided reflect an overlap. The instrument Ajayi provided did not indicate multiple choices for all that applies on the question though the tendency for such was very high.⁴⁹

In the mind of an average person, it is necessary to prevent what happened in North Africa. The perception that passivity could be blamed for Egypt's Christianity today, could account for Nigeria's consideration of a different response; but passivity is not the sole factor for Egypt's experience. Factors that contributed to Egypt's situation included internal division, theological problems and heresies. Christianity in Egypt was not embraced by the indigenous peoples, as well.⁵⁰ Their response was aggressive resistance, reliance on political intervention, withdrawal to the monasteries and missions abandonment.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Ibid. Tabulated by Moses Audi.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 102-104.

⁵⁰ Peter Falk, *The Growth of the Church in Africa*, 48-49.

⁵¹ Ibid, 63-67.

John Ade Ajayi noted that tendency towards violence was growing in Nigeria already since 2004.⁵² There are indications that these statistics have further changed significantly. Most of the people in the conciliatory and prayer approaches will opt for a more violent approach. The fact of self-defense and violent response or its tendency, is expressed by several of the people interviewed as a growing trend. Muslims and Islam are seen as the enemy of the church.⁵³ In reaction to this trend S. Ademola Ishola says:

You find (some) among us who feel it must be fire for fire this time around and Christian ... (passivism) is no longer tolerated. That we should fold our arms and let them continue to kill our people... For me personally of course, as a denominational leader, I feel boxed – do I command people go ahead and also kill them; destroy their Mosque or properties?⁵⁴

The statement above indicates that leaders are faced with a dilemma. While a number of Christian leaders know that violent response is not appropriate, they are sympathetic or even willing to accede to such action. They are in the fix between what they know is right and what they will want to see happen which the masses would prefer.

“Truly speaking, the relationship between Christians and Muslims in the Northeastern zone is sour.” Saul Danzaria said.⁵⁵ In essence, this bitter relationship is a determinant factor to the response the Muslim deserve.

⁵² John Ade Ajayi, "Missiological Implications on the North African Christianity for the Nigerian Christians."

⁵³ Danzaria, Transcript, 238; Babagunda, Transcript, 274; Ishola, Transcript, 220; Ako, Transcript, 213-214; Hayab, Transcript, 255.

⁵⁴ Ishola, Transcript. All those interviewed noted the growing tendency to violent response to insurgency and toward Muslims in general. See Ako, Transcript, 212.

⁵⁵ Danzaria, Transcript; Ako, Transcript, 215.

Joseph J. Hayab noted three major responses – situational ethics, self-defense, and an affront against identified enemy.⁵⁶ These are all violent responses. Situational ethics encourages a response determined by instinct rather than leading of the Holy Spirit. Self-defense is also often used as an excuse for an offensive response. It is commonly noted that the best self-defense of to be offensive. Self-defense or even offensive response toward Islamic insurgency is becoming typical of the church in Nigeria today. One of the rational for this is to signal to Muslims that the Christians too can fight and it will be more deadly.

“The church sees itself as a spiritual institution (that) uses worldly means to address worldly challenge.”⁵⁷ The Bible is often misinterpreted regarding spiritual warfare. The non-carnal weapons are for non-carnal battles; hence physical battles should be fought with physical weapons. The church is failing to “understand that there is spirit behind those forces of *BH*, Al-Qaida, and ISIS.”⁵⁸ Any leader who encourages violent response to Islamic insurgency will be applauded. “The church sees herself as another militant group that will help the world to fight Islam.”⁵⁹

The devotional guide of the NBC expressed and encouraged violent prayer
Examples of such prayers are:

⁵⁶ Hayab, Transcript, 255.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Arise o Lord, and intervene against all terrorists and mischief makers in the land. Silence the voices and tumult of all who rise up against your purpose for Nigeria.⁶⁰

Almighty God, uphold the pillars of Nigeria, cast down all the wickedness emanating from the clan of Ismail against Nigeria....⁶¹

The ‘clan of Ismail’ is an indirect reference to Muslims and all it represents in Nigeria.

We plead God’s holistic intervention and total victory over Boko Haram in Nigeria (2 Kings 19:35). Lord Jesus, incapacitate as many of them that reject salvation that hate Jesus, and are determined to die as suicide bombers. They shall not destroy precious souls with themselves.⁶²

Instead of ask for God to touch their hearts and make the gospel available to them, the request is for God to ‘incapacitate them for rejecting Jesus’ and to stop them from killing other as they commit suicide. It is therefore acceptable for them to die by suicide, but they should not involve innocent people.

The devotional guide also reveals faulty theology and misinterpretation of the Bible in its commentary or expressed prayers. Theological nuances raised by these prayers leaves the impression that the task of the church is to pray that God will change unpleasant circumstances to create comfort here and now. It does not recognize the need for missions as the ultimate appropriate response.

We declare total destruction upon all false altars that are speaking in all Nigerian government establishments and houses. We establish the altars of the Almighty God in their stead in Jesus name.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Daily Encounter with God 2015*. Ibadan: Sunday School Division, Christian Education Department, NBC, 2015, (January 1, 2015).

⁶¹ Ibid, (January 18, 2015).

⁶² Ibid, (January 20, 2015).

⁶³ Ibid, (January 11, 2015).

The goal this development leaves with the churches are to keep fighting for change of the situation by all possible means rather than remind believers of their eternal home not built by human hands (Hebrews 11:15-16). While the expressions are not really prayer in nature, they breed violence in the heart against the Muslims and instruct God to act or tell God what they want him to do. This reveals misinterpretation of the teaching about prayer in the Bible. It is also a misinterpretation of spiritual warfare.

Most leaders today give the Church what their itching ears want to hear. Churches have become entertainment grounds. Worship no longer has lasting impact on the daily lives of the members. Danzaria says: "It's like the church is becoming more as an entertaining ground, than a grooming ground of missionaries and pastors to go and affect others."⁶⁴ The Church is inward looking and unconcerned about reaching the world with the gospel.⁶⁵

Other ways by which the church is using worldly ways to respond to insurgency reveals the spiritual state of the church. Some are returning to African Religion and its forms of response. Babagunda and Hayab have this to say that insurgency is making "so many Christians go back into ATR (African Traditional Religion)⁶⁶ seeking powers so that they could have ... immediate protection so to say from those people that take

⁶⁴ Danzaria, Transcript, 243.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ African Traditional Religion is represented in this research as AR except it featured in a direct quotation.

advantage of killing the Christians anyhow.”⁶⁷ Many in the churches have the impression that they are vulnerable and could secure protection through their old religions; revealing the inadequacy in transformation.⁶⁸ Stating it differently, Hayab noted that

Some (in church) began to invoke the gods of their forefathers, the religion of their forefathers thinking that they need another force that will visibly protect them from the mayhem or from the evil attack or brutal attack of the *BH* group. ... They ... (returned) to use charms, those charms that we abandoned ... now ... re-introduced in some communities as a way of protection ... defense ... (and) securing themselves.⁶⁹

Sometimes, sentiments are used as grounds for the response to insurgency in Nigeria. The sentiments could be religious, ethnic, economic or political.⁷⁰ The church has resorted to using political means to solve spiritual problems as well. One observable trend is the growing interest for Christians to enter politics. Some feel if we have Christians in leadership they will be the ones to fight for the course of the church. This has not always proven so in Nigeria. As noted in chapter two, the course of Islam have always made much progress during the leadership of Christian presidents with little or no challenge. Having a Christian leader in the nation will also not bring salvation to its citizens without someone to share the gospel (Romans 10:14-15).

The churches in Nigeria have not seen the *BH* challenge as persecution. The church seems to know what to do and would not seek God’s face for intervention. As

⁶⁷ Babagunda, Transcript, 269; Hayab, Transcript, 251.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Hayab, Transcript, 250.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 258.

noted earlier, instead of seek God's face, we ask him to do what we want. Most in the church have taken the fight against *BH* into their hands rather than God's. It leaves the church with tendency to glory in itself if *BH* is defeated rather than glorify God. For this reason, the church stands to fail unless it returns to God.⁷¹ The church is mostly pre-occupied with asking government to fight *BH* and fighting also by 'dangerous prayers.' The net question then is: how has this response affected re-transmission of the gospel?

Nigerian Baptists' Response and Gospel Re-transmission

Baptist churches no longer share the gospel, especially with Muslims compared to the past. The manner of relocation also made evangelism and mission more challenging. Here are the responses from the interviews regarding re-transmission of the gospel as affected by the insurgency. First, a significant percentage of worshipers no longer go to church for worship; and, churches no longer go out for evangelism.⁷² Second, the inability to gather for worship has further weakened the possibility of doing missions. Third, the desire for justice and vengeance took out the little light of mission.

For James Vandiwghya, *BH* created fear and suspicion in the hearts of those who would think of evangelism. It became difficult to evangelize even the non-Muslims

⁷¹ Hayab, Transcript, 255; Ako, Transcript, 213-214.

⁷² Ibid, 250, 251-253; Ako, 211-212; Vandiwghya, Transcript, 230, 232-233; Danzaria, Transcript, 242-243; Babagunda, Transcript, 26; Ajayi, Transcript, 280, 282.

because of *BH*'s mode of operation who sometime acted as Christians in order to attach more effectively.⁷³

Prior to the advent of *BH*, churches employed the model of evangelistic rallies. This has to be suspended because *BH* has always targeted gatherings where they can cause high casualties. Preaching cannot be done openly anymore because of the tension created. Christian witness was also affected because of the relocation of Christians to safer areas. Unlike the early Church, Nigerian Baptist Christians did not continue with the Christian witness in the places they sought refuge. Some would not even attend church any more in the new areas.

Furthermore, the effort of the government to curb the insurgency brought security check points making movement very difficult and time consuming.⁷⁴ Missions became more challenging because of the outreach approaches in practice – rallies. Since most of the members are displaced in different places, it becomes impossible to coordinate for outreaches. Any pastor who desires to organize worship in Muslim dominated areas will not even get the support of most members.

In similar development, religious sentiments grew when it was observed that Muslims displaced by the insurgency often returned to embrace the group's ideologies. *BH* attacks were essentially against Christians even though they had hidden under the

⁷³ Vandiwghya, Transcript, 230.

⁷⁴ Ako, Transcript, 212.

guise of fighting western influence.⁷⁵ It is observed that for the most since the inception of the group, Christians and Christian establishments were their primary targets. Subsequently, the group started targeting Mosques and Muslims who showed support for the Christians or who are sympathetic with the secularity of the Nigerian State. This later development initiated the condemnation of the group by the Muslim clerics or political office holders.

Christians who passed through this experience with the *BH* had growing tendency to respond violently. It was difficult to accept that lack of faith in Christ or ignorance is responsible for the heinous activities of the group. This has led to various degrees of violence as response including counter attack, self-defense, ‘violent prayers’ asking God to destroy the enemy.⁷⁶

Another factor responsible for the decline in evangelism is nominalism.⁷⁷ There are those who do not know Jesus personally. It is impossible for such to get involved in outreach. Their thoughts are utilitarian and self-protective. In addition to the challenge of neo-Pentecostal influences, such nominal perspective holds that a true child of God is immune from problems. They will resist anything short of long prosperous lives.⁷⁸ In

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 213-214.

⁷⁷ Amusa Iyanda Lawuyi, “The Challenges Towards Evangelizing the Hausa Speaking Muslims in Agege Area of Lagos State,” (M. Div. Essay, Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2004), 62.

⁷⁸ Femi B. Adeleye, *Preachers of a Different Gospel: A Pilgrim's Reflection on Contemporary Trends in Christianity* (Kenya: Hippobooks, 2011). See Also Olugbenga Olagunju, “Health and Wealth Gospel in the Context of Poverty Reduction in Nigeria,” *OJOT* 14

contrast to the experience in the 1980s, anyone who wants to worship in the places that have been destroyed will not have members come to those places. Even within the Nigerian experience, there is a significant difference between the response in the past and the observable response today.⁷⁹ The mere thought that some in the church will think of reverting to AR as response to *BH* shows the spiritual state of the Church.

Some churches and their pastors are no longer interested in evangelizing Muslims, they see them as enemies. Some churches are indifferent toward Muslims because of the insurgency. The relocation of Christians and Muslims has increased the barrier between Christians and Muslims. What then is the glocal state of the Church?

The Glocal Impact of the Nigerian Baptists

BH insurgency directly affects the entire nation of Nigeria. However, this research concerns its impact on Nigerian Baptist Convention churches which serves as case study for the impact on the church in Nigeria. Below, the image of Nigerian Baptists, the local and global impact is studied.

(2009): 149-150. Steve Phillips, *All Things Loss: Prosperity's Delusion, Salvation's Reward* (Ibadan: DAC Prints, 2001). Steve Phillips, *Positive Confession, Counterfeit Christianity* (Ibadan: DAC Prints, 2001). E. M. Okwori, *Godliness for Gain* (Jos: CAPRO Media Services, 1995).

⁷⁹ J. A. Reni, Interview Transcript, January 24, 2016, 303, 306; Ako, Trnascript, 216; Vandiwghya, Transcript, 233; Hayab, Transcript, 242.

Boko Haram and Image of Nigerian Baptists

A critical observation reveals that Baptist churches in Nigeria basically see themselves as socio-political groups that will fight for their right. Using social apparatuses, the churches operate as pure social entities in worship. Worship is often entertainment driven and inclined towards advertising its services.⁸⁰ The churches also seek to field political offices with members who will be pre-disposed to defending the course of the church. There is strong drive towards providing political leadership at local, state and federal levels. The arguments have been, 'Christians shying away from political involvement will result to the rule of the ungodly.' The desire for political representation is higher than the desire for missionary engagement.⁸¹

The churches are pietistic and seek personal spiritual satisfaction with little concern about those who never heard. Christian commitment is primarily judged by participation in religious (church) activities rather than transformed life and commitment to great commission obedience. Spirituality is measured by commitment to prayer activities and philanthropism. The moral impact on society is secondary to manifestation of the miraculous.⁸² What one gets from God is more important than seeking to know God's expectations.

⁸⁰ Danaria, Transcript, 243; Ajayi Transcript, 280,286.

⁸¹ Ground for this assertion is the discussion on the response of the Church above. See also Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, 7-8. Matthew Hassan Kukah, *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 1999), 97-102.

⁸² Ajayi, Transcript, 280; Hayab, Transcript, 254; Reni, Transcript, 303; Babagunda, Transcript, 270.

The churches look up to governments to bring about change in society. They look up to political legal system to defend religious liberty. They hope for peaceful community by the act of political will of national leaders. The preservation of the church seems to be dependent on political power and control. This has always informed political involvement of many.

Theologically, the churches are not conscious that they are pilgrim on earth. They see the world and its material gains as Christian's right. The churches do not see its hope in God but in using the 'power of being children of God' to defend the church. If Christians are spiritual, no challenges will come their way. They will pray and all they ask will come to pass. They will command every situation under their control. Whoever suffers is facing the consequence of sin.⁸³ The growth and expansion of God's kingdom is for here in the world. Most of the churches look forward to a time here on earth when Christians will be the majority and things will be done the 'Christian way' but not committed to missions.

Baptist churches are also plagued with ethno-cultural divide. Ethnic sentiments are expressed in establishing churches, appointing leaders or even calling pastors to already existing churches. The desire among many to have a church with their isolated cultural identity within pluralistic contexts is a growing phenomenon. The region, ethnic

⁸³ Audi, *The Church as a Pilgrim Community*, 21-51.

affinity determines suitability to a given responsibility in the churches while the religious and regional affinity determines suitability for national political placement.⁸⁴

The image of Baptist churches is gradually taking after the Pentecostal, charismatic stance. A number of the churches are becoming prosperity driven. The health and wealth gospel is influencing many in their consideration of missions and persecution.⁸⁵

The obvious image of the church is a socio-political body rather than spiritual. The expected transformation that will produce the fruit of the Spirit and appropriate self-image is lacking. This also in turn affects the re-transmission of the gospel.⁸⁶

The Local Nigerian Baptists

There are two angles to Nigerian Baptists' impact at home – within, and outside the denomination. But more attention will be given to the impact within. The Nigerian Baptist Convention as a denomination has demonstrated great intention and commitment to missionary work in northern Nigeria since it opened up despite limited resources for such ministry. The NBC being among the last few denominations to formally enter the northern Nigeria for missions, northern Nigeria constitutes the highest number of home mission fields since the establishment of Global Missions Board in 1953

⁸⁴ Moses Audi, *An Evaluation of the Homogeneous Presupposition in African Mission* (Ibadan: O'dua Printing Press, 2003), 14-29. See Hayab, Transcript, 255-256.

⁸⁵ Ajayi, Transcript, 280-281.

⁸⁶ See Hayab, Transcript, 255-256.

for all time.⁸⁷ While regional allocation among mission agencies in Nigeria in the nineteenth century is partly the reason for the delayed entry, NBC's self-established churches have been in northern Nigeria for over a century. Most of these churches were primarily established by lay Yoruba traders for themselves.⁸⁸

Though not proactive towards reaching the northern indigenous peoples,⁸⁹ they made some significant impact to what is known today as Baptist work in northern Nigeria.⁹⁰ Till today, Yoruba Baptist churches are the biggest and strongest churches in Northern Nigeria. These have earned the Southwest and the Yoruba Baptists a great reputation for Baptist mission work in Nigeria and the Baptists in the North look up to brotherhood in all situations. Today, the Nigerian Baptist Convention has thirteen (13) conferences out of thirty (30)⁹¹ and ten (10) home mission fields⁹² in northern Nigeria. Four (4) of its eleven (11) theological schools are also in the North. But much have

⁸⁷ Paul O. Ebhomielen, *Forty Years of Nigerian Baptist Convention Missions* (Benin-City: Christian Network Organization, 1993), 33-61.

⁸⁸ Ezekiel A. Bamigboye, *History of Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria – 1901-1975* (Ibadan: Power House Press and Publishers, 2000), 59-184. Travis Collins, *Baptist Mission of Nigeria* (Ibadan: Y-Books, 1993), 42-46. S. Ademola Ajayi, *Baptist Work in Nigeria – 1850-2005* (Ibadan: Book Wright Publishers, 2010), 120.

⁸⁹ Isaiah Oluwajemiriye Olatoyan, "The Local Church and the Great Commission: A Biblical Perspective on the Practice of Evangelism and Missions among Churches of the Nigerian Baptist Convention" (D. Miss. Dissertation. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2011), 9-10, accessed April 10, 2013, ProQuest Ebrary.

⁹⁰ Bamigboye, *History of Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria – 1901-1975*. Collins *Baptist Mission of Nigeria*; and, Ajayi, *Baptist Work in Nigeria – 1850-2005*.

⁹¹ See Appendix C2

⁹² See Appendix C1.

changed since the advent of *BH*. Prior insurgencies and religiously (Islamic) motivated violence has not devastated the Nigerian Baptists as *BH*. Below are some observable changes to the impact within the denomination at home.

The churches affected most feel abandoned. Churches made of northern indigenous peoples feel most abandoned.⁹³ The Nigerian Baptists at local and national levels are not responding effectively to the emotional, physical, material and spiritual needs of the victims. The 2012 shift of Convention venue from Abuja on the premise the leadership was advised not to take the Convention family to a war zone when there are Churches of thirteen Conferences in the region was disheartening and discouraging when no drastic steps were taken to stand with those affected. The Convention in session has not taken special time to address the churches on the situation and opportunities for service or raise special support for the affected; instead a special offering was canvassed for a single church in the Southwest for having a fire incidence in isolation.

BH crisis has further divided the church which is already suffering from ethnic tension.⁹⁴ *BH* has built on ethno-linguistic, geo-political, and religious tensions that have

⁹³ Zacharia Joshua Ako, "The Havoc of Religious Intolerance in Fellowship Baptist Conference," Paper Presented at Mission Summit of Lagos-East Baptist Conference, March 22, 2014, 11, 12.

⁹⁴ Audi, *An Evaluation of the Homogeneous Presupposition in African Mission*. Moses Audi, "Ethnic Plurality and Church Planting in Nigeria," *BETFA* no. 3 (2004): 31-41. Audi, "The Challenge of Ethno-Linguistic Crisis to Missions Effort in Nigeria," 4-8. See Moses Audi, "Heterogeneity and the Nature of the Church: A Biblical and Theological Reflection." in *Contemporary Issues in Systematic Theology: An African Christian Perspective*. Ed. Moses Audi, Olusayo Oladejo, Emiola Nihinlola and John Enyinnaya (Ibadan: Sceptre Prints, 2011), 98-112. See also Moses Audi, 'Introduction: Heterogeneity of the Kingdom of God' *OJOT* 12 (2007): 1-4.

driven the convention into homogeneous mission and churching as well as the tensions created by the colonial impact and pre-colonial inter-tribal wars.⁹⁵

The crisis has further weakened missions to Muslims. Local church missions in the North which is primarily focused on the diaspora is dying due to relocation. The effort towards the indigenous peoples is also closing due to relocation and decline in interest. Since missions by agencies and denominations is also focused on the AR background peoples in northern Nigeria, *BH* has further strained the fragile inter-ethnic relationships with peoples of Islamic background and closed the door to missionary opportunities.⁹⁶ Another way by which mission doors are closing is the changed attitudes among Christians towards Muslims in general. This has complicated the accusations of insurgents like *BH* that Christianity is abominable.

The denominational missionary efforts are also greatly affected. None of the fields targeting indigenous Muslim peoples in the North under GMB has a missionary. There are no recruitments for all the possible reasons. Serving missionaries are discouraged.⁹⁷ Sadly, missions have become ethnic affinity affairs.

For the interdenominational impact, NBC is one of the leading evangelical missionary churches and has the oldest indigenous missions' board.⁹⁸ It has contributed

⁹⁵ Since early 1980s, GMB has been appointing people to their ethnic groups as missionaries with very few exceptions on the initiative of the given missionary.

⁹⁶ Munga, Interview, Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013.

⁹⁷ John Femi Adewumi, Interview Transcript, July 26, 2015, 294-296; Danzaria, Transcript, 243-244; Ajayi, Transcript, 286; Babagunda, Transcript, 269.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 295. He noted that the NBC is a leading missionary to the Muslim culture groups in northern Nigeria.

in various ways and inspired other mission agencies in Nigeria.⁹⁹ Its growth impressed all its partners and observers. It has initiated several pioneer missions to unreached, diaspora and other specialized ministries.¹⁰⁰ It is also a member of Nigerian Evangelical Missions Association (NEMA) and Joint Christian Ministry in West Africa (JCMWA) – a partnership association for the purpose of missions among others.

The manner of *BH* influence on the Baptist is not encouraging to the other denominations. While they are suffering from the same challenges, there is no inspiration to forge on together with sharing the gospel with Muslim neighbors. All the churches have become allies to violent response. Some of them are even more violent than the Nigerian Baptist churches.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Morgen Morgensen, *Fulbe Muslims Encounter Christ: Contextual Communication of the Gospel to Pastoral Fulbe in Northern Nigeria* (Jos: Intercultural Consultancy Services, 2002), See his Acknowledgements page. The NBC was a later inclusion for his studies as it was the only denomination that has congregations among the pastoral Fulbe in Nigeria by the time of research. Converts in other denominations are isolated and in integrated congregations.

¹⁰⁰ “Evangelism and Church Growth Development Statistics, 1989-2000,” West Africa/MAP, SUPP. Tables B and D, page 2 of summary analysis. Nigeria is said to have 85-94% of the growth in West Africa.

¹⁰¹ Most Church groups are looking up to Nigeria. NBC with its eleven theological schools have trained leaders for most of West and Central Africa. The NBC is said to be the second largest denomination outside the United States of America. See “Maisha to Baptist Family: Give Your All to Global Missions,” *The Nigerian Baptist*, 95, 6, (June 2016): 25.

Nigerian Baptists Impacting World Christianity

Samson Ayokunle, the President of the NBC bemoans the neglect of the international Christian community over Nigeria's fight against *BH*. His call for assistance was primarily a call to material and human right support for the church in Nigeria.¹⁰² His expression is indicative of frustration regarding the best way to respond. The desire for justice alongside the growing humanitarian need had seemingly removed the sympathy for the spiritual state of the perpetrators of this violence.

The Global Mission Board (GMB) is involved in missions to Muslim countries in Africa – Chad, Mali, Burkina Faso and Guinea. What is happening at home will surely affect what happens in those places as well.¹⁰³ Safety considerations inform the appointment of missionaries. Oluwafemi Adewumi serving in Mali expressed the reservation of sending missionaries. He noted, when missionaries are appointed, they are faced a challenge from those who will persuade them not to go to Muslim volatile areas by friends, and even some of the denominational leaders as a result of safety concerns.¹⁰⁴ Similarity could be observed here to the situation that confronted the Early Church typified in Agabus' demonstration about the danger awaiting Paul (Acts 21:10-14). Some of the missionaries went while others did not.

¹⁰² "Nigerian Baptist leader castigates international community for ignoring terrorism in Nigeria" *Information Service of the Baptist World Alliance*, January 16, 2015, accessed January 17, 2015, <http://tinyurl.com/hyg7rgv>.

¹⁰³ See Appendix A for list of International Missions points of the GMB/NBC.

¹⁰⁴ Adewumi, Transcript, 294-295.

Decisions need to be taken at different levels. The agency will not want to send when the life of the missionary is in danger. At some point the missionary also needs to make some decisions. Several agencies have had to recall their missionaries from places considered as unsafe. In some instances, the indigenous people advise missionaries on safety issues as well.¹⁰⁵ Their advice is drawn from their observation of the happenings around the globe. This way, the experience of Nigeria serves as reference point for other countries as well knowing that there are other groups seeking to achieve the same in other parts of the world.

Many potential missionaries and pastors for the affected parts of the nation are closing the possibilities of going to serve there. Those serving in the areas are seeking re-location to other parts.

From World Christian Studies (WCS) writings also, Nigeria is one of the countries in the southern continent identified as a hub of Christianity. Discussing the place of Nigeria and the Islamic tension Jenkin notes,

The twin experience of Sudan and Egypt explains why African Christians, so uncomfortably close to the scene of action, should be nervous about any extension of Islamic law and political culture. If Muslims insist that their faith demands the establishment of Islamic states, regardless of the existence of religious minorities, then violence is assuredly going to occur. This issue becomes acute in the very important nation of Nigeria which is today about equally divided between Christians and Muslims.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Adewumi, Transcript.

¹⁰⁶ Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: University Press, 2002), 172-173.

Furthermore, he noted,

When in 2000 the U. S. intelligence community sketched the major security threats over the next fifteen years, the explosion of religious and ethnic tensions in Nigeria was prominently listed. Depending on international alignments, the religious fate of Nigeria could be a political fact of immense importance in the new century.¹⁰⁷

The above is indicative that Nigeria and the developments there-in are being watched globally. Nigeria's political, economic and religious developments will provide one form of influence or the other, hence the need for care in the response of the church to the developments.

The global Muslim community is also watching the developments in Nigeria. They are interested in Nigerian membership to OIC and they are drawing strategies on how to react in countries where Christians are a significant population. All they desire is to implement the *Sharia*; stop Christians from converting their members; terrorize and bully Christians to a point of giving up; and having their own way. If the response of Christians continues in this direction, the church is proclaiming victory to global Islamic objective.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 174-175.

¹⁰⁸ It is necessary to note that what is happening is fulfilling the objective of spreading Islam also. This is a violent way to it, but there are other subtle way Islam is spreading rapidly. See Ajayi, "Missiological Implications of the North African Christianity for the Nigerian Christians," 34-35. Peter Ropo Awoniyi, "The Phenomenon of Islam in Contemporary Nigeria and National Development: A Christian View," *Unifier* 3, 2, (April 2013): 3-4.

The Early Church Confronting the NBC

It is discovered so far that *BH* has affected the church's self-image and its retransmission of the gospel. There is an observable decline in commitment to mission to the Muslims and the culture groups that are predominantly Muslim. This informed the theme of the 2012 Global Mission summit where the necessity to reach the Muslims with the gospel was discussed. Pastors seek to go serve outside the northern region of the country. The opportunities to have outreach have declined and have stopped in some areas. The Christianity has become more domesticated today than in the past. By domestication, the church is committed to in-church programs rather than anything that will take them out in ministry to the Muslims. The domestication has caused decline in membership and in outreach to the Muslim communities.

Retransmission of the gospel is replaced with prayer against the Islamic agenda. It is observable that the self-image of the church and its retransmission of the gospel are significantly different from the response of the early Church when it faced persecution. While there is a difference between persecution that the early Church faced and the terrorism of our day, both are forms of persecution of the church and anything perceived to be affiliated to the church.

While most pastors and non-pastors do not see the need to reach out to Muslims, some of the pastors in the hotspots are calling on the church to engage the Muslim communities with the gospel more than the pastors outside the hotspots. As noted earlier, the GMB is taking some steps to sensitize for missionary work to the Muslim communities. There are also individual pastors and missionaries who are sensitizing the

churches and church leaders to reach out as revealed from some of the interviews made.¹⁰⁹

Areas of similarity between the early Church and today relates to dispersion of believers to safer places. The areas of differences relate to the response of the church to persecution and suffering. See the table below for illustration:

S/N	Early Church	Nigerian Church Today
1	Go to safer places	Go to safer places
2	Preach as they went	Does not see the need to preach
3	Conscious of the lostness	Does not take lostness serious
4	Prayed for the grace to preach with boldness	Pray God to reverse or thwart the agenda against the church
5	Believers stand in solidarity with one another	Inadequate support to those affected and those affected left on their own
6	See the transformation through conversion as the source of the difference in life	Common sense should make the perpetrators see the wrong and act humanly. Often they are described as animals
7	Does not consider necessary to reprise or act in self defense	Give room for reprisal or self defense
8	Does not hope in government response	Look up to government to respond in defense of the church

Table 6: Nigerian Church Compared with Early Church

Danzaria warned that the church in Nigeria is becoming an entertainment ground and loosing grip to the commitment towards the great commission. The church is becoming pre-occupied with its own needs and not concerned about bringing new people into fellowship. The church is departing from the New Testament legacy.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Ako, Transcript, 215-216; Danzaria, Transcript, 243-244.

¹¹⁰ Danzaria, Transcript, 243. See Ajayi, Transcript, 280.

Similarly, Zacharia Ako noted that this is the most difficult time in Nigeria regarding Christian Muslim relationship; and, instead for the church to draw closer to God for the solution and protection, the church is getting further away from God. “Persistent attack from the Muslims or *BH* insurgence should not deter us from loving them; we should continue loving them.” The church should not respond in violence to the insurgency.¹¹¹

BH insurgence is a clarion call to the church. Ako said:

Instead of asking God why is this thing happening? I think the best question to ask is ... ‘Lord what do you want us to learn from our experience?’ ... because, going back to the history of Christianity in the early church you discover that when the disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ defied that great commission in Matthew chapter 28 that they should go in to world and preach the gospel in Samaria, Judea and other part of the world, they confined their work to Jerusalem alone. But when the persecution came, they scatter all over the place planting churches and preaching. That’s what Act chapter 8 tells us. So Christian should ... see it that way; that our present suffering, displacement to different places, should be an avenue for us to plant churches and to evangelize those areas where we are.¹¹²

Recognizing that *BH* is persecuting the church will enable the church to respond appropriately towards mission. As some of the interviewers noted, this could be a clarion call or instrument to awaken the church to her responsibility – missions. The Bible provides the principles for response to persecution.

¹¹¹ Ako, Transcript, 216.

¹¹² Ibid, 215-217.

Secondly, there is the need to evaluate some of our theologies. The notion about suffering as a sign of divine punishment needs to be revisited. The church needs to teach the Bible and truly prepare God's people for the work of ministry (Ephesians 4:12).

Summary

This chapter studied the impact of insurgency on glocalization and gospel re-transmission of the NBC churches in comparison with the early Church. Biblically speaking God intended the church to be glocal – having very clear influence at local and global levels. The study reveals that persecution was expected. The church was to endure all kinds of hardships on the basis of faith. As a result, the Bible admonished that believers will suffer for their faith (Matthew 5:11-12; 2 Timothy 3:12). The experiences of the believers were also used to encourage the church and affirm that persecution is to be expected always as long as the church remains here on earth (Hebrews 11:35b-39).

The early Church was resilient and steadfast. It saw itself as divine instrument for the transformation of the world. It was a glocal community and did not allow persecution and suffering to hinder the transmission of the gospel. It asked for grace to keep sharing the gospel at all cost as God does his part of touching the lives of those who hear the gospel.

The challenge of Islamic insurgency in Nigeria has affected the church in various ways. It hindered effective glocalization and retransmission of the gospel. The growing tendency to violent response has affected the image of the Church and increased inter-ethnic tension in the church. While the early experiences of insurgency in Nigeria elicited

similar response to that of the early Church, the current experience is a far cry from the example in the Bible. While the crisis brought about dispersion like in the early Church, the people are not sharing the gospel as they go. They are not even going to places where they could share the gospel. They are moving to Christian dominated areas – comfort zone in order to live in peace. The crisis has encouraged withdrawal for those who will not resort to violence.

Nigerian Baptist churches are declining in their acceptance of persecution, suffering and commitment to missions because of *BH* insurgency. They see the insurgency as a political oppression. Therefore, the Nigerian church's response to *BH* is hindering mission and evangelism and incarnational Christian expression in society. They have a growing tendency towards retaliation and self-defense. They have used politics and even reverting to AR modes of fighting spiritual warfare.

The development has affected the image of the church, making it live like a club, society or organization whose hope is sociological and earthly. The local expression has hindered the churches from being the salt and light, source of encouragement within their fellowships, and edifying one another. Their responses have also affected impact towards other denominations within the country. The overall tendency of Nigerian response will affect its role in world Christianity. The Nigerian response has revealed the spiritual state of the church needing urgent attention. This constitutes the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

BOKO HARAM AND THE NIGERIAN CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE

At this point, several questions arise. How has the impact of *BH* affected the concept, attitudes, and commitment to missions among the NBC churches? How can the resultant form of Christianity from the encounter with *BH* in Nigeria be best explained? What can the Nigerian Baptists do to take advantage of the opportunity it offers? What are the implications for the church in Nigeria and world Christianity? These questions form the concern in this chapter.

Boko Haram and Incarnational Christianity

Earlier Christian response to religious crises in Nigeria was better than the response today. The crises were seen as persecution. The Church was also involved in evangelism and Christians apparently lived more exemplary lives then, than now.

In those days, in the early 70's, late 60's, there were mini revivals in Nigeria, especially among the youths on campuses. There was hardly any church that I knew of, that did not have a day of evangelism. Three programs were prevalent... bible study ... prayer meetings and evangelism.¹

¹ Ajayi, Interview Transcript, July 17, 2015, 280.

It was also noted that Muslim opposition was accepted as inevitable challenge of their faith and they continued to evangelize.² Interviews conducted also affirmed this change. During the periods of crises between 1980 and 2000, Muslims and Christians protected and cared for each other. But since 2006 the Muslims welcomed Christians running from insurgency only to hand them over to fellow Muslims. By 2009 the previous Christian-Muslim relationships had become history and Christians began nursing violent response towards Islamic opposition.³

In another interview, the 1987 experience in Kaduna was stated thus:

Certainly, I remember vividly when we had a large scale religious crisis in 1987 particularly in Kaduna State. Christians then didn't retaliate. Most of the crisis that erupted, led to the burning down of many churches. But interestingly, the following Sunday after the crisis, believers were seen worshiping on the rubbles of those ... churches that were burnt. And, surprisingly, the attendance that particular Sunday in most churches was fuller than usual. That meant ... people ... (were) spurred up.... (It was like) – Hey! This is a time of crisis; we all need to wake-up to our need for God. And, people came in large numbers to attend churches even when they were aware that there was still tension They felt that was the best way to do it. ... But subsequently, over the years when Christians began to feel the need to retaliate and when that started happening, then it developed a circle of violence that has not been ... broken up till this moment.⁴

This change of attitude did not go unnoticed even by the Muslims. The Muslims feel Christians have changed from who they used to be.⁵

² Ezekiel A. Bamigboye, *History of Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria 1901 to 1975* (Ibadan: Powerhouse Press and Publishers, 2000), 56-57.

³ James Vandiwghya, Interview Transcript, December 20, 2014, 230-231.

⁴ Joseph Audu Reni, Interview Transcript, January 24, 2016, 301-302.

⁵ Ibid, 305; Zacharia Joshua Ako, Interview Transcript, November, 23, 2014, 213, 215; Enima Thimnu Babagunda, Interview Transcript, May 27, 2015, 273.

Regarding change in Christian attitude, Joseph J. Hayab noted Kaduna State Governor's observation that Christians had represented the voice of the oppressed and stood for justice in society. They awakened the conscience of political leaders and were a reference point to Muslims leaders to shun mediocrity and condoning the ills of government. But today, Christian leaders have abandoned such noble role for financial benefits from government.⁶ Hayab laments:

Even if we think we are doing the right thing, the world knows that we have derailed from the thing they know us to be in the past. That is why in the past by simple life style we preach. By simple life style we guide people. Many ... call us and (say) pray with me because I know the God you people serve as Christian is a powerful God.⁷

Attitudinal change has itself constituted a barrier to reaching the Muslims today. One finds the expression of hatred towards Muslims. The trust that once existed has given way to resentment.⁸ Transformation expected from faith in Christ did not seem to have taken place in the lives of significant numbers of people in the Church today. It is observed that there is deficiency in evangelization which is central to the experience of transformation. Most churches do not have specified time for evangelism any longer. For John Ade Ajayi, the rise of *BH* is not unconnected to the failure of the church in serving and salt and light of the society. The situation was compounded by the failure of the

⁶ Joseph J. Hayab, Interview Transcript, May 26, 2015, 257.

⁷ Ibid, 258.

⁸ This is acknowledged by most of the interviews conducted. See Appendix B.

church in evangelism, missions and discipleship which is replaced today with “prosperity; ... health and wealth Christianity and actually hero worship.”⁹

The non-evangelistic focus of the Church has reduced the church to centers for entertainments. The content of the teaching of the Church is changing to health and wealth gospel. Missions have been redefined as “welfarism” and social service within the church. The spiritual well-being of the members no longer occupies a central place in worship. Good membership is defined by commitment to activities and church material and financial needs. Members are given the impression to pray against their enemies rather than “rescue the perishing and disciple them.”¹⁰

Domestication of the faith also has taken away the transforming power of the gospel on the cultures of the people. As noted in chapter three, many are returning to African Religion (AR) and tagging it Christianity¹¹ a development even Muslims disdain.¹² They are reverting to various non-Christian means including re-introduction of

⁹ John Ade Ajayi, Transcript, 280. Ajayi further noted that while Nigerian Pentecostals have borrowed from American televangelists, all other churches including the Baptists are adopting such teachings, 284. The teachings of Pentecostal Charismatic new generation churches have captured the elite Christian population that many evangelical Christians are open or secret Pentecostal Charismatics.

¹⁰ Ibid, 280.

¹¹ Enima Thimnu Babagunda, Interview Transcript, May 27, 2015, 269-270, 272. Hayab, Transcript, 251.

¹² They disdain AR and equate it with Christianity because they see the practices among groups that claim to be Christian. It is one of the reasons the Muslims see Christianity as western civilization. See Jibrin Ibrahim, “Religion and Political Turbulence in Nigeria,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 29:1 (1991): 115-121, accessed on March 31, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/160995>.

“charms” once abandoned at the advent of Christianity.¹³ In effect, the Bible is simply added to the existing religion making Christianity utilitarian and self-centered. This is the justification for the nature of violent prayers heard in most churches.

On the other hand, some forms of evangelization taking place are material centered, business-like and miracle-centered. The result of these is nominalism. Amusa Iyanda Lawuyi noted that one of the factors that gave rise to Islam in Nigeria is nominalism.¹⁴ The southern part of Nigeria, which was predominantly Christian in the past, has a large population of Muslims today.

BH has affected the Christian self-expression in various ways. Fear, anger, aggression, distrust, hatred have become prominent bringing about growing tendency for retaliation.¹⁵ There are a growing number of those who feel

We can no longer continue to run. Some believe that we have turned both cheeks and we no longer have any to turn. And so, the best response as far as they are concerned is to give it back to them in the same coin. ... So the question of reprisals, you know, has now come to be considered a normal response to such crisis.¹⁶

The manner of relocation informed by religious and ethnic divide of the country carried with it mission abandonment. People are moving to safer areas where they can express

¹³ Hayab, Transcript, 248.

¹⁴ Amusa Iyanda Lawuyi, “The Challenges Towards Evangelizing the Hausa Speaking Muslims in Agege Area of Lagos State,” (M. Div. Essay, Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2004), 62.

¹⁵ Reni, Transcript, 301.

¹⁶ Ibid. See also Saul Anana Danzaria, Interview Transcript, December 20, 2014, 238; Ako, Transcript, 213.

their religion freely and have nothing to do with Muslims.¹⁷ There are those who even wish the country will divide along religious and geo-political lines with each having freedom to practice their religion as they please. This can be said to be similar to the thought forms that brought about monasticism in the dark ages of church history. Spirituality is seen as a personal matter not concerned with fellowship with others. As a result, even church worship is pietistic and selfish just satisfied with preserving the congregants.¹⁸

Regarding trust, Joseph J. Hayab noted, religion and ethnic affinity has become a far higher basis for appointments and support of the masses rather than competence in religious and political spheres in Nigeria.¹⁹ This is not only the case for the Nigerian civil society but also of the church. The criteria for nomination into responsibility are no longer those of the Bible.

Self-image of the Nigerian Church has dimmed the light of the gospel. While most Christians do not see the necessity of evangelizing Muslims, the Muslims also do not see Christian godliness any longer to be attracted to the Christian message. Muslims see indecent dressing,²⁰ eating of unholy foods,²¹ insincerity²² alcoholism,²³ exploitation,

¹⁷ Reni, Transcript, 301-302; Babagunda, Transcript, 269; James Vandiwghya, Interview Transcript, November 20, 2014, 229.

¹⁸ The Churches are inward looking. See Danzaria, Transcript.

¹⁹ Hayab, Transcript, 248.

²⁰ In northern Nigeria Christian women are associated with not wearing head coverings and other forms of indecent dressing in comparison to Muslim women. See Eunice Adewumi, "The Effect of Islam on Women on Evangelizing Women in Northern Nigeria," M.Div. Essay, Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2004), 43. The wearing of the *Hijab* in public

corruption,²⁴ and sexual morality as prevalent among cultures identified with Christianity in northern Nigeria.²⁵ This is tragic for the Church. Further to this development is the rise of new theologies.

Emergent Theologies

Several theologies are emerging from the resultant expression of Christianity. Prominent among them are – theology of suffering and persecution, positive confession, prosperity theology, theology of prayer, and theology of power and authority.

is also associated with morality for the Muslim community. Matthew Hassan Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1993), xi, 39.

²¹ Foods considered unholy such as pork, dog meat, cat meat, etc. are practices associated with those affiliated with Christianity.

²² In the business world, those who will doubt the cost of commodities from Muslims after asking for the true cost are Church affiliates. This makes the Muslims feel they are not sincere since they cannot trust the true cost as demanded.

²³ Simon Heap, “We Think Prohibition Was a Farce: Drinking in the Alcohol Prohibited Zone of Colonial Northern Nigeria,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 31, 1 (1998):23-51, accessed March 31, 2013 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/220883>. There are local joints for drinking alcoholic substances all over the Christian dominated areas of the North. Churches and drinking joints are side by side. Dowry requirements include alcohol.

²⁴ When a contract is given to a Muslim, you are likely to get a better bargain than giving it to one affiliated to a Christian. There are accusations that people inflate contracts in agreement with the one given the responsibility by those implementing the projects.

²⁵ Most hotel owners where prostitution is practiced are identified with the Church. Those involved in prostitution are also perceived to be Church people by the Muslims probably by virtue of their names and dressing. It is the reason that part of the targets for the insurgents is alcohol joints. See Heap, “We Think Prohibition Was a Farce.”

The Muslims may fear the application of *Sharia*. The Muslim practice of *pardah* also keeps the women in homes. See Adewumi, “The Effect of Islam on Women on Evangelizing Women in Northern Nigeria.”

Influenced by the Pentecostal Charismatic Movement in Nigeria, a theology of suffering and persecution not compatible with the early Church's example is growing. Whereas the early Church expected suffering and accepted it joyfully, Christians today see suffering as a sign of divine rejection. Early Church Christians could say, "I want to know Christ and the power of his resurrection and the fellowship of sharing in his suffering, becoming like him in his death, and so, somehow, to attain to the resurrection from the dead" (Philippians 3:10-11). But today's Christians would question God when faced with problem of any kind. The preachers will give people the impression that when they get into trouble, it is because they have failed God and God is punishing them. If you are a child of God, the insurgents will not see you or have reason to attack you.²⁶

Positive confession has eaten deep into Nigerian Christian community. Many believe and teach that what you say will happen to you. If you say positive things, positive things will follow you. Positive confession is found both on the streets and the Church.²⁷ A woman was asked to fill a manifest at the public transportation station. She would not want to fill the form nor write the phone number of her next of kin. Upon enquiry for the necessity of filling the form, she was told that it was to be able to call

²⁶ A Baptist pastor in Kaduna preached and said "God told him that no one in the church will get in the any crisis this year" after 15 days fasting January 2013. "Anyone who does is the sole cause of his or her predicament." This is common expressions you see in some Baptist churches today.

²⁷ See "Christians Tasked on Godly Living as BTS, Kaduna Holds Ministers' Conference," Reported by Tunde Adeoye. *The Nigerian Baptist* 91, 11, (November 2012), 18-19.

someone in case something happened. Her reaction was “In Jesus name nothing will happen!”²⁸

At a Sunday school class, a lesson on “control your Speech” was presented. One of the take home lessons was “although the tongue is small, yet it can be destructive if it is not used wisely.”²⁹ In an attempt to emphasis on the importance of saying positive things about children in homes class facilitator says “what we say about our children follow them in life” and then asked “what then should we say to our children?” Getting no response because the audience was not sure of her question, she asked again, “Should we speak positive words or not?” One who gave a response says “It is not about positive words.” Startled, the teacher asked “we should speak negative word?”³⁰ One could tell that several people were startled as she was. It took time for the respondent to explain that speaking the truth in love is different from positive confession. Most people were not satisfied with the explanation of the respondent because of the influence of positive confession. Steve Philips responds to this problem as observed among Nigerian Pentecostals.³¹

²⁸ This was an experience at Abuja Pack in Akure, January 31, 2016.

²⁹ “Control Your Speech,” *Sunday School for Adult and Young Adults*, February 23, 2014, 39.

³⁰ Mrs. Victoria Opara, Sunday school teacher, Bethel Baptist Church, Kaduna, February 23, 2014.

³¹ Steve Phillips, *Positive Confession, Counterfeit Christianity* (Ibadan: DAC Prints, 2001).

The prosperity gospel has become the ideal form of theology. A typical expression you hear is “my God is not poor.”³² Different forms of offerings are introduced that gives the impression that one’s giving determines the favor of God. Examples include “seed sowing,”³³ and “first fruit.”³⁴ In most places of worship today in Nigeria, various kinds of offerings are taken. The time spent in worship talking about giving each Sunday is greater than any other one aspect of worship. Requiring students to report on the messages in the churches for mission classes to see how much of missions, eschatological hope feature on the pulpits reveal that 60 to 80 percent of the messages hinges on giving. Mission or evangelistic messages are 5 percent or less in a year.³⁵

The teachings apply inaccurate biblical hermeneutics. To illustrate, some passages used include Matthew 6:19-21 addressing storing up treasures in heaven; Matthew 7:2 and Luke 6:38 addressing issue of judging others; and, Acts 20:35 addressing helping the weak. All of these passages are interpreted purely as financial contribution to the Church or ‘man of God.’ These verses are used without regards to their biblical contexts.

³² Ajayi, Transcript, 284. See also *Religious Intolerance: A Threat to Nigeria's Unity* (Jos: Stafanos Foundation, 2009), 241.

³³ Seed sowing is a special offering given for God to multiply a hundred fold or when you have a desire, you give such offering so that God will ‘do your own for you.’ The size of what you desire determines the size of the gift.

³⁴ First fruit is the entire January salary given annually to the pastor so that God will bless you labor for the year and grand your desires for the years as well.

³⁵ Moses Audi, “History, Theology and Practice of Missions,” (Class Report CM 213 – Message Themes of the Churches for One Year, Second Semester 2015/2016 session).

Today, prayer has changed from asking God for help and praying for those who hate and persecute the church to praying for their destruction and removal of anyone who constitutes a hindrance to achieving our desires. It is no longer seeking God's forgiveness in humility but his judgement to those who hate us.³⁶

At the workers' retreat of the Northern Conferences, one of the resource persons told the audience that the Baptist pastors must change from their powerlessness and helplessness. The "man of God" has power and is to exercise authority over circumstances and spiritual forces. Femi Steve Omoniyi wrote:

The gift of the spirit seen in three dimensions (The Power Gifts which comprises faith, gifts of healing and working of miracles; the Revelation Gifts which include the word of wisdom, word of knowledge, and discerning spirit; the Utterance Gifts comprising prophesy, different kinds of tongues, and interpretation of tongues), are for the church. Get impacted with these gifts today that you might be strong. Fan them into flames to further overcome timidity in ministry and life – Romans 1:11; 2 Timothy 1:6-7.... What is your gift? Operate in it.³⁷

In explaining the paragraph above, Omoniyi said pastors should not be "explainers like Seminary professors, they should exercise authority." The "man of God" is so powerful that God will always do what he asks. The Christian, especially the 'man of God' has power that he can command situations and spiritual forces. He can speak to the demons in people asking them not to waste their time.³⁸

³⁶ Hayab Transcript, 251-253, 255; Ajayi, Transcript, 280.

³⁷ Femi Steve Omoniyi, "Moving Forward: Working Out Our Salvation in the Power of the Holy Spirit," *General Workers' Conferences 2016 Resource Book*, held at Albarka Baptist Church, January 12, 2016.

³⁸ Ibid.

The joy is that significant numbers of evangelical Christians, especially Baptists, are concerned about these developments and are providing some responses. As noted in the statement by Omoniyi above, theological schools have remained the hope for the appropriate Bible interpretation even though a good number of their products are dissatisfied by it. This dissatisfaction is caused by the entry foundations of the various theologies enumerated above. There seem to be unwillingness to shed such theologies as a result of the training received in theological schools. Though many despise the few voices seeking to redress these challenges; the presence of such voices signals hope. In light of the foregoing, how then would indigenous Nigerian Christianity be described?

Indigeneity of the Nigerian Church

Inappropriate contextualization is leading to the domestication of Christianity. It will be appropriate to say that “folk Christianity” is growing in Nigeria today. African Religious (AR) practices are finding their way into the Church. The emerging theologies expressed above are the product of a merger of AR and Western charismatic influence. The notions of witchcraft, pouring of libation, power of the tongue, religious practice to appease God or divinities all seem to inform the expression of Christianity. Significant

numbers of the people practice the AR obligations in addition to Christianity.³⁹ There is also an obvious moral concern among Christians as noted above.⁴⁰

In essence the way many Christians live does not show that they care about the image their lifestyles portray to observers. It is hard to see transformation in the lives of those the community identify with Christianity. The level of liberty and liberality is easily associated with ungodliness especially in the Islamic context which adheres to strict religious way of life. Is this peculiar to Nigeria?

The Globality of the Nigerian Church

The experience in Nigeria is universal to some degree. Many of the preachers of the theologies above have cable television networks that air such theologies all over the world. For instance, the Synagogue Church of Nigeria has more South Africans than Nigerians.⁴¹ As Nigerians travel, they share their convictions passionately.

The elements of nominalism expressed above are also a global phenomenon. Soul's liberty and freedom that find roots in Christian principles lead people around the

³⁹ Samson Audu Iliya, "A Theological Assessment of Gbagyi Christians' Participation in Eshna-Snu" (B. Th. Essay, Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna, 2014). Iliya revealed that many Christians still practice *Ehnsan-snu* which is a sacrifice for the act of stealing of a cousin in order to avoid the punishment from the divinities. Though Christian, they either pay for the sacrifice or carry it out personally.

⁴⁰ See page 154-155 above content to footnotes 20-25; Hayab, Transcript, 257.

⁴¹ Most of the victims of building collapse of this church in Lagos were South Africans. The channels of these preachers are favorites all over Africa at least identified as 'Christian Stations.' See "2014 Synagogue Church Building Collapse," accessed January 30, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/gtfb7fo>. 84 out of 115 deaths were South African and 1 Zimbabwean.

world to defend religious liberty and freedom, throwing away Christian particularity in the process. It is appropriate to note that the global rise of Islamic terrorism is directly connected with their perception of ungodliness in places Christianity is dominant.⁴²

Nigeria's fight against insurgency is also being watched globally. See the discussion in chapter three about the 'glocal impact' of the Nigerian experience. The developments above have affected the missional commitment of the Nigerian church.

Missional Commitment of the Nigerian Baptists

Insurgency has affected the mission work of the NBC in various ways. Below is a brief survey of the impact it had on mission policy, sending, giving, and accepting missionary appointments.

Mission Policy and Strategies

A major policy issue expressed in Nigeria relating to BH insurgency was the redeployment of new missionaries in the fields to new places. Prior to offering a voluntary retirement option to long serving missionaries in the International Mission Board of the SBC, the newly appointed missionaries to northern Nigeria were re-deployed to other places, mostly outside Nigeria. The older missionaries who were familiar with the terrain and understood the language and culture were relocated to safer

⁴² Chibok for instance is a Christian dominated community and the girls are mostly from Christian homes. This is happening globally in different forms.

places within Nigeria as they continued with their work though very few missionaries serving in the country for quite some time.⁴³ During this time also the role of the missionaries changed from direct field work to empowering the native church leaders through seminars and short time teaching so as to become active in Muslim evangelism.⁴⁴

Missions under local Baptist churches declined. Factors leading to the decline of the churches in northern Nigeria include fear of violence, anger and growing hatred towards Muslims, relocation of members due to insurgency's direct and indirect impact, decline in interest towards Muslim evangelism and acceptance of pastoral and missionary responsibilities to northern Nigeria.

On the other hand, the insurgency affected the commonly adopted local church missionary strategy. Most churches engage in missions by means of evangelistic rallies. Group of members will often go to designated location for a given period of time mostly three days to a week and hold rallies in the evenings. The rise of *BH* had made such gatherings undesirable. The resources in the churches have also declined for such kind of expenses.

For most local Baptist churches especially outside the North, their interest in Muslim evangelism has declined. Some are of the view that Muslims should be left to destroy themselves and perish. They focus their efforts on communities that are non-

⁴³ The International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention typified this. All newly appointed missionaries to Nigeria were recalled and reassigned. Longer serving missionaries were allowed to stay unless they desire reassignment. A missionary assigned to BTKS was reassigned to Ghana in 2013.

⁴⁴ Rev. and Mrs. Chris Wilkinson were missionaries in Northeast among the Kanuri. The crisis relocated them to Jos and their role changed to empowering nationals for the work.

Islamic. The rise of *BH* has strengthened the resolve of churches to focus on reaching their cultural groups rather than those inclined towards Islam. There is a growing suspicion of people from cultures with history of Islam everywhere in the country. Those from such cultures are often rejected by Churches or Christians even when they claim to be converted. They are often referred to as *BH* members as they face their businesses. Such are discriminated, questioned, accused, because of their cultural and religious affinity.⁴⁵

Insurgency actually strengthened the inter-ethnic tensions that existed since the amalgamation as discussed in chapter two above. This unfortunately has direct impact on missionary commitment of the local churches and the NBC as a whole.

Appointed missionaries to Muslim background groups by the GMB/NBC have continued to use “friendship and relationship evangelism.” They employed social ministry and vocational approaches to reaching the Muslims.⁴⁶ While missionaries serving in this capacity have been few, insurgency hinders addition to this category.

Ishola faults the NBC’s mission strategies for being focused on rural rather than urban cities at home and abroad; saying it has hindered the growth of the work and reduced growth prospects. He encouraged praying and re-strategizing in the light of

⁴⁵ There are cases of converts brought to Kaduna and Ogbomoso. They suffered from rejection from most of the Christians and churches before they found those who will take care of their concern. *BH* has become a tag for all recognizable northerner in Nigeria See “Average Hausa Man Now Seen As Boko Haram in Lagos – Hausa Community,” *Information Nigeria*, Reporting Yerima Shetima, Chairman, Arewa Youth Consultative Forum, Lagos, accessed March 29, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/hkahccr>.

⁴⁶ Adewumi, Interview Transcript, July 26, 2015, 290, 294; S. Ademola Ishola, Interview Transcript, December 23, 2014, 224.

current challenges facing the nation Nigeria. In light of the current developments, NBC missions need to target the cities and encourage house church approaches and empower lay leaders. The church need to accept persecution as inevitable and see it as clarion call to re-strategize and empower lay participation in missionary expansion.⁴⁷

Ishola further recommends a modification of traditional forms of pastoral to vocational missionaries (“In other words, we need more professional to become pastors, trained, some Medical doctors ... lawyers ... nurses ... engineers and all kinds of professions”) along with modification of theological education to part-time or non-residential forms. Vocational missionaries will be able to influence society through their vocations as inroad to sharing the gospel. This will also reduce the financial burden of the church in doing missions. These are suggested in light of the growing tendency for insurgencies around the world which may not end anytime soon.⁴⁸

The third aspect of his suggestion is the encouragement to consider house church approaches in the areas affected by *BH*. Lastly employ “Nehemiah approach – sword in one hand, and continue to do the work of the Lord.”⁴⁹ This suggestion has a tendency to be interpreted as encouraging violent response. Though there is a possibility to associate the ‘sword’ with Christian role to defend the marginalized without going violent. The

⁴⁷ Ishola, 224-225.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 220-221. See also Ajayi, Transcript, 285.

NBC has not yet sent missionaries with weapons, but ultimately response to insurgency is based on individual discretion.⁵⁰

Sending of the Nigerian Baptists

Sending missionaries today is a challenge. While NBC missionaries serving in Muslim context have been few, insurgency hindered addition to this category and the few redeployed. Since about 2012, there is no single GMB missionary targeting Hausa, Fulbe and Kanuri though such fields exist on record. The GMB/NBC has not recruited for the fields and volunteers have not taken responsibility either.⁵¹

Mission leaders are in a dilemma when it comes to sending missionaries to crisis prone areas. They will not want to send missionaries where their lives are at risk. The missionaries on the other hand are in similar dilemma. The missionaries who accept to go to crisis prone areas are those who have a strong sense of call and are willing to risk it.⁵² This was the case when the only trained vocational to the Fulbe was re-deployed to serve with MELM in Mali though an area tense with Muslim militants of the Tuareg descent.⁵³

The only other missionary to the Fulbe under GMB was earlier seconded to JCMWA in 2007 as regional Coordinator based in Jos. He was later re-deployed to serve

⁵⁰ What this strategy stands for need to be studied further.

⁵¹ See Moses Audi, "The Mission Enterprise of the Nigerian Baptist Convention: Review and Suggestions," in *A Century of the Nigerian Baptist Convention: A Call to Celebration and Renewal* (Ogbomosho: NBTS, 2014), 497-515.

⁵² Adewumi, Interview Transcript, July 26, 2015, 293. Ishola, Transcript, 220.

⁵³ Femi and Temi Adewumi were seconded to MELM in 2011, trained in Veterinary and education along with theological education. See description of the interviewee in Appendix B.

among the Fulbe in Oyo, south-western Nigeria.⁵⁴ Most of the Nigerian Baptists that served in Muslim context did so along IMB missionaries as volunteers rather than GMB appointments. In essence, there is no commitment to Muslim missions in terms of missionary appointments in Nigeria.

Negligence in reaching the Muslim cultures in Nigeria has contributed to the Islam challenge to Christianity today. There is the problem of complacency towards missions and lack of conscious effort to reach the Muslim in the North. Most of the cultures among which evangelism and missions have taken place are the African Religious groups and those with Christian background from other parts of the country. Adewumi said,

... Nigerian Baptist Churches in the North are not churches for the Fulani, Hausa, Kanuri people. It's a big problem We call most of them Hausa Churches because they speak Hausa. Hausa is the market language in the North.⁵⁵

Membership of the churches in northern Nigeria is of predominantly non-indigenous. These were planted with little or no focus on reaching the indigenes of the areas. *BH* could be considered part of the consequence of the failure to evangelize the northern groups that are of Islamic roots.⁵⁶ Northern groups that are evangelized are of TR origin

⁵⁴ Ibrahim Dende Jilani Currently coordinating Fulbe ministry in Oyo State.

⁵⁵ Adewumi, Transcript, 295.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 295-296.

and have maintained non-evangelistic attitude toward their Muslim counterparts in the region.⁵⁷

The *Operation Base-count*⁵⁸ disclosed the numbers of cultures identified as unreached people groups in Nigeria. Top on the list were the Fulbe, Hausa, and Kanuri who are almost entirely Muslim. This research awakened many mission agencies to consider Muslim targets. To this, the NBC took initiative to target ten of such groups with these three as top priority. As part of the mobilization for this, GMB provided souvenirs titled “without them our jubilee is incomplete.”⁵⁹ The impact of these is hard to find because most Baptists do not consider Muslim evangelism as their calling. The old mentality that Muslims do not need the gospel is still prevalent though with a different rational.⁶⁰ The rational in the past was that the Muslims already believe in one God and the protection of the colonial rulers; but the rational today is that Muslims do not deserve

⁵⁷ See E. P.T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*. With Update from Musa A. B. Gaiya (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 2004), 6-56, 66-72. Niels Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria: A Study of Middle Belt Christianity* (London: British Academic Press, 1994), ix. Matthew Hassan Kukah *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1999), 100. Andrew E. Barnes, “Some ‘Fire Behind the Smoke:’ The Fraser Report and Its Aftermath in Colonial Northern Nigeria,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 31, 2 (1997): 198-200, 203, accessed March 31, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/486179>. Emefie Ikenga-Metuh, “Muslim Resistance of Missionary Penetration of Northern Nigeria, 1857-1960: A Missiological Interpretation,” accessed August 25, 2014, 28-40, ATLA Serials.

⁵⁸ *Operation basecount* was missionary research conducted under the leadership of the IMB on the reached and unreached ethnic groups in Nigeria.

⁵⁹ Femi Adewumi as Coordinator of Specialized ministries of the GMB developed these.

⁶⁰ Emmanuel Tagi Njidda, “Fulbe Evangelism on the Mambilla Plateau: How Far, Difficulties and Future Prospects,” (B.Th. Essay, Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2001), 15-16.

the gospel because of their violence. Christians prefer to pray against them as enemies of the Church and Nigeria.

Contours of Mission Giving

Giving for missions has declined especially in the North of the country. This seems to owe majorly to the fact of membership decline and the economic consequences in the affected areas. James Vandiwghya noted that the decline in membership in the Churches in the North has affected giving the contribution to the Convention.⁶¹ While the decline is owed to several factors such as the state of Nigerian economy, the insurgency played a significant role.

Even areas not so affected have experienced decline in giving as a result of displeasure with insurgency which has implicated the love for Muslims as a whole. Solomon Joseph Munga had noted that the Christians actually sent Muslims away from Christian dominated communities and would not want to evangelize them at all.⁶² Christian populations are polarized regarding giving for missions. While some are willing to give some are not willing. Unwillingness to give from the southern part towards missions in the north is motivated by the displeasure at the Muslim opposition. Be that as it may, the economic downturn have also affected mission giving in general.⁶³ Regarding giving for missions, Baptist churches in the North are affected by the insurgency while

⁶¹ Vandiwghya, Transcript, 232-233.

⁶² Solomon Joseph Munga, Interview, Albarka Baptist Church Kaduna, January 25, 2013.

the churches in other parts presume that the North is Muslim and there is no need to give towards mission in the North since they are fighting the church.

There is evidence that the NBC has shown some commitment to the empowerment of Baptist theological education in northern Nigeria. The four schools are Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna – affected by AD 2000 religious crisis, Baptist College of Theology Jos, Baptist Pastors' Schools in Gombi and Boshikiri. The last two are in Northeast of Nigeria and the weakest of all the eleven theological schools of the NBC. Gombi enjoyed more support from the Convention than Boshikiri. Recently, the NBC gave Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna a supervisory role over the other three schools.

While these schools receive support from the NBC, they are not considered a high priority compared to other schools of the convention. The support is as would be expected when there is no crisis. While this study did not investigate why these schools were not considered high priority in light of their location to the insurgency and missionary implication, very few are interested in serving at these schools because of the religious tensions. In light of the developments in northern Nigeria, greater prioritization in favor of these schools will improve the missionary impact in the area. Those who are willing to study there will be more willing to serve there as well compared to those who study elsewhere. The presence and ministry of these schools in the region will also enhance the missionary dimension of the Church in the region.

⁶³ Adewumi, Transcript, 294.

Nigerian Baptist Missionaries

Missionaries do not readily accept appointment to Muslim contexts as the result of fear and insecurity. To most people, accepting missionary responsibility in northern Nigeria today is an act of foolishness. The same is said of pastors who will accept pastoral or theological education responsibilities to Muslim dominated areas in the North today. Those in the North are seeking pastorates in the South or regions without Islamic insurgency. In light of the foregoing, mission to Muslims in northern Nigeria is lacking.

Churches are also relocating and would not want to establish churches in high Muslim population areas. This makes the work of the missionary very difficult. From the discussions earlier, even cities and markets are dividing along religious lines.⁶⁴ The level of distrust and suspicion constitutes growing barriers that worry even the Muslims and political leaders.⁶⁵ There is also disintegration even at work places growing from religious and tribal disenchantments. This observation informed the efforts at non-violent approaches to the restoration of peace and peaceful co-existence.⁶⁶

On the part of mission sending agencies, they have had to withdraw missionaries from the fields indefinitely. Such missionaries are re-assigned to other more peaceful

⁶⁴ “Kaduna State Gov Laments Muslims/Christians Dichotomy... Sues for Peace, Unity,” Posted by: daniel on February 12, 2013 *Information Nigeria*, accessed March 3, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/j7qp9fe>. (See earlier reference in chapter 1 and 2). Munga, Interview.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Hayab, Transcript, 248.

areas. It has been difficult for agencies to appoint missionaries owing to their sense of responsibility to the safety concerns of the missionaries and their families.

Church and mission leaders will not want to expose their missionaries to death threat. John Adewumi noted about his secondment to MELM that some denominational leaders attempted to discourage them from going to Mali because of the news of religious tension in northern Mali where they were going to serve.⁶⁷

Revisiting Religiously Motivated Violence

The reflection in this section considers Nigerian crisis, the voice of history and biblical consideration. In a sense, this section relates the Nigerian Baptist experience to the Bible and to history of Christianity with regard to religiously motivated killings.

Nigerian Story

BH is a religiously motivated crisis. The Muslims in Nigeria themselves have acknowledged that *BH* is a Muslim problem.⁶⁸ It is also a terrorist group and rated deadliest in comparison to ISIS.⁶⁹ As a terrorist movement, they have a peculiar understanding of what is right how to defend it. Radu Valentine notes that terrorists have

⁶⁷ Adewumi, Transcript, 292.

⁶⁸ Sheik Gumi, "Boko Haram 100 Percent Muslim Problem: Faults Kaduna Religious Bill," Posted by Daniel on April 17, 2016, *Information Nigeria*, (accessed April 19, 2016), <http://tinyurl.com/jp2ekw3>.

⁶⁹ Dimeji Akinloye, "Boko Haram Terror Group Rated World's Deadliest, ISIS Second," (accessed November 17, 2015), <http://tinyurl.com/hgvb78p>.

a cause they consider right for which they are ready to suffer or even die. They see themselves as freedom fighters. The terror act is an attempt to remove hindrance to progress.⁷⁰ The primary problem of terrorists is “selective love” which considers others as enemies and hindrances to progress.⁷¹

Islam has often propagated itself through violence⁷² since inception even though it claims to be a religion of peace. Muslim condemnation of terror acts is at best selective or Exoneration of the Muslims.⁷³ They seldom give apology for their religiously motivated

⁷⁰ Radu Valentin. *Jesus: Friend to Terrorists* (Bartlesville: Living Sacrifice Book Company, 1995), 9-14, 35-36.

⁷¹ Ibid, 19-20.

⁷² David Roach, “Why Christians Killed and Why Muslim Violence Continue,” *Baptist Press: Southern Baptist Texan* (August 2014): 11. See Qur’an 5:32-33. The first verse encourages passivity while the second verse encourages war. Violence may not always be war or terror but repression, bullying, suppression, rejection of the religious liberty, denial of rights or fair privileges, etc. See Moses Audi, *The Gospel to the Muslims in Africa: An African Approach* (Jos: Stream Publishers, 2001), 5, 9. *Jihad* meant many things (social war, war of words, political war, etc.) in Islam as noted by Audi.

⁷³ Will Ross, “Nigeria: Kano Reels after Emir Attack,” *BBC News, Kano*, posted February 7, 2013, (accessed February 19, 2013), <http://tinyurl.com/9oemg>. This attack was condemned by Muslims but not so with other attacks. They also refused to acknowledge that it was BH that staged the attack. Other Nigerian News outlets said the attack was by White people implying Christians. Bishop Oke, “Chibok Girls: Sultan Emirs Tacitly Supporting Boko Haram in ‘Islamic Jihad’ Against Christians,” posted by Daniel May 16, 2014, (accessed May 17, 2014), <http://tinyurl.com/jxo6kth>. The Sultan and Emirs of the North asked for Amnesty in favor of BH. When the Emir of Zamfara opposed them it caused internal conflict. See “Northern Leaders Looked Sideways When B’Haram Members Were Being Trained By Al-Qaeda, Says Emir Who Opposes Amnesty,” posted on March 14, 2013, (accessed March 14, 2013), <http://tinyurl.com/jemdspq>.

terror.⁷⁴ Muslims are divided as to the meaning of *Jihad*. For some it means violent defense of their faith;⁷⁵ for others it means a non-violent fight of faith.⁷⁶

In Nigeria's experience, a number of Muslim leaders have made statements that justified violence or incited people for a religious cause without apology.⁷⁷ While jihad had been always omitted in public acknowledgement as the sixth pillar of Islam,⁷⁸ it has motivated all the terror acts around the world.⁷⁹ When such violence affects Muslims, they make statements to exonerate fellow Muslims or blame Christians for such acts.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Roach, "Why Christian Killed and Why Muslim Violence Continue."

⁷⁵ Jan H. Boer, *Nigerian Decades of Blood*. Studies in Christian Muslim Relations: vol 1, (Jos: Stream Christian Publishers, 2003), 36, 51, 53, 59 and 67.

⁷⁶ Trade also has been used to propagation of Islam (Peter Ropo Awoniyi, "The Phenomenon of Islam in Contemporary Nigeria and National Development: Historical Background and Survey" *The Unifier* 3, no. 2, April 2013, 3). The version of Islam invoke is 'folk Islam' in which many simply follow what a *mallam* tells them rather than what they know from the *Qur'an*. A Muslim spokesperson at the GICK inter-religious forum described *Jihad* as personal struggle to keep faith in Islam which is not the common version observable in Nigeria (Bashir Usman, "Muslim View of Peace, Love, neighborhood, learning/Knowledge, Respect, Life after Death and Democracy," Interfaith Forum, Gray International College Kaduna, November 19, 2014). See Audi, *The Gospel to the Muslims in Africa*.

⁷⁷ "See What General Buhari Said in 2001," posted by Verity Awala December 14, 2014, (accessed December 16, 2014), <http://tinyurl.com/hhn2qo6>. He vowed to be part of agitation for national implementation of *Sharia* in Nigeria.

⁷⁸ Moses Audi, *The Gospel to the Muslims in Africa: An African Approach* (Jos: Stream Publishers, 2001), 3-6, 12-13.

⁷⁹ Terror suicide notes or the principles and goals of the movements have always made reference to jihad as reason for the action. This is true for World Trade Center attack, *BH*, and ISIS operations. There is jihad in the official name of *BH*. ISIS is out to establish Islamic Caliphate.

⁸⁰ See footnote 74 above.

An incidence happened at the opening of *Ramadan* 2016 in Ungwan Rimi, Kaduna. Muslim youths attempted to murder one Mr. Emmanuel on Tuesday June 7, 2016 because he was eating in his carpentry shop while Muslims are fasting. The Muslim leaders who were aware of the intent beforehand tried to shield them on realization that Mr. Emmanuel survived.⁸¹ They accused Emmanuel of being drunk, in possession of a weapon, and attempting to fight them. Two weeks earlier, another Christian young man was stabbed to death at Malali, Kaduna to which the Christian youth in the area responded violently. These were unexpected attacks to which no know arrests were made.⁸²

Christian consideration of violence is informed by given factors. First, lack of restraint, sense of responsibility and reciprocity on the Muslims' part for religiously motivated violence is hard to understand. It is hard to tell what will constitute a religious assault to them including making a biblical statement "Jesus is the Son of God" or "Jesus is savior of the world." It is worst if you call the name of their prophet without adding a prayer "May God have mercy on him." They are simply intolerant of anything not Islam and ready to fight it.

The second factor is the notion that the unending violence is as a result of passivity on the part of the Christians. This informs the feeling that the two cheeks have been turned, yet there is no end to opposition. The resolve that "there is no third cheek to

⁸¹ Moses Audi met the Mr. Emmanuel at the Hospital in Kaduna on June 13, 2016.

⁸² Haruna Mutru, A Postgraduate student of Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna lives in the area and could not attend classes for the period of restriction of movement.

turn” they must ‘live and let live’ brought reprisals.⁸³ Bauchi 1991 and Zangon Kataf 1992⁸⁴ were the first two incidences for possible solution to unending attacks. Since these two responses, there has not arisen such magnitude of crisis in those areas. Government security outfits became proactive at the start of crises to forestall bloody conflict. In areas Christians have expressed passivity; no one takes action when the crisis is starting.

Should the Church tread such path in response to religiously motivated violence?

A consideration of this option led to hermeneutical and theological challenge. For illustration, some passages of scripture re-interpreted in favor of violent response are presented below.

First, Jesus was interpreted as affirming violent response when he said to his disciples: “‘But now if you have a purse, take it, and also a bag; and if you don’t have a sword, sell your cloak and buy one....’ The disciples said, ‘Lord, here are two swords.’ ‘That is enough,’ he replied” (Luke 22:36, 38).⁸⁵ The two swords have been interpreted as violent response to opposition. Jesus’ response – “It is enough.” Also affirms the adequacy of the weapons.

There is another statement of Jesus so interpreted. “From the day of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and the violent take it by

⁸³ See appendix B.

⁸⁴ Kastfelt, *Religion and Politics in Nigeria*, ix-x. See also Joseph Kenny, “Sharia and Christianity in Nigeria: Islam and a ‘Secular’ State,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 26, 4 (November 1996): 359, accessed March 31, 2013, <http://www.jstor.com/stable/1581837>.

⁸⁵ In June 2013, A student called the seek counsel when some leaders were using this passage to encourage self-defense at his place of summer assignment.

force” (Matthew 11:12 *ESV*). A third most common text states: “If someone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also” (Matthew 5:39). In all of these texts, the preceding and succeeding verses are not accounted for. The contexts of the passages are not accounted for. Other passages addressing issue of violence are not considered. These along with theology of a problem free Christianity complicated the Nigerian experience.

Voice of History

What does history of Christianity say concerning violent response to opposition? In history, some Christians have killed out of religious motivation – the Crusades and the inquisitions with the later lingering more serious than the former. It could be argued that decline in spiritual vitality of the Church accounts for such development that climaxed in the reformation. The Anabaptists, to whom the Baptist owed their root, were pioneers for “the idea of a free Church in a free State.”⁸⁶ As dividend of the reformation, the Church overcame religiously motivated violence over time because of religious liberty which is the product of Christian theology.⁸⁷

The time the Church was engaged in religiously motivated killings (AD 500-1650), most of the Christian lands had been lost to Islam and Buddhism. Spiritual revitalization that came out of the Reformation restored the Church to the Bible, raising courageous missionaries whose incarnational faith brought conversion and revival

⁸⁶ Roach, “Why Christians Killed and Why Muslims Continue,” 11.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

through missionary movements.⁸⁸ The revival of the Church came as a result of parting ways with religiously motivated killings and embracing missions through reformation's theological and hermeneutical revitalization.

In response to violence and terrorism, the Church has continued contemplate the options – just war and passivism. Just war option argues that there is moral justification for violence response towards those who do not consider the freedom of others, especially religious freedom.⁸⁹

Passivism on the other hand argues that war is never justifiable.⁹⁰ The tension between just war and passivism has remained since the reformation in principle and in actual situation like the one Nigeria finds itself. Ultimately, the conclusion has remained an individual decision.

The tension remained so because missions is itself a vanguard of justice and fairness. Missions is liberation from bondage and oppression.⁹¹ A documentary of European Jesuit missionaries in the Americas depicted this tension. Upon mandatory order of the Bishop of Spain for the missionaries to leave the field for Portuguese to take

⁸⁸ Justice Anderson, "Medieval and Renaissance Missions," In *Missiology: An Introduction to the Foundations, History and Strategies of World Missions*, Ed. John Mark Terry, Ebbie Smith, and Justice Anderson, (Nashville: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1998), 184.

⁸⁹ Richard J. Regan, *Just War: Principles and Cases* (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 4-6. See John J. O'Conner, *In Defense of Life* (Boston: St. Paul, 1981), 1-137. O'Conner tried to engage the question of nuclear weapons for just war. The limit of what to consider just war is hard to find.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ David J. Bosh, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shift in Theology of Mission*, American Society of Missiology Series, no. 6 (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2011), 392-394.

possession, all stake holders had to make personal decisions. Priests who disobeyed the order were divided into two – most chose to fight on the side of the people against the Portuguese invaders while at least one chose to hold devotional services with those who did not go to war. In the end, neither the missionaries nor the people survived the war.⁹² Each time the Church is faced with terrorism or violence in general, it comes to this tension.

There is also tension within the passivists resolve whether to stay and be killed or run to other places for safety. In historical and biblical precedence, believers took to the option of relocation to tolerant places where such was possible and continue proclaiming the gospel.⁹³ The experience in Egypt however, seem to differ from that of the reformation and the biblical examples. There seemed to be no dispersion from Egypt but to monasteries and so proclamation of the gospel to other places did not happen which mortgaged Christianity in that part of the world. They rather responded in violence. There were also theological problems and heresies.⁹⁴

From the foregoing, passivism that is open to relocation and passionate with sharing the gospel is central to Christian response to terrorism facing the world today. Andrew walls rightly argued the survival of the Church relied on its preservation in new

⁹² *The Mission* Directed by Roland Joffe. Starring Robert De Niro and Jeremy Irons (Videocassette), Warner Bros., 1986.

⁹³ *The Radicals*, Directed by Raul V. Carrera. Featuring Michael and Margaretha Sattler (DVD), Sisters and Brothers, n.d. *Hudson Taylor*, Directed by Ken Anderson. Starring Mike Hickman and Rebecca Baker (DVD), Synergy Int., 2009. Acts 8:4.

⁹⁴ Peter Falk, *The Growth of the Church in Africa* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979), 48-49.

lands when the situation in the heart land is intolerant. This development is the reason Christianity has no heart land compared to other religions of the world. The movement of Christianity from one place to another revitalized it as well by effective blend of the pilgrim and indigenizing elements in every new land.⁹⁵ In effect, every place Christianity is found is its heartland.

Biblical Consideration

Jesus taught his followers not to avenge themselves of wrong doing. His followers were to love their enemies and persecutors (Matthew 5:11-12, 38-48). Their lives should reflect a difference that is possible because of their relationship with Christ and should lead to the glory of God. They are to be “perfect as the heavenly Father is perfect” (Matthew 5:16, 48). Jesus says concerning Peter’s attempt to defend him: “Put your sword back in its place... for all who draw the sword will die by the sword” (Matthew 26:52). Jesus noted that if it were necessary, he has the means to defend himself. Jesus not only refused to defend himself, he stopped Peter from defending him.

In the same manner, the Early Christians admonished one another. Paul says, “When we are cursed, we bless; when we are persecuted, we endure it; when we are slandered, we answer kindly. Up to this moment we have become scum of the earth, the refuse of the world” (1 Corinthians 4:12b-13). What more of the admonition?

⁹⁵ Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996), 7-9, 53-54.

Do not repay evil for evil. Be careful to do what is right in the eyes of everybody.... Do not take vengeance, my friends... for it is written: 'It is mine to avenge; I will repay,' says the Lord. On the contrary: 'If your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him something to drink....' Do not be overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good (Romans 12:17-21).

It is revealing that prohibition of revenge is not just a New Testament phenomenon. The quotation above makes reference to older document that was considered scriptural by Paul and his audience. When challenge or persecution comes, it could be that God's people have derailed (Jeremiah 16:9-13); it could be intended to call them back unto God (Nehemiah 1:9); it could be to strengthen their resolve to love God and proclaim him to others (Daniel 3:1-29); and, it is always for the good of God's children (Romans 8:28; James 1:2-4, 12) and God's glory (John 21:18-19).

Observation of historical and biblical precedence above raises concern regarding prevalent Christian response in Nigeria. The prevalent response is typified by Israelites' experience – "everyone did what was right in his (or her) own eyes" (Judges 17:7; 21:25). The hope towards solution is – returning to the Bible in order to revitalize faith, hermeneutics, theology, and missions.

The Nigerian experience differs from the biblical and reformation experiences as well as from the Egyptian experience. While the *BH* crisis brought about dispersion to other places, gospel retransmission is not following it. The Nigerian Christian violent response is an act in futility. First, it closes the door to evangelism and missions. Second, it empowers the terrorists who are not afraid to die. They see their death as success, not failure. The death of one terrorist will multiply those who are willing to die to avenge the

fallen heroes. In other words, violent response will not bring an end to the circle of violence.

Third, the act of terror is always overwhelming, making its victims helpless. The secrecy, cost, skill, and planning that goes into it cannot be prepared for ahead of time by the victims. It overwhelms its victims such that no amount of skill can deliver the unprepared, non-expectant, and vulnerable victims.⁹⁶ Many who contemplate violent response have not imagined how the terrorist acts. If after they attack you want to follow, you will be taking law into your hand and committing suicide to their pleasure. In all, a violent response is a violation of the tenets of the Christian faith. It discards the value that God gave the Church as the hope for the world which includes terrorists. It is shying away from responsible faith the violence is expected to build.

There is no end in sight for the Nigerian Church with various shades of religious violence. Decline in *BH* attacks is predictable in light of previous insurgencies in Nigeria.⁹⁷ There are new faces of reality however that is linked with *BH* or the bigger goal of Islamization agenda. They are the armed herdsmen,⁹⁸ the religious bill of Kaduna

⁹⁶ Take for instance, most of the *BH* attacks, they are well armed (at a time the whole Nigerian army could not stand them), in camouflages, vehicles, and attacks at night when all have gone to sleep. To think of acting or running is a greater risk than simply follow their orders. See Ako, Interview Transcript, 214. Danzaria, 241 “The Sophistication of Boko Haram’s Attacks is beyond Illiterates – Kalu,” accessed on April 6, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/htnxcek>.

⁹⁷ Previous experiences have shown that insurgency heightens prior to leadership change. If expectations are achieved or achievable, its activities dwindled.

⁹⁸ There are indications that the herdsmen are *BH* in disguise. Fulbe ethnic group are also implicated, typical in religious tension in Nigeria. See “Buhari Traces the Origin of the Killer Herdsmen to Libya,” posted by Niyi May 29, 2016, accessed May 31, 2016,

State,⁹⁹ new insurgent groups,¹⁰⁰ independent acts,¹⁰¹ to mention a few. These new challenges are deepening the abandonment of missions.

The Kaduna religious bill carries the marks of previous bills. It was adopted from 1984 bill¹⁰² that was not passed into law at state level. It appears to have been drawn in anticipation of a favorable government for implementation nationwide. The then President, Shehu Sagari in his first tenure, introduced government sponsorship of Muslim pilgrimage. Anticipating that he will get the second tenure in 1984, this bill could have received easy passage.¹⁰³ The impossibility of implementing plans of this nature with the winner of the election appears to have contributed to the abrupt end of the second republic. In 1987, however; Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida made a nationwide edict bearing the same marks.¹⁰⁴ This decree did not affect the practice of Islam. They

<http://tinyurl.com/glepuw9>. "Meet Fulani Herdsmen Who Confessed to Being Boko Haram," posted by Foluso April 24, 2014, accessed on April 25, 2014, <http://tinyurl.com/hl95sfk>.

⁹⁹ See Appendix D.

¹⁰⁰ There are new groups that may not be visible now because of the impact of *BH*. One of such is Ansaru. See Mark Lobel, "Nigeria's Islamists Claim Bauchi Setraco Seizures," *BBC Abuja*, posted February 18, 2013, accessed February 19, 2013, <http://tinyurl.com/9oemg>.

¹⁰¹ Besides the two incidences mention above, some youth were going to Christian homes and knocking at the gates in Kawo area of Kaduna, they were cutting the hands of anyone who answered the knock in 2014. In 2015 a government hospital in Kawo, Kaduna had to close and transfer patients because a Christian nurse was wrongly accused of insulting Islam and the youth were avowed to kill her.

¹⁰² See Appendix D.

¹⁰³ Kenny, "Sharia and Christianity in Nigeria."

¹⁰⁴ Ibrahim Babangida, "Nigeria Outlaws Religious Activities," *African Christian* 7 (April 15, 1987): 1. This bill was vigorously implemented in 1989 which affected international

continued blocking highways especially in the North every Friday for prayer; build Mosques in market places and restricting building of churches in the cities. Churches could no longer hold evangelistic rallies outside church premises. Many churches started holding rallies in their premises calling it open air crusades. Reinhardt Bonke's crusade ended in violence in Kano also.¹⁰⁵

There is no end in sight to the Islamic opposition of the Church in Nigeria. The challenges today has their roots in the nation's precolonial history and more to it, the Bible has forewarned the church of opposition of any kind. Nothing will bring an end to persecution; hence, the need to be inspired by the saying 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the gospel.' The Church will need to accept that terrorism is the twenty-first century form of persecution.

The Crisis of World Christianity

The challenge of *BH* and other forms of radical Islam have affected missions. The nature and interest in missions as exemplified in the NBC have changed drastically that most Christians are no longer interested in reaching Muslims with the gospel.

Islam is the fastest growing religion of the world besides Christianity.¹⁰⁶ It is identified as one of the key challenges of the twenty-first century.¹⁰⁷ Global terrorism is

relations of theological schools in Nigeria and mandated affiliation to Nigerian universities that has plunged the accreditation of these schools till today.

¹⁰⁵ See Kenny, "Sharia and Christianity in Nigeria," 343-364.

¹⁰⁶ Sarah Eekhoff Zylstra, "Here's the Best Prediction Yet of How Christianity and Islam Will Change Worldwide by 2050," (Pew Research examines influence of births vs. conversions,

also directly connected with Islam. There are so many groups now around the world claiming Islam and committed to establishing *Sharia* and Islamic caliphates by all means. These groups include *Al Qaeda*, *ISIL*, *ISIS*, *Taliban*, *Ansaru*, *Al-Shabab*, etc. Islam is also growing in other forms other than through terrorism. There are less violent Islamic establishments and movements such as NASFAT¹⁰⁸ in Nigeria. Such groups have continued to influence the youth, making them defensive of Islam through indoctrination which is the root of terrorism as well.

Islamic terror groups are active in many parts of the world. Recent attacks have been reported in France, United States of America, Kenya, Somalia, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, Kenya, Niger, Chad, etc. Nigeria is one of the places with the longest challenge relating to religious unrest. With Nigeria's position in Africa in terms of population and influence, growth of Christianity, its experience will greatly impact the world. Nigeria's experience is a global concern. Its position in the paradigm shift in mission with the growing centrality of the southern continents in the future of Christianity places responsibility on the Church in Nigeria to respond wisely.

and how China could change everything, (posted April 2, 2015), accessed May 2, 2015, <http://tinyurl.com/gnvvyqj>. See also *Christianity in Global Context, 1970-2020: Society, Religion and Mission* (South Hamilton: Center for the Study of Global Christianity, 1013), 22-33.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ NASFAT is a Muslim movement of the elite. They target young adults in higher institutions fundamentally. They provide entertainment and hold meetings on Sundays to prevent their youth from considering going to Church. They seek to establish forums to replace objects of attraction to the Church. Movements like these have encouraged Islamic education outside formal Western school system. See Ajayi, Transcript, 282.

The growth of moral and spiritual decadence in the Church deems the light of the gospel. Lack of interest in missions has also made the Church insensitive to the needs of the unreached and un-evangelized. It makes missionary work harder for those who care to be involved.

The church has also become insensitive to divine leadership and communication in regards to missions and life experiences. Several in the interviews indicate that the Church does not see *BH* challenge as a divine call to retrace its steps.¹⁰⁹ The unrest around the world could be God's invitation to the Church to wake-up to its responsibility – return to God and be obedient to his commands; seeking to please God in all circumstances.

Those interviewed argue that the insurgencies are clarion calls for the Church to return to God in repentance.¹¹⁰ This leads to the discussion on the implication of the Nigerian experience.

The Implications of the Nigerian Experience

The Nigerian experience leaves the Church with challenge, and opportunity. The management of these is crucial. This section discussed the challenges, opportunities and the hope in the face of crisis.

¹⁰⁹ Hayab, Transcript, 253, 256, 258; Ako, Transcript, 215-217.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

Challenge

The major challenge here is – what should the Church do with terrorism and insurgency? The challenge of terrorism is multifaceted and global concern.¹¹¹ It has brought about hardships. There are deaths, displacement, famine, and destruction of properties. It has brought other challenges such as fear, anger, hatred, and trauma. While the Church needs to respond to the insurgents, it also needs to provide support for the victims. None of these dimensions have received adequate attention of the Church.

Another dimension of the challenge is the impact on re-transmission of the gospel. Because of the growing hatred for insurgents and the religion they claim, the Church is no longer interested in taking the gospel to the Muslims. Those who desire to take the gospel to them are afraid. The manner of the response provided darkens the light of the gospel. The expansion of religious sentiments is also affecting the ethnic tension of society thereby creating disintegration among those already in the church.

Also, the Church is reduced to entertainment and self-centered piety. As stated earlier,¹¹² the interest of an average Christian is to live a prosperous life, to have all enemies destroyed. The Church sees itself as a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), and freedom fighters that must not be pushed to the edge. As an organization, it is becoming sectarian along ethnic and regional lines.¹¹³ Its theology and hermeneutics are taking a vindictive stance, thereby domesticating Christianity. The Church is no longer

¹¹¹ Radu Valentine, *Jesus*, 27-29.

¹¹² Danzaria, Transcript, 243.

that community of love, unity, called out to please God through obedience; seeking to know God's will in everything.

Furthermore, when the Church fails to accept *BH* insurgency as persecution, it will not see the opportunity it offers. To see *BH* as political, cultural or economic problem will encourage the use of violence, politics, social and economic skill in response in place of taking gospel re-transmission as path to solution and seeing the perpetrators as acting out of ignorance.

Will the Church in Nigeria see terrorism as persecution? This question arises from several factors such as the attitude of Christians towards Muslim and missionary commitment; the dwindling spiritual state of the Church; emergent theologies that do not encourage missions; violent reaction across religious lines; and continued use human means to fight against terrorism.

Opportunity

The experience of terrorism in Nigeria brings some opportunities for the Church. Taking advantage of these will bring about the kind of growth experienced by the early Church. When the church is comfortable, it had always failed to attain its purpose of existence. Persecution in the early Church led to expansion over the entire Roman world. History has also proven that the "blood of the martyrs is the seed of the gospel" (Acts

¹¹³ Hayab, Transcript, 248.

8:4).¹¹⁴ The dispersion in the face of persecution could be strategic, leading the missionary expansion as it was in the early Church. Those who could not escape alive, those who went to prison and those who went to other cities saw it as opportunity to proclaim Christ and overwhelm the persecutors with the message under the leadership of the Holy Spirit.¹¹⁵ *BH* has also offered the Church in Nigeria this opportunity.

The insurgency has created dissatisfaction with Islam among Muslim populations. The experience of insurgency before 2000 in Nigeria had brought conversions to Christianity. The courage and commitment of the Christians worshiping on the rubbles of their church buildings was a direct invitation and admiration of the Muslims to the quality of their religion. Several instances have been reported in the resent of Muslims seeking someone to lead them to Christ from the experiences they have passed through and how the Christians provided support for them. The Muslims in the IDP camps are open to receiving the gospel along with the care provided by Christian organizations.¹¹⁶

Another opportunity that comes in times of violence or persecution is the conversion of key players. For the Early Church, the conversion of Paul was a great opportunity for the Church. It did not only suspend the persecution but empowered the mission of the Church. This is often plagued with the challenge of accepting such into

¹¹⁴ See “The Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Church: The Life and Martyric Death of Saint Herman of Alaska Brotherhood,” *Orthodox Word* 45, 5 (2009): 209-236. See also Johanne N. Vorster, “The Blood of Female Martyrs as the Sperm of the Early Church,” *Religion and Theology* 9, 1 & 2 (2002).

¹¹⁵ Acts 8:4-40; 11:19-21; 13:1-3; 16:16-40; 21:27-40; 22:30-23:11; 24; 25:1-12, 23-26:32; and 2:1-10, 17-31.

¹¹⁶ See Babagunda, Transcript, 269, 275; Ishola, Transcript, 222-223.

fellowship. It took the intervention of Simon of Damascus and Barnabas for Paul to be integrated (Acts 9:19-30). In the Nigerian experience there are similar experiences. Either Muslims involved the fight against *BH* or *BH* fighters come to faith as a result of their experiences. This is opportunity for the Church that need careful management.¹¹⁷ The experience in Nigeria is a clarion call to pray for the conversion of key Muslim leaders.

Terrorism brings with it the purification of the Church. As it was in the early Church, people who have not resolved for the Lord will dissociate from the believers during difficult times (Acts 5:13). Insurgency has reduced the number of worshipers who out of fear will not go to church. This should help the church to prepare those who are ready to stand for Christ to reach those in the Church who are weak, needing spiritual nurture and care. It should lead to reaching out more effectively and living better transformed lives that are expectant of the end on earth.

The experience of terrorism has revealed the true state of the Nigerian Church. From the foregoing, it is revealing that there were people in the Church who need to be evangelized. From the interview, it was revealed also that some are reverting to AR in search of protection.¹¹⁸ It is indicative that thought they are in the church, they never knew the Lord. The church will not be able to fulfil its missional mandate by expecting these to serve as witnesses of their faith. This might be the opportunity for purification of

¹¹⁷ A few Muslims have come to the Seminary Kaduna seeking for a pastor to tell them about Jesus. One Muslim came and spoke with Bildad Ishaku and was led to Christ. There will be greater result if the church is proactive in doing missions.

¹¹⁸ See Hayab, Transcript, 251, and Babagunda, Transcript, 272.

Nigeria Christianity from the fears of the observers of current Christian historiography doubting its authenticity and strength to preserve the faith for the world of our time.¹¹⁹

An appropriate management of Nigerian crisis will yield effective glocalization and gospel retransmission which will impact world Christianity positively. With the growth of Christianity in Nigerian and the long history of religious tension, the global church will benefit. Those experiencing religious violence can have a reference point for informed response in the Nigerian experience.

Hope

While *BH* challenge and pervasive inclination towards violent response are uphill tasks for the Church in Nigeria, all hope is not lost. There are several observable initiatives in Nigeria that can bring the Church to its feet again. Some of the steps taken toward appropriate response of the church are noted below.

First response provided is Non-Violence for African Development (NOVAD). This is a non-governmental agency that seeks to provide for the displaced. It started as a Christian initiative but intentionally made an inter-religious response group for all displaced people. Here is what the initiator has to say.

We started NOVAD primarily to promote integration ... in work places. ...So, we ... can promote national integration by preaching tolerance in places of work , by

¹¹⁹ See Phillip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: University Press, 2002), 204-209, 211-220. Alister E. McGrath, *The Future of Christianity* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 32-35.

preaching understanding ... by preaching merit in work places instead of giving people offices where they cannot perform because they belong to your faith....¹²⁰

The primary objective of this initiative is to restore mutual relationship in the workplace between Christians and Muslims. Christians in Nigeria have usually taken initiatives like this and involved Muslims but the outcome is usually unsatisfactory. The dissatisfaction stems from the willingness of the Christian party to accommodate and concede while the Muslim party usually sought to take advantage of the situation. The Christian accommodation seems to have always been interpreted as weakness.

One such nationwide initiative in “Nigeria is Nigeria Prays.” The government of Olusegun Obasanjo initiated it. Days for inter-religious prayer meetings were organized periodically asking Christians and Muslims to lead the prayers. This usually offered the Muslim to show that their way of doing thing is the only right way. Often the church people asked to lead in the prayers say the prayers in very unusual ways.¹²¹

A second initiative is mobilization and creating awareness at different levels. Some leaders of the church especially are taking steps to awaken the church to the need for a better response. Discussed here are a group of initiatives. Some of the awareness initiatives take the form of inter-religious, inter-denominational Christian, or denominational missionary approaches.

¹²⁰ Hayab, Transcript, 248-249, 260.

¹²¹ There have been reservations expressed as to the appropriateness of these kinds of initiatives among evangelicals. This kind of initiative might be helpful in fostering peaceful co-existence but not helpful in doing missions.

Gray International College, Kaduna (GICK) organized a program tagged “Interfaith Forum.” GICK identified a set of questions relating to peace, love and neighborliness, life after death, learning, respect and decency in the Bible and the Qur’an. These questions were to be answered by Christian and Muslim religious leaders.¹²² Sometimes the responses are political rather than authentic. For instance the Muslim respondent to the question of peace and the Qur’an said “Jihad means to ‘strive’ and not ‘to fight with the sword’”¹²³ But the audience know that this is a politicized response as the insurgents claim to be fighting jihad.

While these forms of responses discussed so far encourages mutual co-existence, they complicate the Christian witness, theology, and displaces gospel re-transmission. They give the Church a false hope and task of pursuing peaceful co-existence in place of mission.¹²⁴ While these initiatives come out of Christian principles of peace, love, freedom, justice, etc., the principles are in the end abused by parties. The encouragement from these, however, includes the readiness on the part of the Church to seek peace which could be transformed for effective missional commitment. If situations like these

¹²² Program held on November 1, 2014. There were two discussants each from Muslim and Christian perspectives.

¹²³ Malam Bashir Usman, Responding as the first Muslim speaker, Gray International College, Kaduna.

¹²⁴ Unchecked ecumenism has always destroyed Christian particularity and reduced Christianity to a religion of ‘form.’ It has not always proven helpful even in bringing about peaceful co-existence. Christian participants always felt obliged to withhold Christian particularity in inter-religious settings and or theological convictions in interdenominational settings for the sake of peace.

are used as platforms for developing trust and opportunities for gospel retransmission, the effort is worthwhile. But very often, those peace meetings are the ends in themselves.

Third, New Life for All initiated a movement called Love language committee (LLC). Its goal is to sensitize Christians, especially leaders to the need to love those who persecute the Church. It seeks to pacify those seeking justice and remind the church of the inevitability of persecution. It also tries to help the church understand Islam in order to preserve healthy relationship in light of biblical teaching.¹²⁵

Now, Love Language Committee started somewhere in 2009 following a series of crises on the Plateau – religious, communal, attacks by herdsmen and all. And people were grieving, people were angry; people were ready to give it back ... to take arms.

So, Love language Committee ... plans programs, workshops, seminars for denominational heads; for pastors and church leaders, and churches at large; to be able to bring them together and tell them that we are different people. Our language is different; our Language is the language of Christ and the language of Christ is the language of love; forgiveness and reconciliation. And so, this Committee is charged with the responsibility of initiating programs that will give a new orientation to people in that kind of situation.¹²⁶

The Love Language Committee reminds the Church of biblical admonition that persecution will surely come. They remind the Church of God's promise to lead to appropriate response.¹²⁷ This is the most comprehensive and biblical response at grassroots level in the country. It is also comprehensive in scope as it cuts across evangelical denominational lines. It give reason to Christians to take the teaching of the

¹²⁵ Reni, Transcript, 299, 303-304, 306.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

Bible seriously, it helps with the concern for justice, and creates awareness of the nature of Islam in relation to the Bible.

Mission agencies also create awareness in different ways. The GMB holds annual Summits. The 2012 summit was targeted toward responding the BH concerns in the country and finding ways to promote commitment to Muslims, especially to Fulbe, Hausa and Kanuri as the most unreached people group.¹²⁸ These summits are usually organized for the missionaries and mission supporters.¹²⁹

Redefinition of missionary approaches is the fourth initiatives. This took the form of research at the Seminaries. Several students wrote in ways to redefine missionary approaches.¹³⁰ There is need for the GMB to take a study of the literature provided and to evolve an approach to mission in the face of insurgency.

¹²⁸ Moses Audi, "The Imperative of Hausa/ Fulbe Gospel," in *GMB Mission Summit Programme Booklet*, held at Bowen University Chapel, Iwo. July 2012.

¹²⁹ *GMB Mission Summit Booklet* (July 2012) at Bowen University targeted the Kanuri, Fulbe and Hausa people groups as well as Islam.

¹³⁰ Some of these were mentioned in chapter three. Abiodun Sunday Bonibaiyede-David, "Church Planting Strategies in Closed-Door Countries: A Necessity for NBC Missions" (M. Div. Essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2002); Michael Abimbola Siyanbola, "Acritical Evaluation of Contemporary Missions Strategies of the Nigerian Baptist Convention" (M. Div. Essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2004); Abraham Akinola Okunade, "The Theological Evaluation of Christian Monotheism in the Light of Religious Plurality in Nigeria" (B. Th. Essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2004); John Ade Ajayi, "Missiological Implications on the North African Christianity for the Nigerian Christians"(M. Div. Essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2004); Eunice Temilola Adewumi, "The Effects of Islam on Evangelizing Women in Northern Nigeria." (M. Div. Essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2006); John Oluwafemi Adewumi, "Towards Developing a New Approach to Evangelism in Northern Nigeria" (M. Div. Essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2006); Matthew Olayiwola, "An Evaluation of the Nigerian Baptist Convention's Global Missions Board Missionary Task (1990-2000)" (B. Th. Essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, June 2006); Lawuyi, "The Challenges Towards Evangelizing the Hausa

Terrorism as a Model of Persecution

BH has clearly portrayed itself as a religious terrorist organization. While many Muslims claim that Islam is a ‘religion of peace,’ the activities of the group and those it claims to have relationships with are not peaceful.¹³¹ The activities of *BH* are encouraged by the religion they claim in its teaching about Jihad in the *Quran* and the *Hadith* as their name signifies. The activities of the insurgency as discussed in chapter two are targeted against what they identify as Christianity and Christianity’s attempt to proselytize Muslims populations. Their desire is to establish Islamic law and state.

The interview responses acknowledged that *BH* insurgency in Nigeria is an act of persecution on Nigeria. Ishola noted that it is the frustration with the growth of the church in Nigeria that has given rise to insurgency.¹³² If this is so, the prevalent response of the church affirms victory for the insurgents. When the church fails to accept *BH* as persecution it will become more insensitive towards the unreached. The church becoming violent can only lead to religious war.¹³³

The Nigerian experience is persecution because it is a fight against the tenets of Christianity. That is the basic characteristics of persecution. Such was the experience of

Speaking Muslims in Agege Area of Lagos State” (M. Div. Essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso, 2004).

¹³¹ Benedikt Peters, *Le 11Septembre: L'Islam et le Christianisme* (Bielefeld: CLV, 2002), 63-72.

¹³² Ishola, Transcript, 219.

¹³³ Ako, Transcript, 213.

the Early Church and the history of Christianity through the ages. The difference between earlier forms of persecution in comparison to the activities of *BH* include: 1) opposition from the government, 2) specific target at concrete expression of faith or mission, 3) precise target on the Church. For the *BH*, many are included who will not stand for the faith if they have a choice; It is not a specific government in place that is carrying the action directly. This notwithstanding, *BH* is persecuting the Church. Their targets reflect their definition of Christianity.

Accepting this fact will help the Church to have a better response to it than is possible now. Those who are hit directly by the insurgency see more clearly that *BH* is persecuting the Church; hence they are willing to consider missions to the Muslims than those who are farther from the epic center. Among those in the epic center, those who see *BH* as persecutor of the Church have a different response from those who see them as political, tribal or regional. A number of the initiatives presented above are from such contexts.

There is need for the church to accept Islamic opposition as persecution. This will help in providing support to those directly affected and displaced. It will help the church to look up to God for the way out of the challenge. Those who see *BH* in ways other than persecutors of the Church are responding in political, ethnic, regional manners thereby creating additional fronts of challenges.

Summary

The ministry given to the church anticipates transformation that restores humanity to the expectation at creation. This transformation brings change both home and abroad. Religious violence in Nigeria has encouraged the emergence of theologies of suffering, persecution, prayer, and ministry (pastoral and missionary) that are not compatible with biblical revelation. The violence has also encouraged faulty hermeneutics that seeks to justify violent response to insurgency and wrong sense of Christian spirituality.

The experience of insurgency has revealed deficiency in the incarnation of the Christian faith in Nigeria as a result of a decline in effective ministry that will sustain the incarnation of the faith re-transmitted to Nigeria. The transformation of life, culture and attitude expected in the expression of faith is declining. The pilgrim consciousness of the Church is also declining and the indigenizing element of the faith is overshadowing the pilgrim element making Christ and the gospel insufficient.

Furthermore, the experience has affected the missional commitment of the Church. Agencies and missionaries are not given sufficient attention to reaching the Muslims. Mission giving is declining; agencies are not sending; policies and strategies need review; and missions becoming more challenging. The Nigerian story has fallen short of the examples of the Early Church and the reformation movement. It is following the example of Egypt of not transmitting the gospel along the dispersion. The Nigerian church is seeking comfort zone to which to withdraw.

In spite of these challenges, there is hope. Several initiatives like NOVAD for interreligious peaceful coexistence; seminars organized in schools to deal with the

subjects of religious violence, justice, love, forgiveness, etc. as that organized by GICK; and Love Language Committee (LLC) that seeks to empower churches across denominations to understand and accept Islamic violence as persecution and find ways to respond in biblical ways are all encouraging steps towards more appropriate response to insurgency in Nigeria. These efforts can be harnessed and built upon for a biblical response that could transform the Nigerian situation into ministry opportunity. The situation provides open door to reach even the Muslims who are dissatisfied with their religion.

The global Church is in crisis because terrorism is today a global phenomenon. There is the need for the Nigerian Church and the Church universal to accept terrorism and insurgency as one of the current forms of persecution the Church will contend. Global terrorism is targeted towards anything associated with Christianity. The global developments should reawaken the Church to its responsibility of retransmitting the gospel in every circumstance reiterating the sufficiency of Christ and transmission of the gospel as the ultimate solution the Church can proffer.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This chapter sums up the findings and provides recommendations for further studies. This research was conducted using a combination of library and oral history approaches. The chapters provided the essential parts of the concern of this study namely the terror act of *BH* within the religio-political history of Nigeria, the missionary work of the NBC, the response of the NBC to terrorism, and the resultant effect on the glocalization and re-transmission of the gospel.

Summary

The central concern of this study has been Christianity in crisis in Nigeria with far reaching effects on world Christianity. Findings made in the course of this study include first the characteristics of *BH* in Nigeria. *BH* had historical antecedents which include the fight for the inclusion of *Sharia* into Nigeria's legal provision. This desire has engendered series of developments in Nigeria since 1950s. Key developments being *Sharia* debates and uprising in the 1950s, OIC membership as observer in 1969, inclusion of *Sharia* into the Nigerian Constitution in 1979, the religious crisis and OIC full membership in the 1980s, the *Maitatsine* Movement in 1987, the declaration of *Sharia* in twelve northern States of the federation in 1999 and the rise of *Alhul Sunnah wai'jama'ah higr*a or *Jama'atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda'wati Wal Jihad* whose short name is

BH in 2009. *BH* is the most aggressive of all the developments and has caused so much pain and disintegration of the Nigerian society especially the Church.

While the *Sharia* was included in the Nigerian Constitution in 1979 their intentions for its inclusion were not achieved. The structure of the legal system did not give the Muslims the power to implement it for the entire citizenry. Every effort to push for their objectives did not yield positive results; however, they sought to have legal backing for its implementation. Their dissatisfaction with the manner of *Sharia* inclusion into the legal system does not meet the ideal requirements for its implementation which include having a Muslim head of state, a Muslim chief judge for the nation and a declaration of a caliphate; the basic essence of a caliphate being the acceptance of the country as an Islamic state. These developments have also implicated politics, ethnicity, economy and regional divide of the nation.

On the other hand, NBC have been involved in missions in northern Nigeria for over a century. Starting with Yoruba traders, the Baptist made a mark in northern Nigeria. Northern Nigeria was the concern that led to the establishment of an indigenous mission agency in Nigeria as probably the first in the continent in 1953. Today, most of NBC's home mission fields are found in Northern Nigeria.

The rise of *BH* has therefore affected the work of the NBC churches. The effects include an inappropriate glocalization of the Church. While in earlier religious crisis in Nigeria the response of the Church was consolatory and accommodated continued re-transmission of the gospel, the impact of *BH* received a different kind of response. The Church's response includes anger, retaliation, relocation of members and churches,

abandonment of mission, etc. The response of the church constitutes hindrance to missions. It also ignored the opportunity that the insurgency offers – open door to bountiful harvest, and purification of the church.

This development in Nigeria brings crisis to world Christianity at large. With paradigm shift of Christianity's historiography, the development in Nigeria is significant not only because of the long history of Christian-Muslim challenges but also of long history of Christianity and one of the fast growing Christianities on the watch globally.¹ With the challenge of Islam on a global scale, the experience in Nigeria serves as a test for the survival of Christianity in other contexts facing terrorism.

Another aspect of the Nigerian experience is the exposure of the state of the church. The willingness to consider AR options and respond in ways that fall short of the early Church's experience is disturbing. The disclosure that Nigerian Christian response have drastically changed within a space of two decades from a more biblical response to violence, discloses the danger for a church that does not give adequate attention to transmission, conversion, transformation, translation, and discipleship. There is the need for the Nigerian church to take advantage of the open door to evangelization and provide courage and example to world Christianity.

¹ NBC is described as the "second largest Convention outside of the United States of America." See "Maisha to Baptist Family: Give Your All to Global Missions," *The Nigerian Baptist*, June 2016, 25.

The Future of Christianity

Terrorism has become the twenty-first century form of persecution. To perceive it as such provides appropriate biblical response for the church. To perceive it otherwise reduces Christian response to a form of liberation fight which casts the Church as a purely socio-political entity. Violent response is globally appealing and is being replicated. The Nigerian Christian response to insurgency as to persecution will revitalize the church to its DNA (transformation and missions) and provide Christians in other places an example in responding to their form of terrorism. The Church should maintain its uniqueness in response to the challenges confronting it, and appreciate the fact that its response is different and other than the response of other sectors of society especially the socio-political, judicial/ legislative and security. Each of these sectors has a role, congruent with its particularity, to play in ensuring a peaceful and harmonious society.

Opportunities created by the insurgency in Nigeria include: open door to the gospel of Christ, reawakening of the Church, revitalization of the body life, greater intimacy and dependence on God. Taking advantage of these opportunities will purify the Church and restore its true image in society. The challenge is capable of helping the Church out of formalism, nominalism, and ritualism. It gives the Church opportunity to evaluate its focus, theology, liturgy and missions. The doubt of the Christianity of the Southern continents to sustain the growth and its place as the hope of future of Christianity will be addressed.

Recommendation

This research opens up several concerns that need further investigation. First, what are the causative factors of the drastic change in the response of the Nigerian Baptists to Islamic opposition from accommodation and endurance to the growing tendency towards political vindication in circles of violence and mission abandonment? Though this research indicates that nominalism and lack of discipleship may play significant roles to the developments, there may be more to it; the knowledge of which might contribute to addressing the fears of the strength of Christianity in southern hemisphere.

Second, what do theological educational institutions need to do in order to maintain life transformation of those accepting the gospel and produce pastoral and missionary leadership which can sustain biblical Christianity? It is obvious that the ministry of the pastors affects the response of the membership. Is there anything in the admissions, curriculum or provision of theological education that needs to be addressed for the products to engage effectively in ministry? Or, is it the perception of pastoral responsibilities in the churches that is affecting the effectiveness of gospel ministers? These investigations will enable theological education and the denominational leaders to put measures in place for effective missionary engagement.

Third, what constitutes stumbling blocks in Missions to the Muslims in Nigeria? This study reveals two angles of concern in relation to Muslim evangelism. They are: The lifestyle of the Christians in the society which may constitute stumbling block to the

gospel presentation. The second is the misconceptions of Christianity. This second aspect is understandable as the Bible acknowledged that the gospel is veiled to those who do not know Jesus or they are spiritually blind.² God opens the heart of the people causing conversion if the gospel is presented to them. But the need for Christians to be all things to all people for the sake of the gospel is necessary for them to listen for the removal of the veil.³ While the early Christians were hated for their faith, they did not constitute stumbling block to anyone whether they are believers and unbelievers.

Fourth, there is need to develop an appraisal for the sufficiency of missions as the ultimate response of the Church to any form of persecution. The Nigerian Church has taken so many responses such as active participation in politics, dialogue, and contemplated division. There is the need to appraise missions as the only appropriate Church response. This appraisal will be able to point out the inadequacies of the alternatives being considered.

Fifth, there is need to study the GMB's missionary strategies and approaches vis-a-vis the various research proposals that theological students are researching upon. This will take into cognizance some of the suggestions on strategies and approaches made in the oral interviews conducted for this study. One of these that came out strongly is the

² 2 Corinthians 3:14; 4:3-4; Galatians 5:16-21; Romans 8:5-8.

³ 1 Corinthians 9:20-23.

Nehemiah approach suggested by S. Ademola Ishola⁴ and John Ade Ajayi.⁵ This study will include a definition of the approach.

Sixth, there is a need to study the modalities for effective collaboration between theological institutions, local churches, and the missions' board of the NBC. Effective collaboration will help theological schools to make necessary adjustment to curriculum from the feedback which will impact missions and pastoral ministry positively. A study of the current relationships will create an environment that will empower the Church in the face of terrorism.

Seventh, there is need to study other forms of persecution besides terrorism in Nigeria and other parts of the world. So, a study of Islamic insurgent groups like ISIS, Al'Qaida, Al'Shabab, etc., and their interrelationships will be invaluable in identifying their impact of worldwide Christian witness. When persecution is not recognized as such, the tendency is to respond in ways that are not appropriate for the Church. As is the case with terrorism, there are other strange forms of persecution today that is not easily identified as such. They encourage a withdrawal of the church to itself and seem to confront the individual's freedom rather than appear to be opposing the church. All developments that encourage domestication of Christian faith divert the church from its purpose and lead to loss of identity. These also need to be identified and studied for global benefits.

⁴ S. Ademola Ishola, Interview Transcript, December 23, 2014, 220-221.

⁵ John Ade Ajayi, Interview Transcript, July 1, 2015, 285.

Eight, There is the need to study the place of religious liberty for religiously pluralistic context like Nigeria, especially where the particularities of the religions are seen to be violated. For the Muslims, separation of religion from politics violates the place of *Sharia*; while for the Christians the inclusion of *Sharia* implies abrogation of their fundamental human right to religious affiliation. The multiple ways religious liberty affects Nigeria and the symbiotic marriage of the traditional forms of governance and western democracy need to be studied.

The challenge posed by *BH* and the violent Christian response are increasingly affecting the transformation of the church. While the details of the effect call for further study, this research revealed that the church is justifying violent response as self-defense. Biblical hermeneutics and new theologies encourage the Christians to reject persecution, abandon missions, and pursue self-centered spirituality, resulting in domestication of the Christian faith.

Furthermore, response to the challenge is bringing back the dividing wall of ethnic hostility within; obscuring Christian witness without; and opening the evangelistic backdoor. If this development is not checked, it will result to the experience of North Africa and the Middle East rather than that of the early Church. The study also revealed that there are potentials to turn the development into a catalyst for exponential growth of Christianity that will result in effective glocalization, impacting World Christianity positively.

APPENDIX 1 A

ORAL HISTORY QUESTIONS

TOPIC: WORLD CHRISTIANITY IN CRISIS: GLOCALIZATION, RE-TRANSMISSION AND CHALLENGE POSED BY BOKO HARAM TO NIGERIAN BAPTISTS 2000 – 2012

Questions

1. Please, describe the impact of Boko Haram on Christians living in Nigeria? (all)
2. In what ways has Boko Haram affected evangelization in Nigeria, especially the north? (Pastors and Missionaries, probably Northern Conference leaders also)
3. How has Boko Haram affected Christian missions to the Muslims in particular? (Pastors and Missionaries)
4. Has Boko Haram activities sparked any outreach to convert Christians to Islam? (Pastors and Missionaries)
5. How has Boko Haram affected Christian attitudes towards Muslims? (all)
6. Please, describe the response of Christians towards Boko Haram insurgency? (all)
7. How do Christians want the BH to be handled by governments and security agencies? (all)
8. Give case of these responses to BH (as in questions 6 &7) you know. (all)
9. How will you compare Christian attitudes towards Muslims over the three blocks of time: before 1980s, before 2000AD and since 2000 to date? (all)
10. Any other Issue you will like to share? (all)

Additional Questions for Those with Leadership and Policy Powers

1. Has Boko Haram insurgency affected the policy of sending missionaries?
(Denominational and mission leaders)
2. Has Boko Haram insurgency affected mission strategy and approaches? (mission leaders, missionaries and pastors)
3. Has Boko Haram insurgency affected missions giving? (all)
4. Has Boko Haram insurgency affected mission going? (mission leaders, missionaries and pastors)

APPENDIX 1 B

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, _____, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by _____ on _____ . I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

- Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.
- Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.

Signature of Interviewee

Date

Address

Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003)

Each of person interviewed in the transcripts below filled this form indicating copyright permission for the researcher and Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary to use the material for the stated purpose or purposes of the study as spelt out in the release form.

APPENDIX 2

SELECTED INDIVIDUALS FOR ORAL HISTORY AND INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Criteria for Selection

1. Denominational and Missions Leaders at National Level.
2. Regional Denominational Leaders (Conferences). This is equivalence of State Conventions.
3. Pastors of Affected Churches in Northeast of Nigeria and Baptist Missionaries in Northern Nigeria both Home and Foreign.
4. People involved with Political, security, social or academic life of Northern Nigeria with some direct involvement on matters of the BH.

The first category of the four-point criteria above represents denominational leaders of the NBC whose view will inform and affect policy and administration of Convention's missions within the period of study. This category is represented by the oral interview granted by Dr. S. Ademola Ishola whose transcript is in *Appendix 2B* of this study. Dr. Ishola served as the Convention's General Secretary between 2001 and 2011. While an interview was not possible with the Director of GMB (Rev. Stephen Enyi) and the President of the NBC (Dr. Supo Ayokunle), some expression of theirs regarding *BH* on the NBC was captured. Rev. Enyi provided information in mail regarding some statements on Muslim target in evangelism and mission. Dr. Ayokunle on the other hand made some statement at the Baptist World Alliance regarding the experience of *BH* in Nigeria. One of the GMB missionaries interviewed, Dr. Oluwafemi Adewumi was in the position to provide information relating the policies of the GMB as its longest serving staff as missionary in Nigeria and Mali as well as administration at the GMB head office in Ibadan.

For the second category, an interview was conducted with Rev. Zacharia Joshua Ako, Fellowship Baptist Conference of the NBC. The entire Conference was affected by the Insurgency in the Northeast of Nigeria. The second person interviewed was Rev. Saul Danzaria. He serves as a pastor in the Conference and the Chairman of Pastors' Fellowship of the Conference. Rev. Danzaria was a student at Baptist Seminary when it was burnt down by insurgents in year 2000 and currently serving in the North East of the country. Interview was also conducted with Rev. Joseph Audu Reni who serves as the Ministerial officer of Kaduna Baptist Conference. He is also involved with a body that seeks to educate the Church in Northern Nigeria on how to respond biblically to

persecution and understand Islam. He is also a faculty member of Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna.

In the third category, two pastors were interviewed. Rev. James Vandiwghya serves as a pastor to one of the Churches in the Northeast and. Rev. Thimnu Enima Babagunda hails from the Northeast and served as pastor in Northwest State of Kaduna which is central to the political life of Northern Nigeria. Also two missionaries were interviewed, but one of them declined signing the release form. Rev. Oluwafemi Adewumi is a veterinarian-pastoral missionary of the NBC. He was mentioned earlier because of his roles as a GMB in category one of the criteria. The second missionary was of IMB, but his views are represented by those whose interviews are published herein.

In the fourth category, two people were interviewed. Rev. Joseph J. Hayab serves as CAN chairman for Kaduna State and Adviser to the Governor on Religious Matters during the period under study. He had served as a pastor prior to his appointment to this responsibility. He is currently the head of an NGO on peace and reconciliation called NOVAD. The second person is Rev. John Ade Ajayi, a Professor of Mechanical and Metallurgical Engineering at Federal University of Technology Akure. He serves at various capacities in pertinent to this study. Most of those interviewed have spoken or written in this area as well.

The research can stand without oral history involving new convert or security agents since the focus has to do with the impact on the Church and how it affects globalization and retransmission of the gospel.

Individual Interviews and Dates

The interview recordings on the impact of *BH* on the NBC are represented. Their view will also reflect NBC's present and future prospects of globalization and retransmission of the gospel in Northern Nigeria in light of the insurgency which is the focus of this research. The oral histories are presented and arranged according to the dates the interviews took place.

A. Rev. Zacharia J. Ako	November 23, 2014
B. Rev. Dr. S. Ademola Ishola	December 13, 2014
C. Rev. James Vandiwghya	December 20, 2014
D. Rev. Saul Danzaria	December 20, 2014
E. Rev. Joseph J. Hayab	May 26, 2015
F. Rev. Thimnu Enima Babagunda	May 27, 2015
G. Rev. Prof. J. A. Ajayi	July 18, 2015
H. Rev. Dr. Oluwafemi Adewumi	July 26, 2015
I. Rev. Joseph Audu Reni	January 24, 2016

Oral Transcripts

Nine transcripts are presented here. Each interview is independent and has its descriptive paragraph. They were conducted in different places, hence the need for some specific information to prepare the reader for better understanding; but the format of all are the same. *Boko Haram* is represented as *BH* in all the transcripts.

APPENDIX 2 A-i

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Rev Zachariah Tshua AKO, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Dr Moses Audi on Nov. 23, 2014. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

- Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.
 Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.

JAKO Signature of Interviewee 21/04/2015 Date

Fellowship Baptist Conference, Maloi Adamawa State Address

0603488 3389, 08088318181 Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003))

Appendix 2 A-ii

Zacharia Joshua Ako
November 23, 2014

This is a verbatim oral interview of Rev. Zacharia Ako, recorded by Moses Audi in the pastor's office of Ruhaniya Baptist Church, Jos. It is a complete and accurate transcription of all spoken words. The interview was done in English and all spoken words including non-English word were transcribed. The meaning of the non-English words was given in brackets except where the words are nouns. Unclear words were represented by {?}. The transcript followed the spoken form rather than the written. Mannerisms, exclamatory sounds and responsive interjection like "yes," and "Uhm" from the interviewer and interviewee are written only when they occurred at the end of the sentence. Repeated words or phrases are represented only when it makes meaningful repetition for emphasis, otherwise they are omitted with ellipses (...). Where it comes at the end of the sentence, it is represented by (....) four dots. Aside comments or explanatory notes made by the interviewer and transcriber were indicated by (). Interruptions were represented by []. Few occasions when grammatical expression did not come out well, it is indicated by (sic); but where it obstructs the meaning, a representative word or phrase is inserted in brackets (). There is a constant fairly unavoidable loud music in the background from Church auditorium being the only option available for this interview; but the audio was clear to listen.

This transcription was made by Moses Audi and completed in May 2015.

- AKO My name is Rev. Zachariah Joshua Ako, an indigene of Mubi North LGA of Adamawa State. I am married with a daughter. And I am the Conference President of Fellowship Baptist Conference, which covers Bornu and part of Adamawa States.
- AUDI Rev. Ako is the Conference President of the North East Region of our Convention. And, He will be sharing with us his experience and responding to some questions regarding the challenge of *BH* to the Nigerian Baptist Mission in Northern Nigeria.
- Rev., what is your understanding of the impact of *BH* on Christians living in Nigeria?
- AKO Well, we know that *BH* is a name that is strange to us in the North and I want to believe that, that name is also strange to Nigerians because the false impression they want to give the citizens of

Nigerians is that “Western education is a sacrilege, is an abomination.” And, by the way they operate, (it) seems that their claims is false, is not true. So, we know that these people have a mission, and I want to believe that their mission is to face out Christianity in the North and establish Islamic caliphates; that is their mission. So that *BH* is just a cover-up. They just adopted that name to cover their missions, but actually they are fighting against Christianity. So, I want to describe *BH* as, let me say “Christian *Haram*” that is the best word to use for that *BH*. They are still using modern things ... that were made through education, Western education; so, it’s just a name to cover their evil acts.

So I want to believe that *BH* has impacted – they have impact in Northern Nigeria, on Christianity. The impact of *BH* insurgency in Northern Nigeria is a coin with two sides. The other side, their impact is positive somehow; the other side their impact is negative. It is positive in the sense that it brought a kind of revival to Christian faith. Those who are taking Christian faith for granted, now they know that if care is not taken, Christianity will be faced out in Northern Nigeria through the dreaded *BH* insurgency. So, it serves as a revival in fact, many people that were displaced through *BH*’s attacks, I want to believe that they have learnt a lesson, spiritual lessons that they have taken their religion for granted; they have played with the mission mandate of our Lord Jesus Christ; and now since they are quiet and silent about it, then other people want to take over. So, it’s a revival to Christians, to Christianity. Let me put it that way.

Then the other side of it, the negative side of it is that it has displaced so many people, and it has caused untold hardship on both children and adults in Nigeria. And, the impact of *BH* really led so many people to be homeless,... let me say that it created a kind of hatred for Christians towards Muslims because there are so many insinuations of Christians about *BH* instead of thinking how to evangelize them. They are now thinking the other way round. So, that is the negative effect of that *BH*. In the past, when Muslim approach was mild to Christians, they succeed in converting some of the Christians into Islam, but with the approach now, it made Christians to be more resistant to the Islamic faith. Even nominal Christians, they doubt the credibility of that religion because...they are out to destroy, to kill and to destroy. That is the negative impact of *BH* on Christianity in Northern Nigeria.

- AUDI Thank you sir. The next question I like to ask you is: "In what way has *BH* affected mission in Nigeria, especially in the North? How has it affected mission, or evangelism or reaching out?"
- AKO Well, it has affected missions, I cannot remember the last time when Christians organized an open air crusade in the North because of the fear of possible attack by *BH*. So it has confined Christianity to a four-corner building that is the Church building. Instead of mission work being spread now in open places, it has confined us to four-corner of a building. So, it has really affected our mission endeavors. So, we cannot preach openly now; we cannot go out on even one-to-one soul winning or evangelism, person to person evangelism that is what I am trying to say. So, because people are afraid, they may not know whom they would meet as they go out to evangelize the world and there is a kind of fear of attack from the other opponent when you want to preach to him. So, it has affected mission endeavors.
- And, another way *BH* insurgence has affected missions in Northern Nigeria is the movement of Christians to different locations. That is another way. So many road blocks are mounted to get to other places to accomplish, to preach becomes a problem. Sometimes it may take a day or two days to reach your destination, even to do whatever you want to do. And, with the kind of thorough checks and other things, it has really affected the mission work in northern Nigeria. It has really affected the mission work.
- AUDI Knowing that there are some groups in Northern Nigeria that are not Muslim, but traditional religious, is there a way it has affect evangelism towards Muslims (more) particularly than the other groups that are not Islamic? Or, the effect is general for everyone?
- AKO Well, in reality the effect is on Christians, but in principle it affects everyone; including other religions and Muslims alike. Because anywhere that *BH* insurgents attack, normally, Christians and Muslims will run from that place. But Muslims who run away from them are those not in support of their activities. But we are hearing from reliable sources that after people were displace by the attack of *BH* insurgents, the Muslims may be going back to accept their ideologies and that is how they embrace them and increase to their number or population. So, in principle it has affected everybody but in reality it affected Christians.

Another way is you hardly hear that they burnt or destroy any mosque, but it affects Churches. So, If really they are out for Christians,... if we term them as terrorist, we may be expecting that they will burn down or destroy mosques and Churches but you hardly see them touching Mosque or whatever; it's only Churches that is target, and Christian establishments.

(At the time of this interview, *BH* has not consciously targeted Mosques. But afterwards, this changed and it polarized the Muslim community and made some Muslims begin to doubt the objectives of *BH*).

AUDI How has *BH* activities affected the attitude of Christians towards Muslims?

AKO Well, I said this in the first question that you asked me. It has created a kind of hatred for that religion. That is one thing because so many people are saying that, if this is how Islam is, then Islam is not a religion that somebody can even think of embracing it though that one it seems it is positive to me to the side of Christians because it has stopped those who are agitating for being Muslims, from converting into Islam. But I want to say that it has changed our attitude towards Muslims. Is more of hatred now towards that religion and it has not spiral to let me say retaliation. They want to retaliate they want to take laws into their hands and attack Muslims as well. I know of places where Christians planned an attack towards Muslims...in response to *BH* activities.

AUDI That relates very much to the next question. How will you describe the response that Christians give towards *BH*?

AKO Well, though it's not a general statement per se because we still have Christians that are of the opinion that we should not retaliate. We still have a good number of them; but we have also a good number of those who are saying that they have slapped us on the other cheek; we've turned the other cheek we don't have any other cheek to give in now so we have to retaliate. So, and I understand that Christians have started reading meanings into the word of God now, instead of bringing meaning out of the word of God because of the situation. So, many people are now of the opinion that if we fold our arms and allow these people to continue with the attacks, they will face out Christianity. So let us do something.

So, sometimes people agitate for self-defense. They are saying that we are not planning to attack Muslims or *BH* insurgence. But it's a kind of self-defense because if you don't do that they will destroy us, capture our lands, and face out Christianity. So we must defend ourselves. So, that is the approach this is the general response of many Christians. So while some are saying that no we have to retaliate; but I want to see retaliation and self-defense they are two different things to me personally, because retaliation is an orchestrated plan to go and strike the other person so you plan for it, And then you go those territory and kill; that is retaliation in response to their actions.

But when it comes to self-defense; it is somebody that is there in his house, he has never plan for any evil, but he has gather weapons and keeping so when the other party come to capture his house or to kill him, he will now the response is that okay let me protect my own life and then he strike at that person not necessarily going out of his territory to go and launch an attack at the other party. So these are the two ways Christians respond to *BH* insurgency in the North. Retaliation and self-defense so the two are working.

AUDI

Now how do you see government response and the response of security agencies to this insurgency?

AKO

Well, the government response is not, if I rate it, I will say is below average because government is supposed to protect lives and properties of his citizens irrespective of their religious affiliation. But the way the government is responding to *BH* insurgency in the North, it is crystal clear to all Christians that they are biased in their response to *BH* activities. So, let me set an example to what happened recently in Mubi, so when *BH* insurgency attach Mubi on 29 October, (2014) first impression that some insiders, those who affiliated to that *BH* the members of *BH* in Mubi the first impression they gave the Christians is that it is the solders, the security operatives that were repelling *BH*. But we were made to understand that it was not true.

It was *BH* purely attacking Christians killing and shooting people indiscriminately. So instead of solders now repelling the *BH* insurgence, they were running away from the scene; they were running away from the *BH* along with the civilian so they ... abandon their barrack abandon their weapons and *BH* captured

their barracks and then they took over the weapons. So I can now say that it is not that *BH* is beyond the Nigerian military or security operatives it's not because we have the record of Nigerian army going to other country and they are doing well; they are doing well in term of war but because there is plan so the government is not responding as should to *BH* activities.

The expectation of the Christians is that the security operatives supposed to face these people, and then expel them and protect lives and properties of her citizen. But they are now running away and I heard that when they were asked why were they running away living the people living the town vulnerable to *BH* insurgency? Their claim is that, they are working on command. They are working on command. So who command them to run away that is the next question we need to ask ourselves. Who commanded them to run away? So it must be top officials of the government who are controlling ... security operatives so this is our assumption that they are the ones who ask them to runaway not to resist.

- AUDI Okay, the last question I have that is mine except if you have something to add is how will you compare the Christians attitude today towards reaching Muslims and the Christians attitudes in the past before this insurgency? Is there difference; is there similarity? Like doing mission today or our attitude towards Muslims today had it changed from the Christians attitude before *BH* started?
- AKO Yes there is a change.... Because I know that in the past there was a kind of trust between Muslims and Christians. There is a trust but now that trust it has been destroyed. So instead of that trust, we have a kind of suspension so and this has affected our mission to the Muslims because the best way to evangelize is through a kind of friendship, closeness, doing good to them and other thing. But today that one is no longer there because a...Christian cannot even take food from a Muslim now to eat without suspecting that possibly he might have poisoned it; and that is the same way the Muslim; so it has created a kind of gap between Christians and Muslims....it become difficult for Christians to evangelize Muslim today because that relationship, that trust is no longer there.

The relationship is full (*sic*) with suspicion that maybe that person is planning evil against me or the other is planning evil. So the relationship has become sour that is the way I will describe it. And,

this one has affected our mission endeavor because we hardly make friends with Muslims these days. No matter how good how kind they are we hardly have that trust because we are fed up with all their tricks and that is what created that suspicion. So, this is what changed the relationship before these insurgency attack; and, the present time we are facing this attack from the *BH* insurgency.

AUDI

Thank you very much sir I don't know if you have anything else you would like to share about this insurgency.

AKO

Well, I think ... Christians ... should be up and doing in our faith now. Through this attack instead of running away from the Lord we should come closer to God in this period because in the history of Muslim and Christian relationship in Nigeria this is the most difficult time we are facing right now and we need to come closer to God because if government cannot protect our lives and properties, we know that God is the ultimate judge upon all these things that is happening; but at the time we need to be wise as Christians. Jesus said ... "be wise as serpent harmless as doves." So we should not ... plan evil towards *BH* or Muslims in general we still have to maintain that mandate of our Lord Jesus Christ that we must love one another.

So I think the persistence attack from the Muslims or *BH* insurgency should not deter us from loving them; we should continue loving them. I know it is not easy for you to love somebody who kill maybe your children destroyed your house destroyed your properties destroyed your business it is difficult to love him; but we have to take it because this is the scripture in junction that we have to love them no matter what and am still saying that am not of the opinion that Christians should be retaliating because that retaliation will not end this insurgency.

These are the people who believe that their religion is either you accept it or they kill you, that is their faith. But as Christians, I think we have to emphasize that life more than any other thing even though we are suffering ... we have to love them. So that Christ will be happy with us. So this is my own advice to Christians in general no matter what happen we should continue loving these people, and taking the gospel of Jesus Christ to them.

Even at the threat of our death or intimidations; that one should not deter us let us imbibe the attitude of the early Christians especially

in the book of Act. Let us take that spirit and love these people. And secondly I want to say that instead of asking God why is this thing happening? I think the best question to ask is that Lord what do you want us to learn from our experience? That is a good question for Christian to ask instead of Lord, why do you allow these people to persecute us, to kill us, destroyed us? We should be asking, Lord what do us to learn (from) this experience; because, going back to the history of Christianity in the early church you discover that when the disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ defied that great commission in Matthew chapter 28 that they should go in to world and preach the gospel Samaria, Judea and other part of the world, they confined their work to Jerusalem alone.

But when the persecution came, they scatter all over the place planting churches and preaching that what Act chapter 8 tells us. So Christian should I want Christians to see it that way; that our present suffering, displacement to different places, should be an avenue for us to plant churches and to evangelize those areas where we are. So, let us see other positive things out of our experience. That is what I want to advise Christians instead of asking, Lord why us? Why did you allow these people to overpower us? We should be thinking, Lord what do you want us to learn? And whatever the Lord reveal(s) to us, let us obey him and take it seriously. So that Jesus will be happy with us.

AUDI

Thank you very much sir. I have been speaking with Rev Zacharia Ako and he is the Conference President for the Fellowship Baptist Conference; which covers Bornu State and part of Adamawa State. His office is in Mubi and they had this serious challenge and almost the entire Conference Pastors and Churches have been displaced. And, I am actually speaking with him here in Jos, Nigeria. And he is here and many members of those Churches and their pastors have run to Cameroon and other parts of this country because of the serious nature of the insurgency in the North East.

So we will continue to pray for Rev and the entire conference that God will strengthen them wherever they are; that God will provide for them as well. Continue to pray with us in Nigeria that God will intervene and help us to share the gospel in spite of the challenges that confronts us at this time. Thank you Rev. for this time you have spared to grant this interview.

AKO

Thank you sir, I am grateful (25.09 Minutes).

APPENDIX 2 B-i

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Solomon Akemola Isiola, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Moses Audi on Dec. 13, 2014. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE.

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.


Signature of Interviewee

Aug. 11, 2015
Date

Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, Ogbomoso
Address

+234-802-339-2715
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003)

Appendix 2 B-ii

S. Ademola Ishola
December 13, 2014

This is a verbatim oral interview of Rev. Dr. S. Ademola Ishola, recorded by Moses Audi at Dr. Ishola's residence, Ogbomoso. It is a complete and accurate transcription of all spoken words. The interview was done in English and all spoken words including non-English word were transcribed. The meaning of the non-English words was given in brackets except where the words are nouns. Unclear words were represented by {?}. The transcript followed the spoken form rather than the written. Mannerisms, exclamatory sounds and responsive interjection like "yes sir," and "Uhm" from the interviewer and interviewee are written only when they occurred at the end of the sentence. Repeated words or phrases are represented only when it makes meaningful repetition for emphasis, otherwise they are omitted with ellipses (...). Where it comes at the end of the sentence, it is represented by (...) four dots. Aside comments or explanatory notes made by the interviewer and transcriber were indicated by (). Interruptions were represented by []. Few occasions when grammatical expression did not come out well, it is indicated by (sic); but where it obstructs the meaning, a representative word or phrase is inserted in brackets (). There were some interruptions and noise occasionally which were not indicated in the transcript.

This transcription was made by Moses Audi and completed in May 2015.

AUDI (Rev. Dr. S. Ademola Ishola, is the immediate past General Secretary (now named President) of the Nigerian Baptist Convention – 2001 to 2011. He currently teaches at the Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, Ogbomoso. Before becoming the General Secretary, he has served as professor and Dean of Academics at the Baptist Theological Seminary, Ogbomoso. He also served as the Liaison officer of the Seminary in the United States of America).

ISHOLA I am not sure how much of literature you will be able to get. But possibly with interview and all of that, you may be able to get some ideas. I want to believe the *BH* is just a continuum. And the evolution of *BH* must been there for so long. You recall several other Islamic insurgences in Nigeria. So if you go back to the Islamic fundamentalism and their radicalization of Islam particularly from the North, I think stems from socio-political religious factors, to me, the way I look at it. We will not

experience persecution or possibly Islamic radicalism if the church stops growing. So the growth of the church the spread of the church and the influence of the church is actually a treat to the Islamic establishment, the caliphate and their sympathizers; and so I feel it's been there. It is possibly the influence of Al-Qaida that really resurrected the apparent latent Islamic fundamentalism, radicalization and insurgency. So, possibly the Osama Bin-Laden's group started influencing others in Nigeria; and, so for us I think why it's socio-religious, I mean, socio-political it's simply because they could not get what they want: the Islamization of Nigeria; the opportunity to be in charge of the government; and that they cannot necessarily control the police force; the army; to be able to unleash their mayhem on the church as whole.

So ... it's like, they are so agitated; their nerves are so raised simply because their agenda has always been falling short. Agenda scattered and the disrupted in the sense that whenever they say this, whatever you call – their *Sharia* law and all of that Islamization, it has always been frustrated by the fact that the church is also alive; and, the church comes up with their own protest. And so while it is religious is simply because the church is still growing, in spite of the persecution the church is not dying. And so it appears, unfortunately for them I remember giving you people a topic to treat the scandal of the ... particularity of Christian religious or Christianity because the mandate is to go and share the good news disciple the nation and in the process you begin to plant churches where you will strengthen the believers.

And, the only way by which you can dispel forces of darkness is to multiply churches and to plant churches here and there. So if that is the case, the fact that churches are dotted all over their so call territories, gives them so much unease. And so I think that is the idea and the fact that missionaries effort regardless of the persecution, harassment, killing, maiming and destruction of our properties, it hasn't stopped Christianity. So, now (to) your question as to, how it affected Christian's attitude towards Muslims evangelism...? ...

ISHOLA

Well I think it's ... multi- faceted.... You find (some) among us who feel it must be fire for fire this time around and Christian passivists (passivism) is no longer tolerated. That we should fold our arms and let them continue to kill our people and all of that for me personally of course as a denominational leader I feel boxed –

do I command people go ahead and also kill them; destroy their Mosque or properties?

But my own idea is – we may need to use, or make use of Nehemiah approach one sword in hand, and continue to do the work of the Lord. And so the Catholics have been so good at that at list they made sure that they protect their properties but none the less they are still able to target them every now and then but in the core-North where the Catholic are because some time they are also armed ... it's an armed respond from their own end. It's unlike us that we appear to be docile and passive and we just let them run over us every now and then and then we relocate, we relocate, we move out ... all the times whereas the Catholic will stay put regardless of what happened and of course for the Baptist it's like you have somewhere else to go.

Now for members who are now from the core-North whether Kaduna, Taraba, Adamawa, even Bornu or Plateau, the bottom line is where else would they go. On like the Yoruba or people from maybe Kwara, Kogi that may decide, well, we will relocate back to our states [one moment please (as response to a voice from outside)]. What about those who are from the particular state Adamawa and the rest; they have no other place other than to become refugees within their own country, and normally it's temporary; they may have to return home.

But to what will they return? Is another question because they would have messed-up with economy of their towns or cities and wanton destruction of properties – whether churches buildings, their homes, businesses, so these are some of the challenges and because we now have a recurrent harassment we now begin to ask our people to move out to other places where Islamic groups are predominant, alright and so, you now find more and more people in Kaduna moving to Southern Kaduna and living the North for them.

I think what has happen in Adamawa is another big lesson in terms of church planting. I have been advocating (for) house churches that there is no reason why should not be buying apartment complexes and then building of hotels and guest houses and then using the Hall for worship services. I believe that if we have to do that even in Kano, in Sokoto you can only really do well when you plant house churches and if possible not more than ten families or

even less and there is no reason why a pastor cannot pastor may be about ten of such churches; and there is no even reason why one single pastor cannot even that small church in a house church here where they will have influence and begin to multiply even if is going to be under the ground.

So and one other issue is I don't see any reason why we should not begin to think of worshiping on Fridays or even Saturdays if Sunday become their target. That's my own view point. That there is reason why we cannot explore, given all theology about all days are sanctified, holy. I think that's in I Corinthians or – yea to me personally, we should begin to diversify and begin to think of other ways to really do church rather than the traditional mode. That, unless we build a building, unless we meet only Sunday morning, and all of that; I don't think that will work now especially in our troubled spots. That's the way I look at it.

... What can the Convention do, other than support in time of relocation, provision of temporary shelters, may be in a refugee camps if there are. And then, setting up temporary Mobil schools to begin to target our children and make sure that we may – be radicalize them from early age to make sure that regardless of what happen in Chibok even if they pick our girls or boys they will not renounce Christianity by whatever means. And so, I guess that would be my own response for now if the convention will be of support system how much that's a tall order.

How many, you may not even be able to get; but Convention can mobilize support system from those who are rich and on and on like that to begin to help and target. We can provide assuming we have the money, scholarship to some of the young people entering University or colleges of technology, polytechnics, (I don't really encourage college of education because NCE is nothing now) but in other word that even if we will pick on some few boys and girls whose parents have been displace and lost their source of livelihood and all of that, the church maybe the Convention, the Conferences, Associations can now come to their aid by providing them tuition, scholarship or what have you. Possibly in some of our schools down South, Meddle-belt, in the South-South and providing opportunity for them not to ..., I mean, let them continue in their education. Am not sure if I answered your question?

MOSES

You did sir. What do you see as the expectation of the church about government response and response of security agencies?

ISHOLA

Definitely you know that our security agents or agencies have been compromise. Definitely, I think that is the bottom line. There is a whole lot of compromise on the part of security forces. In other word we do have a forth column in the army, in the police, and all of that where you have some Muslims arm forces members who are sympathetic to what *BH* may be doing even if they do not understand or if they not even agree with them. The fact that oh, they may really be weakening the church is their joy. And so, whatever they can do to sabotage the security forces' effort to stop the menace, to weaken them, even to wipe them out, has always been frustrated and so government response may not be dependable as far as I am concern.

And the fact that even within the government you have sympathizers of these evil people when they know that they are not really doing the right thing; they are wicked. So, because of the compromise, we have problem. And of course lack of strong will or courage to act on the part of government because of political expediency. If I do this will I get their vote; If do this, will they not sabotage or even frustrate my effort; and especially given the fact that Jonathan is going to run for re-election. So he's been playing it safe; passing the buck to those who are right there. So, for me, there is nothing thing I mean we can only depend on God and then common sense that God will provide and then the insight as to how best to protect our people and strengthen the hands of those who are at the fore front; serve as encourager, you know, to them. I think that's my own, but from the government we cannot get reprove.

They may dole out tokenism in terms of we will give money, we rebuild we, will provide shelter for the refugees and all of that but even half of the provision may end up in private pocket. So, the corruption, so endemic, is also part of the problem or the challenge even from the government end. So I cannot trust any government in Nigeria to protect the church and the reason is simply obvious the mixture of our nation and the ability of this Islamic folks to make so much noise as if they are the victims. I think that is the challenge where the church need wisdom to know how best to really address them.

Of course of resent some Emirs have started to speak out of course they've been targeting some of them like Kano, maybe I don't know of other places but anyone who speaks against their menace becomes their target also; even if they will at list rattle them so that maybe they will keep their mouth short. So that's my response on that the compromise on the part of security personnel and even subtle blackmail assuming there is a commander willing to do the right thing. There is the blackmail that oh wants to wipe out Islam and he is a Christian that is the reason why he is engaging in this kind of fight against these people even when the target *BH* solders or what have you. They say they are targeting civilians, innocent people so I think that's my way of look at that.

AUDI

Is there any advantage out of this for the church?

ISHOLA

To me there is I don't know of anything that happen to the church that should be a surprise, In other words, the Lord Jesus warned us forewarned us and keeps warning us unless we stop reading the Bible that in this world we will have tribulations and because of the gospel we will become target of attack, for persecution and all of that. What to me we need is to intensify our prayers and strategizing to make sure that we will not just fold our arms; but that as we pray we plan and we will plan as if we have never pray and pray as if we have never planned. And we will keep strategizing to how best what else to use at this time now.

I feel strongly that rather than now saying I am going to plant a church, these places in that place, that the ideas of running away from urban centers – we better stop it. For, we Baptist we messed up terribly in terms of our mission strategy. Where at the very beginning point in the sixties even when we went to Sierra Leone we went Maburaka and all of these places and we left Free Town and their big cities and by the time war came just wiped out you know all our weak churches in these villages. And now we are paying through our nose to even get a plot of land in Sierra Leone.

So we allowed others to go ahead of us when we have the best you know means to really reach more in urban centers. So at this time it is essential that we begin to engage in urban mission more than ever before and whether is going to be definitely we will need more of house churches even if about two three four house churches will pay, can afford to pay a pastor now he will have to

empower lay leaders to strengthen these small churches all around and then whenever they will come together they can.

And I think this should drive us to our knees and seek the Lord favor we will not be the first to be persecuted and we will not be the last and persecution is not pleasant but we better accept the fact that it is part of the churches' life. So to me it's an opportunity to re-think, to go to the drawing board, re-strategize and then make sure that we do things right; and we prepare men and women willing to really give it all. Now for me I also feel very strongly that the traditional form of ministerial training or production must change. Where you come to the Seminary full time and you abandon what you are doing. In other words, we need more professional to become pastors, trained, some Medical doctors, ... lawyers, ... nurses, ... engineers and all kinds of professions are necessary and this may be tent makers or by vocational to be able to engage the society where they work. They begin to influence the place and then aside they will continue to engage in church planting these house churches.

Now they may not, the church will not be financially obligated to them necessarily they have the job may be as a teacher, a professor in a University, a medical doctor a nurse and paramedical worker, a lawyer an engineer, even a technocrat in a civil service, in the political arena; those are the type of people we need to come to the Seminary now even if the Seminary will have to go to them in time of providing them with part time training and go to them literarily like the TEE but an in-depth ministerial training. So those who think the old style of somebody becoming full time pastor and nothing else may not help especially in places where we have serious problem. If an engineer now become a pastor and goes in to reconstruction in terms of building industry and maybe go in to legal pursuit and maybe take over the legal claim of refugees, or what have you; whereas, he will still be pastor nobody can easily suspect him ... to be a target for persecution and harassment.

And if it is a medical doctor you know; and if it is a builder you know; mechanic you know, well train and is the best in town who will not take their cars to him or things like that? And so for me those are the type of people we need to be train especially in those places. And we will probably need more of linguist also. Those who can speak more than their mono-cultural language – only mother tongue but whether is going to be Hausa or I mean Kanuri

or Fulani or Fulfulde rather or what have you, I think we will need more of such people and the Seminary curriculum must be such must be restructured to fit into the challenges of the day and not to be the same old package we've been using since forties and fifties, and sixties, seventies and eighties.

This twentieth, twenty-first century calls for radical approach. If ISIL is taking root; though they are being challenged, they are being uprooted here and there; but it appears that this may not stop. It appears it may continue to spread and it's like the die-heart because you expect that by now even ISIL or even this *BH* would have stopped. Unfortunately they are able to recruit more and more from ... refracts that we see around even children – *almajiris* [Thank you very much sir].

So I also talk about a socio-political simply because of economy that went berserk. You find jobless young people and idle hands is devil stool box or what devil ... workshop you know they are ready hands, anybody willing to give them something where they will eat; may be where they would sleep; it's more than enough for them. So if the government can provide employment, education, and a good well fair package to get these boys out of streets, off the streets and engage them; they probably not answer the call of these wicked souls recruiting them.

AUDI

Thank you very much sir this has been a great response. I have been speaking the immediate pats convention president Rev. Dr. Ademola Ishola and he has giving some tips that will be very helpful for this research and very grateful thank you very much sir (Dr. Ishola: Thank you again for the opportunity) for giving your time.

ISHOLA

Ko buru o, eku 'she o (No problem, you are well-done). [Yes sir.] (32.30minutes).

APPENDIX 2 C-i

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Rev. James Vandungu, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Rev. Dr. Moses Audi on December 20th 2014. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE.

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.

James Vandungu
Signature of Interviewee

April 7th 2015
Date

Baptist Theological Seminary, Kaduna PO Box 94 Kaduna Nigeria
Address

08136508619
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003))

Appendix 2 C-ii

James Vandiwghya
November 20, 2014

This is a verbatim oral interview of Rev. James Vandiwghya, recorded by Moses Audi in his office at Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna. It is a complete and accurate transcription of all spoken words. The interview was done in English and all spoken words including non-English word were transcribed. The meaning of the non-English words was given in brackets except where the words are nouns. Unclear words were represented by {?}. The transcript followed the spoken form rather than the written. Mannerisms, exclamatory sounds and responsive interjection like “yes,” and “Uhm” from the interviewer and interviewee are written only when they occurred at the end of the sentence. Repeated words or phrases are represented only when it makes meaningful repetition for emphasis, otherwise they are omitted with ellipses (...). Where it comes at the end of the sentence, it is represented by (...) four dots. Aside comments or explanatory notes made by the interviewer and transcriber were indicated by (). Interruptions were represented by []. Few occasions when grammatical expression did not come out well, it is indicated by (sic); but where it obstructs the meaning, a representative word or phrase is inserted in brackets ().

This transcription was made by Moses Audi and completed in May 2015.

- | | |
|------------|--|
| AUDI | Good morning Rev. Here am about interviewing one of the key people in the Northeast area involved in Christian ministry and he will tell us about himself briefly and then we’ll go on with the questions that we have for this interview. |
| VANDIWGHYA | Thank you sir, I am Rev. James Vandiwghya from Adamawa State, which is northeast. Born and grew up in Minchika Local Government. I finished my pastors’ school in Baptist pastors school Gombi 2004; and I was posted there from 2004 to 2011. Presently I am a student in Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna for my first degree in Bachelor degree of Theology. |
| AUDI | Okay, thank you Rev.; you are from the Northeast part of this country? |
| VANDIWGHYA | Yes |
| AUDI | where you ministering in particular in the Northeast? |

- VANDIWGHYA I minister in Adamawa State some LG that is near the Border of Bornu State
- AUDI What is the name of the city?
- VANDIWGHYA Gombi
- AUDI Part of which conference is that?
- VANDIWGHYA Part of Fellowship Conference
- AUDI The interview I am about to make with you concerns research work titled: "World Christianity in Crisis: Glocalization, Retransmission and the Challenge Posed by *BH* in the Nigerian Baptist Work between 2000 and 2012." Well, this is 2014, the time the research started was 2012 some of that and what is happening till today can still be involved a little bit to see the situation that we find in that part of the country. So, I'll like you to describe the impact of *BH* on Christianity in Nigeria.
- VANDIWGHYA Yea, the impact(s) of *BH* on Christianity in Nigeria are more of negative. The impact(s) are negative because there (are) no positive impact. ... There is psychological impact where by people were leaving their homes, business places and are in a refugee camp(s) and there were no hope of coming back to meet their houses and their business and everything safe. So they were thinking how life will be with them after this incident, because they were thinking that maybe this will end in two or three days but it took over months, years and they are still leaving in some places that they have no hope.
- And economically too, it has to do with economic because the business centers of all Christians in the North east are being destroyed by the *BH* insurgency, and the farmers also leaving their farms since August this year; they didn't go there to see their farm and the Fulani headmen are destroying the rest of the farm. So there will be the fear of famine in the Northeast especially this year because of the current issue.
- So economically, there is a problem and socially also there is social problem because people relate with each other when there is peace but, because there is no peace people cannot come to the

program like wedding, naming ceremonies, send forth, because of fear of any attack at any time. These are the way I look at the impact of *BH*. Our churches have been destroyed; our members have been displaced from their various places and are living in so many places so these are the impact I can see the *BH* has impacted in the life of Christianity in the North.

- AUDI Is there any advantage or disadvantage of this crisis to the Christian expression?
- VANDIWGHYA In some places where is little, but save they have a number of people because, some people were displaced and come to the safer area and then they serve as members in the church; and so it has an advantage in some few places because they have large number of members in the church but to Christian expansion, there is a problem because the church cannot go and plant churches in some of the affected places for now; they cannot go. There is no any means you can do to go to ... (those) places to plant churches again; so it is a disadvantage.
- AUDI So in what way has it affected evangelism?
- VANDIWGHYA Yea, it has affected evangelism in so many ways that people cannot go for evangelism now in the Northeast because of fear. Even if you want to go people will not accept you because of the various ways *BH* have been used because, they can come in different forms; before, it was discovered that they put a logo of churches on the vehicle and dress like Christian to come and visit churches, but the mission is to bring attack to the church but, it was later exposed before the things will happen. So any form of evangelism you will try to do, people will be conscious of what ... usually happen and they will not accept any evangelism team in the area or in the church because they are in fear of *BH*.
- AUDI Then has this development encouraged Muslims to evangelize Christians to convert them back to Islam? Is there any effort like that?
- VANDIWGHYA The effort of the *BH* right from the beginning is to force Christianity (Christians) to be converted into Islam. And so, if you look at Islam, you discover that every true Muslim(s) must support *Jihad* in one way or the other. Financially or economically, politically or in what so ever and so right from the time they has

started, When they arrested Christians they forced them to accept Islam or else they will die.

For those who accepted them, they changed their name, changed their dress, give them some charms to disorganize their mind. But later on they changed the method that when they arrested people they will not allow them to go. They train them and send them on this mission. That is why they attach our people on Sunday so that they will find them in church and who ever accept Islam will be safe, and those who refuse will not be safe.

AUDI Now, how has *BH* situation affected Christian's attitude or attitudes towards Muslims generally?

VANDIWGHYA Yea, for now, every Christian before this issue of *BH* now, we were relating; people were relating together with Muslims. During Christmas time they can give a gift to Muslims, cook food for them. When there is the need in the houses, people help them. But because of the current issue now every Christian who experienced such issue will look at every Muslims like *BH* that you cannot even give them a gift; you cannot even invite them to any program. You cannot even relate with them because of the current issue; so it has affected our attitude towards them.

AUDI How do Christians react to *BH* crisis – how do they respond?

VANDIWGHYA Yea the response of the Christians towards *BH* is the same with that one of the early church. Because Christian in the Northeast cannot face them to fight; but they only escape with their lives to the next village or any town that they ... (consider might be a) little bit safe. ... When *BH* still go ahead to attack them, they will also go there to leave the places there was any attempt to react other to fight except few people in some places which are, most of pagan that say let fight let protect our land. And some people that are not really Christian joined them to fight but, there was any record of the success over the issue. *BH* is always overpowering them. So the reaction is to run away to escape for their lives.

AUDI From your own perspective, what is the expectation of Christians concerning government response to *BH* or security agencies' response to *BH*?

VANDIWGHYA Yea the Christians – who experience this issue, will tell you that let the government declare total war on *BH*, and kill whosoever found ... supporting *BH*. There is no any think (thinking) of rehabilitating those who were capture. That's what those who experience it will say. But, in my own opinion, the government will take a serious action on them and whoever found guilty should be put to law, let justice be done. But the current issue in Nigeria now ... everywhere is full of injustice.

Hardly, you see that for several times that people that are relating with *BH* have been capture later you will see them outside continue with their activities nothing was said about them. So the issue is that let justice be done and let there be rehabilitation for those who repent because there are others who had an encounter with Christ and turn to Christianity and especially in Maiduguri there are some group of people that are under CAN, wherein CAN are taking care of them at their hiding places, yes.

AUDI Regarding this response to *BH*, is there any case you know about either how the church have or how the government have responded to this crisis?

VANDIWGHYA Yea, churches you see all over the some states in the middle belt now, you discovered that there are refugee camps for people that has been displace because they left their place in Maiduguri inside the Maiduguri metropolitan there are more than six thousand people from Bama and Gozza that were inside Maiduguri. And, there are other camps in Adamawa State, in Taraba because there was no place for them their homes. And government are (is) helping those in the camps to give them food, to attend to them medically, and offer some relieve materials for them. Yes.

AUDI Now, concerning Christian attitude towards Muslims is there a difference between Christians relating with Muslims before 1980 and then between 1980 and 2000, and between 2000 and today is there any difference?

VANDIWGHYA Yea, before 1980 I was not wise enough to know about this thing. But after 1980s when I was in Maiduguri, there was cordial relationship between Christian and Muslim; even there is a sign of crisis you discovered that Muslims can take us to their houses and hide us and give us food pending when crisis will be over. That ... (was the) practice between 1980 ... (and) 2000. But beginning with

2006 especially in Maiduguri when there was a crisis then the attitudes changed, the relation changed so every Christian if there is a crisis, for you to enter into Muslims house for hiding, you'll better escape and leave the place. Because, later on they will say there is *arni* (infidel) inside this house, there is pagan in this house; and they can still go there to harm you. ... After 2009, Christians and Muslims there is no relationship because every Christian looks at any Muslims as belong (belonging) to *BH* member; so people cannot relate to them for now. People cannot relate to them.

- AUDI Okay since you are a pastor in that area maybe one or two more questions regarding approaches. If there any form of evangelism today what are approaches that are being used? ...Method of evangelizing in the Northeast region?
- VANDIWGHYA Before or now?
- AUDI Now.
- VANDIWGHYA Okay for now, I will suggest that with this current issue, maybe if we want to go for evangelism we use a social ministry where we'll render some help to everybody like Muslims, and as they are coming to us, then we'll preach to them, and then we use our profession also to evangelize. But if we say we will go for team evangelism, it won't work now. And even if you say you will go person to person evangelism, it won't work because of the current issue; because as you open your mouth to speak to a Muslim, he will reject you. So, social ministry, use our profession to evangelize, that will help we can have opportunity to speak to them.
- AUDI With this situation, do you find people not wanting to go into mission again into Northeast even if may be an agency like Global Mission want to send a missionary to the Northeast; do you find people not wanting to go any longer because of these crisis?
- VANDIWGHYA Yea, even the pastors that are there are now trying to leave - relocate from the place. So for those that are far away will not even think of going to the Northeast for mission work.
- AUDI Has it also affected giving for mission in our churches?

- VANDIWGHYA Yes in my research, I discover that some of our churches were faithful in giving their 20% to the Nigerian Baptist Convention but, after the 2009, it affected it came down because in the churches 75% of the members relocated to their village to some places and so, most of the places like inside the towns, hardly for them to pay the salary of their pastors talk less of paying 20% or contribute to the mission work, so it affected our giving.
- AUDI Thank you very much Rev. Vandiwghya is a student at the Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna, and he is currently writing his research on the impact of *BH* on the churches various denominations in the city of Maiduguri. And is been wonderful time speaking with you. Thank you very much for what you have share with me. Except if you have anything else you will like to say generally about the situation that I did not care to ask or was not able to ask that will be wonderful if you can share something else.
- VANDIWGHYA Yea, the prospect of mission work in the Northeast in next ten years if *BH* didn't cease fire, and the government didn't take a step to handle the issue of *BH*, that place will be a Muslims dominated area. But if government will take a step; then, we will still have a hope of still have opportunity to plant churches where they have captured by the *BH*. That's what I want to share.
- AUDI Thank you very much I appreciate the time you have giving for this interview. Thank you very much (20. 02 Minutes).

APPENDIX 2 D-i

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, NEBU SAUL A SANZARIN, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Dr. Moses Audie on Dec. 20, 2014. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE.

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.


Signature of Interviewee

22nd April, 2015
Date

Fellowship English Baptist Church State Lowcost, Mubi Achim
Address

08031311525. 08024471150
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History. A Practical Guide*. Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003))

Appendix 2 D-ii

Saul Anana Danzaria
December 20, 2014

This is a verbatim oral interview of Rev. Saul Danzaria, recorded by Moses Audi in his office at Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna. It is a complete and accurate transcription of all spoken words. The interview was done in English and all spoken words including non-English word were transcribed. The meaning of the non-English words was given in brackets except where the words are nouns. Unclear words were represented by {?}. The transcript followed the spoken form rather than the written. Mannerisms, exclamatory sounds and responsive interjection like “yes,” and “Uhm” from the interviewer and interviewee are written only when they occurred at the end of the sentence. Repeated words or phrases are represented only when it makes meaningful repetition for emphasis, otherwise they are omitted with ellipses (...). Where it comes at the end of the sentence, it is represented by (...) four dots. Aside comments or explanatory notes made by the interviewer and transcriber were indicated by (). Interruptions were represented by []. Few occasions when grammatical expression did not come out well, it is indicated by (sic); but where it obstructs the meaning, a representative word or phrase is inserted in brackets ().

This transcription was made by Moses Audi and completed in May 2015.

- AUDI Reverend, you are welcome to this interview. Can you please tell us about yourself as we start this interview?
- DANZARIA I’m by name, Rev. Saul Anana Danzaria. I hail from Kaduna State, particularly from the Saminaka side. I studied theology at Masters Level. I had my first degree here graduated in 2004. Then I did my masters between 2008 and 2010 in TCN Jos. I did New Testament. I'm married with four kids – two boys, two girls, two boys and two females.
- AUDI Thank you very much for sharing about yourself. What’s your role in Fellowship Conference?
- DANZARIA In Fellowship Conference I happened to be the chairman of pastors’ fellowship in the Conference.
- AUDI Before this crisis how many churches generally do churches do you have, how many pastors? You have an idea?

- DANZARIA Yes I do. Prior to the issue of BH affecting Mubi generally, I have about 138 pastors working in Mubi and her areas (environs). Though generally, the Conference covers from Sung, in Adamawa State, Mubi, Minchika, Madagali, and then going down to Bornu. So, it covers some part of Adamawa State and the entire Bornu State. So we were having about 138 pastors generally in the Conference.
- AUDI With 138 prior to this crisis, how many pastors are in the area now? Do you have an idea?
- DANZARIA Presently, you know this *BH* has affected the Conference in general. It's like the Conference has been eluded (scattered) by the *BH*. But is like few are still there particularly in the Maiduguri metropolis, and they are not up to ten. But, all others apart from those ten serving in Maiduguri metropolis, others are displaced in different places including our Conference President who is now in Jos.
- AUDI I meet him two weeks ago spoke a little bit with him also. Okay, to come to some few other questions that I noted earlier. Please, can you describe the impact of *BH* on our work in Northeast?
- DANZARIA Okay, we are talking about impact, we are talking about actually ... the effect of *BH* (on) ... Baptist work in the Northeast. The impact has been a negative one. Actually as I said earlier, the Conference has almost ... two hundred churches. The Fellowship Baptist Conference has up to two hundred Baptist churches. But now as I say earlier, all the churches in Mubi and her environs, particularly inside Mubi we have about or close to seventy Baptist churches but those churches now ... only one – I mean, two that are still standing among those seventy. All others are been burned down to ashes the building. Some of our members were killed. Right from 2010 if you check careful you discover some time ago they slaughtered about eight of our members - youth – eight.
- This issue of recent happenings, we're yet to discover how many people have been affected. But I knew many were killed; the churches are being burned down. Our effort to evangelize since 2010 has been marred by the activities of this *BH*. We were trying just to maintain our members inside our churches. Take for instance, in my church I have about four missions' stations. So

those four mission stations, – they are no longer visible, they are no longer visible. They have been burnt. Some of the villages have been destroyed completely. The building of the churches, their houses whatever have been destroyed completely by the *BH*.

So you see now, the effect, now the impact now is really very negative one. If you look at pastors, about six pastors were killed. Recently I had a pastor who was the secretary of the Baptist Pastors Fellowship, this young man went out to – I don't know what took him out; but He went to the area where the battle line between the *BH* and the Nigerian Army was ... (fighting). So that day precisely they have already declared that place a war zone. On-going there, a flying bullet just came and slipped him away with his member the two of them died. We spent almost a month; we were looking for his dead body.

Recently one Army just called me and said ah he saw an identity card of so (and) so person, do I know him? I said, yes I do. He said, well I find the identity card very close to his dead body. So had to call the wife, called his brothers, I told them this is what is happening. So, and many others, pastors were killed, like one was killed inside the church by the *BH* when they were about preparing to do the Christmas Eve. They just came in – by name Rev. Bulus – they came in they caught them with six of his members, they slaughtered them there.

And so, when you look at all these, some of our members also if you look carefully they're business men, their business center were single out and burnt. Some of our deacons were slaughtered. I know a deacon they caught him with his son, in Maiduguri they slaughter him, (and) they slaughter the son as well. So because of that, it has affected the church.

Prior to the recent one, I had a research I did too concerning the impact the effect of *BH* which I have list of churches prior the time of the hit of *BH*; the attendance, and how the attendance has been reduce to a minimal level. It's like that paper is still with me. ... It should be in my computer. I will go and check my computer whether the paper is there. I was told to write the paper during the Ministers' Conference.

So, I wrote the quite okay, but my wife was sick and about delivery again. And with the effect of the issue of this *BH*,

hospitals were not visible; it can only be visible in the day time – in the night? So, I had to call Dr. Chuga. I said, I've written my paper oh, but is like I can't make it. This is the issue. He said no problem. So that paper I had a place where I analyze some church in Maiduguri particularly in Maiduguri the attendance before the coming of the *BH* and their present attendance as 2011 and 2012.

So maybe I will make the paper available for you so that you can print it. [I will appreciate it.] So, if you look carefully you see that there is a drop of membership from 2010 to 2013 and now 2014 we are not even talking about members, there is no church there. So you can begin to see the effect or the impact is really a negative one. It has reduced the activities of Christianity particularly of the Baptist generally that area.

Prior to 2000 to now, I was trying to estimate the – though we were working together with Conference president – to declare the Northeaster zone as a mission field. So we started at the Conference level where we open two mission fields one in Minchika and one in Dumne area. Maybe the Conference president might have gisted (given you a gist) you about this. So but now, Minchika is not visible, Madagali is not visible, it's only the Dumne area is still free for us to explore.

So the impact has been a negative one. It has reduced number of our members; it has reduced the members of our pastors working there; it has also cushion (hindered) the mission activities there.... It is very difficult if not impossible for one to go into sharing the word of God in that area now.

AUDI

Thank you very much for the information. How has that affected the relationship towards Muslims generally?

DANZARIA

Actually, for me if not by the grace of God, I'm looking at a Muslim now as my arc enemy. I am tempted to say or I'm tempted to organize because when I had the issue of what happen to churches in Mubi a single Mosque was not burnt in Mubi. A single mat in the Mosque was not burnt; a single microphone that they used in their *Allahu-akubar* was not removed; but all the churches in Mubi... (were) burnt down.

So you see, as pastor, I look at a Muslim as an enemy.... And I say why can't I also organize our members and let them also go and

begging to burn Mosque? But that is not a good thing to do. What I'm thinking in ... (my) heart, the current of our love as Christians towards unbelievers has been low; and that has led to that. So if only we are going to be awakened the area of showing love in a practical way; I want to believe that will help to call these people to Christ. But certainly, truly speaking sir, the relationship between Christians and Muslims in the Northeastern zone is sour. It's sour.

AUDI

Alright now, with this crisis is it ethnic related too or it's purely religious kind of challenge between Christian and Muslims?

DANZARIA

Well, some people have opinion(s) different opinion(s) now particularly when they began to see *BH* were going to Mosque, *BH* were entering areas dominated by Muslims, and even killing Muslims. So they started saying this must not be ... a religious issue, it must be an ethnic issue or otherwise. But according to my own observation and view, I look at it this is purely religious issue. For reasons like these: number one: I know in Christianity we have difference denominations, we have Catholic, we have ECWA, we have Baptists, we have Anglican, and we have Pentecostal movement, and others.

Now if Catholic will come out and do some that is bad, I can't exonerate them and say these are not Christians and anybody who says this is what Christians are doing, he is also right. So by this, some of the Muslims are with the opinion that this is not religious issue because they are killing Muslims and they are killing Christians as well. The reasons why you see *BH* are killing Muslims; if they are killing Muslims it's for two reasons. Number one: You see, before they capture a particular city, they come up with some forms, they printed some forms and the forms they call it they want to give loan and all the data concerning a particular person would be written in that form. They'll give you the form, if you want the loan you fill it; they will tell you as an interest free loan. So haven filled the form and you collected the money, and you use the money; possibly they would come back and say ... that loan we have given you, you are not going to pay it; but you help us to do some work. Which work is that? We want gain our freedom and independence from one Infidel(s) and government officials. We have been oppressed by these people. Infidels, who are the infidels? – Christians. Who are the government officials? – Politicians and those civil servants.

Now secondly, so after you fill the form, the next thing that will do to you is, they bring a gun to you. And when they bring the gun, they tell you, haven entered into that city where you belong, if run away, you collected the money and the Muslims and you ran away; since they have your information, your data, about your house, your collateral properties you presented; they will go directly to your house, if they didn't find you there, they will burn the house. If they find you and you are not doing it, they will kill you; since you refused. So, the second reason is, some of these people in the North, Muslims in the North, were been in the fore front of sponsoring these *BH*.

Some of them.... For instance like the present Emir of Kano, the present Amir of Kano; he initiated the Issue of the Islamic bank; and some of the money that these people are sponsor come directly through that bank. So later on he withdrew his sponsorship, his support to them; and many others did that. So because they withdrew from that, they (*BH*) are not happy, they said ah! Ah! You are the one that tell us to go and work for you; and now you are withdrawing support you are no longer helping us. So that is why they are in search for the Emir of Kano.

All these attach that was taking to the Mosque was for his sake; they were seeking for him and others you see if you see them ... (unleash) pain on any Muslims dominated community that community refuses them their support. ... So generally speaking sir these is purely a religious matter; and as I said earlier when you go to Mubi; you go to Adamawa state; I mean, you go to Yobe; you go to Bornu; you discover that it is churches that were burnt. Among hundred churches, may be a Mosque may be affected. It's not as if they did it deliberately, it's close to the church building and it was burn down. Or, somebody who they have been hunting in that Mosque went there to worship and their person will go there with bomb – to what? – To blow it in order to kill that person and others ... with him. But it was not really the aim at destroying Islam.

So you know some days ago, the Sultan of Sokoto come (came) he heard that they were killing Muslims, he says, no they shouldn't kill Muslims. So, why would he say they shouldn't kill Muslim they kill who? They should kill Christians. And again sir, as an insider as somebody who experience it practically; they met some of us on the way and they ask us are Christian or a Muslim? Those

who say they are Muslims were spared; those who say they are Christians, sometimes it takes the grace of God to be delivered ... (from) their hands. Some were slaughter because they say they are what? They are Christians.

So, if it's not a religious issue, why asking – are you Christian or Muslim? And for some of you that been listening to their tapes, if you listen to their tapes, they're saying *Allahu-akubar*, *Allahu-akubar* is *Allahu-akubar* a Christian statement? Is it an ethnic statement? Is it not a religious way of saying *Allah* is great in Islam? So why some body come and saying that this thing is not a religious issue? It really a religious issue aiming at eradicating Christianity in Nigeria, a starting point is in the North; it will spread.

AUDI That is a very great statement you have made – The starting point is in the North, it is spreading in many places.

DANZARIA It will spread. [But people are not conscious about this spread.]

AUDI Now, how will you describe relationship between Christians and Muslims generally in the North before 1980, between 1980 and 2000, and since 2000 to date?

DANZARIA Okay, thank you very much for that very good question. I happened to grow up in a Muslim-Christian setting. And you know, in those days we use to live together in harmony. In those days, we do follow them in their festivities of naming, marriage, and whatever. And they too follow us to our naming, church wedding, Christmas celebration, and so on. So the relationship prior to this time was cordial, was really interesting, was peaceful. We were caring for one another, If you look at Kaduna here for instance, you look at Badarawa, you look at Kawo here, you look at Rigasa, you at Ungwan Mu'azu, all those places were Muslims dominated areas but you will see a Christian home and a Muslim home. And they were living peacefully.

We were living peacefully at that time, commercial activities – you see a table of Muslim, you see a table of a Christian there and all of us were living together in peace and in harmony. But the thing stated changing in 1987. 1987, 1991, 1992 it keep on increasing at increase rate; but permit me to say, I have never seen a Christian just going up and say I want to go and kill this one – uh, uh, uh, uh.

I (*have*) never seen that. It has always been the chaos, the crisis, the conflict; the confusion is always emanating from the Muslims areas.

In 2000 sir, I was a student in this school [When it was burnt down] when the school was burnt down; and I know how it happened; they kill my friend. They stoned me here (made a motion to place); I was standing with my friend in the chapel there, Dr. Chuga was also around that area that time. And so unknown to us, they have already boggled the main gate and they started entering. So, I withdrew from the chapel there; I follow through the quarters. My friend ... pastor Paul Chikira, he follow down; he wanted to run down to the main gate. Dr. Chuga pulled out and entered through this area (making a motion of direction from my office where the interview took place). I don't know where he follows as for that time. But that young man, before I knew it, I heard him crying. There and then at gate there they slaughter him, and they put tire on him and burnt him there.

I ran for my life they follow me as if they will catch me, the Lord help me when I enter through the mission side there. So you know the mission side is forest ... they were scared to follow me through to enter. They don't know what is there. So, I escape there I escape through to the Air Force Base. These people came in mass; they destroyed the Seminary, they destroyed everywhere, no Christian was involved in that crisis. So, sir the relationship before 1980 to let say to 1990 was cordial, was peaceful ... loving, was caring, it was really an interesting relationship; but today the reverse is the case.

AUDI

Thank you very much sir. Now how has this affected even Christian interest at evangelizing Muslims?

DANZARIA

Ah, yes it takes the grace of God for a Christian who has pass through the nasty experience of these Muslims to still look at that Muslim and understand that this person lacks somebody that is why he is misbehaving. It will take the grace of God. Some of us began to say these people, they are nothing they are just worthy for destruction; and that has change the prayer nature of the church today. If you listen to prayer houses, if you go to churches and listen to prayers, our prayer is not Lord, God touch them and change them the way you change Saul on the way to Damascus;

but the prayer has been now Lord release the Holy Ghost fire to destroyed them.

So when you see this kind of prayer, you discover that definitely the interest to win these, to minister Christ to these people is no longer there or is minimal. So it has lessened our interest in evangelizing Muslims rather we are looking at them as enemies and if ground can open and swallow all of them, we will be clapping our hands. But that should not be the case. I think as I said earlier, we need to intensify the level of our love to them.

We need to see them – the reason why they are misbehaving – the reason why they are acting in that way, is they lack the prince of peace in their lives. If only they will have the Prince of peace in their lives that will definitely change their attitude. So I want to call on Christian today, we should intensify prayers. Even though it will very difficult for us to practically involve in mission and evangelism in areas like ours; but I believe, in evangelism we were taught if you cannot go practically you give, if you cannot give you can pray, and I have a testimony of people who I pressed under prayers day and night and they were Muslims and these people now they are only Christian they are pastors. So the weapon of prayer is a very good weapon to use for mission and evangelism. Thank you sir.

AUDI

Thank you very much sir. How do you see interest of pastors, missionaries to work in North these days? (Laughter followed).

DANZARIA

Well, even myself when this thing happen and I escape narrowly with my family, I came I was with my daughter the hospitals before I got her life restored; I began to say, I don't need to go back to Mubi again even if Mubi is safe for to go back there. I know of many pastors, prior to this time, if you talk to them about going to Adamawa, going to Yobe, going to Bornu, they say that is a no go area. Sir, we have many churches in Maiduguri prior to what happen now, we many churches in Mubi, we have many churches in Yobe, Baptist churches and were seeking for pastors, we keep on extending call to pastors immediately you talk about Northeast, they say ah, no... You can't go there again. So it has Cushing (weaken) the interest of pastors, the interest of missionaries, to take a call or an assignment to work on that area....

- AUDI This is wonderful, thank you very much for sharing this information. If there is anything you like to share that I did not know about to ask, you can share as well.
- DANZARIA Ahm, yes sir, I will like to appreciate God for you calling me to share with you what really has happened. It will be very difficult for one to share all in just a very few minutes or an hour interview. But what I want to say is the general call to Christians. I think we have not taken the great commission too serious. There is a shift of focus on the task the Lord has given the church today. It's like the church is becoming more as an entertaining ground, than a grooming ground of missionaries and pastors to go and affect others. The interest of the church is in within and not the without; so evangelism has been suffering in the hands of Christians today.
- So I want to call want attention of all believers, we should awaken from our slumber and look at the way to intensify channel of missions and evangelism. That is the essence of the existence of New Testament church, to evangelize. I also want to comment to appreciate the Seminary. When this thing happened, I came around some of you were calling me, some of you prayed for me, the Seminary at the time of lack this way still extend a hand of fellowship to me and my family. I want to use this opportunity, sir, to appreciate the leadership and staff of the Seminary. I appreciate God for you.
- And I want to also say that we need more prayers. We need more prayers because some of us, it's like we are confuse. We don't know what to do. Some of us are thinking, are we to go out of Baptist? Are we to remain in the Baptist? If we are to remain in the Baptist, where are we going to serve? You know, we need counsel, we need counsel. Counsel giving to us in time like this will go a long way to help us. Sir I appreciate you; thank you very much for a time giving to share together with you.
- AUDI Thank you very much for this sharing, I've been speaking with Rev. Saul Danzaria, who is the Chairman of Pastors Fellowship ... in the Northeast – of Baptist Conference that is there – call Fellowship Baptist Conference. And he is here in Kaduna; and, this interview took place in the Baptist Seminary and he is here with his family because of the displacement that affected the churches and the church leaders that are found in the Northeast region.

It's been good time speaking with you [Thank you sir]. Thank you very much for giving your time and for the information that you are been able share with me regarding this challenge that is there for us. I pray that God will help and strengthen you; grant you courage to hear him direct you on what to do, where to go and how to go about ministry in such difficult time like this one. We'll continue to pray that God will continue to provide and sustain the many people that are displaced because of this crisis that has happened to us. Thank you sir.

DANZARIA

Thank you sir, I'm grateful (32:33).

APPENDIX 2 E-i

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Rw. John Joseph Hayab, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Moses Audi on 26-5-2015. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE.

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.

[Signature]
Signature of Interviewee

26-5-15
Date

31 KING HASAN LANG, NARAYNI H/CORR
Address

08037009725
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003))

Appendix 2 E-ii

John Joseph Hayab
May 26, 2015

This is a verbatim oral interview of Rev. J. J. Hayab by Moses Audi recorded in Rev. Hayab’s new office – Non-Violence for African Development (NOVAD) building, Stadium Road, Kaduna. It is a complete and accurate transcription of all spoken words. The interview was done in English and all spoken words including non-English word were transcribed except where the words are nouns. The meaning of the non-English words was given in brackets. Unclear words were represented by {?}. The transcript followed the spoken form rather than the written. Mannerisms, exclamatory sounds and responsive interjection like “yes,” and “Uhm” from the interviewer and interviewee are written only when they occurred at the end of the sentence. Repeated words or phrases are represented only when it makes meaningful repetition for emphasis, otherwise they are omitted with ellipses (...). Where it comes at the end of the sentence, it is represented by (....) four dots. Aside comments or explanatory notes made by the interviewer and transcriber were indicated by (). Interruptions were represented by []. Few occasions when grammatical expression did not come out well, it is indicated by (sic); but where it obstructs the meaning, a representative word or phrase is inserted in brackets (). Background generator noise was heard throughout this recording.

This transcription was made by Moses Audi and completed in August 2015.

- | | |
|-------|---|
| AUDI | Good morning sir, here I am interviewing one of our pastors, an ordained reverend in the Baptist church, and I would like to ask him to tell us about himself, and then thereafter we’ll continue with the interview discussion. |
| HAYAB | I am Rev. Joseph John Hayab. I am a Baptist pastor. I graduated from this seminary 1996, after that I went to pastor in few churches, I went to Bishara English Baptist church, Kafanchan and then later returned to Rahama Baptist church here in Kawo, Then in 1999 November. I was elected CAN secretary of Kaduna North LGA, and later the CAN secretary of Kaduna state in 2002 Because of the demand of the office of the CAN secretary Kaduna state, the requirement is – am to serve full time so I had to sort for secondment, and the convention graciously allowed me to go and serve as the CAN secretary for a first tenure of 4 years which lapse in 2006 and then I was renewed again for another final tenure of 4 years which ended in Dec. 2010. |

In Jan. 2011, the then governor of Kaduna state, Late Patrick Yakowa, called me to serve as his special adviser on Christian matters, after the election in May and the swearing in, he reappointed me in June that same year to serve as his special adviser on Christian and pilgrimage matters, the office I've been occupying up to this very day of this interview but hope to be of that office in two days from now, since the tenure of this administration is going to lapse by 29th.

I have actually worked in different aspect apart from pasturing church. ... One thing I know I do very well is I translate literatures. I'm good in translating literature, from English to Hausa. I've translated many literatures from English to Hausa for many organizations. Most especially in the Baptist Church, I've translated many of the Men Missionary Union's documents between 1997 and 2002. I was actually the main translator of the Men missionary union, Nigerian Baptist Convention document from English to Hausa for Northern Nigerian use. ... I've translated Sunday school literatures for the Convention for quite some years too. I think I actually stopped translation in 2003 when I became CAN secretary.... The demand of my office there could not allow me to translate. Even the women literature I was one of the main translators though on ad-hock capacities as a church pastor. ... They will tell me that look any time you translate the manual you don't need to edit it again we just read it through. These are few things I can say about myself apart from my family life.

I took Luis as my wife in 1995, and we are blessed with five children all of them are wonderful daughters, and we are proud of them. We live in this town called Kaduna, but at the course of my work I became a development practitioner. A development practitioner in the sense that I became actively involved on issues of peace and conflict resolution especially am involved in the issue of inter religious dialogue. And then I look at some of the conflicts that exists among our environment and how we can together attempt to assist.

So, I've had the privilege to go out of this country to attend or to study on conflict and resolution. I did a lot in summer many summers at the American University, Washington D.C. I was there in 2004, I was there sometimes in 2010 and then in 2014.... Then,

I used to attend another one with Coventry University, and responding to conflicts in Birmingham, UK. I think I've attended three of their different programs. Just to equip myself on issues of conflict resolution and peace building. I later attempt (attempted) to begin a program on 'faith approach to climate change.'

We had a lot of challenge when the issue of HIV came, we felt many people were interpreting it differently, and so we worked together with other agencies to affect the understanding of HIV. So, when we began to see the challenge of climate change, we began to understand ... the base (basic) response to climate change. I've worked with so many organizations, currently, am the northern coordinator for a US based organization called Global Peace Foundation. It's based in Washington D.C and we have the Nigerian head-quarters in Abuja and we have the northern headquarters in Kaduna that I coordinate for the global peace foundation.

And, I started an NGO sometimes in 2006 called Christian Awareness Initiative of Nigeria, You can find out on the web: www.christianawareness.org. Through that NGO, I work with groups like International Christian Concern in Washington DC. I had the privilege of coming to address these issues in congress many times in Washington DC. But issues of Christian rites and the challenge Christians face in Northern Nigeria, but a new development is what we are doing now. We just started a new move called NOVAD NOVAD is an acronym for Non-Violence for African Development.

We just realized that the greatest challenge we've had in the past years in Nigeria is: as much as we still live as a country, there is so much division especially in work places and people don't know how to express their pains, their disappointments, sometimes they express it violently. So, we are beginning to say no, we must have a non-violent approach to expressing our angers, to expressing our disappointments with government, to expressing our disappointments with tribes that we feel they may have marginalized us and so on and so forth. But primarily we also realized that there is so much disintegration in work places.

In work places, Muslims don't trust Christians; Christians don't trust Muslims. If a new commissioner of Police is appointed and assigned to a state, the first question that comes into everybody's

mind is what is his religion? What is his tribe? So people will know judge him by his performance, people will be more interested about his religion and his tribe and prejudice and stereotype that we have on board each other's on the basis of our tribes and religion now come to be our judgment.

So, we started NOVAD primarily to promote integration in Nigeria by promoting the integration in work places. We are saying if you are serving as a police man in police work Nigerian issue is not about your faith it's not about your religion it's not about your tribe it's about the security; it's about the integrity; it's about the progress of the nation. So the police man shouldn't go to office and be thinking about his faith first or he won't give you good service that is why some times you find a lot of destruction in the security intelligent of course in Nigerian because the SSS man is thinking about oh! This report will not favor my faith so he will doctor the report to favor his faith. Oh! this report will favor my faith so he will add even things that do not happen thinking if there is any gratification, or incentive attach to report his faith will benefit which just make whole process very bad.

So, we are trying to say look can we promote national integration by preaching tolerance in places of work , by preaching understanding the place of work, by preaching merit in work places instead of giving people offices where they cannot perform because they belong to your faith and so many other things that we intend to project. So at the moment the nomenclature we call ourselves here is I am actually the co-executive director of the NOVAD because NOVAD will be looking at issues of faith, we didn't want to just have one person.

I actually initiated it but I brought a Muslim who we share the same understanding, and ... we've work together in government for about four and a half years ... and at course of work we've display what we intend to teach to people to the extent that we are normally address as the Kaduna twins. In work place we show that look though he is an Imam a Muslim he's a Hausa, am not a Hausa man am a Christian and am a pastor but our relationship and trust for one another you can't even understand. So, we are trying to say can we replicate this kind of spirit in many of our work places, ministries, security agencies, in politics, so that to some extent we will reduce the tension that is associated with our polity because people don't have trust during political campaign, religion coming

to play especially now during political currently this is what we are doing and I thank God for that.

AUDI Thank you very much Rev. Maybe my first question will be what do you perceive is the issue with *BH* in Nigeria?

HAYAB Well, people give different opinions about *BH* and I just want to say I may be giving an opinion. The reason is that neither government nor any organization can actually said clean to have a clear picture of who or why *BH*. But to mind my, *BH* came to be as a result of poor governance. When people in leadership fail to perform, they raise young men among them or they raise groups that will help champion their courses while the real act of governance is suffering. And such groups if care is not taken can grow to become a group that will be against the system that established them. And I see *BH* as one because when the story we have of *BH* is that when *BH* started, the leadership then could not ease Nigeria, the leadership then in Bornu to be precise and Yobe felt that was a group a powerful group that will promote their own agenda not knowing that that group also knowing that their they are when they see they were growing and becoming influential and powerful had also their own added agenda above the agenda of the people that established them.

We've had similar cases in Niger Delta where militants were actually requited to protect particular political interest and when those interests were no more there and nobody to take care of the militants, the militants became terror on the same society and the nation at large. I think that's exactly what the *BH* started and became. The only difference is that *BH* has religious ideology and you know when religion comes to play in certain movements, its possibility to stop it is quite difficult. You could stop other movements if they are social in nature, economic in nature, but when religion comes to play, it's quite difficult to come to stop them.

So, *BH* started as just a simple group of people trying to champion the course of some people who claim to belong to them and who claim to want to protect their own particular religious interests. Sadly, it just interestingly became not exactly what they want and before you know it has gone out of hand and today, the entire country is suffering because of the violent approach and mayhem that *BH* has inflicted on the entire society.

AUDI Okay, how will you describe the impact of *BH* on the church in Northern Nigeria?

HAYAB Wow, *BH* has caused the church so...many pains. We've actually, the fact of all it is that *BH* have caused the church let me say that *BH* have to a large extent, stopped the progress of church evangelism. When *BH* started in Northeast, and they became violent, started burning churches and killing, One, pastors and churches that exist within the vicinity of that violence could no longer go out to evangelize. Church service could no longer hold as they suppose to; so you can see apart from going out to evangelize, it also have caused a spiritual backwardness in that community when people no longer go to the church and encourage through God's word you can imagine what becomes of them.

But another thing I also find out in that same locality, *BH* has also affected the church by making Godly people backslide. Many Godly people backslidden when *BH* started doing their evil. Some of them had to go and begin to invoke the gods of their forefathers, the religion of their forefathers thinking that they need another force that will visibly protect them from the mayhem or from the evil attack or brutal attack of the *BH* group. So, they were now beginning to use charms, those charms that we abandoned because we followed Jesus, now they were re-introduced in some communities as a way of protection, as a way of defense, as a way of securing themselves.

But on a very large scale, *BH* have make Christians in Nigeria not only in Northern Nigeria to begin to compromise their evangelical stand. You see, you don't evangelize to a group that you've already formed an evil, terrible impression about You evangelize by going to show love to the group that you from your religious perspective you feel they are lost, they are ignorant, (and) they have missed the way. Now, *BH* have made a large number of Christians instead of speaking well of anybody that is Muslim, they think evil of anybody that is Muslim. Instead of heeding on the differentiating between people who cause havoc using religion, they generalize every Muslim and think he is evil.

I once had a conviction at a point and I realize that this whole thing has even eaten into our program at the convention, the same convention that we're saying we're doing Fulani evangelism, we

want to evangelize to Fulani, we're spending money for Fulani evangelism, but in the same convention, we are also tagging the Fulani as part of the *BH*. Show me, if a Fulani man sits in that meeting or he has just converted to Christianity, and he sits and realize that he's not accepted he's been seen and been afraid and nobody trust him, the possibility for him to continue in that faith is going to be very difficult. Instead he will even go back to his people and the new ones that supposed to join will no longer again trust us to come and be part of what we are doing because what they hear we say about them is evil, what they hear we discuss about them is like we've tagged them as enemies.

Okay, I quite agree that before the coming of missionaries, there were a lot of evil practices in Africa. But those missionaries that accepted to come to Africa, they accepted knowing that evil and they didn't want to talk much about that evil than coming to help us see another new way that we can live our lives better and useful. The *BH* has just helped us now to begin to look at anything Muslim, anything Fulani as completely evil and I see a contradiction. We just say a prayer for evangelism, we just say a prayer to win souls but you are the same person who already has formed prejudice that nothing good comes out of a Fulani man, nothing good comes out of a Muslim man because they are of the seed or product of *BH*.

You can see what *BH* succeeded in doing and that is not only to a Baptist church, to even the entire Christian community. I sometimes used to blame the Christians leaders at the time *BH* started because when *BH* started, the Christian leaders did not have a very mature or wise approach to dealing with *BH*. They were instead making terrible pronouncements on television, terrible pronouncements on paper, generalizing the whole thing and making the entire Muslim *Ummah* (community) as if they are the founders or promoters of *BH*.

It is quite dangerous to generalize that every Muslim believes in ISIS, every Muslim accepts *BH* or every Muslim accepts *Al-Qaida*, if you do that, then you cannot really reach out to a Muslim because even your friend, a Muslim who you've been kind to each other for years and decades, you'll no longer trust him. I've had this conversation with my children at home, where they will tell me, 'dad, they used to tell us that Muslims are evil' and I'll say 'no, there are evil people among Muslims but Muslims are not

evil'. Those people like we have in Christianity that also evil people when Christians are not evil.

If you push further, you remind people of the use of crusaders and others because the world also feel (*sic*) pain when war started extreme Christians felt that certain thing will be done this way, and feel that the best way to actualize God's kingdom on earth and to make people understand God was to kill some people who disagreed. So, this thing keeps rotating. *BH* have actually push Christian to think this way that have explain now. That instead of Christian thinking of evangelizing non-Christian, Christian have already form an opinion about non-Christian as they are enemies, they are evil, look let them go hell. So if have a way we just ask God help us wipe up away all these ones so that we live without having them. So those are some of the effect that are there you know the economic effect are there because the economic effect is not only to the government it affect the church many churches that build, have their churches destroyed.

Now the members have ran away because of safety to rebuild those churches also become a difficult situation. And then the educational, businesses okay most members of our churches that have established businesses in those are now are no longer there they can no longer go to places anymore and it affect okay when their business were progressing, that is when they had to come and give offering and tithes to church. Now that their business are not working, you can see the giving to the churches become a problem.

In fact it's the more reason that so many pastors have become without churches now because they were pastoring in areas where *BH* were at the time there was no *BH* those churches were flourishing. With *BH* now there is no member to even sit down and pray with there is no church service because if must hold church service you must keep security men. And you worship in such situation there is no peace of mind, there is no concentration, even if balloon just burst you will assume everybody jump. So it affect the spirituality of worship so gradually those church have to fold up and meet some pastors who are now living in Kaduna here and they tell you look reverend there no we can go because even if we go on Sunday who will be there for us to church?

As an organization we have reasons in the past to assist some of them, to resettle them, or to assist them to live before they can

move back to their cities. These are and so many others that *BH* have cause the church but I most want to emphasis on the evangelizing as well because since the primary task of the church is to reach out, evangelizing and now I see *BH* helping the church to things negatively and the whole concept of evangelism is been distorted, people no longer see it from a love mission. They are seeing it like, well let just do it because the church say should do it but these people. They don't deserve to live.

So when we think of the man you want to evangelize as if he does not deserve to live, then you cannot evangelize. You cannot tell him about the love of Jesus. You can only tell him about Jesus you know, but not the love of Jesus. Because to tell him about the love of Jesus, there must be a kind of transmission of that force of love from your heart to him that's what preaching does. And some if you listen to the crowd it actually affect the way we pray.

In the past we use to say prayer and ask God to help us, we say prayer and ask God to help our enemies, our prayer now as if we ask God to come destroy anybody who is against us. And when people begin to pray annulling, pray against enemies, pray evil to be-fall anybody who is against them, there is serious problem with that prayer. Jesus gave us a good story of a prayer supposed to be in a humble, heart a heart of acknowledging our short comment, a heart of seeking God's forgiveness, a heart of seeking God's direction.

But now prayer is no longer a heart of humility, it's an arrogant prayer - of 'God you we are serving you with the whole of our strength but these people are denying us, they do not want us to live.' God arise and destroy them. So we use scriptural verses that talk about destruction of anybody who is against us instead of using scriptural verses that talk about helping even their enemy to become a friend. So these are the thing *BH* has caused the church now.

For the church to act is another different story, I just bring about why we have gone to that stage? Because *BH* and their ideology now force growing Christians let me put it that way because every Christian is a growing there are Christian that are much young, even mature one that we in our own thinking think they are, please wait a minute - this second cheek is it still available for another

person to slap...? So if he hit the first one, don't allow him the second one.

So and it has help us (contributed) to deviate from a good theological interpretation of our doctrines. Because those things we know theologically right and practiced them in the past, love for enemy; pray for those who persecute us; now we are beginning to say, no, no, did the Bible really say we should pray for those who persecute us? Did the Bible really say we should love those who are our enemies? Didn't the Bible say that "the kingdom of God suffers violence and violent men must take it by force?" So, now, we begin to use those words (verses) and say – theologically, that love for enemies and pray for persecutor may be when things are good; but now that things are bad, okay violence we must take away by force.

So our theological interpretation is beginning to suffer because of *BH*... So much confused theological understanding now even in denominations that have some kind of practice. The Baptist I know, other denominations like the Anglican have bishops that have become so inter-religious friendly – get the bashing of other bishop who feel there is nothing inter-religion friendship . . . I know in Baptists we do have that, because some of us who have taking the point of inter religious dialogue, Muslims-Christians understanding; some people will think – are they still in the faith? . . . Because they seem to be preaching more of Islam than preaching Jesus. So, these and so many others things I can say *BH* has caused us.

AUDI

Thank you very much sir. Maybe in a very brief sense how will you then describe the set image of the church how does the church see itself in Nigeria?

HAYAB

Truly, truly speaking, well you know, if you ask me how the Church sees herself it's quite different from how the world now sees us; because for us ordinarily, we will feel because of the challenges around us that we are doing what the ethics you call situational ethics. Ethically, you know – we interpret by using the law and say, there a law of self-defense and self-defense itself is an offence. So, in most cases are we talking about self-defense or already you are preparing your mind that there is an enemy that exist you have to fight but you call your plan to fight your enemy a self-defense.

So you see it's not self- defense is your plan to fight. And sometimes we say the best defense is to attach so that you don't even allow your enemy to come in and you are running away. If you ask ... how we see ourselves, the church sees herself as a spiritual institution that is finding in a worldly way of addressing worldly challenge.

Am sorry, because... the scripture says our weapons of warfare are not canal they are might through God for pooling down of all that – okay we are fighting against flesh and blood and power against forces of darkness. Now we are saying no, no, no these people are human we can see them and touch them. They are our fellow neighbors so we are not wrestling against principalities or powers, we are wrestling against the neighbor who do not want to see us; sorry, I just trying to interpret.

We are just seeing ourselves as look this's a challenge that we have to theologically correct our understanding of what God says. If you says we are not wrestling against flesh and blood, but the man coming to kill me is flesh and blood. So, we no longer understand that there is spirit behind those forces of *BH*, those forces of *Al-Qaida*, those forces of ISIS, those forces of evil that is the mail thing. So, it is not a spirit is human institution of using religious cover to destroy another human. So you must confront them the way they are.

I think that is the way the church sees herself and if today you want to please the church as a leader, don't tell them to pray for enemies.... But if you ... say, if an enemy comes and hit you, hit him back; they (will) clap for you because now you are speaking; that is what they want. So Christian leader who want to get the acceptance of people, like to talk that way because if you ask me, ... the Church sees herself as another militant group that will help the world to fight Islam; and, I have repeated this several times in my statements that – we don't have a militant group in Church.

A Church is a human group, but a spiritual institution; kept and organized by God for the purpose of helping the world to understand the plan and purpose of the world by God. ... If you want to celebrate progress in Africa you can't rule out the Church; without the Church no (any) progress in African. The success in Africa today, the progress... – whether in education, whether in

science began with the Church. Take a look at African country that does not have a Church as their pioneer group, (they are behind, miles behind).

So we know that; we must appreciate that. So, we are facing challenge that is in our home, though it has international support because since there are other Islamic groups who support the *BH* here, you cannot say it is just local. They have connections and sponsors above the shows of Nigeria; and, even West Africa. So, now ... the primary goal of the Church should not be change because of that challenge.

Early this morning I posted something on the internet someone wrote it and send to me and like it I say let me share it with people – the story simply is that it – is a story about a supervisor who wanted to get the attention of his laborer. He was in the sixteenth floor, the laborer was on the ground floor; so he threw a 200 hundred naira note on the laborer and when the labored when he saw it, he thought it was a blessing from heaven picked the 200 naira put it in his pocket and continue to do his work. Later on he threw a one thousand note 1000 the laborer saw a bigger one now took it again put it in his pocket and continue to do his work. He didn't look up to see where the money was coming from. When the man realize it, he felt okay the best thing I will do now is to throw stone at him so when he threw a stone at him the stone hit him it was then he looked up and realize his supervisor wants his attention.

Okay now, what is the lesson here? The lesson here simply is that there are many times God want our attention, and we don't give attention, we don't even know he is there. When He gives us big gifts and small gifts we receive them and even consider ourselves as being lucky. So we are lucky to have gotten gift but when a little stone hit our head which are part of the problem we face since *BH* are part of it; then now we would look up and remember God is there and then start praying and then start binding and loosing.

You see there is this general challenge we face that even in our Christian struggle sometimes we fail to understand the place of God. And because we fail to understand the place of God, I see challenges like these as a bell ringing and saying come back to the normal assembly we use to hold in morning before we go to classes. Come back if you refuse to come back to the assembly and

you don't know the instruction from the principal, you don't remember what is expected of school when the exam is about to start, come back so that bell is ringing to ask us to come back and you know is also painful to have to keep to that time to have to keep to that rudiment of doing that so that is what we are facing now.

Sadly, instead of us to understand that and really go back to God, and say God how do we go about this? We are now finding a short way of solving the problem and say yes does scripture says this, but scripture also allow we should find solution to this, and then now we derail in finding solution. So the people outside don't see us as what we are before they now see us as new ungodly group still claiming the name of Jesus but not exhibiting anything about Jesus.

I will tell a story that is very interesting. It has to do with Kaduna state with the new governor. New met some Christian leaders and of the Christian leaders stood up and said we don't like you because you abuse Christians you say bad thing about Christians and the man listen to them after they were done he was to respond to them he said you know in our faith, we reference Jesus. So, I cannot say anything bad about Jesus. Though there was a tweet, and I retweeted; it wasn't originally me. I was just giving a picture of what is happening in my country. I couldn't have said anything bad about Jesus.

... If you say I speak evil about some Christian leaders, I am not going to apologize for that; do you know why? Since I grew up I know Christian leaders in Nigeria to be the group of people that speak for the poor people. When the poor people are being denied their right CAN will speak. When government fails to live to the expectation CAN (Christian Association of Nigeria) will speak. Once government is not doing what is right, CAN will speak. But let me ask you this question, what is CAN saying now? What CAN is speaking is purely to defend the government that is causing people pains so that the leaders in CAN will be given Jets; will be given opportunities to go abroad; will have all they want; it's not about the masses; [and] sometimes instigate even division among Christian and Muslims by their utterance. If such people are the people I accuse today and you think am wrong; then I don't have an apology for that (Wow!).

He said, in Islam we have fought many Muslims leader and say can't you do the way CAN is doing? When masses are denied their right come on and tell government they are wrong don't with dine with government and clap with them because religious institution supposed to be for the masses; he is mouth piece of the masses; is the defender of the masses; he's the protector of the masses; that is not the case today. What I just share with you really hit me and I understand that someone is watching us. Even if we think we are doing the right thing, the world is knowing (*sic*) that we have derail from the thing they know us to be in the past. That is why in the past by simple life style we preach. By simple life style we guide people. Many problem-people that will call us and pray with me because I know the God you people serve as Christian is a power God.

But now we have also acknowledge that we need to defend our God by going out to fight we are just saying exactly that this God cannot protect himself and I actually try to explain this by using the story of Ezra. When Ezra finally got the permission of the king to take the children of Israel back to the promise land, the people now begin to entertain fear and realize that on their road they face danger. There will be enemies that will come and attach them and Ezra first agrees with them.

But when he went home refresh on all these things he realized it will be dangerous and it will be unwise as people of God for them to go the king and ask for military men because he said to the we have told the king several time that our God is powerful we said that our God have what it take to defend us so if our God can defend us and we are the king for solders that's equally telling the king that our God is limited.

And so if we want to confirm that we are having God who is powerful all I would ask us to do is to declare a fasting and fast was declare prayers were offered and God answer it. You may have say, oh no, no, the pastor we are also praying we are not praying for God to deliver we are praying for God to approve our decisions. We've decided that we want to treat the Muslims. We've decided that we want to treat the *BH*. So we want God to sanction what we've decided to do and that's why the prayers are not answer.

The day we say God we don't even know what to do with *BH*; we are sorry for the mistake of wanting to treat *BH* in our own way, God do it. God will instantly show us how to treat *BH*. So our leaders were not asking ask God to help us deliver from *BH* they were telling God come and approve the system we want because even if we go to those prayer meeting if you listen to massages, if you listen to the announcement, you will know God is not in this meeting. It is just another gathering to fulfill another agenda but God is still not part of it (in this gathering).

So *BH* has actually created so much (many) problems in our display of Christian faith. That not only the Baptist Church every other Church finds it difficult. just only Christian group that are still say wait a minute, can't we see God's hand in these and do something different so that people will really see that this is God so that no one will take credit because some of the approach we are making, even if we defeat *BH* it will be like we want to take glory for what only God can do.

And God will not allow us take that glory. God will not allow us so that's my own understanding that *BH* have cause this way, and if we want see who we are truly we can say that we are a group that have abandon the way of God to fight our crises, and have taking it to human way to fight our crises, and sadly we fail.

AUDI

Thank you very much sir. This discussion have been very wonderful and I feel like having more questions like one question that actually came my mind, did *BH* impact also affect the Muslims?

HAYAB

Yea, this is one of the ironies of the whole contradiction. It all depend on which one is to suitable for my explanation. You see, when *BH* started it was easy for Christians leader to go out there and tell the world that *BH* are against Christians, *BH* are killing Christians, *BH* are destroying Christians, *BH* are doing this to Christians. We're all living witness that there is no one living Church that *BH* were able to kill 200 person at a goal but we have more than enough that *BH* were able to kill that number at goal during *Juma'at* prayer.

Now let me show you what they succeeded doing by doing that they even succeeded in creating more confusion. Now among the Muslims instead of looking at *BH* as enemy of the nation ...

territorial integrity we look at them as are they likely Christians? Can a Muslim do this? So much confusion there are times certain people arrested and we say they are *BH* but are not. Because *BH* had just actually succeeded in dividing this country the more and I blame it on the approach of the leaders.

If the political leaders and religious leaders at that time have close rank, no ... the possibility for us to get rid of *BH*, to stop *BH*, to expose *BH* would have been faster than the division. The division only makes Christians feel Muslims are the one so *BH* in order to helping us confusion us the more also start bombing Mosque and exactly they now affect the Mosque more than what – because the Christians the heist story they will tell you there were 60 people that were kill but in Mosque in Nigeria over 200 people were killed most of the junctions and market places where *BH* strike most those places affected Muslims in the state where *BH* strike, most of apart from the one they move to Abuja, because of government present but mostly in the north east – because another it affect Muslims.

So the whole mixture became so difficult; and as I said earlier when I was introducing NOVAD, these are the things NOVAD intend to champion. When we have an enemy against Nigeria let's not give that enemy a religious name even if the enemy is Joseph he is enemy of Nigeria Christian should not defend and protect him. If the enemy is Abdullahi, Muslims should not defend and protect him because the havoc he will cause will affect Abdullahi, affect Joseph.

Today we are face with so many pains and challenge issue is not about Muslims are happy Christians are not is everybody that is sad. So we must have a voice to everyday remind Nigerian that an enemy of the nation have no religious name, has no regional name... no sectional name. The fact about it is that a little investigation have found out that a good number of people that have been recruited into *BH*, were not necessarily religious people some are from Kogi there some from the Southwest too. Because some of them have grown in Maiduguri, was born in Maiduguri, but the parent are not from there he just find these group they entice him with some promises that only God know and he follow them and start championing for their ideology stand for their ideology would you call him an Hausa man? You don't call him a Hausa man he's still remain a Yoruba man. An Ebira man who

joins, you don't call him a Hausa man. He's still an Epira man so some times when you start arresting them then you find out that ah.

Oguche who is standing trial masterminding the bombing of Yaya is an Idoma. He didn't practice Islam, and don't forget the large percentage of Idomas are ... Christians certain significant (number) of them practice Islam and ATR I know that Baptist have a mission field there working to evangelize the people so you can see the challenge we face. Now will fight Idoma (people) because you arrested Oguche? You know, Oguche agreeing with that ideology is not in the interest of Idoma (people). So when we start clarifying that, we may help the young one(s) to start viewing this kind of challenge from difference perspective.

So when they view it from different perspective the chances for us to address these challenge either spiritually or constitutionally or through the use of security, will be quite different from we just jumping into it, confuse ourselves about the information we are not sure of; and even affect our President because it is because of this sentiment that have been built into so many of the conversation that's why young girls are adopted for eighteen days and prudence is still assuming is one of those test by Bulight {?}. That was why it became difficult because after eighteen day it has gone far for Nigerian to accept reality that these girls have been kidnapped. It was a long time they don't need 24 hours to act whether it is a rumor.

But all these I blame it on the kind of psychological ... the sentiment and how these religious sentiment sectional sentiment have eaten into a fabric of our system even when they bring an issue that you suppose to act your first idea is about are they our people? Is not about our people any human being is our people so these are the things we feel strongly that *BH* have actually cause that.

In my presentation, you will understand that as much as I look at the *BH* as the cause of these things. I am actually also pointing out that; we've allowed certain poor decisions – because of the attitude activities of *BH*. So now instead of addressing them, we use the yardstick of *BH* to address them it never works that way.

We are not in any way supporting the ideology of *BH* so we use their yardstick we rather going to them is superior understanding

so even if we get them they will now understand that there people who reason differently, who act differently who understand differently, and those we want to re-orientate those we want to help to bring them back should begin to understand the set of the who do not do like them. and then understand that that one is a better understanding, that give peace in charge that promote the community, that help the religion that you want champion to grow.

If there is peace today Islam can evangelize Christian evangelize if there is no peace Islam it will not grow Christian will not grow. You may be thinking that you have done it to promote Islam but you've succeeded in given Islam a bad name you succeeded in even discrediting Islam in the face of the world and in the face of many Nigerian. Yes, the current army of people that you have to fight will be there for you but by the time you wipe them you have more problems.

AUDI

Thank you very much sir. What advice for the church?

HAYAB

Well, the advice for the church is that church must no derail Christian principle in addressing security challenge or challenge of persecution. Let the Church even not forgets that originally from scripture we've been told before now that we will suffer persecution. Those who will kill us will even they are doing it to make God happy.

And so nothing happening to us today that we were not foretold by scripture so scripture have prepare our mind for what will happen so we must not derail from our scripture understanding because we want address immediate challenge. It's even better we use scripture understanding to address it because scripture have prepare us for eternity so that means it has prepare us for every challenge of earth if scripture is to prepare us for eternity which exceed, transcend the earth so every challenge of the earth have a solution in the scripture.

Don't forget is the same scripture that says God will not allow any temptation to come our way that is greater than us. Yes it will look big how do you understand God's power? It is when that temptation comes and it looks big and from nowhere God just [help us out] then we now say this is not human wisdom oh! This is God. So when Christian maintains their spiritual understanding of how to address situation then we help address it.

Number two, Christians must understand that fellow Christian who suffer challenges either *BH* or any kind of terrorist group, need other brothers to stand with them. You know some time because we are human been when problem come your way, if you don't see people standing with you giving you encouragement, you tend to assume okay; I don't have anywhere to go, I don't have any hope for support here, I must help myself and which have actually not done well to us.

So, I encourage that Christian suffering persecution like this, need the encouragement of fellow Christians it could be through prayer, because the best we can give them from far away distance is to pray for them, and also certain needs because, sometime human needs and human challenge can make a spiritual person grow weak. The devil did not tempt Jesus until when he knew Jesus have fasted for 40 days he has not eaten food.

My understanding is that the devil also did not come to tempt Peter and others, until when Jesus have been betray and was to be arrested and he know that as natural human being they will now not be strong enough to stand with their master so temptation now is a young lady asking him, I know you with the man. He said no, I don't even know him leave me alone.

What I am saying is that when people face persecution they need some kind of spiritual and physical support to help them know that okay in this persecution you have others who are standing by you. We see that through scripture some time we do that that by supporting them with food some time we do that by supporting them with things like when crisis started in Maiduguri I know very well that I have to go Maiduguri through our organization to go and support them with Motorcycles because some of those pastors everything they had were burnt.

Now to even move to one place was a disaster we went there in respective of their denomination I know there were Baptist pastors there and other denominations, we assisted them now this gave us a better opening to know the challenge and pain they were going through. The wife of one of the pastors that were killed when *BH* started striking ... in Maiduguri, we have her and the little children because she was pregnant when the husband died we moved her to Lagos.

You know as a human being it was difficult decision; at time she will even turn to blame us but today after almost how many years I happy to tell the world that she fully established in Lagos, her children have gone far in their education; she has a house she is staying. The last time she came here she just knelt down and say look if I have offended you, forgive me if I ever say anything bad about you which you know I have said forgive me. Now I realized that God send you to save me and save my children.

I have a family in Ecodipene {?} I use to go them in fact they even sent me a word to me today, I have been standing by them because their father was killed that should be in 2008 or 9 when it just started fresh becoming so hot, and we have to move them so we render this kind of assistance to help them leave, and she told me her son have just graduated from the University. So these are things we do for people that have strengthened their faith they will now know that though we lost our father but we have brothers who are standing by us. Though we lost everything, but after some time we gain even more than what we lost. Her children the children of this family I am talking about will grow to appreciate the Church of God.

Here I am a Northerner I don't even know anybody in Akwa Ibom but these are the thing took me to Maiduguri to Akwa Ibom, took me to Maiduguri to Lagos and it's kind of changing story that people want to see others support them. When there were challenge in Dogon Hawa we had a lot of things to go and share our love and concern for them so what I am just trying to say is that, we can do the same everywhere by giving support so Christian most if it is a Baptist denomination whatever the denomination it just enough reason to say that there is crisis our brothers are facing problem in Maiduguri as we pray for them let find a way of supporting them that gives them strength, that makes them feel oh they are

But finally, I want to say that another advice I have to offer to Christian in Church is that in addressing challenges of this, in Nigeria to be specific, let's not forget that these security men who go out, risk their lives to fight and protect us are not spirit they are human being. In fact ... in this crisis of *BH* our brothers have come to appreciate and understand that we need to do a ministry for security men who are protecting fellow people from persecution,

they suffer great deal. ... I wish to see a day that Baptist Convention will say we are taking relief to the army ... office in Maiduguri and saying ... we've come to say, this is our way of saying thank you. It will go a long way in boosting – you know some time we just ah!! They are our solders we are paying them let not forget the third world countries. Solders don't get what they get in developed countries.

So the need religious organizations to identify with them and give them support not bribing them but give them support of course you know the solders there are Muslims there are Christians. We ... are simply saying we appreciate you, we are praying with you, we give you support. It boost their moral, they will want to do beyond the things we see them doing. It is not just enough to sit in our churches and say we pray we must go outside support our people support there.

AUDI

thank you very sir, I have taken more that the time I have told you and I very grateful for this time you given me. God bless you sir.

APPENDIX 2 F-i

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Enim Babaginda Kinnu, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Audi Moses on 27th May, 2015. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

- Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.
 Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.


Signature of Interviewee

27th May, 2015
Date

Ali Akilu No 10, Kachina Sfele.
Address

08023638336
Telephone Number

(This form is adapted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003))

Appendix 2 F-ii

Enima Thimnu Babagunda May 27, 2015

This is a verbatim oral interview of Rev. Enima Babagunda Thimnu, recorded by Moses Audi in his office at Baptist Theological Seminary Kaduna. It is a complete and accurate transcription of all spoken words. The interview was done in English and all spoken words including non-English word were transcribed. The meaning of the non-English words was given in brackets except where the words are nouns. Unclear words were represented by {?}. The transcript followed the spoken form rather than the written. Mannerisms, exclamatory sounds and responsive interjection like “yes,” and “Uhm” from the interviewer and interviewee are written only when they occurred at the end of the sentence. Repeated words or phrases are represented only when it makes meaningful repetition for emphasis, otherwise they are omitted with ellipses (...). Where it comes at the end of the sentence, it is represented by (....) four dots. Aside comments or explanatory notes made by the interviewer and transcriber were indicated by () as well. Interruptions were represented by []. Few occasions when grammatical expression did not come out well, it is indicated by (sic); but where it obstructs meaning, a representative word or phrase is inserted in brackets ().

This transcription was made by Moses Audi and completed in August 2015.

AUDI Good afternoon, Rev. This interview is carried out in the Seminary, Discussing with Rev. Babagunda. He will tell us more about himself and continue with the interview thereafter, you are welcome sir.

BABAGUNDA Thank you very much.

I’m by name, Rev. Enima Babagunda Thimnu, from Adamawa State, Lunguda by tribe. Born and brought up in Yola. My school life started in Abuja finished in Yola also. I received my call in 1999 to become a student pastor which started 2002. ...After my call as a student (pastor) 2002, I graduated 2005, and later on went on with my studies in TCNN-Theological College in Northern Nigeria, Jos, Bukuru ... (where) I studied my Bachelor of Divinity 4 years, later on went to the church to serve as pastor. Serve as a pastor for 8 years five month. ...I later on went back to do my MTh in Psychology and Biblical Counseling. That’s about myself (sic).

- AUDI Thank you very much. So you were pastor in what part of the country?
- BABAGUNDA I was (a) pastor in Kwangila B.C. in Zaria ... the Northern part of the country. Zaria is under Kaduna State; and Zaria is known to be a violence place. In fact, for Christian, it's a no go area. Like there are place in Zaria, you can't mention about Christianity or church, like in the Zaria city itself there is no place for a church as a whole. You can't start up a church in Zaria city because of persecution. You can't even find a Christian in Zaria city.... If a Christian should eventually go into the Zaria city, he will have to dress the way the people are dressing there because of the persecution, insults, the stoning that eventually he might encounter on the way.
- AUDI Thank you very much; now, what do you perceive is the issue with *BH* in Nigeria?
- BABAGUNDA Well, my own view concerning *BH*, when it started, I had ... different view when it went deeply into its form I had a different view again. And then eventually am having a different view again concerning *BH*. So have like three views – yah – concerning *BH*. I see *BH* having three faces.
- AUDI what are these faces?
- BABAGUNDA Well, number one: I think it is apolitical thing. Number two: I think it's a cultural thing or regional; and number three: it is a religious issue.
- AUDI How will you describe its impact on the Nigerian Baptists in Northern Nigeria?
- BABAGUNDA It had a great impact. In fact, let me start by saying that the Baptist, the Nigerian Baptist Convention (forth with referred simply as NBC) would have to start afresh in the north-east in particular. Not talking about the northern states, but in the northeast where it really affected Baptist churches. NBC would have to start; would have to widen her scope and start the issue of the preaching of the word.... The Baptist Church would have to like see the north-east as a new place of mission.

Now reasons are because Christians that were (was) in those places, most of them were killed. I knew of a church that Christian came to worship and all the Baptist members came to worship and they were locked in the church ... including the people inside they were burnt down. So eventually ... those were the Baptist members in the village. And so by the time, churches or some few Christians that will go back to that places; you will not find any Baptist church. You will have to start a fresh like a mission center to in fact draw people to form a Baptist church.

So, the impact of (BH on) the NBC truly it has lost most of its members there and the Churches there. And some of the Baptist people also, including Baptist pastors won't go back to those places, even when the whole thing is over, because of fear of threat that is number 1 and number 2 the fear of being minority. Because some of them, they were the majority before the advent of *BH*, but now that the *BH* struck in their areas many of the Christians were killed. So, in fact going back to that place, they will be victimized in one way or the other even when the *BH* crisis eventually is over with time....

AUDI

How has it (*BH*) affected evangelism, mission?

BABAGUNDA

Now, it has affected evangelism seriously because people that were going for mission out there voluntarily won't dare go there again to do mission. ... There are churches, like First Baptist Church for instance, (that) do go to places like that for mission because I am also part of mission in those areas as of then before I became a student pastor and before I became a pastor. Now we usually go there for mission like three times in a year, in the beginning of the year, the middle of the year and at the end of the year.... We volunteer to go for mission and you find three buses, four buses sometimes like 5 buses will go there. Now there won't be things like that; because you know that there is danger there and you wouldn't want to go there.

Now we volunteer, number one, volunteers have problem of voluntarily going there for mission. Secondly, missionaries too – it also affected them because before you go to area like that they tell you that these are soft target areas and if you go there, you are on your own. So because of the nature of the problems you find there, missionaries won't be advised to go there by the local populace because of how dangerous those areas are.... Eventually they

I know also is part of evangelizing but they are already Christians... they are just been persecuted by *BH*. So there is no desire for churches around, thinking to go there for mission, rather I have heard of so many pastors telling pastors there that are involved with this people to leave those places and come back to safer places. So if pastors are talking about telling their fellow Christian that are been persecuted to leave that area ...come back to area where there is no persecution; I think there is no idea, there is no desire for mission in those areas. And I think that has been the idea of the church up here.

AUDI

Thank you very much. Now, does this *BH* also affect the Muslims?

BABAGUNDA

Yea, well, to some extent it affected them because eventually when it all started, that was why I said it has so many faces; because from my own understanding, it began like political thing. Gradually it came to be a cultural thing and eventually it became a religious issue. And I said it affected the Muslims themselves ... culturally, politically. When it come(s) to religion, it doesn't really affect them much.... It only affect(s) those that did not accept the *BH* people; those that probably ... are more liberal in their sect. There are sects in Islam that are more liberal and so it affected those that the liberal sect in the Islamic religion those are the people it affected. But those sect that are radical in Islamic religion; it didn't affect them because, the radical ones ... also join the *BH* in fighting, in destroying Christianity because the preaching is – destroy Christianity it's an evil religion and it came to convert you. So if you want to go to heaven, you kill more Christians and you go to heaven. So, I think it also affected them.

And again it affected them in another way because... the *BH* thing came when there was famine in some areas. So eventually when they get to some places and they try to collect the other Muslims or Christians they try to collect their food in order to survive. So that has also affected the fellow Muslims. So, when it comes to feeding, they also took their product because when it started, Christians were the target. And after the Christians left, the Muslims were there with their food when they come they so collect their food from them. They are their fellow brothers but they do collect their food from them and leave them, so, it also affected them.

- AUDI Now, you said, 'affected them culturally and politically.' Can you explain a little bit?
- BABAGUNDA Yea ... *BH* started as an undertone, political togs. According to books, journals that were written, according to write-ups by people that had key interest in *BH* when it all started; it started like a crusade. Majority of people in Maiduguri, Bornu state joined a movement ... of the sect and eventually the governor of Maiduguri came to realize that it was becoming more stronger and politically he was advised that if you have the leader as your closer friend and people like that they might give you good votes and so politically he started buying weapons according to papers, according to journal, according to write-ups by the key people that are into politics said; he started buying guns and started giving to people the *BH* people to support him politically, which they did. And before then they had an agreement that he was going to settle them and so they had weapons, they supported him and he came up for ... his first tenure ... his second tenure to be precise. And he never settled them; so because of that, they started targeting political ... gurus and they were been targeted, they were been killed. So ... many that were killed from the beginning were political people. They were targeted because they were not settled and that's the part of the politics.
- Now, culturally, *BH* is among the Kanuri's Kanuri (people) are the people that are so much involved in it. I remember an incident where they started having factions when people discovered that people that were sent to kill themselves were not Kanuri (people), were Hausas. So, Hausa people started raising alarm why do they send us to kill ourselves and kill people? Why not them? And that was where they had problems. So, it's a cultural thing also because at the end of it, the Hausas left the whole thing and it was left back for Kanuri people to survive themselves. And in fact, the leader is a Kanuri man, Yusuf, who was killed in 1999 was a Kanuri. So, I think it is on that aspect it became cultural also because they were not killing Kanuri people. Anywhere they go, they find Kanuri people, Kanuri land; they don't kill them. They don't destroy their places. They ... targeted on safer areas that are not culturally inclined with their own ideology and ... (culture).
- AUDI Thank you very much. Probably a little more question on how does this make the feel about who she is. Kind of self-image – who am I in northern Nigeria as a Christian? And, what is good Christianity?

BABAGUNDA

Okay now let me start with this ideology before I can answer these two fundamental question(s). First and foremost, I want you to understand that Christianity in northern Nigeria had suffered a big blow and big setback from the onset. Now, it started with the issue of 'divide and rule' where you go to a certain place and they tell you, you must have a chief and whatever the chief says become the final. Now, that's one. Secondly, if the chief happens to be a Muslim, then whatever he says is the final, now Christianity in northern Nigeria suffered because most of the chiefs and the rulers of northern Nigeria are Muslims.

And so, that's the beginning of the problems of Christianity in northern Nigeria. That's the background because wherever you go, you can't start up a church, you can't evangelize, you can't go to preach except by the permission of the ruler there. If you go eventually, out of your way to preach, you might end up been killed because of the hostility of the people around and the directives by the ruler not to allow anybody to preach, not to allow anybody to bring a new faith into the society and like I said that also affected the ancient cities that we have in northern Nigeria places like Zaria, places like Kano, places like Sokoto, places like Bornu where Usman Danfodio waged his war against Christians or against the African traditionalists....

It was a setback to Christians most especially in those places when you go to those places today, you don't find many Christians there like I said with the example of Zaria, Zazzau Zaria ancient city; when you don't find any church in Zaria ancient city. You don't find any Christian in that place because of the hostility of how it all started from the beginning.

Now, for Church how it sees herself, number one the church sees herself (as) not too strong in the Northern Nigeria because of these factors that is just explained. It sees herself not strong in Northern Nigeria, why? Because among so many chiefs in Northern Nigeria, you find very few that claim to be Christian. ... Majority of them let me put it like 99% are all Muslims chiefs. So, they have no room for Christians; they have no room for the church. They don't even have regards for the church. We were told when I started work in Zaria ... 2006 first January, I was told before now ... during Easter period, people will carry their branches, move around and celebrate but eventually it died down. Nobody can

carry anything, fear of being stoned by the *Almajiri*; being stoned by Muslims themselves. So there is a treat on the Christians' life. So, they stopped. Eventually, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) ... advised Christians not to do that. And so, it stopped naturally – just died like that. ... The church sees herself in Northern Nigeria as one that does not have the legal will to survive....

Now the second one ... the church in Northern Nigeria, like I said, suffered a huge blow(s). ... You know of so many riots, so many religious riots, religious killings ..., in Kaduna State, Kano State, Katsina State, Zaria (city in Kaduna State), precisely those are the places that had records of killings, religious riots and many stuff like that (by movements like) ... *Maitatsine*, *Jimeta* {?} and *BH* now.

Now, it had given the church an image. A very bad image because like I said (in) the middle of the discussion, ... it makes so many Christians go back into ATR seeking powers so that they could have protection, immediate protection so to say from those people that take advantage of killing the Christians anyhow. Anything that start(s) ... you will just be killed like that. So, people feel that God or Christianity does not provide protection ... immediate protection or physical protection. So they go to ATR, African Traditional Religion, to get such protections so that they won't be killed. ... Eventually some of them after these situations, incidents come back to attest to their weakness. ... So, the Spiritual nature of Christianity in Northern Nigeria truly is very low.

AUDI

Now is there any hope? Can we say that there is hope for reaching the North? Is there advantage of some sort that we can see here?

BABAGUNDA

Okay, there is hope. There is advantage and before I answer that question I like to say that because of the new bodies that we have and because of the civilization, and because of the advent of electrical gadgets and communication systems and computer, so many things are now made easier for Christian to reach out. Number one, I will like to start with the issue of organizations, Christian organizations that we have. We have so many Christian organizations like Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). They had been at the hem of affairs. They had been representing Christian in the Northern Nigeria and ... it soften the persecution of Christian in Northern Nigerian; that we have a voice in Nigeria

that speaks up when things are happening in Northern Nigeria. It speaks on behalf of the Northerners. It speaks on behalf of the Christian in Northern Nigeria so I will like to say that that is hope for us that we have a body that speaks and the government again listens to the body and the government is swift to take cognizance of the complaints of the body. So that itself is our first hope.

Secondly, we have TV channels; we have Facebook; we have BBM; ... twitter; we have so many channels of communications; so many channels of chatting; so many channels of that is been provided. ... For instance, you can't go Zaria city but because of the network system that we have and because of the computer age, era that we are in, in the TV station, you can preach and someone that is in his room in Zaria can hook up with that channel and can listen to your sermon. You are not there physically but because of the advent of computer and technology, it gets directly to him and eventually we have heard of stories of so many people that have stayed in their room, have never heard about Christianity but stayed in their room and ... they listen to one program in the TV or the other and some of them their mentality and their understanding about Christianity changed At the end of it the preacher will say find a church or look for a pastor and you will ask him some few questions and we've seen – I think am also some one had ever come to me when I was in Zaria to ask me that he watched a program on TV and the way the person spoke was not the way their Imam told them that Christianity was. And so, he came, he wanted to know more about it. ... Eventually I told him more about it and the way we talk, the way we do our thing is different from the way they were told.

(They are told) we are so arrogant; we dislike Islam; and so God is saying that we must die. And when he heard me speak, he was so impressed and eventually he became a Christian and we are to send him away because like two three times four times he was coming back they wanted killing him because they knew about it. And I told him that in Christianity we don't kill people even when they become Muslim; ... we pray for them. In fact, we visit them when they are in trouble we meet their problems. So I want to say that there is a hope because most of them ... are getting to know about it. People are getting to know about Christ ... even in their cocoon wherever they are there is network there people are getting because of the computer age people are getting to know about Christ. That is our hope.

- AUDI Has this *HB* made Muslims to be interested to know more about what Christianity is?
- BABAGUNDA Wow, that's a tough one. I am not too sure about that. Am not too sure about that because I haven't met (anyone) personally – probably I might give a general view – but on my own ... I haven't met ... (anyone or a) group of Muslims that wanted to know what (Christianity) is all about.... Now, because the advent of *BH* brought about hatred to Christians ... when you hate somebody, you won't care to know what the person is all about. You will just wish that the person is dead. In fact, whatever the person does, no matter how good the thing is, you will just want, you wish the person dead. ... I think on that aspect I know that there are so many Muslims on media ... desire that more Christians are killed.
- You find in a social media when a church is burnt ... and probably (the information about) the church is ... posted on media; you look at the comment(s) ... of Christian you look at the comment of Muslims; the comments of Muslims are not palatable at all. The comment(s) of Muslims are for crisis: kill them more. ... Those are their comment; kill them. Even the liberal Muslims, they will ... (say) kill them more. We want them to die those are their comments. This is just the beginning, more will come, things like that. But when you hear the comments of Christians it is becoming hatred too; ... hate comment too. ... Christians are beginning to join Muslims in to hate comments and Christians desire Muslims should be killed even without preaching or accepting Christ as their Lord and Savior. So I think I don't see, to be sincere generally on media stations and what they say we hear them on media; there is no issue of desiring to know more about what Christianity is all about its no even again on the other side Christian trying to know what Islam is all about. You hear hate speeches and I think those are the things that are on now.
- AUDI So what will you advise the church?
- BABAGUNDA well, I have so many advices for the church. One, the church should watch and pray.... Secondly, the church should understand that times have changed....
- AUDI In what sense?

BABAGUNDA

Times have changed ... where you will just live your life the way you want, to live your life callously; feeling that nothing is moving around. The church should know that something is going on. That is what I'm trying to say. I want the church to tighten up her belt not to just live the life they feel like living.

Thirdly, I feel the church should also share the love of Christ which is very paramount. Eventually we know that in our time contemporary now (*sic*), people don't always obey what you say. People are not keen about what you say; people are keen about what you do. People are more interested in what you do. And so, I think the love of Christ is still winning people to Christ.... In fact, it's winning more Christians to Christ ... and more Muslims to Christ. ... The church should imbibe that

... The fourth thing, the church should sacrifice in giving; because I discover that the church ... wants to stay in her comfort zone. I remember the NBC president at one of the convention in session was very angry. I think the last convention in session 2014, he was so angry went onto mention; he said, there were victims of *BH* cases and he said there should be an offering for *BH* victims but he discovered that when he said none of the churches responded he in fact, there and then, he counted the churches that responded. Only few churches from Lagos responded to take an offering for *BH* victims. I think the church should do well to come out of her comfort zones and give tenaciously for reviving the leftover Christians in the North. Those that have been devastated by the *BH* menace; and that can also be extended to ... few Muslims that have run and joined the camp of Christians. ... I have been to camps, have seen many Muslims in Christian camps and are being aided by churches and that also in fact that also serves evangelism so many of them I've spoken with them. I said how do you feel (about) your stay? – This is a Christian camp – and Christians are helping you. They said, they feel that their brothers those in same religion have neglected them and those that they are killing they are the ones that are supporting them now.

... I know of a church, a catholic church ... (that went) every week (to the camps). I was part to take some items there also. I know that every week they support Christians and Muslims in Yola. Every week, they give them food; ... they give them money, every week, they give them things like this. I think we should know that if we do that in many Muslim camps, in fact, in one way or the

other, we might touch them because church don't usually just come and give them and go. They preach to them; encourage them; in fact, counsel them and ask them if they have some problems apart from the general ones everybody is having... eventually speak some spiritual words into them and give them Bibles. I think it also apply to Muslims that are there to collect food, they speak to them; so, eventually it means that those churches are coming out of their comfort ones, to extend their hands to even Muslims that have been devastated by the *BH* menace.

AUDI

Thank you very much. I appreciate this time you have given for this interview. God bless you. Thank you sir.

APPENDIX 2 G-i

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

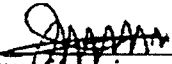
[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Rev. Prof. John Ade AJAYI, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Rev. Dr. Moses AUSA on 18 July, 2015. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.


Signature of Interviewee

31 July, 2015
Date

Miriam Baptist Church, Box 16 Ilara-MIKKI
Address

Ondo State, Nigeria
+234 (0) 803 409 9639
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003))

Appendix 2 G-ii**John Ade Ajayi**
July 17, 2015

This is a verbatim oral interview of Rev. Professor John Ade Ajayi by Moses Audi recorded at his residence in Federal University of Technology, Akure. It is a complete and accurate transcription of all spoken words. The interview was done in English and all spoken words including non-English word were transcribed. The meaning of the non-English words was given in brackets. Unclear words were represented by {?}. The transcript followed the spoken form rather than the written. Mannerisms, exclamatory sounds and responsive interjection like “yes,” and “Uhm” from the interviewer and interviewee are written only when they occurred at the end of the sentence. Repeated words or phrases are represented only when it makes meaningful repetition for emphasis, otherwise they are omitted with ellipses (...). Where it comes at the end of the sentence, it is represented by (...) four dots. Aside comments or explanatory notes made by the interviewer and transcriber were indicated by (). Interruptions were represented by []. Few occasions when grammatical expression did not come out well, it is indicated by (sic); but where is obstructs the meaning, a representative word or phrase is inserted in brackets ().

This transcription was made by Moses Audi and completed in August 2015.

AUDI Here you listen to an interview with Professor J. A. Ajayi; and, he will tell us about himself and thereafter we proceed with discussion. Prof., you are welcome.

AJAYI I am John Ade Ajayi, am a professor of Metallurgical and ...Mineral Engineering at Federal University of Technology, Nigeria. I'm a campus preacher. I minister among students, I preach in the chapel, university chapel – particularly that of chapel of faith federal university of technology, Akure. And pastor a local church at Ilara-Mokin in Ondo state Nigeria called Moriya Baptist Church. Actually ... (I) believe that am called into missions. I gave my life to Christ 1973 in Lagos.

... It was as early as 1975 that I'd wanted to go for theological training because of my burden for missions; but later on I had to go the way of secular. I went for diploma in mining, Mining School Jos, where I have solid foundation with ... inter denominational Christian groups That was good foundation from a man of God

that brought me up in Kaduna, Rev. E.O. Akingbala of blessed memory, First Baptist Church Kaduna.

Then, since that time, I had known about Islamic agenda for Nigeria at a tender age, when there were persecutions in Kaduna, no land for some people in Kaduna to build ... and Kano. Some of our brethren that were committed (got) no promotion once you have Christian name at that time. People were changing their names so that they could get admission. – And by the grace of God I was there.

All these challenges facing Christians – persecution, that's what led to the formation of CAN (Christian Association of Nigeria). People like Pa Davies of blessed memory, Pa Akingbala, Bitrus Ganiyu; these were the people that were behind the formation of CAN in Nigeria. It started in 1978 and I was there at catholic social center Kaduna, in response to the heavy persecutions ... (of) the church and every strategic position was determined to be taken up by the Muslims in Kaduna (and) in the northern states.

I knew all these because I've had the privilege to have worked and studied in Kaduna, Kano, Jos and Bauchi. So, I also have the privilege of studying ... in the south, my first degree, more or less the first at Ife in Engineering, Metallurgical Engineering, then I did masters in mechanical Engineering, University of Lagos my doctoral program is in metallurgical engineering ... and Mineral development, Ahmadu Bello university. And I've always been on the campus.

... (I) worked in the ministry and the industry. I've also had the privilege (of serving) ... in the military. God has been merciful unto me, that I had this broad based experience in academia, in the military and in the ministry and both in the north and the south and ... in all these years it have been in one leadership position or the other both in the Baptist and outside the Baptist – Youth pastor, Sunday school superintendent, Sunday school leader, pastored two churches and so many other ones, coordinator of fellowship, leader of fellowships, I was in Evangelical Christian union Ife, Baptist Student Fellowship, FCN in Jos and so on and so forth.

But, the truth of the matter is, the Islamic agenda – what we see as Boko Haram today did not start today. Nigeria – the leadership of Nigeria actually have been in the north and some people actually

believe that they have divine rights to rule this country and... to rule this country. And they use a method that knows its worth because of the heterogeneous nature of Nigeria. They use religion to get to their political ambition. The goal is power but they use religion to get the power and when they now ... (get) this power, they use it to extend the religion. And an average Nigerian Christian do not understand this... especially ... in the south where we are very comfortable. No much persecution, the economy is relatively buoyant when compared with the north and ... the social life is high and no challenge to our faith because the Muslim and the African Traditional Religious (adherents) and Christian can be in the same family, no quarrel at all...

... It's the problem of the church that actually led to (the rise of) Boko Haram. If the church has been what it ought to be as the light and salt in Nigeria, Boko Haram will have been prevented. Where at a time, we should ... be involved in evangelism and mission and discipleship; ... they have been laying emphasis on prosperity; ... health and wealth Christianity and actually hero worship. ... It has not really helped the church. The mission of the church is missions, but these days the word mission has not been properly defined. ...

Many churches will put missions on their buses; none of those have ever even traveled to any mission field.... Socials, weddings at weekends ... funerals and birthdays – that's where the bulk of the money goes. In those days, in the early 70's, late 60's, there were mini revivals of Nigeria, especially among the youths on campuses. There was hardly any church that I knew of, that did not have a day of evangelism. Three programs were prevalent that day many of the churches... as we have bible study, we have prayer meetings and evangelism.

My observation at churches in Nigeria today when you look at the signboards, negligible percentage have program for evangelism. We have become more wellfaristic rather than evangelistic. If we are pastoral, it's even okay, but more wellfaristic; come to church, be a good member, rejoice in the lord, pay your tithes, greet one another and celebrate with one another and that is all. ... If you perceive some enemies are really at your hand, you have night vigil ... but this idea of rescue the perishing, disciple them (is absent).

You see, the mission itself can be categorized into three. If the church have been involved in the mission... which I categorize into 3 which is evangelism, discipleship and church planting, Boko Haram will have been prevented. But, the church in Nigeria in my own opinion with over... getting to 45 years now, working with the lord and working for him, actually has the problem of the twin problem of misplaced priority and complacency. That's where... and this idea was reflected in my master of divinity project that I submitted to the seminary years ago whose title was Missiological Implication of the North African Christianity for the Nigerian Christians; A case study of the church on the plateau, Jos Plateau Church.

Some of us believe that the rate at which the church is going, with inadequate attention given to missions and evangelism, and being offensive rather than defensive; we're complacent ... almost indifferent about (the people we ought to evangelize). They are going to be a problem to us and this is exactly what has happened. That is why that time we wrote that north Africa was a Christian nation and the church was not careful, not sensitive enough to Islamic menace and then they were overrun and Egypt today and others there... they've been Islamized, they've essentially become Muslim community that it can also happen in a place like Jos which is the mission headquarters of Nigeria if care is not taken. And that was the basis of even the masters of divinity that time and eventually that is... if not for the act of God, for the mercy of God, and the visionary leader, the governor and the other people at that time, Jos will have been overrun, they will have put their flag like they did in some states in the ... northeast, until recently it was uprooted.

They would have put their flag on Jos and the moment they conquer Jos, forget about the rest. The mission headquarters of Nigeria. That is where you have the SIM that actually transformed to ECWA, SUN that transformed to COCCIN, the only secondary school not taken by the Government the vibrant one, the Nigerian Baptist Convention is still the one in Jos. That is where the headquarter of NIFES is, Nigerian Evangelical Students, where I was once a member of council and representing the whole of southwest that time, and that is the headquarter of FCS, Fellowship of Christian Students that is where we have the Navigators, that is the headquarter of The Great Commission Movement. That is the head-quarter of Christian Copper's Fellowship. That is where you

have NCN apart from... student Christian movement is still in existence. That is the HQ of missions in Nigeria, NEMA (National Evangelical Missionary Association). That is also where you have NEMI ... their institute. That is where the largest indigenous missionary organization in Nigeria CAPRO; ... that is also where you have Agape Ministry; mention it.

That ... is where you have the weather conducive and that is where the people... microorganism of Nigeria. Nigerians from different walks of life either Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba living together including the whites that is living together and that is the intention to... and actually that is... but they did not succeed. But they succeeded in other places where there is predominance of Muslims. So, that is the problem we have that actually have to do with the impact of Boko Haram and that's the background and recently their focus of mission is now on the campus.

The campus... whoever knows the history of the university knows that universities were set up, the early universities... was to train leaders for the church and for the state. And the church actually started the university. ... If not all, most of ... these high class universities were products of the church and were started off as mission agencies of the church to produce leaders for the church, to... for the work of the missions but things have changed now. In the west, the church on the campus, I worked the first year...my masters...there's a church on the plateau but the PhD... the doctor of ministry now the church on the campus. It still has to do with missions because in those days, the campuses were mission sending institutions. And, the front line leaders we have in Nigeria today, most of them were products of campuses, whether it is Gbile Akanni ... or Pastor. E.A Adeboye or the Bishop Oyedepo, all these people were products of campuses and many of the brethren we have abroad today, whether Baptist or SCM or ECWA, many of them are products of campuses. Who, when on campuses made up their mind, they receive the call and develop themselves, their ministry... that is why I focus now on the campus.

There is even an organization now that the church is not responding to we are facing Boko Haram. There is this... clandestine agenda for Islamization using this young people who are not even Boko Haram... the NASFAT... Nasfatism. It started on the campus precisely at Obafemi Awolowo University – MSS

(Muslim Student Union). So and then the church, they do exactly what the church do now. Their weddings, they meet on Sundays, they do their weddings, (and) they call themselves brothers and sisters. In fact, even what the church will not do, they will do. Their wellfaristic program is sound. Especially now the economy is bad; the government has no extension for the youth. These are the people who gives off loans even to do whatever they want to do and without interest and this is where young people now without foundation because, like somebody said; Christianity in Nigeria is 1 mile long and half an each day because, We are many but what we have is nominalism.

... No depth in discipleship. Many of these people are lords with money, they are lords with women, they are in love with wealth, they are in love with power, they are in love with all these things and this is one of the things that are affecting the church from actually going deep into evangelism and missions. So these are issues that we must address before we even answer the other basic questions. I stop at this point.

AUDI Thank you very much sir. How will you then describe the impact of Boko Haram on Nigeria and her neighbors?

AJAYI ... We look at it maybe from, we are not going to just of Christianity alone on the nation. Looking at it politically, most of our brethren have been killed; future leaders in the northeast have been killed.... They ... target the very star, the very brilliant, the very scholarly, the very rich, (and) the very committed ones. Many of them have been killed and so even leadership developing in that area in the church has to be given special attention. Now the economy, socio-economic activity over there has plummeted. Many people have flee the place especially people from the south; the Yoruba (people), particularly the Ogbomoso (people) who are over there. Many of them are back now, there's even a camp in Ogbomoso (people) now. People that are displaced from the north especially from Gombe, Bauchi, these are prosperous people.

It has affected the economy of that place dramatically and the people here too they are not properly integrated. The socioeconomic instability is a major issue and then the political ... leadership, it has affected the leadership. It takes many years to train leaders whether in the church or ...politically, whether spiritual leadership or political leadership or academic leadership.

Many people have been killed, lecturers killed, professors killed (and) people in... businessmen killed and there are Christians and now it affects even the future generation because girls were deliberately taken away. These Chibok girls, many of them essentially, most of them are Christians, the percentage of Muslims are negligible. These are future stars. They are killed, they are... we cannot find them. Is the hassle untold... and it does give the image even around the surrounding nations have taken advantage of us. Looting too coming to loot and... because Nigeria goes over there they make life uncomfortable for them, and... is an evil wind that blows no one any good.

It could have been prevented if the church had been more proactive, if the church had lived to its threefold mission of authentic worship, of missions and evangelism, discipleship and fellowship which according to this systematic theology of Gruden, actually that is how he defined it, our responsibility to God is worship, to the world, to the church, to one another that is fellowship and discipleship, fellowship and then to the world is evangelism and mercy that is what he called it but I would say missions and evangelism. So, if the church has actually lived... justifies its existence along this way, this problem of Boko Haram would have been prevented. And actually the major problem you have in Nigeria in the body of Christ that actually led to this Boko Haram, calling a spade a spade, is leadership deficit and leadership succession.

If there have been leaders like... Paul of blessed memory on the plateau, it's the absence of this man that we felt now, when he was alive, all these things will have been prevented because he was an inspiring... leadership by example, was an evangelist to the core, wealthy, he was a wealthy man but when he died, when he died, this thing started on the plateau.... So we have people that are in leadership position that are Pa. Davies of blessed memory in Kaduna, and I believe in every town like that we have strategic leaders, they may not even be people that we see ordained, maybe theological people, I mean people that... but they are leaders, spiritual leaders who are visionary, who are spiritual, who are strategic, who are transformational and whose life actually inspire many people but when they die, there are no replacement and because they have not been proactive.

And even as a Baptist, we are actually suffering from the same now because the maturity with which people like Dr. Dahunsi, Ayorinde, Akingbala (and) all those people we read and know even knew them, we do not see the equivalent in recent time. We are carried away by the gift of the spirit, which is important at the expense of the fruit of the Christian character, the fruit of the spirit. So these are the things and then sometimes if I will say my mind, we import everything...from America, from the whites, we import, whatever they do there, we just take them and this has affected the church.

AUDI

Can you give some insights, some examples?

AJAYI

An example is this health and wealth Christianity that ...American evangelist that we watch over the television and some of them come to Nigeria and thereafter the church will begin to say the same then... my God is not poor, and there is a lot of poverty in Nigeria, so the church, the pastors and the leaders will be very rich, the people will be very poor, instead of empowering them, then... how do you justify a situation where a pastor will be using jet here and there and the majority people are the majority people are poor, and that is why I personally decided am not going to take jeep to the local church in which am pasturing.

If God wants me to be using jeep or jet, I'll be a pastor of First Baptist Church, Ikoyi Lagos but, for a local environment which people cannot even eat... what impact are you going to make? So, these are the things you find that Jesus our master himself was very simple when he was on earth, he was, even when they come to identify him, they went to arrest him, it took time to identify him [tell who he was]. There was no special title, no special seat, no special dress, no special look, they couldn't, but now if they want to take a typical pastor... it's very easy, because some even have orderlies; where did they read (that) from the Bible? Some have orderlies ... the protocol of seeing some people is so much.... I am not saying there shouldn't be orderliness, but we are virtually copying.... There are many good things in America, why don't they copy the good things in America?

... Like the discipline in America, a typical American service when they say ten, it starts by ten; and another one a person may not even be born again if he's principled when it comes to doing the right here we can have a night vigil and you cannot be sure

somebody will not take your handset on your sit. What type of Christianity is that? God, we need divine intervention. There's too much nominalism, there's too much worldliness, there's too much carnality, there's too much 'it doesn't matter' tendency, there's too much misplaced priority, there's too much complacency and Boko Haram now is, maybe God allows it permissively to waken us up. Especially, if the south has a dose of... maybe for us to be jittery a little bit, maybe we will have mercy even on our fellow brothers when some even Christian m in the south will say it's the Hausas that are killing themselves because we see everybody Hausa, Fulani there, they don't some do not even know there are brethren are serious minded people in the north up till now that am talking.

So, these are some of the things, it affects us negatively, politically, socially, economically and even educationally. Many schools have been closed, many people are beheaded, schools are on strike and some people may not even... it may take years for us to rebuild that one the way Nehemiah and Ezra did – Nehemiah physically, Ezra spiritually. ... We will need Nehemiah and Ezra for spiritual rebuilding of Nigeria, particularly in the Northeast; physical reconstruction which is going to be political (and) social economy. And, (on the other hand, spiritual – raising ... leaders for the church who will take the gospel out in its totality; the ... whole gospel to the whole man throughout the whole Nigeria and throughout the whole world. So, that's my thinking sir.

AUDI Alright sir, now how has Boko Haram in particular affected evangelism or retransmission of the gospel?

AJAYI Yes, it is very obvious, it's true. When we hear that they kill somebody today all this thing, you'll just be thinking of who are my people that are left there? People are flying. Missionaries have fled the place. No new ones are coming to the place. Many serious evangelists have been killed and many people have been demoralized especially those people who have not been properly disciplined to say... some people deny the faith at the last moment. But thank God, there are still remnants.

AUDI Alright. Now, how has Boko Haram affected how we see church life both locally and globally?

AJAYI ... Some people see church as a building. So, that's why on Sunday, let's go to the church, and there's even somebody that

attended a church recently and he was so sanctimonious, took the Lord's Supper, took... and the following day he went to shop and was selling something about twice the normal price people know. Are you not supposed to be a Christian who will actually not overdo this business of a thing? Shouldn't some level of integrity and the fear of God enter into this thing? The young man said church is one thing, business is another. There's dichotomy, between sacred and secular but for Christians there's no such like that.

AUDI Especially from an African perspective.

AJAYI They see dichotomy. As far as a Christian ground, every ground is a holy ground. ... Many people have seen church more of socialization. A place where a man goes on Sunday to at least to relieve tension from work, to meet old friends and worship God, and clap and rejoice in the Lord and worship God and, do praise worship and contribute offering, and see friends and maybe talk on some other issues, political issues, and young people look for places where they get life partners and all that. But, the issue of the church ... we have not emphasize the concept of the church as a called out people. A called out people of God, a convictional community, a caring and sharing community, ... a commissioned community.

Like the book you have just written: *a Pilgrim Community*. If our eyes are open to this verse, is it Hebrews 13:14, when ... we are born again, our eyes are open to the gravity of this statement in the bible, maybe our attitude will change, where the bible says: here we have no continued city but we seek one to come.... We are not heavenly minded, sufficiently to lay our treasures in heaven. We want our reward here on earth; we have forgotten that we are pilgrims here. And we have forgotten that heaven is our home and heaven is a prepared place for a prepared people; and rapture can take place any time. Many of us do not seem to be prepared and we must be prepared.

AUDI Thank you sir. Now, what would you say is the appropriate response of the church at this time to this insurgency?

AJAYI The appropriate response ...to seize the insurgency is clearly given in the bible. 2 Chronicles 7:14, there is the need for the leaders of the people of God in Nigeria to call for solemn assembly. 2

Chronicles 7, I think verse 13, if I send locust to consume the land, God has a right to be angry with the people even with the covenant people when they are not obedient. If I send pestilence to consume the land, if he sends pestilence, if there is a war in any land, if God allows the devil to do it. He himself is Jehovah the man of war, he said the solution to such a thing, there's war in Nigeria, there's no two ways *BH* is war, [and] Nigeria is in war.

So, let's call a spade a spade. It's not a matter of just northeast. When a part of the body is in trouble, the whole body is in trouble. That's war in Nigeria; he say if he allows war, or pestilence, if there's trouble in any place, the solution is what I call Holy Pastor (HPST). If Holy pastor, the actual salvation of Holy Pastor, if my people, not the senate, not the national assembly, not the judiciary, not the president but the people of God, the church of the living God. Or the redeemed of God, we are not even talking of the Baptist, we are not talking of ECWA or COCCIN or TEKAN or Assemblies of God, we are talking of the community of the body of Christ in Nigeria.

If the leaders start with the leaders in front, if they will do four things, if they will humble themselves, that's H, P: pray. Not the type of kill my enemy prayer but the type the master will pray; not my will but your will be done, let your kingdom come, praying after the Lord's prayer, using the model, humble ourselves, not see as the people fighting as Hausa-Fulani which a typical Yoruba man will say, what's the difference between Hausa and Fulani, just see everything politically, humble themselves and pray, S - Seek my face, we are too busy with programs and activities in this part of the world that we have no time for one another; but even to have retreat with the lord, personal retreat. We are too busy, like we used to have when there was revival in the days of the whole...there are days of the week you fast and pray, you don't even as much as possible, you don't even do anything, you hide.

If you have a legitimate work, you just do the minimum, you just do the much you can and go and hide and pray but every other time, seek my face for renewal of their strength, and Turn (T) from their wicked ways. Humble themselves, Pray and Seek my face and Turn, (HPST), then he will visit the land, heal the land and hear our prayer So, that is ... it's very clear what we are supposed to do is clearly stated. So, the length and breadth of it is call solemn assembly. For national repentance, for individual

repentance, national repentance, seeking the ways of God for what he wants us to do and cry to God and he will teach us what to do. The secret of the lord is with them that fears him. That's the starting point. Every other thing can follow politically, educationally, economically, socially but the first solution is spiritual. ... When a man is sick spiritually, he's sick all through. We have many people that read books here, very good head but bad heart. It's the heart – and the heart of education is the education of the heart. We need divine intervention for heart surgery.

One of the secrets to the former leader of Singapore – Lian Ju Ku {?}...when they said, what is the secret of your nation? That's a nation that got independence with Nigeria around the same time. It has transported itself from third world to first world. I was there; I've never seen a city like that before. What gives me joy is that there is a place by far better (than that) – the seat of heaven. Now, he said the secret of the greatness of Singapore is heart work not hard work, the heart of the people. They determined they wanted to succeed and they succeeded. We need divine intervention for heart operation. See the number of people that attend 'holy ghost conference,' retreat and conferences in Nigeria, if you see them in their large numbers, you'll be amazed there are Christians like that... okay, what is the impact of these people in their offices? In their offices, in the industries, in their locality, in their communities, in their places as light and salt, if all of these people we see coming out of retreat and conferences will live the life the master prescribed for us as we... what I call Christian code of conduct. In Matthew 5, 6, 7 ... (what) we call Sermon on the Mount. If we will live it under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, there wouldn't have been any Boko Haram.

AUDI Thank you very much sir. Thank you sir. Any other suggestion you will like to make?

AJAYI The other suggestion is that the educational system needs attention. The educational system needs attention. Our educational system is too theoretical. It must be revisited because we are all... everything is not just spiritual. They are interwoven and the mission aspect will need to have a rethink of the mission enterprise in Nigeria. Take mission more seriously and actually revisit the educational system so that it'd be more practical and the teaching profession must actually be looked into.

It is the dropouts that become teachers in Nigeria. If you see the people filling jamb... most brilliant student either themselves or their parents don't want them to become teachers. We must find out why and what we must do because the teachers, that is not the...and the best brains I learnt go for the teaching in Germany and the German education as far as am concerned maybe America, maybe... almost second to none – the educational system. If it's engineering they read there, they are different, if its medicine, you are different. So, teaching and teaching profession and the educational system must be revisited and then the pastoral training, the pastoral training, theological training really need some thinking.

Some people go to seminary as a way of... as a vocation when they could not get other things. Those who are called sincerely must be given, must be motivated to the highest level and then so as to reflect dramatically. So, and hence they must actually... be human capacity building. The people in seminaries to this day actually must have some knowledge of science and technology and ICT, philosophy is not enough, psychology is not enough, teaching is not enough, pastoral care and counselling is not enough because the members of their churches we have people that are science and technological based and there are so many questions they are asking.... We must give attention, a pastor may not actually have time to go to all these but at least there are still some people that needs specialized training by way of chaplaincy who will be able now to discuss science like any science... but will have the gospel at the same time to be able to defend the course of ...among the people who look down on the Christians and the Christian message because they feel they have science. So, those are the things.

- AUDI Thank you very much sir. This is a great response to the situation we are having in Nigeria and I pray that God will help us to follow him to find a solution.
- AJAYI Amen
- AUDI Thank you very much sir
- AJAYI We thank God for the opportunity to serve the king.

AUDI

And this recording was made in FUTA (Federal University of Technology, Akure) Ondo state, Nigeria. Thank you sir.

APPENDIX 2 H-i

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Adekunle, John Dlawor do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Ree de Moss, Annde on 26/7/2015. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE

- Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction
 Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.

JBA
Signature of Interviewee

26/7/2015
Date

GMA, NBC
Address

08027694894, 08067026321
Telephone Number
+223 943 71509 - Mali

(This form is adopted from Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide* Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003))

Appendix 2 H-ii

John Oluwafemi Adewumi
July 26, 2015

This is a verbatim oral interview of Rev. Dr. 'Femi Adewumi by Moses Audi recorded at Francis Jones Memorial Home, Baptist Theological Seminary, Ogbomoso. It is a complete and accurate transcription of all spoken words. The interview was done in English and all spoken words including non-English word were transcribed. The meaning of the non-English words was given in brackets. Unclear words were represented by {?}. The transcript followed the spoken form rather than the written. Mannerisms, exclamatory sounds and responsive interjection like "yes," and "Uhm" from the interviewer and interviewee are written only when they occurred at the end of the sentence. Repeated words or phrases are represented only when it makes meaningful repetition for emphasis, otherwise they are omitted with ellipses (...). Where it comes at the end of the sentence, it is represented by (...) four dots. Aside comments or explanatory notes made by the interviewer and transcriber were indicated by (). Interruptions were represented by []. Few occasions when grammatical expression did not come out well, it is indicated by (sic); but where it obstructs the meaning, a representative word or phrase is inserted in brackets ().

This transcription was made by Moses Audi and completed in August 2015.

AUDI You are welcome to this interview sir. I will like to give my brother the opportunity to introduce himself.

ADEWUMI Femi Adewumi by name, 52 years old. I am a missionary with Nigerian Baptist Convention, Global Mission Board. I work among the Fulani (*Fulbe*) and some other Muslim dominated groups, but principally, Fulani (people). I'm a veterinarian, animal doctor. So, it's part of the strategies we're using to reach out to the Fulani (people). My wife uses education and relationship. We worked with Fulani (people) in Plateau State, using Jos as our base for about nine, ten years. Then we worked among Fulani (people) using Billiri as our base, Gombe State for about 13 years.

Then, we were in Global Missions' Head-quarter for about one and a half, two years. I was coordinating the International missions of Nigerian Baptist Convention and specialized ministries. Specialized ministries is the ministry to reach the unreached people groups using specialized methods like medical, education and so

on and so forth. I did that in the office for about two years. Then, after that my wife and I went to Cameroon for about one and a half years to learn French language so that we can serve in French speaking countries.

Presently, my wife and I are in Mali through a partnership program they call MELM (Mission Evangelique Lutheriene au Mali). It is a partnership between Nigerian Baptist Convention, ECWA, the Lutheran Church of Benin Republic (not Lutheran but UEEB), Lutheran Church of Cameroon, Lutheran Church of Norway and some other bodies. We have what they call Norwegian Missionary Society, Then, another Norwegian Free Church too. So, it's a partnership program to reach the Fulani (people) in Northern Mali.

We've been in Mali for about one and a half years. We're learning the Masina Fulani dialect, because the Masina Fulani Dialect is bit different from the dialect we use in Nigeria. So, soon we're trusting God, before the end of the year 2015, we'll commence full time ministry work among the Fulani in Northern Mali.

AUDI

Alright, This interview is specifically to look at how *BH* is affecting Nigerian Baptist work, both home and outside. So, I will like to ask a few questions that might be ... key in understanding how this insurgency is affecting our missionary work. The first of the question I will like to ask is: How has *BH* insurgency affected mission policy, especially in sending missionaries?

ADEWUMI

The point is, for sending agencies, the first condition is "what does God want us to do?" After you've done that, is (to) consider those you think can be sent out of your staff. For example, in the Nigerian Baptist Convention, if the leadership realizes this is what they want to do; then, they consider who can do the work. The major problem now, because of the *BH* crises, has two-prong fork. The leader himself will not want to expose his lieutenants to death threat.

That happened to us even before we went to Mali; because the leadership of the Nigerian Baptist Convention, some of our leaders even told us no, you cannot go (that you should come back?). That we shouldn't even go at all. We had to appeal to them that please, don't let us base our going or not going on hear-say; let's get there. If we see that our lives will be in danger, or we cannot work there, we'll come back home. And since we've gotten there about one

and a half years ago, in spite of all the problem or problem in Mali, God has been very good.

The situation as newspaper portrays it is actually not as bad; because if you look at Nigeria, we have 36 states. The major problem is in three of the states – Bornu, Yobe and Adamawa. It's only in – I think we have only 774 local government areas in Nigeria. The problem is serious in not more than – I think 30 local Government Areas. And that's why even the President Gen. Buhari once said, it's an embarrassment to the country that problem in 30 local government areas cannot be coiled by the government and is now threatening the unity of the whole nation. It shouldn't be. It's not all over Nigeria, but because of the noise, people are afraid. Families are afraid, people you want to engage themselves are afraid.

You as ... in our own case, if not that inside of us we've not felt God's call, once a leaders says don't go, because some high people at the Baptist Building told us don't go and since they've said it, if I come and tell my director that these people have said I shouldn't go; he cannot push me to go, because they are higher than him. But we said, please sir, don't let us do it that way. Let's go first and see. So it's a problem on the part of some of our missionaries too. They too don't want to go. And, when missionaries don't want to go, the director is afraid, so that they won't say he has sent him to go and kill him; it has become a big problem. It's really a big problem.

AUDI

Thank you very much sir, how has the insurgency affected mission strategy and approaches?

ADEWUMI

For us sir, it hasn't changed our strategies. Because right from the time I started working among the Fulani 1988, that's about 27 years ago, the strategy we employ is friendship and relationship evangelism. And, we make friends with our Fulani; we look for identifiable needs; and we try as much as possible to help if we can; or solicit for help if we can get it from other Christian friends; brothers and supporters for them concerning their animal health, their health, provision of water and all those basic needs, even clothing, anything that we think; even advice, friends, visitation, because ... everyone responds to love in positive way; only it will take some time.

The other thing is, if I can use the example of the Fulani people we work with, because the Fulani over the years, and generally northerners had been looked down upon by some people; they are careful, it takes them a long time before they can trust you. So, but once you can be patient, and they genuinely see that you love them, they will go all length to even protect you. Because, with our experiences, the time we were with the Fulani, even ... with the little time we were in Mali, there are some of our colleagues, when problem is coming, it is those Fulani that will go and tell them; please, we love you. We are not sure how next week will be, move out of this place. So, once you show them love, they will reciprocate.

So, for us and I think for our mission agency, and I believe most of the mission agencies who are actually and truly involved in Muslim evangelism, we understand the basics – that you don't do radical evangelism; its friendship and relationship evangelism. That's what we still employing. And, that's why, in spite of the *BH* crisis, ministry has not ceased. People are still working, though not on a large scale.

AUDI How has the insurgency affected mission giving? People giving for mission?

ADEWUMI Well sir, There is a problem with that. There're some people, when they see you having the passion, they are ready to go the whole length to help. There are some people who have the idea, they are killing our people, (and) we shouldn't give them anything. You cannot separate that. We have both groups in the church. So, a lot of people have been scattered. For example, like in Bornu, Yobe States, most of our Baptist Churches, many of our Baptist Churches have even left. So, if you say you want to send money there, some people are reluctant at doing that. Though we have some people who still know that God still want our money to go there to help.

So, I don't want to say that it has drastically cut down the amount of money. I think the major problem now why mission, or let's say Convention is not getting much money is the economic problem in the country. But there is till that silent problem, that some people are not happy, they see *BH* as eh it's Muslim people fighting, so we shouldn't support them; we shouldn't give them. There're some

people who have that idea; but I believe majority of our people still believe if we can't go, our money can go.

AUDI I think this has been addressed, thank you. How has *BH* affected your work specifically in the field?

ADEWUMI Yes sir, like in areas where the problem is there, even if you want to, your mission agency – because they don't want to lose you; there're areas they tell you don't go to this place for a certain period of time. Like in Mali now there is area they tell you don't travel to this place. Don't do this, don't do that. So, where you can sleep with your eyes closed, you can't do that again. So, because of that, it has affected the amount of work that could have been done. It has reduced. The areas one should have gone to, places that are not considered safe, your mission agency will tell you don't go at all. And, when you go against your mission agency, it becomes a problem for you. So, that I can say in a way, it has affected the movement of missionaries working among them.

AUDI How has it affected the worship life of the Church and self-image of the Church?

ADEWUMI It has, especially in areas where the problems are; some of the members have left the place. But, actually if we digress a bit sir, or we can go back a bit, part of the *BH* crisis some of us feel was punishment for the church in Nigeria; because if you look at the set-up of our churches, Nigerian Baptist Convention is even trying. I worked as a missionary for about 28 years, I know what am doing; am not telling stories. Nigerian Baptist Convention may not be where we are supposed to be, but we are not where we were. Nigerian Baptist Convention, if it's not the only, is one of the few churches that take care of their missionaries very well to the best of their ability.

I have lots of missionary friends who work with other missionary organizations who are indigenous. They don't have what we have as Nigerian Baptists. Nigerian Baptist missionaries may be saying we are suffering, but it's not at the level of these other churches. It's not. Because Nigerian Baptist try (tries) as much as possible to take care of their missionaries; the convention family loves mission work and they are ready to help. Nigerian Baptist Convention is on the field. It's working in the bush.

But, sir, if you even look at it, most of our churches, Nigerian Baptist Churches in the north, are not churches for the Fulani, Hausa, Kanuri people. It's a big problem sir. We call them, most of them we call them Hausa Churches because they speak Hausa. Hausa is the market language in the North. And, Hausa statistically, we're made to know they are about 18 to 20 million in Nigeria. But, it's difficult in most of the Hausa speaking churches in the North, if you find real Hausa people, they're very few; the same thing with Fulani Churches. We have very few Fulani Churches in the North. Kanuri Churches, I don't think we have any. And Nigerian Baptist Convention as far as am concerned is a leading missionary church (to these three), yes sir. ... If you really look inside, the heart of the *BH* is Bornu and Yobe. It's (the) spill over that goes to Adamawa – but Bornu and Yobe are Kanuri (people).

We've left the Kanuri over the years. We have a very big church in Maiduguri, but populated by my own tribe, the Yoruba people. And that is how we build our churches all over. We don't make conscious effort to evangelize ... the indigenes. I believe it's God's punishment for the church – the *BH* crisis – because if we've done what we were supposed to do hundred, fifty years ago, *BH* crisis wouldn't have arisen. Because at that time, if you even look at it sir, the Kanuri love the Yoruba. I've lived in the north; they joke with us, they call us their cousins. If you look at their marks, their tribal marks resemble that of the Yoruba. If Yoruba have used that opportunity then, we could have entered Kanuri land. If we've entered Kanuri land, *BH* crisis probably wouldn't have started. We believe God will still do something sir, but it's more difficult now.

So, we see *BH* crisis as God punishing the Church for refusing to do what we were supposed to do; because actually, the heart of Islam in Nigeria – the Fulani, the Hausa, the Kanuri people are neglected. They're actually neglected. And the heart of *BH*, the neglect is even much more. ... Kanuri people are not troublesome sir. In fact, when you look at the two sides of Muslims – the radical Muslims, the conservative Muslims; the conservative Muslims see Shehu of Bornu as their own leader. Shehu of Bornu is the leader of the Kanuri nation. So, they don't fight, they are gentle people, they love people, they love Yoruba. ... For the problem to be coming from the Kanuri and Kanuri are just about six million in population.

I believe God is pulling our ears that we have to move fast; because if it were to be from Fulani or Hausa Nigeria will cease to exist. Because the) Kanuri are more friendly, Kanuri are not as much (many). Fulani are warriors; and you have about 15 and 20 million Fulani. If the heart of *BH* crisis is Fulani, we won't be able to survive it. So I believe God is pulling our ears, God is telling us something; and I pray the Church leadership see it on time and move fast. Because by the grace of God *BH* crisis will go but we if don't do something, what will come thereafter will be worse.

AUDI

Thank you very much. Now, how much impact does the Nigerian situation have on the international scene with our experience?

ADEWUMI

It does sir, because Nigeria is a very great nation; and, some of us believe with all the problem in Nigeria, why God did not allow us to break – is because God has a special plan to use Nigeria to evangelize the world. If the Church in Nigerian will rise up and sit up, and forget about this prosperity evangelism, focus on what God wants us to focus. With our population in West Africa sir, Nigeria is one out of sixteen countries in West Africa. But for every five people in West Africa three are Nigerians. With our population in Africa, Nigeria is about one out of the 52-56, I don't have my correct statistics countries in Africa, but with our population in Africa sir, one out of every four Africans are Nigerians.

The present population of Nigeria is 170 million; the present population of the world is 7 billion. That means for every 100 people in the world 2 are Nigerians. So, if Nigerian Church can get it straight, we will touch the world. And this informs why all these nations were even afraid while election(s) in Nigeria was taking place. Because they were afraid if there were problem, you know we heard that even US had moved war-ship to neighboring African countries. They were afraid. All the other African countries, we were in Mali, but everyone is afraid. Because they know if there is a problem in Nigeria, it will affect everyone. So, the *BH* crisis is happening in Nigeria but is a national crisis, is an international crisis; the crisis of the whole world, because of the position of Nigeria in the whole world. So, if the Christians, if the Church, if our leaders can get it right, and we can allow God to use us to do what we are supposed to do, God will use us positively to influence the whole world.

- AUDI Than you very much. I don't know if you have anything else you would like to say?
- ADEWUMI Well, I thank you for giving me the opportunity sir. God will continue to bless and prosper you and your ministry.
- AUDI Amen, Thank you. He will prosper you in your ministry too. He'll continue to protect you, the heart of these challenges where you find yourself ministering, he will keep your family too (32:38 minutes).

APPENDIX 2 I-i

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, JOSEPH ANDU NENI do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape recorded interview conducted by MOSES AYOBI on 24th JAN, 2016. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE

- Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.
 Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction

Joseph Andu Neni
Signature of Interviewee

24th January, 2016
Date

BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, Box 94, KADUNA, NIGERIA
Address

+234 - 802 8188 - 606
Telephone Number

(This form is adapted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Using Oral History: A Practical Guide*, Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003))

Appendix 2 I-ii

Rev. Joseph Audu Reni
January 24, 2016

This is a verbatim oral interview of Rev. J. A. Reni, recorded by Moses Audi in his office at Baptist Theological Seminary, Kaduna. It is a complete and accurate transcription of all spoken words. The interview was done in English and all spoken words including non-English word were transcribed. The meaning of the non-English words was given in brackets except where the words are nouns. Unclear words were represented by {?}. The transcript followed the spoken form rather than the written. Mannerisms, exclamatory sounds and responsive interjection like “yes,” and “Uhm” from the interviewer and interviewee are written only when they occurred at the end of the sentence. Repeated words or phrases are represented only when it makes meaningful repetition for emphasis, otherwise they are omitted with ellipses (...). Where it comes at the end of the sentence, it is represented by (...) four dots. Aside comments or explanatory notes made by the interviewer and transcriber were indicated by (). Interruptions were represented by []. Few occasions when grammatical expression did not come out well, it is indicated by (sic); but where it obstructs the meaning, a representative word or phrase is inserted in brackets ().

This transcription was made by Moses Audi and completed in May 2015.

- AUDI Good evening sir, [Good evening]. I want to have an interview with you regarding the image of the Church. How *BH* has affected our image; how we see ourselves and how we do missions. But before we go into that I will like you to say something about yourself [okay] and there after we will continue with the interview discussion [okay].
- RENI Well, thank you very much. First of all I am Joseph Audu Reni, a Ph.D. student at TCNN Bukuru, Jos, Plateau State in the area of Church History. I am also a Faculty member at the Baptist Theological Seminary, Kaduna where I teach history courses and any other courses assigned to me from time to time. Interestingly, my area of research in my PhD is a development of history – a history of religious liberty in relation to democracy in Nigeria from 1960. And, in developing such a history, I had to go into looking at what Islam sees in terms of religious liberty and democracy and what the view of Christians also is concerning these two concepts.

And whether it is possible to develop some kind of interface between religions liberty and democracy; it was in the course of doing this research that I was introduced to a committee under the auspices of New Life for All in Nigeria. And, that committee is called Love Language Committee. And am sure that as we go on, I will like to share some insights and some things about this committee, what this committee is all about and what this committee has done so far and what it continues to do vis-a-vis the impact of *BH* activities in particular and religious crises generally in northern Nigeria.

AUDI Thank you very much sir. The subject ... you are studying is an interesting one that might be of interest too, something you might want to share of something you have discovered regarding the interface between liberty and religion in Islam.

RENI Well, there is actually no consensus in Islam as to the nature of the interface between religious liberty and religion or democracy. There are two principal views. There are those who believe that Islam makes room for religious liberty. And, that there is no compulsion in religion; and that everyone has the freedom to worship his God the way he deems fit. And for those who hold this view, there is no compulsion, and you don't coerce people, you don't force anyone. It means that everyone has a right to his religious convictions, whatever those religious convictions are. In the same vain, those who hold this opinion also believe that Islam has principles, what teaches that make room for democracy. It may not be defined as American liberal democracy is defined; but they believe that there is room in Islam for democracy. And, since they believe this, they believe that it is possible for religious liberty and democracy to work together; to provide some kind of nexus of principles that can help in providing a peaceful atmosphere for peaceful co-existence between adherents of various religions.

But there are also others who believe that Islam does not make room for religious freedom. And, these are usually described as hardliners in Islam who believe that it is all about *jihad* of the sword; and that if those who are non-Muslim do not submit to Islam willingly, they must be made to submit to it by force.

AUDI Okay, [yes]. Now, I could see this too. Now, how could you describe Nigerian Islam in relation to this interface?

RENI Well, in Islam we have seen a gradual deterioration in terms of the understanding of religious liberty and democracy itself and the interface that needs to exist between the two since the late 1970s until now. The situation where a vocal minority in the North ... (is) so vocal to the point that ... (it) believe that religious liberty must not be allowed for non-Muslims. They reject democracy. They believe that Western liberal democracy must not be accepted in Nigeria. Such people push for what they call Islamic theocracy. They want an Islamic political system in place which is governed principally by the *Sharia* supreme law as the law of the Land.

AUDI Thank you very much. Now, in terms of the insurgency and how it has grown and developed, what would you say it has caused the Church in terms of its self-perception?

RENI Well, many things. The insurgencies in northern Nigeria, particularly the religious based insurgencies have impacted in various ways on the Church in northern Nigeria. By the way, when there is crisis of religious nature, there is always the political underpinning, there is always the ethnic dimension to it. So, those three factors are usually reckoned with together. ... But, when it comes to a religious crisis in northern Nigeria as we have witnessed over the years, the Church has been impacted in many ways. First of all, it has created fear in the hearts of many Christians who will not want to go to Church on Sundays. As a matter of fact, I read in a submission by Rev. Idowu Ferron sometimes ago who said that the *BH* insurgency especially has created a situation where we now have a diminished attendance of members in Church worship services. And why is that? It is because of fear. And so, fear has crept in.

Secondly, there is also hatred and anger which has crept in to the very psyche of many believers who believe that the best kind of response is to give it back to them in the same coin. That is, we can no longer continue to run. Because some people believe that Jesus said if we are slapped on one cheek we should turn the other. Some believe that we have turned both cheeks and we no longer have any to turn. And so, the best response as far as they are concerned is to give it back to them in the same coin. If they come, we should be ready for them and retaliate. So the question of reprisals, you know, has now come to be considered a normal response to such

crisis. The other dimension to it too is, Christians believe that well, since the northern part ... cities are becoming more volatile, the best is – let's relocate. So, there's this ... people relocating now along religious divides. So the northern part of every northern city is Islamic, or Muslim dominated and then the southern is Christian dominated where Christians feel if we go to where we have more of our people, we will be more secured, protected.

AUDI How has that affected the Church seeing itself in mission [well it has] especially to Muslims?

RENI Well, it has; first of all if we have more Christians hating Muslims because of what is happening, then, it's difficult for them to reach out to Muslims. To say Jesus Christ loves you. To say Jesus Christ wants you to be saved. Because one needs to truly have the love of Christ in his heart to be able to a Muslim, God loves you. And so, there is a crisis of identity here. There is crisis of confidence as well in this situation. Where Christians no longer feel confident going to a Muslim and say Jesus loves you because right inside their hearts, there is hate, there is anger, (and) there is bitterness. You know, they cannot do that.

The second thing is the fear that I mentioned because there are people who are already afraid to mention even the name of Christ to Muslims because they do not know what the reaction would be and so they are so afraid. Even individual local Churches are so afraid to go out as they used to for open or personal door to door evangelism ... as they were used to doing in the past because they are so afraid of what might happen. So, I think that the to this extent, the religious crisis in northern Nigeria has affected the way churches see themselves in relation to missions, in relation to evangelism.

AUDI Okay, is there a way that this has also affected the spirituality of Christians either positively or negatively?

RENI No, certainly, I remember vividly when we had a large scale religious crisis in 1987 particularly in Kaduna State, Christians then didn't retaliate. Most of the crisis that erupted, led to the burning down of many churches. But interestingly, the following Sunday after the crisis, believers were seen worshiping on the rubbles of those ... churches that were burnt. And, surprisingly, the

attendance that particular Sunday in most churches was fuller than usual. What that meant was that people – that kind of spurred up people – hey this is a time of crisis, we all need to wake-up to our need for God. And, people came in large numbers to attend churches even when they were aware that there was still tension around. They felt that was the best way to do it.

Now, but subsequently, over the years when Christians began to feel the need to retaliate and when that started happening, then it developed a circle of violence that has not been ... broken up till this moment. And so, Christians began to retaliate, Muslims now say – well, so this present day Christians are different from what we used to know. Therefore, the circle of violence has continued to multiply. ... So, it has become a ... difficult situation in northern Nigeria. Yes.

- AUDI Alright, you would say that probably they did not see the insurgency today as persecution, whereas in the 80s, they saw it as persecution, [I think so.] Is that what happened?
- RENI I think so, because if Christians see religious violence today as another round of religious persecution, then our response to it will be different. It would be the same as the response in the 80s because we would remember that Jesus said we will be persecuted; there is no way Christians will run away from that. And, Paul said, that if we will want to live godly lives, then we will be persecuted. [In Christ, yah] So Paul was right in saying this. And if we remember this and we're confronted with persecution, or religious violence; then of cause, our response will always be different from what we now want to give as our response to
- AUDI Now, with this situation that the Church is facing ... what is it that you are aware of that we are doing in order to solve this problem of the Church?
- RENI Well, as mentioned earlier, this situation has already created hate; it has created anger and bitterness and let to situation of reprisals; so, people are always asking the question: what do we do? How do we respond to religious crisis, or religious violence targeted at Christians which eventually leads to the death of many loved ones and destruction of places of worship? How do we respond? Now, one major approach to this response is the love language

committee I mentioned before. Now, love language committee is one effort that we have put in place under the auspices of New Life for All in Nigeria. [New Life for All brings in people from various denominations?] Various denominations [okay]. But the planning committee in charge of bringing these people together is the Love Language Committee.

Now, Love Language Committee started somewhere in 2009 following a series of crises on the Plateau – religious, communal, attacks by herdsmen and all. And people were grieving, people were angry, people were ready to give it back [to take arms] to take arms. Two major attitudes were ... There were those who felt well, in the face of all these, there is nothing we can do. So, there is – fold our arms mentality. Since we cannot do anything, let's fold our arms and watch. There are those who are saying, there is something we can do; and that something we can do is to take up arms. We too let's show them that we can bear arms and we can use arms, okay.

So, Love language Committee was put in place by New Life for All to plans programs, workshops, seminars for denominational heads; for pastors and church leaders, and churches at large; to be able to bring them together and tell them that we are different people. Our language is different; our Language is the language of Christ and the language of Christ is the language of love; forgiveness and reconciliation. And so, this Committee is charged with the responsibility of initiating programs that will give a new orientation to people in that kind of situation.

AUDI Where and where has this committee been able to make some impact?

RENI ... Before I joined the Committee in 2012, they had already been workshops and seminars carried out in different other places [okay]. There were workshops in Maiduguri, there were workshops here in Kaduna; there were several workshops in Jos. And when I joined in 2012, we had one in TCNN ... (to) which we brought many pastors from COCIN, from ECWA, from Anglican, from other churches, Baptists, together [okay]. And, we took them through a series of teachings. And then, we held another one in Shendam axis, Shendam area. We zoned that area and ... we spent two days or so, teaching them and helping them to deal with their

hurts. To deal with their pains; and to be able to say to them, you can come out of this; and, you can give a different response because you are a child of God. Your language is a language of love. We can love with the love of Christ. We don't have to hate. We don't have to take up arms against anybody because Christ himself had already told us – that this would happen and when it happens, we should be able to find out how best to deal with it.

- AUDI Shendam that you mentioned, it is part of Benue, or Abuja or Nasarawa?
- RENI It's part of Plateau State. [It's part of plateau State ... for us to be able to get the location]. Uhm, it's still part of Plateau State [okay]....
- AUDI Well, thank you very much for this. Is there anything else you will like to share? Is there anything else we are doing outside love language that you are aware of?
- RENI May be I should mention, perhaps someone might be interested in what is it in love language committee that we are doing? I have two training manuals here. And, first of all, there is a particular topic that deals with the name itself. "Love language," what does it mean? [Okay] Alright, and it's based on Gospel according to John chapter eight verses thirty-one through thirty-seven in which Jesus had this dialogue with the Jewish people; a dialogue that went so bad and the Jewish people were willing to stone him to death. But before they took up stones to stone him, he had already told them that they were speaking the language of their father, their father being the Devil, was the father of lies and the author of death ... (lying) or whatever Then, he went on to tell them about the language. He said, I have spoken to you my language but you do not seem to understand the language. And he said to them, they were not able to understand his language because they do not belong to him [okay]. So, the difference here is, if we belong to Christ truly, then we will understand his language. [We will speak his language], we would speak it, because that is the language of love. That is one aspect of the training.

The other aspect of the training is on Islam. We have two parts to it. We have basic things about Islam on a general note we need people to know; but then, we also have the second part where we

deal with basically the beliefs and the practices in Islam. The reason is because we need Christians to have better understanding and a better appreciation of what Islam is all about. It is only when we understand what it is; why they behave the way they behave ... seek to understand the different schools in Islam; and, how each school influences a particular attitude or a particular action or reaction in Islam. When we have that kind of understanding, it helps to inform us of the kind of response we should give. We also have another teaching we titled "know your friend." Who is your friend? Jesus is our friend. And, if Jesus is our friend, then we would like to act, live and act like him.

Then, there is another one we call "know your enemy." Now, and in that one we show to them that our enemy according to the teaching of the Scriptures, is not a Muslim. The Devil is our enemy; he is the one who is the one who inspires hate. He is the one who inspires violence. And so, we need to see beyond the Muslim who takes up arms against a fellow human being. And so, when we know that he is not actually the enemy, then we will target the enemy who is really the devil himself.

And then we also have another teaching we call practical love; where stories of practical love; how Christians in different places have shared or shown practical love to Muslim neighbors and how such love demonstration of love have changed or converted such people and brought them in to the Christian faith. And to challenge Christians everywhere, no matter what we are facing, to love the Muslim; to love him truly. To show him that love in practical terms. And to let that love permeate everything that we do and we would live.

And then we also have a teaching on how we can achieve justice in practical terms [okay], yes. Because when a religious crisis breaks out, Muslims suffer too. Christians suffer, but we have to be concerned about justice on both sides. Where Muslims are the victims because Christians have been attacked and now they are retaliating, they need justice. Christians who have suffered loses, need justice. And we need to provide a platform in which justice is achieved for such people. We challenge Christian legal practitioners to form a kind of legal networks. We ask churches to form some kind of networking; because sometimes you could be dealing with some powerful forces that an individual may not be

able to fight such forces let alone get justice for people who have suffered. But when there is networking, when there is coming together, then we can provide a more formidable resistance to any powerful force and fight for justice for those who have been victimized, [okay].

And then, we have the last session always that we do is what we call healing trauma. How do we help people who are passing through trauma as a result of the crises? So, these are the things that we do which provide the total package that we do in love language committee....

AUDI One more question ... one of the issues that make some people to think that ... Their action should not be seen as persecution, is because they also fight fellow Muslims. They are not only fighting the Church. How is it that we call it persecution? Now is there anything from your own reflection, study that has given you an idea as to why do Muslims attack fellow Muslims?

RENI Yeah, Ehm, When Muslims begin to attack Christians, usually it starts with Christians. They want to attack Christians because sometimes, the ills of the society in some cases are blamed on the Christians. There is the argument that it is Christians who are not living right. 'That is why certain thing happens. Certain catastrophe happens in the society. I remember some years ago, there was this eclipse ... of the moon at night. And, I remember you know, Muslim youth carrying cans and ... beating all through the night and accusing the Christians for what was happening. They say that one as the phenomenon portraying God's anger and danger. And, they were blaming Christians for that because they felt, it is the Christian girls you find miss-behaving, it is the Christian men you find miss-behaving, drinking, and doing this and doing that. And so they start attacking the Christians first. But of course, they attack fellow Muslims as well. Why? Because those who take up arms believe that they are reforming Islam. Because they believe that their own fellow Muslims ... have degenerated to the level where they no longer practice Islam as it should be practiced. And so what they do is that when they first attack Christians, they also shift attention to fellow Muslims considered as not practicing Islam as it should. [May be (they are) defending Christians. May be (they are) very liberal. (Or they may be) accepting democracy.] That is why I said initially that those who

attack violently are in the minority. But they are the vocal minority. And so even the majority, the ones we may consider moderate Muslims, who probably because of Western education, and the influence of Western education and Western culture, would like to plead for Christians, And, would like to speak for peaceful co-existence they are afraid of doing so. And, some of them who dare to do so are always target. And so, the vocal minority who re violent who want to reform their religion from the violent point of view always see those people as traitors and the want to go after them. [Okay].

AUDI Thank you very much for this interview. You have granted. It's been very greatly rewarding. Is there anything you will like to add?

RENI Well, I do home that time would come when we will all accept each other in Northern Nigeria as fellow Nigerians. It doesn't matter what religion we practice, we will come to appreciate that every human being has a freedom and is entitled to his religious opinions. And we will be willing to embrace one another and look for common grounds for cooperation so that we can have peace. It is only in the atmosphere of peace that we can make progress.

AUDI Thank you very much sir. I have been speaking with Rev. J. A. Reni. He also serves as Conference chairman sub-ministerial committee Which is actually an office for the conference dealing with ministerial issue, pastor's issues, and also by the same token, a representative of the Convention at the Conference level in relation to ministry and ministerial roles of our Convention. Thank you very much sir. [Thank you]. It is a great interview.... (33:33minutes).

Appendix 3 A

NBC MISSIONS IN ISLAMIC CONTEXT

S/N	Yr of Estab in 2005 record	2004	2005	2007	2010	2011	2013
1	2001	B/Faso	B/Faso	B/Faso	B/Faso	B/Faso	B/Faso
2	2000	Guinea*	Guinea* *				
3	2004	***	Mali	Mali	Mali	Mali	Mali
4	2005		Mozam bique**	Mozam bique	Mozam bique	Mozambi que	Mozambi que
5	??			Chad		Chad	Chad
10	??					Tanzania	Tanzania
11	??						S/Sudan

Table 1: International mission field in Islamic contexts in Africa from *GMB Booklets*

While South Sudan is a predominantly Christian country, it has been part of Sudan as a member of Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC). The oppression they have experienced is one of the major factors for their independence in 2011. The experience with Islam has made Islam an unwanted religion as well. The experience the NBC has at home may affect their impact to the already tense experience in South Sudan.

S/ N	Year estab. of in 2005 records	2004	2005	2007	2010	2011	2013
1	2001	Bassa	Bassa	Bassa			Niger
2	2001	Dukawa	Dukawa	Dukawa	Dukawa		Kebbi
3	1998	Kamuku	Kamuku	Kamuku		Kamuku	Niger
4	2001	Ngara	Ngara	Ngara		Ngara (Yobe)	Yobe
5	??		Kanuri				
6	??	Ohori**					
7	??				Guffanti	Guffanti	Niger
8	??				Benue/Tiv	Benue	Benue
9	??					Adamawa	Adamawa
10	??					Kogi/Igala	Kogi (Igala/Bassa)
11	??					Kyengawa	Kebbi
12	??						Taraba

Table 2: Current Home Missions in northern Nigeria¹

¹ See Moses Audi, "The Mission Enterprise of the Nigerian Baptist Convention: Review and Suggestions" In *A Century of Nigerian Baptist Convention: A Call for Celebration and Renewal* (Ogbomosho: NBTS, 2014), 499-500.

Appendix 3 B

LIST OF CONFERENCES OF THE NIGERIAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

The list bellow was drawn from the *Convention Book of Reports*, 2015.

Northern Nigeria (North-West, North- East and the Middle-Belt)

1. Kaduna Baptist Conference
2. Central Baptist Conference
3. Fellowship Baptist Conference
4. Gongola Baptist Conference
5. Kafanchan Baptist Conference
6. Kogi Baptist Conference
7. Kwara Baptist Conference
8. Niger-Kebbi Baptist Conference
9. North-East Baptist Conference
10. Plateau South Baptist Conference
11. Sabon-Rai Baptist Conference
12. Taraba Baptist Conference
13. United Baptist Conference

The Conferences in other part are as follows

Western Nigeria

1. Ekiti Baptist Conference
2. Lagos Central Baptist Conference
3. Lagos East Baptist Conference
4. Lagos West Baptist Conference
5. Ogbomoso Baptist Conference
6. Ogun Baptist Conference
7. Oke-Ogun Baptist Conference
8. Ondo Baptist Conference
9. Osun Baptist Conference
10. Oyo West Baptist Conference

South East and South-South Nigeria

11. Bayelsa Baptist Conference
12. Delta Baptist Conference
13. Edo Baptist Conference
14. Emanuel Baptist conference
15. Hope Baptist Conference
16. Imo Baptist Conference
17. Rivers Baptist Conference

Appendix 4

**A BILL FOR A LAW TO SUBSTITUTE THE KADUNA STATE
RELIGIOUS PREACHING LAW 1984**

()

COMMENCEMENT

BE IT ENACTED by the Kaduna State House of Assembly as follows: Enactment

This law may be cited as the Religious Preaching Law no of Short title
2015

This law shall come into operation on theday of Commencement
2015

This law unless the context otherwise requires : Interpretation

“Authority” means express permission, consent or knowledge of the preacher given by the relevant authority;

“Governor” means the governor of Kaduna State;

“Preacher” means a person duly licensed by *Jama'atu Nasril-Islam* or Christian Association of Nigeria, to preach;

“Public place” means public resorts and include market, public institution or centers and other facilities accessible to the public:

“Relevant authority” means the *Jama'atu Nasril-Islam (JNI)* or the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN);

“State” means the Kaduna State of Nigeria.

(1) The two major religion in the state shall be regulated by the following body: Establishment and functions of committees

(a) A committee of *Jama'tu Nasril-Islam* with equal representation of *Izala* and *Darika* religious groups in the case of Muslims' and

(b) A committee set up by Christian Association of Nigeria in the case of Christian.

(c) An Inter-faith Ministerial Committee to be appointed by the governor.

(2) The inter-faith Ministerial Committee shall inter-face between the *Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI)* and the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) committees and exercise the supervisory control over them.

The committee shall comprise of the following:

(i) A chairman to be appointed by the governor on the recommendation of the secretary to the State Government:

(ii) The Special Adviser to the Governor on Internal Security;

(iii) The most Senior Official of the Government advising the Governor on Interfaith matters.

(iv) A Member representing *Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI)* and the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN);

(v) Representative of Ministry of Justice; and

(vi) One Representative each from the Nigeria Police, the Department of State Security and the Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corps not below the rank of Superintendent of Police or its equivalent;

(1) The religious bodies establish under Section 4 (a) & (b) of this Law shall issue licenses approved by the Ministerial committee.

Function of religious bodies

(2) The license shall be issued for a period not exceeding one year.

(3) A sponsored external preacher shall be issued a permit for the period of the event.

(1) Is hereby established in each Local Government Area of the state, a committee to screen applications for licenses and recommend same for the Ministerial Committee for Approval.

Committee

(2) The committee shall consist of the following members:-

(a) The chairman and Co-Chairman each representing the two major religions to be appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the Local Government Chairman of the Area

(b) A representative of the Police not below not below the rank of Assistant Superintendent of Police;

(c) Two Muslims, one representing the *Izala* and *Darika* religious groups respectively;

(d) Two representatives of Christian Association of Nigeria; and

(e) A representative of the Traditional Institution.

(3) The proceedings of this committee shall be valid if there is a quorum of not less than five members with the Chairman and Co-Chairman jointly sitting with at least one member each representing the two major religions in attendance.

The Committee established under section 6 shall:-

Function of the committee

(a) Ensure compliance with the terms of the licenses so issued; and

(b) Register accredited preachers of all religious groups and organizations operating in the Local Government Area.

The Kaduna chapter of the *Jama'atu Nasril Islam* and the Christian Association of Nigeria shall have and keep records of the Churches and Mosques including the data of all its preachers in the State.

All cassettes, CD's, flash drives or any other communication gadgets containing religious recordings from accredited preachers may be played in the following places only:

Playing of religious cassettes

(a) Inside one's house

(b) Inside entrance porch (*Zaure*)

(c) Inside the church

(d) Inside the mosque; and

(e) Any other designated place of worship.

Any cassette containing religious recording in which abusive language is used against any person or religious organization or religious leaders (past or present) is hereby prohibited in the State.

Ban of certain religious cassettes

Members of the Ministerial Committee may be paid such allowance as may be determined by the Governor.

A person shall be guilty of an offense who, in contravention of this law;

Offences

(a) Preachers without a valid license,

(b) Plays religious cassette or uses a loud speaker for religious purposes after 8pm in a public place,

(c) Uses a loudspeaker for religious purposes other than inside a Mosque or Church and the surrounding areas outside the stipulated prayer times,

(d) Uses a loudspeaker in vehicles plying the street, with religious recording,

(e) Abuses religious books,

(f) Incites disturbances of the public peace,

(g) Abuses or uses any derogatory term in describing any religion, or

(h) Carries weapons of any description whether concealed or not in places of worship or to any other place with a view to causing religious disturbance shall be guilty of an offense.

A person who commits an offense under the provisions of this law shall be liable on conviction to a term of imprisonment not exceeding two years a fine of two hundred thousand Naira or both; and have his license revoked.

Conviction

The Sharia Courts and Customary Courts shall have jurisdiction to try violators of this law summarily and shall, on conviction give orders for the forfeiture or destruction of any vehicle, equipment, instruments, gadgets or book or other material carrying any offensive message.

Court with Jurisdiction

The Kaduna State Regulation of Religious Preaching Edict No. 7 of 1984
is hereby repealed.

Repeal

Dated at Kaduna thisday of2015

Mallam Nasir Ahmad el-Rufai
Governor, Kaduna State.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

(This note does not form part of this law and has no legal effect)

The purpose of this law is to regulate Religious Preaching and to provide sanctions for its violation.

Bibliography

Reference Documents

Barker, Kenneth, ed. *NIV Study Bible*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985.

Constitution and Regulations of the Nigerian Baptist Convention, The. As Amended by the General Session of the Convention in April 2013 in Oshogbo, Osun State.

Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999.

Books

Abashiya, Chris Shu'aibu and Ayuba Jalaba, Ulea. *Christianity and Islam: A Plea for Understanding and Tolerance*. Bukuru: ACTS, 2009.

Abdul, M. O. A. *The Historical Origin of Islam*. Lagos: Islamic Publication Bureau, 1978.

Adedoyin, I. A. *A Short History of the Nigerian Baptist: 1850-1978*. Ibadan: Nigerian Baptist Bookstore Ltd, 1998.

Adeleye, Femi B. *Preachers of a Different Gospel: A Pilgrim's Reflection on Contemporary Trends in Christianity*. Hippo Books, 2011.

Adeniyi, Olusegun. *Power, Politics and Death: A Front-Row Account of Nigeria Under the Late President Yar'Adua*. Yaba, Lagos: Kachifo Limited, 2011.

Ajayi, S. Ademola. *Baptist Work in Nigeria 1850-2005: A Comprehensive History*. Ibadan: Book Wright Publishers, 2010.

Anderson, Justice. "Medieval and Renaissance Missions (500-1792)." In *Missiology: An Introduction to the Foundations, History and Strategies of World Missions*, ed. John Mark Terry, Ebbie Smith and Justice Anderson, 183-198. Nashville: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1998.

Audi, Moses. *The Church as a Pilgrim Community*. Kaduna: Soltel, 2015.

- _____. *An Evaluation of the Homogeneous Presupposition in African Mission*. Ibadan: O'dua Printing Press, 2003.
- _____. *The Gospel to the Muslims in Africa: An African Approach*. Jos: Stream Christian Publishers, 2001.
- _____. "Heterogeneity and the Nature of the Church: A Biblical and Theological Reflection." In *Contemporary Issues in Systematic Theology: An African Christian Perspective*, ed. Moses Audi, Olusayo Oladejo, Emiola Nihinlola and John Enyinnaya, 98-112. Ibadan: Sceptre Prints, 2011.
- _____. "The Mission Enterprise of the Nigerian Baptist Convention: Review and Suggestions" In *A Century of the Nigerian Baptist Convention: A Call to Celebration and Renewal*, 497-515. Ogbomoso: NBTS, 2014.
- Ayandele, E. A. *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria: 1842-1914*. London: Longman, 1966.
- Baker, Robert A. *A Summary of Christian History*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1959.
- Bamigboye, Ezekiel A. *The History of Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria - 1901-1975*. Ibadan: Powerhouse Press and Publishers, 2000.
- Boer, Jan H. *Nigeria's Decades of Blood*. Studies in Christian Muslim Relations: Vol. 1. Jos: Stream Christian Publishers, 2003.
- _____. *Muslims: Why the Violence?* Studies in Christian Muslim Relations: Vol. 2. Belleville, Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2004.
- _____. *Christians: Why This Muslim Violence?* Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations: Vol. 3. Belleville, Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2004.
- _____. *Muslims: Why We Rejected Secularism*. Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations: Vol. 4. Belleville, Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2005.
- _____. *Christians: Secularism-Yes and No*. Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations: Vol. 5. Belleville, Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2006.
- _____. *Muslims: Why Muslim Sharia Law*. (Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations: Vol. 6). Belleville, Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2007.

- _____. *Christians: Why We Reject Muslim Law*. Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations: Vol. 7. Belleville, Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2008.
- Bosh, David J. *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shift in Theology of Mission* American Society of Missiology Series, no. 6. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2011.
- Bunza, Mukhtar Umar. *Christian Missions among Muslims, Sokoto Province, Nigeria 1935-1990*. Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 2007.
- Carson, D. A., Douglas J. Moore, and Leon Morris. *An introduction to the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992.
- Christianity in Global Context, 1970-2020: Society, Religion and Mission*. South Hamilton: Center for the Study of Global Christianity, 2013.
- Collins, Travis. *The Baptist Mission of Nigeria 1850-1993*. Ibadan: Nigerian Baptist Bookstores, Ltd., 1993.
- Crampton, E. P.T. *Christianity in Northern Nigeria* (With Update from Musa A. B. Gaiya). London: Geoffrey Chapman, 2004.
- Ebhomielen, Paul O. *Forty Years of Nigerian Baptist Convention Missions*. Benin City: Christian Network Organization, 1993.
- _____. *Reflections: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Baptist Work in Nigeria*. Benin City: Ambik, 2001.
- Eitel, Keith E. *Developing a Biblical Ethic in an African Context*. Nairobi: Evangel Publishing, 1987.
- Engen, Charles E. Van "The *Glocal* Church: Locality and Catholicity in a Globalizing World," In Craig Ott and Harold A. Netland (Eds), *Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity* (Grand Rapids: MI.: Baker Academy, 2006). Cited by Tormod Engelsen, "The Church as both Local and Global: A Missiological Perspective" *The Church Going Glocal* (Regnum Edinburgh 2010 Series). Edited by Knud Jørgenson, Kirteen Kim, Wonsuk Ma and Tony Gray. Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2011.
- Falola, Toyin. *Violence in Nigeria: The Crisis of Religious Politics and the Secular Ideologies*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1998.
- Falk, Peter. *The growth of the Church in Africa*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979.

- Gofwen, I. RotGak. *Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building: The Throes of Two Decades 1980-2000*. Kaduna: Human Right Monitor, 2004.
- Hesselgrave, David J. and Ed Stetzer, eds. *Missionshift: Global Mission Issues in the Third Millennium*. Nashville: B & H Academic, 2010.
- Hiebert, Paul G. "The Gospel in Human Context: Changing Perceptions of Contextualization." In *Missionshift: Global Mission Issues in the Third Millennium*. Edited by David J. Hesselgrave and Ed Stetzer. Nashville: B & H Publishing Group, 2010.
- Idrees, Aliyu A. and Yakubu A. Ochefu, eds. *Studies in the History of Central Nigeria Area*. Vol. 1. Lagos: CCS Limited, 2002.
- Imasogie, Osadolor. *Guidelines for Christian Theology in Africa*. Ibadan: University Press, Limited, 1986.
- James, Ibrahim. *Studies in the History, Politics and Cultures of Southern Kaduna Peoples Group*. Jos: Crest, 1997.
- Jenkins, Philip. *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*. Third Edition. Oxford: University Press, 2011.
- _____. *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*. Oxford: University Press, 2002.
- Johnstone, Patrick. *Operation World: Day-to-Day Guide to Praying for the World*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993.
- Jørgenson, Knud, "Edinburgh 2010 in Global Perspective," *The Church Going Glocal* (Regnum Edinburgh 2010 Series). Edited by Knud Jørgenson, Kirteen Kim, Wonsuk Ma and Tony Gray. Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2011.
- Kastfelt, Niels and Jessie Tvillinggaard, eds., *Religion and Politics in Africa and the Islamic World*. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 1997.
- Kastfelt, Niels. *The Politics of History in Northern Nigeria*. Occasional Papers. Copenhagen: Centre of African Christian Studies, September 2007.
- _____. *Religion and Politics in Nigeria: A Study of Middle Belt Christianity*. London: British Academic Press, 1994.

- _____. *Scriptural Politics: The Bible and the Koran as Political Models in the Middle East and Africa*. London: Hurst and Company, 2003.
- Kukah, Matthew Hassan. *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1999.
- _____. *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1993.
- Leadership in Nigeria to Date: An Analysis*. Enlightenment Series, vol. 1. Kaduna: CAN Northern Zone, n. d.
- Newbegin, Leslie. *The Gospel in a Pluralistic Society*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989 (Kindle).
- Madiebo, Alexander A. *The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafra War*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. Ltd, 1980.
- McGrath, Alister E. *The Future of Christianity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Morey, Robert A. *When is it Right to Fight?* Minneapolis: Bethany House Publishers, 1985.
- Morgensen, Morgen. *Fulbe Muslims Encounter Christ: Contextual Communication of the Gospel to Pastoral Fulbe in Northern Nigeria*. Jos: Intercultural Consultancy Services, 2002.
- O'Conner, John J. *In Defense of Life*. Boston: St. Paul, 1981.
- Okwori, E. M. *Godliness for Gain*. Jos: CAPRO Media Services, 1995.
- Oshoko, Abraham. *June 12, 1993: Annulment*. Yaba, Lagos: Kachifo Limited, 2013.
- Peters, Benedikt. *Le 11Septembre: L'Islam et le Christianisme*. Bielefeld: CLV, 2002.
- Phillips, Steve. *All Things Loss: Prosperity's Delusion, Salvation's Reward*. Ibadan: DAC Prints, 2001.
- _____. *Positive Confession, Counterfeit Christianity*. Ibadan: DAC Prints, 2001.
- Regan, Richard J. *Just War: Principles and Cases*. Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996.

Religious Intolerance: A Threat to Nigeria's Unity. Jos: Stafanos Foundation, 2009)

Sanneh, Lamin. "The Significance of the Translation Principle," In *Global Theology in Evangelical Perspective: Exploring the Contextual Nature of Theology and Mission* Eds. Geoffrey P. Greenman and Gene L. Green. Downers Grove: IVP, 2012, Kindle.

_____. *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*. Second Edition. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2009.

Tata, Laurence E. *BTSK at 60: A Hindsight of God's Faithfulness 1940-2008*. Kaduna: BTSK, 2008.

Trimingham, J. S. *A History of Islam in West Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Valentin, Radu. *Jesus: Friend to Terrorists*. Bartlesville: Living Sacrifice Book Company, 1995.

Walls, Andrew. "Globalization and the study of Christian History," In *Global Theology*. Eds. Criag Ott and Harold Netland. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006, Kindle.

_____. *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996.

Wood, Gene. *Going Glocal: Networking Local Churches for Worldwide Impact*. St. Charles: Churchsmart Resources, 2006.

Articles

Abu-Bkr Imam Ali-Agan. "The Concept of Al-Istita'ah and Hajj Sponsorship in Nigeria." *Ilorin Journal of Religious Studies* 3, no.1 (2011): 1-20.

Awoniyi, Peter Ropo. "The Phenomenon of Islam in Contemporary Nigeria and National Development: Historical Background and Survey." *The Unifier* 3, no. 2 (April 2013): 3-9.

- Agbibo, Daniel Egiegba "Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective." *African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 1-15. <http://tinyurl.com/npl2d4d> (Accessed September 4, 2013).
- Aghedo, Iro and Oarhe Osumah, "The Boko Haram Uprising: How Should Nigeria Respond?" *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 5 (2012): 853-869.
- Audi, Moses. "The Challenge of Ethno-Linguistic Crisis to Missions Effort in Nigeria." *Missiologue* 1, no. 2 (November 2011): 4-8.
- _____. "The Effects of Boko Haram on the Churches in Northern Nigeria." *The Unifier* 3, no. 2 (April 2013): 22-24.
- _____. "Ethnic Plurality and Church Planting in Nigeria." *BETFA* 3 (2004): 31-41.
- _____. "Introduction: Heterogeneity of the Kingdom of God." *OJOT* 12 (2007): 1-4.
- Babangida, Ibrahim. "Nigeria Outlaws Religious Activities," *African Christian* 7, (April 15, 1987).
- Barnes, Andrew E. "'Religious Insults': Christian Critiques of Islam and the Government in Colonial Northern Nigeria." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34, fasc.1/2 (February – March 2004): 62-81. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1581481> (Accessed March 31, 2013).
- _____. "'Some Fire Behind the Smoke': The Fraser Report and Its Aftermath in Colonial Northern Nigeria." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 31, no. 2 (1997): 197-228. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/486179> (Accessed March 31, 2013).
- "Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Church: The Life and Martyric Death of Saint Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, The." *Orthodox Word* 45, no. 5 (2009): 209-236.
- Brill, Koninklijke, "The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-radicalism in Nigeria: A Case Study of Boko Haram." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 42 (2012): 118-144.
- "Christians Tasked on Godly Living as BTS, Kaduna Holds Ministers' Conference." Reported by Tunde Adeoye. *The Nigerian Baptist* 91, no.11 (November 2012): 18-19.
- Ebong, I. J. "The Birth of the Federation of Nigeria." *African Affairs* 59, no. 238 (1961): 52-55. <http://tinyurl.com/zcfhpkq>. (Accessed December 12, 2015).

- Effa, Allan L. "Releasing the Trigger: The Nigerian Factor in Global Christianity" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 37, no. 4, (2013): 214-216.
- Heap, Simon. "'We Think Prohibition is a Farce:' Drinking in the Alcoholic-Prohibited Zone of Colonial Northern Nigeria." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 31, no. 1 (1998): 23-51. <http://jstor.org/stable/220883> (Accessed March 31, 2013).
- Ibrahim, Jibrin. "Religion and Political Turbulence in Nigeria." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 29, no. 1 (1991): 115-136. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/160995> (Accessed on March 31, 2013).
- Ikenga-Metuh, Emefie. "Muslim Resistance of Missionary Penetration of Northern Nigeria, 1857-1960: A Missiological Interpretation." 28-40, *ATLA Serials*, (Accessed August 25, 2014).
- Jenkins, Philip "Is This the End of Mideast Christianity?" *Baylor* (Winter 2015). <http://tinyurl.com/gqeh6gk> (Accessed May 28, 2015).
- Kenny, Joseph. "Sharia and Christianity in Nigeria: Islam and a 'Secular' State." *Journal of Religion in Africa*. 26, no. 4 (November 1996): 338-364. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/1581837> (Accessed on March 31, 2013).
- "Maisha to Baptist Family: Give Your All to Global Missions." *The Nigerian Baptist* (June 2016): 25.
- Missiologue, The* 1, no. 2, (November 2011).
- Ndukwe, Festus. "Still Haunted By Their Cry." *Occupy* 27, no. 2 (2008): 5-10.
- "Nigeria: Boko Haram Religiously motivated attacks" *Factsheet: Nigeria* (August 2013) <Http://www.state.gov/p/af/ci/ni/> (five pages).
- "Nigerian Baptist leader castigates international community for ignoring terrorism in Nigeria." *Information Service of the Baptist World Alliance* (January 16, 2015), <http://tinyurl.com/hyg7rgv>. (Accessed January 17, 2015).
- "Nigeria's Boko Haram Targets State and Church" *Religion Watch*, (November-December 2012), 8.

- Nnanna, Ochereome. "Muslim-Muslim Ticket is Political Arrogance," *People and Politics*, posted on April 17, 2014 <http://tinyurl.com/z2xax7g> (Accessed on January 23, 2016).
- Olagunju, Olugbenga. "Health and Wealth Gospel in the Context of Poverty Reduction in Nigeria." *OJOT* 14 (2009): 149-150.
- Roach, David "Why Christians Killed and Why Muslim Violence Continue." *Baptist Press: Southern Baptist Texan* (August 2014): 11.
- "Report of the Constitution Drafting Committee Containing the Draft Constitution," vol. 1, Cited by Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*.
- Rouse, Margaret. "Definition: *Glocalization*" September 2005 <https://tinyurl.com/z9rf75k> (Accessed on December 11 and 15, 2012).
- Sauer, Christof. "Theology of Persecution and Martyrdom: An Example in Globalizing Theology." *ERT* 37, no. 3 (2013): 267-274.
- Tibenderana, Peter Kazenga. "The Emirs and the Spread of Western Education in Northern Nigeria, 1910-1946," *The Journal of African History*, 24, no. 4 (1983): 517-519.
- Ugwueye, L. E. and E. N. Uzuegbunam. "An Appraisal of the Use of Psalm 35 as 'Dangerous Prayer' in Mountain of Fire and Miracles (MFM) Church," *African Research Review* 7, no. 1 (28 January 2013): 14-33.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/afrrrev.v7i1.2>. AJOL: 88227-219339-1-PB.pdf (Accessed June 25, 2013).
- Vorster, Johanne N. "The Blood of Female Martyrs as the Sperm of the Early Church." *Religion and Theology* 9, no. 1 & 2 (2002): 8-41.
- Warner, Zach, "The Sad Rise of Boko Haram," *New Africa* (April 2012): 38-40.
- Weiss, Holger. "Variations in the Colonial representation on Islam and Muslims in Northern Ghana, ca. 1900-1930." (WOPAG – Working Papers on Ghana: Historical and Contemporary Studies 2)
www.helsinki.fi/project/wopag/wopag2.pdf, January (2004): 1-15.

Zylstra, Sarah Eekhoff "Here's the Best Prediction Yet of How Christianity and Islam Will Change Worldwide by 2050." (Pew Research examines influence of births vs. conversions, and how China could change everything) Posted April 2, 2015 <http://tinyurl.com/gnvvyqj> (Accessed May 2, 2015).

Essays/Theses and Dissertations

Adewumi, Eunice Temilola. "The Effects of Islam on Evangelizing Women in Northern Nigeria." M.Div. thesis, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2006.

Adewumi, John Oluwafemi. "Towards Developing a New Approach to Evangelism in Northern Nigeria." M.Div. thesis, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2006.

Ajayi, John Ade. "Missiological Implications on the North African Christianity for the Nigerian Christians: A Case Study of the Jos Plateau Church." M.Div. thesis, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004.

Akingbade, Gabriel Olayiwola. "Divine Sovereignty in Habakuk 2:1-5; 3:16-19 and Ecclesiastical Response to Challenges of Boko Haram Insurgence in Nigeria." Ph.D. diss., The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2015.

Audi, Moses. "Evangelism among the Fulbe in Nigeria." B.Th. essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 1993.

Bature, Anthony L. "The Role of Faith-Based Schools in the Promotion of Peace and Justice in Ethno-Religious Conflict-Driven Taraba State, Nigeria." PhD Dissertation. Fordham University, 2012. Accessed April 2, 2013. ProQuest Ebrary.

Bonibaiyede-David, Abiodun Sunday. "Church Planting Strategies in Closed-Door Countries: A Necessity for NBC Missions." M.Div. essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2002.

Gajere, Ishaya. "Religious/ Ethnic Violence in Northern Nigeria: A Product of Both Contemporary and the Religious History of Northern Nigeria." Ph.D. diss., Lutheran School of Theology, 2012. Accessed April 2, 2013. ProQuest Ebrary.

Iliya, Samson Audu "A Theological Assessment of Gbagyi Christians' Participation in Eshna-Snu" B. Th. Essay. Kaduna: Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014.

- Inekwere, Bede E. "A History of Religious Violence in Nigeria: Grounds for a Mutual Co-existence between Christians and Muslims." PH.D. diss., University of the West, 2015. Accessed October 9, 2015. ProQuest Ebrary.
- Lawuyi, Amusa Iyanda. "The Challenges towards Evangelizing the Hausa Speaking Muslims in Agege Area of Lagos State." M.Div. essay, Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004.
- Njidda, Emmanuel Tagi. "Fulbe Evangelism on the Mambilla Plateau: How Far, Difficulties and Future Prospects," B.Th. essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2001.
- Okunade, Abraham Akinola. "The Theological Evaluation of Christian Monotheism in the Light of Religious Plurality in Nigeria." B.Th. essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004.
- Olatoyan, Isaiah Oluwajemiriye. "The Local Church and the Great Commission: A Biblical Perspective on the Practice of Evangelism and Missions among Churches of the Nigerian Baptist Convention," D.Miss. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2011. Accessed April 10, 2013. ProQuest Ebrary.
- Olayiwola, Matthew. "An Evaluation of the Nigerian Baptist Convention's Global Missions Board Missionary Task (1990-2000)." B.Th. essay, The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2006.
- Omenyinma, Ogedi Prince-Oche. "Christian/Muslim Relations in Nigeria." Ph. D. Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2000. Accessed August 25, 2014. ProQuest Ebrary.
- Siyabola, Michael Abimbola. "Acritical Evaluation of Contemporary Missions Strategies of the Nigerian Baptist Convention." M.Div. essay. The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004.
- Park, Hyung Jin. "Journey of the Gospel: A Study of the Emergence of World Christianity and the Shift of Christian Historiography in the Last Half of the Twentieth Century." Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 2009. Accessed May 10, 2012. ProQuest Ebrary.
- Ufodike, Raluke Chukwunedum. "The Politicization of Religion in Islam and Its Impact on Christian-Muslim Relations in Nigeria." Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2014. Accessed August 25, 2014. ProQuest Ebrary.

Archival Documents

“West Africa People Groups: Unreached People Groups.” *IMB/SBC Archive Document*.

“Evangelism and Church Growth Development Statistics, 1989-2000,” West Africa/MAP. *IMB/SBC Archive Document*.

Reports/ Minutes/ Mimeographs

Audi, Moses “History, Theology and Practice of Missions.” Class Report CM 213 – Message Themes of the Churches for One Year. Second Semester 2015/2016 session.

GMB Mission Summit Booklet. Held at Bowen University Chapel, Iwo. July 2012.

Consultation/ Seminar of reaching the Hausa and Fulani in Northern Nigeria. NBC: Global Mission Board, July 15-19 2012.

Daily Encounter with God 2015. Ibadan: Sunday School Division, Christian Education Department, NBC, 2015.

GMB Information Booklet, 2013, 29-30.

“GMB Report” *NBC 98th Annual Session Book of Reports* Held at Ogbomoso: Beulah Baptist Center, May 7-12, 2011, 253.

"Youth Fellowship" *Kawo Baptist Association: 1st Quarter Congress Meeting*. (Report by Association's youth President) Farin Gida: Nazareth Baptist Church, April 2013, 8.

Matabof, S. N. "Moderator's Maiden Speech/Address at the First Quarter Associational Meeting of Kawo Baptist Association Holding at Nazareth Baptist Church, Farin Gida on Saturday 13th April 2013," *Kawo Baptist Association: 1st Quarter Congress Meeting*. Farin Gida: Nazareth Baptist Church, April 2013, 3f.

NEMA Consultation on Reaching the Fulbe. April 17-20, 2012.

“Control Your Speech,” *Sunday School for Adult and Young Adults*, February 23, 2014

Omoniyi, Femi Steve. “Moving Forward: Working Out Our Salvation in the Power of the

Holy Spirit.” *General Workers’ Conferences 2016 Resource Book*, held at Albarka Baptist Church, January 12, 2016.

Operation Basecount was missionary research conducted under the leadership of the IMB on the reached and unreached ethnic groups in Nigeria.

Television/ Online Sources/ Documentary

“2014 Synagogue Church Building Collapse” (Accessed on January 30, 2016)
<http://tinyurl.com/gtfb7fo>.

"Boko Haram are not Muslims – Jonathan" (Accessed on March 3, 2013)
<https://tinyurl.com/hsdnhnc>.

Ahmadu-Suka, Maryam “Nigeria: NDA Recruitment - Muslim Bodies Express Concern over Marginalization.” (October 13, 2013), accessed October 15, 2013,
<http://tinyurl.com/opu327a>.

Akinloye, Dimeji. “Boko Haram Terror Group Rated World’s Deadliest, ISIS Second” (Accessed on November 17, 2015) <http://tinyurl.com/hgvb78p>.

“Average Hausa Man Now Seen As Boko Haram In Lagos – Hausa Community.”
Information Nigeria (Accessed on March 29, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/hkahccr>.

Benjamin, Isaiah. “Armed Forces: Sharia Council Alleges Marginalization of Muslims.”
Posted by Isaiah Benjamin on October 13, 2013, (Accessed on October 15, 2013)
<http://tinyurl.com/qjdp4mo>.

“Buhari Traces the Origin of the Killer Herdsmen to Libya.” Posted by Niyi on May 29, 2016 (Accessed on May 31, 2016) <http://tinyurl.com/glepuw9>.

“Charter of the Organization of Islamic Conference,” March 14, 2008, accessed July 14, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hvcsram>.

“Christian Muslim Segregation in Kaduna Portend Great Danger, Says Gov. Yero.”
Posted by Daniel on October 4, 2013 (Accessed on October 4, 2013)
<http://tinyurl.com/pbhylqw>.

Daniel, Soni and Chris Ochayi, “DSS Parades Bombers of Jaji Cantonment Church.”
PMIN News, posted on January 18, 2013 (Accessed on January 23, 2016)
<http://tinyurl.com/a5fyb8y>.

- “Flashback: The Major Players in Nigeria’s OIC Membership.” *Nairaland* (Accessed December 24, 2015) <http://tinyurl.com/zkamjtf>.
- “Gov. Aliyu Describes Action of Those Celebrating Yakowa’s Death as ‘Inhuman.’” Posted by Daniel on December 20, 2012 (Accessed on May 13, 2014) <http://tinyurl.com/nad5b52>.
- Gumi, Sheik. “Boko Haram 100 Percent Muslim Problem: Faults Kaduna Religious Bill.” Posted by Daniel on April 17, 2016, *Information Nigeria* (Accessed on April 19, 2016) <http://tinyurl.com/jp2ekw3>.
- Haruna, Abdulkareem and Ardo Hazzad, “Despite Army Operations, No Letup in Nigerian Militant Attacks” (Accessed on August 13, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/q72jjj9>.
- “Historical maps of Nigeria” (Accessed on May 2, 2014) <http://tinyurl.com/o74vynb>.
- “Historical Maps of Nigeria” (Accessed on May 2, 2014) <http://tinyurl.com/pjm5par>.
- “How to End Insecurity in Nigeria - CBN Governor” Posted by Channels Television on 24 April 2013 (Accessed on April 24, 2013) <https://tinyurl.com/jx3alxg>.
- Hudson Taylor*, directed by Ken Anderson. Starring Mike Hickman and Rebecca Baker. Synergy Int., 2009, DVD.
- “Ibrahim Babangida” *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. Accessed December 24, 2015, <http://tinyurl.com/jesswyb>.
- “JNI, CAN in War of Words over Removal of Jaji Military Commandants.” Posted by Daniel on December 5, 2012 (Accessed on December 6, 2012) <http://tinyurl.com/qflsz5k>.
- “Kaduna Muslim Youths Celebrate Governor’s Death.” Posted by Foluso on December 16, 2012 (Accessed on December 17, 2012) <http://tinyurl.com/pf3dtb5>.
- “Kaduna State Gov Laments Muslims/Christians Dichotomy... Sues For Peace, Unity” Posted by: Daniel on February 12, 2013 *Information Nigeria* (Accessed on March 3, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/j7qp9fe>.
- “Kaduna State Governor Dares Boko Haram, Says, ‘...I Will Not Resign.’” Posted by Daniel on November 1, 2012 (Accessed on December 12, 2012)

<http://tinyurl.com/nwvhngn>.

“List of Heads of State of Nigeria” (Accessed June 7, 2014) <http://tinyurl.com/qjstrx4>.

“List of Ministers of the Federal Capital Territory (Nigeria)” (Accessed on January 22, 2016) <http://tinyurl.com/her15o9>.

Lobel, Mark. “Nigeria’s Islamists Claim Bauchi Setraco Seizures.” *BBC Abuja*. Posted on February 18, 2013 (Accessed on February 19, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/9oemg>.

“Meet Fulani Herdsmen Who Confessed to Being Boko Haram.” Posted by Foluso on April 24, 2014 (Accessed on April 25, 2014) <http://tinyurl.com/hl95sfk>.

Mission, The. Directed by Roland Joffe. Featuring Robert De Niro and Jeremiy Irons. Warner Bros., 1986. Videocassette.

“Nigeria” (Accessed June 7, 2014) <http://tinyurl.com/qj2p2de>.

“Nigeria: Boko Haram Religiously motivated attacks” *Factsheet: Nigeria* (Accessed on August 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/qfuqqse> Cover page, 1.

“Nigeria History with the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC)” (Accessed on December 24, 2015) <http://tinyurl.com/j3lqwq6>.

“Nigeria, NSA Blames Insecurity on Climate Change” Posted by Onwuka Nzeshi on April 24, 2013 (Accessed on April 24, 2013) <https://tinyurl.com/bpdx86x>.

“Nigerian Maps of North and South Divide” (Accessed on May 3, 2014) <http://tinyurl.com/pydcz2u>.

“Nigerian Traditional Rulers” (Accessed on August 18, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/nex83z3>.

“Nigerian Traditional Rulers” (Accessed on August 18, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/pf9re74>.

“Northern Leaders Looked Sideways When B’Haram Members Were Being Trained By Al-Qaeda, Says Emir Who Opposes Amnesty.” Posted on March 14, 2013 (Accessed on March 14, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/jemdspq>.

Obemeata, Joseph. “Christians Should Resist OIC Membership” (Accessed December 24, 2015) <http://tinyurl.com/pz247dx>.

Oke, Bishop. "Chibok Girls: Sultan Emirs Tacitly Supporting Boko Haram in 'Islamic Jihad' Against Christians." Posted by Daniel on May 16, 2014 (Accessed on May 17, 2014) <http://tinyurl.com/jxo6kth>.

"Organization of Islamic Cooperation: Membership States" *Permanent Observer Mission to the United Nations in New York* (Accessed on December 24, 2015) <http://www.oicun.org/3/28/>.

Orji, Theodore "Killings in the North: Return Home if They Don't Want You, Orji Tells Ndi Igbo" (Accessed on April 5, 2013) <https://tinyurl.com/jlhkbjq>.

Owutu, Innocent Ugochukwu. "Ethno-Religious Conflicts and the Search for Elusive Peace and Security in Nigeria." Paper Presented at Samuel Ademoyega University, Ogwa Edo State Nigeria, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies Conference, June 17-20, 2012 (Accessed November 15, 2014) <http://tinyurl.com/pqbffnz>.

"Presidency Distances Jonathan from Purported on-going Boko Haram, Govs Talk," Posted on informationnigerianews.org (Accessed on March 16, 2013) <https://tinyurl.com/zwdyt8x>.

Radicals, The. Dir. by Raul V. Carrera. Featuring Michael and Margaretha Sattler. Sisters and Brothers, n.d., DVD.

"Report of Proceedings at the Constitutional Conference." *AIT Reports*, May 6, 2014.

Ross, Will "Nigeria: Kano Reels After Emir Attack." *BBC News, Kano*. Posted February 7, 2013 (Accessed February 19, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/9oemg>.

"See What General Buhari Said in 2001." Posted by Verity Awala on December 14, 2014 (Accessed December 16, 2014) <http://tinyurl.com/hhn2qo6>.

"Sheik Gumi Explodes: Nigerian Govt. Is Fighting Muslims By Sending Troops To Mali, Labels Ihejirika SS & SE COAS." Posted by Daniel on January 20, 2013 www.informationnigeria.org (Accessed on April 24, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/j3sd2zw>.

"Sheik Gumi: "Yakowa and Azazi Perished While Planning Against Muslims." Posted by Foluso on January 17, 2013 In *Nigerian News 24 Comments* (Accessed on January 18, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/o4tw3qf>.

Siollun, Max. "Nigeria's Governors-Elect: All 36 States – Nigeria Decides," posted on May 15, 2015 (Accessed on January 22, 2016) <http://tinyurl.com/j6jgnv3>.

"Sokoto state currently gave scholarship to 164 medical students to Sudan" (Accessed on June 11, 2014) <http://tinyurl.com/jndtj8m>.

"Soldiers Arrest 92 Armed Herdsmen in Abuja" (Accessed on April 19, 2016) <http://www.punchng.com/soldiers-arrest-92-armed-herdsmen-in-abuja/>.

"Sophistication of Boko Haram's Attacks is beyond Illiterates, The – Kalu" (Accessed on April 6, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/htnxcek>.

"Sultan Seeks for Pardon for Boko Haram Members" punchnewsonline.com (Accessed on March 6, 2013) <https://tinyurl.com/jfsrf8l>.

Ukpung, Ubong "Jaji bombing: Report indicted ex-commander –Army Hq" *The Sun: Voice of the Nation*, posted on February 12, 2013 (Accessed on January 23, 2016) <http://tinyurl.com/hz2fy3t>.

Umeagbalasi, Emeka. "Nigeria: Religious/Political Fundamentalism & Failed Security & Investigative Intelligences Killed Patrick Yakowa, Haruna John & Others" (Accessed December 17, 2012) <http://tinyurl.com/ntzwn7y>.

"We'll Not Stop until We Establish an Islamic State - N/Boko Haram Message Denies Ceasefire, Dialogue with FG," Posted on Informationnigeria.org (Accessed on March 3, 2013) <https://tinyurl.com/zcuu7s8>.

"Why We Attack the Churches' – Boko Haram," *Osun Defender* (Accessed on August 13, 2013) <http://tinyurl.com/nsvbdha>.

Unpublished

Ako, Zacharia Joshua. "The Havoc of Religious Intolerance in Fellowship Baptist Conference." Paper presented at "Go North" Summit of Lagos East Baptist Conference, March 22, 2014.

Danzaria, S. A. "The Christian Response to Religious Persecution 1 Peter 4:12-19" Golden Gate Baptist Church: Annual Session of Fellowship Baptist Conference, February 21-23, 2013, 9-11.

Usman, Bashir, "Muslim View of Peace, Love, neighborhood, learning/Knowledge, Respect, Life after Death and Democracy," Interfaith Forum, Gray International College Kaduna, November 19, 2014.

Oral Interviews Transcripts

Adewumi, John Oluwafemi. Interview Transcript. Ogbomoso: Francis Jones Memorial Home, July 26, 2015.

Ajayi, John Ade. Interview Transcript. Akure: Federal University of Technology, July 18, 2015.

Ako, Zacharia. Interview Transcript, Jos: Ruhaniya Baptist Church, November 23, 2014.

Babagunda, Enima Thimnu. Interview Transcript. Kaduna, Baptist Theological Seminary, May 27, 2015.

Danzaria, Saul Anana. Interview Transcript. Kaduna: Baptist Theological Seminary, December 20, 2014.

Hayab, Joseph. Interview Transcript. Kaduna: NOVAD, May 26, 2015.

Ishola, S. Ademola. Interview Transcript. Ogbomoso: The Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, December 23, 2014.

Reni, Joseph Audu. Interview Transcript. Kaduna: Baptist Theological Seminary, January 24, 2016

Vandiwghya, James. Interview Transcript. Kaduna: Baptist Theological Seminary, December 20, 2014.

Oral Interviews without Transcripts

Ashere, D. Madaki. Interview. Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013.

Dagah, David. D. Interview. Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013.

Gata, Dauda Danjuma. Interview. Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January

25, 2013.

Gukut, Bala Haruna. Interview. Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013.

Munga, Solomon Joseph. Interview. Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013.

Shekari, Samuel. Interview. Kaduna: Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, January 25, 2013.

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Rev. Zachariah Joshua AKO, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Dr. Moses Audi on Nov. 23, 2014. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.

JAKO
Signature of Interviewee

21/04/2015
Date

Fellowship Baptist Conference, Mubi Adamawa State
Address

08034883389, 08088318181
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003)

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

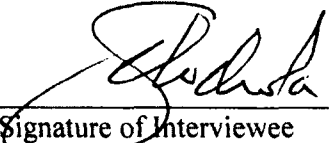
[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Solomon Ademola Ishala, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by MOSES AUDI on Dec. 13, 2014. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.


Signature of Interviewee

Aug. 11, 2015
Date

Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, Ogbomosho
Address

+234-802-339-2715
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003)

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

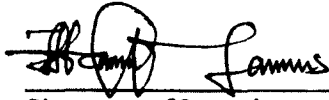
[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Rev. James Vandiwghya, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Rev. Dr. Moses Audi on December 20th 2014. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.



Signature of Interviewee

April 7th 2015

Date

Baptist Theological Seminary, Kaduna P.O. Box 94 Kaduna Nigeria
Address

08136508619

Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003))

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, KEUD SAUL A. DANZARIA, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Dr. Moses Audi on Dec. 20, 2014. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.


Signature of Interviewee

22nd April, 2015
Date

Fellowship English Baptist church state Low cost, Mubi Adamawa state.
Address

08031311525. 08025471150
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003)

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Rw. John Joseph Hayab, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Moses Audi on 26-5-2015. I

understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.

~~Hayab~~
Signature of Interviewee

26-5-15
Date

31 KING HASAN LANG, NARAYNI H/COST KAT
Address

08037009725
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003)

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

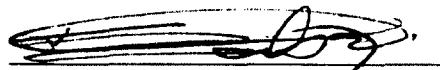
[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Enimr Babagunda Kimnu, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Auchi Moses on 27th May, 2015. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.


Signature of Interviewee

27th May, 2015
Date

Ali Akulu No 10, Kachun9 State.
Address

08023638336
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003))

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Rev. Prof John Ade AJAYI, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Rev. Dr. Moses AUDI on 18 July, 2015. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.

~~SAADAH~~
Signature of Interviewee

31 July, 2015
Date

Miriam Baptist Church, Box 16 Ilara-Mokin
Address

Ondo state, Nigeria
+234 (0) 803 409 9639
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003)

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, Adenomon, John DLuwafoni, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by Rev Dr Moses Audi on 26/7/2015. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

- Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.
- Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.


Signature of Interviewee

26/7/2015
Date

GMB, NBC
Address

08027694894, 08067036321
Telephone Number +223 943 71509 - Mali

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003)

INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORM

[Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, Texas]

I, JOSEPH AUDU RENU, do hereby give to the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary or the interviewer all right, title or interest in the tape-recorded interview conducted by MOSES AUDU on 24TH. JAN., 2016. I understand that these interviews will be protected by copyright and deposited in Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library and Archives for the use of future scholars. I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio and visual documentaries, digital presentations, exhibits, or articles. This gift does not preclude any use that I myself want to make of the information in these recordings.

CHECK ONE:

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction.

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restriction.

Joseph Audu Renu
Signature of Interviewee

24TH. JANUARY, 2016
Date

BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, BOX 94, KADUNA, NIGERIA
Address

+234 - 802 - 8188 - 606
Telephone Number

(This form is adopted from: Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. Second Edition (Oxford: University Press, 2003)