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Salt and Light or Salt and Pepper*

*Views on Ethno-Religious Violence and
Peace among Pentecostals in Nigeria*

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Abstract

Ethno-religious violence has plagued northern Nigeria in the last thirty years and has specifically affected Plateau State during the last decade. This article examines the attitudes and responses of pentecostal leaders in Plateau State toward violence and peace. Their attitudes are also compared to those of mainline Christian leaders in northern Nigeria and pentecostal leaders in southern Nigeria, a region that has not been affected by ethno-religious violence. The methods used included observation, questionnaires, and interviews. The research found that pentecostal leaders have a more positive attitude toward Muslims than do mainline leaders overall. There was no difference between pentecostal and mainline leaders in attitudes toward violence. However, there is a wider difference in attitudes toward violence and peace among Pentecostals than among mainline Protestants. Furthermore, pentecostal leaders in Plateau State demonstrated a greater involvement in peace-making initiatives than mainline leaders.

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Keywords

ethno-religious violence – peace – Nigerian Pentecostalism

Introduction

We have hitherto exercised restraint in our public statements on these matters. However, we cannot continue to do so indefinitely, and are determined that in the year 2012, if these unprovoked attacks continue, and Christians remain unprotected by the security agencies, then we will have no choice but to defend our lives and property and take our own steps to ensure our safety and security.

This statement was made on December 28, 2011 by Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor, who was at that time the head of both the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) and the overall coalition of Christians in Nigeria, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). It was cosigned by Pastor E.A. Adeboye, General Overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God; Bishop Mike Okonkwo, Overseer of The Redeemed Evangelical Mission; Bishop David Oyedepo, Founder and Overseer of Winners Chapel; Rev. Felix Omobude; Evangelist Uma Ukpai; Rev. (Mrs) Mercy Ezekiel; and Pastor Wale Adefarasin, the General Secretary of the PFN.¹ These names represent eight of the most influential and well-known pentecostal leaders in Nigeria. In a similar statement, Pastor Oritsejafor said that the attacks during the last two years by the Islamic extremist group popularly known as Boko Haram (meaning “Western education is forbidden”), were considered a “declaration of war on Christians and Nigeria as an entity,” and he further declared that “Christians should protect themselves ... in any way they can.”²

Although these statements do not specifically call for violence, the threat by these pentecostal leaders to “take our own steps to ensure our safety and security” was interpreted by the *Vanguard Newspaper* journalists as a statement of aggression. The title of the article, “Boko Haram Attacks—Adeboye, Oritsejafor,

1 Sam Eyoboka and Daniel Idonor, “Boko Haram Attacks—Adeboye, Oritsejafor, Oyedepo Spit Fire,” *Vanguard Newspaper*, December 28, 2011, <http://allafrica.com/stories/20112280755.html>.

2 David Smith, “Church bombings are declaration of war, say Nigerian Christians,” *The Guardian*, December 29, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/dec/29/church-bombings-nigerian-christians>.

Oyedepo Spit Fire,” identifies the three most prominent pentecostal leaders in Nigeria as the ones who were ready to “spit fire” against their enemies.

There are other indications that Nigerian Pentecostals may be particularly inclined to violence. A well-known pentecostal leader was killed in 2008 while leading a group of Christian youth whom he had mobilized to battle Muslims during a crisis in northern Nigeria. Pentecostal pastors have used strong imprecatory language and other battle terminology in their prayer meetings and exhortations about the ongoing conflict in Jos. For example, in the opening scripture prayer for a city-wide prayer event related to the violence, a Pentecostal said:

O God, do not keep silent. ... See how your enemies are astir, how your foes rear their heads. With cunning they conspire against your people. ... Do to them as you did to Midian, as you did to Sisera and Jabin at the river Kishon, who perished at Endor and became like refuse on the ground.³

Psalm 83:1–3; 9–10

Such declarations and activities have given Nigerian Pentecostals an image of being more prone to violence than other Nigerian Christians. Because Pentecostals tend to be “quite aggressive in their proselytizing,”⁴ they are at times identified as fundamentalists⁵ and therefore more likely to engage in violence. A journalist with the *Daily Trust*, a Nigerian newspaper that generally reflects a northern Nigerian and Muslim perspective, wrote that “at times of crises in the past, some of the most unhelpful comments have issued from Pentecostal pulpits.”⁶

3 Plateau Christian Prayer Assembly, March 21, 2010.

4 “Nigeria Christian /Muslim Conflict,” <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/nigeria-1.htm>; See also “Northern Nigeria: Background to Conflict; Africa Report N 168—20 December 2010,” [http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/168%20Northern%20Nigeria%20-%20Background%20to%20Conflict.ashx](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/168%20Northern%20Nigeria%20-%20Background%20to%20Conflict.ashx). This report suggests that newer pentecostal churches, such as the Deeper Life Bible Church, Redeemed Christian Church of God, and Living Faith Church (also known as Winners’ Chapel), all planted branches of their denominations in the north, where traditional missionaries had been banned by the colonial government. This has especially created tensions between Pentecostals and Muslims.

5 For a typical example, see Walter Ihejirika, “Media and Fundamentalism in Nigeria,” World Association for Christian Communication website, <http://www.mpac-ng.org/specialtopic/515-media-and-fundamentalism-in-nigeria.html>.

6 Adamu Adamu, “CAN and the Book of John,” *The Daily Trust*, July 16, 2010. The full text of the

Is this an accurate perception? Are Pentecostals more likely to respond to violence with violence? The purpose of this article is to examine the typical response of pentecostal leaders to violent conflict, predominantly with Muslims, in northern Nigeria. The article focuses on church leaders because they shape ordinary people's opinions and are generally the ones called upon by the government to discuss strategies for fostering peaceful coexistence between Muslims and Christians.

Pentecostalism in Nigeria

The first example of what might be considered Pentecostalism in Nigeria was espoused by an Anglican lay reader from southeastern Nigeria named Garrick Sokari Daketima Braide in 1915. He rose to fame through his acclaimed powers of healing through prayers.⁷ A short time later a similar movement spontaneously arose in southwestern Nigeria that has often been referred to as the Aladura (a Yoruba word meaning "owners of prayer") movement. This movement also stressed prayer for healing.⁸ The best-known leader in this movement was Joseph Babalola, who also had an Anglican background. He spread the message of supernatural healing through prayer and the use of holy water all over southwestern and southeastern Nigeria.⁹

The second wave of Pentecostalism grew out of the first wave in the 1930s when some who had already experienced pentecostal-type phenomenon invited Pentecostals from outside Nigeria to assist them. For example, the Assemblies of God entered Nigeria at the invitation of five young Nigerian men who had been expelled from a Holiness group in Eastern Nigeria, Faith Tabernacle Congregation, for speaking in tongues.¹⁰ Other invited groups in the 1950s included the Foursquare Gospel Church and the Apostolic Faith, both from

article can be found at <http://www.nigeriavillagesquare.com/articles/guest-articles/can-and-the-book-of-john.html>.

7 Frieder Ludwig, "Elijah II: Radicalisation and Consolidation of the Garrick Braide Movement 1915–1918," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 23, no. 4 (1993): 296.

8 Alan H. Anderson, "The Emergence of a Multidimensional Global Missionary Movement," in *Spirit and Power: The Growth and Global Impact of Pentecostalism*, ed. Donald E. Miller, Kimon H. Sargeant, and Richard Flory (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 36.

9 For additional information about Joseph Babalola, see Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 41. In this book Kalu has an excellent summary of most of the significant movements of Pentecostalism in Nigeria.

10 Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 42.

the USA, as well as the Apostolic Church from the UK, which was invited by Babalola's Aladura group.¹¹

In the early 1970s, a new wave of pentecostal Christianity swept across the Nigerian tertiary institutions. Several charismatic groups emerged, including Christian Union, Evangelical Christian Union, Nigerian Fellowship of Evangelical Students, and Fellowship of Christian Students. The main concern of these groups was not only to entrench "born-again" Christianity on campuses but also, as Matthews Ojo puts it, to convert the heathen outside the university campus and to deliver people who were under bondage of "evil spirits, witches, forces of darkness, principalities, enemies, bad luck, and repeated failures."¹²

Christian-Muslim Violence in Northern Nigeria

One group that took the newer charismatic version of Christianity to northern Nigeria was Calvary Ministries (CAPRO). CAPRO was founded in 1975 by graduates of Nigerian tertiary institutions serving in the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC).¹³ CAPRO was based in the premier university in northern Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Its stated aim was to disarm the demonic spirit of Islam through prayer and fasting in order to convert Muslims to Christianity. A pentecostal leader in Jos affirmed the same thought when he said, "Islam is a very occultic [*sic*] religion."¹⁴

This thinking about Islam motivated Christian students in the College of Education Kafanchan (Kaduna State) to organize a Christian outreach in 1987 to rid the campus of non-Christian religions. The poster at the gate of the campus read, "Welcome to Jesus Campus." The preacher at this crusade was

11 See *ibid.*, 88–94, and Matthews A. Ojo, *The End-Time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2006), 34. This new expression of Christianity has become well established and has spread from its southern base to northern Nigeria. Like the mission churches (such as Anglican, Presbyterian, Catholic, Methodist, and Baptist) that moved from the south to the north with the extension of the railway lines in 1911, this indigenized Christianity was seen by northerners as a southern product. Most members of these Pentecostal churches were southerners.

12 Matthews A. Ojo, "The Charismatic Movement in Nigeria Today," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 19, no. 3 (1995): 116.

13 Each university graduate in Nigeria is required to serve one year after graduation with the National Youth Service Corp (NYSC). As a general rule, NYSC members serve in a different part of the country from where they live. Thus, southerners often serve in the north and vice versa.

14 Anonymous PFN Leader # 1, interview by Musa Gaiya, January 11, 2012.

a Muslim convert who quoted profusely from the Qur'an and the Bible to prove that Christianity was the right way to God. A violent confrontation between Muslim and Christian students ensued and quickly spread to the rest of the state. This incident was the first Christian-Muslim riot in northern Nigeria.

During the next few years, tension slowly mounted in northern Nigeria over a number of issues. For example, in 1991 a crisis in Kano was sparked by an attempt by the pentecostal evangelist Reinhard Bonnke to hold an evangelistic crusade in the city. In the publicity leading up to the crusade, Kano city was declared "conquered for Jesus," as the big posters displayed in strategic places in Kano read. The theme of Bonnke's crusade in Africa was "tearing down the strongholds of Islam."¹⁵ A few months later, riots occurred in Zango Kataf in southern Kaduna between Hausa settlers and local indigenes over a market issue. The attempt to introduce Shari'ah in Kaduna State led, in February 2000, to one of Nigeria's bloodiest conflicts. Tension remained, and another serious conflict flared up in Kaduna when an attempt was made to sponsor the Miss World beauty pageant in Abuja in November 2002. Later, reactions to the Danish cartoons of Prophet Muhammad led to riots in several places across northern Nigeria, killing at least one hundred people—the largest number of victims from these cartoon riots around the world.¹⁶ To summarize, these conflicts have been sparked by ethnic, political, economic, and religious issues, as well as, even, international events.

The modern riots in Jos, Plateau State began as ethnic and political disagreements but later became more religious in nature.¹⁷ A key issue in these conflicts has been the settler-indigene problem, which affects the rights of the non-indigenes to get jobs and scholarships as well as the ability to participate in local politics and receive certain political appointments.¹⁸ The crises in Jos include a small conflict in 1994 and major confrontations in 2001 and 2008, all of

15 Ruth Marshall, *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 228.

16 Lydia Polgreen, "Nigeria Counts over 100 Deaths in Danish Caricatures" *New York Times*, February 24, 2006. Accessible at <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9Co6E5DF1F3EF937A15751CoA9609C8B63>.

17 For an excellent summary of the various Jos crises, see Philip Ostien, "Jonah Jang and the Jasawa: Ethno-religious conflict in Jos, Nigeria," *Muslim-Christian Relations in Africa* (2009). Retrieved from www.sharia-in-africa.net/pages/publications.php.

18 An "indigene" is considered to be a person whose ancestors lived in and "owned" a particular geographical area. A "settler" is one from an ethnic group whose ancestors came from a different area. The indigene-settler issue has been one of the most contentious political issues in Jos.

which were instigated by political issues. Later conflicts, including those in January and December 2010 as well as periodic violence in 2011, have largely been retaliatory in nature and have taken on a more distinctive religious character.

Nigerian Pentecostal Christian and Muslim Relations

Pentecostal Christian/Muslim relations in Nigeria have attracted the attention of scholars. Most scholars see the relationship from a conflict and competition perspective. Matthews Ojo,¹⁹ for instance, sees it as a contest of space in which not only are Muslims and Pentecostals at each others' throats, but also Muslims seek to conquer Nigeria and Christians seek to evangelize the whole of northern Nigeria. Cyril Imo²⁰ looks at the attitude of evangelical Christians toward the reintroduction of extreme Shari'ah laws in northern Nigeria and argues that the implementation of the Shari'ah made most of northern Nigeria a war zone between Muslims and Christians. Evangelical Christians who hitherto would interpret the Bible literally have had to reinterpret Matthew 5:38–47 in an unconventional manner to enable them to defend themselves against "Muslim aggression."²¹

Asonzeh Ukah²² studied the attitude of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (or RCCG, one of Nigeria's mega-denominations) toward Muslims. In sermons delivered by pastors of RCCG, Islam is demonized, which justifies aggressive evangelism in order to rid the world of a major satanic influence. The church, however, does not advocate violent attacks on Muslims. Ukah concludes that RCCG believes that "more indirect but constructive engagement with Islam is more profitable than an all-out confrontation in the name of evangelism."²³

The pentecostal and charismatic movements in Nigeria have been quite prolific in their production of literature. There are books on signs and wonders, evangelism, prosperity, success, discipleship, leadership, and a host of other

19 Matthews A. Ojo, "Pentecostal Movements, Islam and the Contest for Public Space in Northern Nigeria," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 18 no. 2 (2007): 175–188.

20 Cyril Imo, "Evangelicals, Muslims, and Democracy: With Particular Reference to the Declaration of Shari'a in Northern Nigeria," in *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa*, ed. Terence O. Ranger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 37–66.

21 Imo, "Evangelicals, Muslims, and Democracy," 61.

22 Asonzeh Ukah, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2008).

23 *Ibid.*, 291.

topics. To date, however, Nigerian Pentecostals have not produced literature about violence or peace. In a review of 213 books written by Nigerian pentecostal writers, not a single book addressed the issue of the Christian's response to ethno-religious violence.²⁴

A chapter in Sunday Adelaja's book *The Restorers of the Earth*²⁵ came closest to addressing the issue of violence and peace in his description of the Christian's attitude toward violence. Adelaja was addressing not direct violence, however, but the persecution from individuals who are attempting to prevent one from fulfilling one's destiny. In addition, Dr. D.K. Olukoya, the founder and General Overseer of the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Church based in Lagos, frequently mentions "enemies" in his many books. A typical example is in *Pray Your Way to Breakthrough*.²⁶ The table of contents is laden with violent language, including "Kill Their Prophets," "Slay Their Giants," "Death to the Pharaohs and Herods," "Break Down the Stronghold of the Enemy," and "Violent Prayers against Stubborn Problems and Foundational Enemies." However, these passages are almost always describing "spiritual enemies" and fighting "spiritual" battles. Olukoya's books do not address the kinds of physical conflict and violence that the church in northern Nigeria has experienced in the last thirty-five years.²⁷

John Paden, in a slim book, has rightly argued that most Nigerian Muslims are peaceful people and that the British tried to foster a spirit of cooperation between Muslims and Christians for a united nation before independence.²⁸ A more interesting treatment of the relations between pentecostal Christians

24 The survey was conducted by Danny McCain in the Nigeria Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies collection of books written by Nigerian Pentecostals.

25 Sunday Adelaja, *The Restorers of the Earth* (Kyiv, Ukraine: Favor House, 2009), 68–76.

26 D.K. Olukoya, *Pray Your Way to Breakthrough* (Lagos: Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries, 1996), vii–xi.

27 Two books have been written by non-Pentecostals that specifically address the Jos Crisis from a Christian perspective. The first is Peter Kadala, *Turn the Other Cheek: A Christian Dilemma* (Bukuru, Nigeria: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2009). This book was written by an evangelical lecturer from the Theological College of Northern Nigeria and takes a positive approach to reconciliation. The second book is by Ruth Beattie, *My Brother's Keeper: Stories of Grace from the Jos Plateau* (Bukuru, Nigeria: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2010), and tells the stories of Muslims and Christians who protected each other during various crises. A third book, *Fighting for Peace* (Jos, Nigeria: Fab Educational Books, 2011), written by an Assemblies of God pastor, Rev. Yakubu Pam, and Dr. Katrina Korb, tells the stories of both Christians and Muslims who have prevented violence.

28 John N. Paden, *Faith and Politics in Nigeria: Nigeria as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2008) 21–23.

and Muslims is the work of Ruth Marshall.²⁹ Going beyond the demonization of Islam and competition and conflict analysis, Marshall has drawn attention to the Pentecostalization of Islam in Nigeria. The use of a pentecostal style of public display by Yoruba Muslims is interesting; posters advertising Muslim meetings, such as “come and meet Allah,” are common.³⁰ Julius Adekoya has studied the evolution of Jam’iatu Nasrul Lahi al-ftihi (a.k.a NASFAT), a Pentecostalized Yoruba Muslim group that is gaining national adherence.³¹ Adekoya reports that NASFAT has purchased a one hundred-acre land on the Lagos-Ibadan Expressway as its fellowship camp, following the example of the Deeper Life Bible Church and the Redeemed Christian Church of God. One of NASFAT’s leaders is Alhaji Akinbile, who founded the Caring and Sharing Family. Here members engage in reading of the Qur’an, learning about and practicing faith, prayers, and constant fasting. Similar to pentecostal Christians, the group uses anointing oil, holy water, handkerchief, and *tasbeih* (Muslim rosary) for divine healing. It has a choir adorned with specially made robes and uses musical instruments such as organs, pianos, guitars, and drums. One of its songs is an adapted pentecostal chorus:

My comforter, Allah is my comforter (3x)
Allah is my comforter
I am not alone.³²

Marshall also noted that the Gumi’s *tafsir* (interpretation of the Qur’an) was carried out in a fashion similar to a pentecostal Christian Bible study.³³ The preaching (da’wa) of *yan’Izala* (in Arabic *Jama’atu Izalat al-Bid’a wa Iqamat al-sunna*, a group influenced by Gumi) followed pentecostal/evangelical styles.

Research needs to explore these areas of cooperation, collaboration, and imitation between Muslims and Pentecostals in Nigeria. We have observed that the positive side of the relations between the two major world religions is not being given the same attention by scholars as conflict and violence.

29 Ruth Marshall, *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009).

30 *Ibid.*, 221.

31 Julius Adekoya, “Islamic Fundamentalism in Yorubaland and the Impact of the Explosion of Pentecostalism,” in *Tradition and Compromises: Essays on the Challenge of Pentecostalism*, ed. Anthony Akinwake and Joseph Kenny (Ibadan: The Michael J. Dempsey Centre for Religious and Social Research, 2004), 18–36.

32 Adekoya, “Islamic Fundamentalism in Yorubaland,” 30, 31.

33 Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*, 222.

Purpose of Study

Because of the scarcity of literature on the Christian response to ethno-religious violence, particularly among Nigerian Pentecostals, the purpose of this study was to measure the attitude of pentecostal leaders toward violence and peace through a questionnaire and interview. Our working thesis was that Pentecostals are more prone toward violence than non-pentecostal Christians. Specifically, we compared pentecostal leaders' attitudes toward violence and peace to mainline Christian leaders' attitudes toward violence and peace. Second, we compared the attitudes of pentecostal leaders in northern Nigeria, the location of most of the ethno-religious conflicts, to the attitudes of pentecostal leaders in southern Nigeria, where there have been no significant ethno-religious crises. Finally, we asked both pentecostal and non-pentecostal leaders what they believed the Christian response should be to ethno-religious violence.

Research Methods

Participants

Because church leaders play a key role in shaping the views and attitudes of the members of their congregation, the target population for the study consisted of church leaders. The sample for this study consisted of 139 church leaders divided into three groups: pentecostal leaders in northern Nigeria ($N = 37$), mainline Christian leaders in northern Nigeria ($N = 50$), and pentecostal leaders in southern Nigeria ($N = 52$). With these samples, we were able to compare Pentecostals not only with mainline Protestants but also with Pentecostals in the south, who have not directly experienced ethno-religious violence. The northern mainliners were sampled from an evangelical seminary in neighboring Kaduna State, also in a conflict zone. The northern Pentecostals were sampled from two district meetings of the PFN in Plateau State. The southern Pentecostals were sampled from a pastor's conference conducted by the Nigeria Fellowship of Evangelical Students (NIFES). Though the sample was not randomly selected, the respondents represent a broad range of pentecostal leaders based on the broad appeal of the meetings at which the pastors were sampled.³⁴ Therefore, the sampled pastors are broadly representative of Nigerian

34 The Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) is the broad umbrella organization that represents most Pentecostals in Nigeria. Any district PFN meeting would include a broad

TABLE 1 *Theological training completed*

Theological education	Percent
None	26 %
Certificate	11 %
Diploma	25 %
Degree	18 %
Postgraduate diploma	6 %
Masters	9 %
Doctorate	4 %

Note: Theological education is arranged in the order from the lowest level of training to the most advanced level of training.

pentecostal church leaders. All participants designated themselves as Pentecostals or non-Pentecostals.

Of the 139 church leaders, 82 percent were male. Though this sample had considerably more male than female respondents, this is representative of church leaders in Nigeria, who are predominately male. The average age of respondents was forty years. See Table 1 for the theological education that the participants had completed. (There was no significant difference in the theological training among the three samples.)

Approximately half of the sample were pastors (53 percent), 16 percent were lay leaders, 10 percent were theological educators, and 8 percent were denominational leaders. The remaining 13 percent reported “other” as their primary responsibility in the church.

Instrument

A questionnaire with four parts was developed to assess beliefs about conflict and violence. The first part consisted of forced-choice items to assess demographic characteristics and experiences with violent conflict in northern Nige-

cross-section of Pentecostals. Although NIFES is not specifically a pentecostal organization, many of its leaders are Pentecostals and most of the pastors it attracts to a pastor’s workshop in Lagos would also represent a broad selection of Pentecostals.

ria. The second part assessed interaction with Muslims. Five items described different ways of interacting with Muslims, such as "I do business transactions with Muslims." Participants responded on a five-point scale that ranged from every day to never.

The third part of the questionnaire consisted of items that assessed three variables related to attitudes toward Muslims and conflict. Attitude toward Muslims was assessed with four items, such as "I respect Muslims." Attitude toward violence was assessed using six items, such as "It may be necessary at times to burn mosques and drive Muslims from Christian areas." Finally, hope for a harmonious future was measured by five items such as, "There can be a better future with Christians and Muslims living together in harmony." Participants responded to all items on a seven-point Likert scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Total scores were calculated by averaging responses to all items for each variable.

The final part of the questionnaire contained open-ended items in which participants could record their thoughts about conflict in northern Nigeria.

Procedures

All questionnaires were distributed by research assistants or senior researchers during a meeting and were collected immediately.

Interviews

A twelve-item semi-structured interview was developed to gather more information about pentecostal church leaders' views toward violence and peace, as well as their efforts to discuss ethno-religious violence with their congregations. Four interviews were conducted with top pentecostal leaders in Plateau State. Each interview lasted for about an hour and was audio-recorded. The key item in the interview was, "What do you personally think is the right thing for Christians to do in response to conflict in Plateau State?"

Results

Participants were asked what they thought was the most important cause of violent crises in Plateau State using a forced-choice item. Responses are presented in Table 2. There was no significant relationship between the group (north pentecostal, north mainline, and south pentecostal) and the cause of crises ($\chi^2(8) = 7.74, ns$). The majority of the participants from all groups believed that religion was the primary cause of violent crises in Jos and Plateau State.

TABLE 2 *Belief of most important cause of crisis*

	North Pentecostal	North Mainline	South Pentecostal	Overall
Religion	70%	66%	59%	64%
Politics	15%	18%	17%	17%
Tribal competition	6%	11%	11%	10%
Injustice	9%	0%	11%	7%
Economics	0%	5%	2%	2%

We were interested in whether there was any difference in the frequency of interaction with Muslims among the three groups. The one-way ANOVA with group as the independent variable and degree of interaction as the dependent variable was not significant ($F(2,127) = 2.62, ns$). Therefore, there is no significant difference in the degree to which northern pentecostal, northern mainline, and southern pentecostal leaders interact with Muslims. Neither age nor education had any significant effect on the degree of interaction with Muslims.³⁵

When examining attitudes toward Muslims and conflict, there were two primary comparisons of interest. The first comparison was between northern Pentecostals and northern mainliners. The second comparison was between northern Pentecostals and southern Pentecostals. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 3 (comparison between northern pentecostal and mainline attitudes) and Table 4 (comparison between northern and southern Pentecostals).

35 It should be noted, however, that the relationship between Christians and Muslims in southern Nigeria is much different from that in northern Nigeria. The Muslims in the south are predominantly from the Yoruba ethnic group, which also has a large proportion of Christians. Historically, the Muslim and Christian Yorubas have intermarried, developed business partnerships, and lived together freely with little or no conflict. On the other hand, the Muslims in northern Nigeria are predominantly from the Hausa ethnic group, which has only a small minority of Christians. There is considerably less intermarriage among Christians and Muslims in the north. Therefore, ethnic rivalries in the north sometime exploit religious differences to the point that it is often difficult to determine whether a conflict is based upon ethnicity or religion.

TABLE 3 *Northern Pentecostal and mainliner beliefs about Muslims and violence*

Variable	Pentecostal Mean	Mainline Mean	t	df	p
Attitude toward violence	3.26 (1.36)	3.05 (0.93)	0.82	83	.415
Attitude toward Muslims	5.45 (1.30)	4.86 (1.11)	2.26	83	.026*
Hope for harmonious future	5.67 (1.28)	4.91 (1.37)	2.61	83	.011*

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

TABLE 4 *Northern and Southern Pentecostal beliefs about Muslims and violence*

Variable	Northern Mean	Southern Mean	t	df	p
Attitude toward violence	3.26 (1.36)	2.34 (0.95)	3.67	83	<.001*
Attitude toward Muslims	5.45 (1.30)	5.01 (1.24)	1.59	83	.116
Hope for harmonious future	5.67 (1.28)	5.20 (1.29)	1.67	83	.099

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Northern Pentecostals had significantly better attitudes toward Muslims than northern mainliners. However, there was no significant difference between northern and southern Pentecostals. Therefore, northern Pentecostals were more likely to respect and like Muslims than northern mainliners. Northern Pentecostals were also significantly more likely than northern mainliners to believe that harmonious coexistence with Muslims is possible. There was no significant difference between northern and southern Pentecostals on hope for a harmonious future.

We were also interested in differences in attitudes toward violence. Northern Pentecostals had more favorable attitudes toward violence than southern Pentecostals; however, there was no significant difference in attitude toward violence between northern Pentecostals and mainliners. A more favorable attitude toward violence indicates that northern church leaders from both groups are more prone than southern Pentecostal church leaders to advocate the use of violence.

There was significantly more variance in the northern Pentecostals' attitude toward violence than the northern mainliners ($F(36,47) = 2.12, p < .01$). This means that although there was no significant difference in the overall mean

attitudes toward violence between these two groups, northern Pentecostals had significantly more range in their attitudes than mainliners. To illustrate this finding more clearly, 16 percent of northern Pentecostals had an average score of 5 or higher on the attitude toward violence scale, indicating that they either agreed or strongly agreed with statements like, "To stop the advance of Islam southwards, Christians may have to use offensive tactics" or "It is sometimes necessary for individuals to use violence." Conversely, only 2 percent of northern mainline Christians fell in the same range. At the opposite end of the scale, 14 percent of northern Pentecostals had an average score of less than 2, indicating disagreement or strong disagreement to these same statements, whereas only 4 percent of northern mainline Christians fell in the same range. This suggests that there is a much greater range of beliefs toward violence among Pentecostals than among mainliners in northern Nigeria.

In summary, our results found that northern pentecostal leaders are more likely to have positive attitudes toward Muslims and more positive beliefs about harmonious coexistence with Muslims than northern mainline Christian leaders. This was contrary to our beginning thesis. We also found that northerners, regardless of their church background, have more favorable attitudes toward using violence than southerners. This was expected because violence tends to breed violence.

The final analysis examined what participants believed was the appropriate Christian response to violence in northern Nigeria using open-ended responses to specific questions. These responses were coded by the themes found in the answers. To determine significant differences between groups, 95-percent confidence intervals were calculated using Vassarstats.³⁶ A 95-percent confidence interval is the estimated range of values in which the true score falls with 95-percent probability.³⁷ If the 95-percent confidence interval for one group contains the percentage of the other group, then it can be concluded that there is no significant difference in the frequency with which that theme was reported between the two groups. However, if the percentage of one group falls *outside* the confidence interval of the other group, then there is a significant difference in the frequency with which the theme is reported with a 5-percent probability of a Type I error (conceptually equivalent to $\alpha = .05$, or $p < .05$).

As can be seen from Table 5, the most frequent answer from all groups about the Christian response to violence in northern Nigeria was prayer (72 percent).

36 Richard Lowry, *Vassarstats: Website for statistical computation*. Accessible at <http://vassarstats.net/>.

37 William Lee Hays, *Statistics*, 5th ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2004).

TABLE 5 *Christian response to violence in Northern Nigeria*

	Northern Pentecostal	Northern Mainline	South Pentecostal	Overall
Prayer	64%	70%	81%	72%
Dialogue	28%	24%	19%	23%
Love	17%	36%	9%	21%
Government	22%	12%	26%	19%
Evangelism	17%	12%	13%	13%
Christian living	11%	22%	4%	13%
Watch	6%	26%	2%	12%
Defense	8%	18%	4%	10%
End times	3%	14%	11%	10%
Forgive	3%	16%	2%	7%
Islamization	8%	12%	0%	7%
Security conscious	3%	10%	2%	5%
Violence	8%	2%	4%	4%
Involved in peace	11%	0%	0%	3%

This is also the only response that was stated by a majority of the participants. The rest of the responses were stated by less than 25 percent of the participants overall.

The next most frequent response was dialogue (23 percent), followed by showing love (21 percent). For example, one participant said, "Even in the presence of provocation, we must show the love of Jesus to them." Love was more frequently stated by northern mainliners than by northern Pentecostals (CI for Mainline = .24-.50).

A significantly higher percentage of northern mainliners than northern Pentecostals reported forgiveness (CI = .08-.29) and Christian living (CI = .13-.35) as an appropriate response. The Christian living category consisted of responses related to living righteously, obeying God's word, and serving God. An example response for Christian living was, "Christians should endeavor to practice and live faithfully the tenets of their faith as clearly taught by our Lord Jesus Christ. He taught and exemplified the way of peace."

However, a significantly higher percentage of northern mainliners than northern Pentecostals reported the following responses to conflict: watch (CI = .16-.40), defense (CI = .10-.31), and security consciousness (CI = .04-.21). The watch theme included responses such as "stay at watch post," "be vigilant," and

“be alert and ready.” A sample defense response was “Pray and love them, but if they come to attack you, you have to defend your life but not go out and fight them.” Most responses coded as security conscious stated those words exactly, but a few gave more specific instructions, such as avoiding crowds.

Therefore, northern mainliners were more likely to respond with Christian virtues such as love, forgiveness, and living according to the principles of Christianity. However, these virtues were tempered with a cautiousness related to being watchful, security conscious, and self-defense.

On the other hand, a significantly higher percentage of northern Pentecostals than northern mainliners reported the following two themes: involved in peace (pentecostal CI = .04–.25) and violence (CI = .03–.22). Eleven percent of northern Pentecostals reported that Christians should become actively involved in peace efforts, while no mainliner suggested something similar. For example, one Pentecostal said, “Be positively involved in reconciliation.” Responses coded as violence included, “Fight back with spiritual and physical weapons,” “To have peace they must prepare for war,” and simply “War” and “Kill them.”

Therefore, pentecostal leaders appear to be more diverse in their responses to violence than mainline leaders, with more Pentecostals advocating for active involvement in peace, but also more advocating violence. Indeed, this concurs with the results from the attitude scale that found more variance among Pentecostals in their attitude toward violence than mainline Christians.

Pentecostals, both northern and southern, were also significantly more likely to mention government solutions than northern mainliners (CI for Pentecostals combined = .16–.34). The government theme included responses related to justice, letting the law take its course, politics, and good leadership. Examples of responses include:

- “Justice should prevail. These ‘men’ [sponsors] are known and can be fished out.”
- “Do not engage in violence. Rather use the instrument of law to defend or protect themselves.”
- “Let men be trained so they can step into various political positions.”
- “CAN, PFN, and other related bodies must forcefully press the government for genuine dialogue between Christians and Muslims.”

When comparing northern church leaders to southern church leaders, it is interesting to note that no southern Pentecostal mentioned Islamization, which was mentioned by 8 percent and 12 percent of northern Pentecostals and mainliners, respectively. A sample response coded as Islamization included,

“We should be alert and pray to God because of their [Muslims] concept of jihad as a fulfillment of their religious right.”

Interestingly, more northern mainliners than northern Pentecostals mentioned end times ($CI = .07-.26$). Both direct mention of end times and describing the events as a fulfillment of prophecy were categorized as end times. “As what the bible say [*sic*], all this things will be happened on the last day. So I encourage them, let them be ready but patient because it is the fulfillment of the scripture.” “These are the signs of the end time and everybody should be ready to bear it no matter what.”

Discussion

The key finding of this study was that pentecostal leaders do not approve of violence more than non-pentecostal Christian leaders in northern Nigeria. It is often assumed, even in the press, that Pentecostals are more likely than other Christians to advocate violence. However, our research has not confirmed that assumption. Our research has demonstrated that Pentecostals in conflict zones tend to have similar views to non-pentecostal Christians. Therefore, it appears that Pentecostals in Nigeria have been unfairly stereotyped as being more violent than non-pentecostal Christians.

The perception that Pentecostals are more violent may be caused by the more violent, triumphal rhetoric used by pentecostal preachers. For example, after one of the recent crises in Jos, a pentecostal pastor used the verse from Psalm 110:1, later quoted by Jesus in Luke 20:43, that says, “The LORD says to my Lord: ‘Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet.’” The pastor led a twenty-minute prayer based upon the verse, quoting this verse over and over again. The congregation sang a chorus based upon that text and the pastor later preached on the text.

It appears that much of the time, pentecostal leaders use violent, triumphal language to refer to spiritual foes and not to human foes, as illustrated by the leader of the Mountain of Fire and Miracles. Again, the pastor mentioned above never explicitly mentioned Muslims as the enemy. However, even if the pastor had intended to only use spiritual language, the general impression, based on the Christian-Muslim conflict that occurred just days before, was that the Muslims were going to become the footstools of Christians. More research needs to be done to determine whether pentecostal leaders intend for their violent language to have only spiritual import, and to determine whether pentecostal churchgoers understand this “spiritual” language as applying only to their “spiritual enemies.”

A second key finding was that Nigerian pentecostal leaders have a greater range of attitudes toward violence than non-Pentecostals. This study has demonstrated that Pentecostals are not unified in their responses to violence. In the attitudinal questionnaire, Pentecostals were considerably more varied in their attitudes toward violence than mainline Christians, although this did not transfer into more violent attitudes overall. Those Pentecostals who advocated for violence were perhaps balanced by those Pentecostals who advocate active involvement in peace efforts.

In our interviews with pentecostal leaders in Jos, we identified at least three pentecostal responses to ethno-religious violence. The first pentecostal response to ethno-religious violence is that the conflict is primarily spiritual. Accordingly, Muslims must be released from their spiritual bondage through prayer and fasting. The first group is represented by Rev. Danjuma Byang, chairman of PFN Jos North, who holds that Christians in Jos should not take arms against Muslims but should love them in order to win them to Christ.³⁸ He and those like him believe that Christians should fast and pray to deliver Muslims from evil powers that push them to kill Christians. This position was supported by Pastor William Kumuyi, general overseer of the Deeper Life Bible Church, who said, "We must always adhere to the admonitions of our Lord that we are not to retaliate or fight back against those who openly provoke us or make themselves our enemies without a cause. We are to love them, pray for them and continue to extend hand of fellowship to them."³⁹

The second pentecostal response to ethno-religious violence is that the conflict is primarily ethnic and must be solved through political and peace-building efforts. The second group, represented by the Rev. James Sani, chairman of PFN Jos South, believes that the various violent crises in and around Jos are not primarily religious but ethnic.⁴⁰ He believes that religion is only used as a tool for the mobilization of Muslims and Christians to fight. Rev. Sani argues that if the Christian indigenes of Jos would also accept the Muslim Hausa/Fulani who started settling in Jos more than one hundred years ago as indigenes of Jos, there would be no conflict.

Those who advocate this position suggest that one of the most important things Christians can do is to build relationships with those of other religions and ethnic groups. Rev. Yakubu Pam is an Assemblies of God pastor and district superintendent who has been a pastor in a predominantly Hausa Muslim area

38 Danjuma Byang, interview by Musa Gaiya, January 11, 2012.

39 Oyetunji Abioye, "Boko Haram: Kumuyi Rejects Self-Defence Call," *Punch*, January 2, 2012.

40 James Sani, interview by Musa Gaiya, January 11, 2012.

for many years. He has attempted to maintain peace in the community “using good relationships, peace negotiations, community meetings, and community understanding.”⁴¹ He believes the positive relationships he has developed with individuals from other ethnic and religious groups is the primary factor that has protected him and his church during numerous violent conflicts in his area.

The final pentecostal response to ethno-religious violence is that the conflict is primarily a war against Christians that will be solved by Christians responding militarily. The third group, represented by a pentecostal bishop who is a former PFN chairman of Plateau State and current national officer of PFN, holds that the only language Muslims know is violence. He believes that Muslims do not want peace but war with Christians.⁴² This is consistent with the statement reported earlier by Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor, the most senior pentecostal leader in the country, describing the attacks on Christmas 2011 as “a declaration of war on Christians.”⁴³

These pentecostal leaders are therefore urging their followers to prepare to fight and defend themselves. To this end, a seminar for pentecostal pastors in Plateau State was held on January 9, 2012 in which the pastors were urged to acquire weapons, such as “King James” (cryptic description of guns) and other sophisticated weapons, to defend themselves and their churches. This is apparently the way some of the pentecostal leaders are applying the statement of the national PFN chairman, who declared that the church in Nigeria would defend itself “in any way they can.”⁴⁴

This study also found that Pentecostals are more likely to engage in peace efforts than non-Pentecostals. It is interesting to note that 11 percent of the Pentecostals in a conflict zone felt that Christians should be actively involved in peace making whereas none of the sampled mainline Protestants living in the same conflict zone felt they needed to be involved. The most prominent person engaged in peace efforts in Jos at the time of the study was Rev. Yakubu Pam, the pentecostal leader referred to earlier. Rev. Pam’s activities help to illustrate this point.

According to his own testimony, Rev. Pam was “a little bit radical” in his earlier days, believing that his main responsibility was to defend Christianity. He believed that the best thing was to “give them what they deserve,” including

41 Yakubu Pam, interview by Danny McCain, April 29, 2011. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from Rev. Yakubu Pam are from this interview.

42 Anonymous PFN Leader #2, interview by Musa Gaiya, January 9, 2012.

43 Smith, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/dec/29/church-bombings-nigerian-christians>.

44 Ibid.

an “eye for an eye.” He was known nationally for having accused a Christian president of Nigeria of being biased in favor of Muslims when the president visited Plateau State to assess the mass killing of Muslims and destruction of their property during one of the riots in the state in 2004. However, while attending a peace workshop sponsored by the United Nations in New York in 2006, he became convinced that Muslims could be peaceful and that he should become actively engaged in peace activities.

Rev. Pam’s peace work began in December 2009, when he gathered about twenty-five Muslim youth who lived near his church in a majority Muslim neighborhood to discuss peace principles. On January 17, 2010, less than one month later, a major crisis broke out between Christians and Muslims in Jos. Twenty-three of the young Muslim men he had trained surrounded his church and protected it from other Muslim youth who tried to burn it. This event helped convince Rev. Pam that peace training worked and he had to do more to foster peace in his community.

Starting about six weeks later, Rev. Pam officially launched the Young Ambassadors for Community Peace and Interfaith Foundation (YACPIF),⁴⁵ an organization including both Christians and Muslims that focuses on restoring peace in northern Nigeria. Over the next eighteen months, he conducted nine community-wide peace rallies, bringing together both Christian and Muslim youth, ranging in size from a few dozen to thousands. He has helped to organize and sponsor a two-week sports camp for Christian and Muslim youth in which teams were divided to include both Christians and Muslims. The winning integrated teams from Jos North and Jos South Local Government areas eventually played the Jos Peace Cup, solidifying positive relationships between Christian and Muslim youth and bringing significant attention to the peace efforts in Jos. Pam has created a youth center in a neutral area of Jos where Muslim and Christian youth come together to watch movies and play games as well as receive training in computer, leadership, sports, holistic living, and peaceful coexistence. His organization also sponsored joint Christian-Muslim monitoring teams during the 2011 national elections. All of these activities have also helped to make Rev. Pam a leading spokesman for peace in Plateau State, one who consistently calls for non-retaliation, restraint, reconciliation, and love.

When asked what has motivated him to engage in peace activities, Rev. Pam simply said, “because our Lord Jesus Christ was a peacemaker” and “this is what the Lord Jesus Christ commands us to do.”⁴⁶ Rev. Pam also said, “Without peace

45 See the YACPIF website at <http://yacpif.wordpress.com/about/>.

46 Yakubu Pam, interviewed by Katrina Korb, April 18, 2011. Rev. Pam based his conviction on

we will not be able to win converts; we will not be able to build; we will not be able to develop; we will not be able to share the love of Jesus. So I believe that the church should go into peace negotiations, peace work, and peace talks one hundred percent.”

Rev. Yakubu Pam has become perhaps the most recognized clergyman involved in peace activities in the Jos area.⁴⁷ His aggressive peace efforts and willingness to interact with Muslims in a time of conflict have sometimes brought him into serious disagreement with other church leaders in Nigeria. However, he continues his peace activities out of conviction that this is what God has called him to do.

Many clergy in Nigeria, particularly those belonging to the evangelical and charismatic/pentecostal brands of Christianity, are far from where Pam is in their understanding of Islam and Muslims in Nigeria. For example, the state of Plateau is often perceived by some Christians as a Christian state. These Christians would argue that the only solution to violent conflicts involving Muslims and Christians in the states is getting Muslims, particularly Hausa/Fulani Muslims, out of the state entirely.

This view is not new in Muslim/Christian relations. Norman Daniel⁴⁸ and R.W. Southern⁴⁹ trace this lack of understanding, which produces negative views about Islam, to medieval Christendom. At this time, Islam was seen as “one of a large number of enemies threatening Christendom from every direction ...”⁵⁰ Paul Gifford saw this attitude toward Islam in Liberia, a phenomenon he calls “Christian Zionism.”⁵¹ He reports that at a meeting of the Association

the statement in the Beatitudes, “Blessed are the peacemakers for they will be called the sons of God” (Matt 5:9).

47 Perhaps the best-known clergyman involved in peace work in Nigeria is Rev. James Wuye, also a Pentecostal and pastor in the Assemblies of God Church. In his earlier days, he led a group of young Christian radicals to fight Muslims and, in so doing, lost his arm in a battle. Later, he was introduced to his equally violent counterpart on the Muslim side, Imam Mohammed Ashafa. They quickly became friends and eventually formed the Interfaith Mediation Centre, based in Kaduna. The “Pastor and Imam,” as they are popularly called, have gained international recognition for their successful peace efforts in Nigeria. See <http://www.imcnigeria.org/>.

48 Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe* (London: Longman, 1979).

49 R.W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980).

50 *Ibid.*, 14.

51 Paul Gifford, *Christianity and Politics in Doe's Liberia* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 257.

of Evangelicals of Liberia in 1969, a perceived Muslim threat in Liberia was made a major matter of concern. The chairman of the association explained this threat: "The Muslims are trying to take over West Africa. They are using Liberia as a base ... I went to a LCC (Liberian Council of Churches) seminar on Muslim-Christian relations last year. A dialogue they call it; I thought it was a compromise. Is Liberia a Christian nation? Yes, it is."⁵² In a recent visit to Liberia, it was learned that Christian leaders were debating whether to allow the teaching of Islam in public schools attended by Muslim and Christian children. Most believed that Islam should not be taught because Liberia is a Christian country.⁵³ This attitude is not unique to Liberian charismatic/pentecostal and evangelical Christians.

Limitations of the Study

A few limitations to this study should be noted. First, the sampling technique was a convenience sample of church leaders from meetings of pentecostal church leaders. However, these two meetings drew from a broad range of pentecostal churches. Second, the sample size was small. Therefore, additional research should be conducted to replicate these findings. Furthermore, this study focused on church leaders, not Nigerian pentecostal churchgoers. Additional research should identify the views of pentecostal churchgoers on violence and peace. Finally, the sample consisted mostly of males, which is representative of pentecostal church leaders. A comparison between males and females on views of violence and peace would be interesting.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research has refuted the initial thesis that Pentecostals are more prone toward violence than non-Pentecostals. Data from an attitude questionnaire provided evidence that pentecostal and non-pentecostal leaders in northern Nigeria have the same level of attitudes toward violence as mainline Christian leaders. Furthermore, northern Pentecostals had more favorable attitudes toward Muslims and a higher hope for a harmonious future together with Muslims than did northern mainline Christians.

52 Ibid., 265.

53 Musa Gaiya, research trip to Liberia, October 19–26, 2011.

Perhaps the most interesting finding from this study of Pentecostalism and violence was the variation among Pentecostals in northern Nigeria in their attitudes toward violence. Although Pentecostals overall tended to have the same general attitudes toward violence as non-Pentecostals, there were more Pentecostals at the extreme ends of the violence scale. Some of those most willing to engage in violence and most likely to use violent language were Pentecostals. These are the “salt and pepper” Pentecostals. To use a Nigerian expression, they want to “pepper” their enemies, meaning they want to be a source of irritation and pain to them.

On the other hand, some of those who are most engaged in the rejection of violence by actively working for peace were also Pentecostals. These are the Pentecostals attempting to be “salt and light” in the world by rejecting the normal human reactions to violence imposed upon them and following the teachings about violence that Jesus taught and exemplified. Time will tell which of these groups will most influence the other and create the most accurate and lasting image of Pentecostalism and violence in Nigeria.

Appendix

Interaction with Muslims, on a Scale from 1 = Daily, 2 = Weekly, 3 = Monthly, 4 = Yearly, and 5 = Never

1. I greet Muslim neighbors and colleagues.
2. I share meals with Muslims.
3. I do business transactions with Muslims.
4. I spend leisure time with Muslims.
5. I work with Muslims.

Views on Violence and Peace, on a Scale from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree

Attitude toward Muslims:

1. I respect Muslims.
2. In general, I have positive attitudes about Muslims.
3. I feel positively toward Muslims.
4. I like Muslims.

Attitude toward violence:

1. It may be necessary at times to burn mosques and drive Muslims from Christian areas.
2. When your rights are threatened, violence can be used to protect them.
3. I believe in personal self-defense but not aggressively using violence against Muslims. (Reversed)
4. Since the government has failed to protect us, we must get arms to defend ourselves.
5. To stop the advance of Islam southwards, Christians may have to use offensive tactics.
6. It is sometimes necessary for individuals to use violence.

Hope for a harmonious future:

1. There can be a better future with Christians and Muslims living together in harmony.
2. Christians and Muslims can work together to help our children heal and have better life

3. I am prepared to actively work together with Muslims to bring about peace.
4. I would work with Muslims on projects that benefit us all.
5. I am willing to work toward reconciliation with the Muslims

Open-ended items:

1. What do you think is the right thing for Christians to do in response to conflict in Northern Nigeria?
2. What Bible verse(s) do you think can apply to conflict with the Muslims?
3. What biblical event or story can help in resolution of the conflict in northern Nigeria?
4. What do you tell your congregation (or constituents) about conflict in northern Nigeria?
5. What is the cause of the tension and conflict in Plateau State?
6. What do you think needs to be done to achieve peace in northern Nigeria?